TRYING TO MAKE A LIFE
THE HISTORICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF KITSUMKALUM

by

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ABSTRACT

Anthropological inquiries into the human condition have long been tempered with a concern for the difficulties experienced by non-Western societies faced with prolonged contact with the expanding Western social systems. In economic anthropology, studies of contemporary tribal and peasant societies have turned to the literature on development and underdevelopment to explain the features and processes that are associated with that contact. This dissertation is the result of such research into the social and economic problems on the Northwest Coast.

The work examines the history and ethnography of the Tsimshian Indians to determine the underlying social forces that led to and still maintain the underdevelopment of the social and economic potential of Tsimshian groups. Particular attention is given to the form and dynamics of the Tsimshian economy, of the regional expression of the expanding world market economy, and the relations between the two. The dissertation thus explores the socioeconomic aspects of the interlock between Indian development and the evolving development of capital.

The Tsimshian village of Kitsumkalum was the focus of the inquiry. Using its history, I document how the changes which brought about an economic reversal for the native

people were at the same time favourable to the establishment and growth of industrial capital in the region.

Two sets of factors are critical for understanding this shift:

(1) new forms of property which, through government intervention, transferred ownership and control of the factors of production to the industrialists, and in the process redefined the resources, technology and labour in terms consistent with the development of capital;

(2) the diversion of Tsimshian resources, technology and labour out of traditional production into the modern economy, where they were transformed and ultimately became dependent on the vagaries of a global market in which the Tsimshians had little or no control.

The specific information in the dissertation explains how these processes occurred, how the independence of the old political economy was undermined, how an ostensibly "peaceful penetration" of the area occurred as a result, and how the Tsimshian responded by alternately accommodating and resisting the situation.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are so many people who I should acknowledge, whose names I carefully recorded during my research. Now that it is time to do so, I find the list impossibly long. There are names from Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, London, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Victoria, Alaska, and throughout Northwestern British Columbia. The research depended on them. They gave generously of their time and knowledge, and I thank them for making the final work possible.

The people of Kitsumkalum deserve special thanks for their encouragement, assistance, patience, and friendship. This dissertation is for them, even though it serves me well at the same time.

I also wish to express appreciation to my teachers, especially those who sat on my committee. Finally, it is especially important to acknowledge my family and friends (many of whom have already been mentioned) who endured this production and provided all manner of support.

PART I: BACKGROUND

1. INTRODUCTION

Anthropological inquiries into the human condition have long been tempered with a concern for the difficulties experienced by non-Western social formations that encounter our own. In economic anthropology, studies on contemporary tribal and peasant societies have turned to the literature on development and underdevelopment to explain the features and processes that are associated with that contact. The dissertation that follows is the result of this type of research into the social and economic problems of Indians on the Northwest Coast.

This work is a study of the history and ethnography of the Canadian Tsimshian Indians. Very little has been recorded about their social economy, and I provide as detailed a description as possible in order to reconstruct how they have made a living since Confederation. My specific purpose is to determine the underlying forces in their productive economy that led to and still maintain their underdevelopment and the underdevelopment of their social and economic potential. To do this, I examine in detail the form and dynamics of Tsimshian social production, of the regional expression of the expanding world market economy, and of the relations between the two. The dissertation thus explores the socioeconomic aspects of the

interlock between Indian development and the evolving development of capital.

The focus of my inquiry is the Tsimshian community of Kitsumkalum. They have never been described by ethnographers and very little was known about them prior to this research. Using the social history of this group, I document how Tsimshian society articulated with the world economy, how this articulation varied during its history, and how the efforts of the Indian people to make a successful living for themselves have been continually undermined.

THEORETICAL GUIDELINES

My theoretical orientation comes from studies which analyse how independent economies become dependent and underdeveloped. These studies operate with the basic hypothesis that development and underdevelopment are partial, interdependent structures of a single system of world capitalism (O'Brien 1975:12). The interdependency consists of a relationship, between the economies of different groups of countries, that prevents one economy (the dependent economy) from growing and developing without an expansion in another economy (in the dominant country). The dependent economy lacks the ability for independent

growth because it is structured by its relationship with a central and dominant economy.

The work of A.G. Frank provided an important stimulus to research on the "development of underdevelopment" by presenting it as the outcome of a set of contradictions in a metropolis/satellite model (e.g., Frank 1969). These contradictions are conditions that govern, hinder, and distort the development of the satellite economy by draining potential economic surpluses to the metropolis. Frank found that the basic structures that make this possible are constant through all the minor changes that a dependent area might experience.

Dos Santos refers to the structural relationships of dependency as a "conditioning situation" which determines the limits and possibilities in the satellites. The metropolitan countries "are endowed with technological, commercial, capital, and socio-political predominance over dependent countries - the form of this predominance varying according to the particular historical moment - and can therefore exploit them" (Dos Santos 1978:76). Dependency is, in this view, a part of an international division of labour that allows development in some places while restricting it in others.

Therefore, to understand the conditioning situation, it is necessary to analyse the economic relationships in the metropolis, the external expansion of the metropolis, the

economic relationships in the satellite, and the compromises and agreements made between both areas (O'Brien 1975:15). This procedure makes it possible to show how the conditioning situation results in the development of some parts of the global economic system at the expense of others, and how resources are transferred from the underdeveloped countries to the developed countries (e.g., Dos Santos 1978:64).

The dependency approach is insightful and useful. However, for anthropological purposes, it is incomplete, and especially for studies of economic formations such as the one found in Kitsumkalum. A narrow use of the metropolis/satellite dichotomy would not bring into focus the diversity of social relationships that exist locally and that connect people in small communities to broader (regional, national, international) economic formations. The models of the dependency school are useful for macro-frameworks and general statements, but not suitable for the micro-analysis of field work (Foster-Carter 1978:212, Long 1975:263).

A part of this difficulty stems from an argument that the dependency school was making concerning the cause of underdevelopment. Some development theory (e.g., Rostow 1962, Hoselitz 1960) posited that the underdeveloped economies had two sectors: traditional and modern. The traditional one was seen as conservative and constraining to

the growth of the dynamic, modern, capitalist sector. For these theorists, underdevelopment was a failure to overcome the traditional economy and to become a fully functioning capitalist economy. For development to take off, it was, therefore, necessary to find ways to remove the restraints of tradition. Frank determined that this dualist thesis was false (1969:5). For him, underdevelopment was a direct consequence of capitalist development and there was no dual economy.

In its extreme expression, the Frankian model claims that the expansion of capitalism "effectively and entirely" penetrated even the most isolated economies around the world (ibid.). This approach was useful in calling attention to the important historical impact capitalism had on other cultures and societies. But it was theoretically limited in that it labelled everything as capitalism and reduced social relationships in the underdeveloped countries to specific variants around a capitalist type.

Field studies have repeatedly noted that dependent economies are not as homogeneous as a literal reading of Frank would imply. Complex local economies exist, and are in an important sense integrated wholes, even though they operate within the overall context of a capitalist economic formation (e.g., Foster-Carter 1978:213).

With these studies in mind, critics have argued that the metropolis/satellite model of dependency erred by focusing too much on the distribution of economic surpluses, and by locating the origin of underdevelopment only in the way the dependent economies are inserted into the world market (e.g., Laclau 1977:34). To deepen the analysis, they suggest that it is necessary to examine the social relations of production which generated those surpluses.

An early effort to conceptualize underdevelopment along the lines of production was advanced by Sahlins who attempted to define a "domestic mode of production" as the characteristic structure for social relationships in non-industrial economies (1972, see especially p. 85). In doing so, Sahlins provided a way to discuss how producers make decisions concerning the allocation of the factors of production and how production for use and production for exchange can have very different consequences for a community. He took the "segmentary society approach" that is associated with Durkheim and is conventional in many anthropological analyses. With this orientation, he examined the operations of the most basic social units of the economy: the households.

As I demonstrate in chapter four, this emphasis on independent production units had two major problems. First, it distorted the nature of the relationships within a domestic community. Second, the model prevented him from

finding connections, in terms of the relations of production, between the autonomous segments themselves, or between the segments and the broader economic formation.

The idea of a domestic mode of production reduced communities to sets of self-contained productive economies, whose internal structures prevented development from occurring. This position not only lent itself to a thesis of the dualist type, with a constraining domestic (traditional) sector; it also created a problem that was the mirror image of the problem with Frank's model. The domestic mode of production was an anthropological micro-model that was difficult to translate into the macro-framework which studies of development also required.

Laclau provided some very specific directions as a way out of these recurrent problems. According to him, dependent economies can be analysed and understood by first looking at the "ensemble of relations of production linked to the ownership of the means of production" (Laclau 1977:34). These are the most essential relations because they provide the basis for the channelling of the economic surplus, for the division of labour, and for the expansion of the forces of production. This approach avoids some of the analytic difficulties that the macro-theories of dependency have for anthropological field studies.

The study of relations of production has recently become familiar in anthropology (see for example Clammer ed. 1978, O'Laughlin 1975, Seddon ed. 1978). Relations of production involve two fundamental, related phenomena: production and reproduction. The approach tries to clarify the organization of the relations by which people organize themselves in order to exploit resources in the environment for the purposes of producing things that they need or want (Oxaal, et al. 1975:3).

Production processes involve the combinations of (1) the means of production (resources and technology), and (2) the labour, a pattern of combination that constitutes a particular mode of production. The relations of production define how people enter into the arrangements that govern their modes of production technically and socially. The technical side is the physical relationship between people and their means of production; the social side organizes the relationships that exist between people (O'Laughlin 1975:349).

Thus, to understand the production processes of a community, it is necessary to understand the utilization of the means of production and the division of labour. But it is also important to understand social relations such as how the means of production are controlled, how labour is allocated, and how products are circulated.

Production is also a process that occurs over time and that must recur as people consume what they produce. In order for this to happen, the various relationships between people and the means of production must be reproduced, and the processes repeated (Meillassoux 1972). Because the process of reproduction can be modified over time by many factors, it is an important source of social change. For example, the removal of all or some of the means of production, including labour power, will alter or destroy a process of production. Changes in the relationships between people, such as ownership patterns, will also affect how the productive economy functions. Thus, it is important to have detailed knowledge about both the mode of production and its reproduction over time.

In order to understand the development of Kitsumkalum's underdevelopment, I have traced the modifications that occurred in the different elements of production (means of production, labour, property) after Confederation. Since these changes are primarily related to the development of capitalism, the analysis demonstrates how structures of dependency were established in the Tsimshian area and illustrates how underdevelopment occurred. This establishes a relationship between the broader economy and the local community.

There is still the question of how all these form an integrated whole, that is, how they "articulate" together. In answering this, a problem can develop from too great an orientation to the structures of the mode of production (Laclau 1977:42ff.). Accordingly, Foster-Carter warned against conceptualizations that describe either a separate and unequal development of different modes of production, or a hierarchy of domination (1978:217). Neither of these solutions theoretically provides much more than a juxtaposition of different structures of production.

Rey had a third solution in which "articulation" becomes a political question involving alliances between classes which are defined by the modes of production. These alliances are a part of a process whereby one mode of production becomes dominant over another (Foster-Carter 1978:219). Following Rey, the analysis of dependency and underdevelopment is to be found in the history of the process of domination, in the different social relationships that are a part of it, and in the confrontations and alliances that occurred between the different classes. This is a useful position for analysing the articulation of different modes of production in regional and national economic formations.

The position presents a problem if a researcher makes an overly formalistic, structural analysis of the classes (Foster-Carter 1978:224). Field studies of small

communities are particularly vulnerable to this difficulty. In small populations, such as Kitsumkalum, it is possible structurally to identify class positions within production processes (with regard to the control of the means of production), but the productive economy is usually heterogeneous and individuals are not necessarily operating from only one (structurally defined) class position. In other words, people participate in complex patterns of relationships within different modes of production. Long found observations of this type to be a valuable contribution to understanding dependency in field studies: When people create complex patterns, they also create linkages between different modes of production (Long 1975).

One must recall at this point that production is a social process and that the ultimate goal is the production of the total social needs of a society (O'Laughlin 1975:346). In a small community, this goal is achieved through the operation of all the processes of production, not only one. People and their particular households become dependent on the continuity of several sets of relations of production. Thus various connections and exchanges result between the modes of production, and between local economic formations and broader ones. The way these connections are established structures the dependency condition of the community. Clement's work on the development of capitalism in Canada is helpful for studying this process (Clement

1983). His analysis is relevant for examining how the transformation of property rights in the northwest structured the relations of production and created dependency. (I will expand on the method in chapter five.) Following Poulantzas (1975), Clement defined class "at the economic level in terms of relationships to property and control over labour" (Clement 1983:216). This statement refines the approach to dependency by distinquishing between two basic forms of ownership: legal and real (ibid.:217). Legal ownership refers to a judicial relation, which may or may not entail actual economic control (that is, the ability to exercise property rights). In other words, there may be a disjuncture between the legal definition of, and the real situation of control over property. Real ownership, on the other hand, entails an ability to actually exercise control.

Real ownership can be further analysed into either the ability to command the means of production (economic ownership) or, more simply, the capacity to use the means of production (possession). Economic ownership permits broad decisions affecting development. Possession permits more limited decisions concerning only the labour process.

A critical aspect of the different forms of property involves the relations between labour and the means of production. Clement notes that the development of capital alienates labour from control of the production processes. (ibid.:218). Thus an understanding of dependency must

examine how the relation of labour to production is structured, and how labour may be linked to different relations of production, in ways such as Long (1975) suggested.

With these refinements to dependency theory, the analysis of complexly structured economies may be conceptually integrated from the level of the diverse social relationships observed in fieldwork situations, to the levels of regional, national and international economic formations. This dissertation is an attempt to demonstrate that integration for one region.

The broad theoretical considerations that I have outlined provide the orientation for my research on the political economy of Kitsumkalum. Using them as guidelines, I examine Kitsumkalum's development within the context of the development of the regional capitalist economy.

The emphasis of the research is on two sets of questions: (1) How new social relations, in the form of <u>property</u> arrangements and through government intervention, transferred ownership and control of the factors of production to the industrialists, and in the process redefined the resources, technology and labour in terms consistent with the development of capital; (2) How Tsimshian <u>labour</u> was gradually diverted from traditional production into the modern economy, where it was transformed and ultimately incorporated into a global market in which

the Tsimshians had little or no control.

The data in the dissertation are used to clarify how these processes occurred, how the independence of the old political economy was undermined, how an ostensibly "peaceful penetration" of the area occurred as a result, and how the Tsimshian responded by alternately accommodating and resisting the situation.

ABORIGINAL AND COMMODITY SECTORS: WHAT IS MEANT

While the economic formation of Kitsumkalum is not a dual economy, it is still useful to differentiate between sectors which I will call the "aboriginal" and "commodity" sectors.

The aboriginal sectors of Kitsumkalum are derived from the original, pre-contact economic formation. In the twentieth century, these sectors mainly involve production for subsistence use (creation of 'use-values') by and for members of the community. This contrasts with production for commercial market exchange (commodity economies). The latter exists under the regime of capitalist production, in which Kitsumkalum produces goods that are wanted for their commercial exchange value and that are marketed.

There are two related reasons for making this distinction. One is more theoretical and germaine to the

question of relations of production. The other is more practical in terms of research.

First, production in the aboriginal and the commodity sectors has different social implications. The object of commodity economies organized in a capitalist mode of production is profit, which is sought with exchange values and found as surplus values expressed as money. The object of the current aboriginal economy, on the other hand, is to fulfill the needs of the producers directly, whether these be their personal consumption or the replacement of their various items or means of production. Thus, even though the community has a single, integrated economic formation, the operation of its parts reproduces different social relations. As I show in chapter four, the aboriginal sectors help Kitsumkalum survive as a Tsimshian community different from the rest of the regional population. The commodity sectors are important for Kitsumkalum, but these activities also are a part of the more general reproduction of the relations of capitalist production in the region. These sectors link Kitsumkalum to the world market system.

The economic formation was structured differently in pre-contact times. It was, by definition, pre-capitalist. Accordingly, the consequences of the exchange of goods were different. Some of the use-values were appropriated into the potlatch system, or otherwise utilized by the nobility as a function of their office. Others were marketed between

villages or internationally at such great gatherings as the spring oolachan fishery or the markets held by trading chiefs.

Thus, production in the pre-capitalist economy was a part of a different set of social relationships and provided a base for the social classes that existed then. To fully understand the consequences of this, it would be necessary to examine the complex role that exchange played in social reproduction before Confederation (Meillassoux 1972, Long 1975:266). Unfortunately, the data are incomplete, and it is not possible to attempt the important task of reconstruction here.

These last comments raise the second reason for identifying some sectors of the economy as aboriginal: To isolate information that links the pre-contact economic formation directly with the present. Thus I mean the word "aboriginal" in its strict sense of "from the original".

The category "traditional economy" is more conventional, but it has an inappropriately synchronic overtone, particularly if it is thought of in terms of stages, such as traditional versus modern, or underdeveloped versus developed. The pre-contact economies of aboriginal peoples in Canada are generally not well known, and we cannot posit a pre-contact, "traditional" economy with any precison. In fact, some ethnohistorians take the extreme view that every Indian society had been radically altered

before any written record had been made (see Trigger 1976:13-14).

The ethnographic concept of "traditional" Tsimshian economy is a good example. Our knowledge about it is very superficial and unreliable due to a lack of early research or ethnohistorical reconstruction. Garfield noted this during the 1944 Alaska land claims hearings (Garfield 1948). The situation has not improved significantly, although Garfield (1966) made a contribution and a thesis by Darling (1955) correlated some published data.

The relationship between the original economic formation and the early documentary or ethnographic descriptions of later periods is also problematic (as Knight 1978 has demonstrated for the Indians in British Columbia in general). For these reasons, the topic of Tsimshian social and economic evolution before Confederation is a complex one involving many changes that are either unknown or have not been analysed (McDonald 1984).

Somewhat paradoxically, the best we can do, I believe, is to provide a reconstruction of the many changes that occurred, before attempting to describe the pre-contact situation, and to work backwards in time to develop a picture of the earlier situation.

It is useful, therefore, to distinquish aboriginal practices from those related to the commodity sectors. I do so by grouping them into different sections of the

dissertation. For convenience, I sometimes refer to them collectively as the aboriginal economy, and the various commodity sectors as the commodity economy.

FORMAT OF THE DISSERTATION

Part One is a Prologue and contains information which is a background to the rest of the text.

Part Two, the Corpus, includes the body of the research results and documents the political economy of the Kitsumkalum as a community. I want to elaborate on the notion of "community" because one of the puzzles that fascinated me in the research was the question of defining who the Kitsumkalum are. While I lived in their community of friends and relatives, I certainly had a sense of who was and who was not one of them. They, of course, not only shared this sense, but were actively responsible for creating and shaping it. Afterward, as I sorted through my notes and files, looking for some explanation of this sense of unity, I examined the way in which they worked and provided the necessities of life. The chapter on Kitsumkalum as a unit of social production presents my analysis.

To explain the unity of Kitsumkalum in that chapter, I choose to simplify the discussion temporarily by ignoring the property relations governing their social economy.

Those relationships are obviously critical, but they are so complex that a proper understanding could only be gleaned with a lengthy discussion of their historical context. This is provided in the rest of the Corpus. These remaining chapters of Part Two examine the history and transformation of Kitsumkalum's economy. Each chapter deals with one of the major economic sectors. I specify for each sector the major means of production (resources, technology, labour), the productive organization, the utilization of labour power, and the evolving property relations that tie it all together.

Each sector and each of its constituent elements is considered over a considerable period of time, more or less from the pre-Confederation period of the mid-nineteenth century to the present (roughly 1980). The changes under study were associated with the expansion of the capitalist production, and in northwest British Columbia this was a phenomenon that essentially started in the nineteenth century.

The aboriginal economy is centered around hunting, fishing, gathering and horticulture. These are all practices derived from the pre-contact past that remain important today. The resource legislation of British Columbia and the particular ways in which these four major sectors were re-structured by capitalist development provide them with distinct histories.

The commodity economy consists of many activities, the chief of which are: trapping, fishing, logging, business, and wage labour. Of these, trapping and fishing are somewhat distinct as transitional sectors because of their peculiar development from pre-contact techniques, yet they are commodified. The other three sectors were more closely associated with and organized by capitalist production from their inception. I do not claim to have exhausted the description of Kitsumkalum's productive economy. I am only attempting to give an account of what were and are the major areas of productive activity.

There is a slight difference in my examination of the aboriginal and commodity sectors. The story of the aboriginal economy is coloured by the processes of the destruction of the earlier property relationships of that way of life. On the other hand, the discussion of the commodity economy assumes the appropriation of the resources out of the aboriginal economy into the capitalist economy and goes on to examine how the means of production were commodified, especially how labour power was commodified. Thus, these chapters look at the way Kitsumkalum's participation in these sectors was structured under the domination of capitalist conditions of production.

The Conclusion summarizes the findings.

THE RESEARCH - A DESCRIPTION

In many ways the research for this dissertation grew around me and incorportated me into its own structure. I wanted to do a study that would help me understand the economic position of Indian societies in British Columbia. At the time when I was considering specific topics and seeking a study area, there occurred a happy coincidence: Kitsumkalum Band Council decided it wanted an anthropologist to make a study of their social history that would assist them in their land claims and economic development. Since I intended to do an historical study of the political economy of an Indian population, our paths came together in a mutually beneficial way. A relationship developed between the Council and myself in which the Band Council provided me with contacts, material support, guidance, and encouragement that not only facilitated the study greatly, but also lent it an orientation that incorporated Indian as well as academic expectations. For my part, I endeavoured to preserve some of their history and heritage and to assist in whatever ways I could with the development and utilization of that material. This text is one of several reports and files that have resulted from our relationship. I should note here that the effort that I expended upon all this has been more than the fulfillment of an obligation, it is an expression of my gratitude to them - for many things.

My initial contact with the Band Council came in February, 1979. The arrangements made then were extended in August when I attended a conference on Tsimshian studies that was held in the coastal village of Hartley Bay. This was an exciting meeting of academics, civil servants, and Tsimshians from Canada and Alaska (see Seguin 1984).

Field work commenced in January, 1980, with my arrival in Terrace. I came fully loaded with recording devices, sensitive theoretical orientations, and the greatest of expectations for what turned out to be a very rewarding period of association with Kitsumkalum and the Tsimshian that has lasted for four years. The recording devices proved to be more sensitive than the theoretical orientations, as the ethnographic tone of this dissertation will testify.

Because of housing shortages on the reserve, I lived in the adjacent city of Terrace. My schedule of field work consisted of periods of three, four, and sometimes eight weeks in the northwest, punctuated by trips of one week or longer to conduct research in other locations or to work on my notes at the University of British Columbia.

In the northwest, my research locations were concentrated in Kitsumkalum, Terrace, Prince Rupert, and Zimacord. Other areas included Kitselas, Hazelton, Kitwanga, Port Edward, Kitkatla, Hartley Bay, Port Simpson, and New Aiyansh in British Columbia, as well as Metlakatla

and Ketchikan in Alaska. I usually met with people as a representative of Kitsumkalum Band Council, although the distinction between my own work and theirs was not clear-cut. My support from the Council permitted me entry into many situations, ranging from private homes to public meetings. The nature of the research relationship that I had with Kitsumkalum lead me to depart from the usual anthropological custom of giving anonymity to the people I discuss. The names used for people and places are all real names. It was my understanding that the Kitsumkalum wished to have as much personal historical information in the text as possible.

I also conducted archival research in the northwest. In Terrace there were important records at the Northwest Community College, and in various libraries of private individuals, the city government, the Stikine/Kitimat Regional District, and the public library. In Prince Rupert, records were found in the public library, federal government offices, North Coast Tribal Council, and the Diocese of Caledonia of the Anglican Church.

Among the government informants, Federal civil servants - usually the manager of a department or office - were very helpful. Only the Game Wardens, unfortunately, matched this spirit in the provincial offices. Municipal officials were especially cold, possibly because they interpreted my purposes to be that of a paid consultant seeking free

information. Aside from that assessment, the municipal officials had very little information on the Indians in the cities, but very large assumptions. Finally, some informants from the academic staff at the Northwest Community College helped me immensely. To all of these people I owe sincere gratitude.

My research methods in the northwest primarily consisted of interviews and participant observation. I questioned people extensively on their life histories and their knowledge of Tsimshian life. The situation was often a formal one, arranged by appointment,and with recording devices. Our meetings were staged in homes or at the Band Council building.

There were also many informal interviews. Some of these amounted to little more than participant observation itself, but others involved thematic conversations while driving to and from more formal research, at parties, while walking the land, or in various other social situations. No immediate record was kept, unless something specific was said that was expected to be noted.

For some topics, highly structured interview schedules were followed and an effort was made to contact all the appropriate individuals in the community. The land use and occupancy study is an example of this. All the adult members of the Band were requested to appear for an interview at the Band Council building where a set of

topographic maps was available. All those who were willing and able to do so then responded to a list of questions concerning their use of the land and resources, with the answers being taped and mapped. Questions were extremely specific, but the open-ended nature of the interview was also important because it allowed some respondants to discuss related matters at great length. Non-band members were also contacted and arrangements made for interviews. Portable and durable maps were created to enable the entire interview apparatus to go to the homes of people who could not travel to the Council building. This allowed me to question people in far away villages and thereby fill in more of the picture.

Maps were only one of several formal "props" that facilitated research. Such materials helped to stir dormant memories, extend conversation beyond what I could anticipate simply from the development of the interview, and to provide some focus.

Heritage artifacts always fascinated people. Old cedar boxes or tools prompted older people to reminisce about their childhood and what their grandparents said. Once started on these lines, they could be encouraged to go into detail about particular things and happenings. Old photographs and maps were similarly useful. Examining a photograph with an elder often revealed ethnographic information that otherwise would have remained hidden in the

background of the photo, perhaps behind an aunt's head. The discovery of a picture of people canoeing on a lake could lead to an effort to identify the lake, then a sudden scramble to record the flow of information on why they were there, what they were fishing, who lived nearby and why, who made the canoe and how dug-outs were used, the relationships of the people in the canoe, the last time those canoes had been used, and so on. Another type of aid was on site exploration and discussion. Although time-consuming and often physically exhausting, these pleasurable outings were always profitable for the amount of the information that resulted.

These props evoked information, but also served to focus attention. The land utilization study was an intensive encounter with a broad subject. As people expanded upon their comments, the materials used in the interviews brought them back to topic. Less formal sessions had the potential of going off on exciting trails of thought, but never returning to complete any one. When a particularly informed respondant begins to especially enjoy the conversation/interview, it can be difficult to constrain him or her to the topic that was of original importance. Props did so in an unobtrusive manner - most of the time.

My personal observations were also important. Sometimes these were recorded on the spot, if that was within the bounds of what was socially appropriate. It was

not always acceptable, for example, to suddenly become the anthropologist in a downtown bar, pull out a notebook and jot down a conversation that was evolving over a couple of beers. Yet, those conversations often were intended, obliquely, for the files of the anthropologist who was relaxing behind the sociability of the evening. Mental notes were taken to be converted into questions for a later and less ambiguous situation.

My relationship with the Band Council was also a rich source of participatory knowledge. Band Council affairs include not only matters of political and economic concern, but also ceremonial events and sometimes recreational functions.

Not all the research occurred in the northwest. I examined the bulk of the materials concerning the Tsimshian (Port Simpson Journals) to 1870 in the Hudson Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg. (There was not time to study some additional materials on the Hudson Bay Company that are stored in Victoria.) The Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa) is another rich source containing photographs, maps, and government papers relating to Kitsumkalum.

A Band Council Resolution permitted me access to the current and active files of the Department of Indian Affairs (Ottawa); the government provided me with all the Kitsumkalum materials they could identify.

I also consulted the following the British Columbia Public Archives (Victoria), British Columbia Provincial Museum (Victoria) the University of British Columbia Libraries and the Vancouver Public Libraries.

2. THE PEOPLE: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND PROPERTY

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Tsimshian lived along the lower Skeena River and throughout the archipelago of islands spilling out of its mouth, south to the Estevan Group (see Figure 1). The people scattered across this territory during most of the year for the harvest of the abundant resources that were necessary for their complex social organization, and annually consolidated themselves into the winter residential groups which are usually referred to as winter villages or "tribes". Each village was associated with a particular population and territory.

On the Skeena there were at least 11 such groups known to have occupied the mountainous valleys of the major tributary streams. The lower nine of these formed a loose confederation during the merchant period of Tsimshian history, and became known as the Port Simpson tribes, after the name of the Hudson Bay Company post where they settled. Kitsumkalum was the tenth group upriver. At the start of the industrial stage, in the 1870s, Kitsumkalum formed a residential alliance with Kitselas, the final Tsimshian

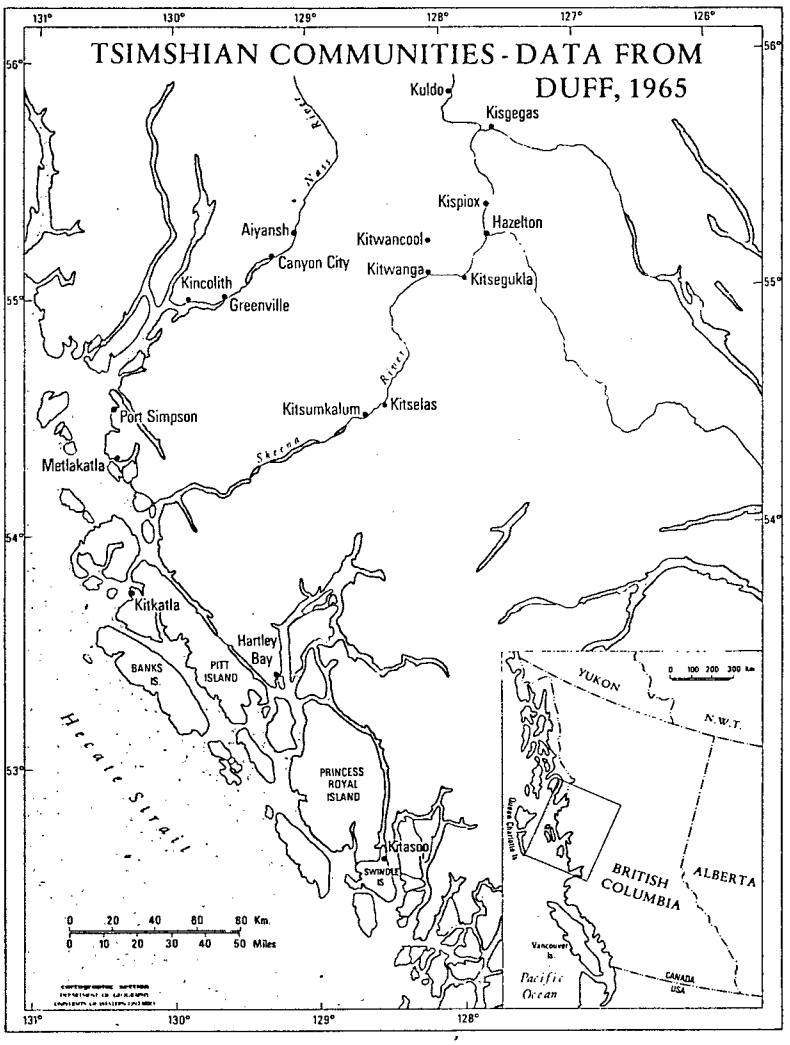

Figure 1. Map of northwestern British Columbia showing the location of the main Tsimshian villages at the turn of century (Coast Tsimshian, Gitksan, and Nisga).

village group on the Skeena. Together they lived in the cannery centre of Port Essington. Since the decline and abandonment of this town, Kitsumkalum and Kitselas have returned to their ancient valleys, in the shadow of the city of Terrace.

In general, the territories of Kitsumkalum were the adjacent valleys of the Zimacord and Kitsumkalum Rivers (see McDonald 1982b, 1983). They also utilized the Skeena River valley and the ocean at its mouth.

These residence patterns were one social connection that played an important part in the Tsimshian social organization. A second was the kinship connections that defined the descent groups. People were organized along matrilineal principles into lineages that lived and worked together. Of these groups, the minor ones were organized into local residential units called houses that were led by closely related, but more important lineages. Each of the lineages and houses held resource property rights which were vested in the title given to and acquired by their leader. Between villages, sets of lineages and house groups that were descended from a common known ancestor formed recognized clans.

The matrilineages were the property-owning, productive units and, although I would not call them the basic units of the economy for reasons that will be explained in a later chapter, they provided a focus in social production which

was sharpened by the set of mutual obligations shared by the members of the lineage. Some of these duties involved activities such as production, potlatching, and war.

There were also other important obligations, both social and economic, that bound people to their father's matrilineal group. Even though the paternal lineage was another family, children were raised in their father's house. When they matured, they eventually returned to the houses of their mother's brothers to assume the duties of adulthood (Garfield 1966:23).

A third set of obligations was based upon marriage. Ideally such unions were contracted to maximize ties of affection between lineages, to consolidate hereditary property, and to extend the privileges of use of resources (ibid.). With lineage exogamy, the ideal marriage was matrilateral cross cousin - for example, between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother, or a woman and the son of her father's sister. This was an ideal marriage for consolidating wealth and position. It came under pressure from missionaries who preached against "close" marriages of this type, just at the time that many other changes were taking place in the common property laws of the region at the end of the nineteenth century (Garfield 1939:232).

Overlaying residence, descent, and marriage were the influences of two major sodalities of Tsimshian society: phratry and class-based associations. These were important

mechanisms that cross cut the divisions inherent in residential and descent groupings and united people, at the same time that the phratries also created other divisions within the social structure.

There were four phratries: laksgiik, lagybaaw, ganhada, gispawadawada. Based upon matrilineal principles and common mythical origins, these exogamous associations were, in a way, simply extensions of the lineage/house/clan hierarchy. Although they were little more than weak federations of groups of clans, the phratries did, nonetheless, generate some sense of obligation for mutual sharing and protection among phratry members, even among those who otherwise were strangers. This sense of obligation provided a basis for interaction between villages and village members that could be activated in times of practical or ceremonial need (e.g., Garfield 1939:244ff., 257ff.).

Class was the basis for other Tsimshian sodalities of importance. To the best of our knowledge, slaves and the non-titled free people had little opportunity to unite on the basis of their class, but the titleholders tended to exert a pan-village influence through feasting, religious ceremonialism, and the associated secret societies. Their power on such occasions depended on the strength of their titles, a strength created by their own abilities, the support of their followers, and the inheritance associated with the title.

Kinship and the communal nature of lineage property provided the titleholders with their perogatives, at the same time that it divided them and worked against their forming stronger pan-village associations. Alliances, exemplified by mutual privileges to resources, could break down in crisis. Titleholders were not a caste, although there was a set of royal lineages. Neither were they a closed class for there were a series of graded ranks. Unfortunately, these features and the effects of colonial depopulation have confounded anthropological analysis of Tsimshian classes.

The high titleholders of Kitsumkalum did not need to work hard. In one old story, it was said that the Kitsumkalum smoogyt (chief) did not need to work at all, as his slaves and followers provided all he needed (Boas 1916:278). This was not true for all the titleholders. Another history said that a prince hunted for his people (McDonald 1983). Both statements explain, in part, the obligations attached to the status and partially refer to the nature of lineage property. They also suggest that the rank of prince was not of sufficient stature to avoid obligations towards his family (lineage) in the realm of production. Nonetheless, a prince would have a bodyguard, as befit his station in life, and his death would require the payment of a specially high price - obligations which signify the social position.

PROPERTY

This provides an outline of the social organization of the Tsimshian. Now it is possible to give an account of property relationships under which the Tsimshian lived.

Anthropologically understood, property is a socially embedded definition of relationships between persons within a society. The property piece itself, usually a material object, is a mediation of these relationships, a focus of attention for how persons and groups are to relate, one to the other. Thus, property defines the rights and obligations people and groups have to each other, setting the limits to the use of the item, while demanding adherence to the dominant mores of the community, and re-establishing these relationships in the process.

Any particular form of property is always stamped by the impression of the society in which it exists and by which it is defined. The properties of concern to this research were production properties, some of which were resource territories owned by identifiable lineage groups. The specificity of ownership of these enabled houses to exploit explicit territories for their productive requirements.

In looking at Tsimshian productive property, we encounter a form of ownership of resources that is thoroughly permeated by the elements of their social formation which I have just described and with which much of

the political economy of the Tsimshians was enacted. These are interactive property connections. The fundamental legal relationship for many resources was to the house, with ownership being vested in the house leader, its titleholder. The event at which this investment occurred and was publicly validated was the feast (potlatch). Tsimshian people have described the feast to me as their court of law. It was, in many ways, a political forum where different titleholders, potential titleholders, and others could express their claims to resources, or be compensated for various offences. The transmission of Tsimshian properties was not simple and the feast served as a mediating device to resolve conflicts and to ensure orderly transferrals. (A recent review of the Tsimshian feast and a review of the literature is contained in Seguin 1983).

The property relationships held by the lineage groups were not independent of other levels in the social structure. For example, the transmission of property after war by retribution could be a relation between residential units, that is between the village groups. Further, although territory is referred to as belonging to such and such a titleholder, when it is given, for example as retribution payment, it is given by the "tribe", that is by the particular group, not just the smoogyt or household. This recognizes the role of both the descent and the residential principles in controlling resource properties.

The smoogyt, despite the chiefly powers consolidated by members of that class, was not above the communal nature of his society.

Each titleholder had resource areas of his own, and could be punished for a crime by the loss of the use of territorial property. Such a retribution was considered to be a high price, fitting for a crime such as the killing of a prince or the wife of a prince (see McDonald 1983a). Since resource territory was a source of wealth for this class, its loss was a severe blow to the position and power of a smoogyt.

It was not simply broad territories that were owned but specific resources as well, with carefully defined rights attached to different ones. Thus, one lineage, represented by titled persons, could be given the privilege of hunting or trapping upon the territory of a particular house, without affecting either the overall claim of the house to the territory or the exploitation of other resources on that territory. This recognition of different resource usufruct prevents the simple identification of a geographic area with a group. For example, just above the Gitlan village was a place where some Kitsumkalum went for their spring salmon or trout. Elders said Kitsumkalum's claim to this deep pool was stronger than that of the Gitlans even though it was on the latter's territory. Thus, privileges were explicitly defined, and contingent upon intergroup arrangements.

War retribution property was not simply transferred from one group to another by conquest. Although victorious houses apparently exercised all the privileges associated with ownership, a final legal validation had to be made through a feast to settle the arrangement. This would entail either providing an alternative type of retribution to replace the property or the ultimate validation of ownership over the conquered area. In theory territory could not be alienated permanently, but in practice there is evidence that rights to territory did change hands and that there was precedence for permanent transfers (Garfield 1966:14). In the present case, the original expectation of Kitsumkalum was that the Gitlan would erect a memorial and make payment of a yet to be determined quantity of wealth at a public feast. The Gitlan never "filled the table" and until that occurs to the satisfaction of appropriate parties, the question could go either way. Failing any such settlement, full control would rest with the conquering and offended group that held the land.

Tsimshian property concepts were sophisticated and organized through the feast. When European traders came and made new demands on the resources in the Tsimshian territories, the feast must have been instrumental in re-organizing the manner by which the resources and labour power was utilized. It is difficult to find information on this question for that early period, but it must be noted

that the Tsimshian were not passively swallowed up by an expanding British imperialism. As I will show later, their original participation with the Europeans was on terms that were largely set by the propertied titleholders - at least until the union of British Columbia with Canada which led to massive political intervention from the provincial and Dominion governments.

CHANGES

The Europeans represented a new source of economic and political power that was soon expressed in the feast. Unfortunately there has not been a systematic study of the changes in Tsimshian society during the early nineteenth century. Robinson reconstructed the rise of the Legaic family around that time and discussed some of the politics of the feast (Robinson 1978); and the social historian Fisher suggested at least five important changes that occurred in the aboriginal social organization and that were correlated to the fur trade:

1.) The creation of new mercantile leaders.

2.) The concentration of wealth in their hands.

3.) The consolidation of the power of the leaders.

4.) The centralization of nine tribes around Port Simpson.

5.) The use of the European trade as a factor in inter-tribal (and inter-village?) politics (Fisher 1977:46-47).

As I pointed out in an earlier paper, the actual anthropological data that would explicate these suggestions is incomplete (McDonald 1984:43).

In a relatively short period of time, these internal and indigenous social changes slowed as property concepts were changed by external forces after Canadian Confederation. Beginning with the distorting codification of Tsimshian property concepts during the establishment of the Indian Reserve system, the property relationships were radically altered in the twentieth century: the feast was banned in the Indian Act, making it difficult for the Tsimshian to follow their usual legal procedures; the Canadian government assumed legal ownership of the Tsimshian territories; and a set of laws (that will be discussed in the rest of this dissertation) were developed by the provincial and Dominion governments to bring the resources of the region under the explicit control of those outside ("foreign" for the Tsimshian) governments. All this happened during the period that the Indians of Canada were disenfranchised under the Indian Act.

The transformation from smoogyt lands to crown lands took less than seventy years to accomplish. But even now, an additional seventy years later, the process is still not complete as property is being re-defined and land claims are slowly re-considered.

The changes that occurred had a cumulative effect on the social organization of Kitsumkalum. What I am about to describe concentrates on the changes in Kitsumkalum. Their history is different from most of the other villages because their lands were extensively occupied by European settlers at the turn of the century, and because they had a strong residential attachment to the coastal cannery town of Port Essington. The community's use of their aboriginal territories and the associated social patterns were distinctively influenced by these circumstances. Other villages, with the exception of Kitselas, experienced less extensive physical alienation or dislocation from their properties.

Since Confederation, there was a general displacement of the matrilineal system to one that is more bilateral although oriented to the male side. I will make specific references to the changes at the appropriate places in this dissertation, as I discuss the social relationships in the Kitsumkalum economy, but I want to suggest that the transformation of property relations that occurred after Confederation was at the heart of the changes in kinship

structures and the social organization in general.

The loss of property rights to productive resources seriously eroded the bases of the matrilineages as corporate groups. Continued occupancy and use of original resource territories safeguarded Tsimshian ownership to some extent, but there was a decreasing ability for the titleholders and their lineages to exercise sovereignty. They could not enforce their rights as they had before. This applied especially to those resources that had been incorporated into the commodity economy and were under the explicit scrutiny of government agents.

Ambiguities resulting from the new ownership system reflected these changes. During this century, people have needed government licences to trap, log or fish. Licence holders function as managers of these resources, and occupy a comparable position in the productive relationships to the original holders of title over hunting grounds, fishing grounds, berry patches and so on. Sometimes they were the same person (e.g., when the titleholder successfully obtained a licence to trap on his hunting grounds) but these cases are no longer significant.

Nonetheless, kinship structures continued to be important to the Tsimshian as a means of recruiting and organizing labour for productive activities in both the aboriginal and the commodity sectors of their economy. Whether or not a licence holder was also a titleholder, his

access to a labour force was facilitated through kinship relations. The obverse was also important: Access to resources for people who did not have a licence was facilitated through their kinship to a licence holder.

Since no females in Kitsumkalum held government licences, the focus of the kinship link was shifted to the males. This re-orientation was strengthened when the government sometimes recognized the right of the Indian licencee to designate who would receive a licence when it was transferred. To a limited extent, inheritance could be directed through the man.

The importance of kinship as a source of labour and as a means of organizing production decreased with the increasing alienation of the resources from small producers, and with the increasing importance of wage work in the village. People did not need family ties in order to work and make a living. There is now an orientation to the smaller nuclear family and there are even some bachelor households established.

Kinship is increasingly limited to a bilateral kindred formed around a natal nuclear family, and less on the basis of corporate descent groups. The knowledge of older social forms and practices (for example the phratries and names of the titleholders) that does persist, survives primarily in the context of the aboriginal economy. But, in Kitsumkalum, the importance of those aboriginal forms is of minor

practical importance today.

What I have just described concerns the situation in Kitsumkalum. This is a necessary qualification. Other villages on the coast, where I did not do research, may have a different history and experience. Another qualification is that the changes in the kinship structures are not clear to either me or the Kitsumkalum. What I have described is stated tentatively. One problem is the dearth of appropriate information available at the moment. When I attempted to conduct systematic research on the topic, the historical complexity of the transformation frustrated all efforts. Massive changes had obviously occurred, but it was necessary to first comprehend the evolving political economy of the region before following the changes in the kinship groups in a meaningful way, and in a way consistent with the form of analysis in the rest of the research. This was my conclusion after my initial inquiries, and seemed especially true for the corporate, resource-owning descent groups.

In other words, I decided the questions on kinship were premature. As an alternative approach, I referred to previous authors who mention Tsimshian kinship patterns. When I did, another type of problem quickly emerged: the Kitsumkalum, by their evidence and own interpretations, show features typical of both their downriver Coastal compatriots and their upriver Gitksan neighbours. Yet, I could not determine whether this was a result of their ancient

residential intermediacy between the two groups or a result of the more recent changes in the rest of the political economy of all these groups. Again, questioning on kinship changes seemed premature.

Now, with the other research analysed (and presented in this dissertation), it will be possible to go on and study the changes in other aspects of Kitsumkalum's social life over time.

3. KITSUMKALUM, THE PEOPLE

THE WRITTEN RECORD

The Kitsumkalum were the tenth village group on the Skeena. Downriver, to the west, were the Gitlan and Gilutsau, and to the east were the upriver Kitselas. The main land areas exploited by the Kitsumkalum were the Kitsumkalum River Valley, areas along the Skeena to its mouth, certain islands off the mouth, and a fishery on the Nass River. Occasionally, individuals would activate social connections and join the production at other villages, both along the coast and on the Nass, thereby extending the resources available to the villagers.

Very little is known of early Kitsumkalum. It barely receives mention in the ethnography. Boas records it as one of the Tsimshian villages, probably basing his information on Kitsumkalum informants living in Port Essington, where he did field work. Thus, some of his description of Tsimshian society is based upon information from Kitsumkalum people and myths from Kitsumkalum. Despite such close contact with the group, Boas makes little specific reference to the

village.[1]

Garfield was much more specific in her study on Tsimshian society and, following Boas's classification of the tribes, concentrated upon the Port Simpson people. Her only reference to Kitsumkalum is to mention it as one of the neighbouring Indian villages (1939:176).

The first historic reference that I have to the Kitsumkalum comes from an entry in the Hudson Bay Company journal for November 13, 1852, when a canoe of people came to trade at the fort. Other Skeena River canoes had been recorded before, but this was the first specific mention of the village "Kith lum ki lum", as the trader spelled it (Hudson Bay Company Archives, B.201/a/7 fo.40d).

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[1] "G.its!Emaga'lon" is listed as one of the six tribes of the Tsimshian proper, found below the canyon of the Skeena River (Boas 1916:482). (Port Simpson is listed as the composite group of Tsimshian with nine towns.) Their town is described as having three rows of houses, arranged side by side, facing the water, with the street stretching in front of the houses parallel with the river (ibid.:395). The hunting grounds and berry picking areas were on the shores of a lake (Kitsumkalum Lake). Hunters had hunting huts in their territories, and one man had a hut in each of the four valleys owned by him (ibid.:401). (I suspect this man was the ganhada smoogyt.) A war between the phratries is mentioned, as is the Tlingit origin of the Gun-hut laksgiik clan in the village. Boas was told in 1888 that this migration had occurred six generations earlier, about 1740 in his reckoning (ibid.:486). He also records myths that deal with Kitsumkalum and that contain various specific tidbits about their everyday lives (ibid.:myths #1.38, #3, #6, #24, #36, #39, #41, #43, #56, supplement 3).

The earliest record I found of a visit to the lands of the Kitsumkalum by Europeans was an expedition lead by Major Downie of the Royal Navy, as he surveyed his way inland in 1859. The Major was filled with praise for what he saw:

> "a large stream, called the Kitchumsala, comes in from the north; the land on it is good, and well adapted to farming, and that the Indians grow plenty of potatoes. To the south ... is the Plumbago Mountain ... [which] runs in veins of quartz." (Downie in Mayne 1862:451)

Unfortunately for anthropology, describing the Indians' society did not interest him as much as the economic potential of the land, especially the surrounding mountains with their signs of mineral wealth.

After exploration started, river traffic became brisk, and doubtless a large number of European visitors stopped at Kitsumkalum or saw it in passing. In 1866, the steamboat Mumford succeeded in reaching Kitsumkalum before turning back two miles above the village. The waters there were too rapid and difficult (Dawson 1881:12B).

When the Dominion's geological explorer, George Dawson, passed through the area he was mainly concerned with the geography. About the Kitsumkalum he only said: "A small Indian village is situated at the mouth of the river" (Dawson 1881:12B). This was the site of the new village. By the time of his visit commercial fishing had captured the interest of Kitsumkalum, and many people were living either at the cannery village of Port Essington or the mission village of Metlakatla.

Dorsey described the results of this shift:

> "Kit zim-gay-lum ... Another almost deserted village; its population of 150 in 1885 has been scattered until at present not more than sixty remain. Many have gone to New Metlakatla, others have settled in Port Essington, while still others have joined the Kiksians." (Dorsey 1897:280).

The missionary Tomlinson brought the Christian Church to Kitsumkalum in 1874 as he travelled to begin his mission further up the river. Perhaps prophetically, a full lunar eclipse occurred that night and shortly afterwards Kitsumkalum village went into a slow decline as their productive energies were turned evermore to the rising industrial order on the coast. The story of the eclipse of this village during a period of otherwise phenomenal economic growth will be analysed in this text.

LAND HOLDINGS

The Tlingit ethnographer, Louis Shotridge, recorded the time of the desertion of the main Kitsumkalum village of Dalk ka gilaquoex to have been around 1878, a date that roughly coincided with information I received from an elder. Shotridge had been able to see the wreckage of an old town in 1918 (presumably on Indian Reserve 1) when there were still some foundations and corner posts standing, although hidden by a thick cover of weeds (1919:119). These structures do not appear on any of the old railroad survey maps, nor are they reported by other ethnographers.

However, I have seen evidence of such buildings when the Band Council cleared the ground, exposing the soil and its discolourations. Oddly, Shotridge refers to the present village site as if it were the ancient residential centre. Most people now claim the old village site at the canyon of the Kitsumkalum River (which is five miles north of the mouth) to have been the "capital".

Travellers seem to have lost interest in describing Kitsumkalum during the 1890s. The arrival and report of the Indian Reserve Commission in 1891 was one of the last important records, and signalled a massive change in Kitsumkalum history by drastically reducing their land holding.

The focus of aboriginal Kitsumkalum's property holdings was the rich Kitsumkalum valley. Broad areas were recognized as belonging to each of the four phratries, and individual smoogyt held privileges to various resources within each area. The map in Figure 2 shows the basic land holdings in the nineteenth century. This is a tentative reconstruction based on archival and interview sources. It is being investigated further by band members.

Broad tenure patterns over large areas are generally considered to have been fairly stable. Evidence emerging from the reconstruction of Kitsumkalum's property holdings indicates that this was the rule, but not necessarily an inviolate condition. In the recent past, the adjacent

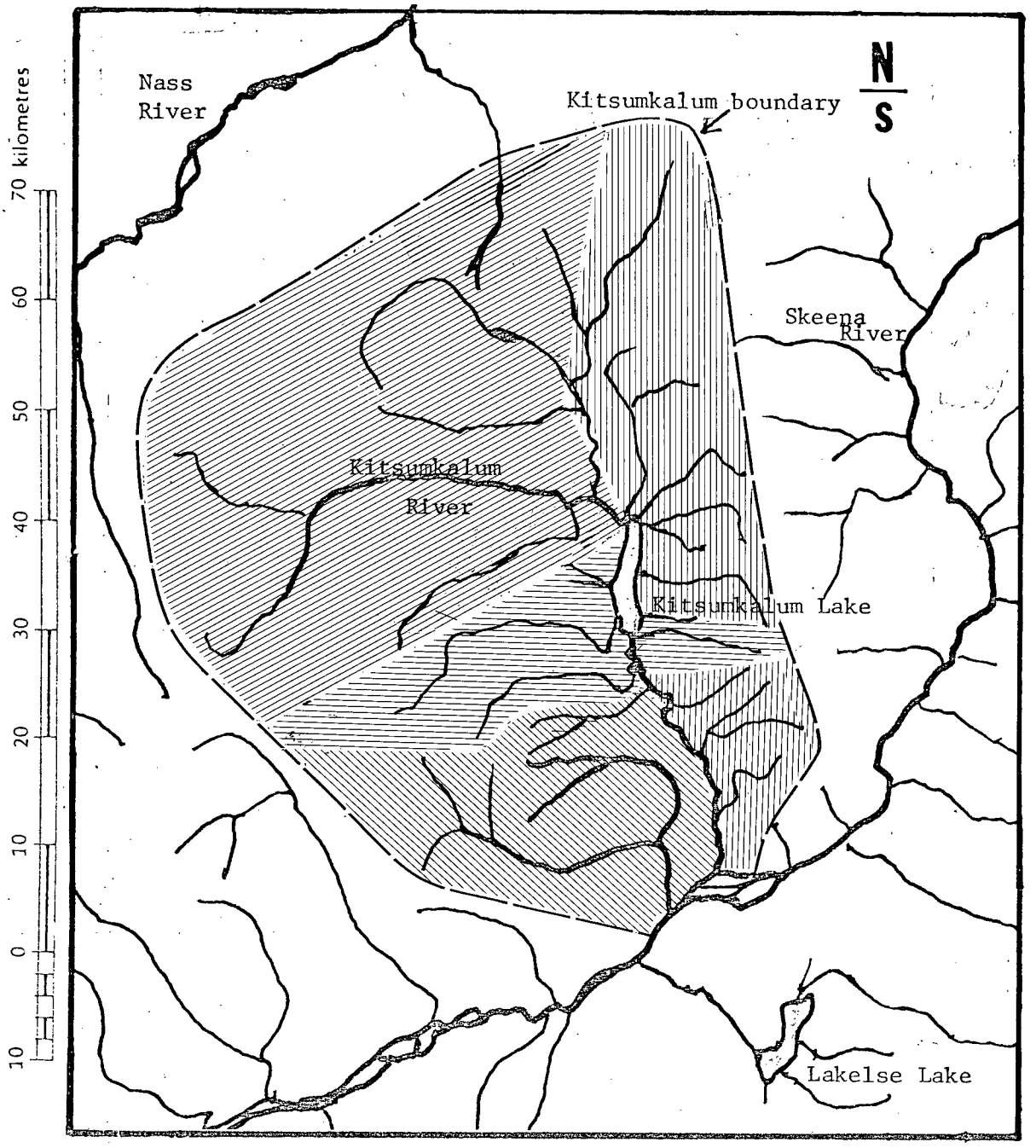


Figure 2. The aboriginal property holdings of the Kitsumkalum phratries in the Kitsumkalum and Zimacord Valleys (reconstructed from archival materials).
Key to phratry holdings: gispawadawada ganhada lakskiik lagybaaw

Zimacord Valley was annexed by Kitsumkalum and claimed by certain smoogyt as the result of a dispute between Kitsumkalum and the Gitlan. The resolution of this issue, which was interrupted by the colonial developments of the last century, still awaits the public decision of the feast. The story of the conflict is studied in McDonald 1983.

Kitsumkalum also had privileges to territories along the Skeena and Nass Rivers and on the coast. The exact nature of these are not clear to the Kitsumkalum now, although the Band Council is conducting research into the question by interviewing other Tsimshian people. One site far from their valley was at the oolachan fishery on the Nass River. Kitsumkalum, along with other Tsimshian, had the right to live opposite Red Cliffs for the purposes of making grease in the spring. This right was recognized later when the Indian Reserve Commission made a reserve for the Tsimshians in common.

It is generally assumed in Kitsumkalum that their recent pattern of using the land along the Skeena and coast reflects the aboriginal pattern, and therefore, their old legal status to resources in their territories. Certainly, traplines that are registered between Terrace and the coast have an historic link to ancient hunting territories and family associations, but, as Brody has pointed out, registrations were defined by and served non-native interests more than native (Brody 1982:86ff.). Thus, the

precise interpretation of these depends upon our knowledge of the historic contingencies affecting each line.

When the Indian Reserve Commission allocated reserves, Kitsumkalum received three parcels outright, and others in common. Indian Reserve 1, Kitsumkalum, has 1124.7 acres located at the confluence of the Kitsumkalum and Skeena Rivers, adjacent to the community of Terrace. This was an old fishing spot, with residences associated with it. Indian Reserve 2, Dalk ka gilaguoex, was the site of the main village but was abandoned in the 1880s, partially because people's orientation shifted to the Skeena and the coast, but also in response to policies of the Department of Indian Affairs which encouraged people to move closer to schools and employment. This is a 182 acre reserve located on the canyon of the Kitsumkalum River. Indian Reserve 3, Zimacord, is located at the confluence of the Zimacord and Skeena Rivers, where the Kitsumkalum had a trapping and hunting cabin. There were 73.99 acres reserved for Kitsumkalum, but much of this has been utilized by other interests such as highways, railroads, logging. A special reserve exists at Port Essington, on the coast. Industrialist Robert Cunningham conveyed five acres to Kitsumkalum, and Kitselas, in common in 1882. Indian Reserve #88, near Red Cliff on the Nass River consists of 240 acres allotted to all the Tsimshian bands in common.

Two other reserves were temporarily registered under Kitsumkalum band: Killutsal 1 and 1a. Allotted to the Killutsal Band in 1893, they seem to have passed into Kitsumkalum's hands as a result of the absorption of members of that band, during the present century. In 1959 Port Simpson successfully disputed the registration, received the transfer of the lands, and subsequently alienated them to a logging company. Indian Reserve 1 was 196 acres; Indian Reserve 1a was five acres. Both were at the mouth of the Lakesle River. Neither are Reserve lands today.

A Royal Commission on Indian Affairs investigated all the land allocations made to Indians in the Province (Canada and British Columbia 1916). In 1916, they confirmed those which had been allowed to Kitsumkalum, but turned down two new applications. One was for land away from the railroad after that Company had appropriated a disastrous right of way through Indian Reserves 1 and 3 (see the history in McDonald 1981a and 1981b). This was not accepted by the Commission (Canada and British Columbia 1916:568). The other was an application for a four-acre fishing station at Mud Lake, made by Charles Nelson. This request was not entertained either, because the land already was taken by the forest industry.

The reductions in their property holdings concerned the Kitsumkalum in 1891. When the Commissioner visited them at their village they expressed their fears, he responded that

the government's intentions were to protect the rights of the Indians. They were told that the reserve lands would safeguard their fishing spots, and that they would always be able to roam the mountains as they were accustomed, for the harvest of game and berries. The government guaranteed them that. (Public Archives of Canada, R.G. 10, vol. 1022, Handscript of Minutes).

There is no indication in the archival records of how the government determined the location of the three reserves, or to whom the Commissioner spoke. Contemporary folklore about the event claims that it was the expedition's Port Simpson interpreters who informed the Commissioner of the important fishing stations of the Kitsumkalum, not the Kitsumkalum smoogyt. Whatever the reason, few sites were identified.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESERVES

The Royal Commission described the economic potential of these three reserves. Indian Reserve 1 was a "potential farming area little developed and partially timbered, containing tribal village and graveyard". Indian Reserve 2 was a "good timbered area virtually unused - fishing station and old village site". Indian Reserve 3 was a "potential farming area and fishing station - timbered. Old Village". Port Essington was a "village site and fishing base".

Killutsal 1 and 1a had "good land, timbered and chiefly used by Indians as a berry patch" (Canada and British Columbia 1916:552). All except Indian Reserve 2 were being used for gardens and produced good crops. All produced fish. All were expected to provide merchantable timber, which they eventually did (Canada and British Columbia 1916:557).

Since that time, most economic development of the reserves has been through forestry and rights of way. The contracts produced small benefits for the Kitsumkalum because the terms tended to favour the business side. This is currently being investigated and corrected by the Band Council. Some of this is in active negotiation, and potentially a legal issue, so I will not enter further discussion.

Future Band Council controlled developments are also being considered. The making of these plans is a long and difficult process, as the Band Council studies its needs and abilities, and encounters pressures from outside interests. Current interests are oriented towards handicrafts, tourism, and further involvement with local industrial development. Whatever path is chosen will depend upon the resolution of discussions in the community and the people's ability to define their own needs against those of competitive business and the governmental agencies with which Band Council economic developments must cope.

THE VILLAGE SETTING

In 1980, Kitsumkalum village was a community of seventeen houses and trailers snuggled in the forest on Indian Reserve 1. Bounded by Kitsumkalum mountain to the north and west, the Skeena River to the South, and the Kitsumkalum River to the east, the village has a distinctive setting, despite its mutual administrative boundary with the city of Terrace. This proximity is both a blessing and a nuisance. It is a blessing for the facilities and services it provides, but a nuisance for the numerous conflicts it generates. For one example: a recent city development plan included the reserve land without consulting the Band Council.

Kitsumkalum's local utilities are sufficient, but not luxurious. The residents are serviced by reserve facilities. A 70,000 gallon reservoir behind a dam on one of the mountain streams that flows across the flats provides untreated drinking water. Sewage is disposed by lines from the houses to a bacterial tank and tile field. Garbage is collected from a communal bin twice weekly. Electricity comes from a B.C. Hydro line, and cost the residents approximately $25 a month in 1980. Most of the houses have wood stoves for heat, with or without oil burners or electrical heaters.

Education facilities were once provided on the reserve, but since the 1930s the only schools have been in Terrace where there are several elementary and high schools. There is no single school that Kitsumkalum children attend, and some children attend a succession of schools. Upgrading, vocational training, and college transfer courses are available at a local college. The one university student, however, chose to attend a university in the lower mainland of the province rather than take advantage of the college transfer courses in Terrace.

Communication services at Kitsumkalum include B.C. Telephone connections and radio and television facilities which are transmitted or relayed from Terrace. Other media sources are available in the city, as is the Canada Post Office.

Transportation includes Highway 16, which is a major, two lane, blacktop road. The Canadian National Railway passes through the reserve, but no longer stops there. The nearest station is Terrace. Buslines and airlines are located in Terrace. River transportation is now unimportant.

Most community facilities (recreational, shopping, health, etc.) are located in the city of Terrace. Kitsumkalum has its own firefighting system: a fire truck, fire pump, and eight fire hydrants. There is a Band Council garage/tool shed, snow clearing equipment, truck, and

storage shed. A handicraft shop, called the House of Sem-oi-gyets, was established as an outlet for community artists. It caters to the tourist trade, and sometimes sells soft drinks to the residents. Associated with the shop are offices for the Band Council Administration and a large community meeting room. A smoke house that was set up for the tourist trade has sat idle for many years because of legal restrictions. Most houses have their own smoke house and do not need to use the commercial one.

THE POPULATION

The population size of Kitsumkalum is difficult to determine. I collected genealogies from the people who now live at the village and I received names for living members of the community. At the time, my definition of the community was vague and I relied upon three women who live in the village to go through my charts and tell me who was and who was not considered a member of Kitsumkalum. This is how I derived a figure of 461 - it is an estimate. Since then, I have analyzed the basis of their evaluation, and that forms a part of a later chapter on the unity of Kitsumkalum.

A number of conditions divide the community. Paramount is the legal distinction made by the Indian Act between status and non-status Indians. There are only 125 status

Kitsumkalum at the time of writing (according to the chief councillor). This is comparable to the populations noted in most official and semi-official census (on the Band Lists of Department of Indian Affairs), and I would suggest that it represents a stable number of people who historically form a residential core, with the rest moving about the land or visiting/living in other villages.

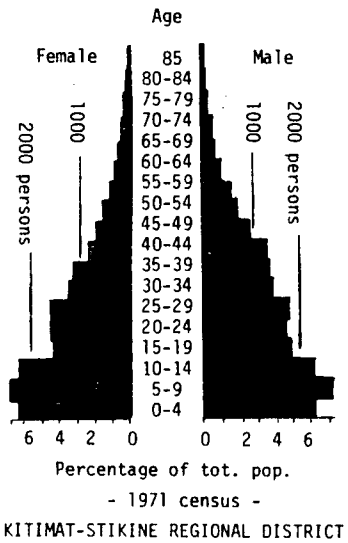
Once an elder told me that the aboriginal population living in the resource abundant Kitsumkalum Valley totalled nearly one thousand people. I have not been able to confirm his estimate and it does conflict with early nineteenth century observations, which gave counts of around one hundred. But these may be low because only residents were counted and the migration of Kitsumkalum for work or the de-population of the region by disease was not considered. Thus my estimate of under 500 in the community may be closer to the aboriginal population level, but if Duff's conclusion that the Indian population trends are still well below pre-contact levels is true (1965:44), then the estimate made by the Kitsumkalum elder of a large population inhabiting the valley may not be as extravagant as official counts would suggest.

Residence also divides the population. People live throughout North America from Metlakatla, Alaska to Seattle, Washington; from Vancouver to Halifax. The non-status population is very widely dispersed. The status people live

primarily at Kitsumkalum, Zimacord, and Terrace. The Kitsumkalum village was the permanent home of forty-six people in 1981, but the number varies around fifty, depending on the work season and other circumstances. One status family lives at Zimacord, near the town of Remo, and will be joined by others. At least twenty-five people lived in Terrace in 1981, but that number can fluctuate more than at any other location. The rest of the Band lives elsewhere, in Prince Rupert, Holberg, Vancouver, Prince George, Victoria, and other parts of the country. The addresses of some are not known.

The official membership of the Band, according to the 1978 Band Council List, consists of one hundred six people; fifty-two living on reserve, forty-nine off; fifty-one males and forty-nine females. The majority of the population is young, under twenty-five years of age (sixty-two people). The age/sex structure of the Band is shown in Figure 3. A regional population pyramid is also shown, although Kitsumkalum's small size does not permit significant comparisons.

Kitsumkalum Village is the residential centre, both in terms of numbers and as a spiritual home. There are two housing subdivisions there. The older one is located on the flats which supported a small fishing village in pre-contact times. There were seventeen lots containing thirteen houses and a trailer home in 1980. The houses were purchased from



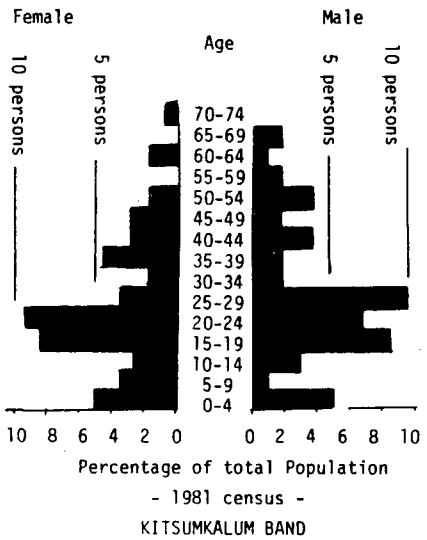


Figure 3. Population pyramids of Kitsumkalum and the Kitimat-Stikine Regional District. (source: Kitsumkalum Band Administration)

Alcan after it finished the preliminary construction of its smelter town of Kitimat. A new subdivision, situated on top of a bluff overlooking the flats and the Skeena Valley, had sixteen lots occupied by two houses and a trailer home in 1980, but four additional homes have been built subsequently. These are all wood frame houses built with assistance from government programmes. One is owned by the Band Council and rented to a Band member.

At Zimacord, a Band member is building his own house (and recently another member has contracted with carpenters to build a second house there). No one lives at Indian Reserve 2, or at Port Essington.

The population is further divided into family units. My genealogies record one hundred twenty-three families in the community.

These are basically nuclear families consisting of parents and children. The matrilineages are no longer central to family structure, given the changed property relationships, the decline in the effective control by the titleholders over productivity resources, and the tendency towards neolocal residence by newly-wed wage earners. Couples and their children will live on or off the reserve, depending on such factors as their legal status as Indians, the availability of housing, rents, job location, desire to exhibit some freedom from the natal home. Among status Indians, there are fifteen nuclear families living on

reserve and twenty-six off reserve. There are 82 non-status families involved with Kitsumkalum. Two live on the reserve.

There are also larger localized name groups of families that perceive a connection with a common ancestor - this seems similar to the aboriginal clans. I identified seven major name groups in the community today (Boltons, Roberts, Spaldings, Wesleys, Nelsons, Starrs), and an eighth that was previously important but has become absorbed by another (Kennedy). The similarity of these groups to the old clans is limited by the lessened importance of the matrilineal principle. The groups are identified by their patrilineally inherited family names, and the father or grandfather is perceived as the significant linking relative for a number of them. People are aware of the female linkage with brothers and sisters and use it in order to connect some families with different surnames, but this is not the same as matriclans.

Cross-cutting these family relationships are the phratry memberships of individuals. Not everyone recognizes the names of the phratries, and many, especially among the young, do not know their crest. Logical deductions based on the genealogies has cleared up the old classifications, but the principles of phratic membership and the obligations associated with it are still not clear. The older women carry some of this knowledge, and the older men seem to

attach some sentimental importance to knowing who their phratic brothers and sisters are but I did not discover any functional application of the system in Kitsumkalum. Nonetheless, I found growing interest. Since other villages are manipulating such symbols more and more, I suspect the crest system will have a resurgence in Kitsumkalum, at least as a means of handling relationships external to the village.

The religious affiliations of the members of the community do not pose any major sources of unity or disunity.

OCCUPATIONS

Kitsumkalum can also be described as a community structured by occupation. The majority of working-age women are housewives, whether they are on Canada pensions or not. As will become clearer later on, housewifery at Kitsumkalum involves more than the tasks of maintaining the home facilities - it can involve the women in the processing of food and other items from the aboriginal economy. The few women who have other jobs, that is wage jobs, work in offices, bars, or retail stores. An ethic that I sometimes heard expressed, and which seemed to be important overall was that a married woman should not need to work outside of the home, and that women should be married. The women who

are employed by wage are either single (with or without having been married previously), experiencing domestic financial difficulties that necessitate their employment, or are particularly determined to fulfill their personal desire for a job. Otherwise, handicraft production provides an alternative that is compatible with housework and at the same time generates a little income.

Men, on the other hand, are expected to work at a wage job. There was a time when commercial fishing was important, but that has been superseded by the forestry industry. Now, the majority of men, especially the young men, work as loggers. The next largest employer is the Band Council Administration. There are a small number of men (around seven) who perform the tasks of administration and general maintenance/repair in the village. The remainder of the wage jobs vary from artist, court workers, cannery employees, or office work.

There was only one person receiving unemployment insurance benefits in 1980, quite remarkable for northern reserve communities. Yet this does not fully reflect the strength of the wage labour economy. Logging is a highly seasonal employer, and every year there are lay-offs, sometimes of great duration. Further, the funds for the Band Council Administration are subject to a number of pressures and sometimes the administration staff is cut sharply, leaving some without income until the funding level

is restored. Fortunately, community resources are such as to provide some buffer against the effects of these periods of lay-offs, as will be described later. Nonetheless, when lay-offs come, there are few alternate jobs available and the workers suffer as a result.

Kitsumkalum is a community dependent upon the uncertainties of a job market over which it has little or no control. They are no longer the independent people that their ancestors were, able to determine when to work, when to rest, or (even) what to work. The aboriginal sectors of the economy are also regulated by forces external to the community and natural environment. Processing of fish, for example, must be conducted in the short periods allowed by wage employment: evenings, weekends. Some individuals attempt to break out of this straight-jacket by forming their own businesses. In the past, the fishing boat was the exemplary form of this solution; now they try trucking, carpentry, or whatever. But success comes only with great difficulty and luck for the small businessman in Canada, and the Kitsumkalum are no exception. As time goes on their options seem to become ever more narrow, and their dependency upon outside jobs greater. Efforts to develop the reserves economically recognize this fact, and seem oriented to fostering employment possibilites, rather than regenerating productive capacities and entering into industrial or commercial enterprises. The choice did not

rest entirely with the Kitsumkalum, but was largely imposed by the structure of the larger economy. It is to these restraints that this dissertation now turns in an attempt to better understand the position of this community in the larger order of things.

The Kitsumkalum are no longer representative of the Tsimshian society described in the ethnographic literature. Many changes have transformed their lives into the condition I have just described. To provide some understanding of these changes, I will take their productive economy, sector by sector, and examine the means of production and the property relationships that direct production. My discussion will not examine the entire social formation, even though more than the practices of production influence the topic I am considering. For example, missionization and schools are two important aspects of the superstructure that will not be studied - to allow a concentration upon the productive sectors themselves. Developments within each sector are sufficiently complex to demand close attention of this sort. Indeed, to try to make a comprehensive review of even just the major sectors condemns the research to a level of generality which may frustrate readers with more specific and intensive interest in any particular sector.

PART II: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

4. KITSUMKALUM AS A UNIT OF MATERIAL APPROPRIATION

KITSUMKALUM AS A UNIT OF SOCIAL PRODUCTION

The unity of the aboriginal sectors of the economy (hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture) is critical to understanding the political economy of Kitsumkalum and their continued existence as a social group. What is produced in this sector, and the manner in which it is produced and distributed for consumption provides the material basis which maintains the relationship between those who were and who continue to be Kitsumkalum. It is in their aboriginal production that we can find the kernel of their social relationships and also the historical continuity to the group.

In the chapters to follow I describe constrictions placed upon the aboriginal economy in order to examine how a self-sustaining economy was reduced to the point of being only one part of many sectors in a commodity economy. However, the continuity in this history is in the real appropriation of natural resources, which has been the kernel around which the other sectors were developed by the Kitsumkalum. How all these were incorporated into the total social production circuit is the topic of the present work.

Thus, the importance of material appropriation to the thesis lies in this: the aboriginal economy, which in the village is the basic aspect of social production and reproduction, provides a focus on Kitsumkalum as a real group and allows us to follow their social history from their original independence to the modern, distorted formation of dependency.

The bases of the unity of the aboriginal sector are the people's relationships to resources, a gender division of labour, and associated rights to the products in distribution. For purposes of presentation, it will be best to deal with these last two generalities before discussing the alienation of resources, changes in labour, and property rights.

HOUSEHOLDS, GENDER, AND PRODUCTION

Discussion of the current aboriginal production in Kitsumkalum is most easily begun in terms of a gender division of labour. This notion is important, for on the face of things the basic productive social unit is the household with a division of labour by sex in which men procure faunal resources, while women are the procurers of flora and stationary fauna and are the main processors (e.g., Boas 1916:45-49; Garfield 1966:15-17).

The older picture of the "sexual division of labour" fails to convey the broader implications of the nature of the social relationships between the sexes and within the production units. As a result there are a number of errors in the way that we conceive of Tsimshian production and their units of production. These are problems that can be avoided by concentrating on the social aspects of what might be described as a technical division of labour between the sexes. To be clear that this is my intention, I will adhere to a terminological convention that is intended to keep ideas straight: I will refer to the social division of labour by sex as a "gender division of labour". What are the implications of this?

A gender division implies that men act upon the world in similar ways, as do women, but in different ways from the other sex, and that each relate to the world accordingly. This formulation helps us move from considering a technical division of labour by gender to the notion of gender productive capacities, as explored by Silverman (1979:83ff.): men produce certain use-values, develop the productive capacities of other males in this regard, and supervise the production engaged by other men. Similarly for women. There are, in other words, certain things which must be done by and which are the responsibility of one gender (men's work, women's work), and for which they are trained.

One consequence of this is that the labour of men (or women) can be viewed as gender-specific social labour. Social labour is here defined in terms of overall social production, not individual production. Another consequence is that the labour of one man is interchangeable with that of another. This is important for the implication it carries which is: that of the men's work that has to be done for the reproduction of the group, it does not matter materially who does it, only that it is done, and done by a man.

Of course skill, experience, and other personal factors enter into the specific consideration of the quality of any individual's contribution, but, as far as the socially necessary labour is concerned, these factors are matters of efficiency.

It is also important to note at this point that I am only considering simple reproduction - the more complex occurrences of extended reproduction entail consideration of political and ideological factors from the economic formation, and would include other sectors of the total social formation. For example, their originall social structural features (class, lineages, property, etc.) mediated the productive relationships, creating cleavages, just as political factionalism and economic development does now. How these factors were reproduced is the social history of the village. All this is beyond my focus here.

The point being made is that the community is primarily unified through its historical relations of cooperative production. When, with the help of the notion of gender productive capacities, this unity is revealed, it then becomes apparent that the community of exchange occurs much further along in the process.

SEGMENTARY ORGANIZATION

In the study of non-capitalist (primitive) economies, scholars often assume the existence of basic segments which are units of production.[1] The household is often put forward

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[1] The grouping of members of a population into various segments is central to the concepts of primitive social organization, to the point that the so called "primitive societies" are frequently referred to as segmentary or segmental societies (e.g., Schneider 1965).

This conceptualization is pervasive throughout the literature. For example, David Schneider, in his paper "Some Muddles in the Models..." analyzed the views of such diverse theorists as Levi-Strauss, Dumont, Leach, and Needham (i.e., the alliance theorists) on one hand, and Fortes, Goody, Gough, Gluckman, and Firth (i.e., the descent theorists) on the other, and showed that despite their differences, they are all founded on a premise of a type of segmented society composed of discrete units (Schneider 1965:45). Schneider traced the premise back to Durkheim and Mauss who reconstruct social unity in the realm of exchange (e.g., Mauss's "The Gift", 1925).

Many cultural ecologists and evolutionists, to give another example, also fall into this model and it is not surprising that Marshall Sahlins, in his transition from the evolutionary paradigm to structuralism wrote the exemplary book on household economies and the Domestic Mode of Production (1972). So too, with writers such as Meillasoux and Godelier.

as the basic unit (e.g., Sahlins 1972). As a discrete entity, this social segment is supposed to contain within it a technical division of labour by age and sex, which is a replication of the division of labour in the society at large, a petite economy. These are not the only specializations recorded for primitive economies, but they are the dominant forms.

However they are structured, basic productive units are allegedly more or less self sufficient atoms in which production and consumption occur, with the hearth as their focus. In hunting and gathering societies, the idea of membership flux between units leaves the structures with an ephemeral content but, as with the more stable self-sufficient agricultural community, the segmented structure remains (e.g., Meillassoux 1981:14ff.). Of course, collective forms of labour arise, especially in the more complex societies, but these are hierarchically laid over the original basic unit.

Thus, in non-industrial societies production is "acephalous and fragmented into small autonomous" segments (Sahlins 1972:134) requiring superstructural means to overcome the profound cleavages and "to counteract and transcend production" (ibid.:129). This conceptualization appears to reveal a fundamental contradiction, between productive disunity and superstructural efforts towards

unity. Some theorists go so far as to say household production is, accordingly, anti-social in nature and that the social project of primitive societies is, first and foremost, to overcome this nature.

Sahlins, who pushed this view of household production to its extreme in developing his notion of the Domestic Mode of Production, made the anti-social premise explicit:

> "nothing within the structure of production for use pushes it [the household] to transcend itself. The entire society is constructed on an obstinate economic base, therefore on a contradiction, because unless the domestic economy is forced beyond itself the entire society does not survive. Economically, primitive society is founded on an antisociety." (Sahlins 1972:86, cf. Godelier 1981:14)

And what is beyond the segments? Nothing less than the nastiness of the Hobbesian chaos (Sahlins 1972:186). As Godelier says about kinship groups:

> "beyond [them] is a world that is no longer one of gifts, mutual sharing and reciprocal guarantees, but one of raiding, rape, war and expropriation." (1981:15)

So how do households allegedly create solidarity and form society? It cannot be through production, for the division of labour is blamed for sacrificing social unity for household autonomy (Sahlins 1972:95).

Various answers have been proposed: for some it is through alliances, especially those of marriage or class, for others through descent and levels of segmentation (see

Schneider 1965). Perhaps more generally, it is through the various forms of exchange that have been documented ethnographically, whether these be based on economic behaviour or some form of social contract. In Mauss' words,

> "societies have progressed in the manner in which they, their sub-groups and their members, have been able to stabilize their contracts and to give, receive, and repay. In order to trade, man must first lay down his spear... There is no other recourse feasible." (1925:80-81, emphasis mine)[1]

In the economic sphere unification is thus seen to occur in circulation, either through the personalized exchanges in the absence of a market (that is, reciprocity and redistribution), or through a marketing mechanism (that is, exchange proper).

AN ALTERNATE MODEL

The model of the segmentary society reveals the unification function of exchange, but at a late point in economic activities, especially when the social relationships are the milieu of their occurrences. Such a location for unification is in accordance with the 'production as anti-social' view. However, there is another

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[1] I quote Mauss partially to affirm my awareness of the social totalities of phenomena, in order that I can continue to concentrate on the economy without seeming vulgar.

important formula that is universal to all societies which must be considered first: that of production for consumption.[1]

The phrase "production for consumption" summarizes social production, and represents the social unity or totality of the production process itself. Without this totality there could be no exchange of any kind and so the position of exchange in this process must now be located: it is found between production and consumption P...C-C'...C, or simply P...C-C'.[2]

To begin to understand the basis of the community of Kitsumkalum, it is necessary to start with the basic process (production for consumption) and its organization. In doing so, I am going to look only at the organization of labour in one sector, and at the distribution of products, ignoring for now, but with some difficulty, other areas of social relationships, notably the property relation to the means of production.

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[1] This is sometimes stated as a formula: P...C, where P is production, C is consumption, and "..." Is the process of "realization".

[2] This can be diagrammed in terms of the formula. If "v" represents the objects exchanged and "-" represents the act of exchange, then the social location of the exchange is thus: P...v-v...C. Or, in the simple case of utiliarean exchange, thus: P...v-C.

GENDER PRODUCTION: THE ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE

Hunting and fishing in Kitsumkalum is predominantly done by men (as is trapping), who also provide women transportation in gas boats and trucks, and, from time to time, provide security against predatory animals. Men also participate in general processing, but to a limited extent, and in the manufacture of certain articles of their own equipment.

The supervision of their work is currently accomplished informally through daily interactions and discussion. Resource management, production levels, and distribution are under the immediate control of the individual procurers, but considerable discussion occurs with other men. Seniors train juniors, and continue to exert influence throughout their lifetimes on the basis of social knowledge and kinship. Partners, friends, neighbours, and others share information informally. One result is that men (and in their realm, women) tend to know the needs of the community and to develop tactics, more or less in common, to fulfill those needs. But not all can act upon (or need to act upon) those problems. Thus, some men are considered to be the hunters, and others are the fishermen, not because each could not engage in both activites at some time, but because that is the way individuals can express their productive capacities, given their life conditions in the long run and in practice.

The overall effect of such labour allotments is a gross social product that provides the needs of the whole village and community. For example, a hunter may hunt with or share with members of one set of families that include relatives plus some neighbours, and a related fisherman will do the same.

Another effect of this division of labour is that the completion of one technical process does not terminate the relationship of the people engaged in the overall relationship of social production. Further, as one stage is completed, those who finished it, are already associated in other technical processes. Thus, through a system of complex co-operation in the labour processes, social relationships are continually in a state of renewal.

The common expression "sharing" was just used, which implies an original exchange, often conceived of as reciprocity or pooling with subsequent distribution. Yet the relationship does not involve sharing in this way. Sahlins (1972:185ff.) explains the phenomenon with the Maussian concept of prestation which he uses with its connotation of totality, not simply the exchange function some theorists appropriate as if that were the totality. This helps, but Sahlins remains within circulation and does not address productive unity, where sharing involves a providing of raw materials that cannot be consumed without further labour, incorporated through processing. If an

analogy is selected for productive unity, it should not be that of the market (circulation) relations between sectors of an economy, but that of the pin factory where labour unites to complete a product. It is strange to consider the contribution of each factory hand as an exchange of something (except in the prior labour market), although it is possible to stretch the exchange model that way. So too with the aboriginal sectors.

This analogy has limitions, of course, since it describes a technical and very specific division of labour, while the Tsimshian process, in its diffuseness, is also a social division, the reproduction of which is the social history of the community. Interestingly, and in conflict with modernization theory, the diffuse nature of the division is a part of the rationalization of production, and does not necessarily result in underproduction. Production fulfills needs, the definition and limits of which are socially determined.

The set of families which are provided for by each of the hunters and fishermen do not form complementary pairs. The effect is that, overall, the variablity in the composition of the sets productively interlocks most of the families horizontally at the stage of procurement. It also extends beyond the village residential community and the government's legal boundaries for the reserve society, into the broader population to include the historically linked

populations of Kitsumkalum, of the Tsimshians, and portions of the foreign population which no longer are foreign in the flow of the circuit.

I am not simply expanding the definition of a segment to the level of the village or something higher. How the circuit flows depends upon the reproduction of the social whole. Struggles between chiefs and lineages, between the old and the new, between sports fishermen and food fishermen, all affect the relationships and their reproduction, so that there are both daily practices (manifestations) of the circuit and the formation of long run structures (such as class, families, lineages).

The mediation of the gender productive relationships by non-economic social factors redefines the interchangeability of men's labour in such a way that there is a tendency for certain fishermen to provide for a specific group, and hunters who also provide for a specific group, and less often for other groups of families. These groupings tend to be long-run family alliances. This latter feature is a manifestation of the reproduction of political (superstructural) cleavages at the level of production. But the separations are not well defined because, in fact, the boundaries are loose in the first place, and are not necessarily coincidental between hunters and fishermen.

There are also individuals who find it difficult to practice aboriginal pursuits to any economically significant

extent because of wage work, legal restrictions, lack of appropriate technology, age, or infirmity, and others who simply do not want to. These men are minor contributors, a reserve labour supply, or else retired seniors who exert influence based upon experience and position. Even amongst those who are considered the hunters and fishermen, the practices of their current conditions and interests vary the extent to which they actually combine both activities throughout the year. In the pre-contact period, differential property rights may have been another mediating factor. For example, halibut and cod banks were held as property and Garfield (1966:16) mentions that only some men engaged in the off-shore fishery.

Turning now to women, these contributors procure more stationary forms of life (gather for food and manufacture) and process. Both activities are important, but in different ways.

Women's productive capacities in procurement are conceptually similar to men's, and much of what has just been said applies to women - but there are certain differences. One is that the tasks are usually more communal. Garfield's descriptions (1966:17) imply women working alone for their families, but this is definitely contrary to my information for the early periods on two counts: women typically procure in groups and, in the sense of gender production used here, not strictly for their own

families.

Another difference from the organization of men's work is (and was) that female work groups routinely include children, notably young males. Men rarely include young females in their activities, and male children begin their training at an older age then is the practice in the training of female children. Hence, young males gain experiences with their mothers and aunts. The resulting familiarity draws them back into the female work groups, primarily for recreation, as adults.

The tendency towards specialization described within male gender productive capacities is less and not entirely comparable for female work. There is some differentiation between marine and inland work, based on relative access, so that some family alliances are fortunate to have females who go to the coast with fishermen husbands or live there permanently and provide marine produce such as seaweed. But for most family groups, the major internal differentiation is between those who harvest resources and those who cannot or do not. Thus, there occurs little internal specialization in female work. In the past, a situation similar to that described for the men may have existed, based upon the variations in resources available at different camping locations (e.g., inland vs. coastal camps) or on practical decisions concerning daily work routines. According to Garfield, senior wives of chiefs made these

decisions and supervised schedules (1966:15).

In the current situation, there does not seem to be a tendency to unify the women in society through the processes of specialization or interchangeability within female gender production, at least not during the procurement process, as is the case with men. Integration occurs through the specific composition of work teams but only to some extent, defined mainly through marriage ties of the females who are usually consanquineally related through the senior member.

This is not so true in the realm of processing where women from several families will come together to dry fish, can food, etc. The boundaries of these work groups are more open, providing one locale in female production where the extension of social ties occurs. As a result of their labour contributions to processing, women who had no input during procurement are able to establish a claim to some of the produce, thus distributing it through the networks of individuals and families participating in the village community.

Another locale of extension is in the interchangeability of women's processing labour: not all women smoke fish, some jar great quantities of berries, and so on. Who does what varies from year to year, but there is a continual sharing of processed foods.

Thus, from the time the resource is appropriated until it is all finally consumed, it has passed through a series

of hands: first, according to the gender procurement capacity and interchangability of labour, then into processing, which is partially across gender, and finally into individual homes.

Participation in a gender division of labour, the development of productive capacities, and the associated distribution of the produce does more than allocate jobs amongst household members. It creates a more generalized situation in which members of one gender labour with each other, and for and with the other gender. In so doing, a social unification is produced that meshes everyone in the village. Any discrepancies are even further reduced by final distributions to those on the basis of need or prestations to those who have not participated to this point, e.g., the infirm or old, young related loggers, distant relatives, friends.

Participation not only provides the basis for unity across households, it also reaches beyond the geographic and social bounds of the village when off-reserve families or non-status people become productively involved. The extent of their involvement is a measure of their belonging, but can be constricted by mobility factors and, in the case of non-status, by exclusionary laws which define aboriginal rights strictly in terms of the government's Indian Act.

The result is a set of concrete relationships between the men and women identifing themselves as Kitsumkalum.

This forms part of their social relationships which are elaborated in other economic sectors and social areas.

Let me add a final comment regarding this last point. In Kitsumkalum a considerable amount of distribution occurs without significant consideration of exchange (reciprocities, redistributions, barter, sale). For one category of people, individual rights to use-values are rooted in their collective labour contributions. There is then a differentiation within the processes that connect production to consumption: between those who receive as a right of labour and those who receive as a result of reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchanges. The first category is the site of unification through production, the second of unification through exchange. The first is of major importance to Kitsumkalum's unificiation and historical continuity, the second to the reproduction of the particular social formation of Kitsumkalum.

CONCLUSION

Now, we are returned to the beginning of this chapter, but with a twist. Now the productive base is unified and the cleavages appear to be in the social superstructures. Thus the contradiction: how to dissolve the productive unity to reproduce a new unity under a particular relationship of domination, a particular social formation.

Resolution of this can be seen in the practices of the aboriginal social organization, which was internally more complex than reserve society. Those practices produced greater surpluses, and deeper cleavages within the generalization of productive capacities of the genders. The more recent diversion of surplus production into capitalist enterprises and the appropriation of resources by capital became a major disruption that husked the circuit down into the kernel just described.

The special historical significance of the unity in production of the Kitsumkalum is in its processual continuity and in the fact that its reproduction was the base around which the other sectors of the economy (petty commodity production, business, wage labour) were developed. In subsequent chapters, I shall examine how each of these sectors were socially incorporated into the total production circuit and how relations of distorted dependency were established as the political economy of Kitsumkalum was transformed by new social and economic practices.

5. SECTION A., THE ABORIGINAL ECONOMY

INTRODUCTION

Today, as in the past, the process of real appropriation provides the basis for the Kitsumkalum social group. This should not imply that the historic and social continuity which results from material production is composed of the same social structures now as it was two hundred years ago. They have been subject to variation in practice and have changed. The question is: how?

In the section that follows some of these variations will be examined historically and in detail. The resources, technology, and labour that are the elements of the four productive sectors of the aboriginal economy (hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture) will each be described and I will discuss the interferences that affected their use and re-use.

Property Relationships

In accordance with my theoretical guidelines, I will not restrict myself to the technical aspects of appropriation but also examine the relationships people have

to productive property. These relationships are both an integral part of, and separate from the real material process of appropriation. In other words, property is a social connection between people that defines and makes possible the technical aspects of production. It will be used as an important focus for the present work's efforts to determine how Kitsumkalum forms its specific relationships and character - its economic structure and associated social formation.

The main purpose of this section on the aboriginal sectors of the economy will be to show the transformation of property relations from the aboriginal state to the current condition. To do this, I will examine Tsimshian control over their means of production from three angles: legal ownership, economic control, and simple possession. By legal ownership, I refer to the dominant legal traditions under which production proceeds. Most of the history that I will be presenting documents the transfer of property rights from the Tsimshian to the Crown. The resulting formal statements of legal ownership that are written in legislation defined productive relations, but they did not always correspond to the real practices that occurred in Tsimshian production. This was especially true in the more remote frontier areas. Thus, there were contradictions between legal ownership and real economic control, and it will be useful to discuss how the principles of the

provincial or federal (dominion) legislation were applied. The struggle over real economic control is the second aspect of property that I will describe sector by sector. The third, possession, is perhaps the most fundamental aspect of ownership, what Poulantzas defined as "the capacity to put the means of production into operation" (1975:17). It is the most basic relation a producer has to the means of production, and attention must also be paid to it as a significant aspect of the transformation of the Tsimshian economy. Even though much of the dispossession of the Kitsumkalum can be described with the loss of both legal and real economic control, in many cases the way the laws were written or applied allowed them to continue to compete with other people for the use of various resources. This ability to retain some control over their means of production maintained their economy and community. How their possession of the means of production was undermined (through ecological destruction or resource depletion) will be documented to show the final and complete dispossession of the Kitsumkalum.

I will also discuss ways in which the new regime interfered with Tsimshian control over the products of their labour, both during processing and in distribution.

All this will help to build an understanding of the actual production and the variation in the aboriginal material base of Kitsumkalum. The next section (Section B,

on the commodity sectors of Kitsumkalum's economy) will examine how commodity production was defined and organized under the new and dominant property laws that replaced the aboriginal ones.

By the end of the present section a picture should emerge of how the people of Kitsumkalum (i.e., how their labour in the productive process of material appropriation) were separated from the resources necessary to the labouring processes. Because the social relationships of appropriation are complex, as are the multitude of changes that occurred in their structure, I tried to keep dates closely associated with the details reported. I will follow each of the four major sectors of the aboriginal economy (hunting, fishing, gathering, horticulture) one by one.

This method of presentation will mean that after I have completed the task of discussing the changes in each sector, there will be little reference made to the commodity economy that has been an integral part of Tsimshian production for at least two centuries. The influences of commodity production will be picked up in the subsequent section, when experiments with the commodity economy and the encounter between labour and capital are examined.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Land Use

A reconstruction of the location of the original territories was presented earlier. These were, basically, the formerly owned hunting, fishing, trapping, and floral resource territories that lay inland from the ocean. There is also considerable suggestive evidence to indicate that marine resource sites were once owned by Kitsumkalum lineages, but their tenures have been forgotten. For now, these are being ignored.

The land use patterns during this century are summarized on the maps (Figure 4). My information covers a period dating approximately from the 1930s to the present. Unfortunately, it is difficult to reconstruct the earlier decades. Barbeau's information was included in the reconstruction of the original territories, but his records do not provide much assistance regarding Kitsumkalum's land use in the intervening years, or even for the time of his visits just prior to the period I cover.

The general movement that occurred was a shifting of attention away from the Kitsumkalum Valley towards the coast as a result of interest in the capitalistically organized economic activities situated there and because Kitsumkalum's lands in the the Valley were being occupied by foreign interests. With the dissolution of the way of life that

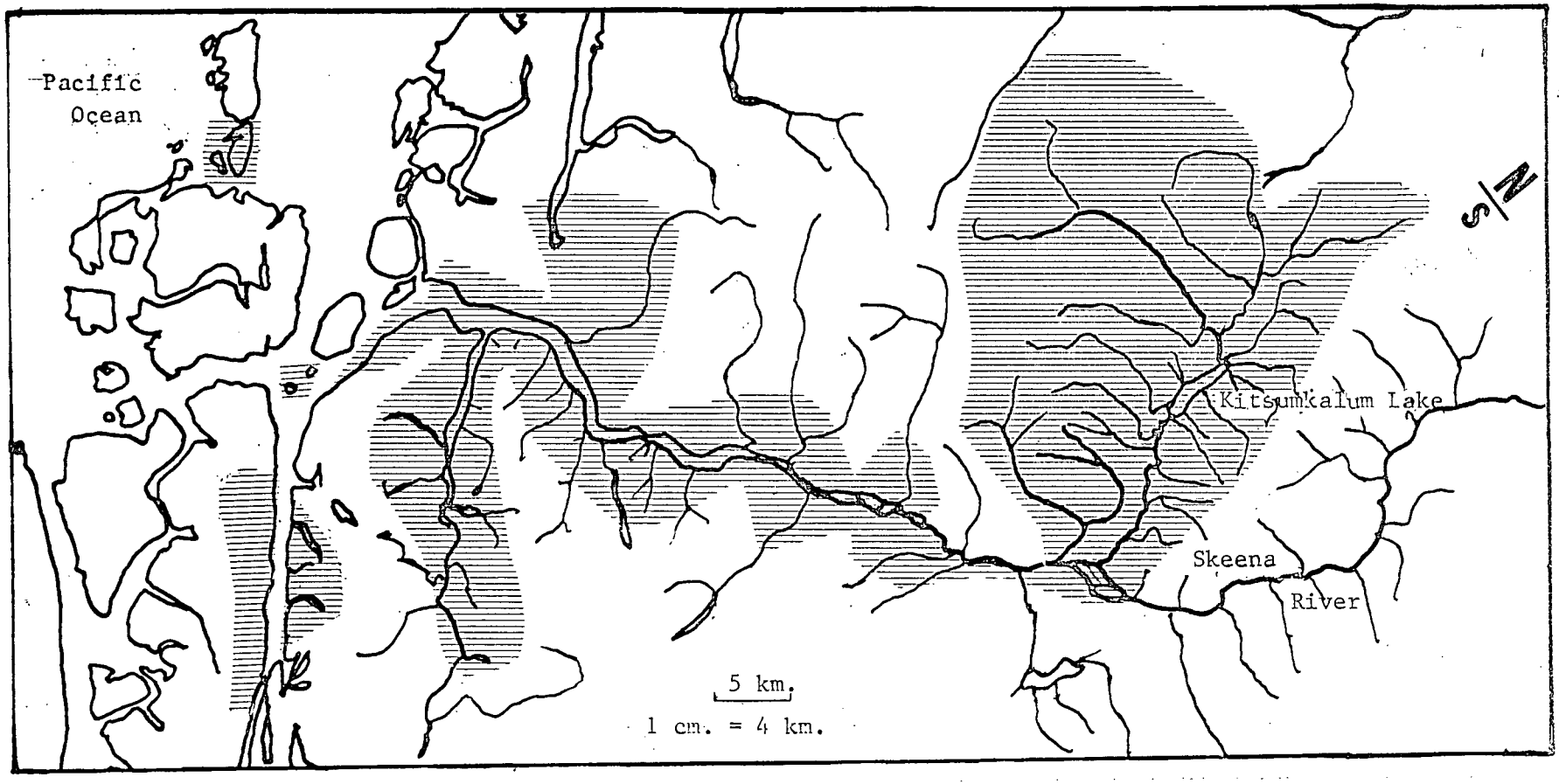

Figure 4. The land use areas of the Kitsumkalum during this century. Shading indicates areas of activity.

evolved with this shift, after World War II, and with the subsequent move back to Kitsumkalum Village in the 1960s, attention eventually was re-focused on the Valley and surrounding area.

These changes in land use areas were mirrored by the residential movements of the major families over the past 50-60 years. During the 1930s, use of the Valley became intermittent and seasonal. Only two families remained resident, the Nelsons and Starrs, actively exploiting its resources. The others had moved to Port Essington and worked near there. The Roberts family used the middle and lower portions of the Tsimshian Skeena River, along with the coastal areas near Port Essington. The Boltons maintained a camp at Salvus until it was destroyed by the disastrous 1936 flood, when they moved from the mid-region of the river to a campsite on the Ecstall. Rights to this area were acquired when Mark Bolton helped bury the chief of the Gitzaklathl, the people who owned the river. The Boltons also exploited the coastal areas near Port Essington. A family closely associated with them, through marriage, the Spaldings, also had rights, based on paternal lineage ties, along the Ecstall and camped there for many years. The Wesley family seems to have been engaged primarily in wage work, and utilized the area around their place of employment, Brown's Mill on the Ecstall, or visited the camping spots of the other families.

By the 1950s, the Boltons had re-established themselves at Arthur Island and on their trapline on Grenville Channel. The Wesleys had also moved, back to Kitsumkalum Village in 1952, so as to take advantage of the better and new employment opportunities in Terrace. Their return ended the sixteen year hiatus of residential use of the village site that had followed the flooding of 1936.

After the mass return to Kitsumkalum Village in the early 1960s, all these families concentrated their attention in the Valley and on the Skeena River, locating suitable sites wherever they could but also maintaining a loose association with the specific areas that their grandparents had used along the Skeena before the 1936 flood.

The use patterns of the Nelsons and Starrs, or at least those with ancestral links to these families, reflected the changing conditions of the developing new social formation of the area. Whereas the aboriginal economy of these people had focused on their ancestral territories up to the 1930s, the old patterns became much looser after the 1939 war, when forest development began in earnest. The result is that families are now oriented to new resource locations, which often change each time they go out, similar to the pattern of other wage workers. (To make this observation stronger: these families "went off the Indian Act" in the 1940s and now lack legal Indian status to food fish.)

Other, minor branches of the old families are either extinct or assimilated into the major branches.

Seasonal Cycle

There is a seasonal cycle, naturally, to the aboriginal economy. People refer to the changes that occurred in its structure in terms of two periods, to which I will add an 'earlier' and slightly different third arrangement. The changes which occurred from the first to the last are the result of modifications to accommodate other activities, especially wage work, which affect people's mobility and time. Canadian resource legislation also interferes with the cycles, seasonally restricting access to some species, prohibiting it to others. How all this actually occurs will be discussed in detail throughout the rest of this study: now, only broad outlines of the yearly schedules will be presented.

Boas provides information for a reconstruction of the earliest cycle (Boas 1916:399):

> end of winter (before river ice breaks up) - oolachan fishing on the Nass
> after oolachan run - return to Metlakatla (or other winter villages?)
> when salmon run - move to salmon fishing villages on Skeena River
> Fall - go to hunting grounds
> Winter - some hunting, most people at winter villages
> Midwinter - some go back to hunting grounds

The myths were gathered well into the Confederation period, decades after the introduction of resource legislation. The effects of these laws and the many other changes on the myths are not known.

Garfield provides another early cycle, this time based upon field research during the 1930s (Garfield 1966:15):

> February/March - start of oolachan fishery
> May/late June to October - salmon fishing and gathering (at the fish camps)[1]
> (Fall - hunting)
> October/November to February - winter camp

By the time her information was collected, there were serious limitations on the harvest of floral and faunal resources, and the effects of legislation on the society observed by Garfield are more problematic than for that observed by Boas. The Provincial Game Protection Act had been introduced in the 1880s, with closed seasons on deer, caribou, goats, and sheep (June 10 to September 1), on grouse (February 1 to September 1), and on ducks (March 1 to September 1) (R.S.B.C. 1888 C52 s5).[2] These were further extended by the Province in 1897 (R.S.B.C. 1897 C88) and

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[1] The information in parentheses is only found in her 1939 work.

[2] Standard legal citation styles are used here to refer to statutes of Canada and British Columbia. (S.C. or S.B.C. respectively) and the revised statutes (R.S.C. or R.S.B.C. respectively).

1911 (R.S.B.C. 1911 C.95). (After this, such seasonal restrictions were handled by regulations and do not show in the legislation. I only examined the legislation.) The Dominion had also passed restrictions in 1917 (R.S.C. 1927 C130) that applied to Indians and limited their productive activities. These closed seasons are shown in Figure 5. Unfortunately, Garfield, not being directly concerned with the economy, did not mention what relationship, if any, these laws had to the seasonal cycle she reported. The oral history I collected from living members of the older generation suggests that by the 1930s a pattern had emerged that is now considered to be the closest to an ideal or traditional one.

We begin it in the early spring, which is when halibut season opens (March/April to June). At this time people who were more oriented to camp life began commercial fishing. Residence for them was the camp where the fish were being caught and prepared for food as well as for sale. Some gathering of seaweed, herring eggs, and abalone would occur also.

Elsewhere, on the Skeena River, people who did not have ocean camps planted their gardens along the river when conditions permitted, usually some time in May.

The end of the halibut season turned the fishermen's attention to the salmon fishery and when whole families would move to Port Essington to participate. It was

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        JAN.   FEB.   MAR.   APR.   MAY   JUNE   JULY   AUG.   SEPT.   OCT.   NOV.   DEC.

1888                                       -------deer-----------
                -------------grouse------------------------
                       ---------duck------------------------

1897                        -------------beaver, etc.------------------------
                                  ----------birds------------
        ---------------------------grouse-------------------------

1911            --------------------deer-----------------------

1917                                 ------birds-------------
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Figure 5. The close seasons for subsistence activities. Dashed lines indicate close periods.

especially important for them to be near the canneries for the women to work there.

Salmon season closed in the early Fall (usually September), allowing people to disperse again to their Fall residences until freeze up, in order to dry fish, hunt, and harvest the gardens. For children near Terrace, this also meant a period of schooling; for the other children, schooling was more intermittent. Men who had logging claims worked these whenever they were at camp and, as winter progressed, fur trapping took on greater importance.

Winter was not a slack season during the 1930s - trapping, hunting, and logging kept the men busily occupied. Some Port Essington families only stayed in town for short periods of a few weeks, in order to participate in Christian celebrations (notably Christmas and New Year's) and to send the children to school. If the weather conditions were poor, the men would leave their families behind for slightly longer periods, but this was not popular. The arrival of the first oolachan in March signalled the end of the winter period.

People followed this routine until after World War II, when the joint effects of the collapse of the trapping industry in the 1950s and the enactment of the 1946 Forestry Act changed major sectors of the camp economy (see Chapter 14).

The current cycle is simple. Berry-collecting occurs as the resource ripens during the late spring and into the fall. Seaweeds and sea food are gathered throughout the late spring and summer, as they become available. Hunting of small game and fowl occurs as the regulated seasons permit, or, in the case of non-regulated species, as available throughout the year. Food fishing commences with the spring oolachan runs, and continues with the first salmon run in June, until the people have sufficient supplies, often as early as July. Some minor fishing activity then continues until the last runs in September which allow people to take the occasional fresh fish, or to take a preferred species (different species run at different months). People who were unable to fish earlier can often go out in the early fall.

These are the three patterns found for the Kitsumkalum: the early, the traditional (1930s), the present. Figure 6 reproduces them for comparison and the text in the chapters that follow will help in conceptualizing them as something more than discrete stages.

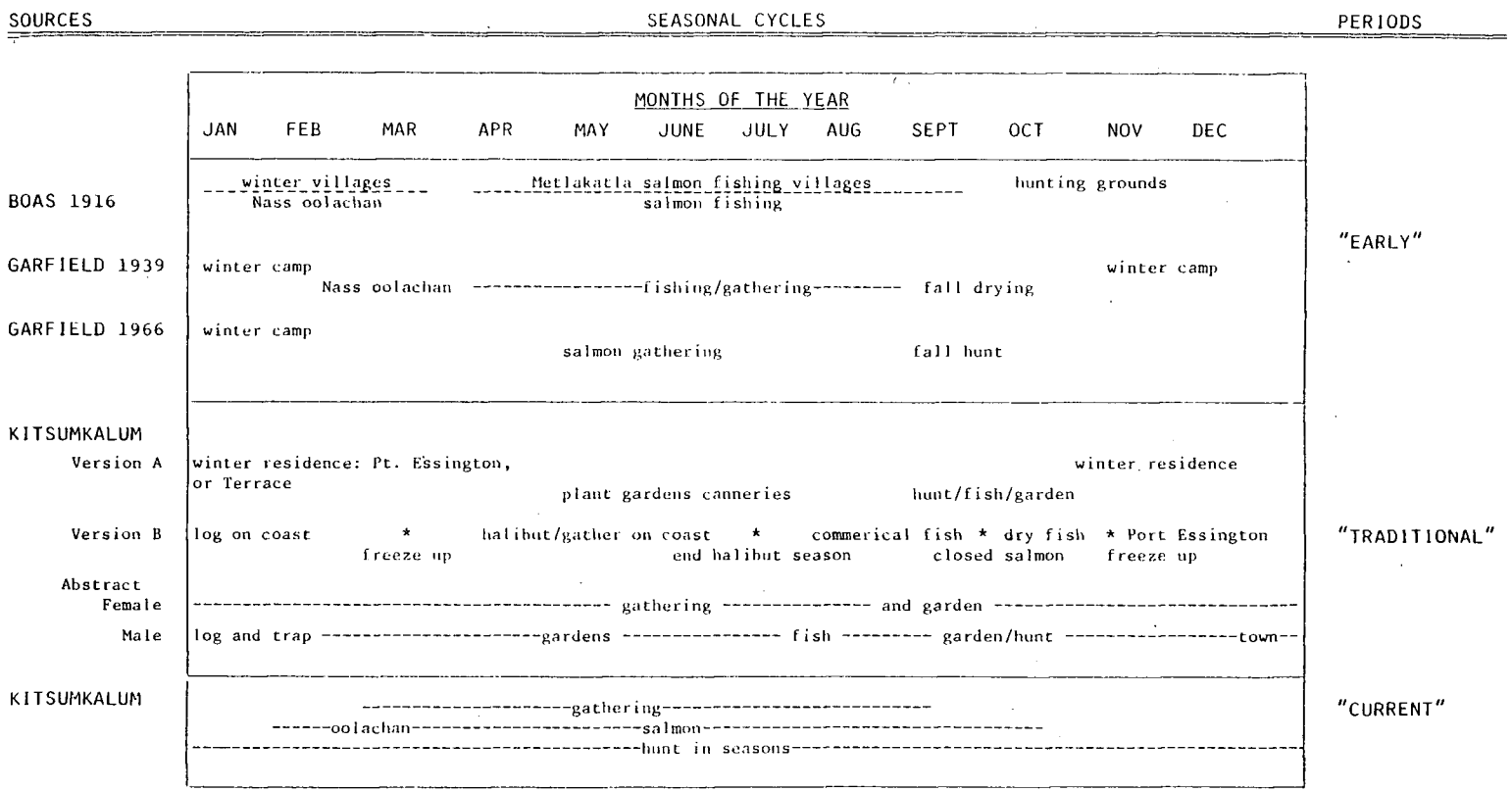

Figure 6. The seasonal cycles of Kitsumkalum (see text for explanatory information).

6. HUNTING

MEANS OF PRODUCTION

The Resource

The Kitsumkalum regularly hunted a variety of land animals. Apart from the fur-bearers that they trapped (Chapter 12), I encountered specific references to the following species: deer, elk (Boas 1889:803), seal, sea lions, sea otter, mountain goat, mountain sheep, bear, porcupine, raccoons, eagles (Boas 1916:44, 51, 52, 401, 404, respectively), marmots (groundhogs) (see McDonald 1983), caribou, moose, cougar, hares, lynx, swans, geese, ducks, waterfowl. This is, in effect, a list of all available fauna, other than most small rodents, insectivores, reptiles, and amphibians.

Population estimates for the game species in the 1970s were: moose (500), deer (scarce, but replaced by moose), black bear (common), grizzly bear (good population, but normally scarce) mountain goat (abundant), wolf (50), mountain caribou (erratic) (Canadian National Railway 1975:6.1ff.); lynx (rare). Such rich faunal resources may

account for ancient Kitsumkalum's reputation as a storehouse.

The lands used by Kitsumkalum in this century are depicted in Figure 4. In summary, they include the Kitsumkalum Valley, Skeena Valley, and, in the past especially, the Ecstall Valley and certain coastal islands. Occasionally, hunting trips will take men to the Hazelton/Prince George area, or even as far away as the Yukon Territory.

No specific distribution maps or general works on the local natural history of the game animals were available for this study other than a minor report by Canadian National Railway (1975, cf. British Columbia, Provincial Museum, various dates). I have combined that study with more generalized information provided to me by Game Warden Crack on distributions (during 1979 and 1980) to produce the map in Figure 7 and the summary ecological information in Table 1. Some of my information on family land use over the past century suggests that animal distributions have recently become more restricted.

A comparison of distributions to the maps of the original land holdings of the Kitsumkalum families suggests some resource limitations within the lands of each lineage. The gispawadawada and laksgiik, for example, did not have access to deer winter range; the gispawadawada had the smallest goat area; the ganhada had the most diverse

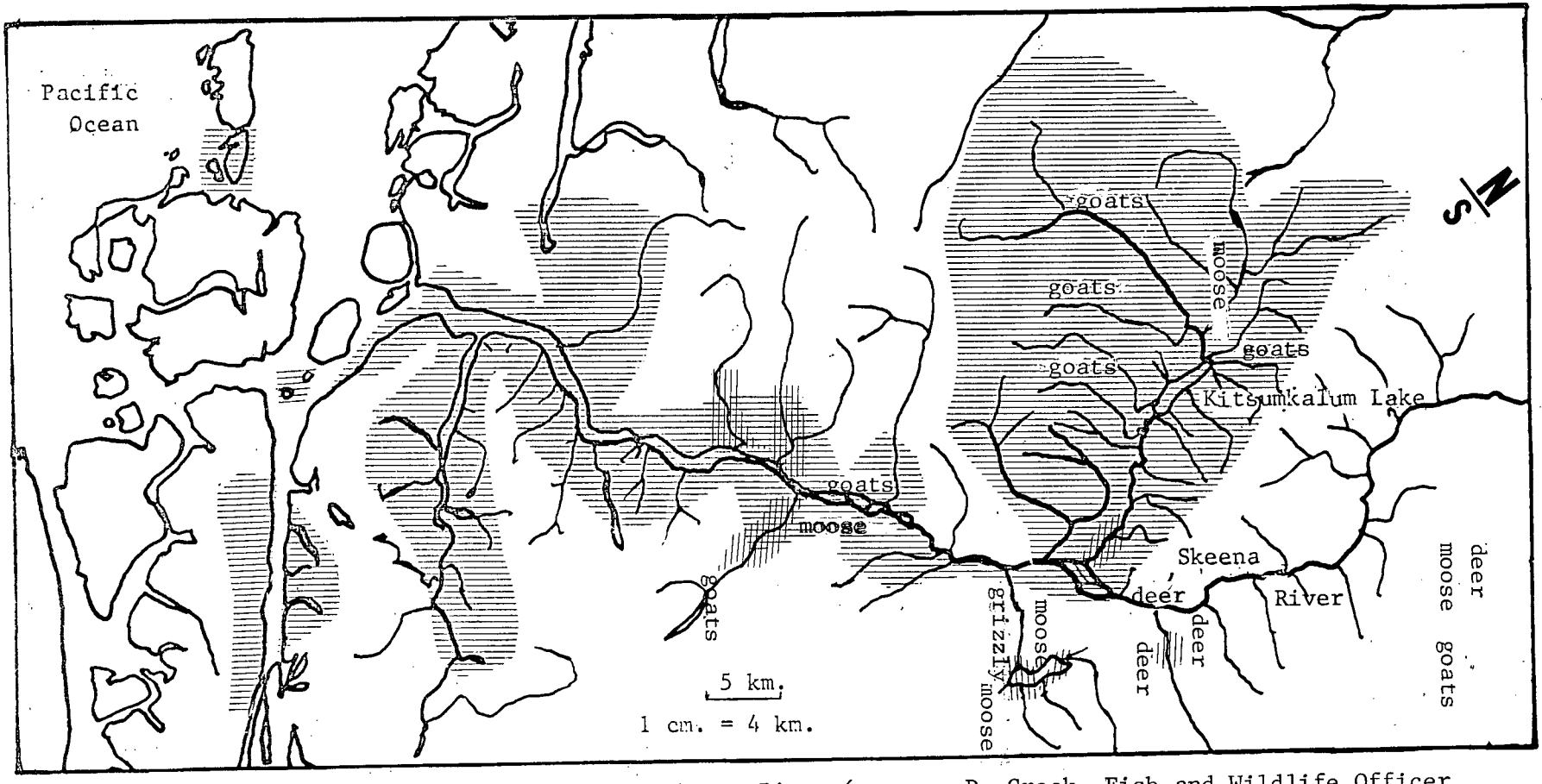

Figure 7. Animal distributions for the middle Skeena River (source: D. Crack, Fish and Wildlife Officer, Terrace, 1981). Horizontal hatching indicates land use area. Vertical hatching indicates water fowl areas.

TABLE 1

POPULATION ESTIMATES, DISTRIBUTION AND SEASONAL DISPERSAL OF GAME SPECIES
(SOURCES: D. CRACK, GAME WARDEN; C.N.R. 1975: CHAPTER 6)

SPECIES	POPULATION ESTIMATES	DISTRIBUTION	SEASONAL DISPERSAL			
			SPRING	SUMMER	FALL	WINTER
MOOSE	Abundant	Throughout Area	Valley bottoms	Upper Valleys and Wetlands	Upper Valleys and Wetlands	Valley bottoms
BLACK TAIL DEER	Common	Throughout Area		Throughout		East side of Valley Lakelse Area
MULE DEER	Small Population	Kitsumaklum Canyon, Alice and Lean-to Creeks	Valley bottoms	Valley bottoms to Alpine	Valley bottoms to Alpine	Lower River benches
MOUNTAIN GOAT	Abundant	Upper mountain areas throughout area	Alpine and rock bluff areas in mountains	Alpine	Alpine	Alpine and rock bluff areas in mountains
CARIBOU	12-15	Poupard and Douglas Creeks	Subalpine	Alpine	Alpine	Subalpine Northeast area of Valley
BLACK BEAR	Abundant	Throughout Area	Valley Bottoms	Throughout	Throughout	Hibernating
GRIZZLY BEAR	Small Population	Throughout Area	Valley Bottoms	Alpine	Valley Bottoms	Hibernating
COUGAR	Small Population	Lower Kitsumkalum Valley	Valley Bottoms	Throughout	Throughout	Lower River benches
WOLF	Small Population	Throughout Area	Valley Bottoms	Throughout	Throughout	Valley Bottoms
LYNX	Rare					

territory with concentrations of all big game and fowl. Interestingly, the area around the winter village site (Dalk ka gilaguoex), is a major winter range for deer.

Allaire has suggested that resource variation between village groups figured symbolically in the reproduction of social relationships during the potlatch (1984). The above mentioned differences between phratries may have had similar, important political implications, but a more careful comparison and study cannot be made from present sources of information.

The original condition of Kitsumkalum's resources has been severely affected by alternate land uses that accompanied economic development. These uses have often been ecologically insensitive. Government policy has been primarily narrowly oriented to economic development, which means the effects upon non-related resources are not a priority concern. In addition, the use of a considerable amount of the resources from Kitsumkalum's aboriginal economy has been prevented or constricted by resource legislation, alternate forms of resource appropriation, and new land uses.

The legislation of access to animals was discussed in the previous section on seasonal cycles, and the chapter on trapping will deal with the fur bearing animals, which are the bulk of the game hunted. Here, we will examine alternate uses of the resource and its ecological setting.

The interruption of Kitsumkalum's relationships to the faunal resources by new uses of the land began with the arrival of large numbers of miners in the neighbourhood of Lorne Creek during the 1880s (estimated at over 200 in 1887, British Columbia Sessional Papers 1887:268). Next, but only shortly after, the agricultural settlers started to arrive and took over the hunting grounds around Kitsumkalum Lake. This stopped the movement of many of the people between Port Essington (during the fishing season) and the Valley (to hunt, dry fish, garden, and gather). After the settlers, many other immigrants came.

All of these newcomers attempted to supplement their diets with hunting, competing with Tsimshian hunters and depleting every game population. Some of the worst examples include a small caribou population that was nearly extinct by the 1930s, and the once plentiful deer population that was devastated when the army stationed a large number of soldiers in Terrace for World War II. It may only be a local folktale that the soldiers used the deer for target practice, but they are known to have put heavy pressure on the resource as sports hunters, leaving deer scarce to this day. Later, intensive urban development compounded these problems, especially since the war, when the regional population grew dramatically.

The increasing sophistication and effectiveness of hunting took its toll as well. The Game Warden gave me as an extreme example of this the serious depletion of goats in large areas by helicopter hunting during the 1960s. All biological resources in the Valley may be endangered by the acid rain that is caused by industry and other industrial developments also have their peculiar effects (see the Northwestern Development Conference Archives, North West Community College).

On the brighter side, the massive alteration of the forest by clear-cut logging altered the ecological relationships in favour of the browsing moose, which apparently replaced the deer, which, in turn, had great difficulty in the deep snow cover that resulted from the logging. I was told moose had been rare in the Valley before the war, but that within the past few decades they had become common even closer to the coast. This observation was offered to me as evidence that there had been a gradual but steady westward movement by that species in the aftermath of habitat changes.

Apparently the fauna of the Valley and Skeena River basin have undergone significant changes since settlement. Unfortunately, without animal population studies, the effects of these changes on hunting patterns cannot be documented properly.

Technology

Bows and arrows were standard pieces of equipment before firearms became available, but deadfalls, traps and snares were also used for big game, and deer were often taken while swimming by hunters in canoes (described in Wicks 1976:39). In some hunting stories, goats were killed by being chased over precipices and dispatched with knives where they fell. Dogs were used for some game (Boas 1916:402-403, 471) and occasionally eagles were grabbed from below by hunters hidden in covered pits (Boas 1916:404). The list could go on, but, without developing a detailed argument here, I will only say that Drucker's suggestion that the Tsimshians were generally not great hunters (1955:49) was (and is) not true. Their legends, histories, and technology all indicate land game was important. Furthermore, the use of mountain valleys was common to all the other village groups, notably, perhaps, the Kitselas and Gilutsau in the broad Kitimat Valley, and, of course, the Kitsumkalum, whom I suspect had the greatest opportunity of all the Tsimshian to develop the skills of the chase, living as they did on a large plateau.

Hunters have abandoned the old weapons and rely upon firearms of various calibers, the size depending upon the species sought. They also select from the ever changing variety of modern, mass produced camping gear, and buy factory made processing equipment that varies from

butchering tools to home freezers.

Many changes occurred within the hunting technology as the world market brought innovation after innovation to the Skeena, either in the form of new tools or, simply, materials that could be turned into entirely new inventions by the Tsimshians themselves. Access to books, magazines, and newspapers accelerated this process, as did mail order services which made available an even wider range of goods from which to choose. Contact with neighbouring and visiting hunters who carried proven new technology enriched the tool kits of the Kitsumkalum hunters and brought them into the most interesting diffusion circuits. One such case was the recent acceptance of a tin can moose caller borrowed from related Tahltans who got the idea from Dene Indians in the North West Territories, who said they learned about it from Manitoba Indians that had visited with a group of Iroquois Indians of Quebec, one of whom had a subscription to a hunter's magazine filled with interesting suggestions on cheap gadgets that could be made at home! Most innovation, however, has had a more local origin in general stores and/or home workshops.

Originally, river transportation was important, but now has been replaced by roadways. The old style of cedar canoe was last used in the Valley at the time of World War II, probably before the death of the last practising canoe craftsman of Kitsumkalum, Charles Nelson, Sr. Two or three

older Kitsumkalums feel they could construct such canoes, but none have been made recently.

The Nelson family, who hunted the area in the 1930s, sometimes used dog-power to haul supplies in line canoes (and possibly on sleds) as recently as the Depression of the 1930s. Since then, ski-doos or human labour alone have been the means for overland packing, after the truck or motor boat has been taken to the limits of its passage.

For overland trips, there were well recognized trails that took hunters to their hunting grounds. These have been replaced by logging roads and highways that give access to new locales. Few people now know where the old trails were, and it is doubtful if even those who had used them in the past could find them in the aftermath of clear cut logging, farming, and other industrial destruction.

Of course the modern means of transportation that are utilized include trucks, cars, ski-doos, motorized boats, and canoes. There is little that resembles the old ways of hunting.

The Kitsumkalum are responsible for most of these changes, but the differences between "then" and "now" do not entirely reflect a free choice, or a perception on the part of the Kitsumkalum of the superiority of foreign ideas and technology. Significant changes were simply dictated by provincial legislation that put great limits on the development of the original technology. The list is varied.

Dogs were outlawed for hunting any of the species put under the regulation of the Game Protection Act (R.S.B.C. 1887 C52 s14) and specifically banned for deer by 1897 (R.S.B.C. 1897 C88 s14). Traps, nets, snares, baited lines, and other contrivances for ducks were outlawed by 1887 (R.S.B.C. 1888 C52 s15), as were certain types of guns (R.S.B.C. 1911 C95 s11). Nocturnal hunts for game birds and members of the deer family were prohibited by 1924 (R.S.B.C. 1924 C98 s11), as was the use of traps (Boas 1916:404), drugs, and poisons and the use of sail or motor boats (ibid., s 14.1). The latter prohibition corresponds to the appearance of gasboats in the fishing industry on the Skeena River.

These laws prevented the Tsimshian from experimenting with major aspects of their technology, and thereby from developing the hunting economy along their own lines.

Labour Organization

Hunting is organized according to technological and social principles. The technology is simple and generally does not require a division of labour. In fact, most hunting can be conducted, now as in the past, by a solitary hunter (with certain minor exceptions such as porcupine hunting which seems to require more than one person to lure and club the animal). Since there are no gregarious species suited to communal hunts, this mode of organization does not

occur.

Nonetheless, for the sake of companionship, safety, and the sharing of opinions and skills, most hunting actually occurs in the company of others. Generally, each hunter has a specific partner for a season, usually selected from his bilateral kindred and usually a Kitsumkalum or Terrace resident. The particular partner may vary from season to season, depending on personal considerations (e.g., friendships, health), the special knowledge or equipment in the possession of another, or employment patterns. In the past, the partner system in hunting was often associated with the camp life style, and partners came from the larger group that logged, fished, or trapped in an area.

Gender and age distinctions also persist and structure the labour force. Men are expected to be able to hunt, although whether or not they actually do is another matter. As I explained earlier, in Kitsumkalum there are certain men who hunt, others who fish, some who do both, and some who do neither.

There is also a 'home guard' of older hunters who no longer go out as often, but who have a wealth of stories and experiences to share. Their information is, unfortunately, somewhat restricted to the territories frequented near the coast during the Port Essington days. Worse, the knowledge their ancestors had of the Valley has been lost, or of little use because of the logging and agricultural changes.

Consequently, young, locally-oriented hunters must find much of their own way in exploring the environment closer to home.

Hunting is generally perceived as a man's activity but women will participate on occasion, sometimes helping their husbands or fathers, sometimes killing an animal during a chance encounter. Wozney,of the Kitimat Centennial Museum, feels that in the past huntresses may have been more active (Wozney 1980: 6-7). This may have depended on practical needs, but not enough is known of the extent of the practice to draw conclusions. Generally, the handling of guns is left to men; women say they do not feel comfortable with firearms.

Children will occasionally help their fathers. One old woman with whom I talked remembered packing gear for her father over tough mountainous terrain as a child in the last century. More generally, it was only in porcupine hunting that I saw children play a prominent role, along with their mothers, aunts, and older sisters. When men are involved with the group, it is to provide transportation and armed protection against bears.

The quality of the community's hunting labour is a product of the training and availability of the labour, as well as the personal skill of the individual hunters. The knowledge of the present generation of hunters comes mainly from hunting experiences gained during their childhood on

trips with the older generation. After a certain age, when a boy is old enough to endure a hunt, an older man, usually the father or older brother but sometimes another close relative or friend of the family, takes the boy out as a partner to pass on the necessary skills.

This was easier when the family's seasonal rounds included camp life, with its integrated economy. Elsewhere, especially in Kitsumkalum and Terrace, life is not so naturally suited for children to learn hunting. Centrifugal factors such as school, work or off-reserve residence, all require special effort to overcome. For example, boarding schools and compulsory school laws had a very negative effect on the transmission of knowledge at camps. Men born in the 1930s and 1940s, who went through the federal schools, often do not feel comfortable on the land, unless they were able to find a partner sometime during adulthood to acquaint them with the skills of hunting. Not all the men were so fortunate, for their peers who would be their partners usually had the same problem. Consequently, some of the men took to the library to read books to augment the little knowledge they remembered from childhood while hunting during school holidays. Others conduct mini-ethnographic investigations to learn the old ways from elders.

After school age, wage work patterns have another impact, especially on the younger loggers who simply do not have much time or energy to spend "crawling around" in the thick bush for game on the weekend and then log during the week. The availabilty of supermarkets for food and of urban entertainment for relaxation is more attractive to these men, in practical terms at least, and they find it difficult to participate in the aboriginal economy.

Non-labourers

There were certain class-based distinctions and orientations to hunting. It is reported that chiefs hunted sea lions and mountain goats, activities that were claimed to require courage and endurance, but that they seldom participated in the dangers of mundane hunting, except to perform a supervisory role (Garfield 1966:17). As chiefs, they could send out other hunters or slaves to provide for them (Boas 1916:429). In Kitsumkalum, at least, the chief did not need to hunt for himself at all. His people were said to have given him all he needed (ibid.: 278). It is unclear how extensive slave production was in Northwest Coast economies. The recent and growing attention that this question is receiving, however, has had surprising results that indicate a high level of surplus production for chiefly use (e.g., see Ruyle 1973), which supports Garfield's

accounting for the Tsimshian (1966:30)

Such clear class distinctions do not exist now in Kitsumkalum. Hunters simply provide for their wives and children, their parents, and other socially close people, as described earlier.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Loss Of Legal Ownership

Originally, property rights in hunting resources were held by the lineage and vested in the office of the chief through the mechanism of holding a validated claim to crests. This has already been discussed, as has the usurpation of legal resource ownership by the Provincial and Federal governments during the Confederation period.

The reserve system left Kitsumkalum with three small parcels of land for their exclusive use, unfulfilled promises for continual access to off-reserve resources, and ever increasing restrictions on these resources as legislation and alternate land uses developed.

Erosion Of Economic Control

Foreign ownership of the resources is organized under Federal and provincial legislation. Game laws, which evolved as the provincial agricultural development expanded, and which were applied against Indian food production practices are especially critical to the usurpation of real economic control.

On the reserves, the Provincial laws do not apply and regulation is a Federal matter. As a Canadian version of indirect rule, the Indian Act does not recognize the old authority structure directly, but, instead, allows the Chief Councillor to regulate hunting activities. In Kitsumkalum, this is rarely exercised, unless some safety problem arises which cannot be handled through alternate social channels. Off-reserve they must comply with Provincial legislation.

Restrictions contained in the British Columbia legislation not only interfered with and disrupted Kitsumkalum's hunting, they further eroded control over the resource as a property within Tsimshian society. How this occurred is possible to reconstruct from the law archives. The result shows the distortion of hunting activities and of the development of "aboriginal rights" to the resources.

The earliest Game Protection Act of significance was passed in 1887. Since then there have been restrictions on the killing of deer, caribou, mountain goats, mountain sheep, bear, grouse, ducks, hare, and many birds. These

restrictions on appropriation refer to seasons (discussed above) and in the case of big game, the age of the animal (usually no immature animals less then one year old since R.S.B.C. 1897 C88 s3), the sex (female moose, sheep since R.S.B.C. 1897 C88 s3), and bag limits (250 ducks per person per season R.S.B.C. 1897 C88 s23; one moose, two goats, three deer of one species or four altogether, two sheep, R.S.B.C. 1924 C98 s10). Seasons and bag limits extend to the simple possession of parts of the animal, as well as to the actual hunting of them. In addition, the killing of deer for hide was prohibited (R.S.B.C. 1888 C52 s8), as was that of mountain sheep and goats (R.S.B.C. 1960 C160 s16).

In 1917 the Dominion government approved a convention signed with the government of the U.S.A. to regulate the hunting of migratory birds. Through this Migratory Birds Convention Act (R.S.C. 1927 C130), close seasons and bag limits were placed upon game and non-game birds. By Article III, migratory game birds were under a close season from March 10 to September 1, and it was prohibited to hunt them or even to possess them during that time. Migratory non-game birds (e.g., gulls, terns, herons, loons, grebes) were closed all year, except to Indians who could use their eggs for food or their skins for clothing, providing no trafficking in these items occurred. Article III established a close season on swans, shorebirds, and the whooping and sandhill cranes, without exception. This Act

is still in force, keeping hunters in the double jeopardy of simultaneously violating Provincial and Federal laws on game birds.

Other relevant restrictions prevented hunting on enclosed land (which was defined to include any land identified for enclosement by natural or artifical landmarks), without the permission of the owners or leasees (R.S.B.C. 1911 C95 s13). This was in recognition of alternate land uses, such as farming.

Exemptions to the game laws protect aboriginal rights to a degree, but have also been the source of frustration to Indians who resent being put into a position, vis-a-vis the regional population, of being allowed to break a (foreign) law. As a point of principle and justice, they would prefer a law that recognises their aboriginal rights directly.

In the case of deer, Indians had special exemptions which allowed them to kill deer to feed their immediate families (R.S.B.C. 1897 C88 s17), although this was curtailed by seasons, sex and age limits (R.S.B.C. 1911 C95 s3). The sale of such kills and the clause governing killing for hides was not exempted.

Fines for breeches of these game laws, in 1888, varied from $10 to $25, and more.

Thus, access to these Tsimshian resources was curtailed very early in the post-Confederation period. This, however, is still just part of the process of loss.

Maintenance Of Possession

Under the threat of police, and even military enforcement, the Skeena River Indians found it necessary to incorporate the new legal system, but they resisted the assumption of possessors rights by foreigners. The early crises and troubles that occurred because of this erosion of simple possession of their hunting resources have been discussed (above and Chapter 4).

In the twentieth century, a remnant of economic ownership over the hunting grounds survived within the provincial trapline registration system. The concept of lineage or village property was transformed into that of a "trapping company", a corporate individual that could hold and manage a trapping area (see chapter 12). Thus it provided a small measure of possession over the old hunting grounds, insofar that understanding of trappers and field officers alike, these Indian lines tended to be viewed in terms of the larger category of hunting grounds and were treated accordingly.

Before World War II, when trapping was still viable, the legal exclusiveness of a registration was used to prevent/control trespassing by hunters. Generally, other Indians respected this form of ownership. But trapline registrations, being foreign, were not an effective means of internal control. Some disputes are reported in the archival records of Fish and Wildlife which involve non-

registered Indians utilizing the trapping areas registered to another.

Now, since the decline in the economic importance of trapping, line ownership is largely just a matter of curiosity to hunters.[1] People will go where they will, in fulfillment of the government's traditional view of Indian hunting practices, and the Commissioner's expectations in 1891.

Control Of Processing

Rights other than those directly related to the raw resources also exist to game after it is brought home to be processed. As has been discussed, each hunter has a set of people who will assist in the processing of the food and thereby have rights to its distribution. Closely related women, especially wives, but also mothers, sisters, aunts, and/or friends will be involved. In some cases, men such as the hunter's partner, or father, or brother, will prepare the big game but more than kinship is involved. One time I observed a bear butchered by the hunter's father with the assistance of the 'home guard', the retired hunters who now

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[1] Since 1980, there has been some renewed interest in the fur market and in trapping. Consequently, it has been reported to me by several Kitsumkalum that the ownership of trapline registrations has a new importance.

work together on village projects. Two of them cut up the carcass while two others tended the fire, gathered firewood, made cooking racks, etc. Those who helped process the food received a share for their work, which gave every family in the community access to the meat.

Commercial establishments are occasionally employed to butcher big game. In these cases, a claim is made on the cash resources of the hunter, or, infrequently, a payment in kind is made. Where cash payment occurs, the hunter must have access to a source of cash - usually the wage work that prevented him from having time to take care of the job in the first place.

The game laws put constraints on a hunter's rights to dispose of the meat during processing. One clause prohibits possession of game out of season (R.S.B.C. 1888 C52 s6) and makes such possession prima facie evidence of illegal hunting, laying a hunter open to charges of game law violation even if the meat is in storage (S.B.C. 1966 C55 s9). To facilitate enforcement, processing cannot destroy certain parts that indicate species, sex, and age of the animal, except at the place of consumption (S.B.C. 1966 C55 s11).

Control Of Distribution

There are several sets of claims within the sphere of distribution of the products of hunting. Many of these have been mentioned already, and like so much else is constrained by the intervention of the law at this late point of the production circuit.

Certain possession clauses restrict accumulation of carcasses. This prevents the socialization of surpluses, which was a factor in earlier Tsimshian social formations. The legislation also specifically prohibits Indians from killing deer for commercial sale, a business that once earned income for Tsimshians from hotels and other establishments during the 19th century. The sale of other game is restricted by low bag limits (R.S.B.C. 1924 C98 s10.2) and other minor regulations that also have been applied from time to time.

7. FISHING

MEANS OF PRODUCTION

The Resource

The Kitsumkalum fished a variety of fresh water, marine, and anadromous fish. All five species of Pacific salmon migrate up the Skeena River which is one of the major salmon streams on the coast. The Kitsumkalum drainage system was, in turn, one of the major salmon supporting tributaries of the Skeena. The nearby Lakelse River was another. The Zimagotitz was a minor supporter of pinks, coho, and chum. The steelhead trout, the sixth anadromous species in the area is found in the Kitsumkalum and Zimagotitz systems as well.

The famous candlefish, the oolachan, is the other major river fishery species. The Kitsumkalum fish for these off sandbars in the Skeena near tidal limits below Kwinitsa. This seems to be an ancient fishing locality for them, but tradition suggests that the annual trips to the Nass River Fishery at Red Bluff were also of major importance for the procurement of oolachan. A reserve in that area is held by

Kitsumkalum in common with other Tsimshians for the purposes of the oolachan fishery. The Kitimaat oolachan runs to the south of Kitsumkalum were also of importance, but according to some Kitsumkalum sources the industrial pollution of that area has led to a steady decline in quantity and quality over the past three decades.

Marine species for which I have specific reference on utilization include: cod, halibut, salmon, herring, cuttlefish, occasional drift whales (Boas 1889:816), oolachan (Boas 1916:44), dogfish (ibid.:67), porpoise, bullhead (ibid.:396), devilfish (ibid.:400), eels (ibid.:404), flounders, red snapper (Nolan 1977:167), shrimp, and pilchard.

Fresh water species available and taken in the Tsimshian territories include sturgeon, trout (rainbow, cutthroat, brook, dolly varden, char), whitefish, suckers, chubs, and the landlocked kokanee salmon. Oddly, the ethnographic literature only mentions the use of trout (Boas 1916:195ff., although not the char species), but not the other fresh water fish. All species are found throughout the main Kitsumkalum River, Kitsumkalum Lake, and tributary streams. Their distributions seem fairly ubiquitous, with one major exception: the mountainous east side of the lake. According to the Canadian National Railway study on current distributions, the streams there do not have suitable habitat for any of these species (1975: fig. 7-1). The

lagybaaw lands were there, but also extended to the north and south, where they probably procured their supplies of fresh water fish.

Despite the widespread distribution, fish were not taken at random, wherever a fisherman happened to be. Specific sites were suitable and productive, and these were a part of the resource. If a district had no potential locations for fishing stations, it might just as well have had no fish. Unfortunately, locating these is difficult. The Kitsumkalum elders who knew all the specific stations are long dead and time has produced a particularly forgetful effect upon their survivors. The neglect of this group of Tsimshians by researchers, with the exception of Barbeau, affords no relief for the problem. Consequently, the reconstruction of original resource use must be incomplete.

The land use map for this century (Figure 4) shows the more recent, documentable use patterns and suggests the wider pattern.

The Kitsumkalum are not so dependent upon regional populations and runs now that they have greater access to coastal resources as a result of technological developments, especially the gas boats. Thus, throughout the century, commercial fishermen could exploit marine resources all along the coast (cf. Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:109). This is not to imply, however, that people were home-bound by aboriginal transportation technology. Even the earliest

Hudson Bay Company factors in Port Simpson employed Tsimshian canoes as a courier service to Victoria, and commented in their diaries about the frequent Indian passages up and down the protected coast, and across the open water to the Queen Charlotte Islands. Sedentariness was a phenomenon related to and governed by social, in addition to technological factors.

The people's exploitation of the fish seems to have been moderate and rather consistent throughout the historical period. Fishery officials estimate 15,000 sockeye are taken in the Terrace-Lakelse area alone by local Indians as food fish, and an additional 10,000 by outside bands, as well as 3,800 of other species (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Narratives, 1979:2). Comparing this to an escapement after commercial fishing of 365,000 in the area in the same year (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Narratives 1979:2-4), only 7.9% of the escapement into the local system near Terrace was taken in the food fishery. It was estimated that 20,000 to 30,000 fish were taken in pre-contact times for food on the Skeena (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1889:255). This figure probably refers to what is now called the lower Skeena, and therefore compares well with the current estimates.

Originally, fish seem to have been plentiful on the Skeena. Not only were the salmon runs large (to judge from early escapement figures) but their four year cycles are not synchronized across species so that cyclical patterns of scarcity did not occur. These are points noted by the early fishery officers who remarked in 1889 (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1889:257) that there had not been a salmon shortage on the Skeena since 1863, and that then scarcity had been avoided through trade. (No mention was made of population redistribution or surplus redistribution through potlatching during that year.) Thus, I do not have evidence of any significant resource failures generalized scarcities for the area until the historical period. The causes of these are social in origin, not biological.

Clues regarding the location of such social scarcities come more readily from the later historical period than from the earlier one. No serious suffering is reported in the Hudson Bay Company diaries (1832 to 1870) but this changed with the establishment of the canning industry on the Skeena in the 1870s.

Fisheries reports contain records of the run sizes, and fears that the stocks could not withstand the new onslaught. The lessons learned from the extinction of the California runs within the pioneering generation's lifetime weighed heavily on the minds of the Fishery Officers but it was optimistically expected that careful management would

maintain an abundance of fish.

Unfortunately, for the present purposes, their reports were primarily concerned with the condition of the general fish stock, which does not relate to the key question of local needs and supply. The Tsimshian, however, were keenly attuned to the specific populations which they utilized, and their petitions to the government provide an alternate source of information for the question.

In those records, shortages in certain specific fisheries show up almost immediately and are attributed to capitalist fishing. As early as 1882, just six years after the establishment of the first cannery on the Skeena at Port Essington, Tsimshians complained that their winter fish supplies were in jeopardy from the canners. This report was recorded by the DIA but, distracted as it was by the property question of Tsimshian ownership of the resource, the Department refused to believe the Indians or to accept their analysis of the cause of the shortages (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1882:83).

At that point, damage such as occurred in 1882 was probably still restricted to specific runs of specific species. Canneries were not interested in all types of salmon, and for a long time they ignored the favoured food fish of the Tsimshians, the coho. Also, the staggered timing of the commercial and food fish runs allowed a general situation where the Indians could work and still

fish coho for their own use after the canneries had closed. However, as foreign tastes and markets grew, pressure was placed upon all the species of salmon and, as the industry expanded, upon all runs. Less and less was available for the Tsimshian economy.

Similar disruptions were affecting other fish populations. By 1900, the capitalist dog fish fishery was well underway, to the extent that Fishery Officers could only reminisce on its previous importance as an item of the Tsimshian diet (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1900:156). This is contrary to the more common ethnographic view that dogfish were only eaten to a limited extent (e.g., Nolan 1977:169-170). The common view is possibly more a consequence of the appropriation and use of that fish by the capitalist economy (mainly as industrial oil, e.g., in forestry) than of tradition.

The Narratives of 1914 also describe the depletion of the halibut banks, and discuss the beginning of the search for new, less accessible, but commercially viable banks.

Bit by bit, capital captured ever more of the fish resource, taking it physically out of Tsimshian production. Even within the Kitsumkalum's own lands, so far inland, the effect of these industrial disturbances could be felt, although there are no data on how extensive it was.

All these changes that occurred in the resources around the turn of the century, within a single lifetime, must have

been staggering to the people who watched them.

Technology

The fish resources were exploited by the Tsimshians with a varied fishing technology. Too diverse to be discussed in detail here, the original technology has been reviewed by Nolan (1977) from the literature dealing with the coastal communities and studied in depth by Berringer (1982) for the salmon resource. Included were gaffs, clubs, traps, wiers, trolling hooks, drag seines, gill nets, tidal traps, spears and harpoons, dip nets, ice fishing bags, hooks on lines, and fish rakes. Most of these were specialized to particular environments and species. In Kitsumkalum, for example, the fish trap and dip nets were only used at canyon sites; the gaff was used in slower water such as the sluggish creeks at the mouth of the Kitsumkalum River McDonald 1981c).

As will be documented in this chapter, nearly all of these techniques were eventually prohibited under Provisions of the Act of Union of 1871 and by the policing regulations that ensued. As a result, in my own field work I observed the Kitsumkalum and other Tsimshians employing a much attentuated technology. Aside from the marine capture of fish using commercial gear by the few remaining commercial fishermen, the food fishery now only utilizes river nets set

with the aid of a motor boat, nets operated from shore with a pole and pulley system, occasional gaffing with landing gaffs, and sports equipment. Tools to mend nets, overhaul motors, and maintain the boats are also a part of this tool assembly, little of which is homemade. Most of the gear is purchased in local stores or from the canneries.

Access to this technology is limited by cost and ownership. Not everyone can afford motor boats and nets, the two standard pieces of equipment. Consequently, in 1979, only two men had riverboats in operating condition, although by 1980, two more had built or bought boats, and in the following year another person had acquired one. This slight trend of buying equipment was arrested by the 1981/1982 slowdown in the forestry industry and the resulting unemployment.

Cheaper are the gaff and pole net, both of which are used occasionally. These tools have drawbacks, however. Besides being illegal, the gaff only takes a few fish at a time, and must be used in times of low water. People tied to wage jobs must evaluate their labour time, and if they are going to fish seriously, they must use the most efficient means possible. In the past, this meant weirs, traps, or dip nets. Now it means the set nets.

Pole nets are the most efficient of the inexpensive methods, requiring only a second hand piece of net, pulleys, and a pole, set from shore. The trouble with these is that

they are very susceptible to vandalism from sports fishermen, many of whom passionately resent Indian fishing rights. Their interference with the sets is probably the most important reason why more people do not put out the simple pole nets.[1]

It is difficult, seemingly impossible to protect the nets from the sportsmen, but within the Tsimshian population local arrangements are usually respected. Access to the fish was controlled by membership in the resource owning group. Now, in the aftermath of the loss of legal ownership, Federal fishing rights and use rights structure people's relations. When a Band member establishes himself at a certain back eddy, for example, his use rights are generally accepted by other natives, and he may continue in that location for many years.

Associated with the processing of the food are butchering tools, home canners, freezers, and smoke houses. A great deal of fish is preserved by smoking it in much the same manner as in the time of the grandmothers. The architecture of the facilities has changed, however, so that the buildings are constructed from milled lumber with steel nails, and the structure is separated from the main

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[1] To give one illustrative case, an elderly woman abandoned her shore station because, she said, the sportsmen stole or cut her nets three or four times. Considering how expensive nets are to replace, this was too often and she quit fishing.

dwelling. While smoke houses are common in the village, not everyone maintains them from year to year, and off-reserve people rarely have one, especially if they live where urban fire regulations prevent them. Sharing of smoke house facilities is common within family groups or with friends.

When the people lived in the cannery villages on the coast, smoke houses were not allowed because of the fire hazard they posed amongst the dry cedar buildings of the plants. Older people complained to me that this meant home canning equipment was necessary, at least until such time as the families could escape to their fish drying sites. Such work patterns meant fewer of the people who drew upon the fish resource went to camp, which physically concentrated the overall camp activies of the group and reduced the time available for camp jobs, making the work period shorter and more intensive. All this must have put an unusual pressure on the camp facilities and resources to produce and preserve sufficient winter supplies.

In the past century, great changes have occurred in the procurement technology used by the Kitsumkalum. Some of these were of a developmental nature, based upon the older techniques - the use of metals, imported wood, ropes, etc. - but there has been a major trend of displacement towards adopting, for use in the food fishery, entirely new gear from the capitalist fishery on the coast, or other industrially produced gear. This change was undoubtedly a

result of some appreciation for the relative merit of such equipment, but it also can be read as a sign of the pressures bearing upon the established methods. These include legislated prohibitions and incremental pressures such as the vandalism of pole nets, the alterations in time schedules to accommodate new forms of work, shifts in the occurrence and organization of camp life, etc. All these also altered the relative proportion of fish being captured for food or for capital.

A major factor in producing the technological change was the government's legislation that outlawed many Indian fishing methods and defined capitalist methods according to industry standards (Ross Ms.). Under the Terms of Union, the Dominion fishery laws were to be applied to B.C., but it was not until after the appointment of Guardians in the late 1880s that pressure on Indian technology mounted on the Skeena. Although policy towards Indians was supposedly lenient (cf. Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:98), there is no documentation to demonstrate how lenient and the general oral history in Kitsumkalum is that it most certainly was not.

A review of the early laws, even without the numerous regulations and interpretations, makes one wonder how any moderation on the part of the government towards Indians could be claimed.

Already by 1889, the newly appointed Guardian of the Skeena brought with him an accumulation of laws to direct his work. The official extension into British Columbia of the Dominion's Fishery Act, in 1874, contained the following restrictions: salmon spearing (used at the Kitsumkalum Canyon) was banned except with special licence for food fishing; dip nets for oolachan required licences, but were banned for salmon (s.13.7), and for trout (fished on the Zimagotitz) (s.8); ice fishing bags for salmon (used on Kitsumkalum Lake) were banned (s.13.7); trawl or gill nets required licences; tidewater salmon traps were banned (s.13.7); traps and wiers on small streams were restricted (s.13.11, s.13.14) and licenced (s.13.7); angling trout was placed under seasons (s.3.8, clarified with regard to open season for Indian food fishing by 1889 regulations); and nets were required for cod. In addition, the Fisheries Act, through O/C 26 November 1888, had banned food fishing of salmon using drift nets and spears, while the Provincial Fisheries Act prohibited the use of nets, seining, dragnets, or other like engine for fishing in fresh water (R.S.B.C. 1888 C52 s.13).

During the ensuing years, salmon drag seines were prohibited (O/C 7 November 1890), as were purse seines (S.C. 1891 C44). Nets, weirs, fascine fisheries, and other devices which obstruct passage were prohibited in 1894, drift nets were required for tidal fishing of salmon, and

explosives were banned (S.C. 1894 C51 s.1-3). In 1897 trout were protected in freshwater and lakes under 50 square miles from explosives, poisons, nets, seines, dragnets, and other like devices, except hooks and lines (R.S.B.C. 1897 C88 s.12). The Provincial Fisheries Act of 1911 re-enforced the right of passage over fisheries and allowed for the instant capture and destruction of illegal seines, nets, and other materials (R.S.B.C. 1911 C89 s.17, s.45, these being part of the 1901 legislation, S.B.C. C25 s.41). O/C 2 May 1904 defined the size of nets, trap locations, and prohibited their use within three miles of navigable rivers and one-half mile from salmon streams.

Food fishing required permission from the Inspector and could not be conducted with spears, traps or pens on spawning grounds, lease areas or propagation areas (O/C 12 March 1910). The same order prohibited ice fishing, the use of artifical lights, spears or snares for trout, and restricted the herring and pilchard fishery to drift or gill nets of specified size and only within harbours.

In addition, there was an ambiguous clause in the Provincial legislation that made it necessary to have a licence for the fish-oil refineries (R.S.B.C. 1924 C92 s.17). How this applied to the grease rendering stations is not clear, but the clause was subsequently modified to refer only to whale oil refineries. All these laws defined fishing technology and hindered the development of Tsimshian

methods and modes of organizing fishing. In so doing they also restricted in absolute amounts the number of fish controlled by Indians relative to capital.

Labour

Fishing is an activity that involves labour contributions during the acts of procurement and processing from a large circle of people before the food is consumed. The actual procurement, however, no longer involves very many people. In fact, one summer while I was in Kitsumkalum, there were only two motor boats, a canoe, and a pole net active. The next year, two additional motor boats were purchased with the intent of using them for fishing, but the pole net had been abandoned. During this time there were also some non-status Kitsumkalum fishing commercially who contributed to the total village production (two in the first year, three the next). Similar restraints existed during the Port Essington days when not everyone had a boat. Consequently, a degree of specialization occurred then, as it does now, with some people being the fishermen of the community.

The procurement technology currently in use that can be handled by an individual includes:

- gaffs
- spears

- food fishing from a boat with a set net. This requires only a single person, who normally is a man. Although men often fish alone, a partner may accompany a fisherman to help clear the net, to talk, and sometimes to explore the river. The partner tends to also be a hunting partner, so the pair are a team of friends, often related, but not necessarily. If there is a principle to this informal group it derives from the tendency to circulate the fish within a particular section of the population. Those who accompany the fisherman are usually a part of this group, thus conserving labour. Children are often taken out, as well, and they learn the skills of fishing through participant observation.

Other methods no longer in use were easier to perform with more than one person, e.g.,

- halibut long lines, 600 feet long, which require two men to haul in
- trawling, which was performed with an oarsman aiding the fisherman
- traps and weirs necessitated communal labour to build, maintain, and operate.

(Detailed descriptions appear in Berringer 1982.)

Some fishing not only had a collective aspect to the labour but also had a mass aspect. The oolachan fishery on the Nass River annually attracted thousands of Indians from all over. Local chiefs claimed in 1887 that over 5000

Tsimshian, Tlingit, Haida, and other Indians had come to Fishery Bay to procure and process oolachan into grease (British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1887:260). They did so in separate, uncoordinated groups, which I call a mass effort. The attractions were the quantity of the run and the on-shore fair that had grown up in consequence of the presence of different groups.

Processing the landed fish today primarily involves women in smoking, canning, or freezing. Modern freezing methods are the simplest, requiring a minimal amount of work to clean and package the fish. Canning is somewhat more complicated, but an individual task because home canning machines are small and manually operated by a single person. The work may become somewhat communal if a group of women share the tasks of butchering and canning. This sometimes occurs simply because it is more efficient in organizational terms and also more pleasant. The sharing of some equipment, notably pressure cookers or canners which are expensive and not commonly owned, is another focal point for sharing the work.

Smoking and other aboriginal methods of preservation are more complex in labour terms than are modern methods. The technology requires more training, smoking facilities, firewood of a certain type for flavour, and a great deal of time to do it properly. It is the most time consuming of the methods and is more easily performed collectively,

usually in a mass effort of many hands working many fish (a form of simple cooperation). As a result of the requirements of these methods, which are all essentially camp skills, there are not many young women in Kitsumkalum who smoke fish, although there are several smoke houses which are kept going throughout the season.

This is the current situation (1980). Unfortunately, looking back in time, it is difficult to reconstruct the use of labour in fishing from ethnographic sources, which only mention the sexual and class divisions. In the intervening period of the past ninety years, however, there have been a number of factors affecting Kitsumkalum's fishing labour, which reduced the availability of time to handle fish. People with wage jobs procured or processed fish after supper or on days off, just as they do now. This would also include strike days and it is interesting to make the comparative note that during a recent logging strike there was an increase in fishing by non-Indian fishermen, illegally setting river nets for food, just as there have been noticeable shifts to food fishing by Indians in times of unemployment, even as early as 1885 (British Columbia Sessional Papers 1885:284).

The canneries were important disruptive factors deflecting Tsimshian labour away from the aboriginal economy. At first, cannery fishing and employment were easily integrated into the seasonal round. Food fish were

caught and dried at camps after the commercial runs were finished (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1889:119). But the gradual inclusion of all runs into the capitalist fishery destroyed this too by encroaching further upon the yearly schedule and by creating problems for people in trying to conduct camp production.

Later still, during the period around 1950, changes in the trapping and forestry industries (described in chapters 12 and 14) had a major effect on the camp life of the Kitsumkalum, which discouraged families from moving to the camps with the loggers and trappers. When this happened, the camp work performed by the women (e.g., drying fish) was, accordingly, halted and, eventually, men took to river fishing near to home as their means of obtaining necessary food supplies.

Laws governing fishing times, sites, and gear all affect the application of labour. Most prominent are those concerning the working of the food fishery. The earliest regulation of labour through food fish licences, was passed by O/C 12 May 1910 which required Indians to have specific permission from the Inspector in order to fish. The Inspector's powers were later extended to regulate where, how, and when the labour was employed (O/C 11 September 1917), which is essentially the position the food fishery is in now.

These rules have created a particular problem for the labour force. I was told several times that before the laws, people could pace their productive activities carefully, just catching what they needed and what they could process easily. The efficiency of the aboriginal technology allowed this. Now, however, with all the regulations on when fishing can occur, the fish must be caught all at once, with the result that the women have to work very hard for a short period of time to preserve it. Such a heavy concentration of effort discourages any people who have other demands on their time, especially from such inflexible sources as wage labour or school. Even non-employed individuals (retired elders, full time housewives, for example) find it difficult to schedule both fish preparation and their other work into the same time period. If a choice is forced, and there is money available for market substitutes, the aboriginal productive activies often suffer.

Non-labourers

Currently, the distribution of fish includes people who cannot contribute labour because of problems associated with other work, age, sickness, etc. They will receive according to need. Young loggers who make good wages will get whatever the surplus production allows (which is usually a

function of the fisherman's own time budget); a working widow with a small income will receive all she needs. Who is supplied by whom is a function of relatedness, but also of friendship, and sometimes of charity. Whether or not this is governed by a rationality of exchange reciprocity is difficult to confirm. Some cases could only be explained as extreme forms of generalized reciprocity, but the moral obligation to help is the major explanatory device given by the people themselves.

Another non-labourer that receives a portion of the fisherman's work, and who is often overlooked, is the Fishery Office. Annual fines can amount to several months wage for an officer (I do not know if these are placed directly in the salary budget) or to a significant amount of the operating costs of the office. Indians claim that officers illegally consume confiscated fish and take fish directly from nets. While Indian politicking around the issue of fishing rights make use of these points, I do not have any evidence, other than hearsay, of corruption in the study area.[1]

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[1] Historically, the government found it necessary to insert into the Fishery Act a clause concerned with violations of the law by officials.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Legal Ownership

Pre-contact ownership patterns are difficult to reconstruct. Darling's efforts, through a review of the literature, only found reference to the ownership of cod and halibut banks and stretches of beach. These were the property of households (1955:11). The tribes (villages) were not reported to own any fishing resources, but, as Nolan states (1977:99ff.), there is a dearth of information.

Nonetheless, the archives give reason to assume general and widespread ownership over aquatic resources. The Beynon and Barbeau field notes, for example, refer to a number of specific Kitsumkalum fishing stations along the river and, especially, through the canyon area. Other sources, such as the Indian Affairs reports (e.g., Cananda, Department of Indian Affairs 1878:68-69), mention hereditary fishing rights and grounds. In the coastal villages elders still remember the location of lineage fishing sites that were in use when they were young.

Hence, there is good reason to assume tribal property rights existed to fisheries, although I was not able to compile adequate information in Kitsumkalum on the specific forms of tenure.

British Columbia's union with the Canadian Confederation marked the loss of legal ownership. The legislation which attacked Tsimshian ownership by restricting access to the resource and defining the property relationship is embodied in both Federal and Provincial Acts, both of which are now administered only by the Federal Fisheries officers, in Terrace and Prince Rupert. Provincially, the laws were originally incorporated in the 1877 Game Protection Act, which was superceded in 1901 by the Provincial Fisheries Act. Federally, it was the Fisheries Act, which was extended to the province in 1874 (S.C. 31V. C60s15).

The declaration of these laws was not coincident with their enforcement. In the northern areas they pre-dated any industrial development of the fisheries. Naturally, with the arrival of foreign interests in the fisheries, and associated concepts of property, conflicts arose over resource ownership.

The contempt of the cannery owners for the established local tenure system was an early source of troubles. Immediately after the establishment of the first cannery, the Superindendent of Indian Affairs was reporting on the concern of coastal Tsimshians that their hereditary rights to fisheries were being encroached upon by the capitalist fishery (1878:68). Some of the complaints were over interference with fishing grounds by cannery directed gill

netters, others over the establishment of cannery plants on top of shore stations or villages (such plants were protected under S.C. 31V C60 s.3). For example, the troubles at Kitkatla in 1878, which lead to policing actions by an imperial gunboat, stemmed from the invasion of some fishing grounds belonging to the Kitkatla people (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1879:114, Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Narratives 1878:296). Such encroachments were most frequent on the Skeena River itself, where the capitalist fishery was both concentrated and more intensive (e.g., Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1881:154; 1884:277-78, 1886; 1890).

To reduce the tension and ostensibly protect Indian rights, the Fishery Inspector suggested the reserve system be established (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1879:134). The government's response, in 1881, was to commission Mr. O'Reilly to investigate the problems (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1881:154). Ten years later the same man was requested to allot reserves on the Skeena. In the meantime, the government's cynical but accurate analysis of the problem was that the Tsimshians felt they owned the country (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1886:xi, cf. British Columbia, Sessional Papers, 1887).

The method of overcoming this attitude was the enforcement of the Canadian legislation. The next section will outline how this transfer of economic control, from the

Tsimshian lineages to capital, was effected.

Loss Of Economic Control

After assuming ownership, a number of years went past during which the government felt a lenient policy was "suitable" (if not necessary, given the expensive gunboat diplomacy that was involved) in enforcing its legislated control. This policy changed with the growth of the capitalist fisheries.

Gradually, Fisheries officers entered the area and applied the legislation and regulations which made the legal ownership effective. The establishment of the reserve system in 1891 was a manifestation of this and defined where the Kitsumkalum would be able to maintain a few of their own fisheries against foreign intrusion, although strictly under the tutelage of the Dominion. Elsewhere, the resources were to be kept more open and the province would deny vigorously that Indians had any exclusive rights to fishing grounds (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1884:278).

Regionally, the fisheries acts were not immediately applied to the Tsimshian districts. A Fisheries Officer first visited the area in 1877, to show the flag for the canners, in the company of the Superinendent of Indian Affairs and on board the DIA's vessel, H.M. Gunship Rocket. He returned again in 1878 and 1881, in the same manner.

These were not much more than token visits, but powerfully symbolic.

It was not until F. Morrison was appointed to Port Essington and region to be the first resident Fishery Guardian in 1885, that regulation began in earnest. The office was soon expanded, in 1889, when an officer was appointed specifically for the Skeena River. Even with this new staff, it is likely that application of the legislation inland was not made until the 1890s. Even up to the turn of century, confusion over Indian rights and the disquiet of the Tsimshian probably made the application uneven, especially in the more remote areas.

Nonetheless, by the 1880s, there were numerous restrictions upon the resource and tensions were growing between the Tsimshian and immigrant populations. When the Guardian arrived in 1885, he had to find some way to enforce, without causing too much trouble, a rather large corpus of laws governing the resource, technology, and labour. Besides all those which have already been discussed, there were, in 1885, close seasons on trout, whitefish, and salmon from July 31 to May 1 (S.C. 1885 C60 s/7 and 8). The trout close season was changed to November 15 to March 24 in 1910. That same year, a close season for halibut was declared between March 1 and 31 (both by O/C 12 March 1910), and lifted in 1912 (by O/C 19 November 1912). Capitalist fishing was prohibited on most of Sunday by the

same Act, and any type of fishing on any part of Sundays by Christian Indians was restricted by missionaries. It is little wonder that Tsimshians were becoming angry.

In lieu of their old control over fishing, a special set of exemptions - the food fishing clauses - were being developed. The legislation that recognized the continuing importance of the aboriginal economy for the survival of the Indian, was established by an 1878 O/C[1] and clarified by O/C 26 November 1888. With a subtle assertion of the new property relationship and of the re-organization of salmon into the commodity economy, the orders allowed Indians certain privileges within the law when they were fishing to provide food for themselves and their families. It did not protect the Tsimshian (or, more generally, Indian) trade in fish, which was an important part of their economy. On the contrary, the law effectively attacked and destroyed it.

In 1908, additional restrictions were added to the food fishing laws which required Indians to report where, when, and how they had fished (O/C/8 June 1908). Finally, O/C 11 September 1917 placed limits on the number of food fish taken and the time of the fishing. The limits were to be regulated by the Inspector.

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[1] I could not locate this Order in Council in the government records.

Salmon, the symbolic heart of the aboriginal economy, and focus of aboriginal rights, was now totally embedded within and defined by capitalist property relations. This situation has remained essentially unchanged to the present, with the Federal Government controlling food fishing by a licencing system that provides the Fishery Officer the power to define access to the resource (S.B.C. 1981 C 60 s.29)

It is in this context that the official understanding of fishing rights is made. Given the colonial origins of the situation, a precise definition of these rights and their status in law has become a moot point, generating considerable political energy in the province. My intention has been to indicate the general alienation of the Tsimshians (and Kitsumkalum) from their resource, and the way that the government's re-definition of their relation to the fish was redefined by the government strictly in terms of a subsistence food resource (see later in this Chapter). As a result, any other options for its appropriation were reserved for capital.

This attack on Tsimshian control of the resource was to be so thorough that officers were empowered to inspect, without warrants, buildings, boats, and cars for evidence of a violation of the Act (R.S.B.C. 1911 C89 s.27). Any such evidence became prima facie evidence of the violation (ibid. S.29).

For the non-status portion of Kitsumkalum, the situation is worse. They have no rights. While status members can at least obtain a special food fishing licence, subject to the restrictions discussed earlier, these other members cannot, although exceptions can be won. In one case involving a Kitsumkalum before World War II, a woman who had become enfranchised received a special permit before World War II to food fish for her elderly grandmother who could no longer do so for herself. But even during this exception, Fisheries surveillance was sharp.

Kitsumkalum has lost most forms of control over the fish resource, but food fishing leaves a modicum of a real property relationship. This is continually under attack throughout the province by allegations of widespread wastage such as leaving fish to rot in nets. Some stories are undoubtedly true, but the problem is over emphasized. A hundred rotting fish were once reported removed from a net identified as belonging to a Kitsumkalum, but while this is deplorable to conservationists and Kitsumkalums alike, I found no evidence to suggest that such incidents were common, or that the Kitsumkalum food fishery devastates the runs in any other ways - even though this is feasible technologically, especially in the aftermath of industrial damage on the Kitsumkalum and Skeena Rivers.

It is from the organized sports fishermen that the greatest agitation comes over the question of Indian depletion and wastage. Indian usage is limited to food fishing, without the possiblity of commercial development on the principle of expanded accumulation used by the canners and commercial outlets that encourage sports fishing. Only a small proportion of the run seems affected by this, and only after it has escaped the commercial interests.

Given the documentable near-extinction of runs by loggers, the depletion at the coast, etc., the food fish use seems like a relatively insignificant portion.

Within these political tensions and ecological concerns, relationships between the Federal Department of Fisheries and food fishermen have always been strained. The government's supervision of the fisheries is strict when it comes to the politically weakest sector, food fishing, and it is generally assumed by Indian fishermen that they are under continual observation while they tend their nets. This would be impossible, of course, but the political protest around the problem has uncovered a surprising number of incidents of clandestine operations against Indian people. As a result, the police presence is felt very strongly when one discusses the fishery or accompanies a fisherman.

An effort has been made to diffuse the tension between Indians and Fisheries by giving charge of the licences to the Band Council. A certain section of the Skeena, including the Kitsumkalum River, is under the licencing of Kitsumkalum's Band Manager, who issues licences that have already been signed by the Fisheries Officer. Kitsumkalum has no policy of exclusion, unlike the upriver Kitselas and Gitksan bands which reserve their licences for their own band members. This system has not been entirely successful, but it does divert some of the dissatisfaction away from the government by focusing attention on the Band Manager, who is put in the unfortunate position of explaining the regulations to others. At times, resentment can become serious, exposing the Manager to harassment and threats. This is a greater problem for him than for the Officer, since the Band Manager lives on the reserve.

Other conflicts occasionally arise over the justification of the Kitselas/Kitsumkalum licencing boundary. Sometimes a Kitselas will occupy a Kitsumkalum fishing spot on the Skeena. So far, such situations have been easily handled by discussion or the removal of the offending net.

Erosion Of Possession

During his tour of inquiry in 1891, the Reserve Commissioner promised the Kitsumkalum that the fish in their district would not be interfered with by the foreigners (Public Archives of Canada, R.G. 10, vol. 1022, handscript minutes of Indian Reserve Commission, Kitsumkalum, October 7, 1891). Thus, Kitsumkalum would continue to exercise economic control as if, the implication was, no change had occurred. The reality of the situation was different, however, as the growth of the fishery regulations and development of alternate resource uses proved. More than this, the cumulative effects of governmental policies for economic development meant a gradual depletion of the resource by business and other interests.

The effect of the capitalist fishing industry has been discussed, but in the twentieth century more harm was inflicted on the fish, this time at the spawning grounds by settlers, saw mills, and gravel borrowing (see Canadian National Railway 1975:7-23). Some of the earliest of these injuries were to the Kitsumkalum River salmon runs.

Despite all this, the recent Fishery Narratives indicate large salmon populations on the Kitsumkalum system even at the time of World War II. It was not until after the war that the environment was completely devastated as a result of revised forest policy and legislation, and the subsequent entry of multinational corporations into the

industry. They brought new techniques that included clear cutting and river log running practices. These ended all significant salmon runs into the system.

The annual Fisheries Narratives clearly connect the extension of logging operations, which was rapid, to the simultaneous, near extinction of the salmon run in each of the streams that passed through the affected areas. Removal of shore cover, hauling across the streams and other practices, all contributed to the disaster but, as if to make the effect complete, river beds were gouged by running logs, log jams and blockages, and finally altered with artifical shoring of the unstable banks until the main Kitsumkalum River was also nearly devoid of salmon.

In other locales, these problems were compounded by road and powerline construction across sensitive valleys. The Cedar River at the north end of Kitsumkalum Lake, for example, was seriously affected in this manner (Canadian National Railway 1975:7-24).

With such an unfortunate history of interference with the raw resource it is not surprising that the Kitsumkalum, along with other Indians in the area, now feel concern over the growing numbers of sports fishermen, many of whom are local residents, but more and more of whom are vacationers. Tourists are coming from all over the world, on their own or as a part of commercial lodge operations, and the Skeena is gaining a reputation as a sportsman's paradise. (One

tourist advertisement says the largest line caught salmon was taken from the mouth of the Kitsumkalum River).

The effect of all this upon people's procurement abilities is obvious. Today many streams and rivers are so de-populated that they are no longer suitable for fishing. The resulting inability of Kitsumkalum to be able to enjoy fully even the food rights they had been granted is an ongoing source of concern. The old fishing stations at Dalk ka gilaguoex village, are excellent examples of it. These once highly productive and famous locales are now overgrown and nearly forgotten - the fish are no longer there and the people have been forced to disperse to other areas.[1]

Kitsumkalum has often joined in formal protests and sought solutions to these problems through various means, including salmonid enhancement programmes. When all else is failing, their unorganized protests are recorded with those

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[1] Beyond the material issues, there is also a more subjective but equally real effect. A gap exists in the cultural life and memory of the Kitsumkalum, who are one community of the Salmon-Eater Peoples of the Northwest Coast. The big runs no longer choke the streams and the old stories speak that much less emphatically to the young. The relationship of these people to the fish that were once so vital a part of their culture is a tradition that is slowly disappearing. Even the old, associated land use patterns are being forgotten, and entire village sites are never seen by the grandchildren of the people who knew them.

These are all roots pulled up by the transfer of property rights out of Tsimshian hands. What the nature of this transfer was and how extensive it became will be examined next.

of many others by Fisheries in the form of prosecutions under the Fishery Act.

Property In The Product

Rights of labour to the resource as it was being processed after procurement have been discussed in my introductory comments. The effect of the food fishing rights and other legislation limits the legality of these claims to status members of the community. In fact, this amounts to a nuisance factor only, given the lack of industry on the part of Fisheries to patrol people's homes, but it is an important, constricting nuisance. Before Confederation, such rights were governed by principles of social organization, clan and lineage rights.

Rights To Product In Circulation

Aboriginal distribution occurred within the lineage, village, and clan, with some trade occurring beyond these social groupings. When the Hudson Bay Company arrived there quickly developed an important trade in fish, prior to the capitalist fishing period.

The fish market on the Skeena (production for exchange to the Hudson Bay Company and other foreigners) became an important source of revenue for the Indians, who were the main suppliers if not the only suppliers for many years. This traffic began immediately upon the establishment of Fort (Port) Simpson. As at other Company posts throughout the continent, the European traders relied upon native production for a significant portion of their diet. Information on the extent of this trade can be found in the journals kept by the factors at the fort. Although this source is an inconsistent record, it shows that the trade was important and, compared to later figures on consumption, of relatively large volume for the Indians involved. Table 2 lists the tabulated trade at the fort during the years the traders made regular mention of food items. Additional information comes from the early Confederation period. In 1878, the Fishery Narratives estimated that from 20,000 to 30,000 fish were annually being sold to Fort Babine by Indians (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1878:296), compared to an estimated 20,000 caught for consumption by Skeena River Indians in 1889 (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1889:257).

Without evidence to the contrary, it may be assumed that this trade originally was for the procurement of other use-values, possibly prestige goods for feasting, but not for the purposes of accumulation. Later, it may have grown

TABLE 2

THE FOOD TRADE AT PORT SIMPSON
(COMPILED FROM HUDSON BAY COMPANY ARCHIVE FILES, SEE TEXT)

ITEM	1834	1835	1836	1837	1840	1858	1866
Deer Meat (pieces)	49	25	166	-	-	-	-
Deer	265	324	307 ½	558	56	65	6
Salmon - Dry	2020	5638	5052	5487	400	-	-
- ½ Dry	-	198	46	-	-	-	-
- Fresh	-	99	823	2520	627	300	-
Halibut	-	124	808	1145	59	-	-
Grease (pounds)	632	360 ½	1233 ½	274 ½	86	-	-
Whale Oil (gallons)	32	82	44	614	-	150	-
Beaver - Meat	-	-	27	-	-	4	-
- Dry	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
Potatoes (bushels)	4	1006 ¾	485 ¾	854	-	-	-
Eggs	-	877	1130	2236	-	-	-
Berries - Dry Cakes	68	58	-	36	-	-	-
Cranberries (cakes)	2	8	-	24	-	-	-
Geese	23	240	177	185	15	22	2
Ducks	14	86	54	90	-	-	-
Smoked Fish	-	30	-	-	-	-	-
Porcupine	-	15	-	-	-	-	-
Cod	-	2	352	64	-	-	-
Smoked Cod	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Crabs	-	27	-	36	-	-	-
Seals	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Dry Meat	-	5	1434	532	1101	-	-
Swan	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Fresh Meat (pounds)	-	-	21	-	-	-	-
Lynx Meat	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Flounders	-	-	-	240	-	-	-
Small Fish	-	-	-	-	78	-	-

into a small business of petty accumulation in the hands of some individuals. Such capture was ultimately treated as illegal (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1887:vii), and the methods used were severely defined and curtailed by legislation.

At the same time, some control over production for exchange was enhanced when Indians resident in the USA were banned from the Nass oolachan fishery (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, 1888:202). This put the Canadian Indians in a favourable position, especially against their own Tsimshian relatives who had undertaken an exodus to Alaska under the leadership of the missionary Duncan. Little is known about the effects of the legislation, but since the oolachan fishery was also an international fair ground on shore, the overall effect must have reduced trade between the Indian nations and altered associated craft specializations and village relations.

The government's reasons for passing this regulation are unclear. Oolachans were outside of the industrial requirements, and not a concern of Fisheries. The more general issue for the government may have been with international transportation and freight in the border area, as much as with Indian rights. A myriad of port laws and regulations do appear in the same time period.

The arrival of salmon canning companies placed the Tsimshians in a competitive position within the market. Illegal fishing by Indians for sale to the canneries was an immediate concern of the first Guardian (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1888:vii). As a result, Indians were explicitly forbidden from transporting fish caught above tidal boundaries to areas below, unless the fish was in processed form and thus of no value to the canners (O/C 4 May 1916). This regulation was tightened in 1917 to forbid the purchase of any food fish, and placed upon the Indian the burden of proving any fish that he possessed or otherwise disposed of was indeed not caught as food fish (O/C 11 September 1917). These two realms, food fish and commercial fish, were now separated clearly as production for use values and for exchange values, to be used in either the natural or commodity economy but not both.

The enforcement of the regulations now involves considerable surveillance, spot checks, and searches on the highways, towns, in public areas, and prosecutions.

Nonetheless, a blackmarket exists between individual food fishermen and closed circles of trusted customers. Prices in 1980 started at $5 a piece compared to over $12 in a store. I suspect (because it is improper to question on this topic) that such sales, although not large, do contribute several hundred dollars a year to the few

fishermen who engage in the traffic. At the same time, gifts of fish to non-status people (Indian and others) are an important non-economic exchange that occurs surreptitiously.

Most distribution occurs within the total production unit, as outlined in the introductory remarks. This is regulated by the Federal specification that food fish are only to be for the consumption of the family, although, how family is defined gives some flexibility. The difficulty in supervising this distribution, leaves it, by and large, within the control of the Kitsumkalum.

8. GATHERING

MEANS OF PRODUCTION

The Resource

The biotic diversity of the area provided the Kitsumkalums with a rich storehouse of raw materials. The full range of biological resources that were gathered and used for food, medicines, manufactures, etc., by the Tsimshians before contact with Europeans is probably more extensive than we can reconstruct, but I have definite references to the use of the following (based on field work and the major ethnographies):

land flora
- berries, roots (Boas 1889:816), maple wood (Boas 1916:396), fern roots (ibid.:404), hemlock sap, lichen (ibid.:44), skunk cabbage (ibid.:405), barks, shoots, crabapples (Garfield 1966:13), cedars, fir, yew, hazelnuts, grasses, high-bush and low-bush cranberries, devil club, fireweed, fire wood, mushrooms;

marine flora
- seaweeds, kelp (Boas 1889:816, 1916:44);

aquatic fauna
- fish eggs, clams, mussels, (Boas 1885:816), cockles(Boas 1916:404),

barnacles, chitons, shellfish (Garfield 1966:13), china slippers, sea cucumbers, abalone, crabs, sea prunes;
land fauna
- birds' eggs.

I include the fauna in gathering activities because that is how they are associated by the Kitsumkalum. Gathered species also are relatively immobile, unlike the species pursued in the hunt. Immobility is a resource characteristic linked to the distinction between male/female procurement activities.

The species listed have a fairly widespread distribution, although for many of them, their actual occurrence may be in concentrations. The only major regional distinction that can be noted is between the coast and the interior.

Technology

The basic means of production for gathering are simple: resource sites, hands, carrying containers, and simple tools such as a digging stick if roots or clams are being sought, or a long pole with a hook for abalone (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Report 1914:R122). The processing of the harvest for consumption or storage often involves more sophisticated technological facilities, e.g., woodworking tools, storage buildings, home canners and even freezers during this century, but could be as simple and unrefined as

a drying rock for seaweed.

Men provide transportation to and from resource sites, because it is they who are the usual owners of the vehicles. This is an essential role for island locations, but not so much so as far as inland crops are concerned. Today, motor boats have replaced canoes on the major waterways. Inland, trains, motor cars, and roadways have generally replaced the river transportation and much foot traffic. (See Garfield's summary of the evolution of the transportation technology of the Tsimshian (1966:12).)

To a large extent, the technological changes in this century have been towards time-saving devices. Disposable carrying and storage containers (e.g., tins, plastics) are mass produced and therefore cheap in cash costs and in labour time compared to woven cedar bark baskets or bent-wood boxes. Home canners allow a large amount of food to be preserved in a day; freezers are even faster. Time saving devices are incorporated into both daily tasks and also aboriginal handicraft uses of resources. Examples range from small electric spinners used with commercially purchased Indian wools and flatbed drays for transporting cedar poles to the carvers' workshops. Women, who spend so much time processing subsistence products, are the immediate beneficiaries of these changes. There are other changes, mainly in transportation, that increase safety, comfort (especially the insect repellants), and pleasure (e.g.,

transistor radios).

The most important component of gathering technology is the knowledge of the resources, their locations, seasons of availability, management, and processing. Much of this was the monopoly of women, and remains so today. Although there were no open assaults on the material technology, technological knowledge has been seriously disrupted. Wage labour patterns and compulsory education in Canadian schools, especially the residential schools that took children away from the home, broke the transmission of information to a large portion of the younger generation. Since then, the attractions of urban centres for the young who are tied to wages, television, and downtown entertainment provides an appealing substitute to the work of the mysterious bush, a place of perceived and real hardship which is not considered necessary so long as there are supermarkets nearby with imported foods. Some individuals try to salvage the ancient knowledge, but much of it is disappearing as quickly as the forest cover itself.

Labour

Gathering of resources was primarily the responsibility of the women at the residential sites. Keeping in mind my earlier comments, the groups were generally composed of members of a family unit, the kindred of a recognized head

individual. Garfield describes the early organization as a household lineage with a core of matrilineal consanguines related to the resource owning titleholder (either a husband, lineage chief, or village chief, depending on the seasonal/residential location and activity 1966:17), plus some people who were relatives by social fictions only (1966:22), and attached slaves (1966:15). The women of this group worked under the supervision of the senior wife (1966:15). Labour was organized through the corporate, resource-owning kin group.

By the 1930s, property rights had been appropriated by the Crown and the corporate group was less significant. It no longer ensured access to resources, but it did remain a source of labour and an idiom for organizing labour.

The core of the camp work groups were the grandmothers, sisters, and brothers' wives. Evolving property relations within the structure of Canadian law also permitted both greater bilaterality in the group and more informal supervision, usually through the senior, more experienced women. The bilaterality was indicated by the appearance of brothers and their affinal relatives, as well as friends, at the camps. This was the result of the combined breakdown of the matrilineal property system, and a continued occupation of territories for reasons of production in the new, mixed economy.

Other changes in the total economy which occurred during the twentieth century prevented some families from going to camps. In fact, for a period, only two groups regularly went out from Port Essington, and the others participated only to a limited extent through visits by their representatives. Some of those who did not maintain a camp simply utilized the resources growing near their place of employment and residence, e.g., the Brown's Lake area behind Brown's Mill on the Ecstall River.

Then, as now, going onto the land or islands to gather, even for a short time, afforded not only a chance for gaining access to food, but also for relaxation and friendly exchanges.

The work group at camp was assisted in numerous ways by the children, who babysat, did chores appropriate to their age and experience, and received the training necessary to participate directly when they matured.

Certain jobs, such as pulverizing and drying hemlock bark, or collecting sea bird eggs were routinely shared by both sexes. Others such as the gathering of the barks for baskets, or grasses for weaving, or fireweed for nets, the gathering and drying of seaweeds and berries; digging shellfish; or crabbing, were more exclusively women's work. So too was most of the preparation and preservation of these foods, or of grasses for weaving. Men had no specific gathering jobs, but they would help the women from time to

time, joining in when they were at home, usually between periods of fishing, hunting, trapping, logging, or whatever. In some cases men were responsible for providing transportation in their fishboats to the resource sites.

The requirements of camp life no longer provide structure for gathering, and the work is organized around reserve life instead. Nonetheless, the basic pattern remains: related women, with the aid of children and friends, still do most of the harvesting, and men provide transportation. This participation by the men is often appreciated by the berry pickers who were usually glad for the men's presence because the women were very conscious of their ecological competition to the bear population and the rifles that the men would often carry provided reassurance. Women do not feel as comfortable with rifles and, on their own, tend not to carry one when gathering.

Even though the basic arrangement has not changed greatly over the years, the relationship of the wild harvest to other activities in their productive lives has become much more mechanical, that is less integrated. The performance and organization of the harvest suffers from increasing interference by the other uses of time and labour, especially those which became predominant with the decline of camp life since World War II, wage labour in particular.

PROPERTY RELATIONS

Loss Of Legal Ownership

The establishment of the three reserves for the Kitsumkalums in 1891 marked the legal loss of their ownership of resource sites, and caused serious damage to the corresponding social relationships. Yet the loss was not immediate or total until the areas became occupied by foreign peoples and industries.

In allotting the reserves, the Indian Reserve Commissioner summarized his interpretation of Tsimshian economic relationships:

> "You will not be confined to your reserves. You can go on the mountain to hunt and gather berries as you have always done. Some think it would be a hardship that the hunting grounds should not be defined, but the govt. does not see how that could be done, for an Indian goes where he will to hunt, or gather berries. No survey could be made of them." (Public Archives of Canada RG 10 v.1022 handscript of minutes)

This was a simple statement, but misleading in what it assumed. Tsimshians certainly gathered much more than berries and they could have surveyed their properties because precise knowledge of their relationships to the raw materials of the harvest were tied to the lineage and village structures.

The details of these original relationships are not well documented, but some reconstruction is possible from the literature and field notes in archives. Darling, in his review of the ethnography, notes that patches of edible roots, cedar stands, and certain generalized territories were specified as lineage property. On the coast, kelp beds were also owned by lineages, although clam beds were village property (1955:10-12). Garfield added to this list lineage ownership of berry patches (1966:23) and stated that "there were no unclaimed land or sea food resources of a kind important to the Indian's economy" (1966:14), although she did not have detailed data. The Sessional Papers reporting on "Indian troubles" also indicated widespread ownership of "fruit-gathering preserves" and timber lands (cedar stands?) (British Columbia, Sessional Papers 1885:289; 1887:260ff.).

According to informants, such properties generally had names and associated packages of ownership rights. The Beynon/Barbeau fieldnotes list named territories which included designations such as sqaw.a ms, "where grows devil's club", as well as m /qE'ld , "burnt shrubs", in the Kitsumkalum Valley, and others in Zimacord District (see McDonald, 1983). If the women had been interviewed, many more names undoubtedly would have been preserved to identify specific locales.

This additional aspect of the property relationships, which was legally lost in 1891, was the symbolic relationship between the villages based upon village specializations in production for the feasts (Kitsumkalum was noted as a producer of dried fish and mats. See Boas 1916:398, cf., p. 274). The specialty dishes each village contributed were probably related to ecological differences and possible craft specializations in the respective territories (ibid., and Garfield 1966:16). But there was a larger social significance also. Allaire draws this out when he argues for a symbolic interpretation in which the dishes are viewed as a codification of a mental map of the Tsimshian villages (1984). Given the context of feasting, the political content of the code must have been high, signifying the relationship of the villages to the host. Now, the only clue we have specifying that content is the relative ranking of the villages in the myth studied by Allaire. The loss of property rights undermined the relationship nearly a century ago and the information is lost.

This is the nature of what was lost with the imposition of the reserve system. Its full effect was not felt by gatherers until settlers and police began to arrive in the Valley.

Erosion Of Economic Control

Then came resource legislation: the Forestry Act, Fisheries Act, Game Act, Bird Convention. Some old people still remember and complain about how they could not take bark from the hemlock or cedar trees which was necessary to many manufactures. This apparently refers to a clause in the Forestry Act which made it illegal to remove any products of the forest on Crown Lands (R.S.B.C. 1924 C93 s10.1). In specific cases, women were prevented from stripping trees as they had been accustomed, and men could no longer cut timber for boxes or canoes without a timber licence or lease. I could not trace the forestry legislation on this beyond the date given (1924), but in 1887, a delegation of chiefs was told by the Premier of the province that timber on crown lands was protected by timber lease and that people cutting trees for house construction or storage boxes could be stopped legally by the Tsimshian owners of the lands if they held a lease (British Columbia Sessional Papers 1887:253ff.). In fact, the complicated requirements for tenure inhibited widespread registration of timber lands by Indians (see chapter 14) and there is convincing evidence of prejudice against Indian registry (Pritchard 1977:115ff.).

I did not see the specific regulations governing other products harvested in the northwest forest or other foreign controls, but the legislation certainly provided for such.

In the case of land fauna, restrictions were placed on the collection of the eggs of the grouse, robin, blackbird, thrush, and wild ducks by the Game Protection Act of 1887 (R.S.B.C. 1888 C52s12). This was extended by the Dominion's Migratory Bird Convention Act of 1917 to include the eggs of other migratory birds, insectivorous birds, swans, shorebirds, and the cranes (R.S.C. 1917 C130 Article IV). Article III of this Act allowed Indians to take the eggs of migratory non-game birds for food only.

With the development of the capitalist fisheries, there was an increasing number of restrictions and controls placed upon marine resources by provincial and Dominion legislation. Shell fisheries were regulated in 1874 when the Dominion Fisheries Act was applied to B.C. shortly after Confederation. (S.C. 1874 C60 s15). By 1908, licences were required for clam, abalone, and crab fisheries. Abalone was closed every third year, size limits were placed on crabs, and supervision of clam beds by the local fishery officer was required (O/C 1908, p. ccxxxi). Indians were to be exempt from licence requirements only.

Provincial laws were largely an extension of Dominion legislation. In 1901 the provincial Fisheries Act established provision to set close seasons on fish in

provincial waters. Section 38 included the shellfish resource in the Act (R.S.B.C. 1911 C89 s38). Since 1946, licences have been required to harvest kelp and other aquatic plants (R.S.B.C. 1948 C125 s30).

The imposition of these controls upon the material appropriation of the resources were not only manifestations of the loss of legal ownership, they were also examples of the erosion of actual economic control of the resource sites. In other words, ownership had been assured legally long before it meant anything in real terms, it was through the development of the legislative controls that the loss was defined and structured.

Loss Of Possession

As legislative control extended over the raw materials a different kind of loss gained momentum, that of the destruction of resource sites by alternate land uses. The Indian Reserve Commissioner had promised that there would be no interference with gathering activities, but his word was broken as settlers and industry appeared.

It began immediately after the reserves were established, when Tom Thornhill moved to the present site of Terrace to begin homesteading. By 1910 a fair sized community existed at Eby's Landing (Terrace), with homesteaders fanning across the Kitsumkalum Valley,

establishing farms and settlements according to Provincial, not Tsimshian, laws and tenures. Pre-emptor maps (in the map collection, University of British Columbia Libraries) show the extensiveness of settlement at the turn of the century (e.g., Figure 8). This homesteading and the associated settlements caused considerable losses to berry patches. One woman, who was nearly a hundred years old, tried to explain to me where her family took berries but was sure that I would not be able to locate the sites because they were overgrown with flowers (agricultural use) and destroyed by roadways. She could remember the time of their destruction as the turn of the century.

Of course, not all the land was so changed. Some of it was saved, apparently because it was unsuitable for farming, especially that on the west side of the Valley. As a result, the children of the families which remained in the Terrace area to work were able to remember collecting food even after World War II. Although they could not say whether they had done so in the original lineage areas, their descriptions indicate heaviest use on the ganhada properties, and their father was a ganhada sm'oogyit.

After the enactment of new forestry laws in the 1940s (Chapter 14), multinational companies moved quickly and clear cut the forest from Terrace north, a process which is still taking the industry into the more inaccessible locations. Along with the timber went the rest of the

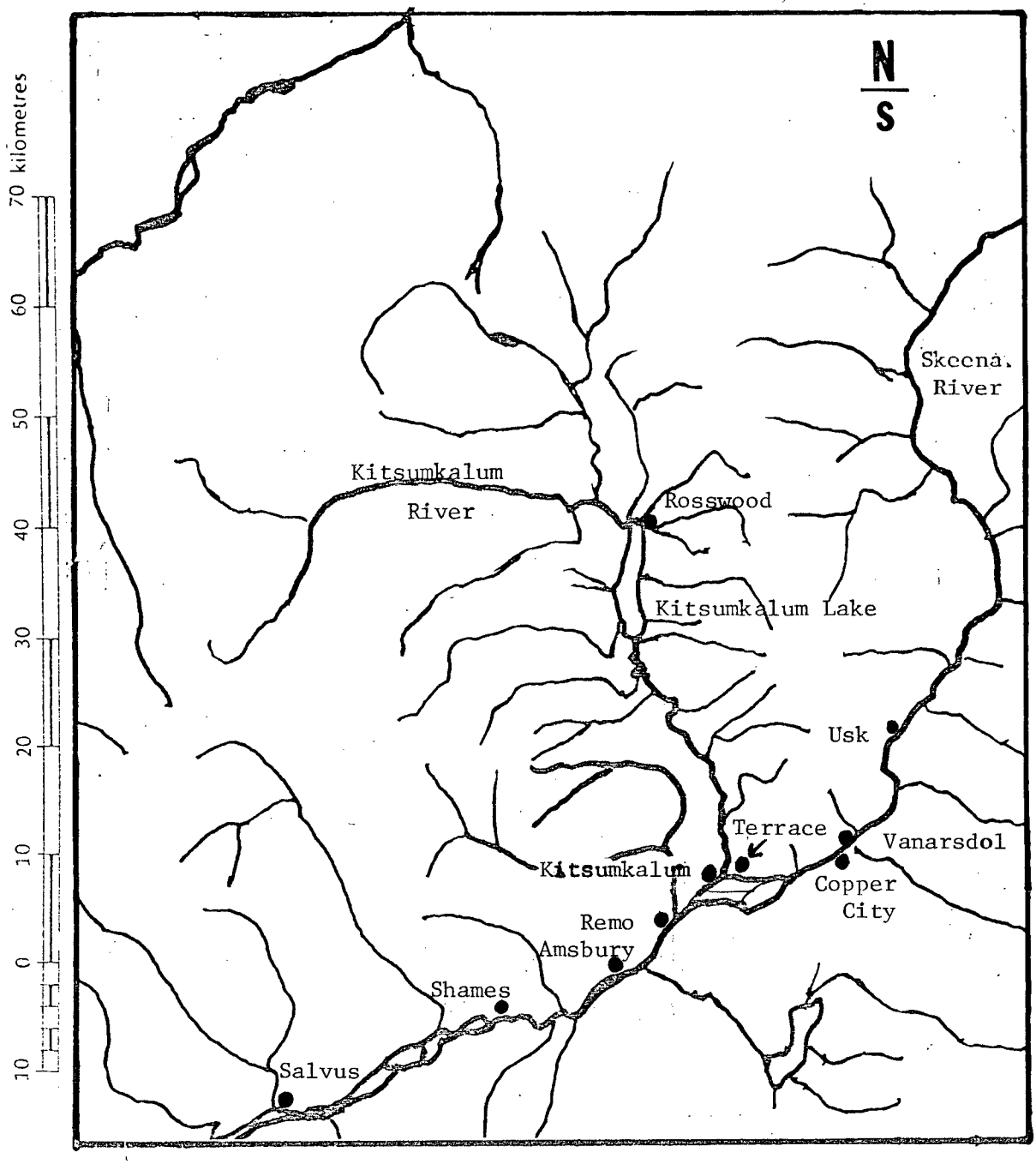

Figure 8. Early settlements near Kitsumkalum Valley, circa 1920. (source: Provincial pre-emptor maps, 1919, 1924.)

important vegetation cover. Consequently, the specific locations for harvesting the different resources have been destroyed and now do not have any productive relevance to the present generation. Only the cranberry flats at the north end of Kalum Lake seem to be remnants of a significant ancient resource site. Most of the present harvest occurs along the logging roads, where the secondary growth often takes the form of berry bushes.

Control Of Distribution

The loss of ownership extended beyond production to the distributions of the produce. Specifically, the sale or even possession of prohibited birds' eggs was illegal under the Migratory Birds Convention Act of 1917, and the Provincial Fisheries Act prevented the sale or purchase of shellfish, clams, and oysters without a licence (R.S.B.C. 1936 C101 s 28). Nonetheless, people have a history of resisting the imposition of these regulations and now a small blackmarket is said to exist that ignores quotas for shellfish. I did not collect information on this.

9. HORTICULTURE

The standard ethnographies on the Tsimshian do not refer to the practice of any form of horticulture, but the cultivation of crops is certainly popular now, and seems to have had a much longer history and more important role in the past than the literature suggests. To emphasize the position of plant care in the aboriginal economy, and to present some knowledge about plant care that I learned in Kitsumkalum, I decided to isolate the information in a chapter separate from that dealing with gathering. This is not to over-emphasize the topic - the Tsimshian were not farmers - but only to note that they did have knowledge of plant cultivation. The general impression of the coastal peoples is that they were not oriented to the land. There is a tendency to correct this by looking at hunting activities and this chapter joins that critique by extending it beyond the faunal resources to the flora.

Unfortunately, the quantity and quality of available information on horticulture is different than for the rest of the aboriginal economy and this will alter the structure of the chapter from the previous ones. In order to avoid losing sight of the historical development of gardening, which is important to the point I am trying to tease out, the information will be sorted into pre- and post-contact

periods, and followed in its different branches.

ABORIGINAL HORTICULTURE

There is a difference between the use of resources as they are found naturally and the cultivation of them to enhance their usefulness to a population. Meillassoux called this the distinction between land as a subject of labour and an instrument of labour (1972:98-99). In the present work, it is represented as the distinction between gathering and gardening. Nowadays, the two are quite separate in Kitsumkalum, yet certain references that were made to me about past practises blurred the categories, and lead me to speculate that some plant care may have been practiced before contact with Europeans.

Garfield (1939:199) mentions the trade of wild celery and other vegetable products for European commodities at the Hudson Bay Company post, and the trade of potatoes from the Haida. Darling's review of the Tsimshian literature provides an unreferenced comment that potatoes were cultivated in the early years of contact, implying the produce was used mainly for the brewing of an alcoholic potato liquor. The recipe, he states, was learned in Victoria by Tsimshian travellers to that port (Darling 1955:26).

This is very little to go on, but at Kitsumkalum people remember more. Berry bushes, for example, were cleared of overgrowth after the fruit season to ensure a healthy supply during the following year, and to allow pickers to move more easily through them. Sometimes pruning was accomplished by setting fire to the bushes (e.g., cranberries). These preferred patches had trails to them that were maintained so that people with cedar baskets strung from their necks could reach and harvest the berries. Some plants that naturally grew in scattered patches were tended to ensure a concentration. Others, such as high bush cranberries, soapberries, and blueberries, were transplanted to residential sites and cultivated. It may be speculative to extend this information back to pre-European times but I was told about it under the most apt circumstances: while picking berries on a mountain slope as people tried to push through the tangled bushes of the less used berry patches, or when we happened across a lonely example of an edible plant. Darling fuels the speculation when he comments that the early post-contact gardens were situated at sites previously used only for gathering edible roots. (The main root crops are the bracken fern and Tritillari.) Upon inquiring, I found no further information on caring for root crops that would fill out Darling's comment.

The Tsimshian took care of other naturally grown plants. Wild rice was weeded in the early spring and summer, and (labrador) tea was also weeded when necessary. Fruit trees were frequently tended and people consider the presence of nut trees and crabapple trees a sure sign of an old village or camp site. I was often told that "wherever the old people camped, there are crabapples". The nut trees in Kitsumkalum valley were reportedly transplanted as saplings from Kitselas canyon. Finally, the people used to cut down apple trees, leaving a portion so that new growth would come and provide both more fruit and fruit that was within reach.

Information on plant care is important in understanding the extent and nature of Tsimshian land use, but it may be a moot point whether the activity deserves the label horticulture. I would not want to call the pre-contact Tsimshian gardeners on the basis of the practices described above. These mainly improve the environment of wild plants. However, there are two important plant species that the first European travellers recognized as being cultivated:

potatoes and tobacco.[1]

It is certain that the Hudson Bay Company traders were surprised to find the northern Indians prepared to trade potatoes to the company. An early explorer and visitor to Port Simpson perhaps knew the answer:

> "attached to their houses most of them have large potatoe gardens: this vegetable was first given to them by an American captain; it is now grown in abundance, is traded by them to vessels visiting their harbour, and to the traders at Fort Simpson. I have known for 5-8 hundred bushels being traded in one season, from these indians at Fort Simpson." (Dunn 1845:n.p.)

However old the gardening of potatoes may be, it has always been an important feature of the productive economy of historic Kitsumkalum. One of the earliest references I have to horticulture among the Kitsumkalum involves potatoes. It comes from the first European to see their village, Major Downie who explored the Skeena river in 1855, and who remarked that the Indians at Kitsumkalum "grow plenty of potatoes" (1859:72). Those gardens continued to be worked

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[1] Where these "Haida potatoes" originated is a mystery. Lawrence, in a popularized account, feels that potato cultivation was learned by the Tsimshian during a trans-pacific voyage to a land where people ate maggots (rice) and were called kakayoren. He cites a Hartley Bay legend as evidence and gives further support with a description of the circum-global diffusion of potato cultivation that resulted from the Spanish and Portugese trade (Lawrence 1972:44). More general opinion among ethnobotanists doubts this explanation, partially because of a likely English etymology for the Haida word for potato.

until they were destroyed in two separate disasters: the railway, which blasted its way through the reserve (McDonald 1981a, 1981b) and the 1936 flood which washed away an important section of village land.

Downie only mentioned the one garden site on the Skeena River, but this was one of the first populated sites at which he stopped on his journey. He did not go up the Kitsumkalum river to the main village where, I was told by an elderly woman who lived there, there were potato gardens in the later part of the nineteenth century. And he may not have noticed temporarily unoccupied sites along the way, such as at Feak creek, Salvas, Zimacord, or Spalding point. These spots were gardened by Kitsumkalum people (Jonah Roberts, Annie Starr, Mark Bolton) at least until the 1930s. He totally missed their other sites on tributaries, for example at Lockerby creek on the Ecstall river. Thus, as a list, these locations are probably a minimal catalogue of sites for Kitsumkalum, but they do provide clues to the extent of gardening activity.

The origin of tobacco in the region is not known. It was cultivated and used as a narcotic by the Haida and their northern trade partners before the merchant traders appeared.

Captain Vancouver provided the following description of the growing of tobacco (on the Queen Charlotte Islands) in 1798:

> in the vicinity of these habitations were found some square patches of ground in a state of cultivation, producing a plant that appeared to be tobacco; and which we understood is by no means uncommon amongst the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte Islands, who cultivate much of this plant (in Turner and Taylor 1972:250).

Another explorer mentioned tobacco associated with wild celery (ibid.). Boas (1916:52) thought it was probably cultivated in the village gardens all along the Skeena. The specifics of the cultivation were given by Setchell:

> the seeds were planted at the end of April at the same time as potatoes. Each pod was placed in a small mound of earth, as in planting potatoes. The gardens were deeply cultivated and kept clear of weeds. The plants were harvested and tied in bundles at the beginning of September, and rotten wood was mixed into the soil to enrich it for the next year, a common practice in tobacco cultivation throughout North America ... (in Turner and Taylor 1972:250-251).

Tobacco was not smoked in pre-contact times but chewed in a mixture with lime (from burnt abalone or clam shells) to prevent the tobacco from burning the mouth. When European smoking tobacco became popular, the aboriginal practice died out, and apparently the plant is now extinct (ibid.:251).

HISTORIC GARDENS

One woman told me how the old people feed plants: fish guts would be buried nearby and blood spilled over the plants (as fertilizer). Sometimes seal slices were placed in the dirt for a good garden. Moss from salt water (seaweed) was used as well. It was suggested that this might have been done for berry bushes as well as the gardens. All these practices correspond to and therefore seem imitative of the gardening of the Hudson Bay Company, but if the Tsimshian knew how to prepare the soil for tobacco, they might have had similar knowledge for other plants. At present, it would be futile to attempt to evaluate the antiquity of the patterns. Instead, I will turn to what is known from the historic period.

In the Hudson Bay Company Archives, there are numerous references to the company's efforts to introduce farming for their own purposes. The experimental plots around Fort Simpson were tended by hired Tsimshian and frequently raided by irate, mischievous, hungry, and/or curious Tsimshian, both adults and youths. (A later chapter on jobs documents this relationship.) The experience gained from both of these activities provided the Tsimshian with knowledge of the modern European practices.

The Government of Canada furthered the introduction of European-style farming with policies and programmes that saw fruit trees, vegetables, etc., planted on reserves.

Later still, the appearance of settlers and the development of an agricultural region concentrated in the Terrace area provided the Tsimshian with greater opportunity to adopt European-style produce and methods. So great was their involvement that some Kitsumkalum even participated in agricultural exhibitions.[1] The older people at Kitsumkalum remember the training and encouragement they received from their farming neighbours, as well as the small orchards and gardens that they set up with the benefit of direct interaction with the settlers. There are still plum trees on I.R.1 that were started with the help of Henry Frank, a settler.

European gardening became even more popular, peaking in importance during the 1930s when some of the people were involved in small-scale farming up river from the village. This peak of activity corresponded to a similar interest in settling the land by immigrants (Asante 1972). The tendency in both populations declined after the war in reaction to deteriorating environmental and market conditions.

Since the decline of camp life, gardening has been restricted to backyard plots in residential lots at the village and in the urban areas.

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[1] One year, during the Great Depression, Charles Nelson won first prize for his turnips at the Prince Rupert agricultural fair.

GARDENING PRACTICES

Darling stated the Tsimshian gardens were cultivated by household groups at the camps (1955:26). This was generally true, but when the men were away fishing the adult women were the principal workers. They were helped in the work by young children, and by adult children when they visited or lived with their families between periods of wage labour.

Use of these sites rested with the family. Reference was always made to a garden as 'belonging' to the head of the unit, either male or female. Sometimes people remembered that the location was part of the family's original territory. This conforms with Darling's statement that the gardens were on land already claimed by householders. Thus, he wrote, "the new practice of cultivation did not disturb traditional rights in land" (Darling 1955: 27).

Produce was consumed by the family, although in some cases surplus was sold or traded. One Kitsumkalum resident who operated a small store on the reserve in the 1930s sold some of the meat and vegetables to local Indians and settlers. The type of crops grown throughout the century suggests their dual potential for both subsistence gardening and market gardening: potatoes, turnips, carrots, cabbage, lettuce, onions, radish, nut trees, crabapples, prune plum trees, berry bushes, chickens, turkeys, geese, ducks, pigs, cows.

The imposition of Canadian property laws and the reserve system usurped legal control over these garden areas, but apparently the effect on use rights by the Kitsumkalum were mixed. The reserves protected the main sites, and other locations, such as at Feak Creek, continued to be used as long as the combined economy of the camp was viable and people continued to live there on the trap line. Other villages were less fortunate with their off-reserve gardens and experienced interference when conflicting land use patterns (e.g., settlement, logging) took precedence to the gardens. Even on protected lands there were problems in this regard. At Kitsumkalum Indian Reserve, the railroad right-of-way destroyed a cultivated area, requiring people to relocate their plots elsewhere on the reserve.

The Kitsumkalum have a history of cultivating plants. The antiquity of the practice may be cloudy at present, but for the past two centuries, at least, the Tsimshian have had gardens. This is a considerable period of time and predates the earliest ethnographic description of their way of life. Whether they invented or borrowed the practice of gardening, the Kitsumkalum have been horticulturalists for as long as ethnologists have known them.

10. CONCLUSION TO SECTION A: THE ABORIGINAL SECTORS

Originally, hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture were the mainstay of Kitsumkalum's economy and, through the associated relationship of the people to the resources available in their territories, provided the material basis of their broader social relationships.

The people developed this base and these relationships themselves in order to take advantage of the new economic opportunities afforded by the expansion of the European economy. But the growth of colonialism and Imperialism soon distorted internal social evolution.

The Act of Union inaugurated a new era for Tsimshian articulations with the world market during which the property connections to the means of production were re-organized to meet the needs of capital. The first consequence of Confederation was the extension of Canadian and Provincial laws and the establishment of the reserve system, which took the formal legal ownership of those resources, and the associated social control of them, out of the hands of the lineages, chiefs, and the emerging Tsimshian entrepreneurs. There then followed a disintegration of the old economic order, as people attempted to adjust their activities to find an effective blend with the new and old rules of production. New

patterns of land use and occupancy emerged and evolved, and Tsimshians and foreigners alike claimed ancient sites for their respective, often fundamentally different, purposes.

With the further extension of economic control over the resources by foreign interests, the Tsimshian ability to incorporate and re-incorporate floral and faunal resources into their changing productive processes or to develop them on their own terms was curtailed by either legal restrictions, over-exploitation, or waste of the materials. Labour found its tools under legislated attack, its resources alienated, and even its very existence increasingly tied to the conditions of commodity production. Gradually, real control shifted out of Tsimshian hands, into those of industry and of a government in which the Tsimshian had no electoral say and which necessarily represented the interests of the foreign economic structure.

Gradually, all the chief productive resources were captured by capital, separated from the Tsimshian labour that worked them, and dislocated from the Tsimshian economic formation. As more and more wedges were driven, Tsimshian labour was effectively freed from other modes of production and moved into a firmer position for its direct encounter with capital as just another commodity, ready to serve the requirements of capital.

Aboriginally, Tsimshian hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture had been located in the context of social production primarily for use value. The changes discussed in this section show the displacement of labour out of the aboriginal economy into the overall context of production for the market.

Thus "traditional production" was wrenched out of the totality provided by the former social relations of Tsimshian society and slowly dissected. The history of the government's self-espoused leniency in its policies to native claims may be treated as a barometer of the needs for resources or for labour that were developing with the different sectors of capital in the area. As far as the Kitsumkalum were concerned, the curtailment and constriction of hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture was an attack on their social formation. For Indian organizations, all that remains of these activities is the package of traditional activies that they fight for as aboriginal rights: the food fishery rights, hunting rights, and so on. The tension underlying their struggle is a single tendency: so long as the needs of capital for the resource associated with each of these rights do not become too aggressive, and so long as the political organizations maintain their struggles, aboriginal rights will exist, and with these rights the social basis of Kitsumkalum (or any other village community) will remain.

Hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture remain a totality that provides a basis for Kitsumkalum's community, as well as a continuity with the past. These activities can be seen as indicators of who the Kitsumkalums are, and, impressionistically speaking, the more intense a person's participation in these activities is (whether as a producer or a consumer), the more certain is that person's identification as a Kitsumkalum. An interpretive answer now emerges from the question that had no conscious answer in the field: who is a Kitsumkalum? - or to put it in a more difficult form: why is a person with no legal status, who is living away from the vicinity of the village, and who appears to have left the past behind, still considered to be a member of the community? There seems, after all, to be a certain group of people here who have more in common than ethnic background, or racial stereotypes, or colonial laws. The answer that now comes is simply this: a person is a Kitsumkalum because that person participates, at some point, in the aboriginal process of production and consumption. They share a material base necessary for their livelihood, and critical for their ways of behaving. As certain Indian organizations describe the relationship: "The Land is our Culture".

11. SECTION B., THE COMMODITY ECONOMY

To remark upon the existence of the market economy in Canada is in some ways to state the obvious, but it is important to do so because, as Knight (1978) pointed out in his province-wide study of the articulation of Indians to the capitalist economy, ethnographers have not noted it adequately or often enough when they described or analyzed native societies.

I do not want to repeat a previous study that rehearsed the problems associated with the neglect of the colonial history of the Tsimshian (McDonald 1984). Instead, I will go directly to the actual articulation of Kitsumkalum (and the Tsimshians) with the emerging capitalist social formation.

There are two major aspects to the history of this process. The first is the evolution of the form of the articulation itself. The reproduction of Kitsumkalum involves various circuits of capital that are present in the region. In the chapters that follow, I will examine this involvement as it occurred in each of the major sectors of the economy (trapping, logging, commercial fishing, businesses, wages, and government monies). This will not be a description of a dual economy: part aboriginal, part commodity. The reproduction of Kitsumkalum depended upon

both sections, and each section was integrated and dependent upon the other in ways. This should become apparent during the discussion.

The second aspect of the articulation concerns the concentration of more and more of the means of production by capital. This is the progressive commodification of the resources, technology, and labour power necessary for social production. Part of the history of the appropriation of these factors by capital was covered in the examination of the destruction of the aboriginal economy and the dispossession of the Kitsumkalum. Now I am turning more to the needs of capital and to the evolution of capitalist production in the region. The history is complex, and I will need to be somewhat superficial in my treatment of it. Nonetheless, without such an attempt it will be impossible to understand the development of the relationships of production in the region, whether they be within Kitsumkalum's economic formation, or the broader regional social formation dominated by capital. The result, when combined with the previous section, should be an understanding of the class relationships of Kitsumkalum, of the development of a commodity market, the domination of capital, and ultimately, the transformation of a Native society. The analysis will also provide information on the forms of resistance that aboriginal societies in British Columbia and Canada have made to the colonial experience,

that is, to their subsumption under capital and to the total destruction of their aboriginal economy. Thus, some reasons will emerge for the continuing importance of land claims and aboriginal rights, and some guide posts will appear for reading the political map of aboriginal British Columbia.

12. TRAPPING

It will be useful to start by schematically outlining the (simple) process of trapping. The first thing a trapper must do is find an area to trap. In some cases this may be assumed, if it is an inheritance; in other cases, it must be located and then bought, borrowed, granted, or "stolen". Having found a suitable area, the trapper must next ensure that he has some legal connection to it; that is, a property claim that is recognized and defendable. At one time this was accomplished through the practices of the feast; later, for a while, it was informally acknowledged through "tradition"; and now, in bureaucratic times, through some type of registration via the provincial administration.

The establishment of the property connection allows a trapper to engage in the actual labour of trapping, which can be extensive. It involves preparing the line, buildings, caches, etc., running a line, and turning the pelts into commodities. The commodities then must be taken to market and, through the medium of a buyer, sold to producers who convert the particular pelt into whatever products they can. With the final marketing, purchase and use of these products, the path of the material object is completed. The cycle of his labour ends after the trapper is paid and he reinvests his money (or, previously, the

traded commodities) into new means of production in order to return to trap once again.

Now the cycle starts anew. In the case of contemporary non-Indian trappers, the cycle technically begins with the property question, of renewing the annual licences. In fact, however, lines are more or less reserved, and the usual practice is lenient towards any trapper who conforms to the rules. For Indian lines, this unofficial policy for the reservation of the line is more significant. Even their infrequently utilized lines are reserved, often against pressure from outsiders. Given this situation, the repetitive production cycles actually commence somewhere in the labour process proper, somewhere past the establishment of the line, at or before the work of running the traps.

This describes the simple process of trapping. It becomes more complex as other, complementary or antagonistic production practices are associated with it (logging, for example), or if expansion is attempted.

In Kitsumkalum the cycles have been broken. Now only one Band member is seriously considering trapping and, unlike other villages, none of their indigenous areas are under their control. How this came to be is the subject of this chapter. The details that follow focus on the Kitsumkalum, and will show how the history of their trapping has been a destruction of their relationship to the resource and a transformation of the social determinants of the process.

MEANS OF PRODUCTION

The Resource

Of the sixteen furbearers harvested in British Columbia, I have records of ten being taken and sold by the Kitsumkalum: fox, beaver, marten, lynx, mink, muskrat, river otter, squirrel, weasel, and wolf (those not taken are fisher, bobcat, raccoon, skunk, wolverine and coyote).

The act of actually capturing these animals varies from species to species. Beaver, for example, are often taken underwater with a Conibear trap, while marten can be caught with a certain size of leg hold trap. There are also some governmental regulations of the type of trapping permitted for a species.

Other differences in the trapping of each species are the seasonal limitations that the government established to conserve the species and control the industry. The regulations vary according to zones which are defined in law by broad climatic indicators. The Tsimshian (and the Kitsumkalum) trap across two different zones, and therefore must deal with two sets of regulations. Overlaid on the zone map are management units (MU) which do not correspond

geographically with the zones. The Tsimshian are within a single MU, which is subdivided into sub-units, each with an office, records, and officials.

The first provincial limitations were applied in the 1880s on deer, elk, mountain goats, mountain sheep, and hares in the form of a hunting prohibition from January to September (R.S.B.C. C s)(1888,52,3.1)!. These are game animals hunted for their skins as well as their meat. By 1897, caribou and moose were added to the list and the first restrictions on the "fur-bearing" species were created permitting the trapping of beaver, marten and land otter only between November 1 and March 31 (R.S.B.C. 1897 C88 s6.4). Fox, fisher, lynx, mink, muskrat, racoons, weasels, ermine, and wolverine were put under seasonal regulation by 1924 (R.S.B.C. C s)(1924,98,9)! and the taking of imprime skins was made illegal. Thus, before the Great Depression of the 1930s, most furbearers were under restricted exploitation regulations that defined the trapping seasons.

How these laws and regulations affected the seasonal round of the Kitsumkalum is difficult to reconstruct because ethnographies are vague on trapping activities, and generally post-date the initiation of regulation. One early source that is available is the Fort Simpson journals (Hudson Bay Company Archives) in which there are data detailing when different pelts were traded over the year and

how many. These show that beaver and other animals were traded throughout the year, which suggests that either people were trapping year round during the early land-based fur trade period, or they rationed their pelts to provide an income over several months. Both practices might have occurred, but since pelts have a natural season, being prime in winter, rationing is the most likely explanation. Thus, given the dearth of information, it can be assumed that the regulations only contributed to the establishment of a more sharply and narrowly defined seasonal cycle.

The provincial laws ostensibly function to conserve the resource, but there are other aspects to conservation as well. It is not unusual to hear the metaphor of "farming" a trapping area. That is, the animal population is seen to be cultivated, so as to maximize the trapper's returns, to maintain a healthy population size (preventing disease, demographic cycles), and to re-establish an ecological balance when the environment suffers damage from other encroachment (British Columbia, Ministry of Environment n.d. Pamphlet).

This can be a political metaphor as well. Some Indians like to differentiate Indian/white methods of conservation: whites deplete, but Indians conserve. They say that Indians stop trapping when female animals are taken several times in succession and that traps are closed after a certain point when it is perceived that the population is dropping too low

to sustain itself. In support of these claims there are comments by non-Indians, such as that by Game Warden Muirhead who, in 1933, reported that some white trappers often "trap very close" in the Terrace area because they view the trapline as a short term venture (in Orlando file, Fish and Wildlife, Terrace).

Traplines

The term "trapline" refers to a recognized geographic area or location which is defined and registered according to provincial regulations (which are governed by the Wildlife Act, R.S.B.C. 1979 c.433). Within this area ("on the trapline") are situated items necessary for trapping there: the actual lines, habitation structures, transportation equipment, traps, other supplies and gear.

There is an actual line along which traps are placed, or "run", or "set". A trail must be cut, locations blazed, and the whole line maintained in a fashion that attracts animals (e.g., some trappers run bait even during the off-season when traps are not set), or at least in a way that does not scare the animal population.

Habitation structures vary from a simple lean-to to cheap frame houses, depending upon needs and overall use of the area. One Kitsumkalum man, Gordon Nelson, had two cabins on his line near the mouth of the Gitnadoix River;

the Roberts had a frame house at Feak Creek until it was washed away some 30 years ago. Another line in the northern Kitsumkalum Valley had three trap houses along a trail. According to the Game Warden, who visited it in 1933, there were

> ...the remains of an old lean-to [by a creek], built probably 40 or 50 years ago. Another, what they call a large lean-to, about 10' x 16', a mile [upriver], was built about 20 or 25 years ago. It shows signs of having been used quite a bit... A makeshift cabin across from ...[the mouth of the river] was apparently erected 6 or 8 years ago, used for a while one winter or spring and never occupied since. (Olando file, Fish and Wildlife, Terrace)

These structures are for the trappers' comfort if they stay overnight or for extended periods - in which case it is also necessary to store blankets, food, clothing, and other supplies suitable for winter camping. In the past, it was more common for families to live on the line during the winter, especially those lines close to the coast where other camp activities persisted until recently. Sometimes there were also structures to cache supplies for use on the longer lines and to protect gear off season.

Canoes, riverboats, motors, and/or snowmobiles are often part of a trapline. Snowmobiles are very useful in checking traps where the ground is suitable. Elsewhere, boats are necessary to get to difficult areas: Some Kitsumkalum lines on the south side of the Skeena cannot be

reached from the highway and railway. Others have limited access via a creek or river that allows penetration through the bush for a short distance with a canoe and towline. Often on major rivers, like the Kitsumkalum, boat travel is used because it is easier than carrying supplies on the body. In the old days, and until recently, the Nelson family had canoes cached at three portage stations on the Kitsumkalum River, to allow them to move easily up the river to their traplines and hunting grounds.

In the past, some, if not most, traplines included bear traps or snares of some kind. I have reports of such things in Kitsumkalum Valley, on Indian Reserve 1, and good descriptions of two different types on the Roberts line at Feak Creek.

If the trapper is also a hunter, which is typical, additional preparations may be made on the line for hunting, such as shelters, or trails. The same would be true for other types of economic activity that might be performed on the trapline. To illustrate, the following description of an Indian line during the 1930s reveals more than a picture of a trapline. It was written by a Game Warden during a dispute over a registration. It was intended to be used as evidence that no Indians were actively trapping in the area:

> There were no fish, meat or berry drying racks, snare poles, old snowshows, unhairing and fleshing stands, fleshing posts, smoke stands, smoke pits, fish-net floats, or fish net sinkers. And he could not show me even one cache of

> traps. And might I point out that there is no trick to building a lean-to, it only takes a few hours to split enough cedar boards and stand them around and lay them on a frame, which is all a lean-to consists of. (Muirhead, British Columbia Fish and Wildlife Branch, Terrace District Archives, Orlando file).

(I might point out that although "there is no trick" to lean-tos, they are "tricky" if you have not learned how to build one.)

Traplines are worked upon and developed. They are also susceptible to destruction: by a short period of careless use; by natural disasters such as floods that wash away riverside buildings; by snowslides that clear mountain slopes and deposit debris in the valleys; by man-made disturbances such as right of ways of railways, highways, industrial access roads, hydro lines, communication lines, and structures, etc. - all of which disrupt animal habits and habitats, destroy lines and trails, and make access difficult; by industrial developments such as urban centres with intensive land use, recreational needs, pollution; by farming which converts the land to a single-purpose use and also affects surrounding areas with facilities and an intensification of land use by the farming community; or by mining.

Overall, the most destructive development has been forestry with its clear cutting of the forest. Many of the lines in the Kitsumkalum Valley were seriously affected by

logging. Clearcutting destroys any of the trapper's improvements, trails, blazes, etc. The changes are so startling that people, once intimate with the land, are unable to find their way around it after the new growth returns. I identified each of these types of damage from the history of the Kitsumkalum trappers that I reconstructed with archival files (Fish and Wildlife and Fisheries, both in Terrace), and interviews (McDonald 1982a). Unfortunately, problems continue to exist. Clearcutting, for example, is currently destroying several areas and threatening one of the remaining Kitsumkalum traplines that still contains structures, bear traps, and other cultural items. A new hydro line may go through other areas.

Not all logging or industrial use is incompatible with trapping. Multiple use of areas for trapping and selective logging occurred for several decades in the Kitsumkalum and Skeena Valleys (Canadian National Railway 1973:6.5). A few loggers allege that clearcut logging creates favourable secondary growth conditions for fur-bearing animals. However, such arguments ignore the necessary fallow years and the loss of labour spent preparing a line or re-establishing one and easily can be used to avoid proper planning for developments that minimize land use conflict.

All these items (the registered trapline, traps, snares, established lines, transportation equipment and trails, structures, camps, and gear), which are the

trapper's means of production, are a part of the "trapline". They are considered to be an investment by the trapper that should be protected over the years. The investment is also considered to be social and as such can be used to support the land claims struggle.

In cases where the trapline is transferred through a sale, the various means of production are calculated in the price. Technically, a trapline registration is not the property of the holder to sell since it is the sole right of the government to assign these licenses. Nonetheless, since the development of a line more or less assures an active trapper of perpetual re-registration, the sale of these developments and equipment is generally an accepted manner of indicating the direction of transfer of registration.

The terms of the sale vary each time. In one case a line was sold containing three cabins, a river boat, traps, guns, etc. This was a fairly complete deal and the original owner reportedly received $33,000. In the case of a non-status Kitsumkalum, the sale of their small line did not include the cabin which the family continued to use, on occasion, for a number of years. The price received was only a few hundred dollars.

The transfer of traplines held under a form of native control are more complicated and conducted differently. Current registrations in Kitsumkalum are from the 1920s and, although I have little information concerning what their

practice would be if somebody decided to dispose of a line, a few past incidents can be mentioned as an indication of the possible modes of transfer. A form that is considered traditional occurred as recently as the 1930s when some Kitsumkalum men gained access (although not legal ownership in the Tsimshian way) to a line with the receipt of a special name and title at a feast. Now such arrangements are officially superseded by the game regulations, but in the 1930s, this legislation was being developed and the traditional form was still practiced. Yet, even then the effect of the legislation was to disrupt and confuse aboriginal procedures, an effect which left a legacy that continues to snare trappers. This was recently illustrated in a case when a Kitsumkalum man twice attempted to utilize a tribal line belonging to another village. He received permission but complained shortly after that he had became involved in an ownership conflict internal to the line. The fact that the issue lay dormant in that village until an outsider activated it is partially due to the long depression in the industry.

Labour

The allocation of labour in trapping is derived from a complex equation of social factors. The result is that there have been several forms taken by the Kitsumkalum trapping unit. A gender division of labour is basic to all

of them and in this section, I will describe some of the ways this has been organized, starting with the men who procure, and ending with some of the problems faced by women.

Trapping is done by men, preferably in association. When trappers go out alone, this is usually because of the discipline demanded by wage employers. The one Kitsumkalum trapper who is becoming active goes out on the weekends, which is the only time he is not working in wage employment. Solitude is not considered wise in the mountains, so he is often accompanied by his hunting partner who is a non-Kitsumkalum affine, but the rest of his family (wife and children) stays at home. This general division of family labour seems to have been the pattern over the past two decades whenever Kitsumkalums attempted to trap.

I was able to trace the earlier organizational outlines of trapping that preceded this pattern. One variant that occurred in the 1930s I would also associate with regular wage employment. It lasted until the 1950s. The best example to illustrate this arrangement was a family who aboriginally held territory in the Valley. The men had forestry-related jobs and trapped their line mainly on days off and during lay-offs. They remember trapping as a more cooperative effort than it is today, involving various combinations of the brothers and father. This suggests they were articulating a transitional form in the face of

economic development and new property legislation. The transition ended for the family in the early 1960s, when the single son (brother) who had responsibility for the line sold it. By then the trapping industry had floundered in the Valley - when the market had fallen apart in the 1950s. It completely ended for the family when the line was logged.

Elsewhere, along the Skeena and on the coast, the cooperative unit was usually an extended kin group related through the senior person who held the registration and the licence, plus occasional visiting friends. Associated with camp living, this grouping tended to shrink over the years to the point of being only the nuclear family. Eventually it was simply the trapper and his partner(s), just as it was in the Valley. Pressures external to the unit forced this trend throughout the village and some of the factors that contributed to this change will be described later. Of these families, the Boltons trapped for the last time in the early 1950s when the father and eldest son tried their luck. The other Kitsumkalum lines also fell into disuse at the same time - always after the sole remaining active trapper quit.

It is important to note that trapping was closely integrated as part of the overall production of the commodity economy of the early part of the century. It would be artificial to isolate trapping as an activity since it has been associated, at least from the 1880s to the

1950s, with hunting and food fishing, handlogging, and commercial fishing. The extent of these complementary activities is reflected in the trapline registration forms which list the registrant's occupation as fisher and trapper in nearly all of the instances of Indian registry. These activities were part of the way of life that was followed by Kitsumkalum families along the Skeena, Ecstall River, and Grenville Channel.

Non-native trappers also engaged in complementary activities, but the occupations listed on their registrations indicate social differences. Instead of fishing, they were farmers, labourers (which was the most common category, and included skilled and non-skilled jobs like logging, sawyer, mechanics, fish grader, forest ranger, welder, powder man, railroadman, trucker), contracters, mill owners, prospectors and miners, and one was a handyman. Although the list for settlers differs from the one for Kitsumkalum, there is the common point that most occupations were oriented to the outdoors and to moving about the land. Knowledge gained in any one sector would contribute to the performance of the other.

Such multiple utilization of the land was important to the trapper's abilities to produce. At the turn of the century, there were camps throughout the river system

identified by the name of the family heads.[1]

In the camps, labour time was organized to include all the activities, for example logging. The camp at Feak Creek became a part of the beachcombing area licenced to Jonah's son Don, when Don took over the registration of the trapline. So, too, Matt Wesley's trapline was incorporated into his beachcombing area. The camps came to be viewed as commercial and subsistence sites. Physically, there was little change in the aboriginal appearance of the area. The adoption of gas boats facilitated this evolution by providing quicker transportation and a mechanical source of energy for use in the commercial enterprises.

This describes most areas, but in the Kitsumkalum Valley, at least since the 1930s, the same extension of time was not made and there is no evidence of any of the trapping and hunting grounds being used for logging by the Kitsumkalum group. Here the trappers were working in the employ of others, and trapping in slack times.

Settlement patterns changed with the rise and decline of the fishing town of Port Essington and this altered access to and use of lines. Natural disasters destroyed

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[1] There were people like Mark Bolton who had a cabin at Salvus on the Skeena River, just as the Starrs and Nelsons did in the Kitsumkalum Valley, and Benjamen Bennet in the Valley of the Zimacord, or Jonah Roberts who took his family to Feak Creek where they lived with Moses Feak. These camps were probably very similar to the one described by the Game Warden in the Kitsumkalum Valley and recorded above.

fish camps (e.g., Bolton's Salvus camp), houses (Feak Creek), and prompted shifts and new beginnings. There were conflicts between economic sectors. Beachcombers, for example, preferred to have a licence to an area that included their trapline, but few did. One who did not (a Port Essington man) attempted to trap on a line that was more convenient and little used. When the legal owner discovered this the beachcomber was chased out by the trapper and later warned to stay away by government officials.

Other interferences included the apparent increase in reliance on commodities obtained through a cash market, itself in a crisis with post-war inflation. This dependency continually eroded the freedom of a family to go off to a subsistence style camp for a significant portion of the year, and more often men took temporary wage jobs to supplement their incomes, while women produced handicrafts for sale. But it was the general attack on the way of life, including that against the sectors of commercial fishing and logging, that radically undermined the camps and put an end to them.

Since 1914, trappers themselves were licensed (R.S.B.C. 1914 C33 22). These licenses controlled access to the resource by organizing the trapping force across the land, but did not generally restrict the trappers who managed to get a licence - at least, I did not hear

complaints. The system was superseded by the 1926 registrations which required non-Indians to have both a trapping license and a firearm license. Indians were exempt from the requirements of a firearm license, but in several cases this aboriginal right was ignored by the Game Warden, apparently to manipulate claimants in trapline disputes. For a while Indians were also exempt from all the qualification requirements of the trappers license (R.S.B.C. 1978c433s2.5). Now they must, as must all trappers, present evidence of the accreditation of their skills, which is reported to mean an approved trapper's education course (Vancouver Province 1981:10:23).

The ideal seems to be for a gender division of labour within the trapping process with the women as processors. In the 1930s there were female trappers, but in Kitsumkalum they were usually children, or women who trapped close to home without a licence and on a line with few improvements. My impression is that the few females were casual trappers in the sense that they wanted to earn only a little pocket money during the Depression. The trapper may, depending on circumstances and species, skin some animals on the line or at the camp, and on occasion he may even begin to prepare the pelt. But generally, this work is performed at home where a female member of the family (wife, mother, either aunt, grandmother) may help with the cleaning and stretching. In the past, when trapping was viable, men

taught boys how to trap and skin the animals, while girls learned from women the way to clean and dress hides and furs, and to utilize the meat and other parts of the body (cf. Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:102).

In recent years, there has not beem much direct participation in trapping by the women. There seem to be two explanations for the present non-participation of women. First, there has been a lengthy break from such activity, due to unfavourable economic conditions in the fur industry. Second, as a result of the general inactivity in this sector for the past twenty years, there is now a generation of women who lack the experience needed for trapping and who have very different interests in life. To make this situation worse, the older women with experience are now often involved in other economic activities, that would make it difficult for them to re-incorporate trapping. This in turn makes it even more difficult for the young women to gain skills. All this puts the wives in a difficult position. If trapping does grow, they will be expected to participate more than they do now, but they are not skilled or so inclined.

These observations on the division of the trapping labour are part of a larger problem faced by potential Kitsumkalum trappers. Since the collapse of the industry in the 1950s very little trapping has occurred and the traditions have not been passed on fully. This break is

forcing interested individuals to research both the aboriginal and newer methods by taking trapper courses, which are useful to them just as they are for non-natives, and by consulting with older men for their memory of techniques and experiences. The Kitsumkalum men are motivated to do this, even in the absence of economic incentives, by their enjoyment of bush activities. On the other hand, women, especially young ones, are accustomed to planning for a different economic life and no longer relate to camp work in the same way men do, especially the hunters. This will be a serious problem for revitalizing trapping and will undoubtedly have an effect on its eventual re-organization.

The Commodification Of The Resource

The prepared pelt is a commodity that is exchanged in a market setting. For the Tsimshian, the world fur market opened with the British exploration of the coast by Captains Colnett and Duncun who visited Kitkatla in 1781 (Moeller 1966). The maritime trade began in earnest a few years later and lasted until about 1825 when the sea otter was depleted. At first, from 1785 to 1787, only British vessels traded. There soon was a minor Spanish presence, and then an American one which grew until the Americans dominated the

trade, partially as a result of the European wars of 1793 to 1815.

The main source of competition to the maritime trade during these times was the land-based Russian American Fur Company, which had set up a headquarters at Sitka (Alaska) in 1799. They established monopoly control of the European side of the land trade through strategically located posts. This was challenged by the Hudson Bay Company. After its merger with its rivals in 1821, the expanding British company tried to gain entry into the coastal region by following the rivers westward. Then they changed their tactics in 1825 and sent Mr. Alexander Mackenzie up the coast to reach the Tsimshian villages (Hudson Bay Company Archives B.223.a.1,fo.5).

In the 1830s they decided to abandon altogether the attempt to reach the mouth of the Skeena along an inland route and Fort Simpson was constructed on the coast, to be serviced by maritime transportation. The establishment of Fort Simpson in 1832 was a tactic designed to beat out both their European rivals on the coast, and also the native traders. The Bay wanted to go right into Tsimshian territory in an effort to break the successful diversion of the Skeena trade by Tsimshian mercantile chiefs who, with their cedar trade canoes, were taking Gitksan and Carrier furs to the Russian posts and American ships on the coast. This gamble was never fully successful or financially

rewarding to the Bay; however, it did permit the Company to make some major incursions into the businesses of individual Tsimshian Houses and "tribes".

The Baymen give us our first historic record of the Kitsumkalum, who were already a people producing for the capital market. Kitsumkalum ("Kitsimchalean") came directly to the fort to trade with the Company in 1841 in their own canoes (and again in 1852, 1857, 1866).

In 1866 the HBC began to extend its system of auxiliary trading stations inland. They established depots along the Skeena, which took the market inland. A short-lived depot existed in or near the territory of the Kitsumkalum (it was described to be located ca. 90 miles inland), and a more permanent one became the present town of Hazelton.

In 1870, Robert Cunningham, a former missionary of the Church Missionary Society who turned trader, quit the HBC to set up his own store at Port Essington. The success of this venture, and his diversification into other economic activities led to the growth of the fishing community that took its name from the port. A key to Cunningham's success was his location on the gold and exploration route of the Skeena River where, more convenient to travelers than was the Bay at Port Simpson, Cunningham's business thrived. Initially, however, it is likely that Cunningham put his faith in an alliance with the Kitsumkalum and Kitselas Indians, who claim a fall camping site at Port Essington.

Eventually, Cunningham set up a special reserve for the Kitsumkalum, Kitselas and other Indians in common, probably for commercial reasons. Early canneries were often dependent upon native labour, and a residential reserve situated beside his cannery would have assured him of a steady supply of labour.

Cunningham's relationship to the Indians was not restricted to furs. From the point of view of the Kitselas, such an alliance with a competitor of the Bay would be appealing because Kitselas was historically in competition with the Port Simpson people over the trade monopoly. Since Kitsumkalum is generally viewed as a sister village of Kitselas, the whole alliance at Port Essington is understandable.

With the establishment of the railroad city of Prince Rupert, more fur buyers became available and competition increased. During the 1930s and 1940s, Kitsumkalum and Port Essington trappers sold to various buyers in Prince Rupert and Hazelton. These were the only locales mentioned to me, and there was never reference made to the Hudson Bay Company in Port Simpson.

These local buyers were necessary to the industry because they consolidated a sufficient quantity of furs to attract larger buyers at the auctions (Newby 1969:64). They were licensed provincially under the Game Act (now called the Wildlife Act). As middlemen the buyers were popular

because they could provide trappers with a source of immediate credit, which the more distant auctions could not do. This was a feature that was especially attractive to Indian trappers (and, in recent years, to part-time trappers, recreational trappers, and old time trappers) who wanted or needed cash to do other things, or to return to their lines immediately (ibid.:63). The cost of this convenience, however, was lower prices. Worse still, in the case of the Indian trapper there is evidence of a deeper exploitation in the form of a price even lower than that given to 'whites' (ibid.:60). (It is not clear whether all natives or just status Indians suffered such discrimination.)

Local buyers kept the market close to the trappers, but the organization of the market has changed since World War II. My impression from interviews is that fur markets have become more distant from Kitsumkalum trappers, to the point that now it is necessary for trappers to study very distant auctions through reports received in the mail. As a result, some furs are shipped to the Ontario Trappers Association or Edmonton Fur Auction for sale. The prices received in this way are the average price received for each graded lot of furs and are out of the trappers' control. There is a loss of control but prices are usually higher than those offered in local sales. Indian trappers do not face discrimination so they receive the same price as their non-Indian

counterparts (Newby 1969:67).

Trapping as a way to make a living has had its ups and downs. The Depression of the 1930s saw a growth in the industry as people explored various ways to augment their incomes. At this time, the Kitsumkalums seem to have reversed an early trend away from trapping. Some fishermen returned to family lines after an absence of years, and a number of new registrations suddenly appear. It is not clear how much trapping had occurred after the Great War ended in 1917. Most of the new registrants in the 1930s claimed to have been active on the line for many years, but these claims were not always substantiated by official investigations, of which there were several. Whatever the actual situation had been, as the industry picked up, there were also numerous conflicts and disputes over use rights. I am tempted to treat this as an indication of a lack of interest in trapping, but I am not sufficiently confident in the archival materials. They simply may not document the previous disputes.

The market has always been an important factor in maintaining the life style. As long as fur prices remained good, the way of life was viable. Prices peaked in 1946, following which there occurred a steady decline (Newby 1969:42) that only recently has reversed itself. According to some trappers and game wardens with whom I talked, prices are now returning to a reasonable level.

The decline in fur prices on the world market became critical with the general inflation of commodity prices that followed the end of the Korean War. Asch calculated 1952 to be the critical year marking the collapse of the fur trade for the Dene in the North West Territories (see Asch 1979). The mid-1950s happens to correspond with a period during which, I was told by trappers, there occurred an abandonment of many lines, especially by the Kitsumkalum. This effect was not always apparent in official records, which do not require Indians to report whether or not they trapped in any particular season.

PROPERTY RELATIONSHIPS

The history of Kitsumkalum's trapping has been dominated by their loss of control over the resources and various means of producing furs. Through a number of steps, the aboriginal property relationships in which the means of production were embedded were transformed until they were firmly within the control of the provincial government - all within a lifetime.

The Crown had assumed legal ownership over the Tsimshian lands during the nineteenth century, but this occurred in various degrees and to various extents throughout the province. As Fisher (1977) has shown, the assumption of ownership by the Crown meant little in many

areas until a number of years had passed. In the case of the watershed of the Skeena River, the symbolic date when the government's property rights were formally asserted to the Kitsumkalum was 1891, when the Indian Reserves were allocated. Nonetheless, there were still areas where the Tsimshian system was still more or less in operation.

Confederation in 1871 had left an ambiguous situation. On one hand there is a report by a Game Warden that as late as 1893 a trespasser was killed under Tsimshian (Gitksan) law in the disputed northeast corner of Kitsumkalum Valley (British Columbia Fish and Wildlife Branch, Ridler file). Yet, on other earlier occasions, gunboats and police had forced Imperial law and order onto bewildered townspeople. Some of the unevenness of the policy towards Indians stemmed from the province's hesitancy to interfere with internal affairs of Indian society, especially those in isolated (i.e., non-exploited) areas (see Fisher 1977:63-65). This left leaders and legal systems less disturbed in areas not yet incorporated into the new economy. This was the case around Kitsumkalum for much longer than on the coast.

The nineteenth century was a time of social and economic transition. In the early merchant period, surplus was secured by capital through the existing relations of production and there are indications that this actually strengthened and developed aboriginal social structures (see Fisher 1977:46-47, McDonald 1984). By the early part of the

twentieth century, however, all this was being by-passed. Kitsumkalum trappers were articulating directly with the market forces, without much regard to the aboriginal obligations that allocated surplus. Today, the old connections to the smoogyt have disappeared and the young Kitsumkalum trapper disposes of the commodity and money within the nuclear family.

At the turn of the century, there occurred a major alteration in the strength of the lineage and a shift in the transmission of the trap lines from a matrilineal base, validated at feasts, to the government system that seemed to favour the male line and which was enforced by Provincial police. At the same time, tribal control was being weakened and shifting control to the nuclear family. All this left a very confusing historical picture of aboriginal ownership and transmission of ownership.

The evolution of the aboriginal social structure during this time was reflected in the trapping sector by the structuring of use rights. These were held in a more traditional manner in the early years of the century (e.g., the Bennett, Nelson, and other Kitsumkalum Valley trapping areas) but quickly became entrenched by Canadian law and custom. This change in tenure systems caused some re-arrangement of holdings which sometimes benefitted some of the older generation of the Kitsumkalum as they extended their use areas in ways that were deeply embedded in the

historic context.[1]

As the lineage tenure weakened, obligations changed, interrupting the aboriginal flow of surpluses earned by trapping (and the other productive activities reproducing the camp unit) to the smoogyt and retaining more of it within the production unit. Socially it must have been a difficult time. Aboriginal obligations continued to be strong for many years and leaders found it hard not to continue to express their training to act like smoogyt, but these commitments were greatly reduced in the 1930s when most of Kitsumkalum's titleholders renounced the past for Christianity. After that, more of the returns remained with the registered owners, and the main drains were the fur buyer and the government.

The influx of settlers in the twentieth century also contributed to this decline of Tsimshian tenure. In normal

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[1] Mark Bolton, for example, camped on Lockerby Creek as a right received after he helped bury a Gitzaklalth chief whose relatives were modern and not willing to engage in all the aboriginal and sometimes onerous obligations. Another example was Herb Spalding who was a member of a Gitzaklathl lineage which had trapping grounds on the Ecstall. His partner was his father, and eventually Herb became established on the lower portion of the river in his own right, registered the line, and passed it on to his son, the present owner who is a Kitsumkalum without actively recognized ties to the Gitzaklathl lineage. Yet another Kitsumkalum received a name and trapping privileges from this group, but he never exercised them because he was pre-occupied by his own commercial interests at a Skeena River camp. This person is a fine embodiment of the transition: he exploited his father's trapline, and now his son has taken it over.

day-to-day affairs, the customs of the local Indians were acknowleged to some extent by the neighbouring colonists who realized the ambiquity of their situation on the frontier. Canadian security, after all, was not that tight. Whether or not any problem or danger existed, the immigrants had been inculcated with racist fears and real-life stories of the prowess of the Skeena River hunters. This may be part of the reason why one settler contacted Benjamen Bennett, the head of the gispawadawada house of Kitsumkalum, before trapping in the Zimacord Valley. Bennett, who held the rights to the valley, generously assigned a portion of it to the immigrant trapper. The tenuous position of the settlers quickly changed as the presence of the Crown grew and, inevitably, when tensions became strong between native and immigrant, the government was active in defending the interests of the colonists. After the Game Act and Game Wardens were more established, the trapper just mentioned decided to resolve the ambiguity of holding tenure under two systems by asserting his status to the entire Valley and claiming the protection of provincial law. In the resulting dispute the aboriginal system was overruled and Bennett was stripped of all his power, as a Tsimshian, to assign resources (see McDonald 1982a). There were other, similar cases that were not resolved until recently, and some lines are still not considered to be properly under the control of the province (ibid.). This later situation is very much

political, revolving around land claims positions.

The major influence on property relationships was the institution, in 1926, of the provincial system of trapline registration. This was an attempt to develop the industry rationally, to conserve the resource, and to resolve a common property problem (Newby 1969:70). Registration was intended to recognize existing crown control, and to orient it through an implicit assumption of priority to economic efficiency. The legislation organized trappers across the map by establishing well-defined territories for them. Within these specified trapping areas, the registration holder(s) held exclusive rights to trap, and others could only acquire permits to trap those areas according to the wishes of the registrant and the requirements of the government. From this time on, there was no longer room for ambiguity between systems of tenure. The provincial rules were clear and, with the improvements in transportation and administration, effective. The Tsimshian way was formally replaced.

For Indian lineages, the 1926 registration policy completed the loss of control over their trapping areas. Naturally the Tsimshian protested. In response, the administration developed a policy of distinguishing Indian and white traplines, based upon the status of the registration holder. Accordingly, some lines (over a majority, Newby 1969:33) were recognized as "Indian", and an

attempt was made (sporadically, and not always sanctioned by policy, as far as I could determine) to keep them under Indian registration. The owners and their Bands came to have significant influence in the registration and transfer of these lines. As a result, enforcement of the annual re-registration regulations has been less strict, and there has been less interference with the operation of the line. In addition, there have been, from time to time, policies to give Indians priority to the registration of white lines that go vacant. Detractors sometimes use this as evidence of loose standards for Indian trappers, but it must be read in context and taken as a form of tolerance within a range accepted by the provincial authorities.

There were three alternate conclusions to the establishment of the registration system. These were the result of the new legal status of the resource and changed Tsimshian economic control over the enterprise of trapping: 1.) registration of some lines in compliance with customary rights for use; 2) registration of other lines by a trapper without any previous history of personal aboriginal claim; 3) loss of some lines despite aboriginal rights.

The happiest cases were where the registrations more or less conformed to both the aboriginal tenure ("hunting grounds"), and the expectations of the trappers. These cases involved both Tsimshian and settlers. Some immigrant trappers first held permission from the Tsimshian

titleholders, and then secured their areas by registration. Unfortunately, the registration policy often meant absolute loss of traplines. Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson referred to the phenomenon as "some displacement of Indian trappers by whites" (1958:101). This observation was true in the Skeena area generally, but constitutes an understatement for the Kitsumkalum Valley where registration led to a near total displacement. The earliest registrations mostly went to settlers and foreign workers, taking the areas out of Indian use.

While it began as soon as settlement began, displacement happened more frequently after the 1926 legislation, and especially on the east side of the Kitsumkalum Valley where the immediately previous Kitsumkalum owners had died without proper succession. It was a social phenomenon structured by the times. Thus, it occurred easily with lines where the aboriginal owners were absent because of their preoccupation by missionaries and/or with the commerce on the coast. Several more Indian lines were lost when their owners surrendered their Indian status (e.g., the Nelsons) or when the lines were passed to non-Indian affines (the Richmond line). Some were legally appropriated (Bennett), or purchased under dubious conditions, sometimes, allegedly, involving liquor. And there were some that were lost through honest sale without any suggestion of impropriety. Some lines were also taken

by Indians in the same manner as newcomers had taken lines elsewhere.

The resolution of disputes under the legislation generally did not favour the Indian claims. The problems were often complex, as in the northern end of the Kitsumkalum Valley where disputes sometimes involved Kitsumkalum, Nishgas, Gitksan, and settler claims. All of these went to the settlers, and in one case there is a record of a Gitskan actually being removed from the area and then prosecuted.

Figure 9 shows the trapping areas as they were in the 1920s. It can be compared to the map of original hunting areas of the Kitsumkalum (Figure 2). As can be seen, not all of their trapping areas were located within the Kitsumkalum Valley. Some Kitsumkalum trappers activated privileges in other parts of the Tsimshian land and others had to search for new locales to compensate for losses in the Valley.

Indian mobility was now increasingly restricted. First there was the government's registration system which defined areas and access. Within that context, those Tsimshian who counted on aboriginal claims were limited by the number of lines under Indian registration and control. Those who did find areas recognized as tribal registrations were then constrained by Tsimshian customs. Finally, there were also conflicts over the multiple use of some areas, as in the

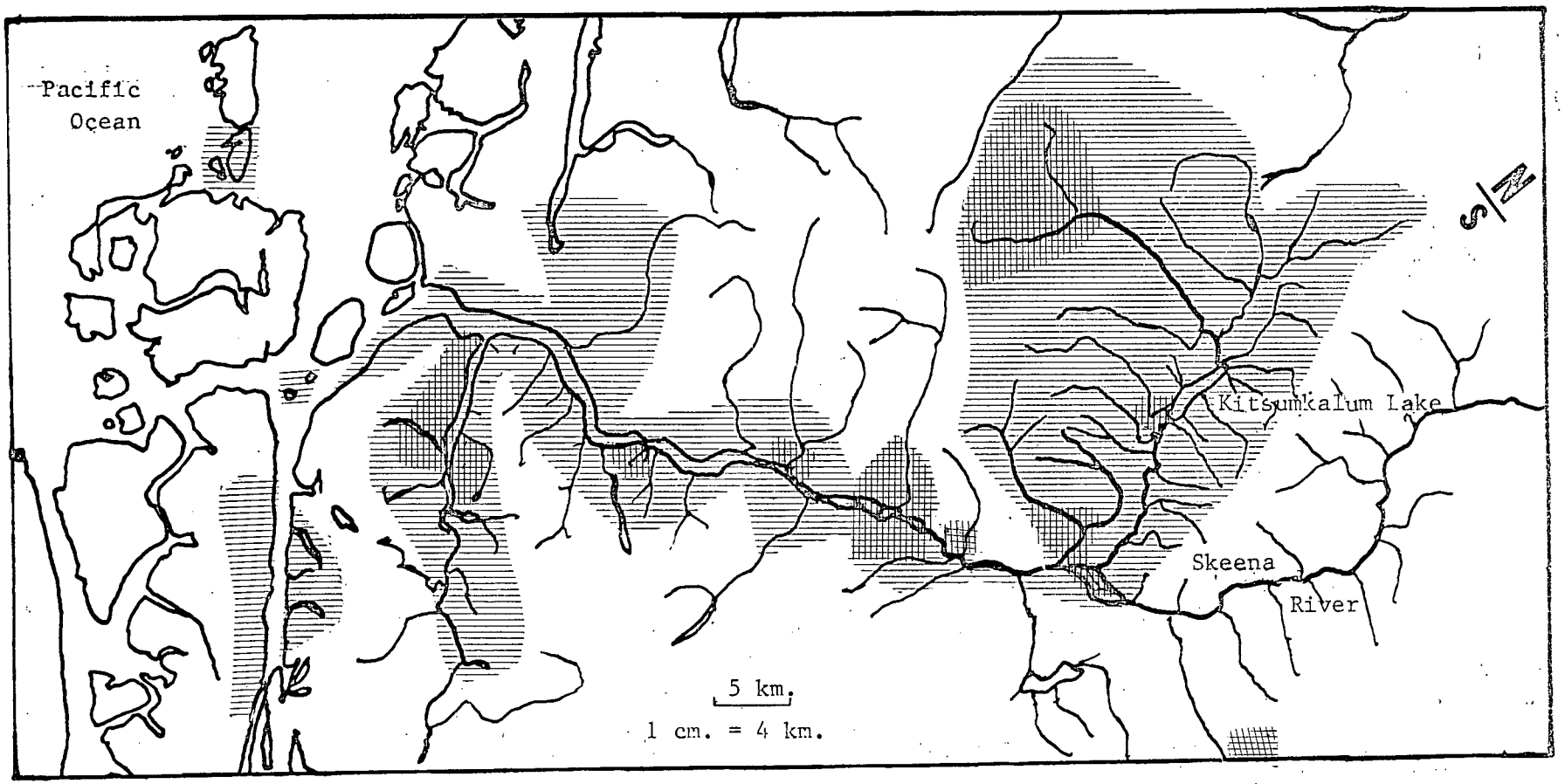

Figure 9. Trapline areas of Kitsumkalums in the 1920s (sources: see text). Single hatch indicates land use area, cross hatch indicates trapline areas.

case of one Kitsumkalum (Mr. Spalding) who tried to log on another man's (Mr. Bryant of Port Simpson) line and was accused of poaching furs.

Aboriginal practices lingered on, even up to the present. After the initial registration period, many of the searches for new areas relied on various social ties. Mark Bolton and his son James had locales on the Skeena, Ecstall and the coast for which they had some, now forgotten, aboriginal claim, but the registration system made it more difficult to gain simple use rights to such areas, since permits were needed. The Nelsons and Boltons claimed traplines around the Salvus area. Again, the specific claims could not be found for their choosing lines there, although the current opinion is that these were probably not traditional hunting grounds in the sense that Kitsumkalum Valley was.[1] On the Ecstall there were several claims by the Kitsumkalum that either were developed while they lived in Port Essington at the mouth of the river[2] or claimed on the strength of received rights.[3]

In attempting to relocate themselves, several families

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[1] This opinion must be qualified: the informants were children at the time, and admit they do not know the political situation their fathers were manipulating.

[2] For example the Spalding traplines or the conflict over the Auckland area when Mark Bolton tried to register the area, claiming that it was not being used.

[3] For example Mark Bolton or Don Roberts.

made more than one move. The Boltons, for example, went from the Zimacord area to Salvus to the Ecstall and, finally, Grenville channel in the course of a generation.

The displacement of the Kitsumkalum from their Valley entailed numerous problems. It pushed them out of the convenient, more economically central areas around Terrace and Port Essington which increased the general inconveniences associated with trapping life. Besides alienating them from their aboriginal lands, this displacement often added to their costs in maintaining their lines and in transportation. In addition, many of the lost lines were more productive than those that were found after, especially those on the coast. This loss in productivity would never be recovered. Thus, both the economic and social returns from the activity were reduced, and the community was dispersed over an area reaching from the Terrace area to Grenville channel down the coast. Figure 10 shows the situation as it exists today.

So far, the discussion has traced the loss of legal and then economic control over the traplines, but a third factor should be considered: economic possession. This is the most basic relation a producer has to the means of production.

The current legislation (R.S.B.C. C s)(1979 C s433) has finally and explicitly assumed total control of the resource and of the conditions under which it can be exploited, so that the trapper is, in this sense,

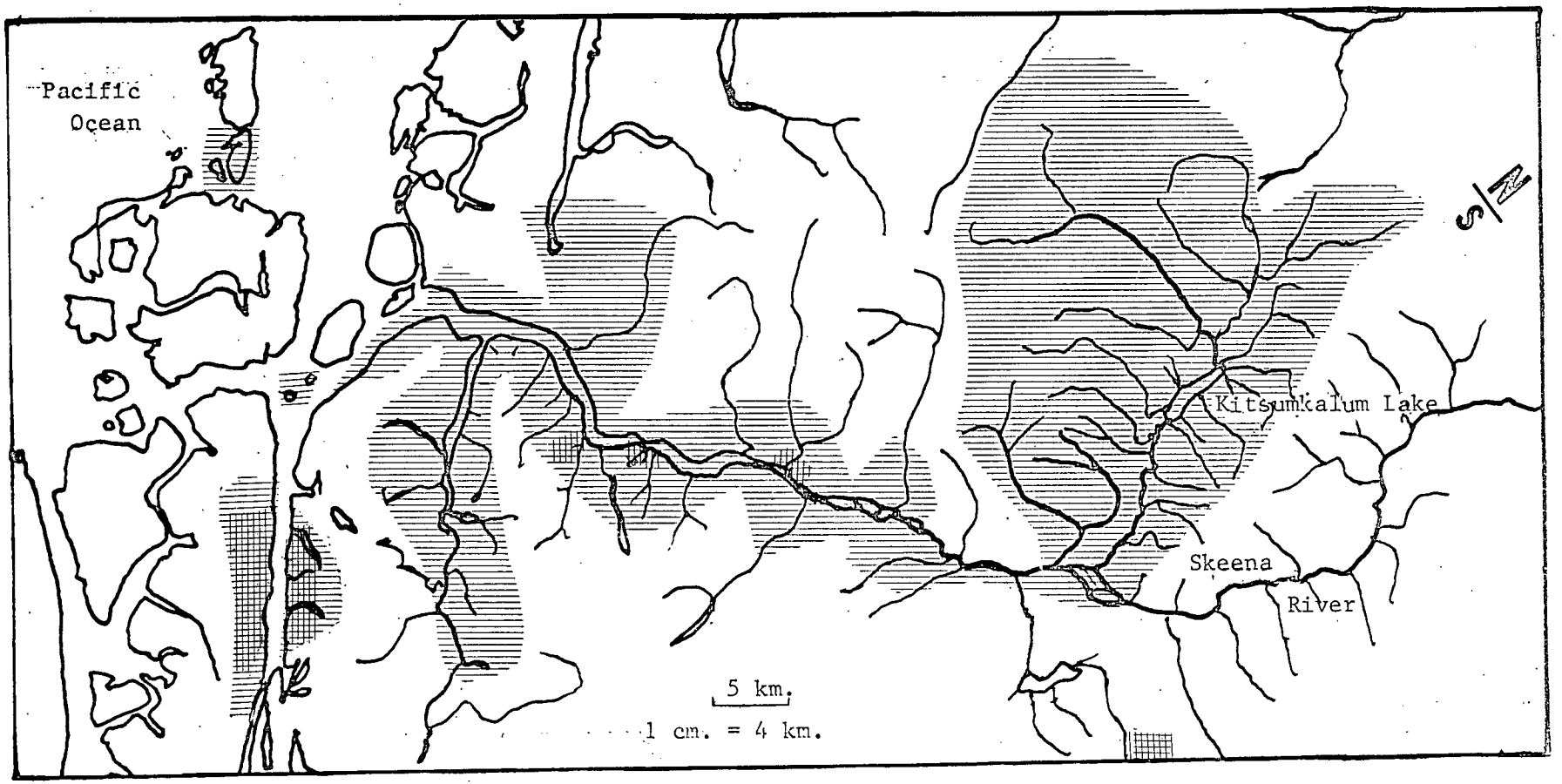

Figure 10. Current trapline areas of Kitsumkalums (source: British Columbia Fish and Wildlife Branch, Terrace). Hatching indicates land use area, cross hatching indicates trapline areas.

dispossessed. The dynamics of this process with regard to the territorial aspect of the means of production, which is a focus for the relationship of production, was completed in 1926. Dispossession occurred at a different pace for the other elements of the means of production. Some information on this has been discussed already: for example, the seasonal prohibitions to trapping that were first introduced at the end of the nineteenth century and eventually came to include and define all commercial species, or the regulation of equipment and licencing of trappers.

Registration was completed before the Second World War, but the administrative details were still being worked out and new restrictions continued to plague the Kitsumkalum. One trapper (Dave Spalding) was told in 1946 that his son could not trap their line unless he was registered or held an assistant's license. In another case, a man (W. Wright) was registered on a tribal trapline in Kitselas District as well as his own in Kitsumkalum's area. He was forced to choose one or the other, thus restricting his mobility and his ecological options. In this particular case, the man's own line was distant and somewhat inaccessible. A greater commitment was required for him to trap there, compared to the tribal line that was more convenient. Trapping was a supplement to his other economic activities and each location had a purpose under different economic conditions. To be restricted to one reduced his margin of success.

Moreover, each line undoubtedly had a purpose under different social conditions and it is interesting that his decision to choose one line in the land of one Band was followed by a subsequent decision to declare legal membership in the other Band. This created a muddle and now people are not sure which group was his.

Since he is long dead, he is unable to explain himself or settle the membership question, but one can speculate. This particular man was well-known in both geographic areas and felt himself to belong to each of the groups which occupied the different areas in which the two lines were located. His exploitation of resources in the respective districts represented his two alignments. The government was destroying this social statement, and only through his final decision could he continue to declare effectively both of his connections. Unfortunately, in the very different cultural world of today, this just seems confusing.

In a third case, an Indian partnership was falling apart and causing a row over ownership of the line. At the time, the DIA, on behalf of the Indians, controlled the re-allocation of Indian licenses (a function which still exists in an advisory capacity) so the DIA stepped in to resolve the issue, dissolved the partnership, and allotted ownership in an action that demonstrated that both the economic partnership and licence existed only under government approval.

Finally, beyond the acts of production and in the sphere of circulation, registration was a prerequisite to marketing and required payment of royalties. This interfered with and bounded the trapper's ability to dispose of the product of his enterprise.

There are several claims attached to commodified pelts. Buyers claim a portion of the value of the pelt. The provincial government makes a claim on the basis of general resource ownership rights. These were expressly and specifically incorporated into the Wildlife Act in 1976 (R.S.B.C. 1979 C433). The form of the appropriation is that of a royalty from each pelt that is processed (i.e., commodified) by the trapper.

The remainder of the price stays with the trapper. The money trappers take home is used to pay off the costs of trapping and then divided among the participants according to their perceived contribution to the work. The size of the share is modified by individual needs, kinship status, obligation debts (previous or future), and age. Children, for example, may work on the line but they would receive only a little cash. Thus one person (Eddie Feak) told me that everyone shared during the 1930s, and the family never paid any wage. Another (Addie Turner) remembered how her father and his brother would work her grandfather's line, and even after the grandfather was old and sick they would give him some money from the pelts. After the grandfather's

death, a part of the earnings went directly to his wife, their mother. This was not described as a form of rent, but as a family obligation. The amounts under discussion in both of these cases were not represented to me as being a large amount of money. Addie Turner said her family only got enough to get by on, to buy things for the children, and to provide fur for muskrat coats (a popular winter coat). She, herself, trapped a little as a child, but only to supplement the family income by paying for some of her school supplies.

The philosophy underlying this distribution in the family was the ethic that the work was for the collective good, and that the cash received was to meet the overall needs the family had for other commodities. The amount made was considered as a contribution to the overall production of the group, allowing it to live as it did. As an activity integrated into camp life, trapping was seen as an efficient use of the camp time and resources. During trapping, the trapper could and would augment his familiarity with the camp area with knowledge that benefitted his use of the area for hunting and fishing, and even logging. In this way, each activity assisted all of the economic sectors of their way of life.

Not all the rewards were material. An important part of the payment, especially for some temporary members of the group, was the ability to live at the camp where access to

other resources was possible and where a certain, much noted, psychological rejuvenation could occur. Since trapping faded, it has been a little more difficult to find such relief.

This has been an outline of more than a century of development of the industry. The result has been, for the Kitsumkalum, a dispossession from ownership of a resource that was once fully part of their economic formation. All this eroded the trapper's ability to assign the territory and resources to the trapping purpose, and to put these factors plus his traps to use. The trend was completed and fulfilled in the 1970s by the Wildlife Act when the government declared its total property rights to wildlife (R.S.B.C. 1979 C43 s78), but it is now becoming an issue of aboriginal rights and land claims. The further evolution of the industry will be structured by that.

13. COMMERCIAL FISHING

Fishing was part of the essence of Kitsumkalum's existence, yet when I first became acquainted with the village, there were no active fishermen or shoreworkers. Now there is one fisherman. He employs women as net menders and occasionally fishes with younger band members. In the non-status community, there are other fishermen - less than half a dozen, plus wives or other family members - and an undetermined number of cannery workers. To understand how this reduction came to be, an overview of the means of production and of the exigencies of industrial production will be made, for the changes in these areas are important to the history of Indian participation and to an understanding of the position of Tsimshian labour. In this chapter, the Kitsumkalum's dispossession from ownership of the resources will be assumed, and my focus will shift to the subsumption of Indian labour under capitalist relations of production.

RESOURCES

The major resources of the commercial fishing industry include the particular fish species that are caught and the sites for processing plants.

Fish

The Kitsumkalum have participated in the commercial fishery primarily as gillnet salmon fishermen, but occasionally, like other Tsimshians, they have been active in a number of the established fisheries. A review of the components of the fishery will be useful for placing the particular evolution of Kitsumkalum's participation in commercial fishing into context. Each fishery had a slightly different history of development, and affected Indian labour differently.

My earliest record of the capture of fish for its commercial exchange value comes from the Port Simpson journals (Hudson Bay Company Archives) written for the years 1834 to 1840 (see Table 2). During that time, the northern Indians (and this would mainly be Tsimshians from the coastal villages) were trading salmon, halibut, oolachan grease, whale oil, crabs, seals, cod, and flounder in exchange for European commodities. Although the Hudson Bay Company had a sizeable trade in West Coast fish through the Sandwich Islands (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual

Report 1874:168), there is nothing in the Journals to suggest that the Tsimshian fish were being used other than for the local personal consumption of the Baymen.

After Confederation, much of the government's energy was turned to the money-making possibilities of fish. The earliest Department of Fisheries reports listed the potential of British Columbia waters as involving salmon, herring, oolachan, halibut, smelt, haddock, dogfish, ground fish, shrimp, prawn, cod, whale, and walrus. An early Fishery Guardian, John McNab, described the potential:

> "When on the coast I endeavoured to obtain all the information possible in reference to the sea fisheries; especially in regard to the grey and the so-called black cod. The result of my enquiries may be briefly summed up as follows: ...I saw and handled two cod of the Atlantic or true cod caught in Mr. Cunningham's nets while drifting for salmon in Telegraph Passage inside of Kennedy's Island, near the mouth of the Skeena, about the first of July. ... On my way home ... we had it for breakfast next morning and I can vouch for its excellent quality.
>
> Halibut are to be found over the whole extent of the coast between Skeena and Port Simpson in great quantities. On this section of the coast, marine vegetation is very luxuriant, affording shelter and food for small bait fish; mussel beds are very extensive. The shores are generally smooth, with good marginal sand and gravel beaches, favourable for landing and curing fish, and all the conditions exist here that are found in the vicinity of the most prolific fishing grounds on the Atlantic coast. If good cod-banks are not found within easy reach of this section of the coast, I would ascribe it to immense

> number of voracious dog-fish which infest every bay and inlet on the coast...I beg to draw your attention to the Oolachan fisheries at the Nasse [sic] River" (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1887:254).

Development of these fisheries in B.C. eventually did occur, but it was uneven along the length of the coast, with the north being slightly behind the south.

In the past century, the fisheries have grown in size and variety until now they include salmon, halibut, herring (food, bait, roe), tuna, groundfish (cod, perch, hake, sablefish), spawn on kelp, and many invertebrates (geoducks, oysters, crabs, shrimp, prawns, abalone) (see Pearse 1982). It has become an industry significantly larger than that foreseen by the first Department of Fisheries superintendents. Fishing for all these species can involve Tsimshians in a variety of ways, although participation can vary from direct involvement as fishermen, or by collecting clams for a cannery, or establishing a kelp farm operation; or in less direct ways such as the community stores that might provision a passing geoduck boat. In this chapter, however, I will focus on salmon because salmon was the most significant to Kitsumkalum's incorporation into the industry.

Salmon has been the province's principal commercial fish, although not necessarily the highest in terms of landed values (Sinclair 1978:211). It has been especially important for the Indian fishermen who traditionally are

depicted as being salmon fishermen. This definitely applies to the Kitsumkalum, who were mostly gillnetters, although some diversity, especially in the incorporation of halibut, herring, clams, and some shellfish, was important to the overall organization of their fishing careers.

The salmon fishery did not always include all the runs. The main attraction for the first canneries of the 1870s was the firm red flesh of the sockeye. It was not until the turn of the century that the species with lighter-coloured meat were sufficiently important as commercial fish to be isolated in Fisheries tabulations. Even though these "spring and fall fish" were occasionally as much as one quarter of a particular cannery's pack, they were not considered valuable because of tastes in Europe. Humpies (pinks) were first to increase in market acceptability and then, after 1910, chums were taken in significant numbers (Sanford-Evans 1917; Ross n.d.:70). By 1907, packs of Red Springs, chums, pinks, cohoes, and an isolated pack of steelheads on the Nass were being reported separately in official statistics (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Report 1907:I19). Once accepted, proportions of all these grew rapidly so that in 1908 the other salmon mentioned totalled nearly half of the Skeena River pack (ibid. 1908:I7). Of these, pinks and chums were the most important after the sockeye (Ross n.d.:70). The gradual extension of the salmon fishery to include all species

lengthened the fishing season and redefined the productive relationship of the resources to the resident population of the area. More and more fish and labour were being taken out of Tsimshian production.

The Dominion's Department of Fisheries' Acts, like other laws, were not extended to British Columbia immediately following Confederation, but in 1874 (S.C. 1874 C60 s28). At that time weekly closures were officially introduced on salmon (ibid.:s.13). Application of the legislation was not strict even then, especially for Indian fishermen and in the north. In fact, the first visit to the north by the Superintendent was in 1878, to investigate the conflict between Kitkatla Indians and a cannery that was accused of depleting one of the village's fishing grounds (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1878:69). At that time, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs reported that the Indian commercial fishermen appreciated the government's effort to conserve resources, if not the property assumptions behind those efforts (e.g., Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1882:83). After the Tsimshian's loss of legal control over the fishery, the cry for conservation was taken up more energetically from within the government. As a result, several commissions have been appointed since 1910 to study the problem. But even in the nineteenth century, in the aftermath of the disastrous effects of commercial fishing in California, government officials had begun their

documentation of declining runs. The political effect of this was that gradually, and despite information to the contrary, Indian utilization of the resource, which was once highly praised by the Fisheries officers (e.g., Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1877:289;1878:295), fell under attack for alleged devastation of the salmon.

A few other fisheries have been important to the Tsimshian articulation with capital, especially oolachans, herring, halibut, dogfish, and clams. Oolachans were being exploited commercially on the Nass before 1877 (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1877). Within ten years, the oolachan fishery was described in Department of Fisheries Reports as "failing", even though attempts were made to sell the fish as superior in taste to the popular Bay of Fundy herring. The oolachan producers turned to herring proper. It was more successful and the oolachan were quickly abandoned as a commercial product for Europe, leaving it for Native production and trade.

Shortly after its removal from the commercial sphere, oolachan became the focus of political gamesmanship with a regulation being passed in 1888 banning the "Boston Indians" of Alaska from fishing oolachan in Canada (i.e., at Fishery Bay, Nass River) (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1888:202). The coincidence of the date with the migration of the dissident Tsimshian of Metlakatla to New Metlakatla in Alaska, suggests the regulation was a parting shot at the

emigrants. Many people were displeased by their public spurning of the Canadian way of life, especially government officials.

The first herring operation started on the Nass in 1877 and produced smoked and fresh herring (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1888:259). Herring were not regulated until closures were introduced in 1908 (to 1913) and again in 1924. Technological restraints were also introduced at that time.

The first record of halibut being caught commercially, on the Cape Flatery Banks (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1916:G77), is for 1888 (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1889:200). By 1900, this fishery was well underway (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1916:S77), and soon the halibut was being depleted on bank after bank fairly rapidly. This forced fishermen further out in search of new and more productive banks. Such serious depletion had occurred that considerable official time was being devoted to conservation issues. The first regulation of the halibut fishery in 1910 brought closures from March 1 to March 31 (O/C 12 March 1910). These were lifted by O/C 19 November 1912. After this, the main line to the subsequent history of regulation of halibut is grounded in the formation and operation of an International Halibut Commission, which was formed in the 1920s and which started to regulate catches and quotas in

1932.

A dogfish fishery opened in 1877 on the Queen Charlotte Islands (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1877:293).

Clams were first canned at Metlakatla, in a small quantity, in 1883 (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1883:200).

Thus, by the time of the Great War, the basic pattern of the commercial fisheries was established (cf. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1906 and Freidlaender 1975). Further expansion occurred, as the list of extant fisheries indicates, and is still occurring, but these changes were of minor importance to the Kitsumkalum, according to their own recollections.[1]

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[1] I should note that the pattern reflects the main emphasis and history expressed to me by Kitsumkalum people. I have some information for the other Tsimshian villages, but it is limited. Two factors (a lack of specific information in archival sources on Tsimshian participation, and a necessary practical decision on my part not to conduct detailed interviews with people from coastal villages on the history of their involvement in all aspects of the commercial fishery) prevent me from generalizing the pattern to those other villages except through a field worker's intuition. Nonetheless, I will later draw upon information about other villages to assist the reconstruction of the fishing life of the Kitsumkalum.

Locales

The fishing industry in the northwest includes cannery plants on shore, the development of which involved an early property dispute. The spread of the cannery plants and of their associated fish camps led to direct competition with the Tsimshian for sites (this was a general problem on the coast, Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Narratives 1873:206) and many complaints were heard by the government that the canners were interfering with the aboriginal economy. Very little was done to alleviate the problem. The canners had fairly specific requirements for site location and these coincided with the Tsimshian needs (Fisher 1977:206). A delegation of chiefs revealed all this to an unsympathetic government in Victoria in 1887 (British Columbia, Sessional Papers 1888, e.g., pp.260-264), but the law protected the canners and gave them permission to use "vacant" public lands and forests (S.C. 31VC60s.3). The Tsimshian had little recourse to justice. In its place, the Dominion and provincial governments set in motion the process that lead to the establishment of the reserve system, ostensibly to protect the Indian's economy. As a result of defining Indian land, the government was also defining Crown land and establishing what would be recognized as legally vacant lands that the canners could use.

Ross argued that five environmental features contributed to a successful cannery in the early days: good foreshore access, proximity to the sea for purposes of transportation as well as early access to the fish, a fresh water source to supply plant operations, a timber source for lumber and boxes, and an available supply of labour (1967:53, 68-69). Port Essington, with its foreshore, strategic location at the mouth of the Skeena, supply of fresh water from a small mountain lake, and a bounteous forest for Cunningham's sawmill, was an ideal location upon which to situate a cannery, as several companies did. In addition to all these fine features, the flat land behind the beach provided good settlement grounds that supported the industry. These are probably some of the same features that attracted the original Tsimshian population. So good was its location that, had it not been for decisions that caused the railway to bypass this town, Port Essington was expected to grow into the city that the railway terminous of Prince Rupert became.

Since the cannery workers had to live near the plants for practical reasons, the location of canneries altered demographic patterns among the Tsimshian. The major initial effect for the Kitsumkalum was to emphasize its residential connection to the Port Essington area, a connection enhanced by cannery owner Cunningham's arrangement to provide a special reserve for Kitsumkalum, Kitselas, and other of his

Tsimshian workers.

The requirements for a successful cannery site did not remain static, but evolved. The advent of the more seaworthy round bottom boats allowed canneries to be moved out of the river mouth area to locales closer to where the fish schooled in the salt water (Ross 1967:80). This improved the competitive advantage of the canneries by giving the fishermen better and earlier access to the fish resource. Further technological changes lessened the importance of the other determining geographic factors of location. At the same time, an influence was developing that came to give a new but focal importance to the facilities around the railroad and harbour in Prince Rupert.

The railroad shifted the centre of commerce to Prince Rupert and the north shore. At first, cannery operations stretched along its track, with a concentration along cannery row (Inverness Slough) from Port Edward to Prince Rupert. Now they have moved entirely inside Prince Rupert. Small settlements and railroad stops, such as Port Essington, Haysport, and numerous others, have all closed down and are virtually abandoned, save for a few fishing families that sometimes spend part of their summer in their old homes. With the completion of this shift to the area around the railroad and Prince Rupert, and finally into Prince Rupert, the coast was deserted. The occupation of the land by the industry was abandoned, except for the one

last location.

The map (Figure 11) records the locations of many of the canneries of the Skeena fishery, indicating the extensive utilization of the territory and some of the demography of production. It must be noted that not all the canneries were operating in any given year because of the highly cyclical nature of the industry and its market. The fate of each company varied from year to year: a few would work each season, others would not operate in poor years, some would fail entirely.

In addition to the canneries, there were numerous satellite stations or fresh camps scattered throughout the area, on the mainland, on islands, or simply floating. (These are not mapped.) They also contributed to the utilization and occupation of Tsimshian lands by the industry and to the settlement patterns of the villagers during fishing seasons.

Most of the early fishing was conducted in the Skeena mouth but expansion throughout Chatham Sound and the various passages and channels occurred as the industry developed. The general trend has been outward, further from the river, with a consequent drawing away of the Kitsumkalum from fishing the river.

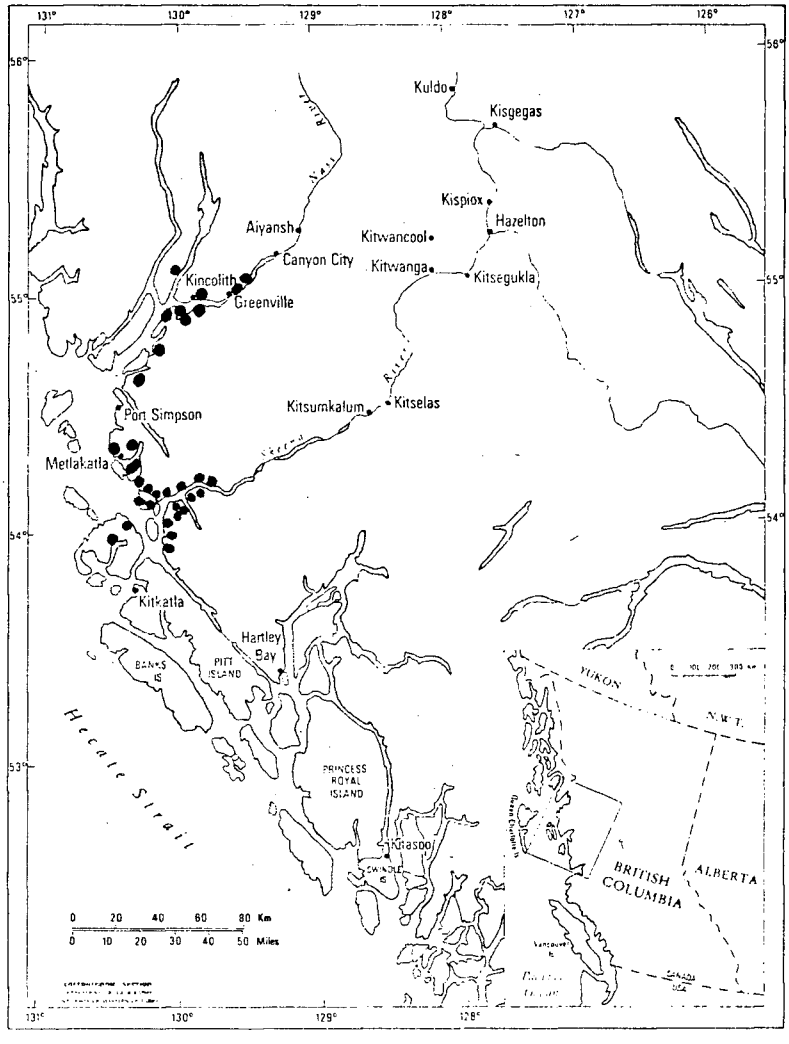

Figure 11. Cannery locations near the Skeena River (1877-1966) and the Nass River (1881-1945). (source: Ross n.d.:15,20. Each shaded circle represents a cannery site.)

TECHNOLOGY AND LABOUR

The fishing industry at Port Essington was from its inception derived from British and American capital. Thus, the fishermen of Kitsumkalum encountered it as part of a global division of labour, already structured in many ways, and were fitted into it accordingly, even as they struggled to adapt it to their own needs. In this section, the structures resulting from technical levels are discussed, but I will not give a detailed account of the evolution of the means of production, only enough to understand the development of labour's technical participation in the industry. Later, the more social relations of production will be reviewed.

Fishing

The capitalist fishing industry began in earnest in the north during the 1870s. The original technological conditions seem hazy a century later but Ralston, in a study of the Fraser River fishery, notes that in the beginning Indians were the chief, if not sole, source of labour and that their skill as boatsmen and as salmon fishermen allowed them to adapt quickly to gillnet skiffs (1965:11). This was true in the north as well (Ross 1967:14). It is not clear, however, whether these fishermen worked from cannery-supplied commercial boats and gear in the first seasons of

the 1870s, or relied upon their own Indian craft and even aboriginal techniques. Lawrence mentions that the Tsimshian fishermen used canoes, sometimes with the wife rowing as the husband tended the net (1951:28-29). An officer reported that on the less isolated Fraser River, "Indian fish" were being bought openly by canners up to 1881 (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1882:203). This suggests a transitional phase in the technology as labour was subsumed by cannery capital, but the transition in gear was undoubtedly quick.[1]

We know little in detail about the earliest period. But, what is clear is the deliberate attempt on the part of the government and canners to ensure that the distinction between aboriginal and commercial fisheries would not be confused. As early as 1878, the Inspector of Fisheries stipulated to the Indians of the province that, while their own fisheries would not be interfered with very much,

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[1] The use of indigenous technology would have reduced costs to canners. We might presume this to be a good beginning for a logical reconstruction of the earliest seasons. However, some of the first capital came from San Francisco, where the salmon canning industry was already established, and where a certain set of structured expectations about its use existed. How influential they were probably varied from area to area and cannery to cannery. Our understanding of the situation is thus uncertain, and especially so in the northern region where technological innovations and regulations were applied more slowly. The conditions which brought the Tsimshians into industrial production may always remain in the twilight of time.

> "where fishing with white men and modern appliances, the Indian so fishing should be considered as coming in all respects under the general law" (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1879:293).

The disadvantaged position of the Tsimshian in the industry began only a year after the first cannery opened on the Skeena contra Pritchard 1977:68 who places it in the 1920s, which is actually the point when the problem became critical). With Tsimshian technology prohibited, development was placed in the hands of people pursuing a very different economic rationale. The technological underdevelopment of Tsimshian fishermen stems from this loss of control.

Once underway, most commercial salmon fishing in the north seems to have been conducted from oar powered flat bottom boats usually manned by a boat puller (oarsman) and a net puller. Sometimes a second net puller was on board to assist and to haul in the catch more quickly. This was the situation from the 1880s until the turn of the century. By 1897, when the "double-ender" Columbia River boat was introduced into the north, canneries were chasing the fish further from the river mouth in Marcus Channel and Chatham Sound. Since the boats were powered by sail and had to be towed out to the fishing grounds, the newer cannery plants were not located on the Skeena, but "outside", closer to the grounds. This had the effect of dispersing the canneries and labour away from the increasingly crowded area of the

Skeena mouth (Ross 1967:56).

The government recorded that in 1887, there were 240 fishermen and 77 fishing boats valued at $3120 (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1887:262-263). According to a count in 1888 by Franz Boas, Port Essington had 40 boats (which meant at least 80 fishermen) (Rohner 1969:94). Gear and boats were owned by the companies. Labour belonged to the lineage.

These fishing skiffs were generally towed out to the fishing grounds by company steam or gas packers, and left in the water with a two man crew for a 12 hour shift. Some Indian crews included a husband/wife team. Men who experienced fishing this way described miserable conditions to me of being towed out from Port Essington to Point Lambert and beyond, then drifting with the tide, fishing until the steamer returned to pick them up. If they had to sleep on the boat, which they might do between sets, especially at night, it was just under a canvas tent that covered a portion of the boat but not much of the fishermen, and provided little protection or shelter from the rain.

Gas boats were hesitantly brought into the north. They were periodically prohibited between 1910 to 1923 for fear they would over-capitalize the industry and reduce profits (Sanford-Evans 1917:Q2:n.p., Ross n.d.). The main opposition to motorization came from canners who did not want to convert their fleets for economic reasons, but both

Indian and white fishermen on the Skeena and Nass Rivers also protested. They predicted higher costs for gas and for rentals with no financial benefit (Duff 1922:9). Racist tensions complicated their understanding of the change, for the organized Japanese were expected to convert most easily and squeeze out the other fishermen. The government felt this would especially affect Indians (Duff 1922:9). The final decision to allow the more comfortable gas boats was made after the number of Japanese fishermen were limited and a campaign was mounted to induce more whites to fish. By then the only opposition to these new regulations came from the Indians on the Skeena and Nass Rivers (Sinclair 1978:21).

From this point on, as "development crowded upon development", the race for better and ever more costly technological improvements took off, leaving the Indian fishermen to fall further and further behind (Pritchard 1977:68, see Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:111). The acquisition of each innovation was necessary to remain competitive, but it also drove many Tsimshian out of fishing, and left scars in their social economy.

The great switch to gas boats occurred in the inter-war period, but Indian people were generally slow to make it. This was partially due to the attitudes of the canners who were hesitant to finance Indian purchases. Indians were considered to have lower standards of care and efficiency

(Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:111) which was possibly true, if for no other reasons then that they usually started off with the older and more obsolete cannery boats (ibid.). Furthermore, if they owned a boat they tended to use it more intensively as a versatile means of production in their overall economic lives. For whatever reasons, Port Essington people in Kitsumkalum generally remember a father acquiring his first gas boat, usually an inexpensive 4 Easthope (the horsepower and brand of the motor) around the beginning of World War II. When they could, sons and other partners contributed to the purchase price from earnings made in fishing and elsewhere.

The first gas boats did not change labour's organization. Although the motor made it easier to move about in the water, a boat puller was still required to handle the fourteen foot oars that positioned the skiff for the net puller. It was technological improvements after the war that permitted one man fishing. This in turn slowly led to the attitude that there was something wrong if you needed a partner to gillnet from a gasboat - after all, it cut profits by half. But not all Indians fished for profits then and my impression is that they were very resistant to fishing alone. Today the boats are larger and fishermen have partners.

When the Japanese Canadians were expelled from the coast, which occurred shortly after the switch to gas boats, their gear was confiscated and sold for what were reported to me as very cheap prices. This allowed some Indians to upgrade their gear to the level of the highly esteemed Japanese Canadians, who are still famous for their high maintenance standards. It should be pointed out, however, that all the boat names that I recorded as being bought at this time by Kitsumkalum had cannery prefixes (e.g., NP222, Rupert 69, Rupert 70), suggesting that Kitsumkalums participated only indirectly in the sales, possibly benefiting from ripple effects caused by the appearance of the Japanese Canadian boats on the market.

Immediately after World War II a number of technological changes were introduced which increased the productivity and efficiency of salmon fishermen. These were the power drum for hauling in the net, echo sounders for locating schools of fish, radar equipment, and radio telephones (Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958 112). Changes in the 1950s further increased the capitalization of fishing and led to larger, faster boats (ibid.:112). This was also the period when Port Essington fishermen experimented with the new nylon nets that were replacing the traditional, heavy linen nets. By the 1960s, the electronic revolution had taken hold. Aluminum was competing with fiberglass in boat construction, faster boats were out-manoeuvering the

old models which could not move to the various openings quick enough, and diesel began to replace gasoline. Fishermen who could not keep up with this expensive race found it increasingly difficult to stay in the fishery.

The underdevelopment of Tsimshian fishermen corresponded to the technological development of the industry. This was only one aspect of the problem as legislation was also important.

Official control of gear began in 1874. The first regulations mainly defined a national fishing season, net mesh size, and banned aboriginal gear such as spears, and traps. (see chapter 5, on aboriginal fishing). The nineteenth century legislation seemed to be a greater nuisance to fishermen in isolated villages not centrally located to the industry and who were thereby not in as good contact with the constant changes. For example, there were reports of labour being expended preparing for the upcoming season, only to be wasted when they learned of a change in regulation mesh size came at the start of fishing (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1889:255).

After 1889, and especially after the turn of the century, regulation was increasingly specific and inclusive of ever more fish. With capitalist fishing firmly established, the strategy was largely oriented towards the conservation measure of reducing the efficiency of fishermen (Ross n.d.:71) and limiting their efforts through the amount

and types of gear and openings (Sinclair 1960:23-24). In general, the fishery regulations on gear were well observed on the Skeena (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1891:176).

Once subsumed into the structure of capitalist fishing, the organization of Tsimshian labour was not greatly affected by the further evolution of the regulations standardizing gear except insofar as the regulations kept pace with the technological changes, which could be deadly. The resulting combination of "modernization" and regulation drove some individual fishermen out of business.

Most of the discussion so far has dealt with gillnetting, but there also were developments in other sectors. An important change in salmon gear that affected labour patterns occurred around 1912 with the inauguration and growth of a salmon trolling fishery in the north. This allowed more time to be given over to fishing in a year's round of activities. Trolling required an expensive boat. I do not have information that this fishery attracted any Port Essington Indians until the 1950s. At that time, fishermen adopted combination gear strategies on their gillnetters, another example of the versatility and importance of the gillnetter.

Combination gear enabled these people to extend their commercial fishing season, which was necessary in the twentieth century as trapping and logging entered crises.

Indian fishermen would put on the poles and maybe gurdies to help handle the lines and go trolling between periods of gill netting and in the Fall. Trolling was mainly a strategy for a few fishermen with camps "outside".[1] In general, most Essington people did not troll, giving Port Essington a reputation as a part of the gillnet fleet just as places like Kitkatla were known for its seiners, or Hartley Bay for its trollers.

At first, the law restricted the combination of gillnet and trolling. Fishermen generally considered this unfair, especially for the Japanese fishermen who were more dependent upon trolling in outside waters.[2]

In the halibut fishery, technological developments also excluded many of the Port Essington Indians. In the beginning, there were some two-man sailboats that would long line whenever they had a chance throughout the year. This is a casual method of fishing that has continued until today, although not from sailboats, and remains a source of halibut for personal consumption. The commercial importance of these boats was reduced very early in favour of steam

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[1] From Port Essington these men were James Bolton who occasionally trolled around Kennedy Island, Eli Greene, James Grey, and Sam Lockerby.

[2] Salmon seining also involved Kitsumkalum at Port Essington. The Millar brothers worked for shares as crew members on a large seiner, and one of them still goes out. The participation of Kitsumkalum fishermen in this industry seems to have been slight.

trawlers with around twelve dories and a crew of thirty to thirty-five, depending upon the number of dories. Next in importance were the many smaller gas boats that had fewer than six dories. Such gear made it costly to be competitive, and took the fishery out of the reach of the Indian way of life.

The ability of small producers to fish was further eroded as the stocks were depleted, as international regulations were imposed creating seasons and quotas, and as the reach for more distant banks required heavier capital investment. This was beyond the capacity of most Indian fishermen and as a result they had a slight pressure in the fishery, chiefly concentrated in the "mosquito fleet" that used gillnet boats off-season for a relatively minor fishing activity (Ralston 1965:25,240).

Kitsumkalum's participation increased slightly in the 1950s, after power drums were incorporated onto gillnetters. Some of the Essington people were also able to use the boats for halibut. The special additional gear needed was not expensive if they already had a drum for hauling the lines - it consisted only of halibut skids, hooks and line.

Fish Camps

Some Kitsumkalum operated fish camps for the canners. Ed Bolton worked for Cassiar on a big scow tied up to pilings near Point Lambert. This was a floating camp 60 feet long on which two men lived and from which many others fished. Just like the other camp contracters (Lee Wing below Haysport, Moses Jones or David Spalding for North Pacific), Bolton's camp was assigned a specific territory in which he was responsible for the company's fishermen. In Bolton's case, there were about thirty men under him. He was an independent, with his own packer boat to collect the fish from the gillnetters and to deliver the catch to the cannery. His first boat, the Josie May, was an inheritance from his father, who had purchased it with the aid of his fishing sons. Ed later purchased a second one, the Sunbeam, which was run by his brother-in-law, Herb Spalding. For a brief period, his brother Ben ran one of the packers, and other nephews or brothers also worked on it, sometimes receiving their first fishing experiences from it. It is not clear under what conditions Bolton ran the camp or packer for the cannery. Cannery-owned packers and camps were run by men on a wage, but one person suggested there was probably a seasonal arrangement for those who owned their own packers.

Plants

On shore, labour was organized around the machinery of the plants. The evolution of this technology produced several changes affecting labour.

Original capital investment in commercial fishing was minimal or non-existent. Facilities utilized by the Tsimshian who traded fish to the Bay were simply borrowed from other purposes. Further, the production of cured or smoked fish by merchants, which in the north was minor and mainly for home consumption, required minimal facilities and storage. In Port Simpson these were a simple part of the operating capital of the post.

The change began around 1875 with the establishment of Robertson's oolachan plant on the Nass and the dog-fish oil extraction plant on the Queen Charlotte Islands. Both required specific capital investment and development of facilities.

It was in 1876 when the transformation got underway in earnest, along Inverness Slough at Skeena mouth, when the North West Commercial Company set up a cannery to exploit the salmon riches of the river. Shortly after, Windsor Cannery at Aberdeen, Cunningham at Port Essington, and Croasdale on the Nass, opened up (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1874-1881). In the next few years, there was a rapid expansion in the number of canneries operating and in the amount of capital invested in

the area.

Labour was a problem in the early canneries. The canning process was manual with several serious bottlenecks, especially in the least skilled areas such as butchering, cleaning, filling, making the cans, testing, and labelling. As a result, the shoreworkers were in great demand, much more so than fishermen. Given the bounty of the sea, very few fishermen were required to supply the slow moving lines inside the plant. In fact, there were some Tsimshian fishermen employed or attached to canneries in order for the canners to gain access to the labour of their wives (and other members of the family including children and men).

The shore workers were mainly Chinese or Indian women, the latter because of their greater residential availability. According to Ralston, Chinese labour held a monopoly on cannery work until the 1880s (1965:13-14) but even at an early date in the north it was more common for Indian men and women to be employed in processing (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1881:153), at least for cleaning the fish and doing net work. Since lines were labour intensive, the availability of local Indian women to work on the primitive lines was, from the start, a critical matter for accumulation in the north during the nineteenth century.

The relative position of these shore workers seems to have improved steadily during the next decades, although setbacks occurred from increasing capitalization. One reason was the scarcity of labour. This was increased during the 1880s by several factors, among which were restrictions imposed on Chinese labour by the province (which culminated in the head tax provision of the Chinese Immigration Act (S.B.C. 1885 C71) and the tremendous competitive employment opportunities that were associated with the construction of the railroad (Ralston 1965:13).

It was not a bad labour market, but the unhealthy and difficult conditions of cannery work made it very difficult for the Indian plant workers to adapt to the regulated system of factory work (Knight 1978:89). This was a different situation than that experienced by the fishermen who could accommodate themselves to the independent mode of fishing with some ease. The miserable conditions and the real subordination of labour to capital that was required for work inside the plants, usually at unsatisfactory wages, led to a series of strikes on the Skeena in 1894, 1896, 1897, 1904, and onwards (see Gladstone 1953, 1959). Tsimshian labour was also employed further south and even on the Fraser its presence made a contribution to at least one strike in the 1890s. Tsimshian labour was also a significant participant in the famous Fraser River strike of 1901 (again, see Gladstone 1953, 1959).

The economic strength which workers obtained from the shortage of labour was quickly attacked. At the start, canners could only increase their profits and surplus by adding production lines inside the cannery. Since lines were labour intensive, there were problems associated with this method. Technological changes had to be found, and by the turn of the century a great number of innovations had helped free the canners from a good deal of what they considered to be expensive and unreliable labour (Stacey 1978:ii).

The first major change came in 1890 when a machine was introduced to punch out the cans, replacing much Chinese labour (Ross 1967:45). This was later replaced by the more economical reform cans. Other technological advances were established from 1900 to the 1920s. Double cooking was eliminated (1898), machine lacquering was incorporated into the line and replaced with labelling machines, rotary cutters, filling machines, cappers, power knives, and so on (Gladstone 1959:31ff., Ross 1967:68). These helped the canners alleviate the labour shortage which was continuing to grow as the industry expanded. For example, the widespread acceptance of nylon nets in place of linen, during the late 1950s on the Skeena reduced by one third the number of net-mending jobs (Gladstone 1959:119). The innovations also influenced the bargaining militancy of female Indian labour, which had been growing, as well (see

Gladstone 1959, Ross 1967:70).

An evolution of the form of capital invested in the industry accompanied the increasing capitalization. Each of these changes also modified capital's relationship to labour. The initial phase (to 1890) was characterized by separate units operated by individuals, partnerships or agents in Victoria. This capital was very susceptible to market fluctuations which, in turn, affected the level of Tsimshian employment in the industry. The steady increase in the number of such canneries after 1876, the period of expansion into the north, ended when the British market was flooded with cans from the Columbia River in 1885-1886 (Ross 1967:35). This was the first major set-back to growth, and the Nass area was especially affected, with no canneries re-opening there until 1887 (Ross 1967:37).

On the Skeena, where there was a greater diversity in the structure of the enterprises, capital was better able to weather this, and later, periodic crises. Cunningham's Skeena Cannery for example, was a part of several commercial enterprises that included a store, trading post, and sawmill. He survived. One of the survivors of the 1885 crisis on the Nass, Mr. Croasdaile, also lasted because he operated a saltery and sawmill. His strategy was simply to close the cannery part from 1885 to 1887 (Ross 1967:37-38). The continuity of operations that resulted from enterprises was a benefit to the Tsimshian workers, but none of these

were large establishments that would need a large work force (Ross 1967:39).

The incorporation of the British Columbia Canning Co., Ltd. in London, England in 1889 marked the emergence of the limited company and a second phase for the industry (Ralston 1965:23, Ross 1967:55). Of this form of capital, ABC Packing Co., Ltd (London) and British Columbia Packers of New England were the two most important early ones. All three companies had much greater financial reserves and backing than the industry had known previously and they established themselves in several areas along the coast. The limited company became a trend that introduced a greater order and stability into the industry and eventually the larger organizations came to dominate (Ross 1967:55).

The stability brought about by consolidation was relative, of course, and still dependent upon the fish and markets. A rapidly expanding market situation after the turn of the century led to greater concentration of the resources by capital (the exploitation of each species of salmon, expansion to halibut, etc.) and an expansion of investments. Nonetheless, various economic crises played havoc with this free path of development. For example, the severe crisis of the 1930s caused a decline of approximately two thirds in the annual dollar value from the output of the 1920s peak to the 1930s bottom, and half of the canneries in the province closed. At the peak there were seventy-seven

canneries worth $16.35 million, which dropped to forty-four canneries worth $7.4 million (Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:110).

The increasing concentration and centralization of operations continued until only three centres existed: Prince Rupert, Rivers Inlet, and the Fraser. These drew migrants from throughout the province to labour there. At the Skeena mouth the effect was the closure of several canneries around Port Essington and Haysport before World War II. According to Kitsumkalum fishermen, BA Cannery, which was one of the last to leave Port Essington, was reduced to operating as a fish camp providing only a store for fishermen and net storage facilities for over winter. The cannery plant itself was torn down and moved to North Pacific on Inverness Slough.

These changes had two important effects on the Indian labour. First, they modified the demography of canneries and associated residential pattern of the labour force, in the direction of increasing centralization. Throughout the province a great displacement of Indian families from jobs occurred after World War II (Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:119), but it was especially notable on the Skeena and Nass (Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:123). Second, the changes reduced the number of jobs available in processing and caused a considerable displacement of Indian shoreworkers by machinery and "white" workers (Hawthorn,

Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:119, Gladstone 1959:23). On the Skeena, which was becoming a centre, closures of plants increased job competition, but did not change the overall geographic location of the industry for Kitsumkalum. Elsewhere closures had a more dramatic effect. One major event was the consolidation of plants around Rivers Inlet. This was the "traditional" commercial fishing area for the Kitimaat Haislas. The reduction of jobs there forced the Haisla to look elsewhere, mainly to the Skeena that was hundreds of miles away, where they entered competition against the Tsimshian (Pritchard 1977:88-91).

Because of its central geographic location, native labour on the Skeena had enjoyed a relatively favoured and secure position. This ended dramatically in 1969 when four plants closed (North Pacific, Sunnyside, Klemtu, and the nearby Millbanke), leaving only two in the Skeena mouth. These are also closed now. In that one season 723 native shoreworkers were displaced (76% of the total). Kitsumkalum, Kitselas, and other Upper Skeena River bands (172 people) and Kitkatla (23 people) were all affected by this, but the Bands most severely hit, relatively, were Kitasoo (93 workers displaced, or 33% of the band membership) and Hartley Bay (59:18%) (Freidlaender 1975:70ff. - there is no information on non-status people in this report). Freidlaender found a gradual improvement for the Prince Rupert/Skeena area during the 1970s (1975:1) but

it should be noted his data only covers a four year period which seems insufficient for a highly cyclic industry. Kitsumkalum had completed a cycle. Having re-oriented its labour power to the fishing town of Port Essington and the coast in the early days of fishing, it now needed to re-order itself again, which it did by the return to Terrace and jobs in the Valley.

SUBSUMPTION OF LABOUR

The First Canneries

Tsimshians have been the backbone of the northern fishing industry since its inception. As was mentioned earlier, the availability of native labour often meant the success or failure of any particular cannery operation. Robert Cunningham, one of the first cannery owners, knew the benefit of cheaper, locally available labour. Before becoming a canner, he had already followed the tried and tested customs of his former employer, the Hudson Bay Company, and established a marital alliance with the Tsimshian. This helped him develop a successful family business within her lineage territory, catering to the gold rushers and explorers - and later to the salmon market.

Like other canners, Mr. Cunningham needed to secure a labour supply to ensure the success of his cannery, so he took out title under Canadian law to a portion of the territory, and gave it back to the Tsimshians. Notably the recipients were not the Gitzaklathl who lived in the Ecstal area and who probably would have been too insulted by the action to accept his gift graciously (or to put it in his point of view: to work for him in the cannery), but to the Kitsumkalum and Kitselas who claimed a fall camp there and who, I suspect, had less to lose (i.e., property) and more to gain (i.e., wages).

Thus in 1882 the Port Essington Special Reserve was created adjacent to the cannery. Within a few years the resident population at Kitsumkalum declined: to one hundred fifty in 1885 and sixty in 1898 (Dorsey 1898:185). The old village of Dalk ka gilaguoex was soon deserted and only a few Kitsumkalum remained in their valley until, with the fall in the fortunes of Port Essington, the population was once again re-established, this time at a new village called Kitsumkalum.

The "canyon tribes" were not the only natives working at Port Essington. The expansion of the industry and anti-oriental laws caused a labour shortage that was relieved mainly by Haida, Gitksan, and Tsimshian workers. They came from many Bands but Kitsumkalum and Kitselas were most closely identified as "Port Essington Indians", and

undoubtedly formed the core of the social structure because the deed to the Special Reserve named them.

The production relations between the Kitsumkalum and the canners varied by job and changed over time. Shore employment started on a piece work basis. This was how the early canneries employed Indian women to make nets. (Women still hang and salvage nets by this arrangement on the reserve for new Kitsumkalum fishermen.) Similarly, women packing cans were paid according to how many cans they filled, which was measured by the "ticket". A ticket consisted of one hundred fifty trays of cans, with two dozen one-half pound cans to a tray. I was told that at the turn of the century people received $3/ticket; after World War I they got $9/ticket.

Piece work in the canneries provided a relationship between canners and natives that allowed and encouraged the children to assist their parents by filling mending needles, bringing empty cans, and performing other light tasks. Entire family units were a familiar sight around the female native labour. This changed with technological advances, which eliminated many of the children's jobs, and the children were put under the care of an older sibling or elderly woman, in the residential area of the cannery.

In the early days, men also made charcoal during the winter. They sold it to canneries where it was used for melting the sealing lead in the spring when the plants were

opened for the new season.

Over time, line work as a whole converted to a wage base, leaving only net work at piece rate. Wages in the industry would vary according to job and racial considerations. Chinese and Indian workers were paid much less than European (or "white") workers, and subjected to other working conditions not acceptable to Europeans. This lasted until very recently (see for example, Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:110).

Contractors

Another structure that incorporated Kitsumkalum labour into fishing was the position of the labour contractor whose function was to ensure for the cannery a seasonal supply of reliable fishermen. Different groups (Japanese, Gitksan, different villages, but not "whites") generally had their own contractor, usually one of their own fishermen. Kitsumkalum was grouped as Port Essington at the time. During the fishing season, the contractor's responsibilities were towards both the welfare of the fishermen and the canners. He carefully selected his fishermen and ensured they worked well, without "monkeying around". In season he negotiated with management on behalf of his fishermen for gear and prices, had influence on where the women worked in the cannery, and even arranged childcare. For all this, he

received a commission (sometimes a percentage, around 5%, of "his" fisherman's catch) for the number of fishermen he brought as well as power within his community as a result of the position he occupied in the structure of their political economy.

The contractors were a mixed group of people. Pritchard mentions that education, especially literacy, was an important characteristic for the position, but that rank was not (Pritchard 1977:e.g., pp. 260ff.). This was largely true at Port Essington, but the Indian contractors who were mentioned to me had the right to assume important names in the Tsimshian system, had they not been Christianized. Yet, the names (and therefore their ranks) were not the highest titles.

These people were in an odd structural relationship to capital. They ensured canneries would have a reliable set of workers, ran packers, and so on, as if they were managers. Their movement into these positions was in many ways a lateral move. Associated as they were with high statuses in Tsimshian society, they were involved in management functions as Tsimshians. The transfer of their functions to industry was not difficult, and certainly practical for minor chiefs who could cultivate the conditions for raising their statuses by firmly placing one foot in the old ways, and the other in the new.

The First Commercial Fishermen

Unlike the shoreworkers, the original native fishermen at the canneries were not employed on piece rates, but on a daily wage basis.[1] The wage system was not the only relation between the canners and their fishermen. It was dominant at the beginning, but even then another, the contract system, involved a few early fishermen and, with the development of the attach system, became more widespread.

The contract system generally referred to a relationship between individual canneries and fishermen to exchange fish on a price per fish basis. Originally, prices under this arrangement seem to have varied between canneries and even from day to day, possibly even from fisherman to fisherman in true free market style. With the growth of organizations, first the Canner Associations and then fishermen unions, some stability was developed. Prices were set prior to fishing and standardized up and down the river. Thus, contract fishermen knew what they would receive throughout the season, and annual bargaining over the rate

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[1] I could not discover the original rate and it was probably not standardized. In 1877 oolachan fishermen on the Nass were receiving $1.25/day (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1877:292) and in 1881 Cowichan Indians were striking for $3.00/day to fish salmon at Ladner's Landing on the Fraser (North and Griffin 1974:2). Apparently they did not win this demand for, by 1889, fishermen only received $2.25/day and their boat pullers got $2.00/day (Ralston 1965:32).

became a major tension in the industry (Gladstone 1959).

The earliest reference to contract fishing comes from a Canada, Department of Indian Affairs Superintendent who mentioned (with obvious pleasure) that Tsimshian "men enter into contracts to supply salmon" to the Skeena River canneries (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1881:154). This was not yet widespread. In 1885, most of the fishing on the Skeena was still conducted under wages, except at Inverness where there were a few boats on contract (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1885:277). Over time this situation reversed until, by the end of the century, all fishermen seem to have been paid on a price per fish basis and, not long after that, on a price per pound basis.

The transition period from wage to contract as the dominant form of employment for fishermen occurred between 1887 and 1894 (Hayward 1982). These years also witnessed a major change in the ethnic composition of the fishing fleet. Fishermen from other villages, especially the much more rebellious Gitksan, worked in the canneries in greater numbers.

A European labour force also emerged. It had been enticed into the north by various schemes, including the contract system which seems to have become popular as a way to draw "white" fishermen into the northern areas. These men were taken north for the season and promised a

combination of an agreed-upon rate (monthly wage) and a certain price per fish, and then provided with boats and nets (Sanford-Evans 1917:n.p.). This was ostensibly to meet a labour shortage and encourage settlement (Sanford-Evans 1917:n.p.). It also provided a counterweight to the increasing strength of the disliked Japanese fishermen and filled the void created when the Metlakatlans (reputedly the best northern fishermen) emigrated to Alaska.

Overall, natives seem to have been held in the wage relation the longest. Information from the 1893 strike on the Fraser reveals that independent fishermen were demanding higher prices per fish, but the Indian fishermen were demanding a higher daily wage ($3 for fishermen, $2.50 for boat pullers) (North and Griffin 1974:2). When the change came, it was rapid. All salmon fishermen seem to have been on a price per fish basis by the time of the 1894 strike (Gladstone 1953:28).

This was the transition in the salmon fisheries. Wages lasted longer in other fisheries. For example, the pilchard fishery (now extinct) maintained a wage relation until 1929 (Ralston 1965:168).

From this discussion, it appears that Tsimshian labour in fishing had an unusual history as it moved from the formal connection of selling goods to the sale of labour power and back to the sale of goods. One would expect the epitome of capitalist relations of production, the wage

relation, to appear as the final stage, not an intermediary one. In fact, this has been the usual situation for other industries (e.g., Hayward 1982).

To explain the anomaly, it has been claimed that wages were first instituted to ensure the canneries a steady supply of fish and accepted by the market-naive natives who had rigid (and presumably low) levels of income expectations (ibid.: 1982:50-53). Such arguments make unfortunate and unnecessary assumptions about native mentality. The Tsimshians, who had been able to bottle up the famous Hudson Bay Company traders and nearly drive them out of the north coast trade by out-maneuvering them, were a people with a reputation for competitiveness that disturbed even the most energetic European merchant. They had been selling their labour power to foreign businessmen since the 1830s on a wage basis, and must surely have been capable of making some rough assessment of the labour market in fishing. The first "strike" for better pay had occurred in that first decade, and their militancy as labour was much more notable in the nineteenth century than it has been recently.

Why did the wage system persist among natives longer than among other groups? I see three contributing factors: the aboriginal economy, the attitude of the canners, and the property issue.

First, the Tsimshian still had viable production in their aboriginal economy. It must be remembered that industrialization was at such a low level in the north (and in the province) that despite the outward appearance of the subordination of Tsimshian labour to capital under a wage, the bulk of the reproduction of Tsimshian labour power and society was accomplished outside of capitalist relations of production. After fishing season, fishermen went to their fish drying camps and re-entered a very differently organized production cycle. This was a critical difference from the transient European fishermen, few as they were, who mostly returned south by company steamer to work in factories, go back to college, or whatever. Kitsumkalum's combined economy was a source of resistance to labour's commodification, even as it contributed to the process.

Second, there was the role of the canners themselves. The whole question of the wage may be put as: Why did the canners employ a wage relation? The answer, it seems, is that they never tried an alternative, not even an elaboration of the previous trading relation.

Undoubtedly there were many reasons for the canners' apparent behaviour. They may have brought with them a wage-labour mentality from England and San Francisco. They may have been so bound by tradition that they did not think to employ any other form. More concrete possibilities include the likelihood that the Indian labour force demanded daily

wages, fearing that otherwise they would be in an exposed bargaining position as they sat in their boats with a catch of dead fish trying to negotiate a decent price with an obstinate buyer. There is also the possibility that given the labour shortage in the processing operation, and given the often-noted strategy of canners to hire fishermen in order to gain the employment of the rest of their families on shore, the wage system contributed to a steady supply of shore workers.

An independent producer could quickly capture the equivalent of his personal and productive consumption requirements during the fishing peak and leave, but a man on wages, if the wages were at a suitable level, could be required to stay to the end of the season in order to recuperate the equivalent of his consumer requirements.

The Tsimshian by this time were deeply involved in a commodity economy and had growing nineteenth-century needs for their productive and personal consumption (e.g., traps and cloth). By 1876, the market was not a mere flirtation for the Tsimshian and a canner could manipulate wages to ensure there were fishermen available during the slow periods. Even though they would be less productive in those times (Hayward 1982:55), the average productivity for the season would be profitable, especially if the fishermen helped out on the lines and processed fish during the peaks, as they often did. (The Sanford-Evans Commission hinted at

all these points in its analysis of the wage and contract prices.)

Canners needed both fishermen and shoreworkers throughout the season, and an additional benefit in the wage system was that the shoreworking families of the fishermen would more likely stay until the time the fishermen felt they had earned sufficient money to fulfill their needs. Not only would these people be available, but they would be available under poorer working conditions and lower wages than would exist if the canners had to entice unalligned shoreworkers to sell their labour. Any trading or piece rate system would upset all this for the canner.

Dovetailing all this was the contradictory condition that because the Tsimshians were so much engaged in their own economy, the development of the capitalist fishery was a threat to them. Not only were there disputes over the expropriation of resources, but also over the propriety of the various state taxes that were being introduced (such as cannery licences).

The canners were apprehensive over possible "troubles" if they converted the Tsimshian fishermen from wages to contracts. The concern was not abstract. The emergence of the contract system was associated with the development of licencing and boat rating. The smoogyt, with their alleged naiveté about money, were aware of this. They were already demanding that any tax revenues from licences (and other

taxes) belonged exclusively to them because they, not the foreign government of Canada, owned the fishery. In 1888, when the licence fees were first collected, Nass River smoogyt sent a letter to the Fisheries Guardian requesting an explanation of this behaviour. Up to this point, canners paid Indian boat licence fees so as to not antagonize the fishermen. In the course of the meeting, the smoogyt agreed with the principle of charging foreigners for fishing, but stated that the Canadian government was not to receive the money. Only they were entitled to it. Typically, they politely offered the Guardian half to compensate him for his troubles collecting the money. After further consultation they agreed to let the entire matter pass for that year if the Guardian conveyed their objections to the government (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1888:249-250).

The next year the Guardian forced licencing on the Tsimshians by seizing boats and ordering the canneries not to buy from unlicenced boats. In response to this, the Tsimshian made "Quarrels" but, in the wake of the Metlakatla troubles (Usher 1975), the arrival of a military force upon a gunboat to police the Gitksan troubles (McDonald 1983), and the renewed efforts of the Tsimshians to utilize Canadian governmental channels (see Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1888:lxxxi, xci, 115), no major problems developed.

Government Structures

To understand further the conditions under which the Kitsumkalum were brought into fishing, a review of how the government structured the relationships between fisherman and canner will be useful.

Originally, the salmon fishery operated on an open access basis. Anyone could enter it, although the canners controlled this through their function as the purchasers of the fish. The canners, in turn, were controlled by the canning capacity of their line, usually approximating a technological maximum of 1000 cans in 1883 and 1200 by 1893 (Stacey 1978:28). After 1882, another check was placed upon cannery control by the Dominion's licencing system which attached fishing licences to canneries.

Government conservation policy in the 1890s emphasized the principle of limiting entry of fishermen (Sinclair 1978:16), and used licence limitations that were established in 1889. A set number of licences were allocated to the canners in each area. Another set was left independent for outside fishermen to take. Thus some fishermen were "attached" to a particular cannery. The canners then provided their fishermen with boat and gear on the understanding that all of the catch would be sold to that cannery.

The nets were rented on a one-third share basis. If the fishermen provided their own boat, they were allowed $2/week from the canners (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1902:G33). Outside fishermen, on the other hand, were "independent" and, in principle, had their own boat and gear, so that they could trade their fish wherever they felt they could get the best price. In fact, because they were not being independently established as settlers, these unattached fishermen were generally unable to provide themselves with the necessary boat and gear. Usually they purchased a net from the cannery and rented their boats. In return for the boat rental, these fishermen agreed to deliver to that one company, in effect placing themselves under similar conditions as the attached fishermen (Sanford-Evans 1917:n.p.). Even those who did have their own equipment found it beneficial to stay with one cannery, leading the Commissioners of 1917 to remark that there really was no such thing as an independent fisherman in the salmon industry. What this amounted to was that independence was a luxury that the labour force could not afford. Settlers under the marginal subsistence conditions of the pioneer farming situation, or migrant workers who had to return to frontier labour conditions in the south, simply did not have stable, alternate resources to fall back on outside of fishing season.

Given what was said above about the history of the wage relation, it seems doubtful that many Tsimshians participated in the attach/contract system before the mid-1890s. However, Ralston argues that this combination was used to attach and hold Indian fishermen in order to guarantee the participation of their families in shore work (1965:17). In fact, the government found in 1889 the shift away from wages was uneven. For example, there were unattached native fishermen on the Nass who owned their boats (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1889:256). But such arrangements to guarantee families for shorework may have been important only for Gitksan and other inland native fishermen who had to migrate to the canneries in Tsimshian territory.

For a period, the canneries had monitored themselves, limiting the number of fishing boats according to mutual agreements. The principles they used were incorporated into the provincial boat rating legislation of 1910 (Sanford-Evans 1917), which defined the distribution of the 800 boats in 1907 (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1907:C16) and the 850 boats of 1910 to the eleven named and operating canneries of District 2, the district encompassing the Skeena (O/C 22 December 1910). Boats and gear were supplied to fishermen on a contract/share basis, with the canner taking a share for the use of his equipment (Canada, Department of Fisheries, Annual Reports 1903:G33). Canners

saw shares as a way for inexperienced fishermen to learn fishing at minimal risk to their own equipment and to that of the companies (Ralston 1965:66). Prices paid under this arrangement were considered good, and it appears that all native fishermen were on this system by the early part of the century. Fishermen with their own boat and gear received better prices, but had a large capital outlay and additional expenses for a licence. This undoubtedly deterred some native fishermen.

The system had policy implications that adversely affected the relative strength of the Tsimshian labour force. The supplying of boats and gear was to encourage settlement, especially in the northern areas, by attracting and then assisting pioneers, notably the railroad workers. The idea (which was associated with a requirement for fishermen to have British Citizenship) was that fishing would provide the settlers with an additional income during their slack farm times. In fact, it simply led to the growth of a raft-farming phenomenon whereby a prospective fisherman paid a pre-emption fee for land in order to qualify as a settler. The sole purpose of these rafts was to qualify a man for a fishing permit. In time, a number of "homesteads", consisting of little more than floating homes facing a rocky pre-emption, sprang up on the Skeena, much to the dismay of government officials (Sanford-Evans 1917:n.p.).

The attach system ended in 1927 (Knight and Koizumi 1975:23). Licences were no longer allocated to canneries at a predetermined rate, and free entry was re-established in the northern fisheries. The basic pattern of the productive relations between fishermen and canners, as they exist today, was now in place. Payment for fish was determined by industrial bargaining and distributed to boat crews on a share basis.

Canneries still had their own fleets of fish boats which they rented out to fishermen who, in turn, landed their catch at the cannery. With the legalization of gas boats in the 1920s, however, there was a gradual shift towards fishermen-owned boats. As mentioned earlier, natives were slower to acquire these boats, and even when they did, they tended to stick to a particular cannery, usually the one that had provided the long-term financing for them to purchase their boat (Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:111). This left them more or less in a rental position. Their debts for the boat, gear, and supplies often held them, but there were other influential factors such as the belief that the canner would help them out over tough times or provide them with slightly better service based on personal aquaintance, or allow them exceptional privileges such as use of tools.

Free access to the salmon fishery was drastically reversed in 1968 with the introduction of a new limitation system based upon licences, as proposed in the Davis Plan. That report suggested freezing the fleet size, followed by a reduction in numbers, a buy-back programme, an upgrading in standards, and more economical gear (Sinclair 1978:30). The result was disastrous for Indian fishermen (for example, Freidlaender 1975), and in Kitsumkalum is considered to have been very influential in driving Kitsumkalum fishermen out of the industry. One Kitsumkalum fisherman told me he could not meet the new, rising standards with his boat. Others who used the leaky boats of the cannery were affected when these boats were phased out. Another man could not meet the increasing cost of gear. These are specific examples, but in general all the fishermen were seriously hampered by the skyrocketing prices of licences.

The introduction of stricter regulations for boats after the re-introduction of licence limitations forced some out of the industry. Their boats, rarely the best available because of financing, were also subjected to some of the most difficult conditions throughout the year. Whereas Japanese fishermen tied up their boats and spent the winter repairing them, Kitsumkalum fishermen did not always have the opportunity because their boats were used as an active element in many parts of their economy, most notably logging. Sometimes, a fisherman would arrive for fishing

with his logging equipment still on the boat, with only enough time to make the basic adjustments for capturing and holding the fish.

Besides the regular fishermen, I was told there were a group of moon-lighters who fished part-time in 'cannery wrecks', just to make a few dollars to stay off welfare. These people were also driven out of the industry by the rising standards, as was predicted by Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson (1958:108). Small scale ownership, far from perpetuating Indian participation (Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:108-109), has contributed to the decline of native participation. Government grants, loans, and exemptions intended to arrest this trend only prolonged the agony of many of the Indian fishermen. There were indeed times when such programmes helped, recently enabling one Kitsumkalum to gain entry into the industry, but the overall trends have proven more powerful.[1]

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[1] A recent government-assisted scheme to purchase the B.C. Packer fleet developed after fieldwork and will not be evaluated. Information was not available to me from Kitsumkalum, and public news sources are too incomplete for proper discussion.

DECLINING WAY OF LIFE

The history of the industry in this century has been the history of the gradual displacement of native labour, a process that especially hurt the Kitsumkalum. Prior to the war, people simply could not make a go of it as commercial fishermen, and some quit altogether. Others managed to survive, sometimes as highliners. Their children carried on successfully, buoyed up by the slight recovery that followed the depressed period of the 1930s and the removal of the Japanese fishermen from the coast. This small boom, which was a response to the demand created by the Second World War (Sinclair 1978:22), corresponds to the most successful fishing period in the minds of Kitsumkalum. It lasted until the late 1950s and early 1960s, when declining finances and deteriorating boats and gear could no longer keep the fishermen afloat.

The life was a difficult one, without great reward for the majority, other than that which some say accrues from good, hard work. There were times when thousands of dollars could be made in just a few hours fishing, but many more times when good fishermen had to go without sleep knowing that the catch for that tide would not amount to much. Fortunately, life in Port Essington was relatively cheap. There were no lights or the other extra expenses that people now have come to expect on the Reserve.

Fishing was also lonely. If a man was lucky, he might have one of his children along or his wife, but few could afford the luxury of paying a partner shares. If they did, it was usually a son, brother, father or other relative in order to keep the proceeds in the family. The company of older relatives provided the setting for many to learn to fish. It was also the way some of the boats were purchased, through the assistance of family partners, which caused lines of private ownership to blur, especially when the choice of partners overlapped with the other occupations for which the boats were used.

Thus a number of specific problems countered Kitsumkalum's efforts to participate fully in the developing fishing industry. The general development of the region was a negative factor, too. As Prince Rupert grew, Port Essington slid into decline and it became more and more inconvenient to reside in Port Essington. Nonetheless, and despite offers of cannery-backed financing for housing on the north side of the river, some Kitsumkalum fishermen stayed in Essington even though it was little more than a fish camp. The decision to move was difficult, for sentimental and for practical reasons.

Prince Rupert was a more expensive city for Reserve Indians but the Kitsumkalum were dependent on a cash economy and faced a dilemma: Prices were rising, especially for boats and gear, and alternate forms of work that employed

the boat year round (handlogging, beachcombing) were closing down. With the centralization of the canneries and various legislation, camp organization was disintegrating and its way of life fading. The final push came from ever-increasing debts owed to the canners and increasing cost of licences after the 1968 licence limitation scheme was initiated, taking the Kitsumkalum fishermen out of the industry and displacing them like so many other of their fellow native fishermen.

The post-war optimism that had marked the period lasting until the mid-1950s, had generated great expectations for native fishermen, especially for those in the area of the Skeena River (Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:116ff.). Unfortunately, the vision of a rosy future quickly gave way to pessimistic realities. Unable to maintain the race in acquiring the ever more expensive boats and gear, no longer able to command a dominant position in canneries, the Kitsumkalum, like other native people, fell behind. Their displacement was finalized by the destructive fires around 1960 that forced Kitsumkalum out of Port Essington. They left to find a new life on their original lands in Tree Farm Licence #1, near Terrace. Some fishing families continued to migrate down to the coast in fishing season, following the old pattern of their upriver cousins, but the future was not sensitive to their needs. In 1979, the last of the Band fishermen decided he could not afford

to return to fishing that season. Nonetheless, the tradition is so great that with much effort and governmental assistance, a younger man has since taken up the occupation. Now Kitsumkalum, like neighbouring Kitselas, once again has a single fisherman in the village.

14. COMMERCIAL LOGGING

Another major sector of the Kitsumkalum economy is the production of logs for the market. With logging, we encounter the first sector that arose de novo for the market. Trapping and fishing, while market oriented, were developed from aboriginal techniques that were modified during the course of the evolution of radically new property forms. Logging was engaged first under the direction of the Hudson Bay Company, then for industrial capital under conditions of capitalist production. Yet it was not entirely commodified either. How did that process come about?

THE RESOURCE

There are two ways to describe the forestry resource: by ecology and by commercial interest. According to the Rowe classification, the forest ecology of the Tsimshian area is "C.3 Northern Pacific Coast" and "SA.3 Coastal sub-alpine" in the higher elevations (Rowe 1972). Principal associates in the Coastal region are western hemlock and amabilis fir (balsam) on well-drained sites, with western red cedar replacing the fir where ground water is high. Alluvial soils have sitka spruce, yellow cypress, red alder,

big leaf maple and black cottonwood. Shore pines occur in bogs (ibid.:82). In the geographically sub-alpine regions, there are white and Engelman spruce, associated with alpine fir, and pioneer lodgepole pine in burnt areas (ibid.:68).

A recent provincial study which is more specific to the Terrace area notes that most of the surrounding Kalum Timber Supply area is composed of the two biogeoclimatic zones called the Coastal Western Hemlock Zone (Northern Amabilis Fir subzone) and the Interior Cedar Hemlock Zone (British Columbia, Ministry of Forests 1981:4-9). Although there are no explanatory source references to these taxonomic categories, the descriptive nomenclature alone indicates the Kitsumkalum lands to be transitional between coastal and interior forest zones. Their overall land use areas as Tsimshians have a similar mix, but structured vertically by altitudinal zones.

Merchantable Timber

The other way to document the resource that is especially relevant to this chapter, is to describe the merchantable timber. Kitsumkalum Valley has long been admired for its forestry potential, and this was used as an attraction for settlers and capital. Typical of the earliest descriptions of Kitsumkalum is the simple comment: "good land covered with timber", printed on an 1891

Department of Lands map. Provincial development plans for the Skeena watershed relied upon the rich Kitsumkalum Valley as a drawing card to the region.

The local trees that are attractive to forestry are: pine (for poles, fuel, and lumber), hemlock, balsam fir (both for lumber and pulp), spruce (for poles, railroad ties, warplanes, and boom logs), cedar (for poles, ties, shingles), alder, and cottonwood (for plywood and pulp).

These are not universally available throughout the land use area, and it would be difficult to describe their distribution briefly. However, some indication of the richness of the resource in the Kitsumkalum Valley can be given with data from a study commissioned by the Canada, Department of Indian Affairs in 1959. This report provided a forest inventory and resource survey for all the Kitsumkalum reserves. (At the time of the report, Killutsal Indian Reserve 1 and 1a were considered to belong to Kitsumkalum. Ownership was transferred to Port Simpson the year the report was filed.) This limits the information to specific areas which are not necessarily good samples. Nonetheless, given the dearth of alternate information, the data are useful as indicators.

A fairly high percentage of the land on the reserves is covered by merchantable timber (Table 3). Since these forests are on the border of the coastal districts, specifically the Skeena-Portland Canal District, comparison

TABLE 3

MERCHANTABLE TIMER ON THE KITSUMKALUM INDIAN RESERVES
(SOURCE JOHNSON 1959:2, WHITFORD AND CRAIG 1918:379)

	INDIAN RESERVE #1	#2	#3	SUMMATION	SKEENA/ PORTLAND	GARDNER
Merchantable timber/ logged forest land	92%	54%	66%	85%	21%	15%
Non-productive forest land	0%	18%	1%	4%	15%	15%
Other use	5%	0%	9%*	5%*	64%**	70%**
Total Areas (Acres)	1125	182	74	1582		

* commercial roads
** above merchantable timberline

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to the larger region can be made using statistics from an early government commission. These are included in the table. Kitsumkalum's district is very rich, relative to the Forestry District.

Unfortunately, there is a catch. The species growing in the area are not of critical importance to the industry. On the reserves, most of the timber is hemlock, while another of the four major species present is balsam (see Table 4). This limited the value of the Valley forest until the Port Edward pulp mills opened in the 1950s. Cedar and spruce are the next major species. These are the trees used for railroad ties and poles. They were utilized locally after the railroad came in 1909.

The regional situation was similar. Pritchard, who described the Gardner Canal area, which is also a part of the coastal land use area of the Kitsumkalum, noted that not much of the merchantable timber was appropriate for the early requirements of the industry. Hemlock and balsam were the most common trees and used only for pulp (Pritchard 1977:118). The closest pulp mill was far to the south on Finlayson Channel (Whitford and Craig 1918:379). Even the spruce and cedar in the region were mainly low quality pulp woods, although the shingle mills in the Tsimshian areas took some of their cedar and the lumber mills took the spruce.

TABLE 4

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF MERCHANTABLE SPECIES ON THE KITSUMKALUM INDIAN RESERVES.
PERCENTAGES MAY NOT TOTAL 100% DUE TO ROUNDING.
(SOURCE: JOHNSON 1959:3, PRITCHARD 1977:119)

	INDIAN RESERVE			TOTAL	SKEENA/ GARDNER CANAL
	#1	#2	#3		
Hemlock	75%	35%	60%	48%	44
Balsam	12%	18%	0	10%	28
Cedar	8%	0	20%	20%	15
Spruce	6%	47%	20%	23%	12
Total board feet (x 10,000)	.51	.17	.05	1.22	390,000

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There are many different types of logging and they do not all use the same species. Some were only harvested by the big companies, while others were the target of handloggers, powerloggers, etc. The beachcombers, for example, told me they cut spruce mainly and only some hemlock and cedar. This structured the industrial exploitation of the resource, but in a fluid manner that was contingent and that could change. For example, after the Port Edward mill opened in the 1950s, land based handloggers started to salvage spruce for pulp, a little cedar, and some balsam and hemlock, although the hemlock was unpopular because it sank easily. In the area of TFL 1, after the 1940s, there was a change when the big companies emerged dominant over the small mills and utilized the pulp trees: balsam and hemlock.

Alienation Of The Resource

The appropriation of the merchantable species followed a pattern determined by the needs of capital. The Kitsumkalum Valley itself was selectively logged during the sternwheeler days for fuel, then for railroad ties and construction lumber use by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railroad, by the military during the wars, for settlement and for early industrial development, until modern multinationals gobbled up the Valley's timber for export. Thus, production

was largely for local use before the 1950s. It did not constitute a major impact. In fact, a number of industry-related burns in the early days probably affected the forest much more than its actual commercial exploitation. One of these fires, in 1913, accidentally caused by a fire warden, destroyed nearly all of the trees within three miles of Terrace (Asante 1972:31).

The actual utilization and cutting of the Valley was not extensive before the 1950s. At first, technological limitations kept logging operations confined to riverine areas. Even as recently as the late 1920s, the general opinion was that trees more than five miles from a mill were not economical to log and yard (Asante 1972:31). With the development of portable mills the reach of industry was extended but still remained light. Given these limiting conditions, it can be assumed that the map showing the location of the mills more or less indicates the extent of logging on the Valley before the TFL (Figure 12). Officials of the Company were not prepared to release other data.

What was more important than the quantity was an emerging redistribution of the resource through the government's property laws. The government's 1918 commission reported that, by 1916, approximately 4% had been alienated to timber licenses:

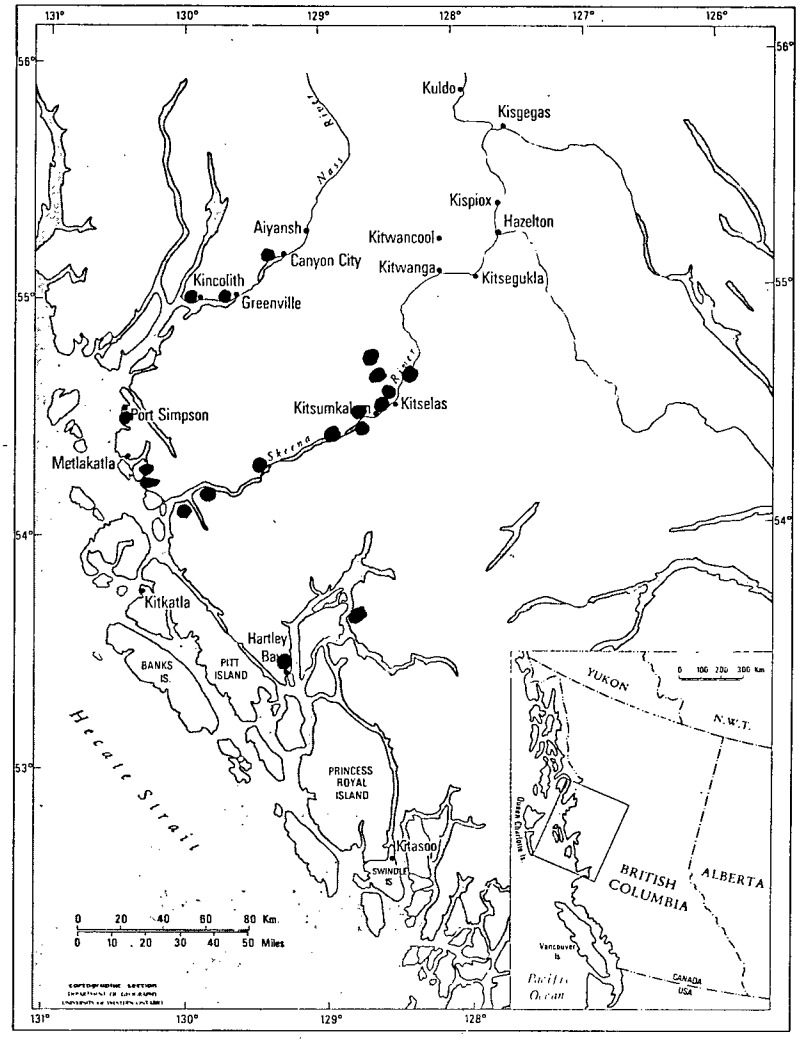

Figure 12. Mills in the Tsimshian lands (see text). (Each shaded circle represents a mill site.)

Skeena-Portland Canal
1470 sq.mi. merchantable timber land
400 alienated to timber licenses
713 total alienated land

Gardner Canal
1195 sq.mi. merchantable timber land
380 alienated to timber licenses
577 total alienated land
(Source: Whitford and Craig 1918:376, 379)

Pritchard, in his lengthy study of the Gardner Canal area in which he looked at selected areas from the Haisla territories (the southern neighbours of the Tsimshians), found that after the commission's work the interests of the large companies took precedence over those of the small producers (the hand and powerloggers) and that much of the forest was alienated from the use of small operators such as the Haisla had. The problem was worse for the native logger who was in a particularly unfavourable condition because of his social and economic situation which made it difficult for him to purchase power equipment, and because of the racial prejudice towards him which made it difficult to obtain the better tracts of land (see Pritchard 1977:131-149). He was definitely in a disadvantaged position from which to approach the market.

The good forest land was taken first and by the 1920s a considerable amount had been alienated under timber licences. Figure 13 sketches the extent of the alienation in the land use area of the Kitsumkalum. The information

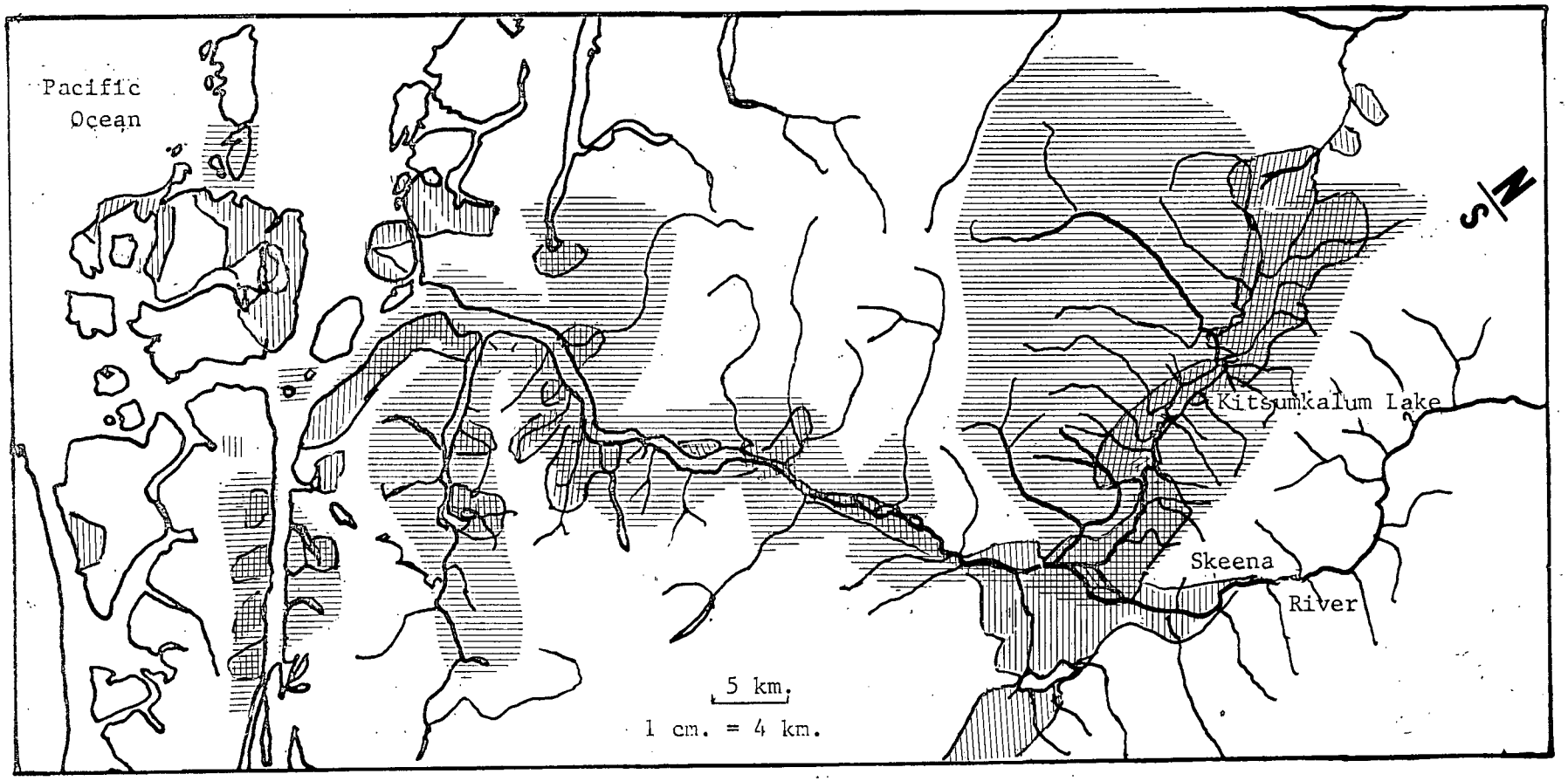

Figure 13. Land pre-empted in the Kitsumkalum land use area. Horizontal hatching indicates land use area. Vertical hatching indicates areas under timber lease or cultivation. (Sources: 1921 Provincial Pre-emptor Map for the Skeena River area; 1924 Provincial Pre-emptor Map for the coastal area.)

comes from pre-emption maps. The Valley was one of the most heavily utilized territories. All of the shaded area on the map was under timber licence except certain farm lands around the Terrace area, and the Rosswood area at the north end of Kitsumkalum Lake. The islands in the Skeena were under licence, as well as timber lands in the vicinity of the mills. Isolated patches along the coast and Ecstall River were also under licences. The markets for the produce were the small mills in the area owned by the companies that held many of the licences.

Legal alienation of the merchantable timber resource had become fairly extensive, but the logging practices of the time minimized cutting. This changed radically with the granting of the TFL to a large multinational company.

Figure 14 documents the spread of the logging operations and the chronology of the devastation of the forest by clear cut logging practices. It shows the degree of the environment degradation for Kitsumkalum's aboriginal economy and trapping. The information on the map comes from a private progress map of B.C. Timber, but only deals with a small portion of the license area: the strip running along the west side of Kitsumkalum River from the southern edge of the license (north of the Indian Reserve 1) to the southwest corner of Kitsumkalum Lake - essentially all the area shaded in the Figure.

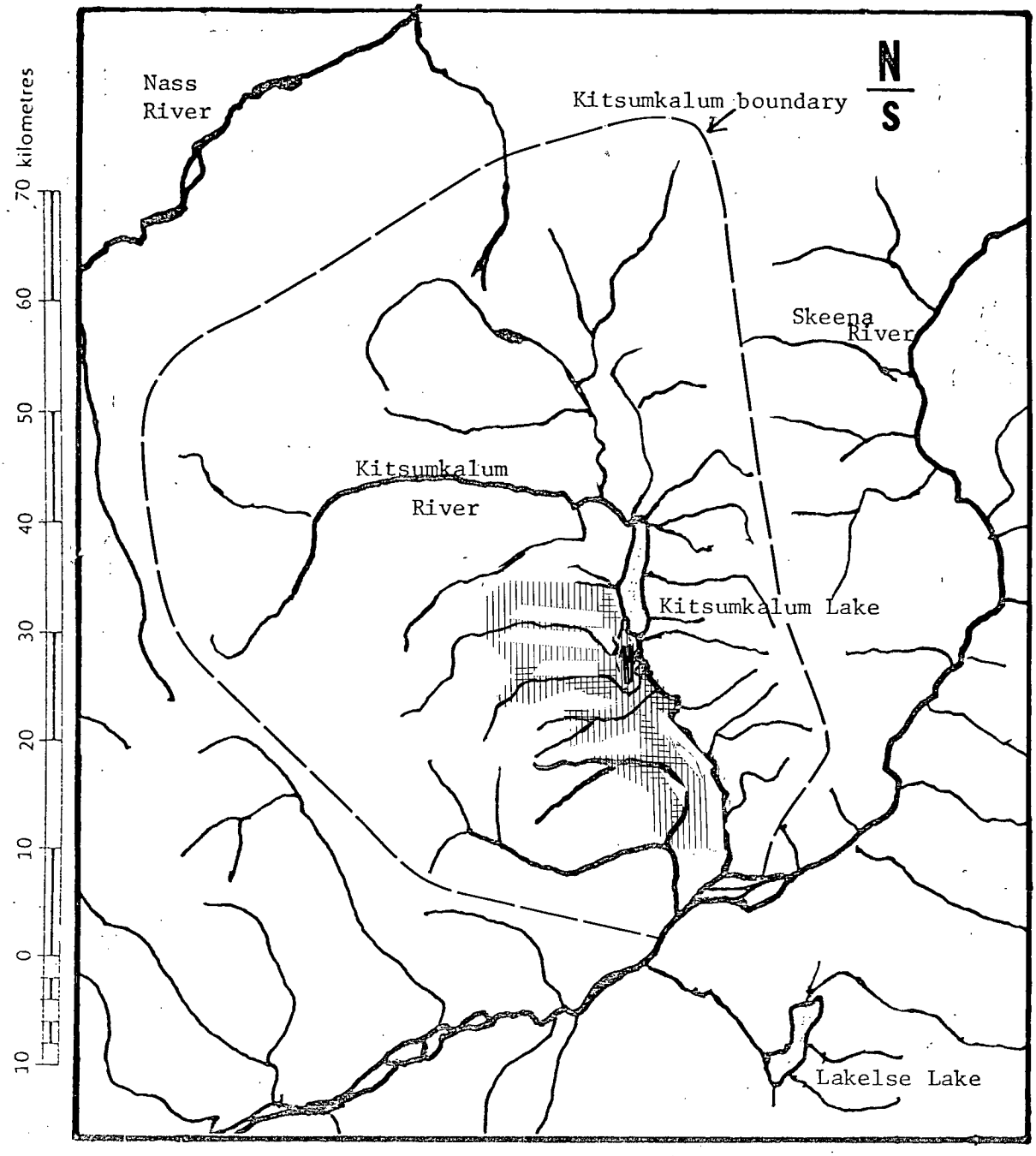

Figure 14. The spread of logging operations in the southern portion of the Kitsumkalum Valley after the T.F.L.#1 was granted (source: B.C. Timber production map).
Key to extent of logging: previous to T.F.L.#1
1951 - 1955 1956 - 1959 1960s

Technology And Labour

The basic technical division of labour in logging, as in fishing, is a fundamental distinction between procurement and processing. Labour works under different conditions and relationships to capital in both sectors. In processing (sawmills, pulpmills, poleyards, shinglemills, and so on), labour works in a factory. Depending upon the degree of capitalization, there is a more or less advanced division of labour, hired through a wage relation. In procurement, a number of forms occur. Common practice now is the extension into the bush of a division of labour that includes the mill so that a crew of wage workers perform various tasks preliminary to milling. Alternatively, there are variations of piece-rate production by independent producers. The types of independent production that were relevant to the Kitsumkalum political economy will be the subject of the present section.

The technology of logging is complicated, ranging as it does from the old, simple handlogging equipment through the various forms of power logging which can be a lightly capitalized or a heavily industrial situation. The methods of handlogging fall into two categories: either beachcombing or the land-based logging most closely identified by the term handlogging.

Handlogging, proper, involved work on land in contrast to the beachcombers' work along the shores of rivers. A tree would be selected, and a hole chopped on the side to which it was to fall. Sawing would cut the opposite side until the tree fell over. The fallers would stand on 2"x 6" boards which they had inserted into chops on the trunk about three feet above the ground. Good caulk boots were important to give a sure footing for the loggers to jump out of the way of the falling timber. Once down, the branches were trimmed, or bucked off, and the bark removed to facilitate skidding the log. This is when peevees and jacks came into use, turning the log to expose new bark or limbs. Oil and skid dogs helped slide the tree to the water. The only mechanized power that was allowed in handlogging was a cable wrapped around the bow of a boat that was utilized to pull logs off the mountainous slopes. These cables had a very limited reach and the use of their gillnetters in yarding logs was hard on the boats, a factor that increased the maintenance costs for the next fishing season.

Handlogging, as the name implies, involves the use of manually-operated tools. Most of the tool set (such as the saws, wedges, and springboards) were owned by the claim owner. It was only personal tools that the crew might bring with them - their axes or peevees. These are inexpensive, personally-owned tools, of no special significance to the owner other than their use value to his livelihood.

Maintenance was easy. If the handles wore out on the job, they just bought a new one.

The main handlogging seasons were the fall and winter, presumably because this was off-season for fishing and trapping. It was also a time when the bush was relatively clear from underbrush and more slippery from rain and snow. In the spring, the logs would be collected and towed to the mills.

Because the tools were so primitive, another necessary condition for successful logging was the proper environment to move logs. That is, to have as steep a slope as possible to assist the loggers in getting the trees down to the water for transportation to market. The mountainous terrain of the Skeena watershed was not conducive to animal power, as used in areas of the south and interior, and legislation forbade handloggers to use mechanical power. This limited the possibilities. Trees had to be felled where they could be slid into the ocean.

Beachcombing was also technologically simple, but it was conducted from a boat, usually with a small crew of two although sometimes older children or elderly people might accompany the loggers. The crew needed endurance and skill as they worked together. If one was a woman (usually a wife) she would spend some time with domestic work, especially cooking, until the man, out bucking a log, needed assistance with some more difficult or more complicated

task.

Most of the work of the beachcomber consisted of cutting off the stump, top, and branches. They took their trees from the river's edge, and used the river with its periodic fluctuations in level to float the stranded logs. It was a long, hard, and exhausting job, and all the effort put into it could easily be wasted if the river rose and stole away the logs before they had been secured and towed to a mill. This meant the loss of days of hard labour. Beachcombing was also dangerous work, out on the river. A log could suddenly shift, taking a man with it or pinning him against the current in a suffocating swirl of water. The men always had to be alert and ready.

There were two sources for these logs. Before Cancel was given its TFL, they took windfalls or trees falling with the erosion of the bank on which they were growing. Sometimes a logger would give a little assistance to the natural process, but beachcombers were not allowed to topple trees. After the TFL was granted and during the period of the river runs, beachcombing was largely salvage. This clean-up activity did not last longer than the 1950s as the Company altered its mode of recovering lost logs and finally quit running logs down the river.

After preparing the log, a logger would gather all of the logs together, possibly making a small boom by dogging several together, and tow them to a market with the aid of

his boat. During the fur trade era, the old style canoes were used for this. Later, as boat styles changed, rowboats, gas boats, and eventually the modern gillnetters were used. These fishing boats could ascend quite high up the Skeena, well beyond the limits of the Kitsumkalum beachcombing areas.

Power logging was the other main form of procurement in which the Kitsumkalum engaged in the past. It became possible in 1897 with the introduction of the first steam donkey in British Columbia (Gould 1975:55). Cables were run from logs to the donkey on the float via a series of blocks and the A-frame. These machines greatly expanded the areas that could be logged. Slopes did not need to be so steep and cables could be extended further, but loggers were still limited in pulling logs from the bush. For one thing, a big float was needed to hold the donkey, and these could only be brought to the high water mark, which restricted the reach of the cables. Accordingly, the strength of the engine was important. Since costs were related to strength,

most native equipment was fairly light (see Pritchard 1977:129).[1] The rest of the powerloggers' equipment consisted of handlogging tools.

The big-time relatives of these independent power logging shows are the modern steel towers on wheels that can be easily taken into difficult areas. These changed the industry immensely. As one Kitsumkalum said: "You know, they could give any mountain a haircut, right now, and think nothing of it." Owned and operated by the large companies, the labour working these shows was highly differentiated into tasks such as fallers, riggers, chasers, chokermen, and hookers and supervised by yet another group, also differentiated by task. Unlike the piece-work of the handloggers and small power loggers, these men were involved with industrial production under well-developed wage relations and protected by a union (the International Woodworkers of America, or I.W.A.).

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[1] Only one Kitsumkalum got involved in powerlogging. J.W. Bolton had licences around Merrick Island and Baker's Inlet where he set up an A-frame on a float. The engine was only a 4 cylinder Ford and it could take a whole day to get one large tree into the water. His was a gas motor, not one of the steam donkeys, which had gone out of general use in the 1930s. This operation lasted a number of years.

SUBSUMPTION OF LABOUR

Pre-Confederation

The merchants of Europe first appropriated timber for spars on their trading ships when they passed through the area in the 18th century. Later, in the 1830s, the Hudson Bay Company took timber to build its facilities on the Nass and then at the present Port Simpson. European sailors and servants did this work. The earliest occurrences of Tsimshian involvement in timber commodity production for the merchants was mentioned in the journals of Port Simpson in 1838, nearly six years after the establishment of the post, and marks the initiation of a form of productive activity that is as old as the land-based fur trade but usually ignored by ethnographers.

The first Tsimshian woodsmen were "employed" to cut wood, bring in rafts of logs, unload the rafts, square timbers, and cut fire wood. Sometimes the work crews were mixed native and European (Indians and men, in the Company's jargon), sometimes only native labour. The wood they cut was for fuel for the fort or the coastal steamers that arrived carrying goods, for pickets, and for construction of buildings.

How the workers were paid is not clear. The term "employed" implies a salaried or wage payment, especially since it is used in conjunction with mixed teams, but piece rate was likely the main form of remuneration for the all-native crews.[1]

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[1] In June, 1840, the rates were: two leaves of tobacco or two balls for any one picket; or a gill of cannon powder or half an ounce of Chinese vermillion for nineteen pickets; or one pint mixed rum for twenty pickets (Hudson Bay Company Archives B201.1.5,fo10). These prices fluctuated depending on such factors as the competition in the area, the Indian group trading, and the individual Indian or European trader who was bargaining. There was also a gradual inflation of prices for some Bay goods and of native goods over time. The following list provides comparative information of trade equivalents for some of those commodities given for pickets in 1840:

1838:	1 quart mixed rum	=	1 beaver
1835:	2 quart mixed rum and 2 hds. leaf tobacco or 8 hds. leaf tobacco	=	1 1/2 bush. potatoes
	(a bush. of potatoes was valued at 8d or 9d in May, 1835).		
1834:	1 pint Indian rum	=	1 prime martin
	2 gal. Indian rum	=	1 large beaver
1832:	1 leaf tobacco	=	1 salmon

The workers were not pleased with the initial 1840 rates either, and the fort's Factor wrote in his journal that upon receiving the rates, the Indians had the "audacity to say this was too little". His reply to them was that their services were not needed if they did not like the price. They accepted, but Factor Mr. Kennedy seemed to carry a grudge because the next week he only offered one leaf of tobacco per picket, or one ounce vermillion for 80 pickets (Hudson Bay Company Archives B201; a:5 fo11). This was a minor labour dispute, but is of some historical significance as the first recorded struggle between labour and capital in the area. Unfortunately, prices were not mentioned again when reference was made to Tsimshian employment in logging.

The raftsmen were on a salary and paid every two weeks by the time of an overnight strike in mid-July 1864. They accepted the profferred settlement without further "growling" (Hudson Bay Company Archives B.201:a:9fo57d). Labour relations improved and by the time the Tsimshian received their next pay, at the beginning of August, the Factor was confident enough to say that the raftsmen were "well satisfied" (Hudson Bay Company Archives B.201:a:9fo60).

Then, as now, logging was seasonal. In 1840, the Indians worked for seven months of the year to get and handle timber. June was the busiest month. That year a concentration of effort produced 5110 pickets by all Indian or mixed crews. Throughout much of the year the numbers of Indians involved in production was small: one, two, or "several" Indians were responsible for most of the pickets tabulated, but because work was irregularly paced the numbers fluctuated greatly from job to job.

Many things other than the need for logs influenced the work schedule. For example, Indian employment was fairly steady through July, but threats of a Haida attack and the needs of the fort's garden seem to have kept the Baymen, who supervised production, around the fort during July. Nonetheless, on some days there were over twenty-eight Indians working (alongside eleven Baymen) at felling, rafting, clearing, or cutting wood, and one day a crew of

twenty-seven Indians and one Bayman was employed just rafting logs to the fort. There is no record of the amount of wood these crews brought in.

The Tsimshian involvement in modern logging deepened with the construction of a mill in the Utopia set up by Duncan at Metlakatla. His store had made sufficient profit that he invested in a sawmill in 1867 (Usher 1974:68). Tsimshian participation became so productive that when the Superintendent of Indian Affairs made his first visit to the area he commented admiringly upon the large numbers employed at the mill and the associated lumbering activities (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1879:116ff.). The production at Metlakatla was for local, community use, but at times the mill produced a surplus that was bought by the sister missionary village of Kincolith and by an American firm at Tongass for construction purposes (ibid.:73). Here lay a significant kernel of experience and teaching about industrial production that was seen and studied by many Tsimshian and administrators alike.

Confederation Period

The Act of Union brought no immediate changes to Tsimshian use of the resource; but the germ of the transition to technologically modern production was already implanted through markets, and the social relationships for

the commodification of timber had started to grow.

The first major export markets for forest products in the Confederation Period were in the local home market. The Douglas fir was the original log that spurred the development of the provincial forest industry and export market, but it does not grow in the Tsimshian areas. The early forest commodities of the Skeena were traded in a small local market, primarily to the first businessmen. As other industry developed so too did logging.

Some of the first major industrial users were the canneries which required wood. Kitsumkalum people prepared wood charcoal for sale to the canneries at the turn of the century and into the 1930s. I suspect this was an old practice, dating from the 1880s, although I have little concrete information on it. Presumably, the needs of canneries for boxes, buildings, wharfs, etc. was an early source of employment as well. Mills were established for this purpose at the site of several canneries, such as Cunningham's in Port Essington, Croasdaile's on the Nass, and at Hartley Bay (Campbell 1984). Tsimshians worked in some of these.[1] A number of other mills, not attached to canneries, provided wood to canneries that were without mills of their own, and to other sources in the growing

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[1] For example, Brown's Mill on the Ecstall is known to have hired Kitsumkalum and other Tsimshians, and to have purchased timber from the independent loggers.

local market.

There were other industrial needs. The steamboats that plied the Skeena required great amounts of wood fuel. This was cut and stored at a series of landings along the route to Hazelton: Doby's Landing, Eby's Landing, Remo Landing, Bateman's Landing, and so on. Each company had its own storage locations along cut banks, where local residents (native and immigrant) could pile the wood and load it onto the boats. Old Kitsumkalum people, now long dead, prepared some of these woodpiles. This was one of several small business activities they pursued through the winter and from time to time in the summer. Precise information on this is lacking but the steamboat period arrived in the spring of 1864 when the Mumford reached 90 miles up the Skeena (probably to Kitsumkalum) before being turned back by the turbulent waters (Large 1957:24). The era matured in 1882, when the Caledonia became the first steamer to successfully pass the Valley, and made its historic run to Hazelton.

When the railroad went through, in 1911, the days of the sternwheelers came to a sudden end, and with them went the need for fuel. In its place, for a few busy years, the railroad made heavy demands for ties in the construction of the road bed. but the tie market was cornered by the larger companies in the 1930s.

All this provided new opportunies for the Tsimshian. During the 1870s, Tsimshians were working in the mills on the coast, and also in mills as far away as Washington Territory (Knight 1978:113). I have references to seven mills operating before 1900. These are located on the map (Figure 6) so as to provide an indication of the geographic location of the log and labour market. All are on the coast. An early, 1893 Department of Lands map showing industrial developments located no mills on the Skeena above Port Essington.

On the coast, logging teams flourished after the 1870s. The expansion of mills into the area and the improved economics of towing log booms to more distant plants provided new markets to Indian loggers (ibid.:116). The incorporation of logging into Tsimshian social production meant that even before the turn of the century, commercial logging had become an important component of village economies.

With capitalist production established, three fundamental conditions structured the participation of Tsimshian labour: the geographic environment, which was defined for production by the sophistication of the means of production; legislated structures; and the internal organization of the relationships of Tsimshian production by independent loggers.

The many geographic factors are related to the state of the development of the means of production. Differences in the environment were more critical in the past when the tools were primitive, than in later years of highly capitalized, sophisticated operations. A geographic feature that was especially significant to Kitsumkalum was the difference in logging conditions between the coast and the interior (see Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:130). Coastal operations have numerous problems with the accessibility of the timber that encouraged small scale production, and lead to a major separation of logging from the mill (Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:126). This is true for the lower stretches of the Skeena as well, which is not surprising since the river below Kwinitsa is sometimes described as being a fjord with a heavy river outflow. Further inland, in the broad Kitsumkalum Valley, the tendency was quite different with a close association of mills with logging camps, because of the better opportunity to exploit large tracts of forest relatively easily. Additionally, in the interior, transportation is a greater problem than access. A cheap and easy way to get logs to market is to use natural water routes. Hence the coastal areas were fairly easy to exploit cheaply. Inland, where it was flat, skid trails to rivers were used to move logs and these required more organization and preparation. In time, capital costs rose as the industry motorized and moved into

less accessible areas of the interior, making it necessary to construct costly road networks.

These differences in the conditions of production had significant effects upon the incorporation of labour into the industry. The small-scale production of the coast involved many independent producers working under short term forms of tenure. In the cases of Kitsumkalum loggers, these tenures were the hand and powerlogging licences that were described previously. In the Valley, on the other hand, Kitsumkalum worked on a wage basis for mill owners, alongside other loggers.

Recently these geographic differences in the organization of the forest industry have lessened as big capital has taken over a larger share of production and introduced technological innovations to overcome some of the problems. Interior camps are reaching further away from the mill centres into difficult regions, and improved transportation systems are carrying logs and lumber across greater distances. The financially successful exploitation of the forest now depends upon highly capitalized methods. With more of the resource concentrated directly under capital, the wage relation has come to dominate Tsimshian participation. The labour power of Kitsumkalum's loggers can now be clearly classified as variable capital.

The legislative factors structuring logging are complex and extensive. Given the assumption and exercise of ownership by the Crown, with all rights allocated to the province, legislation from Victoria provided a formal framework for the organization of those involved in production: the relationships between different sectors of social capital, exemplified by laws encouraging economic development; the relationships with forestry capital, exemplified by the timber legislation (especially that covering tenures); and the relationships between capital and organized labour. All these also set much of the groundwork for Tsimshian participation in the industry.

Historically, the first event of this developmental path was the formal loss of the resource to the Imperial Crown. As a result of the terms of union, rights were allocated between the Dominion and Province, giving British Columbia the ownership and control of the forests (as natural resources). Tsimshian ownership was restricted to reserve timber and that was held in trust by the Dominion. Off reserve, Tsimshian loggers had to apply for a licence.

Subsequent legislation of the Confederation period laid out the ground rules for the development of the industry by specifying conditions of production (property relationships, appropriation, means of production, etc.). The province has passed through several stages in its forest policy and, at the moment, the relevant laws have multiplied to the point

that there are twenty-nine pieces of legislation dealing directly with the industry and fifty-six pieces affecting it indirectly (British Columbia 1980:63ff). This is too much to cover in detail. However, it did affect the local loss of ownership, and we will review some of it, following Yerbough 1931, Sloan 1956, Ainscough 1976, and Pearse 1976.

The Colony expressed little interest in the forest until the land ordinances of 1865 and 1870, other than a negative reaction towards it as an impediment to settlement. These ordinances, however, ushered in a new era oriented to the development of an industry motivated by the accumulation of profit. The initial strategy was to encourage the construction and operation of saw mills, and to slow the alienation of timberlands from the Crown.

The railway scheme in the south and a blossoming forestry industry led the province to bring production under more careful regulation by passing the Timber Act of 1884. This official recognition of the lumber business also detailed government royalties, which established a new lucrative revenue for the province and this was important. The forms of alienation of the forest that were developed at this time served a triple function: A contribution to pay for the construction of the CPR, a way to encourage economic development in the province, and a source of badly needed revenue for the government (Nakonechny 1977:49). The scheme did indeed enrich provincial coffers, but when a money-

desperate government threw open all crown lands in 1905, the policy backfired horribly (Ainscough 1976:36).

The Timber Act introduced timber licences and, in 1886, handlogging licences. Both forms of temporary tenure were used extensively to gain cutting rights on Tsimshian lands, and also provided a point of entry for Indian loggers.

With the growth of logging in British Columbia, it became more and more necessary legally to define timber lands, in order to regulate their exploitation. The 1887 statutes on this were also the first to prevent the permanent alienation of timber lands from the Crown (Yerburgh 1931:57). Through a series of changes in the legislation, especially in 1891 and 1896, a fairly rigid definition emerged, and the pre-emption from the public domain was curtailed (Yerburgh 1931:57).

The timber legislation that followed confederation was not extended to the Skeena area in any real sense for many years, so it was not immediately relevant to local production. Economic control still rested with the Tsimshians. However, a distant change did occur which slowly made itself felt in the productive organization of logging in the northwest. Foreign loggers who were already organized for the market and by the legislation, began to enter Tsimshian lands under the authority of provincial tenures. These were individuals who assumed that their timber leases would be or had to be recognized in the

frontier area of capitalist production. It was a major change, causing great misgivings amongst the Tsimshians and sparking fears over the question of title to the land.

One of the early complaints recorded by the government provides an indication of the nature of the problems the change brought, as well as the way these problems were handled by the Tsimshian leaders. Charles Roundry was one of the first independent British loggers to go north. He had been granted a timber lease at the mouth of the Nass, and operated it in 1884. A timber lease was a form of temporary tenure sold to loggers between 1864 and 1888 to give them cutting rights over tracts of land (Ainscough 1976:35). It was the only form being granted in those years. Temporary tenures like this did not transfer ownership from the Crown, but since no limit was given to the period of tenancy, their tenure was practically outright ownership (Sloan 1956:24-25). Roundry was a small entreprenuer, with variegated business dealings that included some association with Croasdaile's cannery. In his logging activities, he was expected to sell to Peter Birrell's mill on the Nass (British Columbia, Sessional Papers 1885:i-ii).

The complaint that the Nass chiefs had about this lease stemmed from their assessment that this man's rights had been granted improperly. In their view, only they as titleholders could give such permission. They logically

feared for the status of their title and prepared to assert themselves.

An opportunity to do so arose as Roundry made ready to leave Metlakatla to cut a raft of logs. The Tsimshian (presumably, Nass people) approached him and forbade his departure. When he persevered, they confiscated his provisions, tools, and camp outfit. Incensed at this violation of his assumed rights, Roundry made the incident into a major issue, but generated very little support for himself from others. Fortunately for him, a diplomatic intervention by the Hudson Bay Company Agent at Port Simpson, Robert Hall, with the Kincolith smoogyt Mountain, regained Roundry's gear, although not his goods (ibid.).[1] Apparently Hall had emphasized to the smoogyt that appropriation of Roundry's property was a different issue from that of land title, and had convinced Mountain that it was not right to hold the gear in pursuit of the settlement of title.

It is significant that the Hudson Bay Company man was the one to act as mediator in this dispute, for the British Columbia government did not have other means to make its presence felt immediately, a fact that Roundry had foolishly failed to consider when he flaunted his controversial provincial document of legal possession.

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[1] What these goods were is not clear. Presumably they were the raft of logs he had already cut.

With experience, the Tsimshians developed a clearer understanding of the philosophy of the Imperial society that they were confronting. This provided them a basis for more sophisticated struggles in defence of their rights, a defence that they always premised on peaceful negotiations with the administrators. As a result, in a decade that experienced armed resistance against Imperialist expansion elsewhere in the West, the Tsimshian sent delegates to Ottawa in 1885 and to Victoria in 1887.

The gunboats that had already set the bounds to the politicking on the coast, were now joined by a Canada, Department of Indian Affairs Agent who was assigned to the Tsimshians (although not recognized by them); Fisheries Agents who were resident in the area, and a number of other officials, including police. This increase of enforcement personnel occurred before the close of the decade. In addition, the imposition of the Indian Reserve system was well underway and would be completed in 1891. Hence when the delegation of chiefs arrived in Victoria to discuss their problems they had already been considerably impressed by their colonizers.

Recognizing their situation, the chiefs attempted rational persuasion by stating their own needs for timber - for both good timber and sufficient timber. They said their needs included timber for milling, canoe manufacture, and making boxes; that the reserves which had been laid out on

the Nass were not adequate for production; and that the chiefs wanted the problem remedied.

The government sidestepped the question of milling timber and dwelled on what they saw as the "traditional uses" of wood, such as wood for canoes, or cedar boxes for grease. Only Indian Agent Powell suggested he understood the need for merchantable timber, but he did not push the issue (e.g., British Columbia, Sessional Papers 1887, pp. 266 and 267). It was awkward for him. He could not seem to be unaware of the true situation because he had been instrumental in the establishment of one reserve mill, and it was his duty to assist in its continued success. What specific pressures were on him not to intervene more strongly for the chiefs are not obvious, but as the result of his silence, Robson (the future premier) and Davie were able to reduce the significance of the Tsimshians' requests, and to maximize the rights of the province. Robson and Davie never indicated they had heard the statement of the Indians that timber was needed for milling purposes, or even that some of the canoes they described as "traditional" were probably part of the freighting business that was continually hauling government people and commodities up and down the rivers.

The Tsimshians were thus squeezed into the government's imposed tenure arrangements, which in the late 1880s, were primarily timber licences. I have no documentation of the

chiefs' deliberation, but the context under which it occurred had to be discouraging: the gunboats were already in the Tsimshian area, the rebellions on the Prairies had been squashed, the bureaucracy was settling in, Tsimshians had been hung in Victoria, the titleholders were facing significant rifts in their numbers (see Barnett 1942), the missionaries were fighting among themselves, and Duncan was leading a substantial number of people to establish sanctuary at New Metlakatla, Alaska. To resist could have led to bloodshed, and the times were not very appropriate for making a desperate stand.

The industry made great strides in the nineteenth century, and tended towards a greater capitalization that worked against the interests of the small producers. The Land Act of 1887 reinforced the government's policy towards the establishment of a milling industry. By providing a rebate of royalty charges for lumber manufactured in the province and exported, the Act also announced the State's interest in a new export orientation for the industry.

This development was hampered by legislation that prevented the transfer of timber holdings. Banks were simply not interested in accepting a logger's lease or licence as collateral, making it difficult to build the business. The introduction of power technology and a concommitant capitalization in the woods at the turn of the century, made this limitation serious to capital

accumulation. The government had to change its policy.

In an effort to stabilize the industry with larger operations, transfer of licences was permitted in 1905. It might be remembered that large companies were stabilizing the commercial fishery at the turn of the century, as well.

The change in tenure systems led to a timber rush. Developers, not small producers like the Kitsumkalum, absorbed 15,000 square miles of prime forest land throughout the province (313 square miles in the Skeena - Portland areas, Whitford and Craig 1918:379). The scramble was so wild that the government, shocked by the intensiveness of speculation, put a ban on the staking of new areas in 1907. This effectively brought things back in order, but could not prevent a disastrous secondary effect of the rush. The Timber Act had required loggers to operate a mill on their holdings and to produce a minimum amount of lumber. This policy was originally intended to advance the industry, but in the context of the 1905-1907 rush, it led to overproduction, and a glut of lumber depressed the market in a most ruinous way during the subsequent decade. Nonetheless, the merger of small holdings after 1905, possible because of the transfer legislation, began a re-organization of the industry which would mature with the government's 1946 sustained yield legislation that granted vast tree farms to multinational corporations, and it would culminate in the Terrace area with the monopoly by a crown

corporation in 1980.

The 1907 ban stopped the rush but left no legal provision for the exploitation of crown timber, other than by the short-term handlogger's licences which were available to the Kitsumkalum. Victoria remedied this in 1912, the year of the dawning of what has been called the modern attitude towards the forests. The first Forest Act, passed then, set up structures to conserve the forest as well as to develop it commercially. Forms of long-term tenure, coupled with forest management arrangements evolved from this Act, replaced the previous systems of temporary tenure that lacked responsibility for future rejuvenation. This attitude eventually led to the sustained yield policies that were in effect until 1978.

This description shows the fundamental problems faced by the titleholders and Tsimshian loggers at the time of the initial industrial developments, although many details of the early period are unknown. I can better reconstruct logging practices in the present century, and it is to this period that the discussion will turn.

The first mill opened in the Terrace area in 1908, probably operating under a timber licence registered before 1907. The 1907 ban on staking must have hindered tie cutting for the railroad and the manufacture of lumber for its other needs, but I have not found documentation of this. In fact, as soon as the land survey for the right-of-way was

completed in 1907, men all along the line took out their broadaxes and began to hew and stockpile ties to sell to the Company. This enterprise lasted until the mid 1930s when the Company began to demand milled ties that were creosoted, giving the market to the saw mills.

The needs of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway (GTPR) had important influences on Kitsumkalum. In the archives, there are hints that some Kitsumkalum produced and sold ties, but the arrangements are not discussed, and most of the work went to non-natives.[1]

Restricting as it was, even this production could have placed a fair amount of money into the village economy and provided Kitsumkalum with some benefits from the railway; but it did not. The benefits went elsewhere. The contracting system seems to have largely excluded the Kitsumkalum, and individual abuses hurt them in other ways. For example, one of the immigrant sub-contractors took more than 1900 trees from the Kitsumkalum Reserve (Indian Reserve 1) for ties, fuel and other needs. This was a case of trespass and, in some opinion, of theft against the Band.

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[1] According to the local historian Dr. Large, one man, Olaf Hanson, had the contract with the GTPR for cutting all the ties and poles for the railway construction west of Smithers. He, in turn, subcontracted out to individual operators (Large 1957:157). I would infer that this was the connection for Kitsumkalum's production as well, but their involvement was probably limited to cutting a few trees on the reserves.

The Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, acting in its role as mediator between developers and native people (its legal wards) represented Kitsumkalum in their arguments to receive over $1000 in damages for the loss. After a difficult negotiation procedure, Kitsumkalum received only $71.80 as compensation, and had to live with a significant degree of hostility from the Company that they had to tolerate for years afterwards. The Company's resentment was especially felt on occasions when Kitsumkalum requested co-operation from it (see McDonald 1981b, especially pp. 34-43).

There were more export opportunities for the mills after the railroad was built. The market for cedar poles and spruce boom logs expanded and during the world wars the straight-grained sitka spruce was in high demand for warplane construction. The production of this log became a mandatory condition of timber claims during the First World War.

Larger companies moved into the area with the development of the market. This and the passage of the 1912 Forest Act that articulated the new attitude toward forest development made welcome in the Kitsumkalum Valley the first representative of metropolitan money, a subsidiary of the eastern based Abitibi, the Kitsumkalum Timber Company. It began logging on a licence granted earlier for the Zimacord and the west side of the Kitsumkalum Valley (Asante 1972:23). In 1917, they established a sawmill at Remo

across from Indian Reserve 3. To feed the mill, crews logged the valleys, sometimes trespassing outside of the licence, on the nearby Indian Reserves (for information on some of the intricacies of their Indian Reserve poaching see McDonald 1982b). Unable to make a go of it, the company closed in 1919.

Even though Kitsumkalum Timber, as a subsidiary of a larger Company, foreshadowed the future forest industry, small-time operators were to be the mainstay for a while longer. Small may have been a more beautiful arrangement for local control of production, and appreciated by the new settlers, but it did not make a difference to the Kitsumkalum who had similar experiences with big and small enterprises organized on the profit motive. For example, one individual of the small class, a homesteader at Remo, removed 50 timbers "inadvertently" but illegally from the Zimacord Reserve and sold them to the GTPR for its wharf in Prince Rupert for $790 (GTPR paid the government the additional $115 stumpage levy). When he was made aware of his trespass, the homesteader compensated the Kitsumkalum Indian Committee with the tiny amount of $70 for the trees. His profit after expenses was still a fairly lucrative income for 1915, although the unfortunate gentleman did suffer prosecution and was ordered to pay a small fine or face going to jail for thirty days. Although he had cleared an income of $720 from the trees, he claimed he could not

afford to pay. The government decided that because his wife was pregnant his settlement with the Indian Committee would conclude the matter (Canada, Public Archives 986/31-4-7-3-1).

Trespass was practised by large and small entrepreneurs. Given the similarity, it might be said that of the two, the larger operations may have benefitted the village more than the small ones, for at least the Kitsumkalum (and other Indians) were able to work at these mills. They included Little's (established 1911, Terrace), and Giggey's (1915, Spring Creek mouth). In 1916, the provincial government's commission recorded seven sawmills and three pulp mills in the area (Whitford and Craig 1918:180) and a Royal Commission noted three sawmills on the Nass River Indian Reserves (Kitladamax, Kincolyth, and Lachkaltsap) as operated by Nishgas (Canada and British Columbia 1916:Table A). As development progressed, three more mills opened near Terrace: on Amesbury Flats (1917), Pohle's (1928, Kitsumkalum Lake Road), and Hagen's (1920s, Copper City). These provided ties, but also cut aeroplane spruce, and lumber. The Amesbury mill logged the river as far up as Kitsumkalum, and rafted the logs down to the mill by tugboat. (Asante 1972:22-25). These locations are shown in Figure 12.

The government subsidized the forest operations by providing a supporting infrastructure. Besides administrative and tax collecting functions, the Skeena District had eight fire wardens stationed at Kitselas. The North Coast District had three in Prince Rupert in 1912 (British Columbia, Department of Lands 1913:9). The following year the government established in Kitsumkalum Valley two lookout stations with trails (plus another station at nearby Lakelse), a boat house, and telephone facilities (British Columbia, Department of Lands 1914:60). There was also a systematic survey for prime forest reserves underway.

During the 1930s, when the market became very bad for mills, there was a trend towards operating smaller, portable mills in the Valley and a number sprang up, moving as the surrounding area was logged. A number of Kitsumkalum worked for these "shows", and the employment they found helped them to stay in the Valley after the 1936 flood and exodus. Motorized logging trucks came into use at this time, and at least one of the Nelson brothers drove these dangerous machines on the primitive road conditions.

The Second World War stimulated the market again. Local production was further encouraged by the stationing of a large population of soldiers at Terrace. After the war and the removal of the troops, the boom continued as economic development gained momentum and the regional

population grew. As the orientation of forestry shifted, independent production declined and Kitsumkalum's involvement with the industry in the vicinity of their Valley became more restricted to wage employment for mill owners. Eventually, there was a single employer: B.C. Timber and associated contractors. This latter condition came about after the establishment of the tree farm licence (TFL 1).

TFL 1 was issued in May, 1948 for 825,000 acres of crown land which is essentially defined by the Kitsumkalum watershed and lands to the north. This licence more or less extended to the American company of Columbia Cellulose (which became Cancel and is now B.C. Timber) a monopoly over the timber in the area. Eventually, as a result of Columbia Cellulose's control, the small operators either submitted to its dominance or went out of business. Only four companies continued to cut after 1948: LH & G (now Bell Pole), an American owned firm; McGillis and Gibbs from Milwaukee; Skeena Timber Co., which was originally a subsidiary of the Canadian company Price, which became Abitibi, then Canadian Cellulose, and is now B.C. Timber; and the locally owned Pohle Lumber, which was bought by Cancel (B.C. Timber) in 1963.

This re-organization and consolidation of the forest industry in the Valley was completed when a virtual monopoly was obtained by the government corporation of B.C. Timber.

Now the only diversity in the monolithic organization of the industry around Terrace is provided by the complementary pole-producing operations of the two American subsidiary companies: McGillis & Gibbs and Bell Pole. Neither employed any Kitsumkalum workers in 1980-1982.

To the south, in the Kitimat Valley are the Swedish Eurocan Pulp and Paper, Macmillan Bloedel, and Crown Zellerbach. These hire Kitsumkalum, but do not enter the Kitsumkalum Valley. No Kitsumkalum, or any native as far as I could learn, owns any part of these companies.

All the small companies logged various patches of the Kitsumkalum Valley, taking its wealth, sending the products to markets in the east and throughout the British Empire/Commonwealth, Japan and United States. But it was the TFL that made the most significant impact upon the forest, clear cutting massive sections of land, and altering the environment dramatically.

As a result of these changes and events, wage labour became the dominant relation between Indian labour and the logging industry around Terrace. But the historical process and result that I have described for the interior is different to what I found on the coast where small producers were more prevalent. The geographic difference that was noted earlier in this chapter, between production methods in the interior and on the coast can also be found in social relationships defining production.

To understand logging on the coast it is best to begin by examining the different ways the provincial legislation organized access to the resources. During the lifetimes of the older members of Kitsumkalum, three forms of tenure have been held by the independent producers in the community: the common handloggers licence, the timber licence, and timber sales. All three were short term tenures granting cutting rights for periods of either one year (handloggers), one to twenty-one years depending upon the current regulations (timber licences), or variable short terms (timber sales).

There were four other forms of tenure permitted loggers: timber leases which were open to non-mill owners after 1895 if a rental higher than that taken from owners was paid to the government (Sloan 1956:25); pulp leases which required a mill capacity of one ton of pulp per square mile of lease (ibid.:26); pulp licences which were held as part of the timber reserves of large pulp and paper companies (ibid.:32); and pulpwood timber sales which required construction of a $350,000 mill (ibid.:34). In 1918 there were no timber leases or pulp mills in the area, but there were seven sawmills (two near Kitsumkalum) and three shingle mills (Whitford & Craig 1918:379). These four tenures had relatively long terms but required heavy capital investments in the form of a mill. This restricted entry into the industry. I learned of no Kitsumkalum holding any such tenure.

People's memories now conflate the types of logging permits once held by themselves and their parents. They tend to sort their past involvement in the industry more on a technological basis, either as handloggers, powerloggers or beachcombers. Handlogging and powerlogging are types of land-based operations and contrast with beachcombing which is riverine logging. However, handlogging and beachcombing are considered to be variants of the same method because no power is used. It is confusing terminolgy that is locally used loosely; one reason for the confusion is that timber sales (the 1912 alternative to timber licences) were the legal form under which handlogging and powerlogging techniques were practised on land on the coast. Handlogging licences, on the other hand, were the legal form that regulated the interior riverine beachcombing activities. All these types of logging were technologically regulated, but the way they logged was internally organized by the holders of the permit.

The handloggers of Kitsumkalum were the Boltons (Mark, then his son James, with James' brothers and sons), Charlie Nelson, and Sam Lockerby. There were a number of other related Essington handloggers (Dave Spalding, Ed Stanley, Art Stewart, Bill Brooks, Peter Nelson, Andrew Spalding, Moses Feak, and the Stewarts). Mark's crews were mainly relatives: a brother, a son, a nephew, and sometimes another Kitsumkalum who happened to be of high position. Later, his

son, James, also followed the pattern of taking family as crew: brothers, cousins, sons, and nephews.

Port Essington was the base for the handloggers, and most of them tended to consider themselves primarily as Essingtonians regardless of their ancestral villages. This last point is more than just a historical note, for handloggers would help each other out in time of need, towing a heavy raft, sharing supplies, or exchanging labour. Neighbours in Essington felt closer and relied upon one another for such reciprocity.

The timber claims of the Kitsumkalum loggers were scattered throughout the Tsimshian territories: along the Skeena, down the Ecstall, in Grenville Channel, and out at Kitkatla. Some of the claims were closely associated with activities in the aboriginal economy so that loggers could log between garden work and fall fishing. Some claim areas were located in aboriginal camping areas but others seem to have been occupied primarily for their commercial possibilities and, secondarily, as a result of this decision, they became the camp centres for the aboriginal economy of a group. In this way, new areas were 'colonized' by Essingtonians.

These were small operations, just taking a few logs at a time. The scale of production and the context of production within Kitsumkalum's combined economy, hindered the rapid commodification of Kitsumkalum logging by internal

momentum.

The legal status of these claims has changed during the past century. Originally they seem (from interviews) to have been established through handlogging licences, but increasingly after the 1920s they were timber sales. This shift corresponds to a province-wide decline in the number of handlogging licences during the same period. By the time of the Sloan commission this form of tenure had fallen into desuetude (Sloan 1956:32-33). Timber sales had come to predominate.

On the Skeena, the loggers were beachcombers and three beachcombing areas stretched up the Skeena from above Port Essington to Salvus.[1] Other Essington people were remembered to have beachcombed elsewhere.[2]

Beachcombing crews were generally male relatives. The Roberts worked with their father, brother, sons, and a sister's husband. It was still useful for the Kitsumkalum to organize production teams through kinship structures, but the lineages were no longer the resource-owning corporate groups that they had been only forty years earlier, before the Reserve system had been imposed.

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[1] They belonged to Joseph Roberts and his son Don Sr., Felix Brown, and Matt and John Wesley.

[2] Such as on the Ecstall in the vicinity of Muddy Creek (the Brooks) and Spalding Creek (Andrew Spalding).

The impact of the new property relations was evident also in the allocation of the resources. As with the coastal handloggers, the areas picked by the beachcombers seem to have had a connection with aboriginal fishing grounds, but, because the government's legislation applied a different legal geography to the productive resources, the boundaries of beachcombing claims on the Skeena were much more encompassing than the territory claimed by a lineage. For example, the Roberts' beachcombing area included their trapping grounds at Feak creek, which had been held previously as lineage property by their relative, Moses Feak. However, a change was occurring. The first transmission of these trapping/hunting/beachcombing areas had proceeded matrilineally from Moses Feak to the Roberts family. After that, it went patrilineally. Furthermore, although the trapping/hunting areas conformed to ancient divisions fairly well, the beachcombing area was extensive and passed six or seven trapping camps belonging to other lineages and villages. In effect, the boundary of these licences reflected the organization and needs of capitalist production, not the Kitsumkalum economy.

Payment for the logs was received by the captain of the beachcombing boat and divided among the crew on a share basis similar to that in fishing. First, the boat received a share for its maintenance and for the gear aboard; then each of the crew, including the captain, received a share.

Unlike fishing, the actual distribution was not closely regulated and was more informal. The boat, for example, did not necessarily receive one-quarter, as it would in fishing. Younger working crew members would normally receive a share equal to that of the adults, however in some cases they would not receive any - to allow the father or boat owner to make a payment for the gear or other necessity. Some boat owners were reported to have paid their crews through advances, a procedure that could lead to allegations of cheating. This shares model applied to trapping, fishing, and beachcombing.

As in beachcombing, some of the sons were very young, of school age, when they helped their fathers. The generation that was taken away to residential school after World War II did not participate with their fathers. The result was that after they had served their time in school, they did not return to the forest as independent producers. They had missed the experience and the economic times had changed.[1]

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[1] One older member of that educated generation, who was not sent to residential school, spent time logging with his father. Now, because of the re-organization of the industry and the legislation, he works for a company on a wage, but as a faller - Kitsumkalum's only employed faller.

The only power loggers remembered in the area were "voters" (non-Indians) and James Bolton. (Orientals were legally banned from the industry until the I.W.A. was organized during World War II, Bergren 1979). At different times Bolton had claims on Merrick Island and at Bakers Inlet. During the 1940s these were bigger shows than the handlogging operations, and his crews sometimes numbered six individuals, usually his brother and other Essingtonians. More so than handlogging, powerlogging was run like a business. It was intended as a money-making venture and Bolton's crew was hired on an hourly basis to work for him. Even though Bolton is remembered to have often made a "go of it", at least for a while, the growing concentration of the industry, made it increasingly difficult to be successful as a small producer.

After the 1960s it became easier to get a power logging licence, and more popular because people had the experience after working for the big companies. But by then a high degree of monopoly power had been consolidated. Port Essington was abandoned, Kitsumkalum was re-oriented to the new villages up river, and its loggers were largely employed by companies in Kitsumkalum Valley. Instead of an expansion of their independent logging activities after 1960, the opposite occurred. Now, none of the Kitsumkalum powerlog independently.

Local mills provided the log market for Kitsumkalum loggers. Early beachcombers went to mills on the Skeena at Kwinitsa (owned by George Little of the Terrace area), at Shames (owned by Jacobson) which later moved to become Shirley's Mill opposite Port Essington, and Brown's Mill on the Ecstall. For a short while after the 1940s, the the Port Edward pulp mill bought logs for purposes other than pulp but quickly left that market to the Terrace sawmill that was owned by the same company. Markets were drastically constricted in the early 1950s when Colcel, with its monopolistic TFL, made a policy of only accepting drift logs with its own stamp and then stopped river driving. This did much to force the beachcombers out of business.

After the TFL, land-based loggers could still tow their rafts to Shirley's Mill, Brown's Mill, and, after 1951, to the new pulp mill at Port Edward that was associated with the granting of the TFL. This last mentioned mill provided a market for pulp logs from the Valley and also from timber sales held by Kitsumkalum powerloggers on the coast. The Boltons, logging at Bakers Inlet, sold most of their wood to it. Their options were restricted because their claim area had been logged selectively for cedar before they had received it, which left them mainly with spruce, the hemlock being unsuitable for rafting.

Brown's Mill was popular with many of the loggers, especially because it made its payments immediately to the loggers. The company's store in Port Essington gave Indians credit, creating debt that could be paid off with logs. This credit arrangement attracted loggers to the mill, but once there they were under some restraint to accept the offered price, as it was costly to tow a raft elsewhere, and risky if the weather was uncertain. As a result of the system some loggers were effectively attached to the company. Colcel at Port Edward, on the other hand, paid by cheque. Since there were no other debts to a company store the payment was always clear. Some Kitsumkalum loggers preferred this as being more fair, but again since it was the only pulp mill in the area it had monopoly control over prices anyway.

Prices at the sawmills were described as the "going rate" which was determined after a scaling of the logs by a particular buyer. The loggers I interviewed assumed that the rate followed market tendencies. In many ways they were stuck, immobile in the market. Not to accept the offer would entail additional transportation costs and risks, and they had had no one to represent their interests so they generally accepted the buyer's offer.

Scaling, that is the determination of the quantity and quality of the timber, was originally performed by the buyers. In the 1950s, the government assumed responsibility

for this service, sending its own officials to do the work. One beachcomber claimed that as a result of the government's methods, the loggers received much less for their logs. He said he felt this was one factor in his leaving the business; he could not make a go of it under the new conditions.

On a number of occasions former loggers explained to me that Indian logging operations were not money making ventures. Non-Indians were in the business to make money, and some managed to be successful. But for the Essington bunch, it was just a "way of making a living"; something to do that would tide you over until fishing season. Even though logging never provided enough, it was possible to gain some quick money from a timber claim if you worked hard and had a bit of luck. On the other hand, it was an uncertain business and a simple change such as in scaling standards, or geographic shifts in the site of mills, could prove disastrous to the producers. The most significant change was the granting of TFL 1 which essentially ended small-scale logging for Kitsumkalum. Afterwards, logging in the interior grew much more rapidly than on the coast, and many jobs opened in the Terrace area for wage labour (Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:130), drawing the Kitsumkalum back to their ancestral homes as their involvement with commercial fishing went into decline.

The Kitsumkalum are no longer independent loggers. The two central reasons are: the constriction of the market for small production by the centralization and consolidation in the industry that was spurred on by the TFL legislation; and the large-scale production which resulted from big capital's innovations and which left little room for the non-conforming production of small loggers.

Indian loggers had an overall economic mix that had allowed them to survive in the areas that were not profitable for the more heavily capitalized operations. In the context of the increasingly difficult conditions that saw the general demise of the way of life in which the handlogger or powerlogger operated, the domination of big capital pushed the Kitsumkalum logger beyond the pale of marginality. Given the crisis for trappers, and the growing difficulties of the fishermen, it became less practical for people to camp out at a timber claim and cull a few logs which were otherwise uneconomic for larger companies to cut. Furthermore, as fewer Kitsumkalum owned their own fishboats, fewer had the capability to attempt to log in the environmentally marginal areas that Indians generally were able to claim (see Pritchard 1977). Given this context, the dislocation of the community from the cannery town of Port Essington was as much a case of the death of a fishing village as it was an indication of the falling importance of other pursuits such as independent logging for Kitsumkalum's economy.

15. BUSINESSES

Trapping, fishing, and logging were forms of small commodity production. They have been the most important of the market ventures of the Kitsumkalum, but not the only ones. In this chapter, I will go through some of the other forms for which I received information. It is a residual chapter, and parts of it might also fit into previous sections. Some of the forms of economic organization that will be described here are variants of simple commodity production, others are located more closely in the circulation spheres of merchant activities.

Typically, Kitsumkalum families included a variety of enterprises. A family that will serve as an especially good example included several entrepreneurs and illustrates the pattern clearly. One of the men was the son of a hereditary chief and successful fisherman, ran a fish camp for a cannery, then operated a store on land, worked as a fish contractor for a canner, and sometimes operated a small store out of his house in Port Essington.

His younger brother was a successful fisherman who logged and trapped off season. Other male siblings were fishermen and carvers. His nephews include several fishermen, tradesmen, and others who are continually attempting to establish one small business or another in the

face of the most severe economic and bureaucratic difficulties. These varied activities can be found in the history of many families. Such variety is, in fact, the very stuff upon which the economy was based. What is unique about this family is that whereas the other families are more or less settling into wage labour now, this one continues to struggle in an economic formation that has beaten it back so many times before. With this in mind, I will now turn to look at some of the specific enterprises of the past.

TRANSPORTATION

In 1865, the Western Union Telegraph, on its way from the U.S.A. to England via Siberia, entered the northwest (Large 1957:30ff), bringing wage labour to the Gitksan and stimulating a river freighting industry that would become lucrative and be dominated by the Coastal Tsimshian. Later, the industry was further stimulated by the decision of the Bay to economize its supply strategy for the northern posts by abandoning the long Fraser River route in favour of the Skeena waterway. In so doing, the Company enhanced business opportunities for the freighters: Hazelton was established as a major supply depot and Tsimshian freighters became the main means of transportation. The Bay became the most important customer of the freighting business, but the river

always bustled with traffic as gold rushers, miners, loggers, settlers, missionaries, surveyors, and others made their way inland. In the 1890s, at least two hundred Indians and forty canoes were active (a minimum estimate by the Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, 1895: 165).

Two Kitsumkalum freighters operating from the seaport of Port Essington are remembered from that period: Thomas Wesley and Charles Nelson. Moses Feak, a close relation living in Essington, also freighted. Their crewmen were described to be "some kind of cousin" or "their people", which presumably refers to the local group of lineage and House members that was relied upon for labour in so many spheres.

The boats could handle two tons of freight. They were manned by a captain, a bowman, and two or three "sailors". The captain had a raised platform at the stern upon which he handled a huge steering oar, while the bowman poled the canoe through the water and away from the shore. The rest of the crew were polemen. In strong currents they took to the shore, donned a harness and line, and pulled the canoe upstream (Cassidy and McHaig 1980:24-26).

These boats were made by craftsmen who either were freighters themselves[1] or for whom canoe building was a business. Prominent freighter chiefs, such as ones on the

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[1] For example, Nelson and Feak

coast, utilized boats they had obtained by exchange. In Kitsumkalum, however, the freighters made their own canoes, and passed the craft down through the family.[1] Unfortunately, no freighter canoes have been made by a Kitsumkalum since before the Second World War, and only a few people have any recollection of the production processes.

The first contracts fell to Port Simpson people, but the Metlakatla under Chief Legaic proved more competitive (Large 1957:26) and came to dominate.[2]

Such enterprises were the loci of important social struggle. Legaic and, undoubtedly, others used their freighting incomes to strengthen their social and economic positions in the area, both within tribal society and beyond it. The freighting business probably complemented the fur trade in Tsimshian political economy as a source of power. Some evidence of this comes from an incident in the 1860s when the Kitselas chiefs, who controlled the strategic canyon of the Skeena, used their location advantageously to

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[1] For example, Nelson taught his sons, William and Gordon; while in Feak's case, the knowledge seems to have gone to a nephew.

[2] I found only a little information on the terms of these contracts . At the end of the nineteenth century, to hire forty of these canoes for eighteen days cost $4500 (Large 1957:25), which works out to $6.25 per canoe per day, or $1.25 daily wage for a canoe with five men. There is no record as to how the incomes were distributed.

force the coastal freighters to hire Kitselas men into the crews (e.g., Large 1957:26), thus diverting some of the income to Kitselas.

The freighters understood and manipulated their favourable position on the river and in the broader emerging economic formation. This is illustrated by the continually rising cargo rates: Tsimshian commercial interests drove the prices up from $4-$5/ton in 1871 (Large 1957:30) to $60/ton in 1890 (Wicks 1976:30). The Hudson Bay Company had no choice but to accept these increases, which it did grudgingly, with predictions about the ruin of the Company (Dorsey 1898:181). However, elsewhere the Company was revolutionizing its transportation system by converting to steamers. The Bay could heavily capitalize its transportation, and competitively undercut the labour-intensive native operations on the Skeena. As a result of its effort in this area, the Hudson Bay Company managed to make the first successful passage to Hazelton by a steamer, in 1891 - the year the Indian Reserve Commissioner allowed the three Kitsumkalum Reserves. Other steamers soon followed suit. Canoe freighting collapsed overnight (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1895:165), and with it Tsimshian control over transportation on the Skeena was lost. From then on, freighting could only struggle on in a small way, when steamers could not negotiate the channels during periods of low or high water.

The impact of this collapse was harsh. Economically, a service business ended and unemployment was created, but other opportunities were available to the freighters and crewmen, including work on the steamers. Politically, the loss was more significant as it simultaneously damaged the power base of the chiefs and increased the dependency of many migrant Tsimshian workers upon boats owned by the foreign and colonial industrialists. These people needed transportation to the job for their families and possessions at the start of a season and back to their homes, far up river, at the end. Eventually, this dependency became a problem for the upriver Indian workers when they pressed wage demands at the fish canneries and attempted to organize union activity (see Knight 1978:97).

River travel was not the only form of transportation income for the Indians. In the winter months pack horse trains carried freight, but I have no references to Kitsumkalum involvement in this, or of any general development of this business amongst the Coast Tsimshian. It seems to have been the domain of inland people, including Gitksans - possibly because of the availability of pasturelands in their territories (see Cassidy and McHaig 1980).

MANUFACTURES

There were other Indian businesses. Duncan's Metlakatla is often held up as a model of success with its craftsmen, stores, mills, factories, market house, etc., but Port Simpson had similar accomplishments and families who became influential as a result of their business operations (Knight 1978:60). Europeans were impressed by the experiment. The words of one DIA agent cautiously summed it up: "many different enterprises... are being started and wholly managed by the advanced natives, with every reasonable prospect of an average measure of success" (quoted in Knight 1978:62).

Other commercial ventures in the North West Agency included clam and fish canneries, the manufacture for marketing purposes of oil, canoes, fish boats, nets, houses, handicrafts, and the bootlegging of liquor for sale both to the Bay and for export. When foreign forestry operations began to enter the area, independent logging crews from Port Simpson quickly organized to supply the mills (Knight 1978:115).

Elsewhere, sawmills were set up. These were owned and operated as Band Council or Mission ventures (e.g., Kincolith, Andimaul, Gitladaniks, Aiyansh, Kispiox, Hartley

Bay, Metlakatla).[1] The forest was now being viewed as a commercially important resource, and treated as such.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

The early traders, explorers, settlers, and tourists showed an appreciation for art from Kitsumkalum, and the Kitsumkalum Band Council Administration has found that museums around the world hold samples of Kitsumkalum's art (archival files, Kitsumkalum Social History Research Project).[2]

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[1] One Tsimshian logger, W. H. Pierce, organized an early mill as a Band Council venture at Kispiox (a Gitksan village). Money was raised through $50 per share investments that were subscribed by Band members (ibid.:115). Capital equipment was purchased and the operation grew as a commercial enterprise until it reached its peak during the construction of the GTPR. At that point, it was running two shifts to meet demand and had two crews of native loggers supplying timber to the mill. The appearance of new, more modern and larger mills after the railroad was finished and the ease of transportation offered by the railway gradually replaced the Kispiox mill, forcing it to retreat into production of lumber for the reserve (ibid). In another case, the Gitksan husband of one Kitsumkalum woman purchased and ran a mill at Usk for a number of years before the Second World War. Both illustrate the point that the Tsimshian were gaining a different perspective on their aboriginal resources.

[2] Barbeau records a mountain lion carving from the pre-European period on top of a Kitwanga totem pole (belonging to Arteeh, of the lagybaaw phratry) as the work of the Kitsumkalum called Niiyas Awaelp of the laksgiik phratry (1929:184). This was erected around 1860 (ibid.: 131).

At the turn of the century there were silversmiths from Kitsumkalum living in Port Essington, selling their work, just as today jade carvers, metal workers, painters, wood carvers, and weavers sell a variety of items to art collectors and curio hunters, or are honoured by having their pieces presented to dignitaries.[1]

Among the craftsmen, Charles Nelson produced fine snowshoes, moccasins, canoes, and carved cedar boxes. He made these for his own use and for exchange. Other craftspeople included those who worked on a piece rate and knitted, sewed, embroidered, or beaded articles. The main markets for all of these people have been local and regional.

Until the First World War, there were always some people who had skill and experience in trades such as carpentry, cobbling, watch repairs, or as domestic servants. People in Port Essington would bring work to their homes, and it seems that a petite division of labour existed in that community which more or less replicated that found in larger cities, but in a much more informal manner.

These economic structures are not as prominent in the Reserve village today, although there are certain individuals who will be called upon to help out on repairs

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[1] A jade carving by Cliff Bolton was sent to Queen Elizabeth as a gift from a British Columbia municipality.

or in construction. Other on-reserve people have taken some training, either on-the-job or formal instruction, to become carpenters (none are ticketed), mechanics, heavy equipment operators, guides and so on. The Band Council relies on their skills on a formal contract basis. Problems occasionally arise from this because their labour is not adequately freed from community demands, which interfere with the sale and purchase of their services.

MERCHANTS

Some Tsimshian are merchants. The aboriginal sector of Kitsumkalum's production has always been the source of some trade and income, as mentioned earlier. Produce such as oolachan grease, dried seaweed, berries, clams, barks, and so on are made according to aboriginal tastes, if not always aboriginal methods. These are exchanged throughout a large network that extends itself from the local residential villages to towns everywhere in the northwest, even sometimes in the south.

It has always been the case that families which are well situated vis-a-vis natural resources did not need to purchase these products. However, with the decline of camp life and the increased immobility of people in the Terrace area, the consumption of purchased ("traded") goods has increased. Some of this exchange activity occurs through a

blackmarket but, although I did not collect concrete information, the illegal trade seems relatively small. It was reported to me that prices are negotiable and, according to social and economic context, the expectations of the participants in the transactions change.[1]

The small stores found in every coastal village are also significant to the Tsimshian economy.[2] These are operated out of private homes, which sometimes means simply the kitchen; at other times they are contained in a separate room.[3]

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[1] The following prices were recorded in the Fall of 1980 and are indicative of expectations at that time.

1 gallon ice cream pail of herring eggs = 4 whole dry fish and a few strips
jar of clams = jar half-smoked salmon
jar of clams = pail of Nass River grease
pail of roasted seaweed = pail of Nass grease
seaweed = $50/pail 2 medium cakes of seaweed = pint jar of spring and dog salmon eggs (1979 price)
pail of herring eggs = $2 -$3
1 branch of herring eggs at Bella Bella = $14 (filled 5 large plastic freezer bags)

[2] Tsimshians owned and operated stores in Port Simpson, Aiyansh, Kincolith, Lakalsap, Hazelton (Knight 1978:60-61), Kitsumkalum, and Hartley Bay (Campbell, 1984.).

[3] There is not much information on the organization of these stores. Generally the impression one receives from other people is that the stores were informally organized family businesses and Kennedy does mention his wife as if she was his partner in the business. Suppliers varied. Kennedy placed purchase orders in Prince Rupert and Port Simpson, but also as far away as Regina and Winnipeg.

Depending upon the proprietor, these stores may be specialty or general stores with a limited collection of goods, suited to the tastes of the owner and local customers.[1] A few are larger stores with a selection of clothing in addition to the basic stock of food.[2]

The retail markets for the village stores seem to have been oriented towards convenience shopping. They were patronized by customers unable to go to town to shop or who were awaiting the arrival of bulk orders by train or by boat. There are no convenience stores of this type in Kitsumkalum now. Some sales of seaweed or other ocean produce occasionally occur in homes, but this is minor. A daughter blamed the demise of these businesses on the

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[1] To describe their content with an early example: In 1919, Sam Kennedy listed an order for some of the supplies in his Varnesdol store near Kitsumkalum: Soft drinks, dentyne, fruits, flour, milk, corn flakes, corn syrup, "cargars", "swards", shoes, yarn, dresses, hankerchiefs, wool jackets, women's vest, rubber bands, and soap (Kennedy diary, Ms.). Another example was Charles Nelson's store in Kitsumkalum, which was stocked somewhat differently. There were the usual cigarettes and candy, but people remember that Nelson sold deer and other land meats; produce from his garden that included carrots, turnips, rhubarb, berries, plums, pigs, chickens; traded food from the coast such as seaweed and dried fish eggs; and sold his own crafts which were primarily canoes, snowshoes, and moccasins. The variety seems typical. Kennedy also noted in his diary income from his service occupations as if those were considered a part of the store business. These services involved renting his canoe, preparing a coffin for a member of Kitsumkalum, and clearing land.

[2] The Dudowards owned a store in Port Simpson, and with their schooner, the Georgina, developed a trading busness that reached up and down the coast.

general exodus of Kitsumkalum and Kitselas people out of the area when they went to the coastal fishing communities during the 1930s. People simply moved away and took their business to Prince Rupert or Port Essington where bigger stores were located. There were other contributing factors. Nelson's store was a mixed business, and many of his activities were hurt after World War Two specifically by the abandonment of canoes for hunting, trapping, and fishing and the general decline in the aboriginal and trapping sectors which reduced the demand for the other items he made. The drop in business was worsened by the growth of the local agricultural and retail trade in Terrace after the war.

The involvement of Kitsumkalum with small business was not strictly as proprietors. Other Tsimshian and Kitsumkalum people never owned their own stores but worked in those of others. Several adults had their first wage employment in Essington stores as children. One managed a store for its owner, although he was restricted from legally running the beer parlour until he surrendered his status as an Indian.

Today in Kitsumkalum there is only the arts and crafts store, the House of Sem-oi-gyets, selling on the reserve, but aimed at the tourist trade. Started in 1968 with Band Council money, Sem-oi-gyets is owned by the Band, with a manager and clerk hired by the Council. Since it opened in 1970, it has become a focus for artist and handicraft

development in Kitsumkalum. Many of the items sold in the store are made by community members. Most of the rest are purchased through Native handicraft associations. Its connections with the Arts and Crafts Society of British Columbia have provided Kitsumkalum many contacts with other artists in the province, and stimulated an interest in Tsimshian heritage through classes and sales.

International tourists visit the area, and Sem-oi-gyets has become one of the attractions of the Terrace region. Suggestions are occasionally received to expand it and turn it into a well promoted attraction on the model of the successful 'Ksan development in Hazelton, but these have not been taken up. In fact when it opened, the intent was for it to be used as a multi-faceted business, with river guiding for sports fishermen, a smoke house for hunters and fishermen, and camping facilities. These were not successful. Despite a difficult history, the business is now sufficiently financially independent to make a contribution to the Band income.

RESERVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Another category of endeavour, of which the House of Sem-oi-gyets is an example, consists of efforts at Reserve economic development. These are typical of many Band Councils, and include the establishment by various Band Councils of sawmills, canneries, or gravel pits. At Kitsumkalum, the main thrust was in leases to other companies: Rights of way for the railway, highway, telephone lines, hydro lines; loading areas for timber companies; gravel operations for the railway; sale of timber to logging companies. There have been numerous problems with this and the Band Council feels the underlying reason is that the terms and conditions of such arrangements are not within the control of the Band Council itself. DIA control and unscrupulous business interests have combined to produce contracts that favour the business concerned at the expense of the Band. As a result, these developments are of debatable value to the village, and sometimes they are clearly destructive.[1] Recent trends towards greater Band Council autonomy appear to be rectifying deficiencies of such leases.

Alternative plans have been studied by Kitsumkalum. Some developments initiated from within the Band Council

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[1] See for an example, the study of the impact of the railroad on the two Skeena River reserves in McDonald 1981a and 1981b.

have looked towards more productive and long range enterprises that would provide material benefits to the village. Others attempt to provide attractions that would employ Kitsumkalum people closer to home.

CONCLUSION

The variety of business operations conducted by the Tsimshian, from their successful competition with the Bay, to their local industries and mercantile enterprises, deserve more detailed documentation. Enterprising individuals had access to new sources of wealth, if they could mobilize it effectively and were often linked to both old and new positions of power (Knight 1978:277, n.16). This linkage was not without its problems. Garfield noted this (1939:passim) and describes some of the moves made to reduce aboriginal obligations . But to consider, as she does, the effects of commerce (either in the first or second half of the century) as only destructive seems excessive and ignores the history of the fur trade, at least. More information on Tsimshian business activities is needed, not only because that aspect of Tsimshian economic history is relatively or completely unknown, but also because it may help to lay to rest the notions that Indians cannot be successful in business because they do not trust one another, or have family jealousies and rivalries, or lack

experience, or enjoy too much high living, or are unable to keep proper accounts and business records.

This list of alleged inadequacies comes from a turn of the century DIA report (cf. Knight 1978:64), but elements of it show up even now in socio-economic studies, for example, the notion that Indian small businessmen are too closely tied to the reserve, with all its restrictions and family and aboriginal obligations that pull an entrepeneur down. Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson (1958) refer to this as an immobility of effort and claim it is the wage earners, not the businessmen, who leave reserves (1958:180). My information does not support this conclusion. The mill owner, some fishermen, tradesmen, and the store owner all left their reserves, sometimes even at the cost of losing their legal status as Indians in order to pursue their business ventures.

Some of those entrepreneurs who stay, immobile, are benefiting from a unique reserve resource. The Band Council Administration provides aspiring businessmen with a base from which they can gain administrative experience, develop and maintain business contacts, have close information on and influence in reserve developments or developments near to the reserve, tap into and manipulate government programmes, and sometimes combine their business creativity with the needs of the community and thereby act simultaneously in the manner expected of leaders while

pursuing their self interests.

The businessmen who stay on the reserve and associate with the administrative structures also tend to be influential in land claims, which in their hands are potential vehicles for commercial development. The land claims process can take on very different forms depending on the orientation of the chief political figures in the village and in the regional economic formation. This makes it very important for the reserve communities to understand the social organization of the commercial economy with which they are involved. The information I have provided to this point in the dissertation covers over 150 years of commerce and industry by the Tsimshian during the nineteenth century. The history of this period is dramatic evidence that the broader economy is not organized in a way that supports reserve enterprise.

16. WAGES

This chapter focuses on the direct commodification of Kitsumkalum's labour power. Much has been said already that pertains to this since other economic activities do involve some valuation of labour, but now I will be turning to the wage form itself. Fully developed, this is the clearest form of commodified labour power. Unfortunately, the history of its development takes so many paths and appears in so many areas that it is difficult to present. This is why some information is located in other chapters, and why some of what is recorded now may appear to involve more than wage labour.

MERCANTILE PERIOD

The Hudson Bay Company

The first Tsimshian employee was probably the man who guided the Hudson Bay explorer and trader Charles Manson up the Nass River in 1832. Nothing is known of that person or his relationship to the Company other than the brief reference made in Manson's journal. Later records kept by the resident Traders and Factors of Fort (Port) Simpson

contain better information, and it is on those sources that the following discussion is based.[1]

Fort Simpson was established in 1832 and two years later there was mention of Indians being employed, probably as hunters. The provisioning of the fort with fresh supplies (or any supplies) was a major concern and problem for the Chief Traders and Factors. Despite their best efforts, the Baymen often proved themselves to be remarkably unsuccessful as hunters and fisherman, even in the rich but unfamiliar rain forests of the northwest. Not only did they have difficulty in bringing home meat, they sometimes became lost and had to be rescued by parties of native residents. As a result, much fresh food was obtained through trade and the Chief Trader often took advantage of opportunities to commission canoes of Indians to bring back game.

By November, 1834, there seems to have been a permanently employed "Fort Hunter", and there were numerous groups sent out specifically to hunt for the fort. These were any nationality, but the Tongass were most frequently used. The Tsmishians were not considered to be as reliable

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[1] The Fort Journals are not systematic or reliably comprehensive, but they do throw some light upon the origins and conditions of a growing wage labour pool. I only consulted those journals held in the Hudson Bay Company Archives in Manitoba. Time limitations prevented me from studying supplemental journals in Victoria, but a secondary source that utilized them (Meilleur 1980) was used to inform the following discussion.

or willing.

By the summer of 1837, an Indian was also recognized in the Journals as the fort's fisherman, aptly named by the Company's Christian officers with the English name "John".[1]

All references are to the employment of Indian labourers as hunters and fishermen. These men were retained by the company. I assume this was on a wage basis, but the data are not conclusive. After 1837 other fort jobs were assigned to local Indians on a definite wage basis. Such employment occurred on an ever increasing scale until, by 1862, most of the work was performed by Indian labour under the supervision of Company servants (Meilleur 1980:83).

At first, the jobs revolved around the garden plots that the Chief Trader was attempting to develop. Fresh seaweed was brought to be used as fertilizer, and Indian women were employed to reap it and to spread it. (Unlike dry land compost, seaweed is immediately suitable for use, without a prior decomposition phase.) The types of garden work gradually expanded, until Tsimshian gardeners were responsible for digging, fertilizing, planting, harvesting, and storing the crops. Working in gangs of up to forty,

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[1] He provided a variety of fish, including running salmon and deep sea halibut. If his employers knew resource ownership rights were associated with these fish, they never recorded how he had access to the fishing locations. I would not expect a titleholder to be so employed for the Bay, so he was probably a minor personage.

under the supervision of a Company servant, these Tsimshians gained valuable experience in the experimental gardening techniques being introduced to the area by the Company.[1]

The garden was the only job to employ large numbers of women. Their other duties always involved smaller numbers. As an implicit gender division of labour, the list of their tasks does not appear unfamiliar: making pack lines, making oolachan grease, cleaning and washing around the fort, packing earth to the fort, packing shells for converting into lime, clearing snow, hauling pickets, cutting grass in the drains, haying, salting fish, making candles (after 1860), and helping to make up the trade tobacco by cutting the leaves off the tobacco heads.

Men were employed for a different set of tasks including hauling gravel, making lime, digging cellars, hauling ballast for ships, making bricks, making shingles, squaring timbers, and keeping watch over the garden or other Company property. Stevedoring was among the first tasks

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[1] Their pay, in 1856, was 15 leaves of tobacco per day or one piece of vermillion, plus ten gallons (measure unclear in handscript of journal) of potatoes after the job was finished. This was the rate for the gardeners. The seaweed reapers received a total of 3140 heads of tobacco. Unfortunately the number of reapers was not stated explicitly, but since twenty-two women were digging the garden the next day, I would assume this was the number of the reapers to be given the tobacco. The form of payment for the seaweed gatherers, in the 1830s, was in "seaweed papers", which they took to the trade shop and exchanged for goods (Meilleur 1980:70).

requiring the Bay to hire local labour. When trade ships arrived and needed to embark cargo or take on fuel, Indians in the vicinity of the fort would be called upon.

The biggest need was for rafters and wood cutters. The fort's need of timber for fuel, pickets, saw wood, charcoal wood, ship's spars, and a number of other things was great. Rot, fires, or theft annually damaged the fort's fences, stockades, and buildings, and resulted in a frequent source of employment. Large crews of twenty or forty men would go off, often without a Company overseer, to cut wood, tie it together in large rafts and float, sail, or tow it back to the fort. The trips sometimes involved two months away from the fort. Such work must have been an agreeable source of income for the Indians, especially if cutting occurred near the home territories. As far as the Company Servants were concerned, it would have been a welcome relief from the monotony of fort life.

For their trouble, the Indian woodcutters were paid (in 1856) one shirt per day and one and one half yards of 26" cotton per day. By comparison, in the 1840s, Company Servants received an average of £20 per year plus some amenities (Meilleur, 1980:193), which works out roughly to 6s per day; Officers annually received an average of £300 (Chief Trader) or £600 (Chief Factor) from their shares in the Company, in addition to a salary of nearly £2 daily (ibid.:186). This was a wide wage spread, clearly and

intentionally indicating the relative social classes of the people.

It was not a popular wage rate for the toiling servants, and the Hudson Bay had a number of mutinies, strikes, and desertions as a result. Each was handled forcefully, with the offender often ending in irons and/or dismissed. Once, a servant attempted to counsel the Indian workers that they were being grossly underpaid. He was reprimanded and slapped, "with a caution" (ibid.:194). But the Indians did not need to be told. They were well enough aware of the situation to stop work on occasion until they received a better compensation for their time. Their struggles steadily drove up their wages over the years.

The Tsimshian perception of their employment is not clear. In the records the titleholders were reportedly convinced that the Bay servants were the slaves of the officers, and frequently treated the servants accordingly, even offering on one occasion to purchase a Bayman (Meilleur 1980). This must have inhibited the higher status people from taking employment, but there is no information as to the effect such perceptions would have upon the status of a lineage if one member worked for the Company. The stain of slavery could hurt all, but wage work was never reported this way. Instead of or despite their analysis of its nasty outward appearance, it seems the smoogyits conceptually kept the wage labour of their followers carefully

compartmentalized as somehow intrinsically different from slavery. Lineage members were able to work and allowed to bring home their pay.

It is impossible to calculate accurately how large a native work force was employed by the Bay. The only sources are the journals and these are are only as reliable as the various journal keepers' daily interest in keeping a record. Accordingly, for some years scant mention is made of the deployment of the hired hands. Even those writers who sometimes carefully noted how many Indians were working and at what tasks, occasionally lapsed into such generalizing comments as "some" or "several" or "a gang".

Table 5 presents a tally of Journal entries by year. To standardize the numbers, I calculated the number of man-days according to the number of people employed and the number of days they were listed as employed in the Journals. There are omissions. Hunters were not recorded in the Journals by days of hunting, rafters often returned without being mentioned in the journals or the size of the crews was not recorded numerically. Nonetheless, as an indication of the minimal levels of Indian employment, the table is of some use.

The bracketed entries for some years show a calculation of the total man/days divided by an estimated annual work year of 308 days (company employees worked six day weeks, all year with time off for holidays and ceremonial drinking

TABLE 5. Estimate of the use of Indian Labour at Port Simpson.[1]

Year	Man/Days at a Job	(Man/Years)
1832	1 guide	
1834	"some"	
1835	7	
1836	"hunters"	
1837	"hunters", "fisher"	
1838	some, for 2 days	
	240, plus above, and hunters	(0.78)
1839	14 plus "several"	(0.05)
1840	68 plus many listed as several	(0.22)
1842	196 plus unspecified raft trips	(0.64)
1844	'many'	
1853	1251, but crew of rafters/woodcutters only counted as one day.	(4.06)
1855	838, plus unspecified rafter time	(2.72)
1856	376, plus several references to 'gangs', 'women'	(1.22)
1857	3345, plus references to gangs, 'few', unspecified numbers	(10.36)
1858	1041, plus some unspecified	(3.38)
1859	1338, do.	(4.34)
1862	most work by natives (Meilleur)	
1863	354, unspecified	(1.15)
1864	172, plus many not specific	(0.56)
1865	362, do.	(1.18)
1866	187, do. and unreferenced jobs	(0.61)

[1] See text for explanation and sources.

at Christmas). This calculation indicates the number of man/years of labour utilized from the Indian work force - in other words, an indication of the cost to the Company of equivalent annual contracts, if the labour had been spread evenly over the year. Of course, the Bay's need was for a mass of labour at certain times and little at others, a

situation that made locally available labour attractive and necessary from a cost point of view. Not included is the domestic work of the common-law wives of the Servants and Officers, who definitely made a necessary contribution to the welfare of the men. Since it was not considered polite to discuss such illicit affairs, they would not be mentioned in the journals.

From the merchant's point of view, the numbers of Indian loggers were large, especially considering that the fort only employed approximately twenty servants from Britain and the Canadas. Unfortunately, without a demographic profile of the loggers, it is difficult to know how significant the numbers were for the Tsimshian. Certainly it was a small group relative to a population of between 5,000 and 10,000, but the workers may have belonged to a single village and represented every House or just a few. If the labour force was concentrated in certain Houses, or lineage groups, then these numbers would be a severe strain on the domestic production of these groups.

The bulk of the labour was consumed by the woodcutting/rafting expeditions, which put a drain on the male population. Gardening was the next major task, and drew from the females. Again twenty or forty women could be spared from the overall population, but not by Houses, especially in the labour-intensive salmon season.

As far as the Company was concerned, Indians provided a source of labour that was to be used when required. They were mainly a seasonal work force that sometimes outnumbered the regular complement of Bay men. But the small numbers also make it doubtful that the work in the fort was ever, before 1862, done mainly by Indians.

Opening The Interior

Port Simpson and the fur trade post was the focus of employment for Tsimshian for many years. In the 1860s, when the Company was again making efforts to expand its trade along the Skeena, Indians were hired as freighters, explorers, and mail runners. But by then the Bay was no longer the main purchaser of labour. As early as the creation of the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island in 1849, commercial interests along the coast were diversifying. The colonial capital of Victoria had become a center for employment that attracted Indians from all around. In the northwest, capital represented by the Collins Overland Telegraph project, miners, explorers, and other business interests had arrived by mid-century and needed workers.

This was the heyday of British imperialism and many foreigners came, marauding through the Empire in search of the wealth. The fort journals record that in 1862, Chief Trader Kennedy entertained two miners over the winter as

they waited for their opportunity to move inland (Hudson Bay Company Archives B. 201/a/9). When gold was finally found, within ten years, a massive gold rush flowed from the California fields to the new promised land and followed both the Skeena and Fraser Rivers.

Imperial expectations for mineral production in the northwest had run high from the start. Excited by Indian reports that there were deposits of copper and gold inland, the Bay frequently sent out prospecting teams to investigate.

Explorers of all sorts also came, looking for whatever the land held, and pushed their way into the interior. Major Downie of the Royal Engineers left Simpson in 1859 and made the first description of the village site of Kitsumkalum, already noted for its potato gardens (Downie 1959). Charles Horetzky reached Port Simpson four years later, travelling overland in the opposite direction, from the east (Horetzky 1874). In the 1850s, there were also numerous surveyors for the Collins Overland Telegraph looking for routes in the Tsimshian districts. The needs of all these explorers were provided by local labour: the freighters and their crews, guides, hunters, and workers in numerous menial jobs.

The Collins Overland Telegraph project reached the Skeena in the mid-1860s, requiring freighters from the coast and providing many jobs to the Gitksan. The project folded

shortly after when a more efficient cable was successfully laid across the floor of the north Atlantic Ocean.

The first major displacement of Indian labour resulted from the conversion to sternwheelers, but these riverships took on mainly Indian crews, which compensated somewhat for the damage caused to the freighting crews, and advanced the position of capital. The labour on the riverboats was freer from the regulation of lineage organization, and working under the conditions of capital. In many cases, the boats were run by all Indian crews under European or Canadian masters because, as one observer put it, "white men couldn't stick it" (John Morison, quoted in Knight 1978:104). Working conditions were not that easy, or pleasant (see ibid.:105, Dorsey 1898:182-183, Cassidy and McHaig 1980).

Work on ships was not new to the Tsimshian. On the coast they had become experienced as seamen on steamers and sailships. The well-known W. Pierce, for example, began his working life as a crewman on the Hudson Bay Company's steamer, the Otter, in 1870 (Knight 1978:102). Even though Tsimshians brought with them old reputations as excellent seamen, this did not help them to achieve the higher positions: I have no references to Indians being hired as officers on either the riverboats or the ocean vessels. This is not to say there were no Tsimshian masters. Heber Clifton of Hartley Bay was a tugmaster in several towns from 1906 until the Second World War (Knight 1978:103) and the

Dudowards owned and operated a steamer with Port Simpson crews in the mid-1870s (ibid.:102)

Other minor sources of employment were the smaller trading depots. In the 1860s the Bay opened Hazelton, extending some employment, just as it had at Port Simpson, and, shortly after, a store at Port Essington also opened.

Metlakatla

The great variety of experiences from the Metlakatla experiment of William Duncan must be mentioned as a source of industrial training. Although not operated on a private ownership basis, the village industries provided work in many fields.

The effect of this in educating the general Tsimshian labour pool was important and more so because Metlakatla was not a stable population. From many reports, people from all the villages frequently moved in and out, especially at times of crisis, such as the disputes of the late 1880s. I can only assume that this movement spread skills and experience into the associated villages, but I have some support. In one case, that of Hartley Bay, the entire village had moved into Metlakatla by 1879 and learned many specializations before moving back to their old territories after the "Troubles" of 1887 (Campbell 1984, 6-10).

EARLY CONFEDERATION PERIOD

It is now clear that the Tsimshian had a significant amount of experience with wage labour when the first cannery opened on the Skeena in 1877, and the first major sawmill opened outside of Port Simpson in 1874. The history of Tsimshian involvement in these industries has been detailed previously. Recall that Tsimshians worked at those locations in capacities other than simple commodity producers. Georgetown Mills, for example, employed sawmill operators and longshoremen (Knight 1979:139). These are skills first practiced during the days of Hudson Bay Company employment. In this section I will fill in some of the broader context of the development of Tsimshian wage workers after 1880.

Diversification

The diversity of wage labour jobs grew through the 1880s. To document the broader history of the development of the Tsimshian labour force, I went through several sources for information on occupations and the terms of employment. A little information appeared on the first topic, less on the second. The baptismal records of the Anglican Church in Port Essington indicated that in the 1880s there were Essington Indians employed as watchmen, netmakers, watermen, hunters, and "labourers" of various

sorts (Anglican Church, various dates). Knight adds the information that Tsimshian were employed on the construction of the Esquimalt-Nanaimo Railway near Victoria in 1884-85, and as paid storekeepers (1978:64, 139). For 1885 - 1910, the Anglican baptismal records report the following occupations for fathers that are in addition to those mentioned above and for which there is no other mention in any of my references of Indian employment at the time: farmer, engineer, mechanic, mason, bookkeeper, ferryman, accountant, telegraphman, cooper, superintendent of cannery, proprietor of sawmill.

Another source, the DIA Reports, is valuable for some types of economic data, but the first Reports are not very useful in locating job information for the early industrial period. They mention, but only in a general way, that Indians worked for canneries. By 1890, it had been noted that some packed, freighted, or worked for the Department itself. This changed during the 1890s when the DIA began a more careful account of Indian labour. The bureaucracy was growing by this time and willing to record much more. It was also involved with the intensification of the policy debates about the related concerns over their "oriental problem" and the pressure being put upon Indian jobs by both Chinese and immigrant (i.e., European) workers. As a result, agents were requested to investigate Indian occupations. They found Tsimshian engaged by the growing

number of settlers as labourers and domestics, or in the hopfields of the Fraser Valley and Washington state, in shingle milling and restaurants, and as loggers, sawyers, storekeepers, miners. They also found those notorious categories of "miscellaneous" or "various". Despite their close attention to their reports, it was not until after the turn of the century, that longshoring and guiding were finally noted. Other trades showing up then included a Kitsumkalum carpenter, a Nishga preacher, a Nass marine engineer, a glazier, a furniture maker, and a blacksmith.

Indian agent Todd calculated that in 1896, on the Nass River alone, eight to ten families lived by the lumber industry and the rest (save for approximately eight trader families) lived from earnings at the salmon canneries, canoe freighting, hunting and fishing for use and exchange, and by raising potatoes on the ninety acres of garden plots they had cultivated (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1896:86). On the Skeena, the 1364 recognized Indians lived by their earnings at various industries and employment, including (in order of importance): salmon canneries, procuring and rafting sawlogs, hunting and fishing, boat building, trade, work in sawmills, and on steamboats, cultivation, carrying freight and passengers, and assisting whites (sic.) in miscellaneous ways (ibid.:87). As the twentieth century approached, job opportunities were growing and diversifying, and the Tsimshian were more frequently accepting wage employment.

Backsliding

The cyclical crises that typically plague staples economies elsewhere also operated in the frontier Northwest. The DIA occasionally noted increases in destitution, Indians migrating far from home in search of jobs, depressed fish markets, poor cannery packs, and so on. But the major concern of the agents, as the Indian's guides to civilization, was to prevent any backsliding that might result from economic downturns. Unfortunately for the DIA, the Indian monopoly on cannery work or jobs in the hop fields had ceased by 1900. The Department was earnestly suggesting small business and industrial development as a viable alternative, with many programmes being suggested for the reserves. The construction of the GTPR before World War I was apparently useful in this regard. It provided a variety of ancillary contract opportunities for Indians, but its limited value was that, unlike the other railroad schemes, the GTPR employed few natives and would not relieve unemployment for them (Knight 1978:140, McDonald 1981b). This project, soon to become one of Ottawa's more notorious scandals, callously ignored the needs of any local population, if these did not fit the Company's drive for profit. Indians received some of the worst treatment, and

the Kitsumkalum were not neglected in this respect (McDonald 1981a, 1981b). Far from bringing economic prosperity, the Company nearly destroyed the village, physically and socially.

Concerned as the government was over the welfare of the Indians of British Columbia, the DIA was especially relieved and pleased to find a bright spot in the progress of the Tsimshian Indians who earned proportionately more money than any others (mainly in fishing). Not only that, but the Tsimshians had greater savings. Some even had managed to invest in government bonds in Victoria, while others saved, at interest, through the missionaries (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1888:119). The earning power of the Tsimshian was not recorded, but in 1890 an agent noted that the Babines (reportedly less praiseworthy than the Tsimshian) had labour valued at $8550 (Canada, Department of Indian Affairs 1890:194) and in 1885 Metlakatla residents had paid $5000 in taxes (McDonald 1984:50).

SMALL COMMODITY PRODUCTION PERIOD

I have described the introduction of wage labour to the Tsimshian in the nineteenth century, the manner in which they were incorporated into capitalist production, and their subsumption as commodified labour power, that is, as variable capital. Now it remains to follow the further

history of this process and its perfection during the twentieth century.

Previous information has indicated how the Kitsumkalum followed a yearly cycle in the early part of the century. The demands of their aboriginal economy and small commodity production resulted in varying patterns for different families. A major difference evolved between Terrace and the coast that pivoted on simple commodity production. The early decline of camp life in the valley, and its creative growth on the coast lead to contrasting economic formations in each area, and a different utilization of wage employment. My understanding of both patterns is derived from the 1930s - 1940s, decades that are well remembered by older Kitsumkalum. I can describe this, starting with the people living in the Kitsumkalum Valley and taking one family as an example for the area. What happened there, and the pattern that was emerging with this family, presaged the future of the Kitsumkalum on the coast as well.

In the Valley, the men usually laboured for the Terrace mills during the winter, where, in this physical location, they were able to conduct their trapping, gardening, food fishing, and other activities on their off-times, much as Kitsumkalum people will do today. One exception to the routine of this family was a brother afflicted with a health problem. Unable to be around the sawn trees, he was forced to give up mill work. Since he could not stop working

altogether, he moved to the more favourable climate of Prince Rupert where he could work at the clam cannery, dry docks or elsewhere.

The women in this family also sought employment when their family duties, especially child care, permitted. Varieties of housekeeping were accepted, especially laundry work on a piece work basis. As the Terrace population grew a few other types of jobs became available for the women, including positions as waitresses and chambermaids. These were poorly paid jobs. One of the more dramatic illustrations of this is the story that I was told, by one Kitsumkalum woman, of the pioneer mill owner who dramatically "confessed" on his death bed that he had shorted the pay of his Kitsumkalum housekeeper on a regular basis. This angered people, but did not suprise them. I expect that if the discrepancy between work and pay had become too great, the housekeeper would not have returned to work.

The pattern of this family can be generalized for the families that wintered in Kitsumkalum or Terrace. Some people lived there on a regular basis, and the rest only from time to time. It was different for the families which based themselves at Port Essington. Their work cycles had a configuration in which camp life (the aboriginal economy and small commodity production) played a more prominent role. Their cycle was determined in part by the seasonality of the

resource extractive industries in which they worked: summer fishing, spring/fall logging, winter trapping. In addition, when other industrial demands permitted, they participated in various elements of their aboriginal economy, or sought wage work. Wage work was inserted into the cycle when there was nothing else to do or when it was necessary that some form of cash be earned. If a family decided not to trap or log, they might have remained in Port Essington to seek wage work. The market conditions, complications from new forestry legislation, bad weather, school or other problems, were reasons that a family would prefer not to go to their camping ground. In addition, families without a timber sale or a trapline registration turned to wage work, sometimes on a fairly permanent basis.

Thus, wage work was often a negative consequence of the economy on the coast. Being so burdened, wage labour was constrained and this tarnished its image in the market. Employers, after all, thought only a well disciplined worker who was continuously available would be a suitable contribution to the work force. These were the days before the invention of the staggered shifts that are utilized in the high arctic by hunters (Hobart 1976).

A severe problem faced by the Kitsumkalum in Port Essington was the general lack of jobs in the area. Port Essington was, after the railroad went to Prince Rupert, primarily a cannery town. Off-season, there were few jobs

available and most of these were filled with year-round employees. To make this situation worse, a number of influences interfered with the acceptability of Indian labour to employers. These included governmental policies that either encouraged Indian labour to develop along certain industrial lines or placed restrictions on it, for example, the prohibition on Indians working in places that sold alcoholic beverages.

Winter was the best time for wage employment, and a variety of occupations were available then. The types of jobs that were held by Kitsumkalum people in Port Essington during this time included the mail delivery, GTPR linesman, construction (especially on the highway during the Second World War), hotel clerk (if they were enfranchised to avoid the prohibition against Indians in bars), and mill work.

Mill work was the most prevalent on the coast and fit the pattern experienced then and later in the Kitsumkalum Valley. The mills to which people in Port Essington went for work were the ones to which they sold as independent producers: Brown's on the Ecstal, Little's at Kwinitsa and Shirley's across from Essington. The fact that people left their homes in Port Essington to work away at these mills suggests the difficulties they experienced in locating wage work near home.

During the world wars, new employment opportunities opened up in the armed services. A number of Kitsumkalum men joined the army, navy, or air force. Some saw action; some returned maimed for life and unable to continue making their livelihood without government assistance. The Tsimshian were making their personal contribution to the stabilization of the British world order, which may seem ironic, but the armed forces, dangerous and foreign as they were, did provide an income and relief from the depressed conditions of the 1930s.

The Great Depression was a bad time for people in the Valley and on the coast alike. One person who remembered the tough times of the 1930s told me how her father had to work on two jobs just to provide subsistence for the family. During the day he worked in a mill in Terrace, then climbed into the cab of a truck to drive at night. So exhausting was the pace that his young daughter often accompanied him to make sure he stayed awake. She was obliged to sleep for a few hours after school so that she herself would be wide awake during the truck ride. In other cases, families were split apart by summer jobs. If commercial fishing was not deemed to be an equivalent source of income to justify leaving a job at the mill, the women and children would leave Kitsumkalum alone and go to the canneries to work. The families needed money from all its productive members.

Such a reliance on a diverse production cycle has always been important to the Tsimshian. The economic combinations that were put together from all the sectors have made their labour very specific in its form and availability to work for wages. This specificity was derived from the nineteenth century and it has lasted up to the present - but there was a major change after the Second World War.

POST SECOND WORLD WAR

The War is a convenient marker for the start of the current period of Kitsumkalum wage labour. A radical shift occurred in their production patterns after the war, caused by the decline of hand logging and beachcombing, the collapse of trapping in the 1950s, the displacement of the Kitsumkalum/Port Essington gillnetters, and the abandonment of Port Essington itself. All this restructured the community's economy from the broad economic integration that had been characteristic of it in the first half of the century, to a dependency on wages in the commodity sectors. The shift was a gradual one, taking over a decade to assert itself. Its slow pace corresponds to the uneven developments in the wider economy.

An important event in the process occurred when the Wesleys moved from Port Essington back to Kitsumkalum where they hoped to find work in the logging industry. This was 1951; the tree farm licence had been granted and the harvest of trees was just beginning in the Kitsumkalum Valley. Many native workers held hopes of employment. Using the reserve near Terrace as a home base, several Wesley family members took jobs with the company, which they still hold. As union members, these individuals, along with some Kitselas men, have high seniority at the job, a result of the length of time they have continually maintained their employment.

Attracted by the prospect of jobs in their ancient homelands, other Kitsumkalums followed the Wesleys from dying Port Essington. There were no jobs for them on the coast, and the fishing industry was, for Indians especially, in deep crisis. In the late 1950s, the mass exodus was made. Houses were re-established on the reserve near Terrace, and people sought work in the bush and in the town. Since then, the woods have been the main source for the men (especially as chokermen, swampers, and fallers). Women, when not at home housekeeping, tend to work in service positions: chambermaids, waitresses, secretaries, etc.

Unemployment among native peoples is generally high, but the causes of this situation are not clear. The basic source and analysis of the problem in the northwest is Falstad (1975), who isolated four causes: cultural

differences, low skill levels, racism, government neglect (1975:71). His conclusions and suggestions have been repeated faithfully by many since the report was received and it is a basic part of employer vocabulary. Yet, Stanbury's work suggests cultural differences (and race) should work in favour of the Tsimshian and that the more 'Indianness' a person exhibits, the better are the chances of finding a job (Stanbury 1975). The results are equivocal and a specific study of the problem in the northwest has yet to be completed, although some organizations are in the process (e.g., the North Coast Tribal Council, Skeena Manpower Development Committee).

ORGANIZATIONS

As members of the work force, the Kitsumkalum find unions a significant aspect of their lives. Since their main wage jobs are connected to either forestry or fishing, the respective unions (International Woodworkers of America, the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, the Native Brotherhood) are the main organizations. People who work for the government belong to the "white collar" unions, the Canadian Union of Public Employees and the British Columbia Government Employees Union. Other jobs are only sometimes covered by union contracts. During the period of my field work, the above five were the only unions representing

Kitsumkalum as members of the work force. Band Council workers have not formed a union, although locals have established elsewhere in other Band Administrations.

Unions have a difficult reputation with native peoples that is based upon perceived and real problems. Although there are good union members in Kitsumkalum, there are no union activists. This is not atypical. I was told by a union leader that there are few Indians involved in union work anywhere in the area. One reason may be the opinion in the Indian community that unions had outlived their usefulness or were only good for non-Indian members. I also heard allegations of discrimination and unfair hiring clauses in union contracts. This opinion refers to clauses which define certain qualifications and specify seniority. In their defense, union representatives pointed out to me that seniority clauses were a problem for Indians because they provided greater job security for people who worked longer for a company on a continuous basis. These clauses could be disastrous for Indians involved with an aboriginal economy or small commodity production, just as they could be for any non-Indians who wanted some independence from wage labour by mining, fishing, trapping, or some other form of an alternate lifestyle. The union's position was that all workers should be treated equal, regardless of background. By restricting this sentiment to the context of the work place, and by demanding proper industrial discipline from

its members, the unions involved were sometimes accepting a managerial role over their membership.

Indian workers did not blame unions blindly, even though they often became caught up in the anti-union rhetoric. When pressed, those Indians who reject unions also felt that the employer was often more to blame for problems. That criticism of employers was usually lost in a broader discussion of the bad attitude the general public has towards Indians.

There is misunderstanding on all sides. Union activists, who sought a more political definition of the labour movement's stance towards Indians, were discouraged by the attitudes of Indians who were against unionism. Without realizing that Indian labour is not entirely free because of its specific history, these leaders could not understand the difficulties Indian workers have with the employer's demands for discipline of a certain type, nor could they analyze the reaction of Indian leaders who stand on a power base that is partially in another economic formation.

Such problems have frequently been manipulated to divide Indian workers from the rest of the organized work force. This has contributed to the formation and growth of special native organizations for Indian labour. The Native Brotherhood is an excellent example. Formed in Port Simpson in response to the combined needs of the land claims and

fishermen (Drucker 1955), the Brotherhood is for many the heart and soul of the resistance against the employer. People from Kitsumkalum, who were living in Prince Rupert at the time, were prominent in the organization from its inception through to the 1950s. It has had an "on again, off again" relationship with the major unions, the U.F.A.W.U. and I.W.A.

The compromise that has been reached is primarily to let each other co-exist in peace. Membership sharing plans have existed between the Brotherhood and the I.W.A., on land, and the U.F.A.W.U. on the coast (Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958:129). This co-existence has been particulary useful for workers at certain times as a class. The U.F.A.W.U., for example, has been more powerful as a negotiating body for better fishing conditions and prices (according to one Brotherhood organizer) and this has been appreciated by the Brotherhood, although the latter does not support the politics of the union fully. On the other side of the balance, one of the Brotherhood organizers (Ed Bolton) told me that during the dark days of the first Cold War in the 1950s, when the U.F.A.W.U. was not able to operate due to political allegations, the Brotherhood co-operated with it, acting as a spokesman for the union at the same time that it spoke for its own membership. Overall, however, the opinion of unionists and researchers alike has been that the Native Brotherhood plays a significant role in

weakening the union movement (e.g., Hawthorn, Belshaw & Jamieson 1958). Today the general relationships between Indians and unions are strained, even though unions like the U.F.A.W.U. have passed resolutions of support for land claims and aboriginal rights.

Other non-union organizations exist that represent native and Kitsumkalum workers. The Kermode Centre in Terrace plans programmes for both status and non-status Indians. Its board of directors includes elders from Kitsumkalum. Groups such as United Native Nations also attend to the needs of non-status people, but are not active in Kitsumkalum.

Earlier I described the present condition of life at Kitsumkalum (Chapter 3) and indicated that wages are the dominant sector now. The present chapter has covered the long history of Tsimshian wage labour, and its evolution. Kitsumkalum's labour has taken a specific form defined not only by its relationship with capital, but also by its use in all the sectors described so far. Recognition of, and further study of this specificity will be necessary for the Band Council to make future plans for the economic utilization and development of the community's labour power in order to answer two fundamental questions for that future: whether to encourage or resist labour's further commodification and what alternatives there might be.

17. CONCLUSION TO SECTION B: THE COMMODITY ECONOMY

With the global expansion of the capitalist economy from Europe, its establishment and further growth in the Canadas and United States, and the development of the imperialist phase of the British Empire, new opportunities for economic development opened up for the Kitsumkalum. Aboriginal pursuits, resources, and technologies were re-geared for production for new markets, and Tsimshian trading expanded as a commodity economy grew.

Simultaneously, the Imperialist system evolved and asserted itself in Tsimshian territories. Property arrangements were transformed, transferring ultimate legal ownership to the Imperial Crown and control to the interests it represented. The native economy was reduced and distorted, and its new developments taken under the direction of the powerful, foreign monied interests. Indian harvests of fish and logs, for example, changed into commercial fishing, and a forestry industry. The purpose of production changed from goals indigenous to Tsimshian society, including both subsistence and the expansion of Tsimshian social practices, to accumulating capital and the reproduction of capitalist production.

The contributions of Kitsumkalum as fishermen, loggers, trappers, wage earners, and various forms of small businessmen/small commodity producers were important to early capitalist accumulation. Tsimshian labour provided an essential source of variable capital in the region during the early period, and later Tsimshian small commodity producer organization allowed the early accumulation of capital by providing support services, commodities, and even some investment. Yet its involvement was also dependent upon the level of development of capital in two ways: the greater the amount and variety of capital, the greater the opportunity for the Tsimshian; and, the historic form of each type of capital, dependent upon its own moment of development, structured the manner by which Kitsumkalum could enter production.

The level of the development of capital, in turn, depended upon the ability of the region to provide for needs in the capitalist social formation and/or the ability of the capitalists to fulfill these needs. Thus, there was a need to locate a cheap source of protein, created by the hunger of the workers of Britain, and canned salmon from North America became part of the solution. This sparked the development of the canning industry, a market for a Tsimshian resource, the reduction of salmon stocks, the growth of State involvement, and the appropriation of resources and labour into a form of production dominated by

capitalist principles of organization. Other needs were tended by other sectors of the growing imperial economy. The capitalist economic formation determined Kitsumkalum participation in production and the destruction of the Kitsumkalum aboriginal economy by it.

This determination was not unidirectional. It was mediated by practices in all areas of the Imperial society. For example, the intervention of the State[1] (Great Britain, the Colony of British Columbia, Canada, the Province of British Columbia, international state relationships) served to define, regulate, and encourage the development of production along capitalist lines. This assisted the transformation of the regional economic formation, and the

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[1] There were other practices of hegemony that I mentioned only briefly. An important one involved the missionaries, who made their contribution by encouraging handicraft production for the market, industrial work patterns, and habits of the mind that were suitable to "modern" thinking. Not unlike the evangelical government officials, the missionaries spread the work of European imperialism, and counselled on the most appropriate procedures for expropriating the resources of their heathen hosts.

Examples such as the missionaries can be found up to present times showing all the sophisticated mechanisms whereby capitalist domination is maintained throughout the Canadian social formation. The topic is complex, and too important to deal with in a trivial way here. I have avoided it throughout the discussion for that reason, and only to mention the old missionaries now may be misleading unless it is noted that they are simply intended as an obvious example of much more pervasive phenomena. All contribute to the determination of the level of capitalist development, the needs in the capitalist social formation, and the articulation of the Kitsumkalum within that social formation. My purpose has been only to examine the productive base.

dismantling of the aboriginal economy. In doing so, the State not only gave the game away to capital, it specified the rules for the participation of the Tsimshian through legislation and policy, based on racial assumptions (e.g., the Indian Act and the Anti-Oriental laws). When times got tough, it sent in its forces, even if those had to be rented from foreign powers.

18. CONCLUSION

This work has dealt with a classic concern of anthropology: social change. Two of its particular contributions may be of interest to anthropologists in general. First, the use of an historical materialist perspective and methodology to understand the social and economic problems facing a community of aboriginal Canadians (Kitsumkalum) demonstrated that studies of the political economic aspects of change are necessary elements in ethnological research concerning Indian life. Second, it is the first ethnographic account of the Kitsumkalum, a major division (tribe) of the Tsimshian people in northwestern British Columbia.

My approach was derived from dependency theory. Dependency is a condition of underdevelopment that restricts the independent growth of an economy and society. The structures of dependency, the ways these are established, and the effects they have on the development of dependent societies have been extensively studied in many Third World countries. I was impressed to find that the conditions in which Canadian Indians live have many structural similarities to conditions in the Third World, albeit as "internal colonies". Yet, dependency theory has not been applied systematically in analysis of the history of Indian

underdevelopment.

To do so as an anthropologist, I found it necessary to construct a refined form of dependency theory that allowed me to translate macro-level concepts of international economic development into a framework applicable to a micro-level ethnological analysis of the very diverse social relationships that connect small scale communities to larger social structures. The central features of my analysis were the relations of production, especially those that were linked to the ownership of the means of production (that is, property rights) and those that structured the way labour participated in various production processes.

The growing body of anthropological literature on modes of production indicated that these relations and linkages would be essential for understanding how people organize their economic lives, how communities fit into international production processes and associated divisions of labour, and how this occurs over time. The literature further indicated that an analysis of dependency and underdevelopment must refer to the history of processes of domination, and, especially, to the different social relations that are a part of that domination.

Accordingly, I began the analysis at the point of production, and examined Kitsumkalum's development within the context of the development of the regional capitalist economy. The emphasis was on the transformation of property

relations and the diversion of Tsimshian labour into forms of capitalist production. In proceeding this way I attempted to identify concretely who the Kitsumkalum were and what their social history had been from the period of the fur trade to the present.

To start at that point is not the conventional mode of reasoning in anthropological inquiries but it is useful. A more standard method would start with the premise of a segmented social structure and go on to study the social integration or unity of a community in terms of the mechanisms of economic and/or social exchange. Of course, one could understand Kitsumkalum in that manner: I did experience the village as a community that was segmented in many ways, with household units that were brought together by the distribution of goods and by social exchanges of many kinds. But as I demonstrated in the analysis, my approach revealed that there was a more basic source for understanding the group's integration. The social nature of production in Kitsumkalum provided (and continues to provide) fundamental community linkages that were based on relations of production and that were analytically prior to the linkages that would be identified in the "segmentary society" perspective. Thus, in a practical sense as well as a theoretical one, it was important to study the nature of production in order to understand the social group.

As a community, Kitsumkalum produces and consumes many things in many ways. I attempted to describe in detail all the major links that were formed during the production processes. Since my project was oriented towards an understanding of change, it was further necessary to examine the history of Kitsumkalum and how these links were reproduced. This oriented my discussion of the overall context of production, distribution, and consumption. For clarity and ease of presentation, I classified the major sectors of their economic formation into two categories: the aboriginal sectors and the commodity sectors. Nonetheless, in the analytic conceptualization of the situation, as well as in the daily life of the community itself, the production processes were meshed together.

The aboriginal sectors were the original economic mainstay of Kitsumkalum and provided the material bases for the social relations of the community. These observations made it critical to explore the history of the aboriginal production processes in order to understand the continuing integration of the community. As I noted in the conclusion to my discussion of these activities (Chapter 10), drastic changes, motivated by industrial development and defined and enforced by legislation, transformed the processes of production in these sectors. The resources and technology were removed from Tsimshian control, and new forms of property were established. The main effects were the

disintegration of the former Tsimshian economic order and its subsequent reorganization to meet new but changing conditions. Through all this, a reduced set of concrete social relations remained as a lasting foundation that enabled the community to survive socially.

The history of the commodity sectors was important as a source for understanding both the integration of Kitsumkalum into the regional social formation and the consequences of that integration. The conclusion of my discussion of the commodity sectors (Chapter 17) summarized the manner that labour was appropriated out of Tsimshian production and into capitalist production, and the transformations that led to new patterns in their economic lives. When the Tsimshian lost control over their means of production during the nineteenth century, they were forced to exploit the resources of their territories in whatever manner and ways were available to them. Thus, they participated in several relations of production, including aboriginal ones; forms of simple commodity production, small business, and wage labour. By doing so, they developed a new economic formation which, from the point of view of the Kitsumkalum and the Tsimshian, was an <u>integrated</u> way of making a living.

It would be more precise to describe the process as a way of <u>trying</u> to make a living because the ground rules kept changing as capitalist development proceeded. The evolution of the conditions that allowed capitalist production also

progressively commoditised the means of production and took the Kitsumkalum through many transitions. During the early part of the twentieth century these changes were structured, to a significant extent, by simple commodity production. In the second half of the century the present economy emerged, dominated by wage-labour. The new and old forms of production which the Kitsumkalum engaged, and the associated reorganization of their economy to integrate all these sectors throughout the annual cycle, eventually trapped them in capitalist production. Kitsumkalum had become dependent on the global capitalist economic formation and on the conditions that enabled that system to function.

A great transformation has occurred since the time when their original, independent economic integration allowed them to take advantage of the local development of the capitalist economy. The property relations which were legislated after the Act of Union effectively established a legal and economic framework that influenced the transition in ways that were sometimes subtle, sometimes harshly direct. The people of Kitsumkalum no longer cut trees for trade, they worked as loggers and their fish runs were turned into "food" and "commercial" fisheries. Thus, the basic property arrangements governing the means of production were redefined to suit the needs of capital and Kitsumkalum's economic formation became dependent on capitalist development.

Today, most of the community's resources, technology, and labour-power have been brought under legislation. A few residual aboriginal elements are protected by "aboriginal rights" but sharply restricted in scope. Should the special legal status of the Indian ever be eliminated entirely, these little remnants of control over their aboriginal means of production will be destroyed. A complete transformation of Kitsumkalum's community might occur and they would lose entirely the economic foundation that provides the community with a basis for its unique historical and social identity. More optimistically, an extension of aboriginal rights could give Kitsumkalum a source of strength that would reinforce their identity, help develop a stronger community and allow a better chance for the people to make a life of their own choosing.

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