Un-Layering Landscapes:
A Post-Colonial Critique of "Wilderness" in Tsimshian Territory, Northern British Columbia

Brenda Guernsey

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"Wilderness" is a term commonly used to describe the forested landscapes of northern British Columbia. The western colonial ideologies embedded in this interpretation of the land had the effect of dehumanizing and erasing an extant vibrant Aboriginal landscape during the long process of colonization. This re-writing of the landscape was accomplished through various colonial mechanisms. Primary and secondary literature demonstrates the extent to which the concept "wilderness" has become a meta-narrative of the landscape. Ethnographic work with the Tsimshian First Nation community of Kitsumkalum in northern British Columbia indicates that their ideologies of the land have not been erased through colonialism, but continue to exist and are deeply embedded in their culture and in their everyday lives. Thus it is important to work towards a space where more than one ideology of the land can be acknowledged and accepted especially when faced with treaty negotiations over land and rights.

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Glossary

Standardized Spellings for Sm'algyax Words (Adapted from McDonald 2003)

Sm'algyax	English
galts'ap	town, village, community
laxyuup	house territory, trapline, hunting ground, land
pteex	phratry (this is the technical term. The common translation is either "clan" or "tribe").
Sigidimnak	Matriarch/princess
Sm'oogyet	Chief
Waap	House group (a corporate group)
Wuwaap	plural for house group

The Four Pteex

Sm'algyax	English
Ganhada	Raven
Gisbutwada	Killerwhale
Laxgibuu	Wolf
Laxsgiik	Eagle

Acknowledgment

First and foremost, my acknowledgement must begin with a dedication. This thesis is dedicated to two extraordinary Tsimshian women. First, to Adeline Amdolth Turner (nee Nelson); who used her voice as a tool to have her truth heard, and to Linda Horner (nee Christiansen) who loved her home and expressed her connection to the land through her poetry.

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Chapter One: Introduction

We must be insistently aware of how... relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life.

[Soja 1989:6]

How people are taught to experience the geographical landscape, with its particular topography, boundaries and place names, informs how we understand our place in the world and helps to shape our sense of belonging. In what is now British Columbia (BC), Canada, this sense of place and belonging has been contested, in part because of the colonization of the land and the people. Contestations that are framed around the land are prominent in the politics of northern BC where there is a smaller population base and where resources, such as the forests, are more crucial to the economy than in the southern regions of the province (Furniss 1999; McDonald 1987).

Industries and environmental organizations are two very different examples of groups that have a vested interest in the physical landscape of northern BC; a landscape comprised of "wilderness areas" that are often conceptualised as spaces for either resource extraction or for preservation/conservation. In contrast, First Nations[1] peoples in northern BC also have a stake in the land because of their long heritage in the region. Much like for other indigenous peoples, a connection to the land is integral to this heritage (Fondahl 1998). This connection consists of culturally influenced perceptions

[1] 'First Nation' is a term preferred by many aboriginal people in British Columbia (BC) to define themselves rather than the constitutionally defined term 'Indian'.

and interpretations of the landscape that existed prior to Western colonial influences. Thus, it follows that the land can be interpreted in different ways.

In this thesis I argue that the concept of "wilderness" has become a meta-narrative of the forested landscapes of BC. By understanding the landscape in only one way, we simplify the world, running the risk of closing ourselves off to other interpretations of the land and thus becoming unable to hear a complete story of the landscape. Furthermore, this situation discounts First Nations voices that speak of a rich historical *and* contemporary landscape. The following research questions will address this argument, as I demonstrate that landscapes are multi-layered and multi-vocal:

1. How has the Western colonial ideology of "wilderness" affected First Nations ideologies of the landscape?
2. What are First Nations ideologies of the landscape?
3. Can a new space or landscape be created, one that equally recognizes the multiple ideologies of the landscape of both First Nations and dominant Western (colonial) society?

I frame these arguments through a post-colonial critique by deconstructing the "wilderness" in northern BC to reveal it as a landscape constructed from persistent colonial ideologies. Understanding wilderness as a culturally constructed landscape will make space for acknowledging that there can be other ideologies of the same place. To further add to this post-colonial critique I present the voices of members of the Kitsumkalum First Nation, located in northern BC, discussing their relationships to the land, which will also represent their critiques of the colonial ideology of "wilderness".

As an interdisciplinary thesis, this work brings together the fields of Anthropology and Geography. Together, literature from these disciplines will enhance an understanding of the dynamic relationship between the land and people, as well as how power operates in perpetuating and privileging specific worldviews and ideologies. Anthropologists and Geographers have generated significant discourses around the concepts of landscape, place and space, and a review of these discourses will aid in uncovering and recognizing how colonial power operates through the cultural construction of a wilderness landscape.

In this introductory chapter I address the importance of applying a post-colonial critique for carrying out my argument, which leads to the subsequent discussion on why a deconstruction of the wilderness of northern BC is relevant at this time. Following this, I introduce Kitsumkalum as the case study that will provide the ethnographic context for this discussion. I end with an introduction to the main chapters of this thesis.

A Post- Colonial Critique

Peters (2001:143) rightly states "We cannot understand the position of either Aboriginal people or non-Aboriginal people in Canada if we fail to acknowledge the ways in which the colonial legacy permeates present conditions". Similarly, Bal and Shohat (in Willems-Braun 1997:3) note that post-colonial theory is essential for thinking "...carefully about the continuity of colonial or neocolonial relations, tracing the way that streams of the past still infuse the present". Although 'post' in this case can mean *after* colonialism (and this temporal definition of the term is important to its place in Canada's imperial history) it can also describe a process of "conceptually transcending or superseding the parameters of [colonialism]" (Childs and Williams 1997: 4). The point

for this thesis is to conceptually move beyond the borders of Western thought that are often restricted by enduring colonial ideals. Both Peters' (2001) and Bal and Shohat's (in Willems-Braun 1997) assertions are important because the Western perception of much of the landscape of northern BC as a wilderness perpetuates a colonial interpretation of land-use and value, while at the same time masking the existence of First Nations perceptions. Post-colonial theory can create a space for questioning such dominant ideologies, thus disrupting the colonial legacy and creating space for a multi-vocal landscape.

Chrisman (1994:498) argues that imperialistic perceptions, in this case the perception of the "wilderness landscape", will *always* remain hegemonic if an analysis of the present is isolated from its imperialistic background. For this reason, exploring why and how a perception of land use and value has deep colonial roots that are still propagated today can allow for a reflexive view and demonstrates that there are other ways to understand the world; one perception of the world does not simply exist naturally on its own. Crush (1994:337) observes that geography can contribute to the post-colonial critique by "unveiling ... the character of geographical representation in colonial discourse" through "the recovery of those hidden spaces occupied and invested with their own meaning, by the colonial underclass." For this thesis, the "underclass" refers to Canadian indigenous populations, specifically First Nations in BC. Thus, my presentation of First Nations perceptions of the landscapes of northern BC offers a post-colonial reply and critique to the "wilderness" ideal.

Treaty in BC

British Columbia's current involvement in the treaty process provides a stimulus for exploring alternatives to dominant colonial ideologies, such as the interpretation of the land as a wilderness, because treaty negotiations are a site where contested perceptions of the land emerge. The treaty process is controversial, concerning First Nations and non-First Nations and involving many different interest groups (Coates 1992; McKee 1996). This situation expresses regional diversities that exist between communities and individuals in their interpretations of land values and meanings. Treaty settlements demonstrate the impact colonialism has had, and continues to have, on the land in the province of British Columbia. This impact influences the social fabric of societies by changing the way people envision their relationship to the physical lay of the land, as boundaries change and take on different meanings.

Nichols and Rakai (2001: 98, 93) refer to Canada's land claim settlements as "some of the largest land redistribution in the world" where "such large-scale reallocation of rights has not occurred since colonial powers took control...". Although claims had historically been filed in BC, there were government policies in place that legislated against the settlement of any land claims. Thus, treaties were not established as they had been in the other western provinces and, as a result, there was no recognition of Aboriginal title to the land (Nichols and Rakai 2001: 97). This situation has changed in recent years as the province has engaged a tripartite treaty process involving interested First Nations, the federal government, and the province under the coordinating body of the British Columbia Treaty Commission (BCTC) to negotiate treaties that will define the future administration of the negotiated lands. For First Nations, this political undertaking

brings the land question to the forefront because negotiations are centred on defining their territorial rights. As a result, BC is currently in a unique position as it attempts to negotiate not only lands and resources in a strictly geographical sense, but also to negotiate long-standing social perceptions of the relationship between lands and resources *and* peoples.

One long-standing and dominant social perception of the forested regions of northern BC is that they represent a "wilderness". While the following chapters offer a post-colonial deconstruction of the wilderness ideal through a literature review, an ethnographic analysis in the fifth chapter completes this post-colonial critique by making space for First Nations voices. The presentation of the voices of people from Kitsumkalum offers a reply to the dominant perception of the land as a wilderness, imparting an alternative social perception of the relationship between the lands, resources, and the community.

Kitsumkalum: A Tsimshian Nation Community

I explore First Nations perceptions of the landscape through collaborative work with Kitsumkalum, a Tsimshian Nation community located near the city of Terrace, British Columbia. Although this research presents a single case amid the multiplicity of viewpoints among and within all First Nations communities, my intention is to examine an alternate viewpoint of BC's landscapes to that offered by the settler society. This work adds to a post-colonial critique because it offers a contrast to the dominant interpretation of the land as "wilderness" and suggests a new place of dialogue which can incorporate multiple ideologies of the landscape.

The Tsimshian First Nation is one of the many indigenous groups within BC. Tsimshian traditional territory covers a vast area of what is now northwestern BC (Figure 1).

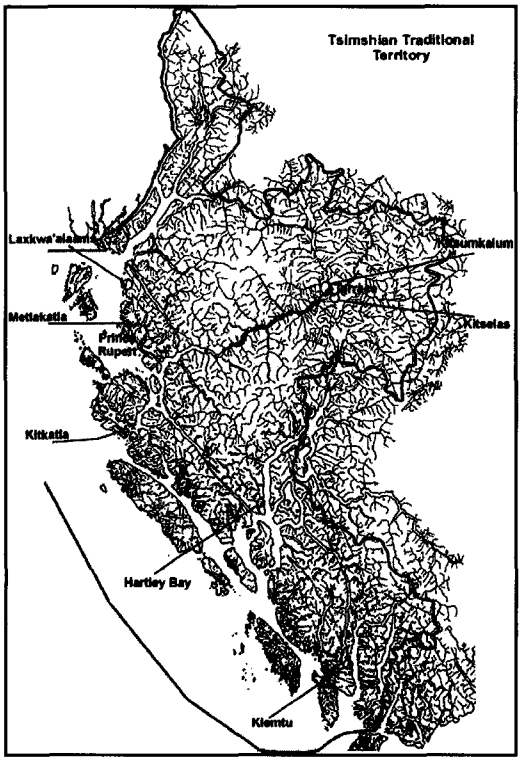

Figure 1 Tsimshian Traditional Territory (Kitsumkalum 2003)

It includes the Skeena River drainage and stretches south to the Douglas Channel (Seguin 1984: ix). The village of Kitsumkalum is located next to the city of Terrace, BC and sits at the confluence of the Skeena and Kalum Rivers. This is one of the two inland Tsimshian Villages (the other is Kitselas). The five other communities are located on the west coast of BC and include Kitkatla, Metlakatla, Hartley Bay, Lax'KwAlaams, and Kitasoo [Klemtu] (Figure 2). Members of the Tsimshian First Nation do not reside exclusively in these villages, but also live off-Reserve in local cities and towns. As of March 31st 2003, 2066 registered Tsimshians lived on reserve and 5252 lived off reserve,

a total of 7318 individuals (Tsimshian Nation, 2003). Out of the seven communities, Kitsumkalum has the fourth largest population with 636 members, 206 living on-Reserve at Kitsumkalum and 430 living off-Reserve (Tsimshian Nation, 2003).

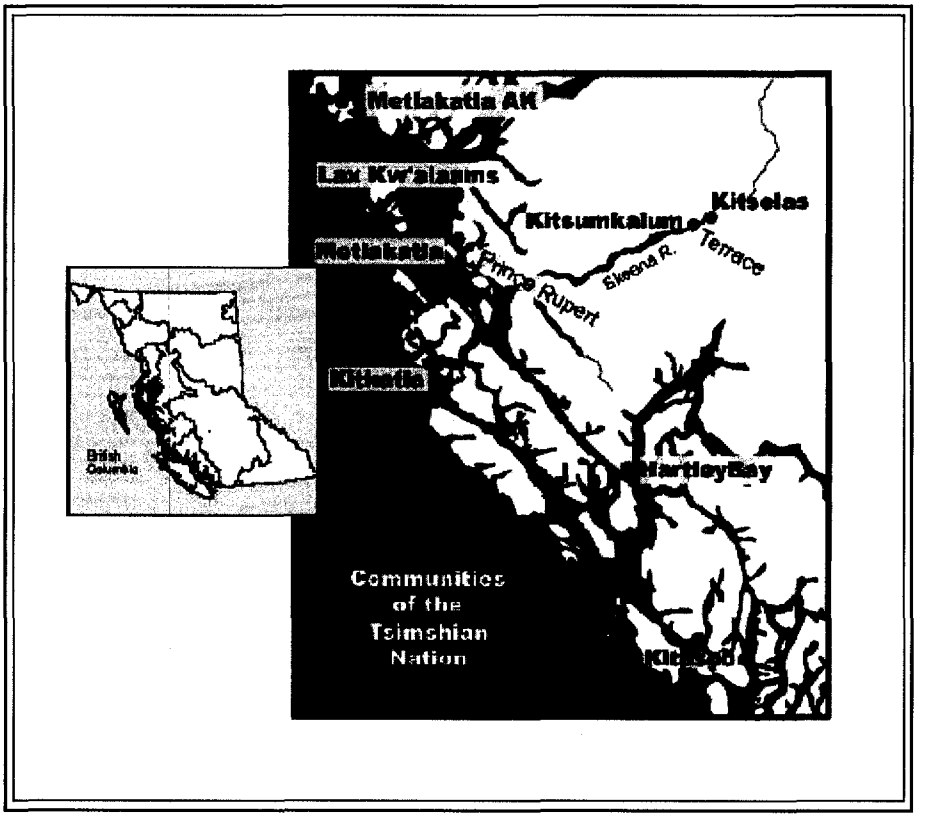

Figure 2 Tsimshian Nation Communities (Tsimshian Nation 2003)

Kitsumkalum is currently entrenched in the treaty process and, because of this, consideration of the physical landscape and its future administration is required. The physical landscape and its resources continue to be central to the lives of the people where fishing, hunting, gathering and forestry are necessary contemporary cultural activities.

Kitsumkalum, Ethnohistorically

The Kitsumkalum describe their traditional territory as being in the Kitsumkalum Valley, including "property rights along the Skeena River, and along the Northwest coast of British Columbia" (Kitsumkalum 2003). These territories are widely diverse with an abundant variety of natural resources. In the past different types of traditional resource use, including fishing, hunting, and gathering necessitated movement through the landscape, often over vast areas. Chapter 5 will demonstrate that similar land use patterns still occur today. The availability of abundant resources allowed for the establishment of what has been a long-standing complex and hierarchical class structure with a strong system of governance intimately tied to the landscape (McDonald 1994: 156). *Galts'ap* (villages) were composed of matrilineal corporate groups, or *wuwaap* (houses), that administered their own territories with sophisticated regimes of resource management (McDonald 2003; 2005). The accumulation of resources was essential for holding feasts where "...social order was maintained and expressed, inheritance and succession were validated, and conflict was expressed and managed" (Halpin & Seguin 1990: 278). Feasting was central in the governance of each village and of the Tsimshian as a whole. McDonald (2003) has described in detail the holistic interrelationship of Tsimshian people, the land and resources and how the houses and villages maintained this relationship through important yet complex land management regimes.

Chapter 3 includes a more detailed ethnohistory describing how the industrialization and colonial settlement of the region drastically affected people at Kitsumkalum. Together with the ethnographic portion of the thesis, this description adds

to the argument that there is an important continuity of connections between the land and the people that are grounded in their own ideologies of the landscape.

Outlining the Thesis

In Chapter 2, *Constructing Colonial Landscapes,* I deal with the complexities of the interconnectedness between people and the land. A discussion of landscape theory will reveal the intricacy of this relationship. An exploration of the relationships between space, place, and landscape shows the innately social aspects that tie the three of these concepts together. Landscapes are culturally constructed, are an exercise of power and as such, are contested. Because of this, landscapes are not settled. There are multiple meanings of the term "settled". On one hand, it can refer to the establishment of colonial settler communities. On the other hand it can imply that ideologies and perceptions are settled, but this is not the case. I use the term "settled" specifically to challenge the dominant colonial ideologies which have defined the forested landscapes of northern BC and which have been perpetuated through colonial culture and society. In BC, Aboriginal rights were not recognized and because of this, treaties were not signed leaving the landscapes "unsettled" socially, physically and conceptually. This is explored further in Chapter 2 where I argue that British Columbia is still engaged in an "unsettledness" that results from a 'struggle between two geographies' and different worldviews of the colonizer and the colonized. The treaty process has put this struggle at the political and social forefront. A brief review of the history of land claims demonstrates the lack of acknowledgement of First Nations land rights by the colonial government and the social impacts this continues to have in BC.

In Chapter 3, *Deconstructing the Wilderness,* I deal with the interpretations of land use and land value that have been socially deemed as relevant in the forested regions of northern BC. These interpretations are based upon the ideology that views the land as a wilderness. Landscape theory is used as a tool for a post-colonial critique of the colonial perspective of the land as a wilderness. This critique shows that the concept of wilderness is an example of a colonially constructed landscape that is itself a contested landscape. For example, in BC contestations around the fate of the wilderness are informed by various viewpoints from industry and environmental groups. However, although these differing views are often framed in opposition to one another, they have in common some core ideologies of "wilderness" that buries other interpretations of the same landscapes. In this chapter I present primary and secondary literature from the northwest region of BC that offer historical and contemporary examples of how wilderness has been and still is interpreted locally. These examples demonstrate how wilderness as a colonial legacy can be used to erase a First Nations contemporary presence from the landscape.

In order to appreciate how people from Kitsumkalum understand the land, in the ethnographic portion of this thesis I used a community-centered methodology. I went to Kitsumkalum in August of 2002 to talk to the [then] elected Chief Diane Collins about my ideas and to get feedback about whether or not this project was not only feasible, but also whether there was support for this research. According to community protocol Diane, as Chief Councillor, granted me permission to do this study and expressed her interest in the topic. Since then, I have carried out the ethnographic research with the community of Kitsumkalum. In Chapter 4, *Constructing the Methods,* I describe the

specific ethnographic methods that I used in carrying out the interviews to gather people's perspectives of the land, introduce the interviewees and discuss how I carried out my analysis.

In Chapter 5, I demonstrate the complexities of the interconnectedness between people and the land by examining some *Perspectives from Kitsumkalum.* To present these complexities I use direct quotes from the interviewees without filtering the testimonies through my own perceptions. These quotes illustrate the voices of the colonized speaking about their relationship to the land offers a post-colonial critique of the Western dominant ideology that the land is a "wilderness". Although Chapter 3 will show that wilderness, as a colonial construction, served to conceptually clear First Nations off the landscape using a number of specific colonial mechanisms, this ethnography is key in showing that there has been another interpretation of the land that was *not* erased. This interpretation exists today, is informed by the colonial worldview, but is also informed by a long history of intimate connections between people and the land that continue today.

In my final Chapter (6), I address my final research question with a review and discussion of the thesis as a whole. I situate this discussion within a framework of *Decolonizing the Landscape.* My purpose in taking this approach is to demonstrate that taking a reflexive look at silences created through persistent colonial discourses allows the voice of the colonized to be heard. My aim in this concluding chapter is to consider the creation of a new space in which to think about the landscapes of northern BC.

Chapter Two: Constructing Colonial Landscapes

Societies and their places and spaces exist in ongoing, reciprocal relation with each other... Nowhere is this more obvious than in modernizing British Columbia, where new settlements and landscapes were among immigrants' principle creations, and issues of power characteristically turned on the control of land.

[Harris 1997: xiv]

Introduction

The complexities of aboriginal/non-aboriginal relations in Canada today run deep as a result of the resonating effects of colonialism (Braun 2002; Cassidy 1992; Coates 1992; Furniss 1999; Harris 2002). This is especially true in British Columbia, the only largely unsettled area in Canada when it comes to Treaties. The Treaty situation creates social uncertainties regarding the future administration of lands and resources. In the northern part of the province, forested regions are broadly identified as wilderness areas. "Wilderness" is one way to interpret a landscape. Yet, even within this one understanding of the land there are contestations (see Chapter 3). How we interpret the world around us dictates our place in that world. Nadia Lovell (1998:2) states: "The notion of place, and one's positioning within it, remains highly topical in light of colonial deeds and post-colonial discourses." Thus, examining how wilderness is a constructed colonial landscape *and* how it has become a dominant ideology will help in understanding how it has placed First Nations people and their ideologies of the land.

In this chapter, I will explore the construction of the dominant ideology of wilderness by engaging in a discussion of landscape theory, highlighting perspectives on

space, place and power, and their relationships to landscape. I will demonstrate three key points: (1) that landscapes are culturally constructed; (2) that landscapes are about power; and (3) because of both of these points, landscapes are contested. I establish these points by looking at the history of the concept of landscape as a cultural construction. I then turn to examining the important social aspect of space, place and landscape, a common feature that ties them together and that also roots them in our experiences. These experiences dictate how we structure, or mentally map, the world around us. The ideologies that underlie our worldviews are transmitted to us socially and culturally. A discussion on these points will be followed by one on power. I will review how ideologies are about an exercise of power, showing how one ideology can become dominant over other ideologies. Originating in early conquest language, perceptions of forested landscapes as "wilderness" have persisted in society as a dominant ideology. The colonial writing of "wilderness" onto the landscapes of northern BC has 'written off' First Nations ideologies of the same landscapes and thus created a situation of contestation. After a discussion of these 'unsettled landscapes' in BC, I will conclude this chapter by considering "wilderness" as a resonating effect of colonialism , positioning the remainder of this thesis as a challenge to that dominant ideology.

Landscapes: 'constructed' and construed

"Landscape" refers to more than the physical landscapes that surround us all and which we often find very familiar. The discourses on landscape can provide perspectives that are not at all commonly familiar to the general populace. Additionally, an exploration of landscape will demonstrate that there are alternative ways of understanding the world around us. Landscape can be a problematic concept to

understand because it has been defined and described in a variety of ways by scholars, including geographers and anthropologists. Examples of how complex the interpretations of landscape have become are demonstrated in the earlier works of geographers, including classics like Meinig (1979) and Lewis (1979) where the former outlines the ten ways of perceiving the landscape and the latter describes seven rules, or "axioms", for reading the landscape. Thus, a discussion of landscape can become confusing and requires some clarification.

This complexity of the concept of landscape results from its changing definitions and interpretations over time. Duncan (2000:429-431) provides a succinct history of the landscape concept, tracing its etymology. This history begins with a reference to the "land" in the Middle Ages in England and follows the changing meanings through to the more recent theoretical definitions and re-interpretations of landscape. While meaning can change over time, the original meanings of a concept can continue to inform and influence our understanding even as the meaning is continually re-constructed.

Although landscape has been defined in a variety of ways over time, one of its original meanings in the early seventeenth century was as a "*representation* of scenery" (Duncan 2000:429; emphasis added). This involved seeing, interpreting and presenting an understanding of the world to others through landscape painting. More recently, Cosgrove (1984) took the idea of landscape as a representation to another level, looking at the cultural and social ideologies that inform a particular interpretation of a landscape. He argued "that the landscape idea represents a way of seeing – a way in which some Europeans have represented to themselves and to others the world about them and their relationships with it, and through which they have commented on social relations" (1).

Similarly, Wilson (in Taylor 1998:87) has described landscape as "a way of seeing the world and imagining our relationship to nature. It is something we think, do, and make as a social collective." What Wilson does here is sets up a classic nature vs. culture dichotomy in this definition of landscape setting human experience as a separate category from nature. Rather than positioning nature and culture as dichotomies, I agree with Lovell (1998:10) who contends that there is a constant dialectic between humans and the world around them and that people construct the landscape as a tool to generate and reproduce this dialectic.

"Landscape" is a way of understanding the world and is a construction of a particularized worldview that is necessarily informed by culture. To better understand the nuances of the landscape concept, I will now discuss the interplay between space and place and landscape. I will demonstrate how, together, they are about social interactions that create within us a sense of identity and belonging.

The sociability of place, space and landscape

Like landscape, place and space are concepts that need to be explored to help us better understand our 'place' in the world. Places are not just about a point on the physical landscape. Place is also about the order of elements in relation to one another (De Certeau 1984:117). For example, a classroom: the desks and the blackboard are elements that have been placed in a way which defines that space and make it a place that we immediately understand from a particular social and cultural standpoint (Smith 2001:11,12). From a phenomenological perspective we come to know and understand a place through our *experience* of it; that is, our "[k]nowledge of place stems from human

experience" (Tilley 1994:15). Places are imbued with meanings and experiences and it is because of this that they are also about the cognitive and the social. Without people there would be no places, and these places in turn help to create personal and collective identity. As Lovell (1998:6) argues, "...specific places are notionally extracted out of undifferentiated space by becoming imbued with particular meaning by, and for, human sociability and identity". Place is defined by social interaction and how we interpret and understand place is informed through our particular cultures as place helps to shape those cultures. Therefore how we understand place is both a social and cultural construction.

'Space' is also a social construction because it is "created through relations between peoples and places" (Tilley 1994:11). Space was not always defined this way and Tilley (1994:8) outlines the important historical development of this term, delineating between an earlier notion of space as abstract (see Foucault 1980[1972]) and the more recent trend of understanding space as humanized. During the 1970s space was thought of in the abstract, as "...a mental category, to be objectified by the mind in order to organize human existence" (Lovell 1998:9). From this perspective, space was interpreted as the medium for, but not created through, social activity. Thus, human activity was seen as both conceptually and physically separate from the space in which it was happening and as a result space was positioned as being a backdrop (Tilley 1994:9). While space had an impact on how the social was constructed, the extent to which social activity affected space had not been explored (Tilley 1994:10, 11).

The perception of space as humanized offered an alternate interpretive lens through which to understand the world. In this view, space was no longer understood as static, but was seen as alive and produced by movement (De Certeau 1984). Space

became understood as a social construct. The theorization of space as a social construct was taken further by Soja (1989) who introduced the concept of spatiality. Soja claims that while space was constructed by the social, the social was simultaneously constructed by space (see also Bourdieu 1994). Further, the relationship of elements in space influences social actions that occur in that space and, in turn, these social relations affect the spatial relations (129). Because of this dialectic relationship, difference in spatial constructions would necessarily create difference in the social constructs and vice versa (Soja 1989:128,131; cf. Massey 1994:254). "Space was the medium of social processes as well as their outcome" (Rose 1993:19; cf. Soja 1989; cf. Tilley 1994:10).

Important to Soja (1989) is that all space is simultaneously physical (material), mental (cognitive) and social. He emphasises the importance of realizing the interrelation of these three forms of space: social, physical, cognitive or ideological (120). They all effect and are affected by one another. Therefore, one cannot be discussed in isolation from the others. Additionally, Soja states that "Spatiality is greatly influenced by the ever-changing ideas and ideologies of human perception and cognition" (121). Similarly, Lefebvre (in Hayden 1995:114) discusses space as "a medium through which social life is produced and reproduced". The ways that social interactions continually affect space is echoed by Tilley (1994:11) who describes "social space" in particular as being "constituted by differential densities of human experience, attachment and involvement...providing particular settings for involvement and the creation of meanings".

Landscapes are social practices that are created through, and composed of relationships between space and place (Tilley 1994:22). Landscapes are socially and

culturally constructed because they are spaces where social interactions take place (Tilley 1994:34-35). We interact continually with the physical landscape, by seeing, feeling, thinking, touching, and altering it. These social interactions are about human experiences that define and inform our surrounding physical, social and ideological landscapes (Soja 1989). "Landscape", composed of both places and spaces created through human experiences, helps us to understand and interpret our place in the world by structuring our worldviews.

Mentally mapping our landscapes

It is through the experience of place that we actualize space; "space is a practiced place" (De Certeau 1984:117). When a landscape is physically experienced, it becomes part of one's space and is then, by association, mentally experienced in terms of meaning and memory. It was demonstrated above that both place and space are social constructions through which we structure and organize human existence (De Certeau 1984; Lovell 1998). Similarly, in his 2001 article "Land of the Lost" Gonzales presents the idea of a 'mental map' as a way we construct the world around us, creating our perception of our place in the world.

Mental mapping gives us the illusion of being oriented, while in reality, as Psychologist Kenneth Hill (in Gonzales 2001:88) notes, "we lack 'real' spatial orientation". As a result, we create structures that help give order to the world around us (see Bourdieu on *doxa*. 1994)[2]. Hill argues that "While our senses are capable of perceiving the world around us, the human mind is not capable of processing it in all its complexity. Instead we create simplified models of our environment" (in Gonzales 2001:

[2] I will refer to Bourdieu (1994) and his concept of 'doxa' in more detail later in this chapter.

88). These models of the environment are created through social interactions either among humans or between humans and their environment, and these social exchanges are informed by culture.

For example, the physical landscape is what we see before us. We interpret our *understanding* of the land through how we *see* it; through what we have been taught about it culturally; through how we socially interact with it and upon it; through our *experience* of it. How we interpret, experience, and therefore understand the physical landscape – or the world around us – takes place through a more spatial understanding of landscape; it is concerned with a spatial understanding of the 'lay of the land' (Angèle Smith, personal communication 2003). This social interaction with the land becomes the physical *and* the ideological and is how we 'mentally map', or create a conceptual understanding of, the world around us; a conceptual lay of the land.

What, then, causes one understanding of the "landscape" – social, physical, and conceptual (from now on ideological) – to be favoured over another? How is it maintained over time by a dominant culture without changing significantly? A discussion of power will help to clarify how one ideology of a landscape, such as the land as "wilderness", maintains its dominance in society.

Landscapes of power

Since the 1960s, a time of "intellectual radicalism", issues of power, domination and authority have been, and continue to be, deconstructed and redefined (Dirks et al. 1994:4). Prior to the 1960s, power was understood as centred in the political arena and from there it was administered through economic means. Power was also thought of

exclusively in terms of overt domination (Sharp et al. 2000:2). Challenging these notions of power, scholars such as Michel Foucault began to question the ways in which political power was envisioned and understood (see Dirks et al 1994:4-5).

As a new geographical understanding of the spatiality of 'power' grew, power was seen as being everywhere and was not only discussed in terms of overt repression and domination; power was actually operating throughout all aspects of society and culture (Foucault 1994; Dirks et al. 1994). Soja's (1989) concept of spatiality as the dialectic between spatial relations and social relations is applied to power (see Foucault 1994). If power is produced and maintained through social and spatial relations, then social and spatial relations are also influenced by power.

In *Lost Geographies of Power*, Allen 2003 examines the "modalities and particularities" of power that he considers hidden, or lost, in order to gain a fuller understanding of how power operates in societies. One reason Allen (2003) feels these geographies are "lost" is that an understanding of power as being 'everywhere' can mask the intricacies of how power works. He believes this requires investigation. Particularly, he finds that the spatiality power occupies has been hidden because some of the particular ways that power is exercised have not been explored (Allen 2003:2, 3). "However familiar the association of geography with power, we have lost the sense in which geography makes a difference to the exercise of power" (Allen 2003:1).

In British Columbia, colonial rhetoric has been embedded in popular understandings of the social, cultural and ideological landscapes of the region. This Western hegemony has concealed other ideologies, resulting in what Willems-Braun (1997) terms "buried epistemologies". These are similar to Foucault's (1994:202)

"subjugated knowledges" which are defined as knowledges that have been deemed insufficient and also as "...historical contents that have been buried and disguised". Indigenous knowledge is an excellent example of a "buried epistemology". It is important to realize that the processes of embedding these knowledges or understandings of the world are what Allen (2003: 96, 97) terms a resource: "Resources are only the media *through which* power is exercised" and "produce a succession of mediating *effects* in space and time". When resources, such as "[i]deas, expertise, knowledges, contacts, finances and so forth", are territorially embedded and mobilized through networked relationships they are used as an exercise of power (Allen 2003:97,116).

In his search for a new understanding of the spatiality of power, Allen (2003:96) argues "for a sharp distinction to be drawn between the exercise of power and the resources and capabilities mobilized to sustain that exercise". While resources can be fixed and centralized, power cannot. Rather, power is mediated through space and time. Depending upon the mobilization of resources, power and its effects can change. Although one group (the colonizers) may represent the dominant society and maintain this social standing through how they mobilize their ideologies, other marginalized groups (the colonized) can also exercise power through mobilizing their own ideologies, making it a possibility that the balance of power can change. "Power itself is *not* a resource, but rather something generated or actualized through the control and reproduction of different kinds of resources" (Allen 2003:44).

Arendt (in Allen 2003:53) defines power as being rooted in mutual action. Power is an act and a "...relational effect of social interaction" (Allen 2003:2; see also Sharp et al. 2000). Mutual actions can also be described as social interactions and, as social

interactions are inherently spatial and actualized in place, they shape our experiences and subsequent understandings of the landscape, in its physical, social, and/or ideological forms. Ideologies are produced, maintained and perpetuated through discourses which influence our understanding of the world. These discourses are mobilized through social interactions and are resources in the exercise of power. Landscape is important to an understanding of power because it "is a signifying system through which the social is [continually] reproduced and transformed" and as such it is "invested with powers" (Tilley 1994:34, 35). Power is mobilized through the ideologies that shape our understanding of the world around us. In this way landscapes are about control through the ideologies that structure how we interpret the world around us (cf. Smith 2001).

Exploring how power is mobilized by ideology and works through landscapes that shape our worlds can help us to better understand how power "puts us in place" or how power places us (Allen 2003:193). Reading the landscapes of northern BC as a "wilderness" is the product of a Western colonial ideology that is socially and culturally constructed and perpetuated. The perpetuation of this ideology is an exercise of power. Thus power has worked through our social and ideological landscapes by telling us how to see and 'read' the physical landscape as a wilderness. Our interpretation of that landscape tells us our place in relation to the place of "wilderness".

Foucault's (1980:93[1972]) interest in the correlation between power and knowledge led him to examine the relationship between power, right and truth and to ask "what rules of right are implemented by the relations of power in the production of discourses of truth?" He stated that:

> Basically in any society, there are manifold relationships of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations

> of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association [Foucault 1980:93[1972]].

Developing and sustaining a discourse, as described by Foucault, could be considered a resource in an exercise of power.

In British Columbia it is the dominant discourse of colonialism that continues to influence what is most often considered 'truth'. Rather than perpetuating hegemonic 'truths' rooted in colonial discourse about the wilderness, the purpose with my thesis is to bring alternative perspectives of the land to the forefront. Overriding ideologies dictated through social and cultural constructs are entrenched and perpetuated in everyday life through geographies of power. "A new geography of Native-non-Native relations in British Columbia may be built more easily and securely if we know more about the...modalities of power that underlay the old" (Harris 2002:xxvi). Allen's (2003) discussion of understanding power as exercised through the mobilization of "resources" is a method that can help to uncover the "buried epistemologies" (Willems-Braun 1997) of the different interpretations of British Columbia's forested landscapes.

Through the discussions in this chapter thus far, I have demonstrated that landscapes are cultural and social constructions. How we interpret these landscapes is a result of the mobilization and maintenance of dominant ideologies through specific geographies of power. In the remainder of this chapter, I will examine how some aspects of the colonial history of British Columbia have negated or "buried" the First Nations interpretations of the land. In using this term, I want to convey that "buried" implies not only that First Nations ideologies have been hidden, but also reflects the hegemonic

colonial ideology that they are dead, that they no longer exist. In colonial British Columbia, it was believed that First Nations cultures were indeed "dying"; however, these cultures have not become extinct as predicted. Thus, I will also demonstrate how geographies of power resulted in a struggle between two geographies that continues today.

Unsettled Landscapes of British Columbia

Contestations over the physical landscapes of what is now the province of British Columbia have become increasingly visible over the past 30 years as a result of changes to federal and provincial legislation allowing First Nations in BC to engage in Treaty negotiations, if they so choose. These legislative changes came out of some key court rulings, particularly the 1973 Calder[3] case and the 1984 Guerin[4] case. Both of these cases were pivotal in establishing legal recognition for the pre-existence of Aboriginal title to the land, land that had never been subject to treaties with the Crown (McKee 1996). These rulings provided a precedent for the numerous subsequent cases and court injunctions initiated by First Nations.

Discussions of land claims and treaties focus on what Cassidy (1992:15) identifies as "[t]he overarching issue [which] concerns the matter of aboriginal title to the land, the current status of this title, and its content". Cassidy only briefly addresses the issue of culture. He describes this issue as "a debate between two cultures" who "need to understand, value, and respect one another and the different ways in which they view the land and their relations with it" (16). While Cassidy has identified this as an important concern, the analysis needs refinement from an anthropological perspective. Firstly,

[3] *Calder* v. *Attorney General of British Columbia,* [1973], *Supreme Court Reports*, 313.
[4] *Guerin* v. *The Queen,* [1984] 2 *Supreme Court Reports*, 335.

boiling this dispute down to one between "two cultures" is problematic. Not only does this set up a binary opposition that, in itself, engenders conflicts, but it is also a simplistic evaluation. One of the 'two cultures' that Cassidy identifies is better viewed as a hegemonic political culture and the other consists of a diversity of First Nations cultures. Among this diversity are First Nations who define themselves as culturally distinct from one another. What further complicates this situation is that within each First Nations culture, and within the dominant culture, differences exist. Homogenizing this diversity serves to essentialize the cultures themselves and their individual political processes when it comes to the settlement of treaties.

Secondly, although mutual recognition is important, it is equally if not more important to realize that a non-native, colonial way of viewing the land *has been* acknowledged and is continually recognized as *the* valid way of understanding the land. This perspective of the land has been part of hegemony in BC since colonization, while a First Nations perspective of, and relationship with, the land is often misunderstood if not entirely disregarded or "buried". At the core of the treaty process is the negotiation over lands. This focus offers an opportunity and creates a space for First Nations in BC to give voice to their own perspectives of the meaning of land and its value.

The importance of the treaty process to this thesis is that the negotiations around the settling of treaties politicizes the land in a new way; in a way that opens up space for dialogues and debates in which people can begin thinking about the land in other ways. The intent is to take a First Nations perspective from the "universe of the undiscussed" to the "universe of discourse" (Bourdieu 1994:164). In order to bridge the boundary

between these two spatial reference points, what Gayatri Spivak (1988) terms a "necessary interruption" is required.

Since before the Calder case and through many subsequent cases into the 1990s, the province continually countered First Nations claims to the land with the argument "that aboriginal title to the land had been extinguished by colonial land legislation prior to 1871" (McKee 1996: 28; see also Cassidy 1992). This argument is indicative of the province's lack of concern or initiative in dealing with First Nations and the land question as a whole. The fact that the aboriginal land question in BC has been historically pushed aside leads one to question the social mechanisms in place that allow this to happen and how insidious these mechanisms can be. Coates (1992:3) observes that, in Canada, the land question is not a pertinent issue, resulting from "a compelling lack of interest on the part of the non-native population". This disinterest is not simply housed in a political arena, but 'normalized' within society as a whole. Normalization is a process of cultural construction and indicates that there is something going on beneath the surface of the social landscape, something that is less than obvious and something that requires attention. So, how does this normalization occur? One way that it occurs is through the social and cultural mobilization of discourse about the ideologies of the wilderness as a resource in an exercise of colonial power, thus shaping the way we see the world. The work of social philosopher Pierre Bourdieu presents additional conceptual tools with which to answer the question.

One way that we establish order in society is by creating social structures that – although completely arbitrary in nature and choice (since it is we who decide how the structures are 'structured') – become what we mentally organize as established order. The

dialogue that takes place between social and mental structures roots us. In his discussion of *Structures, Habitus, Power*, Pierre Bourdieu (1994:160) defines *doxa* as the ways in which we 'normalize' or 'naturalize' the world around us, the ways we move from a large degree of randomness to the establishment of order. The ways that we structure our social environments create our particularized worldview. In British Columbia, colonialism served to interrupt First Nations social and mental structuring of the world around them.

Fanon (in Watts 2000:93) enhances an understanding of colonialism and its core ideologies by identifying some "[c]haracteristic features of the colonial situation [that] include political and legal domination over an alien society, relations of economic and political dependence and exploitation between imperial power and colony, and racial and cultural inequality". Here, colonial power is a representation of what Allen (2003:118) terms "instrumental power", or "power over others" and results in the creation of dominant ideologies. Allen (2003:2) argues that geography makes a difference to our understanding of the exercise of power because "...power in its various guises takes effect through distinctive relations of proximity and reach, and in doing so exercises our lives in ways which are not always so familiar". The characteristics described by Fanon (in Watts 2000) are about the exercise of power substantiated through social interactions that work to mobilize an ideology that threatens to consume other ideologies. In Canada and in BC, the ideology of "wilderness" was superimposed on the landscapes, disregarding or burying other pre-existing ideologies.

The legacy of social unrest that is tied to the British Columbian landscape stretches back 150 years. This perpetual state of 'unsettledness' stems from contestations about the land and its meaning according to the multiple stakeholders with the longest

and largest division being between First Nations and non- First Nations (Harris 2002:293). Cole Harris (2002:xvii) describes the events of the colonial appropriation of Aht territory and the forced displacement of the Aht people that took place in the late 1800s near what is now Alberni Canal on western Vancouver Island. This account illustrates one instance where "One human geography was being superseded by another, both on the ground and in the imagination" (Harris 2002: xvii). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999:68) explores how colonial discipline "...through exclusion, marginalization and denial" were used to organize the colonized and argues that through these methods of control "Indigenous ways of knowing were excluded and marginalized". An "erasure" or methodical and often unconscious rebuilding of memory and of Indigenous history took place in many colonized areas as a result of the colonial culture's ideological re-inscription on the land (Sarkar 1999:405; Bayet 1998; Cronon 1995). Harris (2002:xvii) pinpoints the "essence of settler colonialism", or colonization, in the struggle between two geographies: First Nations understandings of the world and what the settler colony imagined their 'new world' would become.

Challenging Dominant Ideologies

In *Home and Native Land: Aboriginal Rights and the Canadian Constitution* Michael Asch (1984:37) explores the idea of "Canada as a colonial manifestation". This idea supports his argument that Canada can be changed and therefore can allow First Nations to be understood as "colonized nations" as opposed to simply "the colonized" (37). Similarly and more particularly, Braun (2002:203) describes British Columbia as espousing a "national discourse" within which "social and political relations in the region

have come to be subsumed" and therefore "must be understood as a *provisional* achievement" for the dominant society (emphasis added).

Colonial culture in Canada as a whole has been described by Elizabeth Furniss (1999:13) as a continued cycle of "assertion and denial of Indigenous difference" that can be externally influenced by factors such as the geographical landscape, the time period, and the colonial power (see also Braun 2002:203). In her exploration of gender and race in colonial British Columbia between the years 1849 and 1871, Adele Perry (2001:4-6) notes the importance of acknowledging that colonialism followed different paths in different places because each was a "colonial project" of its own, yet remembering that each were still inextricably tied to European colonialism.

Although a global process, colonialism is spatially and temporally particular in the manner that it is actualized in place. That is, colonialism and its resonating effects are specific to a locale (Furniss 1999; Perry 2001). Thomas (in Willems-Braun 1997:4) states "there can be no global theory of colonial culture, only localized theories and historically specific accounts that provide insight into varied articulations of colonialist and countercolonial representations and practices". The fact that colonialism and its effects are specific to a locale means that the human experience of colonialism and colonization is different according to space and time. Because *instances* of colonialism have to be considered with time and space in mind, it follows that the *effects* of colonialism have to be considered in the same manner. Thus, post-colonialism requires the same sort of attention (Braun 2002:203).

In this chapter I have explored the ways in which certain ideologies can become dominant, including how ideology/hegemony is constructed and mobilized as an exercise

of power. Examining how colonialism continues to pervade social and ideological landscapes as well as physical landscapes (Soja 1989) can reveal some of the mechanisms of power that continue to inform our worldviews in ways that are not immediately obvious. One way that society today understands the geography of northern BC is as a "wilderness". This interpretation was constructed within a Western context and colonialism was the means for imposing this Western ideology onto colonized lands. Through colonial mechanisms and through hegemony, the interpretation of the forested landscapes of northern BC has become socially reproduced across cultures within BC creating a common societal understanding of the land as a wilderness.

An understanding of how landscapes are culturally constructed can make relationships between people and the land can seem less complex. That said, even a brief discussion regarding the history of First Nations and non-First Nations relationships in BC shows the complexities of contested landscapes that still exist. Today, treaty negotiations are bringing these contestations to light, as both First Nations and non-First Nations alike are required to present their land values at the treaty table. Much of the land in northern BC is forested and is conceptualized as a wilderness landscape. Through our experiences landscapes are read, interpreted and written upon. The landscapes of northern BC have been read, interpreted and written upon as "the wilderness" by the colonial forces. This ideology will be challenged through a post-colonial critique of the wilderness concept. While this chapter outlines the theoretical framework of this thesis, what will follow is an exploration of "...the ways in which colonialism remains an ineradicable trace in the social relations...of the present" (Braun 2002:203).

Chapter Three: Deconstructing the Wilderness

...for example a trapline. What would be viewed as wilderness and untouched definitely has not been from a First Nations perspective because they know exactly where the boundaries are; where the trapline is and maybe other houses know whose trapline that is, and it's definitely not untouched.

[Kathy Wesley 03.08.14.02][5]

Cole Harris (2002) describes colonization, or settler colonialism, as a struggle between two geographies: an aboriginal understanding of the world and a settler understanding of what their 'new world' would become (see Chapter 2). Any vision of what one's world *will* become is based on one's experiences to that point, and therefore informed through a worldview that already exists. The concept of wilderness was a well-entrenched worldview of the 'Old World' that informed newcomers' reactions to the 'New World'. Colonial reactions to, or interpretations of, this "new" land did not take into account existing land meaning and values of local indigenous peoples. These differing interpretations of the land resulted in the struggle between the two geographies that continues today in more subversive ways (cf. Harris 2002). In presenting a post-colonial critique of the concept of "wilderness", I will discuss some of the mechanisms

[5] The in-text citations for the research interviews are standardized as follows: interviewees first and last name, date of the interview (yy.mm.dd), the interview sequence for that date (Interview #) For example, this citation indicates that Kathy Wesley was interviewed on August 14th, 2003 and this reference comes from the second interview conducted on that day. See also Appendix 1.

that allow for what I consider are resonating effects of colonial power (see also Guernsey 2008)[6].

I will begin this chapter by exploring some colonial roots of the cultural construction of "wilderness" in Canada and in British Columbia. The Canadian, specifically the non-local British Columbian, illustrations are intended to support my argument that "wilderness" is a cultural construct that buried First Nations worldviews which still exist today. This argument can be critically analysed by borrowing from Tilley's (1994) assertion that it is possible for landscapes to be read, interpreted, and written upon, in other words for landscapes to be understood subjectively. I will also present some examples from northern BC, demonstrating the local development of the "wilderness" concept. I examine this process using archival and secondary literature highlighting some missionary and settler interpretations of the land. I also explore the roles cartography and Indian Reserves had in the colonial process of constructing a wilderness of the British Columbian landscape.

The wilderness concept influenced the development of the colonial economy. In a discussion of "the century of modernization", I will reveal some significant effects that colonial economic interests, based on the "wilderness", had on the social, physical and ideological landscapes of the Kitsumkalum First Nation. This will provide an "on-the-ground" example of a colonial rewriting of the land and provide important background information for Chapter 5. I will then demonstrate the complexities of the concept of "wilderness" and its continuity, by exploring some contemporary values of the landscapes of northern BC. Through this exploration I will also show how Western

[6] In this article I explore different colonial tools of clearing the land and the subsequent revitalizations by colonized peoples.

colonial ideology in northern BC continues to bury, or mask, First Nations existing relationships to the land. First, a definition of wilderness is required for understanding its various meanings and for contextualizing the colonial construction of "the wilderness".

Language can be integral in understanding how a culture has constructed the "wilderness" (Taylor 1998). By briefly examining a commonly accepted definition of "wilderness", a number of related meanings are revealed. These meanings influence the way "wilderness" is understood today. Familiar usage of the term is defined in Websters Dictionary (1999:1636-1637) as: "...an uncultivated, uninhabited region; waste; wild ... any barren, empty, or open area, as of ocean ... a large, confused mass or tangle ... a wild condition or quality..." [7]. This definition shows that the concept of "wilderness" is imbued with multiple layered meanings that contribute to a shared cultural and social understanding of the term.

Together, these various meanings of the concept influence a social understanding of any physical landscape labelled as wilderness. Scoyen (in Lutz et al. 1999:260) suggests, "...that wilderness is both a physical condition and a state of mind". A pre-established ideology of what a wilderness "looks like" affected how early European visitors and newcomers saw, interpreted and wrote upon the forested landscapes of North America. The basic ideologies of the wilderness as uninhabited and empty continue to underlie any values that people may subsequently attach to the wilderness, such as the value of the land for resource extraction or conservation values. In Bal and Shohat's (in Willems-Braun 1997:3) words, "... tracing the way that streams of the past still infuse the

[7] Specialized definitions from the fields of anthropology and geography are not used here because I am looking at how the general populace would speak about wilderness.

present" illustrate how a colonial-influenced perception of the land as a "wilderness" continues today.

Constructing Wilderness and Clearing the Landscape: The Early Colonial Legacy

One way that Europeans interpreted the landscapes of North America was as a "wilderness". Monique Taylor (1998) presents the experiences of northern European missionaries when they arrived in the "New World". In particular, she explores how a European cultural understanding of the wilderness influenced the interpretation of the North American physical landscape. Taylor (1998: 91-93) describes how these missionaries conveyed images back to New France through their writing and how these images would necessarily shape the future colonists' understanding of the land prior to their arrival in North America.

Reverend James McCullagh was a missionary to the Nisga'a community of Aiyansh in northern BC at the turn of the 20th century. While in Aiyansh, McCullagh reported back to family and friends in London with accounts of his experiences. During the years 1908-1910, McCullagh also wrote a column entitled "Autumn Leaves" for the Church Missionary Society's *Aiyansh Notes*. In June 1908, McCullagh set the stage for his readers when he described his Parish: "A very beautiful parish it is too. Almost identical in size with the whole of Palestine, from Dan to Beersheeba- a vast no-mans land [sic], unsurveyed and unexplored" (McCullagh 1908: xii). His observation of the physical landscape conveys the imagery of a vast, empty wilderness. Although McCullagh was stationed at Aiyansh where he lived amongst the Nisga'a people and visited and ministered to other Nisga'a communities, his observation demonstrates the lack of acknowledgement and understanding of the social landscape of the region and

communities that existed. Similarly, when McCullagh was working with the Aiyansh community in 1896 to build the Holy Trinity Church (which still stands today) he wrote: "Oh, the joy of building this sanctuary in the wild forest! ...the voice of joy and gladness resounded through the primeval forest..." (in Moeran 1923: 105).

The ways that First Nations and their relationships to the land were represented or, as exemplified in the cases above, *not* represented by Europeans at the onset of colonization "...played an important part in the process of dispossessing them of their lands and pushing them to the margins of European society" (Peters 2001:46). The marginalization of First Nations was further manifested through cartography and through the establishment of Indian Reserves. These were colonial tools that wrote new boundaries on the physical, social and ideological landscapes of BC, changing the spatiality of First Nations communities and further clearing the landscape to make it available for the 'civilized'. In *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on colonialism and geographical change*, Harris (1997:161) states that:

> From their earliest encounters, Europeans had begun to remake this territory in their own terms; mapping it, renaming it, claiming possession of it, bringing it within reach of the European imagination. They created a cartographic and conceptual outline of what, for them, was a new land, placing its coast and principal rivers on their maps, identifying the land as wilderness and its people as savages. These abstractions were agents of European colonialism...

Identifying people as savages incorporated them into the wilderness yet at the same time dehumanised them, conceptually erasing them from the landscape and making it possible to maintain the ideology of an empty land. These "agents of European colonialism" are still felt today. Addie Turner (03.08.12.01) of Kitsumkalum and Terrace indignantly states: "They always called us savages and we weren't!"

Directly tied to the idea of the landscape as wilderness, was the notion of a vast, open land waiting to be colonized. This has been compared to the Australian concept of a *Terra Nullius*, a virgin landscape (Cronon 1995; Bayet 1998). The justification behind this doctrine was that "certain societies were so primitive their land could be treated as uninhabited" (Bell and Asch 1997: 52). In order for colonial powers to re-shape the landscapes of British Columbia in the image that allowed for economic growth through the exploitation of natural resources, and settlement through the ownership of land, a myth of *Terra Nullius* was essential. In a discussion of representation through cartography, geographer Ken Brealey (1995) found that Nuxalk and Ts'ilhqot'in territories in central British Columbia were initially represented as empty lands. Yet, ethnographic studies demonstrate the extensive occupation and management of the land in what is now BC, as at Kitsumkalum (Duff 1997 [1967]; McDonald 1990, 2003, 2005). If the landscapes of BC had to be conceptually 'emptied', then First Nations had to be conceptually removed in order to justify a social and physical exclusion.

The nature/culture dichotomy that is central to a westernized worldview was inscribed upon the landscapes of the 'New World'. Colonial views of the landscape were based on the separation of culture and nature, culminating in the creation of new boundaries for indigenous people of the Americas as a whole. Willems-Braun (1997) describes the way that George Dawson, a geologist and early ethnologist in the 1870s and 1880s, conceptually separated First Nations from the physical landscape through his writings. Physically, socially and ideologically, the land and nature were useful to colonial endeavours and First Nations and their cultures were not. In *Without Surrender, Without Consent* Raunet (1996) describes European interest in what is now British

Columbia, as strictly in "gold, furs, and land" and not in First Nations or their cultures (26). Both of these examples demonstrate ways in which the Western idea of the binary opposition of nature and culture was transferred to landscapes of British Columbia. For First Nations, the land, resources from the land, and culture were, and are, all intertwined. This holistic affiliation between people and the land will be examined in detail in Chapter 5 in the contemporary voices of the Kitsumkalum community.

Initial relationships between First Nations in northern British Columbia and Europeans were based on the maritime and land-based fur trades (Ames and Maschner 1999:11-12; Miller 2000:177-178). In many ways these two types of fur trade did not initially affect the First Nations culture, but this changed as settlers began to move in and did not "need" the First Nations in the area the way they did in the early years of the fur trades (Cassidy 1992:12). Michael Ignatieff (2000:59-60) describes in *The Rights Revolution* how a switch in power relations changed images of First Nations in Canada: "Respect disappeared when one side ceased to need the other, and when one side was in a position to impose its rule" (59). It was through various exercises of power that a dominant society inscribed itself upon the landscape.

Anthropologist Elizabeth Furniss (1999:14), in her study of contemporary racist ideologies in northern BC, describes a dominant culture as one that "is experienced as a set of common-sense, taken for granted truths about the nature of reality and the social world". The establishment of BC as a province in 1871 led to a large increase in the number of settlers to the region. With a significant increase in settlers, European society and ideals were reproduced in the new towns that were being established throughout the province. An increase in numbers of non-First Nations peoples, and a decrease in

numbers of First Nations people due to disease, resulted in a politically and socially dominant settler culture. This switch in ethnic and social demographics changed the landscapes of Canada's westernmost region, and subsequently led to the establishment of Indian Reserves.

Both the creation of Indian Reserves and control of resources by the Canadian government affected First Nations cultures and further altered the regional landscapes of northern BC. The mid to late 1800s saw the beginning of the establishment of Indian Reserves in British Columbia. James Douglas was Governor of Vancouver Island and the mainland colony of British Columbia from 1851-1864. Miller (2000:186-190) describes Douglas' policy of laying out tracts of land for southern First Nations, which allowed them to maintain *some* control by being permitted to decide the extent and location of their own Indian Reserve Lands.

First Nations lost that control when, in 1864, Joseph Trutch became Governor. Trutch not only refused to set apart land for First Nations, but also took away lands that they had previously been allotted. Settlers were insisting on accessing lands that they perceived as being "unused" (Miller 2000: 190). It can be argued that this perception was a result of the 'conceptual emptying' of the landscape described above. Brealey (in Peters 2000: 48-49) argues:

> as territories became more familiar to European cartographers, First Nations were 'thematized' as archaeological objects [as] a prerequisite for mapping aboriginal people on Reserves...conceptually erase[ing] First Nations' contiguous territories and empt[ying] spaces for settler occupancy.

The Indian Reserve system, put in place by the dominant colonial force of the Canadian government, served to marginalize and displace First Nations. The new

boundaries that were implemented through the establishment of Indian Reserves transformed First Nations spaces, socially, physically and ideologically. Communities were moved onto a bounded piece of land and people's movements on and off the Indian Reserve were restricted and monitored. Massey (1994:254) observes that by altering spatial constructions, there is difference created in social actions and interactions. The implementation of Indian Reserves placed First Nations on the periphery of the landscapes that were being recreated, or rewritten, according to colonial ideologies. These colonial perceptions of the use and value of the surrounding landscapes resulted in the creation of new spaces that First Nations were required to occupy, while at the same time having to maintain or adapt their own space within a colonized one.

It should be noted that cartography has long been used as a colonial mechanism of landscape clearance. As a subjective representation of an interpretation of the landscape, a map is a construction and used as an exercise of power (Smith 2001: 26-27). During the time that surveyors were mapping the landscape of BC for the demarcation of Indian Reserves, there was continual resistance to this colonial exercise of power from First Nations of northern BC. Raunet (1996) and McDonald (1985,1990) describe the strong resistance of the Nisga'a and the Tsimshian, respectively, to the creation of Indian Reserves in their territories in the late 19th century, including the expulsion of Government Indian Agents and surveyors from the area.

By the end of the 19th century, most people from Kitsumkalum had moved to different canneries that were situated along the northwest coast of BC in order to engage in the new Western economy. I will call this stage of Kitsumkalum's history "the century of modernization", a time when the community of Kitsumkalum was affected by a

myriad of colonial forces that have shaped the community today. Non-First Nation economic interests in the land were predicated upon the ideologies of the land as a "wilderness" -- as empty and available for colonial exploitation[8]. Over a relatively short span of time, the physical, social and ideological landscapes of the region were rapidly changing:

> In the eventful years between 1849 and 1871, British Columbia went from a diverse, First Nations territory to a fur-trade colony, to a gold-rush society grafted on a fur-trade settlement, to a resource-oriented colony with an emergent settler society [Perry 2001:9].

The Century of Modernization: The History of the Kitsumkalum Community

The 19th and 20th centuries witnessed Tsimshian participation in the growing global economy and the capitalist appropriation of Tsimshian resources. In this section I will demonstrate how colonialism affected the Tsimshian administration of the physical landscape, and how this encroachment also impacted their social and ideological landscapes. The cultural landscape of the northwest coast was changing rapidly due to increasing colonial economic interest in the "wilderness" of northern BC and the subsequent influx of settlers. Although there were drastic changes happening to First Nations lives, to a certain degree people's cultural and economic ties to their territories remained intact though not undisturbed. These ties will be examined in greater detail in the ethnography in Chapter 5. In order to give context to this ethnography, a review of the effects that colonialism, including the Western concept of "wilderness", had on the community of Kitsumkalum is required.

[8] Later in this chapter I will present some regional examples taken from local histories, industry and tourism that demonstrate the local construction of "wilderness".

The earliest known archival reference to the Kitsumkalum people appears in a Hudson's Bay journal entry dated 1852, when community members were recorded arriving to trade at the Hudson's Bay Post in Port Simpson (McDonald 1985). In the late 1870s people moved from the old town of the Kitsumkalum people, known as Robin Town, located at the top of a canyon on the Kalum River, to the new and present-day village site (McDonald 2006). In oral histories recorded by Franz Boas, Robin Town was described as a "large village" with "a great many people" (Boas 1916: 336). It is not certain why Robin Town was abandoned in favour of the present village of Kitsumkalum, but in 1929 Charles Nelson told William Beynon that "there was quite a destructive fire that raged, some years ago, in the Canyon Village [Robin Town]. It destroyed all the fishing houses there. There are only the remnants of them" [9]. Whether or not the fire was a cause of, or a result of, the abandonment, it was one of the many changes that were occurring rapidly and simultaneously in the region. These changes had an effect upon the settlement patterns of First Nations in the region.

Kitsumkalum is located in a geographically strategic position at the confluence of the Kalum and Skeena Rivers. Numerous colonial industrial endeavours were happening on the Skeena River during this time and Kitsumkalum people were involved in the freighting industry up and down the river (McDonald 2003). The fish canning industry had spread north from the Fraser River, located in southern BC, and canneries were soon established on the lower Skeena River (Asante 1972:4). These canneries first appeared on the coast in circa 1875 and by 1885 they were in full operation. In 1885 anthropologist George Dorsey cites the population of Kitsumkalum at 150, with a population drop to 60

[9] Neeskael, A Larhskeek of Gitsemraelem. Adaawx #083. The Marius Barbeau Collection: William Beynon Fieldnotes, Marius Barbeau Collection, Library, Archives and Documentation Services, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa.

individuals by his visit in 1897 (Dorsey 1897:4). Although Dorsey was there in the summer months and people may have been away fishing, it remains that within a decade, from the time that people left Robin Town to move to Kitsumkalum and then to cannery towns, the community landscape had entirely changed.

Many Kitsumkalum families began to move to the coast in the late 1870s to take advantage of the economic aspect of working in a cannery town. Port Essington was the main cannery town where several families eventually relocated. Prior to its establishment, this particular town site had been a fall camping spot for people from Kitsumkalum, which demonstrates some continuity of relationship with the place on the landscape for community members and may explain why so many people were drawn there to live and work. "People moved down [to Port Essington] for employment and school and they ended up just living there" (Alex Bolton 03.08.08.01). The children were required to go to a Government compulsory school – not a residential school, but a public "Indian" school. As a result, the children were brought off the land to attend school in Port Essington. Yet families that moved to the cannery towns continued to rely on the land and resources. As Alex explained, many of these families established traplines on the coast and continued to harvest seafoods.

Back at Kitsumkalum, the railroad was being pushed west to Prince Rupert. Tracks were laid through the village between 1908-1911, destroying homes, gardens and the graveyard, and vastly changing the geography of Kitsumkalum. The people living in the community fought the railroad's encroachment on their lands with a blockade in 1909 and were successful in negotiating a settlement in the way of compensation which was not paid out until 1923 (McDonald 1990:43). This settlement was to pay for the

relocation of the graveyard as well as to compensate for some, but not all, of the changes that the railroad had made to the land and the community. Some people rebuilt their homes while others either went to Kitselas, called 'New Town', to Port Essington and to various other locations.

All the while, Port Essington was booming as a cannery town and was the center of activity for the region. People moved back and forth between the coast and Kitsumkalum, often planting gardens inland and returning seasonally to maintain them. During this time only two families maintained permanent residence at Kitsumkalum (Asante 1972; McDonald 2003).

A generation of Kitsumkalum children living at Port Essington experienced yet another geographic shift in the changing social and political landscapes of the region: "...we lived in – born and raised in – Port Essington [at the] mouth of the Skeena and about 1950, they sent us off to residential school. Stayed there until 1963. Port Essington burnt down while we were at residential school..."(Alex Bolton 03.08.08.01). Kitsumkalum children were sent to various residential schools in the province and/or to day school depending upon where they resided. The social landscapes for the children that did have to move away to attend residential schools changed completely. Additionally, their interactions with, and experiences of, the physical landscape would have changed dependent upon where in the province they were sent. When a series of fires that had completely destroyed the cannery town by 1960 caused people to move out of Port Essington, Kitsumkalum was re-established as a central residence (McDonald 2003). This move hugely affected the children returning from residential schools because the home they knew at Port Essington no longer existed.

When people moved back to Kitsumkalum, the village was revitalized but things had changed: "When we came back we saw all our stuff was gone – all our traplines were gone – like right now, even now, we got only one or two traplines in the whole Kalum Valley..." (Alex Bolton 03.08.08.01). Importantly, the nearby town of Terrace had been established during the time that most of the Kitsumkalum people had been away working on and near the ocean and the town had become a main railroad stop. The population in Terrace grew from a few key "pioneering" families and individuals who moved from elsewhere in Canada, Europe and the United States, determined to settle in the resource-rich region. Terrace, located approximately five kilometres east of Kitsumkalum, was starting to go through an economic boom due to the burgeoning forest industry at the time that people from Kitsumkalum were moving back to their community in the early 1960s, and the nearby city had begun to grow exponentially.

The colonial interpretation of the land as a "wilderness" and the resulting industrialization of the land, with its colonial appropriation of ownership, affected Kitsumkalum administration of the land. Prior to colonization, land management regimes were closely connected to the various social interactions and ideologies of the community through the feasting system. Therefore, it follows that these colonial changes to the physical landscape would affect the social and ideological landscapes of the community. McDonald (1985) explains how Tsimshian resources, including their property rights, were appropriated by progressive legislative acts during the 19th and 20th centuries. Examples of this are the resources that were on the closely administered *laxyuup* (territories) of the *pteex* (clans) and *wuwaap* (houses). These were usurped through legislation and the incorporation of Tsimshian peoples into the greater economy which

included relocation to the industrial centres along the Skeena River, including the canneries at its mouth (McDonald 2005:266). These 'estates' that were once part of the First Nations landscapes of the region, and that were now out of their control were relegated to a new understanding of the landscape that converted them to a "wilderness".

This process of transforming the landscapes of northern BC into a colonial perspective of the land as a wilderness contributed to making the physical landscape available for industrialization. This re-writing of the landscape was manifested through exercises of colonial power. Aside from the legal and economic changes to the landscape, physical changes also took place. The forestry industry, also an employer for people of Kitsumkalum, was a large contributor in the environmental destruction of Tsimshian resource sites. The industrialization of land that had once been so familiar forever changed the Tsimshian interactions with their lands (McDonald 1985). Far from being simple, the relationship between the Tsimshian and the forest industry is an extremely complex one and some of these complexities will be revealed in Chapter 5. McDonald (2005: 213) offers an economic analysis, describing the changing landscape as an "Aboriginal landscape [that] becomes a "wilderness"...to be turned into [an] instrument of labour that will drive the new economy. And so the Aboriginal forest becomes a commercial forest under a new regime of resource management."

"Buried Epistemologies": The Contemporary BC Landscape

Today, northern British Columbia has a diverse number of landscape values. In this section I will demonstrate that, although diverse, these dominant values are all based on the Western colonial ideologies that underlie the concept of the "wilderness". I will

also show how such varying values of "wilderness" can become homogenized and are therefore not so obvious and how First Nations perceptions are still marginalized today.

Northern BC is economically comprised of communities based on primary resource industries that necessarily involve extraction from, and manipulation of, the physical landscape. Geographer Bruce Willems-Braun (1997:6-7), in his article *Buried Epistemologies*, explores the reasons how and why Nuu-chah-nulth peoples were given no voice and were marginalized in the decision-making processes regarding the fate of their homelands in Clayquot Sound, British Columbia in the early 1990s. Rather, the groups involved in these decisions were environmentalists and industry. He (1997:7) examines how this lack of recognition given to First Nations interest in the land occurs by exploring "current and historical representational practices through which 'nature' is made to appear as an empty space of economic and political calculation and particular actors [are] authorized to speak for it". Further, Willems-Braun (1997: 7-11) demonstrates how contemporary promotional literature put forth by the forestry industry, embeds colonial understandings of the landscape within the current 'nature' rhetoric in British Columbia. Differing values of the land have an effect on the way landscapes are understood, and it is often the ideals that support economic gain that are considered to be 'legitimate'.

Lutz et al. (1999:259) observe, "North American attitudes toward wilderness have changed over the centuries. Wilderness areas were initially regarded as places to be feared, then as domains to be exploited, and finally as regions to be saved". The "wilderness" of northern BC fed the colonial need to develop valuable resource economies such as the fur trades, mining, and the fishing and forest industries. An

ideological switch in focus from industrial interests towards preservation, conservation and recreation began with the creation of the first provincial park in 1911 (Erlandson 1991:1). Since then there has continued to be ever-changing perceptions of how the "wilderness", in its capacity as parks, should be maintained. In 1987 the *Forest Act* was "amended to include wilderness area legislation" (Erlandson 1991:4). Aside from generating revenues, provincial parks had specific conservation and recreation goals. In the 1990s BC Parks and the B.C. Forest Service formed a joint planning initiative called Parks and Wilderness for the 90s. One of their main objectives is "to integrate the goals of a system of provincial parks with those of a system of provincial forest wilderness areas" (Erlandson 1991:3). "Wild nature" was no longer just a resource or an obstacle to overcome but was endangered and in need of protection; this became yet another perspective on wilderness (Oelschlaeger 1991:4).

Another example of how attitudes toward the "wilderness" have been redefined in northern BC, is in the increase of promoting the tourism qualities of the region. As primary resource towns experience economic slumps they must create new strategies for bolstering their local economies. The tourism economy has added yet another aspect to the complicated and multi-faceted concept of "wilderness". Later in this chapter I give an example of the relationship between tourism and "wilderness" in northern BC. Although these perspectives are composed of very different values attached to the wilderness, they all stem from the core ideology that a 'true' wilderness consists of a landscape devoid of humans and requires a paternal hand to guide its destiny.

This core ideology about wilderness is exemplified in how a recent study was carried out. This study dealt with British Columbians' personal understandings of the

wilderness by examining rural and urban attitudes towards, and perceptions of, the wilderness (Lutz et al. 1999). The Provincial capital city of Victoria was chosen as the urban sample, and the village of Telkwa as the rural sample. Telkwa is located approximately 220 kilometres east of Terrace and Kitsumkalum. In this study, there is no mention of whether or not First Nations were included in the study population, which can leave one to assume that they were not or that the cultural differences in perceptions between First Nations and non-First Nations were considered insignificant. In addition, by analysing the data simply along the lines of 'urban' and 'rural', the research is presented in such a way that the reader assumes that all the rural residents would have similar perceptions of wilderness. The complexities of "wilderness" are not revealed, and cultures are homogenized. The difference that was found in perceptions was considered "symptomatic of many land-use conflicts" (Lutz et al. 1999:265). There are two reasons why this study is problematic regarding a First Nations perspective of the land. The methodology did not allow space for First Nations voices, even though the focus was on issues that are of primary importance to First Nations in British Columbia today. This study also inadvertently demonstrates the extent to which First Nations continue to be conceptually prised apart, or 'cleared' from a wilderness landscape of British Columbia.

Closer to home...

There are a number of examples of the construction of "wilderness" and the maintenance of this ideal in northern BC. References to the wilderness can be found in a wide variety of sources, from materials promoting the development of industry, to local histories, to tourism guides and local websites. These materials all illustrate, in different

ways, how interpreting the landscape as a wilderness perpetuates particular ideals and how First Nations can be written off the landscape as a result.

The first example I will discuss are some connections between two accounts written by Reverend James McCullagh, described earlier in this chapter but repeated here to help illustrate my point, and a local pioneer history by Norma Bennett. McCullagh, a missionary living and working with the Nisga'a people at the turn of the 20th century wrote in 1896: " Oh, the joy of building this sanctuary in wild forest!...the voice of joy and gladness resounded through the primeval forest..."(in Moeran 1923:105). In a 1908 article he stated: "A very beautiful parish it is too. Almost identical in size with the whole of Palestine, from Dan to Beersheeba – a vast no-mans land [sic], unsurveyed and unexplored" (McCullagh 1908: xxii).

In her compilation of pioneer histories around the lower Skeena River, Norma Bennett opens the volume with a four-paragraph description of her interpretation of "Skeena Country":

> Valleys, slung like giant hammocks, invite the herds to graze, the crops to flourish. It is as though this land, wooed by the warming winds, kissed by the ardent sun, charmed by the rune [sic] in the treetops at night, lay waiting. Waiting until the time when change, in the guise of white-skinned men, should, at first gradually, then with a tempo so quickened as to be almost fearsome, transform it to a state scarcely recognizable. The promise of the land is for the future – food in abundance, materials with which to build, work for man's practical needs and beauty for his spiritual yearnings. Perfect sites for towns and settlements, offering space and peace and plenty; a land of opportunity requiring men and women of strength, of vision and of faith. It is indeed a time for sowing [Bennett 1997:12].

The landscape is presented as a static backdrop of a wilderness, lying in wait for the "white skinned men". There is also no acknowledgement that these "perfect sites for towns and settlements" were already towns, settlements, and their surrounding territories

for people already engaged in a dynamic social landscape. The reader is led to imagine this as an empty wilderness laying in wait. McCullagh gives a similar, yet more blatant, interpretation of the landscape in his description of a "vast no-mans land".

While Bennett goes on to acknowledge First Nations peoples in the region today and that they have ties to the land, she states that she is not able to explain how they fit into the landscape she describes above. What is interesting for this thesis is that the imagery regarding the landscape is so similar to the late 19th and early 20th century ideologies put forth by McCullagh, yet this was written in 1997. This similarity is an excellent example of how ideologies of the past can continue to inform ideologies of the present, in this case a Western colonial ideology. Echoing and perpetuating the musings of Reverend McCullagh, some 125 years later, exposes a more subtle 'pioneer legacy' which continues support a dominant interpretation of the landscape.

My next example is of a local history that marginalizes First Nations voices in favour of the voice of the settlers. The seminal work, *A History of Terrace* (1972), is written by Nadine Asante who she gives a detailed account of the founding and establishment of Terrace and the surrounding region from mainly a settler point of view. The book opens with an informative chapter, entitled 'Native Heritage', consisting of six pages of ethnohistorical information on Kitsumkalum including information gathered from interviews with community members. The remainder of the book chronicles the settlement of the Terrace area beginning in the early 1900s. Adeline Turner [Addie], who will be introduced in more detail in the following chapter, is a Ganhada (Raven) matriarch of Kitsumkalum whom Asante interviewed as part of her research for this book. In interviews that I conducted with Addie she contends that her version of her

grandparents' (Charles and Emma Nelson) involvement in the establishment of Terrace, what she calls her family's 'truth', has been left out. What was "left in" was the history of Terrace according to the 'pioneer' families. The only part of Addie's interview that is included is a brief description of her by the author:

> Some of the Indian people have stayed on their own designated 'reserve' property but others have left and intermarried with whites and assimilated into the mainstream of Terrace society. Addie Wulff [now Turner] named after George Little's sister 'Aunti Ad' is typical of the part Indian part white people whose neat home and well dressed children are a boon to the community [Asante 1972:5].

The single reference that Addie was afforded in the book did little justice to the story she had to tell. For Addie, the omission of her family's contribution to the establishment of Terrace still stings and is evidence that, no matter how much she was a 'boon to the community', her voice was still silenced (Addie Turner, personal communication 2003,2005,2006). The above description of Addie by Asante (1972) takes away her identity as a proud Tsimshian woman in two ways. First, Asante describes her as a "typical" well assimilated "part Indian and part white" person. Second, by writing off Addie as a First Nations person, her story is subsumed under George Little's, the much acclaimed "white" 'founder of Terrace'.

References to the wildness of the region can also be found in something as simple as a dedication. In Floyd Frank's (1991) *My Valley's Yesteryears* he dedicates his memoirs, as a member of one of the first settler families, "[t]o the early settlers of the Valley, both men and women. They were an honest lot who cheerfully accepted the hardships of life in the wilderness". Although this may seem brief, it has the power of

reinforcing ideologies that glorify the struggle of hardworking settlers against the wilderness.

The imagery of the struggle between "civilization" and the wilderness is also carried out in the promotion of industrial endeavours. The image below was taken from a magazine c. 1951.

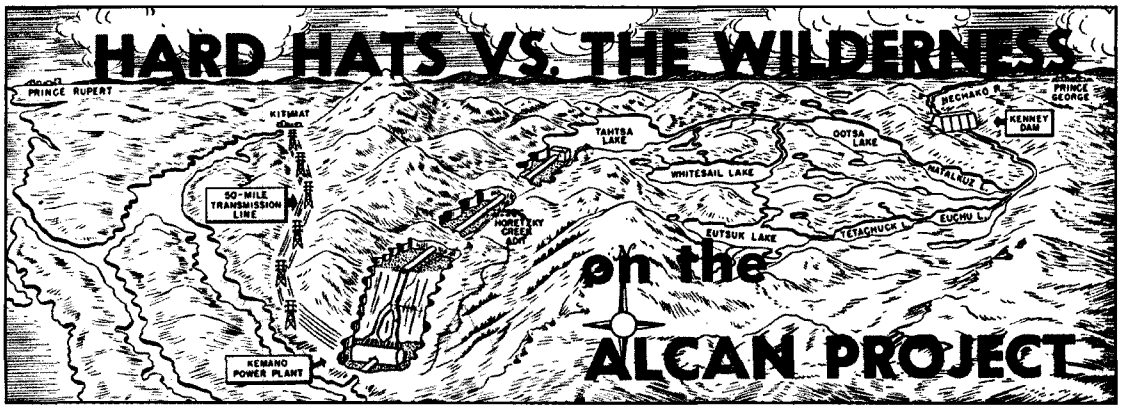

Figure 3 Promotional Map of the Alcan Project (Kitimat Museum & Archives, Fritz Wurster Collection)

This map depicts the Alcan Smelter project area in northern BC, giving an extremely powerful illustration of the way industry has portrayed the landscape and its utility. The region is represented as vast, stretching over half the province from Prince George to Prince Rupert and practically empty with only three settlements (the third one being Kitimat). By using the term wilderness and placing it in large, red font across the top of the map the company is suggesting that the image, and the landscape, be interpreted through that particular lens.

A local history of Port Edward, a community located approximately 140 kilometres west of Terrace, gives a textual example of the same type of imagery shown in the map above. Blyth (n.d. :3) gives a description of the need to 'open up' the wilderness

to industrial endeavours: "[b]efore the coming of the railroad, British Columbia was an unexplored region of mountains, lakes and rivers. Vast unassessed [sic] stands of timber, untold wealth in minerals, and millions of acres of land suitable for farming were obscured by their inaccessibility."

The imagery of "wilderness" is also used in promoting tourism in the region. The Official Visitors Guide for Prince Rupert, located 145 kilometres west of Terrace, is titled *Prince Rupert: Where Canada's Wilderness Begins* (Tourism Prince Rupert 2006). This city is at the westernmost terminus of railroad and through their marketing scheme people are encouraged to look eastward, with Prince Rupert providing the gateway to the wilderness. In the visitors guide and on the official website, www.tourismprincerupert.com, there is a separate section on *History and Culture* and one on *First Nations History. History and Culture* first gives the reader a brief history of the establishment of Prince Rupert and then states: "[t]oday, the City of Prince Rupert remains at the edge of wilderness, secure in a sheltered inner harbour and protected by a rim of islands along the famed Inside Passage"(9). Similarly, the write-up on *First Nations History* offers the following description: "[f]or countless generations, these communities presented the familiar line of post and beam cedar houses along the forest's edge in sheltered bays...."(11). The contemporary portrayal of the City of Prince Rupert and the historical image of First Nations communities are both representations of settlements on the edge of the wilderness. This depiction furthers the marketing goals, but situates the wilderness as the 'other' in relation to the humans dwelling on its edge.

These local examples demonstrate different ways that the imagery of wilderness is used and also how First Nations are often, though not always blatantly, written off the

landscapes of this region. They also reveal how some core ideologies of "wilderness" have persisted overtime and continue to be perpetuated through these different media. When the land is presented as a dehumanized and empty space, it remains open to different Western economic endeavours.

Towards creating a new space

Despite the fact that First Nations voices continue to be left out and marginalized while a colonial voice is privileged, First Nations landscape perspectives are still intrinsically tied to long-held traditional land-use values. Prior to contact with Europeans, the physical, social, and ideological landscapes of the Americas were informed and understood through an Indigenous perspective and worldview. Colonialism has effectively buried and silenced these Indigenous understandings of the landscape. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999:68) states that with colonization, "Indigenous ways of knowing were excluded and marginalized". In other words, an 'erasure' or methodical and often unconscious, reinterpretation of Indigenous history has taken place in many colonized areas (Sarkar 1999:405; Bayet 1998; Cronon 1995) as a result of a dominant culture's ideological inscription on the landscape.

Language can be used as a colonial tool to impose particular and specific meanings that serve to homogenize a diverse landscape of multiple nations into a single "Indian" landscape. "Wilderness" was used as a colonial tool to describe/elide a myriad of physical, social, and ideological landscapes that had already been written upon since 'time immemorial'. First Nations landscapes were not read or interpreted within their

own contexts by the colonizer but, instead, were often read and interpreted through the single Western context of a "wilderness".

Although meanings of wilderness have changed over time and the concept has taken on new complexities, it continues to represent a space that does not allow for inclusion of First Nations landscape perspectives. An example of how this exclusion occurs in society is given in Willems-Braun's (1997) "Buried Epistemologies". This chapter has offered a post-colonial critique of the dominant Western ideology of "wilderness" that buried the First Nations ideologies/epistemologies of the landscape. I have shown that the ideologies of "wilderness" have re-written the landscapes of northern BC by seeing and interpreting the land through a colonial lens. I have also shown through various examples of local histories, industry and tourism marketing that these interpretations can continue to be manifested in our worldviews through the continued reading, interpreting and re-writing of Western colonial ideologies of the physical, social and ideological landscapes of northern BC.

I would argue that everyone has a relationship to the land, both First Nations and non-First Nations. *How* the relationships differ becomes both an interesting and important question. The following quote from a First Nation person local to Kitsumkalum gives a glimpse into how her relationship with the land is different and offers a post-colonial critique of the local pioneer histories:

> When I think of Terrace, I don't think of George Little and the pioneers. I think of the salmon and the families; family is huge! I guess I think of communities as families...and a bit more specifically, culturally, I would think of our clan house...because when we have to hold our feasts and we have to have our meetings we have our responsibilities and roles...
>
> [Kathy Wesley 03.08.14.02]

In the next chapter, I will describe the ethnographic tools and methods that I employed to allow me to hear other perspectives of the forested landscapes of northern BC.

Chapter Four: The Methods

Doing Ethnography

Kellehear (1993:21) describes ethnography as an "approach to analysing and portraying a social system" as opposed to a method. Along these lines, Dell Hymes (1999 [1969]:22) interprets Herotodus' contribution to ethnography as seizing "...an opportunity...to find order in newly perceived diversity, to try to explain a new horizon of knowledge in regard to human nature and culture, against a background of a sense of the inadequacy of received perspectives, and of a hope for the future". Theoretically speaking, it is an approach to investigating alternatives to dominant societal perspectives, which is the overall intent of my thesis research.

I have written this thesis within a larger critical paradigm taking into account feminist[10], post-modern and post-colonial theoretical approach to 'doing' research and ethnography. A post-colonial theoretical approach has been discussed in the previous chapters, contextualizing the foundation of this study as a post-colonial critique. LeCompte and Schensul (1999:45) identify the central concern of a critical approach as a desire to examine "...how the history and political economy of a nation, state, or other system exerts direct or indirect domination over the political, economic, social, and cultural expressions of citizens or residents, including minority groups". This thesis is

[10] Although I have not presented a definitive feminist approach to this topic, the methods are feminist in my recognition of the subject-position I held throughout this entire process (Spivak 1988; Cole 1995) and in my intent to come to a new space of "conversations [through which] we create the discursive spaces in which new subjectivities can emerge" (Gibson-Graham 1994:224).

concerned with examining how dominant ideologies can become so intrinsic to a particular worldview that it can seem that there is no space left for different ways of seeing and knowing.

Ethnographic research requires going out into the world to answer questions. These answers will contribute to a better understanding of the human landscapes around us. By definition, this method of research subsequently involves writing about the information gathered during fieldwork. This process has its own underlying struggles with power, which, for myself as the researcher, meant grappling with issues such as voice and representation. This chapter engages with these and other issues through a discussion of ethical considerations present throughout the fieldwork process, followed by an outline of the methods used, and finishing with a review of the analytic process.

Ethnographic Concerns

Conducting ethnographic research meant that my subjectivity required attention. Maxwell (1996:90-91) lists researcher bias and reactivity as two specific threats to the validity of a study. Researcher bias involves the researcher unconsciously selecting certain data as a result of her/his own theories, values and preconceptions. This is impossible to avoid completely and has been labelled the "inherent reflexivity of qualitative research" (91). Although this study arose from my interest in the subject matter, the support I received from community leaders helped to address some of that inherent bias.

Rubin and Rubin (1995) point out that a researcher must realize the impossibility of remaining a neutral entity when working with a person or with a group of people (13).

Reflexivity, called reactivity by Maxwell (1996), refers to the requirement of constantly being aware of and reflecting upon one's effect on a research setting (Smith 1999:137). How a researcher orients herself/himself within, and is affected by, a community will constantly shape how that researcher understands the world around her/him (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995:16).

One way that I dealt with my awareness was through maintaining a field note journal. This literary tool allowed me to reflect upon my experiences in the field and made me continually aware of what Spivak (1988:243) refers to as the ""I"- slots (subject-positions)" of myself as the researcher. It became clear to me that my "I"-slot went through changes throughout this research process. I positioned myself and also found myself positioned (from the perspective of the community) variously and often simultaneously as an outsider, researcher, colleague, peer, student, friend, and author. These (changing) "I" slots were dependent upon my social actions and interactions with the community (Campbell et al. 2006).

I initially positioned myself as a graduate student from UNBC trying to gain access with the community to work on this project. As a non-First Nations person who was a new face in the community I was also positioned as an outsider. In addition, being a woman in her 30s influenced my social interactions in the community. While working in the space offered to me in the Treaty Office, I worked alongside three of the interviewees. One of those interviewees I also knew as a peer. We took a class together at UNBC years earlier and, both still students of UNBC, still interacted in this capacity. I positioned myself as a researcher when carrying out my interviews but also found myself as a student of the interviewees. Through our dialogue they taught me about their

relationship to the land. I also found myself making new friends with interviewees and other community members whom I was interviewing. Although it was made explicit to me by a very small number of people that I would always be the researcher and outsider, I ended up being someone who many community members recognized and knew. Finally, I take the subject-position of author; being accountable to the people I interviewed and to the community by working to properly convey the information that I gathered from the interviews.

Data collection and analysis techniques are commonly differentiated as being either qualitative or quantitative with some researchers using one or the other and some utilizing a combination of both (LeCompte and Schensul 1999). This research design is fundamentally qualitative; quantitative techniques were limited to the extent of counting the number of themes as part of the interview analysis. Yet, Borgatti (1998:252) makes the interesting case that what may be considered a strictly qualitative design can actually having a "quantitative spirit" by employing very ordered and systematic data collection methods. Using this line of reasoning, the following explanation of methods for the data collection and analysis portion of this project can be considered a "postmodern blend of qualitative and quantitative" (Borgatti 1998:252). Validity and reliability can be maintained through following and documenting a careful methodology which allows for a primarily qualitative research agenda, often criticized for its subjectivity, to be grounded (Bryman and Teevan 2005:157). By using multiple methods and speaking with multiple sources this subjectivity can be mediated.

In order to explore and then articulate what First Nations ideologies of the landscapes of northern BC are (see research questions Ch. 1, p. 2) I went to Kitsumkalum

in the summer months of 2003. As described in the introduction to this thesis, this was not my first visit and I had previously been out to meet with community members and to talk about my ideas. Ervin (2000) describes this process as the first of many different phases of participant observation. These phases begin with the researcher gaining entry into a community, to explaining why they are there, establishing rapport, becoming accepted, through to the final stages of undertaking data collection and analysis (Ervin 2000:143-146).

My initial time at Kitsumkalum was limited to one month. I then went out to the community sporadically, but never less than once every four months. Visits lasted up to two weeks, including working at the Treaty Office. In 2006 I moved to Terrace, and maintained close contact with the community.

Methodologically, participant observation would best describe the social interactions that were involved in becoming better acquainted with community members. This entailed simply 'hanging out' with people, including attending community gatherings, some of which will be discussed below. Participant observation has been described by Jorgenson (1989) as an appropriate method for investigating the meanings that people use to define their surrounding environment, making space for critical reviews of "...theories and other claims to knowledge"(13).

Using interviews as a method of information gathering for the participant observer (Jorgenson 1989:22), I talked to people about their daily interactions – physical, social, and conceptual – with their environment. Participant observation is one component of ethnographic research. Jorgenson defines its goal: "Ultimately, the methodology of participant observation aims to generate practical and theoretical truths

about human life grounded in the realities of daily existence" (Jorgensen 1989:14). Following is an explanation of the ethnographic field methods I used in collecting then analyzing the primary data from the interviews.

Interviewing Methods

Primary data was collected through exploratory in-depth interviews with community members. The intention of exploratory interviews "is to discover new information and expand existing understanding" (Schensul et al. 1999:125). "What the land means to people in the community", as a general research question, was too vague for people to answer. Yet, it was a subject in which members of the community were very interested. In regards to documenting the importance of the land for people at Kitsumkalum, Diane Collins (03.08.13.01) stated: "I think that there's a real need for Indigenous people to get their feelings, their thought processes ... out on paper and it's a job for our leadership to begin to do". Interest from community contacts, coupled with the treaty negotiations around land use and value that are part of the current social and political landscapes of British Columbia, led me to pursue this research regardless of its breadth. Johnson (1998) asserts, "exploratory research can be the primary focus of a given design or just one of many components"(139). An exploratory approach was the methodological medium that I chose for this particular study. This approach allows for a broad examination of perspectives.

Exploratory in-depth interviewing techniques were chosen for this research because they:

- Are relatively unstructured in advance

- Are designed to permit an open exchange between the researcher and the participants in the study
- Allow the researcher to explore areas, cultural domains, or topics of interest in great depth without presupposing any specific responses or conclustions
- Are likely to reveal new points, directions, and ideas for further exporation

[Schensul et al. 1999:145-146]

The interviews were "relatively unstructured". An interview guide helped me to give direction to the interviews. I developed a set of questions at UNBC and submitted those, along with my research proposal, to the UNBC Research Ethics Board (REB) which gave ethics clearance. As stated in Chapter 1, I had also obtained permission to do the research with Kitsumkalum from then elected Chief, Diane Collins. Once at Kitsumkalum, I slightly modified the initial interview questions after a discussion with Linda Horner, a community member who was working at the Kitsumkalum Treaty Office at that time. Linda worked with me to adapt the questions in ways that, she felt, would be better received by interviewees (Appendix A).

Open-ended questions "allow[ed] respondents to answer in their own words, rather then being given choices" (de Munck and Sobo 1998: 259). Choices can set limitations, potentially hindering the results of exploratory interviewing. Although the interviews were one-way, with the interviewee doing most of the talking (Ervin 2000:153) the use of probes, feedback, and affirmations, as well as expressions indicating I understood what I was being told permitted conversation to flow while guiding the interview at the same time (see Ervin 2000, Rubin and Rubin 1995).

The Interviewees

For the purposes of this study, anyone who is part of the community of Kitsumkalum is considered to have an equally valid perspective and contribution because this study is about the community's cultural ties to the land. I feel strongly that, as an outsider, I cannot dictate whether or not one person's perspective on this topic is more valid than another. Likewise, as an anthropologist, I believe that everyone has culture and therefore what anyone has to say about her/his culture has value. Nevertheless, sampling decisions are essential in setting constraints on the scope of a project.

The main purpose of sampling techniques in ethnographic fieldwork is to assemble a fair representation of the study population whose opinions, thoughts and/or ideas can be generalized to represent the population as a whole. The specific technique of exploratory interviewing, on the other hand, requires a certain type of representation. The goal is to develop a "breadth of perspective" that will identify a set of domains for further study (Schensul et al. 1999:125). Although a specific sampling technique is not required, sampling considerations and decisions need to be made in order to get a sense of the range of people's experience of the land.

At the conceptual stages of this project, I had thought about whom I would want to interview in order to gain varied perspectives. It is common practice to interview elders in First Nations communities, as they are often considered the holders of cultural knowledge and thus respected and honoured because of their memories and wealth of experience. Although I agree with this practice, I wanted to try a different approach and find out how people from different age groups, different gender affiliations, and different life histories experience the land.

A variety of sampling methods were utilized in carrying out this approach. Many of these methods overlap. Following are descriptions of the interviewees intertwined with the sampling choices I made which led me to those particular people. I present the information in this way to demonstrate how the process developed for me during my time in the field. As a new researcher going into a community that I was unfamiliar with, the task of finding interviewees progressed almost naturally: meeting one potential interviewee led to another, which led to another. The main sampling methods I used fall under purposeful sampling, while a few interviewees were chosen using convenience sampling.

According to Patton (in Maxwell 1998:87), purposeful sampling is a method "in which particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices". This has also been referred to as criterion-based selection (LeCompte and Preissle in Maxwell 1996, Schensul et al. 1999). Similarly, Schatzman and Strauss (Strauss 1987:39) refer to selective sampling as "the calculated decision to sample a specific locale or type of interviewee according to a preconceived but reasonable initial set of dimensions (such as time, space, identity) which are worked out in advance for a study."

Maxwell (1996:71-72) outlines four different goals for which purposeful sampling is useful: to properly and completely represent the entire population of study; to demonstrate the diversity within the population; to purposefully choose the cases you want to study according to the theories you have developed or are developing; to draw or establish comparisons in order to highlight reasons for difference within a population (71-

72). These goals, with some modification, provide a way of contextualizing some of the sampling decisions made for this thesis.

Maxwell's first goal cannot be fully achieved in exploratory research when the diversity within the population is not well known, but it can be a guiding principle for discovery. Therefore, the interviewees were chosen using criteria that were intended to represent a social cross-section of people from Kitsumkalum and these criteria were refined as the study proceeded. This process addresses Maxwell's second goal of demonstrating diversity. Finding diversity is important because it offers the breadth of perspective that, again, is central to exploratory research and interviewing. A postmodern ethnographic approach led me to make the sampling decisions I felt were important for inclusion by talking to people of different ages, genders and backgrounds. This was how the second and third goals provided guidance during the research. Maxwell's fourth goal was also applicable to this research. My central concern was to identify common perspectives from Kitsumkalum that are shared by a cross section in the population.

Reputational sampling is a type of purposeful sampling. One of the central tenets of reputational sampling includes involving community members in research processes and acknowledging them as the experts (Maxwell 1996:71-72; Schensul et al. 1999:235-236, 240-241). From this perspective reputational sampling is the perfect technique for conducting community-centered research and a decolonized methodology, described in the introduction of this thesis. Community members are acknowledged as being the experts. Rather than this thesis being about me telling people 'who they are', it is about people informing me of their perspective. I have tried to properly represent people's voices by directly quoting them, as well as by including their expertise throughout this

thesis rather than by containing it only within the ethnographic picture that I present in the following chapter.

It becomes clear that the numerous sampling decisions I chose move from more general decisions that affect and are affected by the research as a whole, to the specific task of on-the-ground selection of respondents. I will now discuss the methodological process I went through in finding the interviewees for this thesis and provide an introduction for each person. Reputational sampling was used for the initial two people I had chosen as interviewees. These two people were Alex Bolton and Diane Collins, both of whom I had initially met in 2002 (see Chapter One) and who I will introduce first.

Alex Bolton has lived in Kitsumkalum, in his words, "since about 1963. Before that we [were] born and raised in Port Essington at the mouth of the Skeena and about 1950 they sent us off to residential school [in Lytton] and stayed there until 1963" (Alex Bolton 03.08.08.01). Alex is a *Gisbutwada* (Killerwhale) hereditary chief of *Waap* Łagaax (House of Łagaax) wearing the name Hataxgm Lii Mideek. He has been the treaty negotiator for Kitsumkalum since the inception of the treaty process in the early 1990s.

Diane held the position of Chief Councillor from 1999-2003 for Kitsumkalum. In her words, she "never grew up on the Reserve. I grew up in Prince Rupert and Vancouver and Prince George all of my life and I've only come back to the Reserve in the last 15 years to experience what it was like to live on the Reserve" (Diane Collins 03.08.13.01). Diane is from the *Gisbutwada Waap* Nishaywaaxs [the Killerwhale House of Chief Nishaywaaxs], generally associated with Kitselas, but is a Kitsumkalum band member.

Diane currently resides in Kitsumkalum, is the Executive Director of the Kermode Friendship Society in Terrace and is very active in community affairs.

Schensul et al. (1999) warn that "convenience samples should be used only when the research is exploratory or when specific variations in the population have little effect in the phenomenon under study" (233). Convenience sampling uses individuals in the population as interviewees who readily make themselves available (Ervin 2000:180, Schensul et al. 1999:233). The next two people I interviewed were Allan Bolton and Linda Horner. Allan and Linda were both working in the Treaty Office and both willing to let me interview them in order to help me pre-test my interview tool and practice my interviewing skills.

Allan Bolton is Alex's son, has grown up in Kitsumkalum and has his own children, who live with him. Not being Kitsumkalum through his matriline, but Sto:lo, Allan was "adopted through Vera [Henry] on Kitsumklaum" (Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01) into the *Laxgibuu pteex* (Wolf clan). Allan is the GIS Technician and Resource Assistant in the Kitsumkalum Treaty Office.

The late Linda Horner was a *Gisbutwada* of the *Waap* Łagaax. She was born in Terrace and lived, as she says, "uptown until I was eleven years old and then moved to Vancouver Island and I lived there for seven years and came back [to Kitsumkalum] when I was eighteen" (Linda Horner 03.08.14.01). Linda lived at Kitsumkalum "off and on" for the past twenty years, residing for short periods in Vancouver and in Prince George, where Linda attended UNBC and obtained her Bachelor of Arts in General Studies. Linda also worked on a Traditional Use Study project at Kitsumkalum that took

place during the 1990s, and in the Treaty Office as a researcher and as the Office Administrator. Linda died at Kitsumkalum in 2006.

Snowball sampling, a form of reputational case selection, is when respondents identify other individuals to be contacted for further data collection, in this case for interviews (Ervin 2000:180). For my research, the interviewees volunteered this information if they felt that there was someone in particular that I should try and speak to. Interestingly, the individual advising the interviewer on potential interviewees is making their judgments based upon the same criteria as reputational sampling. The first snowball case occurred when Allan Bolton suggested that I talk to his mother Annette Bolton because of her constant interaction with the land and the resources. Annette is originally from Lytton and moved to Kitsumkalum with her husband Alex in 1963. She was adopted by Vera Henry into the *Laxgibuu pteex* at Kitsumkalum. Annette is an artist whose work includes quillwork, basketry, and carving. She spends a considerable amount of her time on the land, covering a large geographical area which will be discussed further in the analysis that follows. Annette gathers resources not only for her artistry, but also engages in the economic activity of mushroom picking.

During the first week of my time spent in the community I was introduced to a wide variety of people, including people in the Treaty Office, people who worked in the band office and health unit, and elders who often have lunch at the Happy Gang, a volunteer-run senior's facility located in Terrace. I also met the matriarch Charlotte Guno, who generously allowed me to attend two events that were part of a *Gisbutwada Waap* Nishaywaaxs family reunion that, as the matriarch of this house, she had

organized. This included a barbeque at Lakelse Lake on August 1st, 2003 and, three days later on August 4th, a feast held at Kitselas, the sister community to Kitsumkalum.

Ervin (2000) finds that there are different ways in which a researcher can participate in a community. Informal social situations are a way in which researchers can become involved in the community, become known, and show their respect for the "importance of hospitality and visiting" in other cultures/ communities (149). Schensul et al. (1999:91) describe participant observation as learning through observing or becoming directly involved with every-day activities in the research setting. It is often a first step in conducting ethnographic research. The above interactions are some of the ways that I engaged in participant observation.

It was at the Happy Gang Centre that Dr. Jim McDonald introduced me to the late Addie Turner, whom he advised would be a good person to interview. Jim is an anthropologist who has been working with Kitsumkalum in a research capacity continually since the late 1970s. In a personal capacity, he was formally adopted into the community in the early 1990s and given a name, roles and responsibilities. Both of these factors means that he knows people at Kitsumkalum very well and, because of the extensive amount of research he has done, that he could be considered a "keymaster", or a "researcher-turned-gatekeeper" (Campbell et al. 2006:99). Thus, his position with the community made him a good person to take suggestions from regarding potential interviewees. Addie Turner was a matriarch of the *Ganhada pteex* (Raven clan) and held the name Amdolth in *Waap* Xpilaxa. Addie grew up residing in both Terrace and Kitsumkalum. In fact, her grandparents Charles and Emma Nelson maintained residence at Kitsumkalum during the time when the rest of the community went downriver to Port

Essington to live and work in the cannery town. Addie was a permanent resident of the Terrace area her entire life and had seen many significant changes to the landscapes of the region. Addie passed away in November of 2007 at the age of eighty-six.

It was also at the Happy Gang Centre that I met Roy Nelson through another case of convenience sampling. Roy is Addie's younger brother. Their paternal grandfather, Charles Nelson, mentioned above, was a *Gisbutwada Sm'ooyget* who lived during the early 20th century. Roy worked at some of the mills in town and also worked in the forestry industry as a timber cruiser as well as for a forestry engineer. He started working in 1949 and when he was in his early thirties he made a move to Montreal, returning to Terrace when he was 62.

Jim McDonald also introduced me to Kathy Wesley outside of the Treaty Office. Kathy was living at Kitsumkalum at that time and had previously lived in New Remo, a small community that is located approximately 10km west of Kitsumkalum. Kathy's mother is a Nisga'a *Gisbutwada* and her father is from Kitsumkalum. His family resettled at Kitsumkalum from Port Essington in the 1950s. Kathy grew up "among the Nisga'a, my Nisga'a family up in Canyon City, or Gitwinksihlkw, is what they name it now" (Kathy Wesley 03.08.14.02), as well as at Kitsumkalum. Kathy has also spent "fifteen years in Calgary and then six years in New Remo, and having grown up here from the time I was born to when I left at nineteen, and then in the last year I came back" (Kathy Wesley 03.08.14.02). Kathy works for the Northwest Band Social Workers Association based in Terrace, is active in issues regarding violence against women and is currently completing a Masters degree in Social Work.

The above descriptions of interviewees are brief summaries demonstrating the diversity in the backgrounds of the interviewees[11]. Although I was happy with the end result of the range of people I interviewed, which was my initial intent, there was no representative of the *Laxsgiik pteex* (Eagle Clan) amongst the interviewees. This means that from the perspective of the social organization of the community this was a gap in fulfilling my sampling criteria. Also, I would like to note that aside from the jobs that engage them in the larger economy, some of the most important economic activities for all the people interviewed include the gathering and processing of berries, fish, and other sea and land foods. The interviewees themselves discuss these economic aspects of their lives in the following chapter.

The qualitative nature of my data collection method of exploratory in-depth interviewing meant that interviewees may have shared personal feelings, attitudes, and experiences (Kimmel 1988:85). Thus, confidentiality was an issue I needed to address and I did so with each interviewee signing a consent form which had been approved through the UNBC Research Ethics Board. The respondents did not choose to be anonymous and preferred to be cited (see Evans 2004). It is for this reason that I have been able to include the above background descriptions of the interviewees. All original documentation resulting from the interviews, including signed informed consent forms, interview recordings and interview transcriptions will be housed at the Kitsumkalum Treaty Office. Two of the interviewees requested that all documentation pertaining to their interviews be retained in the archives of Dr. Jim McDonald rather than at the Treaty Office, to which he agreed.

[11] See Appendix 1 for a complete listing of the interviewees and their corresponding interview numbers.

The Analytic Process

The interviews were audio taped and transcribed verbatim by myself with the help of community member Sheila Bolton, and professional transcriber Tim Lee. I then edited the initial transcriptions. Transcribing and then editing the interviews allowed me to hear the interviews again, which is a decidedly different process than conducting the interviews because it allowed me to engage with the information in an alternate way.

The final transcribed interview materials consisted of over 300 pages of single spaced text that proved to be daunting because of the amount of information and the fear of not doing justice to what people told me. This material represented voices from the community and, as such, had to be dealt with in such a way as to give an analysis that did not wrongly interpret peoples' voices and intent. In order to sort out the information gathered, a few analytic techniques were required. Allan Kellehear (1993) explains that there is not necessarily any one clear analysis technique and, more often than not, there are overlaps in approach. He goes on to describe different styles of analysis as "...simply ways of seeing and analyzing patterns in the social world" (34).

The analysis process was not limited to the final stage of research, but encompassed all stages of fieldwork, starting with entering the community and ending with the ethnographic 'picture' (as presented in Chapter 5). LeCompte and Schensul (1999: 15,147) describe this process of ethnographic analysis as "grounded theory", or as recursive analysis. This process is a continual conversation between deductive and inductive analysis; applying "general explanatory statements" to "specific items" and, in turn, applying "specific items" to develop "general explanatory statements".

When reading through the interviews, I applied a theme, or what I will describe as a "general explanatory statement", to a specific account or observation made by the interviewee, while at the same time the interview material informed the designation of themes. I continued this process with the analysis of themes as they took shape and formed into an ethnography, concluding with the discussion in the final chapter that takes the more generalized statements from the ethnography, as "specific items", and develops "general explanatory statements" informed by the theory, thus grounding the theory in the research.

Kellehear (1993) equates grounded theory with thematic analysis, explaining that themes are defined from the data. "Thematic analysis usually looks for ideas in the narrative or in the text being examined" (Kellehear 1993:39). Thematic analysis is useful for a critical approach because it requires the "analysis of results to unmask inequities in processes and phenomena" (LeCompte and Schensul 1999:60). Issues of reliability and validity, described above, can become problematic within a qualitative analysis technique and require that I address some of the choices made within the analysis itself.

One choice concerned the weighting of themes according to how frequently they were mentioned. As Kellehear (1993) notes, the frequency of a theme does not render it more important than less frequent themes (39). If statement or theme was raised only once, I recognized it equally as one identified by several people. My subsequent evaluation of its significance was not based solely on frequency, but on whether or not it was relevant to my analysis.

Throughout the following ethnographic analysis I often used the term "people" when synthesising the information offered by the interviewees on one theme. This does

not mean that everyone in the community is of the same opinion and it is not meant to over-generalize or highlight only one viewpoint. I addressed the issues of voice and representation through the use of direct quotes. Additionally, I felt that using people's own words will demonstrate to the reader the knowledge community members possess and, importantly, that the knowledge is theirs to share. This approach fits well within a critical paradigm, in which part of the interviewee's role is as an active teacher (LeCompte and Schensul 1999:59). It should also be noted that direct quotes were edited for clarity only, and not for content. An example of this method was the removal of 'filler' words such as "um".

A Synthesis of Voice: from thematic analysis to ethnography

My thematic analysis of the interview material first revealed thirty-eight themes. I created a list in the order that I came across each of these themes. These themes stood out for me as a result of listening to the interviews at least twice each and reviewing the transcripts with my thesis topic in mind. I acknowledge that these decisions are mine, but I hope that my experience and training enables me to offer a fair representation of important topics both to the people of Kitsumkalum as a whole, and for the interviewees in particular. Although I did not sit down formally with the interviewees to review the following ethnographic chapter (Chapter 5), the recursive approach of my interviews and other methods of participant observation allowed me to test the significance of the themes within the community.

The interview material was then sorted according to the themes. As previously discussed in detail (Chapter 4), some of the interview materials were cross referenced to

more than one theme. This resulted in over one hundred pages of single spaced material. The next step involved summarizing the materials under each thematic category, with some themes being incorporated into others, resulting in approximately thirty pages of single-spaced text. Up to this point, the process had been very difficult because the themes were all so interrelated. Pulling the themes apart was further complicated because of the potential of reducing meaning by trying to understand and describe one 'part' on its own. The interviews themselves had a holistic integration that the thematic analysis violated.

I then brought the themes together in such a way as to retain that holistic meaning. This required finding a way to talk about the important ties to the land as an interrelated whole. This thesis uses landscape as a theoretical tool to better understand the complex relationships between people, place and space, and to discuss different perspectives. Thus, Soja's (1989) three descriptive categories, social landscape, ideological landscape, and physical landscape were chosen as theoretical and methodological tools used to thematically organize and present the cultural information in an ethnographic format.

Separating the themes into these three theoretical categories also proved difficult because, as Figure 4 demonstrates, themes sorted and categorized under 'social landscape' certainly have aspects of the 'physical landscape' and vice versa. In the end, the information describing the 'ideological landscape' was so intrinsic to the above two categories that it was woven throughout the ethnography rather than being a separate category in its own. Thirty-eight themes became sixteen themes separated under three broader categories. As stated above, some themes were subsumed into others and information from other themes has been woven throughout other chapters in this thesis.

The interconnectedness of the themes and their categories will be demonstrated in the following chapter.

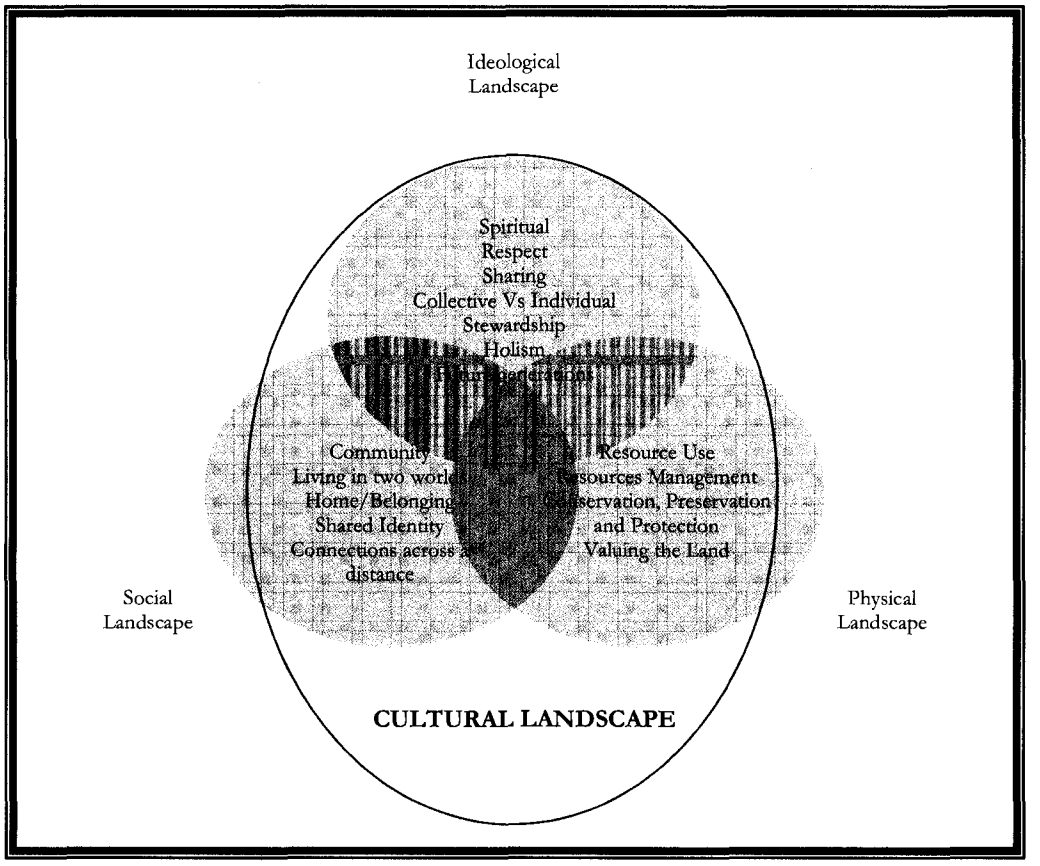

Figure 4 A Conceptual Map of the Ethnographic Analysis (adapted from Soja 1989)

The subsequent ethnography is not a definitive analysis. What it offers is a synthesis of voice that stands on its own as personal truths that people have shared about their relationships to the land. The information that people shared demonstrates the complexities of the ties that people have to the land. As Diane Collins (03.08.13.01) stated "...because it's not simply a garden that can be replanted. It's far more complex than that." My exploration of that complexity as part of the cultural landscape of Kitsumkalum is the subject of the remainder of this thesis.

Chapter Five: Perspectives from Kitsumkalum

I now move from a discussion of the ethnographic methods and methodology toward specifically addressing the notion of Kitsumkalum perspectives of the land. It should be noted that the different ways that the land is discussed in this ethnography do not necessarily speak to how all members of Kitsumkalum view the landscape. Rather, it is reflective of the perspectives of the interviewees. What I wish to present is a multi-vocal ethnography that can give a sense of the landscape and the variety of Kitsumkalum perspectives and relationships to the land. This is a post-colonial critique of the concept of "wilderness" as evidenced through how the interviewees read, interpret and write their landscapes.

I have organized this chapter according to the conceptual map presented at the close of Chapter 4 (see Figure 4). This conceptual map is a result of the necessary analytical sorting by which I separated sixteen themes under three broader categories. These three broad categories are the social landscape, the physical landscape and the ideological landscape (cf. Soja 1989). This grouping lent itself well to the purpose of this chapter because it offered a framework for demonstrating the complexities of interviewees' relationships to the land. Additionally, the resulting ethnographic description exemplifies the interrelatedness of these three spatial understandings of the landscape; the social, the physical and the ideological (cf. Soja 1989).

I will start with presenting the voices of people from Kitsumkalum in their discussion of the social landscape. This will be followed by a depiction of how the same people verbalized the physical landscape. The ideological landscape and the themes that I identified as part of that category (spiritual, respect, sharing, collective vs. individual, stewardship, holism, future generations) are not presented in the same manner as the physical and social landscape sections of this chapter. Rather, I discuss the ideological aspects of the land from the interviewees' perspectives at the end of this chapter and in the following chapter (Chapter 6) and I do this as a summary as opposed to using direct quotes. I present this category in a different way for two reasons.

First, in the analysis stage, the interview materials that were sorted into the above seven ideological themes were materials that were identified as part of other themes already included in either the social or physical landscape categories. Although this situation could beg the question as to whether or not the ideological landscape should even be a separate category, I maintain that it should. These seven themes are integral to the articulation of the social and physical landscapes yet their importance to the interviewees and thus the community requires them to stand on their own. This importance was determined by how strongly the interviewee spoke about them and by how many times a particular theme was mentioned. Additionally, as a response to a dominant colonial ideology of these landscapes as a "wilderness", First Nations ideologies of the land need to be separated out and their discussion is necessary.

This takes me to the second, yet related, reason for not presenting the ideological landscape as part of my discussion in this particular chapter. It proved too difficult to pull the themes apart from the important information that comprised the social and physical

landscape descriptions. The social and physical landscape discussions would have lost important cultural context if the ideological landscape information were separated. Thus, the ideological landscape is woven throughout the social and physical landscape sections in this chapter. In the following ethnography, the constant dialogue between the social, the physical and the ideological is revealed resulting in a picture of the Kitsumkalum cultural landscape and ideologies of the land (see Figure 4, Chapter 4).

Social Landscape

The following ethnographic description of the social landscape Kitsumkalum is derived from the themes of Community, Living in Two Worlds, Home and Belonging, Shared Identity and Connections Across a Distance. These themes were chosen to be included in this section because, although also part of the physical landscape and the ideological landscape, this is how people explain and define their social relationships to the land.

Community

> *"Right here you're living, you're living and breathing with all of your relatives, all collectively, in one geographical area."*
>
> *[03.08.14.02 Kathy Wesley]*

Interviewees described their community in a number of ways with the underlying concept being one of the "collective". The "collective" encompasses notions of family, of working together and sharing responsibilities that go along with the harvesting, gathering and sharing of resources, and the sense of home, belonging and identity that results from these social networks and connections. Further, the term "family" extends beyond, yet also includes, a western notion of the nuclear family to include members of an

individuals' *pteex*. It is both the nuclear families and *pteex* that constitute the village of Kitsumkalum, or *galts'ap*.

> [the land] doesn't belong to just one family and you're in a fenced sort of thing. It's like a collective mind-set of being: "This isn't just my property; it belongs to the whole nation or communities". I think even a long time ago, even before the Reserve system was established, from the stories that I hear from my grandma and grandpa everything was done in a collective sense. Everyone had a role, not only in the feasting system, but just in food preparation [Kathy Wesley 03.08.14.02].

Both the sharing of resources and shared responsibilities to one another are important. Shared responsibilities are described in terms of support towards family, *pteex* and community. This support is offered through the sharing of food and resources as well as through *being* a community. "Some spots, like the Hell's Gate, is used quite a bit for food and social [purposes] because we just give it out to all our families. It's kinda cool 'cause people get together and...share the foods" (03.08.05.01 Allan Bolton). As Linda Horner and Alex Bolton explain:

> We would all go out, [my grandmother, Miriam Temple] and her nieces who were in their 30s and 40s and then the kids who were all around my age, we'd all go out and we'd go berry picking. That was a lot of fun and I used to love to listen to her talk, even though I didn't understand them because they spoke sm'algyax, but I understood a few words and then I'd always be 'all ears'. So I loved it when they all got together, and picking berries with them was a good time [Linda Horner 03.08.14.01].

> April *we're* harvesting [oolichans, herring eggs], seaweed and, ah, pretty well into the salmon in June, July and August and right now in August *we're* harvesting the blueberries and we'll be into September. September *we'll* be into cranberries and all that. So, it all follows and it's basically how we view *our* territories [Alex Bolton 03.08.08.01; emphasis added].

The language that Alex Bolton uses here is inclusive and as such, indicates one way that the community is viewed: as a collective rather than as individualistic. Importantly,

people may not engage in gathering berries themselves, but still talk about the collection of berries as something "we" do.

Sharing is an ideology that has been passed on from generation to generation. Adeline Turner (introduced in Chapter 4), a *Sigidimnak̲* (matriarch) of the *pteex G̲anhada* (raven clan) states: "...with our people it was caring, sharing. That was one of the most important things" (Adeline Turner 03.08.12.01). She describes an instance of sharing based on the physical requirement for sustenance and the practical requirements not to waste the food:

> this was all their hunting ground here [Terrace]. They kept this for a hunting ground, and when they got something, somebody got a deer, everybody all - and there was lots of meat then, but there was no way of saving it you know; no fridges and no canning. Them days, all you had to do was salt it though...or smoke it...But what they did then was everybody came [to] the village and they each had to take what they wanted...the steaks and the good meat and they had to take the bones...they all shared [Adeline Turner 03.11.18.01].

Sharing is not only a social exchange of goods, but is also about the ideology of sharing. These quotes illustrate how cultural ideologies are informed and continually reinforced through social interactions. Social processes inform how, when and with whom to implement the social value of sharing. Ideologies are maintained through *being* a community and community is maintained through the continual social perpetuation of particular ideologies.

Sharing and support are maintained in spite of a changing social landscape. Growing up at both Kitsumkalum and at Gitwinksihlkw or Canyon City in Nisga'a territory, Kathy Wesley (03.08.14.02) remembers:

> ...my observation was that everything was done as a community. It wasn't nuclear oriented in terms of family, so everyone had to work

> together...everyone played a role in terms of the salmon coming in...the families were large and we're only talking the 60s. From what I hear of stories of the longhouses it was similar in the way that there were many families dwelling under one roof and everyone had a role even then to play in terms of gathering food...and then now today to a certain extent that still does occur, but maybe not as forcefully as in the past.

Today, because of "nuclear family dwellings and the [fact that] everyone has vehicles [people are] becoming a bit more independent of each other but...other events like funerals and marriages, that's when the community really pulls together to support each other" (Kathy Wesley 03.08.14.02). Although there is a dichotomy drawn between notions of the collective and the individual, it is apparent that both of these experiences occur simultaneously as part of the social and ideological landscape. One experience is informed by a long historical social connection to the land and resources and the other is informed by a history of colonization which, together, can result in a feeling of living in two worlds.

Living in Two Worlds

"We're on the edge..."
[Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01]

In a physical sense, there are distinctions made between living on and off Reserve. Diane Collins made the decision just over 15 years ago to move on-Reserve to "experience what it would be like to live on the Reserve" and found that her "perspective of fitting into both worlds and bridging those gaps" was invaluable for fulfilling her duties as chief counsellor (Diane Collins 03.08.13.01). For some, time spent in both worlds may make it easier to navigate the invisible yet very real boundary between on-Reserve and off-Reserve. Similarly, Kathy Wesley has spent considerable time living off-

Reserve, in Calgary and in Kitsumkalum's neighbouring community of New Remo. Kathy talks about the time she spent off-Reserve as "exploring the outside world" and "a really good experience [to] get to live in two different worlds." Interestingly, although only five kilometres separate Kitsumkalum and New Remo, there are "huge differences...major" (03.08.14.02). "When you talk about differences of the view of the landscape and the resources it seems to be 'take for one's own' [when living off-Reserve] as opposed to 'take for the collective' [when living on-Reserve]". Kathy finds that one way to identify the difference she feels between the two worlds is that "one is very nuclear orientated and the other is very collective" (Kathy Wesley 03.08.14.02).

These are no stark physical boundaries that delineate on-Reserve and off-Reserve, no barriers, no signs. This lack of clear boundaries can blur where in fact these two worlds come together *and* come apart. The conceptual boundaries that separate the "two worlds" becomes more apparent when people discuss their feelings of home and belonging and when people address the issue of a shared identity. As will be seen below, both of these aspects of the social landscape also incorporate the reoccurring ideology of the collective vs. individual.

Home and Belonging

"I've always felt...like I am part of here; I am part of this land and I have a relationship with the animals...the salmon..."
[Linda Horner 03.08.14.01]

"Home" does not refer solely to the village of Kitsumkalum. A more regional sense of place emerged from the interviews when people discussed issues of "home". When asked what he thought about when he looked around him, Alex Bolton

(03.08.08.01) replied "Well, first it's our home, it's our territory...". "[T]his is home and always will be....it's certainly not confined to the Reserve" (Linda Horner 03.08.14.01)

When people were asked how they felt when they were away from home, some replied that they felt out of place. "I felt kind of set adrift when I was away from home and I, yeah, I wasn't rooted" (Linda Horner 03.08.14.01). Allan Bolton often travels down to Lytton, where he has family, and stated that what made him feel out of place was the difference in the way resources are gathered and processed: "We go to Vancouver quite a bit and Lytton, but still feel out of place I guess. 'Cause they do fishing over there but it's a little different" (Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01).

Coming "home" gives people a sense of belonging through connections to the region. "I do feel a sense of belonging here, a connectedness with this whole area. It's certainly not confined to just here. I feel that, you know, right from being up the Skeena I know that I am getting closer to home" (Linda Horner 03.08.14.01). Kathy Wesley (03.08.14.02) also notes:

> when I go to Calgary every year or twice a year and coming back I know when I'm coming into the North, you kinda [sigh] when you are driving...and we start feeling that much more comfortable. You are in your home territory. Even when I hit the Gitksan territory it feels like home. I've always heard 'up the line' or the 'grease trails' as being part of the Gitksan territory so, in driving I feel a lot more comfortable. I know what's coming up and I know, I mean I see the rivers and [it's] just...a feeling of 'I'm home now'.

Adeline Turner (03.08.12.01) found herself homesick when she was away: "Not just [for] my house! I was glad to get home". When Adeline referred to "home" she meant more than the city of Terrace where she resides; she was indicating the larger geographic region as her "home".

People spoke about their relationship with the region as being "...extremely personal..."(Diane Collins 03.08.13.01) and as a source of strength. "Emotionally and spiritually it gives me strength and it feeds me, and I know I could move away. I know I could carry it with me, you know, my sense of belonging. But I would also need to come home to gather strength" (Linda Horner 03.08.14.01). People feel an intense connectedness with the area that "gives me life" (Diane Collins 03.08.13.01), that makes one "...feel a little more at peace" (Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01), and that is a place to seek refuge (Linda Horner 03.08.14.01).

Home and the resulting feeling of belonging, as discussed here, are ways that people socially and conceptually connect with place. What people describe above as "home" is a place on the physical landscape that has been imbued with meanings and experiences that result from social interactions on the landscape (cf. Lovell 1998; cf. Platt 1996). In turn, the physical landscape that has been culturally and socially imbued with meanings continually shapes people's experience, thus demonstrating the intricate nature of the social, physical and ideological landscapes (cf. Soja 1989). A sense of belonging and identity is created *through* these human social, physical and ideological actions and interactions with the land (cf. Lovell 1998; c.f. Platt 1996).

Shared Identity

Q: "Why is the land important to you?"
A: "I would have to say it is identity and connection. You know, I've always known that."
[Kathy Wesley 03.08.14.02]

Connections and identity are discussed in conjunction with the land in relation to resource use (hunting, fishing, gathering) as well as the processing of these resources.

People define identity as being created through "the food and the waterways...and just *observing* and *experiencing* and *doing*" (03.08.14.02 Kathy Wesley; emphasis added). Family is integral to this experience of the land as it is through family that knowledge of the land is passed on to subsequent generations. It is also through the social relationships created through family ties, kinships, and shared experiences that connections to the land are established and continually negotiated and renegotiated. These connections define an indigenous identity with the land.

Connections Across a Distance

"...years ago we used to go to a residential school [in Lytton, BC] and that's where I met a lot of [people] from the Nass...and some of them were from Port Alberni....and that's where I met my husband, at the residential school."
[03.08.11.01 Annette Bolton]

One effect that residential schools had on the social landscape of the community was the establishment of new social connections that people made while away from home. Individuals from northwestern BC were sent as far away as the southern interior of the province. This displacement of people from their home and their placement in a new location forever connected people and communities across geographic distance. Students at these schools made bonds through a shared experience. Being at residential school with First Nations from all over the province has a continued influence on Annette Bolton's activities on the land. Annette states that, when gathering resources around the region, she "...grew up with a lot of the ones from the Nass and other areas so [they] didn't bother us when we went mushroom picking or anything."

Annette met her husband at residential school. For Annette, her husband, children and grandchildren, going to Lytton BC (approximately 1000km south of Kitsumkalum) is part

of life. A change in social relationships resulting from colonization has become normalized for families and serves to connect people and communities across large distances. This change in the social landscape of the community illustrates some of the resonating effect of colonial power that continues to affect the spatiality of communities.

Familial connections, both at home and at a distance, have been mapped in the form of kinship charts that are housed at the Kitsumkalum Treaty Office. These kinship charts are a physical manifestation of social relationships that map aspects of the physical, social and ideological landscapes of Kitsumkalum. Kinship charts demonstrate the importance of culture, help people understand how they are connected at home and across distances and allow people to trace their heritage through matrilineal lines (Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01). All of these aspects contribute to a sense of identity which is rooted in the land. People's familial kinship ties give them these connections to the land which, importantly, includes rights of access to places on the physical landscape for gathering resources.

For people at Kitsumkalum, trade has always been one important way that communities have connected across vast distances. "Moose meat and stuff like that we trade with Lytton people where they have different kinds of fish....it's different kinds of preparation in different places" (Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01). Oolichan[12] 'grease' or oil is a commodity that is highly valued because of its importance in people's diets. Grease also has important historical and contemporary cultural significance: "...there is Nass grease and Kitimat grease. My dad says they used to make bear grease and oolichan grease at

[12] The oolichan (also known as eulachon) is a small anadromous fish from the smelt family. The fish are gathered for eating as well as for processing to produce oolichan oil, or "grease" which is an important staple in northwest Coast First Nations diets. (For a detailed description of oolichan see http://www.livinglandscapes.bc.ca/northwest/eulachon/index.htm)

the Ecstall [River] so there is different kinds of grease"(Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01). Social connections are established and maintained through trading networks. It is through these networks that resources gathered from the land are exchanged between people, communities and nations. As Kathy Wesley (03.08.14.02) explains:

> ...you just get to know people from what community and nation. The Gitksan nation, the Tsimshian nation, the Nisga'a, the Haisla ...I know that the grease that's produced or processed in the Nass is quite different from how it's processed with the Haisla in Kemano. There is differences based on people's preferences too; dark grease versus light grease. And then the seaweed that comes from Port Simpson or Lax K'walaams, and Metlakatla, Kitkatla. A lot of the seafood, like the halibut, the seaweed, the herring eggs, all of the coastal seafoods could be traded with people up here.

Trade occurs through social connections both at home and at a distance and is dependent upon the use and management of land and its resources. Trade is a large part of the social landscape: not only because of the social interactions and underlying cultural ideologies required to carry out the cultural transaction, but also because of the social action and interactions on the physical landscape required to gather and process the goods.

Physical Landscape

In this section, I will present interviewees' discussions of their interactions with and their considerations of the physical landscape. The themes incorporated under this broader category that will be presented below are Resource Use, Resources Management, Conservation, Preservation and Protection, and Valuing the Land (Figure 4, Chapter 4). These themes are based upon how the interviewees verbalized the physical landscape and, as with the social landscape, the ideological landscape is woven throughout.

Resource use

"We have our home here in Kalum, but the main means is the resources. We still follow the pattern of gathering wild foods"

[Alex Bolton 03.08.08.01]

Resource use is one very physical way that people at Kitsumkalum interact with the land. I have already shown that there is an extremely social aspect to resource use and, although the social and the ideological are intertwined, this theme highlights people's discussions of using the physical resources of the land. The pattern of gathering food and materials from the land follows a seasonal round that is part of everyday life for people in the community:

> 'Cause spring, we're out there [gathering] Oolichans, and then the salmon are coming, and the berries, and then the barks. In the fall we're out there hunting the moose and the deer, the grouse...lots of people hunt moose in the wintertime too [Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01].

Similarly, Alex Bolton (03.08.08.01) describes some of the intense resource gathering of fish, other seafoods and berries that takes place from April until October (see *Community* theme previously presented). This is a busy time for people, many of whom have to fit these important activities around their wage-based work schedules.

The seasonal round can take place close to Kitsumkalum in peoples' home territories but it also occurs across large distances. For people who have family connections in other communities, resource gathering can take place in geographically diverse areas. Annette Bolton travels back and forth from Kitsumkalum, where she lives, to Lytton, where she was born and raised, to gather resources. For her, this is part of a seasonal round that requires an intimate knowledge of the land and the resources and draws on her social relationships to the land in both places. Resources that Annette

gathers and processes include berries for freezing and canning, mushrooms for selling, different barks for weaving, porcupine quills for quilling, and wood for carving. She also processes fish at home and in Lytton. Mushroom picking in the Kitsumkalum region takes place

> ...usually in September, sometimes once in a while it will start in August but right now they are just coming up [because] it's too hot...it's the same thing down south and they don't start until October...and then you go down south...I go [just about] every two months. We're leaving on Thursday that's why I'm trying to get all my huckleberries done [Annette Bolton 03.08.11.01].

Annette also travels to Vancouver where she takes some of her artwork, "I take porcupine work to Gas Town [where they] ordered some" (Annette Bolton 03.08.11.01).

In addition to the variety of resource uses described above, people of Kitsumkalum have been and continue to be actively involved in industry, including commercial fishing, working at canneries, and in forestry. Allen Bolton's (03.08.05.01) father and uncles have spent a large part of their lives relying on industry for employment:

> ...my dad, he grew up out there commercial fishing and his brother Billy grew up commercial fishing and Harold was a commercial logger, so there's lots of history in there ... 'Cause all the jobs uptown are coming from the trees – the trees are the resources. On the coast there's commercial fishing, commercial resources. [So the resources are] very important to us.

Roy Nelson (03.11.20.01) discusses both his and his father's involvement with the forest industry.

> ...when my mother died, dad was working then around the clock almost, you know. He was working in the Mill ... and at night he was driving a truck ... hauling out poles. I worked in the Mill. It was my first job I was fifteen years old. This was during the war and everybody was making really good money. Seventy-five cents an hour! So I wanted to get in on

> that – I quit school. Dad didn't want me to but he said 'you make sure you work now if you quit school!' [Roy Nelson 03.11.20.01]

> I cruised Timber - the first year I didn't do any of it I just pulled the chain I was what you call the axe-man you know – but they all taught me how to do things and anyway, the next year I went out and I started cruising timber. I caught on right away. Didn't take me long and I had to map the country as I went along, taking elevations you know? ... I enjoyed that work, it was very good [Roy Nelson 03.11.20.01].

The above reflections represent an involvement over three-generations with Western industrial endeavors on the landscape. To give an idea of the timeline that Kitsumkalum community members have been involved in these industries, the youngest generation that is discussed above is Allan's father who is a great-grandfather. Gerald Wesley (1998:126) clearly states the importance of the involvement of his Kitsumkalum family in industry:

> I'm an ordinary person, or at least I like to feel that I am. I hunt, I fish, not too long ago I pulled my traps out for the year. I spent seven years in the forest industry, as one of my brothers would say, raping and pillaging the land – seven of the best years of my life. I was outdoors making a good living at that. Some of my family are still involved, much of my family are still involved in the forest industry. Some of my family and many members of the Tsimshian are engaged in the commercial fishing industry.

This statement demonstrates how interacting with the physical landscape in this way is part of the social landscape of Kitsumkalum: "... it all comes from resources so we say everything comes from the resources; the jobs, our lives, everything" (Allan Bolton 03.08.15.01). Simply stating that resources are integral in the lives of people at Kitsumkalum would perhaps be an understatement; resources are fundamental and therefore require careful management.

Resource Management

"...the concept of keeping the resources alive is primary, right? It's priority...it's not simply a garden that can be replanted"
[Diane Collins 03.08.13.01]

Managing the lands and resources is a priority. One important aspect of managing the land occurs through actively monitoring what is happening within territorial boundaries. People use a variety of methods to monitor activities on the land. These methods of "staying informed" include using outside information such as the local media, for example reading the newspapers and watching the local television news station. Listening to police scanners is another way that people gather what I will call 'real-time' information. While these first examples give information that comes from an outsider's perspective, other methods of tracking activity on the land are also used. People are gathering information through social interactions (conversations) between community members, or through connections with family and friends that live in other communities. Information is also gathered by physically being 'out there' on the land. As Alex Bolton (03.08.08.01) states:

> ...we're always going out there, just for rides and driving around up the logging roads and that way, just keep a check...we monitor pretty much everything that's going on within our territory. Just drive around, just keep checking [to] see what's happening with the logging and any kind of the other new development, the parks and especially with aboriginal hunting [in the] winter [to] keep track of how moose is being shot...

First Nations in the area can still choose to follow cultural protocols when carrying out activities on lands that were encompassed within one's *laxyuup*, or house territory. Through oral history, people know that in order to access lands that belong to

other villages and other families they should be ask permission from the chiefs who administer a particular *laxyuup*.

> Kitsumkalum's family has oral history to use Arthur Island through Kitkatla band, but it's oral history so there's people that know the history or passed it on. So we have to, we're going through it now, the next generation, we have to go down [and] the same families have to ask for permission again to those chiefs...but non-natives go down there, they don't have to [ask permission] [Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01].

There seems to be a common understanding that if you are Tsimshian you "can pretty much go anywhere in the Tsimshian territory", but if a person wants to do it properly they can go ask personally or write a letter. Whether or not permission is granted "...depends on what you are doing 'cause there's lots of stuff going on out there but it's provincial and federal jurisdiction so it's [confusing], *we're on the edge kinda, we're watching* " (Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01; see also Annette Bolton 03.08.11.01).

Documentation of land and resource use is also a strategy of land management. Alex Bolton has kept what he calls a "resource use" book since 1998. In this diary, he records any activities on the land, including dates that fish come in, diagrams to demonstrate resource use and photographs; "...every time I go out and I enter a land or harvest anything, that's documented" (Alex Bolton 03.08.08.01). Alex feels strongly that this is a way of showing the government that there is truth in the extent of resource use that the people of Kitsumkalum are involved in. "It shows that we're not just bullshitting, we're not just saying it without any backup documentation...I'm keeping track of our long period of [land use] that's going to help us at the end..." (Alex Bolton 03.08.08.01). Alex's "resource use" book is indeed a strategy of land management and a tool that can

be used to map resource use over space and over time, offering a valid picture of social interactions with the land.

People feel a responsibility towards keeping track of what is happening on the land and feel that there should be consequences for anyone, First Nations or non-First Nations, not treating the land properly. "There's no funding or anything for that so we just keep track of it ourselves...we do have our own values 'cause if our own people are misusing it people will tell them "you're misusing it, you're being looked at and you're making it look bad for our Kitsumkalum people" (Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01). Roy Nelson (03.11.20.01) similarly argues:

> I know about fishing. I know you're supposed to value it a lot, you are supposed to look after it, but some of the Natives I know are just fishing and they're selling it all. They're making money. Now that's not conserving your environment or anything; that's going too far. I'm not saying they all do it but there's just some that are doing it.

It is important that there is community involvement and agency in understanding the importance of the land and resources:

> You know, we all need to be involved so that we can protect what we have because we have an area that is so, well, so beautiful...most Reserves we have a highway and a railway running through, but we still have the ability to go out and pick berries without all those chemicals and we have the ability to get our fish without having industries along the side of the river...We need to make sure that these things don't happen [Linda Horner 03.08.14.01].

Because the land is under federal/provincial jurisdiction, the reality is also that Kitsumkalum has to work with government to keep track of resource use. "We want moose for the future so we work with the conservation people also here, uptown just to keep track. If we're gonna be hunting in this area for the future we want to have moose left" (Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01). Considerations for the future and future generations are

paramount when it comes to resources. This requires working with others who also have interests in the land, such as the government, and it requires carrying out a land management regime. The net effect is a compliance with a contemporary expression of a colonial framework for managing the land and resources.

Conservation, Preservation, Protection

"Conservation", "preservation" and "protection" are some different terms that interviewees use to define their relationship to and responsibility toward the land. Sometimes, when people talk about their interactions with the land they talk about themselves as conservationists. Allan Bolton (03.08.05.01) provides an illustration of what this term means to him:

> ...on the treaty table they call us conservationists 'cause that's pretty much what we are. If we're gonna have resources for the future we have to protect them. While we're sitting here at the treaty table we can see a hundred [logging] trucks a day going through here and that's all our resources for the future. We see fishing season come and there's tourists lined up and down the river taking out two fish a day or something like that and then they tell us we can't take Coho 'cause there's not enough. There's conservation first, then First Nations, and then supposedly the other people, but it's kind of backwards. Sportsmen are first, then conservation, then First Nations...in the end the fish are the ones that end up at short end of the stick, I guess.

Here, the government categorization of First Nations sends mixed messages, on one hand calling First Nations conservationists and on the other hand drawing a distinction between conservation and First Nations use of the resources. Thus, the role of First Nations in conservancy of the land becomes unclear and confused to those who have to respond to the government positions. This shift in a conceptual placement of First Nations with regards to their relationship to the land is coming from a western colonial

perspective (the government's) and has the effect of concealing First Nations ideologies (see Chapter 2). The First Nations relationship to the land then becomes a 'buried epistemology'.

Preservation and protection are two other ways that Kitsumkalum people talk about responsibility to the land in general, and to their territories in particular. There is a feeling of responsibility toward protecting territories that are owned and managed by other Tsimshian communities, but which people from Kitsumkalum rely on for resources. " It wasn't our land, but we protected it, we used lots of resources in the area" (Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01). People have always protected their own territories and this protection is key in preserving the resources. This responsibility often stems from a deep historical connection to the land that gives it important cultural significance.

For example, Hell's Gate is an important place on the land for a number of reasons and as such, it is a place that people protect. Hell's Gate is an island on the Skeena River "in-between Kalum and Kitselas, so it's deep. It has rocks on both sides and it's 40-50 feet deep. That's where we put our fishing nets...it's one of our important food fishing sites, where we protected it for our future use"(Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01). Hell's Gate has a long history with the Canyon Tsimshian, known through oral histories and demonstrated in archaeological site surveys (Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01). In the past, dugout canoes were made from the big cedars, some of which are still standing on the island. Camps have been utilized on the island for many years and people continue to camp and fish there every year. "[In the book] Men of M'deek (2003), there's some oral history in there, a written history about toll booths and stuff like that. People had to pay when they were going through Kitselas canyon...people bringing supplies and stuff, like

fur traders" (Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01). Non-First Nations people were charged a toll by the First Nations people that lived in that area, which can be described as another way of monitoring land and resource use as well as an exercise of power by First Nations on the Skeena River. People of Kitselas, who have very close social and kinship connections to people at Kitsumkalum and whose village is the 'sister' village of Kitsumkalum, exacted these tolls. While a demonstration of how, in the past, Kitsumkalum protected their land through monitoring who was moving through their territories, this example also illustrates that protection can be about economic and political control.

Another example of preservation and protection of resources, which is part of a collective historical memory for people at Kitsumkalum, is the ongoing struggle to have Culturally Modified Trees (CMTs) acknowledged, not simply legislated, as historically and culturally significant. Although there is provincial legislation that provides for the protection of CMTs, these rules are not always followed. A dispute filed by Kitsumkalum in 1999 against a non- First Nations man who logged CMTs on Kitsumkalum's territorial lands received some welcome media attention:

> It was pretty good – opened a lot of eyes through BC. It was in the Province paper. [Now] they know what CMT's are and they can't complain after. Well, it's our history so we gotta protect our history. You don't see me go uptown and chop down some of their stuff, or something like the Canadian dollar is the history...the Canadian flag. We see these [CMTs] as our history and we want to protect them 'cause it's just as important to us as it is to Canada, their history. More important actually, because ours isn't written down, or it's [already] been chopped down or something, so what's left is pretty important [Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01].

A lack of acknowledgement of First Nations rights to the land and the resources is keenly felt:

> ...a lot of what [non-First Nations] receive - maybe in town, or through the school system, or through fisheries and oceans, or wherever it's coming from - is that there seems to be an undertone of negativity towards native people about our rights, our aboriginal rights. Especially when it comes to the lands and resources, taking out the timber from the Nass and with the Gitksans stopping logging trucks going into certain areas of their territories. They just don't 'do it'; there's a reason why they want to blockade. Like, a couple of years back with the culturally modified trees. So from our perspective we're looking at it as preservation, preservation of our resources and an acknowledgement of that! [Kathy Wesley 03.08.14.02]

It is important to people that there is recognition of First Nations ideologies of the land and resources. The above requests for recognition are coupled with expressions of frustration at one's culture being marginalized.

Not only do First Nations people protect the land and resources, but in turn, there is the notion that the land and resources protect the people.

> Cedar is a very spiritual tree; it's a very powerful tree. The cedar is used in many aspects. It's used for clothing, bedding, houses, cooking, storage, canoes...because we utilized cedar so very, very much, it, it had a real spiritual attachment to it. When you walk into the feast halls you'll see the cedar boughs hanging all over the place....and that's to make sure only good things happen in the hall. It's a very spiritual aspect of protecting... All the bad things stay out and the good things stay in [Diane Collins 03.08.13.01].

The ideologies embedded throughout this section lead me to a discussion of how community members value the land. Taken together with the community strategies of resource management and resource use, this next theme can help to paint a more holistic picture of the existing land management regime.

Valuing the Land

"Indigenous people have such a respect for the wildlife and a respect for the things that they utilize out of the land that that respect is fed by spiritualism I think"
[Diane Collins 03.08.13.01]

People value animals out of a general respect for the resources as well as through their affiliation with the clan system. Through one's *pteex*... "...we treated [the wolves] like they were our family and spirits. We believe the spirits were in the bears, or the eagles have spirits. So there is ties to the animals too...the clan system is very spiritual" (Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01). Ideologically, people value the land and resources through respect and through a spiritual connection, both of which are passed from generation to generation. People teach, and are taught, about valuing the land during the social activities of resource gathering, resource processing, and through stories. This social landscape of experiential learning teaches ideologies that define how people understand the physical landscape. These experiences create affiliations with, and connection to, the land and resources which are continually socially and ideologically reproduced through the transmission of knowledge.

When people talk about the land and their experience of it, they convey their values through recalling memories (cf. Basso 1990; cf. Nuttall 1992). These instances of remembering range from lessons learned regarding respect, to times spent with family and community learning about the land: "...when we grow up we're told not to waste our food...not to play with the seafoods. Well, there are different stories...talking about the seafood and the land" (Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01). Respect is a common value that is taught and that interviewees voiced in our discussions of the land and resources:

> [I was taught that] as long as I was respectful I could take of the resources anything that I needed or wanted....people always felt that if you respected mother nature she would treat you well. If you respected the salmon and you took what you needed then the salmon would always be there in abundance. If you respected the berry bushes and you took the kind of berries that you needed and you picked berries so that the new berries could blossom [Diane Collins 03.08.13.01].

> ...respect the food and respect the people that gathered the food and the effort that went into it 'cause there's lots of effort that goes into collecting food. It's not like going into town, buying the fish for thirty bucks. It still costs about thirty bucks to go get it, but it's...different though. It's your fish [Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01].

> I remember as a child running around and breaking branches off and running around and eating [off] the branches, like take-out right? Well, I got in trouble for doing that – 'this is not to be treated like take-out! You eat the berries, don't break the branches 'cause you're damaging the resource' [Diane Collins 03.08.13.01].

Respect and taking care of the resources go hand-in-hand. People talk about time spent with older generations and how through this, they experience and learn about the land whether it is for gathering or for processing the resources:

> I think of [the land] more today from a First Nations perspective...as Tsimshian territory...as Tsimshian land...I guess that was just because of the way I was brought up and told, you know, from the stories of my grandma Winnie Wesley, and just from the experience of food gathering [Kathy Wesley 03.08.14.02].

> I remember my grandmother would be making jam and stuff and I'd stand around and watch her and listen to her when she speaks to me. It was great...I benefited from her instruction and just who she was [Linda Horner 03.08.14.01].

> [My son] is driving the boat there [pointing at a picture] and he's always hunting and fishing with Grandpa all the time. He's out there more than I am. He's learning more than I am. So, it's being taught and passed down [Allan Bolton 03.08.05.01].

> ...that was their hospital there! We even took my grandmother out there. She showed us where to go, right where the hotspring is. On the other side

> of the hotspring there was a big mud place there and she said her grandparents, they used to go there 'cause there was always rheumatism or something. She said that they used to go there and they covered their bodies with that mud [Adeline Turner 03.11.18.01].

Educating new generations about the respecting and valuing the land is also an aspect of land management that is continually carried out at Kitsumkalum. This training provides the ideological foundation for how people interpret, read and write the physical and social landscapes in which they live.

Ideological Landscape

This chapter has demonstrated the complex relationship that people of Kitsumkalum have with the land. These perspectives offer an alternate interpretation of the forested landscapes of northern BC. Exploring the ethnographic material through a thematic analysis using the ideological, social and the physical landscapes (cf. Soja 1989), brings forth some of the complexities of this relationship to the land.

This chapter illustrates the extent to which these three landscapes are interrelated and overlap. A sense of community, of living in two worlds, of home and belonging, of a shared identity and of social connections across distances make up social landscape of Kitsumkalum. The ways that interviewees talked about their social interactions with other community members and with other First Nation groups shaped their sense of a social landscape. It is important to recognize that this overlapped with how people talked about their social *experience* of the physical landscape.

Interviewees talked about important responsibilities that they felt towards the physical landscape, including the use of resources, the management of resources,

protecting the physical landscape and how they are taught to value the land. These considerations were how people verbalized their direct relationship to the physical landscape. As the ethnographic material has shown, these responsibilities toward the physical landscape are also about social interactions, just as the social landscape is also about interacting with the physical landscape.

The ideological landscape was similarly intertwined with the experience of the land. People expressed these ideologies as a spiritual connection to the land, as respect, as sharing, as a struggle between ideals of the collective vs. the individual, as stewardship to the land, as holding a holistic worldview and as the continual consideration of the needs of future generations. When people talked about their social interactions they referred to the cultural ideologies that informed those relationships. These same ideologies direct how people understand, carry out, and pass on their responsibilities to the land, or to the physical landscape.

I used "landscape" as a theoretical tool to structure this chapter and to structure the interviewees' voices. It is important to also note that an understanding of how the social, the physical and the ideological landscapes are continually informing and informed by one another grounds the theory in the "everyday". This approach was useful in bringing forth the intricate relationship that people from Kitsumkalum have with the land. The ethnography itself, made up of these people's voices, has revealed a complex contemporary cultural landscape based on, and rooted in, one First Nation's ideologies of the land. In this chapter, I present a cultural 'picture' which is comprised of the dialectic, or the on-going conversation, between the social, the physical and the ideological landscapes (cf. Soja 1989; cf. Lovell 1998).

As a post-colonial critique in the form of the voice of the colonized, this ethnography, taken together with the critique of "wilderness", exemplifies the multiple meanings and layers that are continually read, interpreted and written upon landscapes. The "wilderness" is a colonial ideology of the landscapes of northern BC that buried First Nations ideologies of the same landscapes. This chapter shows that First Nations' ideologies of the land were never erased and, although affected by colonization, contribute to a strong, multi-vocal landscape imbued with meaning and history.

Chapter Six: Decolonizing the Landscape

We cannot understand the position of either Aboriginal people or non-Aboriginal people in Canada if we fail to acknowledge the ways in which the colonial legacy permeates present positions.

[Peters 2001:143]

Introduction

In northern British Columbia, the heavily forested spaces that cover the region are most often defined as "wilderness" areas. This particular interpretation of the landscape is deeply rooted in contemporary society and has its basis in a particular ideology that was forced upon these landscapes through the processes of colonialism. Although opinions regarding the proper use and value of these so-called wilderness landscapes can be strongly differentiated between groups in Western society, what they often have in common is the underlying assumption that the "wilderness" is empty of human occupancy and therefore available for a variety of uses and/or for preservation. Examples of these uses include the interests of large-scale industries (i.e. forestry, logging, mining) and environmental groups. Other groups in BC that have a vested interest in, and opinions of, land use and value are the First Nations. First Nations have distinct and deeply rooted relationships with the land and do not consider the land *solely* as a "wilderness". What is significant is that "wilderness" has become and remains the dominant ideology of the forested landscapes, while First Nations ideologies of the land have been hidden, or buried. However, the buried epistemologies (cf. Willems-Braun

1997) of First Nations are not dead but instead, as Chapter 5 has demonstrated, are alive and operating simultaneously with the ideologies of a "wilderness" landscape.

There is an important practical aspect to my analysis of the landscape. Discussions regarding the land are currently in the political foreground in BC due to the active negotiation of treaties, and the "wilderness" areas of northern BC are a key subject of these discussions. The settlement of treaties will require critical decisions over the future ownership and administration of lands and resources. Consequently, treaty-making is a site where the land is politicized in a new way through active negotiations among the Federal, Provincial and First Nations governments. The fate of the land in question is positioned as a key point of discussion. Thus, the differing ideologies of the land are emerging, each of which define different parties' negotiating positions. In these talks concerning the future of the forests, the colonial ideology of "wilderness" is the dominant basis of the interpretations of the landscapes in question. It is my contention in this thesis that considering the future of the forests only in the context of a "wilderness" simplifies the complexities of the landscape and marginalizes other perspectives. At issue is how to make space for other ideologies of these same landscapes when this one ideology is so entrenched within society.

I have approached this problem from a post-colonial perspective, critiquing the ideology of "wilderness" as a colonial based meta-narrative of the forested landscapes of northern BC. This thesis is post-colonial in its resistance to the dominant colonial ideology by rejecting that ideology as the *only* way to interpret the land. Further, I have explored how that ideology of "wilderness" was constructed in BC to reveal its workings and displace some of its colonial assumptions. In this way I challenge the colonial legacy

and thereby create space for a multi-vocal landscape. To accomplish this, I presented the voices of people from one First Nation community in BC, that of Kitsumkalum, who, like all indigenous peoples in Canada, have been affected by the European colonization of their lands and their culture.

The structure of this final chapter is intended to reflect the overall structure of the entire thesis. There is a deliberate reason for this, which I have indicated with the title of this chapter: *Decolonizing the Landscape*. Decolonization is a process that can allow for the creation of new spaces (Childs and Williams 1997:209). However, in order to arrive at this new space, the colonial past cannot be denied because the experience of colonialism has shaped, and continues to inform, colonized peoples' places in the world. If the colonial past is not denied, then that heritage must be examined and critiqued. This critique is post-colonial not because it removes colonialism but because it makes space for the acknowledgment of the silences created through the colonial past and can lead to the recovery of voice (Childs and Williams 1997:228).

In Chapter 2, I presented the theoretical frameworks that I used for my Chapter 3 deconstruction of the colonial ideology of "wilderness" in BC. These same theoretical frameworks were applied to both my analysis of the interview materials that I explain and outline in Chapter 4, and to my presentation/discussion of the resulting ethnographic information in Chapter 5. In this concluding chapter I review the major ideas and findings that are key to the process of decolonizing the landscape. I focus particularly on First Nations ideologies of the landscape in order to properly address the final issue of creating a new space that recognizes and accommodates the multiple ideologies of the landscape. I

will show how this thesis has worked towards creating this space by reviewing the main points that addressed my three research questions.

Post-colonial theory demands a critical reading of the colonial past (Childs and Williams 1997). Reading the past with a critical eye is a method for understanding how colonialism continues to inform the present. The resulting knowledge can be used as a tool for resistance for the colonized. In the following section, *Un-layering the Landscape*, I use this critically reflective approach to answer my first research question of how the western colonial ideology of "wilderness" has affected First Nations ideologies of the landscape. I will discuss how the colonial legacy of "wilderness" has continued to erase a First Nations presence, and therefore ideologies, from the landscape. It is the recognition of the wilderness as construction which makes space for other constructions of a landscape. Further, the landscape can be decolonized by actively listening to ideologies other than the dominant one(s). In the next section, *First Nations Ideologies*, I address my second research question: what are First Nations ideologies of the landscape? I present a discussion of the interconnectedness between people and the land as told to me by the interviewees from Kitsumkalum. This will show that there are other interpretations of the landscape that are not rooted in the same ideologies of wilderness but are rooted in a complex, historical relationship with the land. I end this thesis with a final section, *A New Space*, in which I discuss my final research question: can a new space or landscape exist, one that equally recognizes the multiple ideologies of the landscape? I consider the possibility that through decolonizing the landscape, we can move to a new space of recognition and inclusion.

Un-layering the Landscape

A hegemonic worldview operating in a society tends to suppress other ways of seeing, making it difficult to be aware of these other, equally valid, perspectives. More specifically, when one worldview is so dominant and pervasive in society it may seem there is no space for other ways of understanding that same world. As I explained in the introduction to this chapter, the "wilderness" landscapes of northern BC is the particular aspect of the hegemonic worldview that I chose to focus on.

As a culturally constructed concept and ideology of the landscape, "wilderness" was carried in the minds of newcomers from the "Old World", branding the landscape of North America as a vast, untamed, and empty place: a "wilderness" (cf. Harris 1997). Reading the landscapes in this way was fuelled by the experiences of the Europeans. These newcomers came from a built European environment and this would have influenced their reactions to the vast forested landscapes that greeted them upon arrival. Yet for First Nations, this was a lived-in *and* a built environment. Although not built of brick and mortar in the European way, this was a landscape composed of villages, some large and some small, with supporting infrastructure on the land, important transportation and trade routes and vast territories (Guernsey 2006). Territorial boundaries within and between nations were known, respected and fought for. The trees in the forests were resources that were managed and continually used for building, art, music, spiritual purposes, transportation (including bridges) and a myriad of other practical, everyday uses (McDonald 2003). Additionally, fish gathering devices were constructed out of wood and stone and became part of this built environment: cultivars were transplanted to create gardens and orchards, and berry picking areas were managed (see Downs 2006;

Gottesfeld 1994; Guernsey 2006; McDonald 2006). People actively altered and 'built' the environment in ways that would best serve their needs. These needs were not only basic survival needs, but needs based on maintaining or building their place within society. These cultural activities significantly altered and shaped the physical landscapes. However, these were the same landscapes that newcomers saw, simply, as an empty "wilderness", because they did not look like their own 'built' landscapes of Europe.

The constructed landscape of "wilderness" shaped the future of what was to become British Columbia. Prior to the European newcomers arriving in North America, whether as missionaries, fur traders, settlers, or with various other economic aspirations, these Europeans held certain preconceptions of what constituted a "wilderness", a term based in the lexicon of their Old World. I explain in Chapter 2 how meanings that constitute the concept of "wilderness", including "uncultivated", "uninhabited", "empty" and "wild" were formed through spatially and temporally specific experiences in a place other than North America. How we perceive a landscape is a cultural construct which we continually read, interpret and write (Tilley 1994). In this sense, landscape is a text. It is subjective in that it can be read differently according the position from which one reads and interprets it. The above meanings influenced how landscapes were read, interpreted and written on as "wilderness". Interpreting landscapes in this way allowed newcomers to convert an unknown landscape into a known "wilderness" landscape. This known and experienced conception of the land was validated and perpetuated as a dominant ideology through different colonial mechanisms.

I present some specific colonial mechanisms, such as language and cartography, which were used to perpetuate the ideologies of "wilderness" in the New World. I show

that these instruments of colonialism helped to justify the erasure of First Nations from the social, physical and ideological landscapes of colonial settler society, restructuring First Nations spaces. Western representations of First Nations as "uncivilized", "wild" and sometimes as "savages", integrated the Indigenous population into the "wilderness". This method of assimilation dehumanized First Nations, leaving no space for the recognition of the complex societies that had existed in the area for, at the very least, thousands of years.

Constructed as a "wilderness", the land was opened for colonial purposes and First Nations and their activities on the land were marginalized. Through this rewriting of the landscape the land was appropriated into the colonial worldview. Because landscapes are also a way of structuring the world by means of providing order and meaning to a society, they consequently are about gaining control over an environment (Bourdieu 1994; Smith 2001; Soja 1989). The above colonial representations were about control: if colonizers could control the "wilderness" and if they ideologically, socially, and physically placed First Nations in that constructed landscape, then they could also control First Nations peoples.

Colonial mechanisms of surveying, mapping and creating reserves solidified, in a very physical yet also social and ideological way, the colonial rewriting of the land. Brealey's (1995) description of how First Nations were systematically mapped off the landscapes of BC and my overview of the establishment of Indian Reserves in Chapter 3 demonstrate a drastic change in regional landscapes over an extremely short period of time. For First Nations, their place in these landscapes had been forever changed. This

colonial process of controlling and settling the land was endorsed through the discourse of the "wilderness".

Foucault (1980[1972]) contends that relationships of power cannot be exercised without the development and maintenance of a discourse. Allen (2003:1-3) asserts that the notion of power being everywhere is too simplistic and that this distracts us from properly seeing the more subversive ways that power operates. Allen (2003) also explains that resources are mechanisms through which power is exercised, citing "knowledge" as an example of a resource in the exercise of power. In this thesis, I use these ideas to argue that "wilderness" was an overarching mechanism through which colonial power was exercised. I maintain that wilderness is the dominant ideology of the forested landscapes of BC and, as such, continues to exercise power and continues to silence other ideologies.

I show that the effects that this colonial ideology of "wilderness" had on the landscapes of northern BC continue to affect how people, both First Nations and non-First Nations, understand their place in the world in relation to the place of others. The "wilderness" construct still defines much of northern BC and it has been forever inscribed on the forested landscapes of the New World as a layer of text which tells a story of a particular perception of the land. Through a post-colonial critique, I demonstrate that "wilderness", although the dominant ideology is merely one layer of text on a multi-layered landscape. I see this as one crucial step in decolonizing the landscape. Thus, the complete stories of the landscapes of northern BC have not been told and need to be, which leads to my second research question: What are First Nations ideologies of the landscape?

First Nations Ideologies

To answer the above question, I first described (in Chapter 3) historical information about the Tsimshian First Nation community of Kitsumkalum which is necessary background information to the ethnographic voices that I presented in Chapter 5. My descriptions outlined some of the complexities of the history of the community since the onset of European settlement and the colonial industrialization of the region. This information is important because these historical circumstances shaped the collective and individual experiences of the community, thus informing their contemporary physical, social and ideological landscapes. Secondly, I presented First Nations voices speaking about their contemporary relationships to the land. Thus, Chapter 5 offers a post-colonial critique of the colonial ideologies of "wilderness" by establishing that First Nations ideologies have not been extinguished. I explored these ideologies based on the information gleaned from the interviewees regarding the social and physical landscapes.

In exploring and articulating the relationships that community members have to the land, I chose to represent the breadth of the community by talking to people who are situated differently within the community. My goal was to gain a range of perspectives that would allow for the identification of a set of themes that were common amongst many of the interviewees. The conversations I had with the interviewees about their relationships to the land resulted in hundreds of pages of interview materials. The analysing and organization of the interviews into themes was a subjective exercise. Each

of these themes could be explored further on an individual basis as a separate research project(s), which was my intent in following an exploratory research model.

I created three categories in which to sort the various themes, borrowing from Soja's (1989) notion of the physical, social and ideological. These categories allowed me to demonstrate the interrelatedness and holistic nature of the various themes. In Figure 4 (Chapter 4), I diagrammed this relationship as the "Cultural Landscape" by listing the themes under each of the three broad categories: the Social Landscape, the Physical Landscape and the Ideological Landscape. This model offered a tool for presenting information from each transcribed interview, recognizing that the themes are not exhaustive, nor do they fit neatly in any one category. In Chapter 5, I discuss the nine themes from the Social Landscape and Physical Landscape categories in more detail. That presentation was not intended to be a definitive picture of the cultural landscape but begins to document First Nations ideologies of the land. The picture that the interviews *did* paint was that of a long-standing, well defined and symbiotic relationship between people and the land. As I demonstrated in Chapter 5, I will need to talk about the physical and social relationships in order to properly present the ideologies of the land; otherwise their important cultural context would be lost.

The interviewees define their social relationship to the land in a number of ways. People have a strong sense of community which became apparent through discussions regarding the variety of different social interactions that take place on the land. This feeling of being a community encompasses ideologies of sharing, with a focus on the collective rather than on the individual. A highly social and deeply rooted relationship with the land also gives people a sense of home and belonging. Many people express how

being in their home territories grounds them. This observation indicates the extent to which their relationship with the land gives them a sense of identity. This is how they understand and *know* their place in the world, whereas the colonial ideology of "wilderness" empties the landscape of First Nations space and place. This dichotomy between the land as a "wilderness" and First Nations ideologies of the land results in some of the interviewees feeling like they are living in two worlds. Interviewees also demonstrate that their sense of identity is continually reaffirmed through the social interactions that take place on the land.

Interviewees talk at length about how they interact with the physical landscape. Resources continue to be used extensively in the community and people follow a seasonal round for hunting and gathering. They speak about resource use in two different ways. One was how community members gather a wide variety of resources for a number of uses including for food, for art and for trading. This accumulation of resources also continues to be important for feasting. Another way that interviewees speak about resources is in their mention of the number of community members who are involved in industries such as forestry and commercial fishing. The western industrialization of the land has made these industries a necessary part of the lives of community members and offers seasonal employment opportunities. Transforming the land into an instrument of western capitalization further marginalizes First Nations by forcing upon them a different way of experiencing the land. I show that the ideologies behind these industries are based on a "wilderness", drawing a dichotomy between these two different types of resource use and exemplifying another way in which First Nations can feel like they are "living in two worlds", balancing between two different worldviews.

Interviewees express their responsibility toward actively managing the resources on territorial lands. Carrying out the task of monitoring territories grows out of respect for the land and out of the concern that the resources will be there for future generations. First Nations are generally aware of the protocol of asking other First Nations for permission to access resources in a territory that does not belong to them. This permission is an important and necessary acknowledgment of First Nations relationships to the land. Through different methods of land management, people protect the land and through spirituality, people perceive the land as protecting them. Resource use and management, including protecting the land, all require an intimate knowledge and respect of the landscape which is passed on through the generations.

Significantly, none of the individuals referred to the forested landscapes that are their territories as the "wilderness", unless to say that this was *not* how they saw the land. Rather, people expressed their frustration at what they feel is an overt lack of acknowledgement of their rights to the lands and resources, which is *also* a lack of acknowledgement of their ideologies of the land. This sampling of contemporary interpretations of the landscape in the Kitsumkalum First Nation indicate that respecting and valuing the land, a spiritual connection to the land, maintaining a collective and shared view to resource use, and a responsibility to educate each generation about the land are all important cultural ideologies. This is not simply a wild, untamed empty landscape available for Western industrialization. Rather, the interviewees demonstrate that First Nations ideologies continue to inform how they "read", interpret and "write" the forested landscapes of northern BC. These ideologies are not relegated to the past but continue to define how Kitsumkalum people understand the world around them and their

place in it. The interviewees demonstrate, as a response to the dominant Western ideology of the land as a "wilderness", that there are other ideologies of the northern BC landscapes that ought to be recognized and respected, by all.

A New Space

My critique of "wilderness" as a colonial meta-narrative of the forested landscapes of northern BC shows how the concept of "wilderness" buried First Nations' ideologies of the landscape. Yet, by presenting the voices of First Nations speaking about their relationship to the land, I show that they continue to have their own deeply rooted and complex ideologies of the forested landscapes of northern BC. These ideologies are both Indigenous and colonial because colonialism has become part of the story of the landscape of northern BC. Thus, this thesis is not about recovering an "authentic" or "pristine" indigenous landscape. Like culture and ideologies, landscapes are always changing. The ideological, social and physical landscapes of northern BC are complex *because* they are not untouched or pristine. Similarly, I recognize that there are multiple non-First Nations views of the landscape that may not subscribe to the ideology of a "pristine wilderness" landscape. What is important to remember is that landscapes are continually defined and redefined through social interactions (cf. Soja 1989; cf. Tilley 1994) and therefore are multi-layered and multi-vocal.

My post-colonial analysis demonstrates that a new space can be created in which there is recognition and acknowledgement of the multiple ideologies of a landscape. This recognition can enable ideological transformation to occur, a logical next step towards decolonizing the landscape (cf. Childs and Williams 1997). What is required is the emergence of a heterogeneous space that affirms the existence of multiple ideologies of

the landscape. I envision this new space as a space for dialogue to which First Nations can bring their ideologies into a myriad of different discussions affecting the future of communities, lands and resources. Then, the buried epistemologies of landscapes can be brought to the surface and given equal consideration and respect with other ideologies, creating inclusive and mutually valued social, physical and ideological landscapes.

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Appendix 1
Interview Referencing

Interviewee Name (Alphabetical order by last name)	**Interview Number** (yy.mm.dd. daily interview #)
Bolton, Alex	03.08.08.01
Bolton, Allan	03.08.05.01
Bolton, Annette	03.08.11.01
Collins, Diane	03.08.13.01
Horner, Linda	03.08.14.01
Nelson, Roy	03.11.20.01
Turner, Addie	03.08.12.01
Turner, Addie	03.11.18.01
Wesley, Kathy	03.08.14.02