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AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE PREHISTORIC AND HISTORIC RESOURCES OF KOOTENAY NATIONAL PARK

BY
D.H. MITCHELL AND W. CHOQUETTE
(April 1974)

THE CARRIER INDIANS IN THE 19th CENTURY:
A STUDY IN METROPOLITAN-SATELLITE RELATIONS

BY
WALLIS M. SMITH
(November 1972)

PARKS CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS
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by D.H. Mitchell and W. Choquette
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vi Abstract
vii Acknowledgements
1 Introduction
1 The Park
4 Historic Background
7 Survey Procedure
9 Sites Recorded and Reported
9 Prehistoric Sites
9 EdQa 2
11 EdQa 4
11 EePx 1
11 EfQa 1
11 EfQa 2
12 EfQa 3
12 EhQa 1
13 Other Reported Sites
13 Historic Sites
13 A. Habitation Sites
1. Temporary Campsites
   EhQa H1
   Other Reported Sites

2. Log Cabins
   EfPx H1
   EgPw H1
   EgPw H2
   EdPw H2
   Other Reported Sites

3. Homesteads
   EdPw H1
   EeQa H1
   Other Reported Sites

4. Industrial Camps
   EfQa H1
   EhQa H2
   Other Reported Sites

B. Activity Sites

1. Mineral Claims
   EhQa H3
   EhQa H4
   Other Reported Sites

2. Miscellaneous
   EdQa H1
   EfQa H2
Conclusions

Illustrations

1  Routes of early explorers

2  Locations of sites recorded

3  Chronology of historic sites

Tables

1  Dimensions of Buildings at EhQa H2

References Cited
ABSTRACT

An Archaeological Survey of the Prehistoric and Historic Resources of Kootenay National Park

Portions of Kootenay National Park were examined for archaeological sites during the summers of 1971 and 1972. Of the twenty sites recorded, seven are prehistoric and thirteen relate to historic human use of the park. The historic occupation of the park is separated into four stages: exploratory, fur trade, homesteading, and industrial development.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

The archaeological survey of Kootenay National Park that is the subject of this report was conducted in the summers of 1971 and 1972 under Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Contract Number 70-336 issued to the senior author as principal investigator. The terms of the contract specified that priority be given to areas recently developed or scheduled for development in the near future. Specifically, these areas included the West Kootenay fire road, Dolly Varden fire road, East Kootenay fire road, Settlers road, Kootenay Crossing campground, Settlers road campground, and other areas designated by the park superintendent.

The project involved two-man field crews for the months of May through August in 1971, and September of 1972.

The Park

The boundaries of Kootenay National Park enclose a 543 square mile strip of mountainous terrain 65 miles long and extending approximately five miles on each side of National Park Highway 93. Included in the park are connected portions of the Kootenay and Vermilion River valleys with Sinclair Canyon and Vermilion Pass forming entries from the southwest and northeast respectively.

The topography is dominated by the Rocky Mountain system, which in the park consists of the Bow, Ball, Vermilion, Mitchell, Brisco,
and Stanford ranges. The parallel trend of the folded sedimentary deposits that form these ranges and the consequent trellis drainage pattern have been interrupted at several places by lateral displacement due to faulting. Major valleys of the park have the typical U-shape of glacial scouring and their floors are mantled by glacial deposits. Rivers have reworked much of this morainal material into well-drained terrace systems but pocketed amongst the old original glacial deposits are kettle lakes — melted remnants of the retreating ice. Tributary to the main rivers are numerous streams fed by glacial runoff. Most of these, originating in the cirques and hanging valleys that flank the main valleys, have cut their own V-shaped valleys and gorges before depositing sediments in alluvial fans on the valley bottoms. Between the channels of the small streams, the steep mountainsides bear the scars of repeated avalanches.

The park includes four major climatic and vegetal zones. (1) The extreme south end, including Dry Gulch and several miles of the Kootenay valley, is characterized by hot, dry summers, moderate winters, low annual precipitation, and a relatively open lodgepole pine forest. (2) At higher elevations, and north of the small area in the Kootenay valley, the vegetation reflects a transition towards subalpine conditions. The forests are composed primarily of Douglas fir with western larch, lodgepole pine, western red cedar, Douglas maple, trembling aspen, and Rocky Mountain juniper also present. (3) The true subalpine forest, of Engelmann's spruce at lower levels and alpine fir at higher elevations, is found where the dominant climatic conditions consist of moderate summer temperatures and rainfall, and quite severe
winters. Other trees within this zone include the lodgepole, whitebark, and limber pine, western red cedar, Douglas maple, alpine larch, and various species of willow. The regularity of forest transition is interrupted by avalanche slopes and burned areas, in which a localized lodgepole pine-Douglas fir-Engelmann's spruce succession occurs independent of the surrounding forest. (4) At elevations in excess of 6500-7000 feet above sea level, the extreme and variable climate precludes the growth of trees. In this alpine zone, consisting of wind-swept meadows and exposed plateaus of barrens, dominant shrubs and flowers include red mountain heath, white mountain heather, dwarf willows, bog laurel, black crowberry, yellow mountain avens, and cut-leaved fleabane.

Of the fauna native to the park, the large mammals are the most conspicuous and were probably the most important to its prehistoric occupants. Most are transhumant. Elk and mule deer migrate up the river valleys in the spring behind the melting snows, spending their summers around the timberline. Their movement is reversed with the arrival of autumn; they winter on the lower mountain slopes and in the valley bottoms. Bighorn sheep also spend summer in the high alpine zone, moving to open grassy slopes at lower elevations before winter arrives. Mountain goat are found in all higher regions of the park. White-tailed deer, moose, mountain lion, grizzly, and black bear also inhabit the park. Smaller mammals include wolverine, marten, mink, beaver, lynx, snowshoe hare, hoary marmot, Columbian ground squirrel, pika, red squirrel, and chipmunk.
Historic Background

In spite of much early lumbering and mining in the adjacent Rocky Mountain Trench, there is very little that can be said about historic activity in the Kootenay National Park vicinity until the beginning of the twentieth century.

David Thompson explored territory to the north, south, and west while engaged in fur trading for the Northwest Company in the early 1800's but apparently did not actually enter the area now enclosed in the park.

Two Hudson's Bay men were the first to record explorations in what is now the park. On Sir George Simpson's 1841 tour, he entered the Rocky Mountains through Devil's Gap and crossed over Simpson Pass (Figure 1). After following respectively the Simpson, Vermilion, and Kootenay Rivers, he then made a western traverse and descended into the Columbia River valley. At Simpson's suggestion, a party of settlers from Red River was led through the Rockies the same year by James Sinclair. Once in the mountains their route diverged from Simpson's and, travelling more to the south, they passed through what is now known as White Man's Pass. An Indian trail down the Cross River brought them to the Kootenay River, which they ascended a short distance. Then they crossed a final mountain range into the Columbia valley. This last route, the same as that followed by Simpson, passes Olive Lake, Sinclair Creek, and Sinclair Canyon.

It is known that in 1845, Father J. deSmet, a Jesuit missionary, travelled east through Sinclair Canyon to the Kootenay River but there
1 Routes of early explorers.
is some confusion as to his subsequent route. Some historians regard his notes as accurate, and recount his ascent of the Vermilion River drainage to the summit of Simpson Pass, where he planted a wooden cross beside a small lake. However, Graham (1945:69) states that the Cross River derives its name from the fact that deSmet's cross was planted at its source. The first interpretation would make deSmet's route the reverse of that followed by Simpson, the second, of that followed by Sinclair.

As a member of the Palliser expedition, Dr. James Hector ascended Vermilion Pass in 1858 by a little-used Indian trail, after finding the Simpson Pass route impassable owing to flooding. Following down the Vermilion River (see Figure 1), his party passed the ochre beds and travelled through a narrow canyon (now known as Hector's Gorge) upriver from the Vermilion's confluence with the Kootenay. Leaving the gorge, they travelled northward up the Kootenay to its source, and thus passed out of what is now the park.

Concurrent with at least some of these early explorations, the park was probably seasonally visited by fur trappers, although there are no historical references to trapping in the area. After the turn of the century, prospectors and homesteaders claimed many areas within the future park boundaries, although very few went beyond the initial staking.

One of the most notable early developments was the Radium Hot Springs resort, at first consisting of two log dwellings and a pool, connected with Golden by a wagon road. Further promotion of the Hot
Springs was a result of a Canadian Pacific Railway engineered road to Banff. Construction of the road began in 1911, and fourteen and one-half miles were completed to the summit of Sinclair Pass when the work was terminated owing to lack of funds. The Dominion Government assumed responsibility for the highway in 1914 and on completion in 1922, a tract of land five miles on each side of the road was created a National Park. Several bungalow camps were built at this time, including some at Radium Hot Springs, at Marble Canyon, and at Vermilion Crossing.

Sporadic activity at various mining claims continued throughout succeeding decades, although only the ochre beds and the talc mines above Redearth Pass seem to have been productive for any length of time. Testing of some claims under the War Measures Act of 1948 was undertaken, but results were not promising. By 1960, all but the Silver Moon claim had been cancelled.

The policy of cancellation, in keeping with the principles of a National Park, has been extended to the various homestead claims, which are gradually being bought back by the Federal Government. Today, only a few are in private hands.

Survey Procedure

Prior to the first season's field work, a month was spent in an intensive search for leads to sites in the park. The search included examination of published ethnographic literature, published and unpublished historic materials in the British Columbia Provincial Archives, and in the records of the British Columbia Provincial Museum.

In addition, particular attention was paid to any references to
the kind of archaeological materials the survey party might reasonably expect to encounter. From the ethnographic information available, notes were made on Kutenai, Shuswap, and Blackfoot material culture, settlement patterns, subsistence activities, and seasonal movements. It was felt that within these categories would most likely lie cultural practices that should be reflected in the archaeological record.

In the field an attempt was made to follow up the very few site leads generated by the preliminary search and to act on any specific information provided to the crew by local residents. Most field time, however, was spent in examining parts of the park slated for development and other areas that seemed likely locales for sites. Highways and fire roads provided vehicle access to many of the low-lying regions but all of the actual searching was done on foot. The survey party looked primarily for surface scatters of artifacts and other signs of occupation. Occasionally, even in the absence of clear evidence of human activity, test cuts were sunk to see if archaeological material lay beneath the surface sod.

The second season was primarily directed towards an inventory of historic sites within the park. To this end, a period prior to the actual field survey was spent researching documents pertaining to the history of the park and interviewing local residents and park employees.

The first part of the second season was devoted to exploration of those parts of the park not readily accessible by vehicle. A small pack train of four horses was used for the first part of the survey which had as its goal an examination of the upper Simpson River and
several high altitude locales. Unfortunately, owing to overgrown trails, avalanches, and snow, an initial plan of following each of the early explorers' routes through the park had to be abandoned. The rest of that season's work was conducted by vehicle and on foot.

All sites were photographed, sketch-mapped, and recorded on British Columbia Archaeological Site Survey forms. Following the practice initiated by Loy (1971), each historic site designation was given the prefix "H" before its number. All features of historic sites were photographed and described but no surface collecting was done. Prehistoric artifacts and detritus were collected and deposited at the British Columbia Provincial Museum.

SITEs RECORDED AND REPORTED

Twenty sites were recorded, of which seven relate to prehistoric human use of the park area, and thirteen contain evidence of historic Euro-Canadian activity. The following account describes these sites and notes several more that the field crews were not able to visit or locate. The locations of all sites recorded during the two seasons of field work are indicated in Figure 2.

Prehistoric Sites

EdQa 2 -- Research in the park office files indicated aboriginal use of the hot springs at Radium, and these were therefore recorded as an archaeological site, EdQa 2, for the distributional data it may provide.
2 Locations of sites recorded.
EdQa 4 — Iron Gates Pictographs — Two panels of red ochre pictographs are located about 60 metres to the southwest of the bridge crossing Sinclair Creek on Highway 93 one quarter mile northeast of the Iron Gates to the east of Radium Hot Springs Resort. The panels are about 25 metres distant from one another and are in a reasonably good state of preservation. Sketches and descriptions of the panels were prepared in 1962 (Kootenay National Park Office File No.318, Museums). These pictographs are not recorded in Corner (1968).

EePx 1 — An alluvial fan that dams Swede Creek at the summit of Sinclair Pass was aboriginally used as a temporary campsite. Considerable recent disturbance due to use of a campsite (now a picnic site) has exposed cultural material on the surface of the fan. Two small fragments of burnt bone, an unworked flake and a possibly worked chert fragment were surface collected.

EfQa 1 — This site is located on the northeast side of a small lake in an abandoned channel of the Vermilion River. Two small fragments of bone, two unworked flakes, and a crude biface were found in small test units excavated into a bench approximately 1.5 metres above the lake level. A considerable quantity of fire-broken rock was noted.

EfQa 2 — Located on a terrace on the east bank of the Kootenay River approximately five metres above the present floodplain, the site is about 120 metres north of Kootenay Crossing. Numerous burnt and unburnt bone fragments, an unworked flake, and a utilized fire spall were collected from the surface and from several small test holes.
EfQa 3 -- This site is situated on the next terrace above EfQa 2, approximately 20 metres higher than the present Kootenay River floodplain. Highway 93 cuts through the south half of the site. Burnt and butchered bone fragments of deer and of a larger ungulate, an unworked flake and a finely made end-scraper were recovered from a few small test holes in the terrace.

EfQa 1 -- Paint Pots Site -- Although no archaeological materials were recovered during the survey, the ochre beds lying about one mile north of the mouth of Ochre Creek were still recorded as a site. They are known to have been visited by Indians, as Palliser (1863:103) has observed

Here in the corner of the valley on the right side, is the Vermillion Plain, which is about a mile in extent, with a small stream flowing through it. Its surface is entirely covered with yellow ochre washed down from the ferruginous shales, in the mountains. The Kootanie Indians come to this place sometimes, and we found the remains of a camp and of a large fire which they had used to convert the ochre into the red oxide which they take away to trade to the Indians of the low country, and also to the Blackfeet as a pigment, calling it vermillion.

Unfortunately, the ochre beds were considerably disturbed by commercial operations about 40 or 50 years ago. This activity has
probably erased most surface sign of encampment.

Other Reported Sites: Sites reported but not located by the field crew included the following:
1. A pictograph or pictograph panel in Sinclair Canyon.
2. A "pottery" site in the vicinity of Marble Canyon. Interest in locating this reported site was high as it is known that the Kutenai made a crude form of moulded pottery.

In both cases, the directions provided by informants were too vague to permit rediscovery of the reported locations.

Historic Sites
A. Habitation Sites
1. Temporary Campsites

EhQa H1 -- The August 20, 1858, entry in Hector's journal describes the ascent of "little Vermilion Creek" (present-day Altrude Creek) via the slope above the south bank to a height of land 540 feet above the Bow River. Hector's party camped beside "a stream of muddy water, about twelve feet broad (which) descends from the north-west and when within 300 yards of . . . a deep lake with rocky margins composed of quartz rock in thick strata, dipping 20° WSW . . . turns off to the south-west" (Spry 1968:299-300). The present Banff-Windermere highway passes beside this lake, upstream of Vista Lake, and crosses the Continental Divide just south of the southwestward bend of the Vermilion River. A small campground is located on the northwest bank of the river at this point, and a parking lot has been constructed adjacent
to the south side of the highway for access to signs and displays connected with the divide and the Vermilion Fire. The area between the river and the highway, the site of Hector's brief encampment, was bulldozed flat, and planted with grass as a part of highway development.

Other Reported Sites: Hector makes reference to additional campsites, although not in such precise fashion. The locations are as follows: on the east bank of Ochre Creek, very near to its junction with the Vermilion River, on a flat about 50 feet above the creek; in a little swampy "opening" in a forest of cedar near the mouth of Hawk Creek; on a meadow at the Kootenay valley end of Hector's Gorge; and at latitude 50° 52' N. on a shingle terrace of the Kootenay River in very dense pine forest. Just outside the present northern park boundary, Hector camped in some burnt woods by the side of a morass, shortly after passing two streams, one from each side of the valley (probably Whitetail and Boyce creeks).

Sir George Simpson's journal refers to his breakfasting on a level isthmus not more than fourteen paces in width, waters from which flowed to the eastern and western oceans. Other locations of his camps are mentioned much less explicitly. One was probably beside one of the kettle lakes north of the junction of the Vermilion and Kootenay Rivers; the lake in question was found to be dry by Simpson's party. His last camp before leaving the park area was made immediately before ascending through Sinclair Pass.

The uncertainty of the duration of Father deSmet's journey in the park has been mentioned. He probably camped in the vicinity of Simp-
son's last camp, as a day's journey through Sinclair Canyon is mentioned in his narrative.

2. Log Cabins

EfPx H1 — The barely visible remains of a log cabin were discovered in an area of second-growth pine and fir forest on the north bank of the Vermilion River opposite the mouth of the Simpson River. Four grass-covered mounds, forming an outline four metres square are located approximately eighty metres south-south-west of the Simpson monument, off Highway 93. A log with an axe-cut notch is exposed at the north-east corner of the outline. A mound of mud interspersed with rock slabs straddles the north wall mound -- probably the remains of a chimney. A poorly defined break in the south wall mound is probably a doorway.

Attempts to obtain information regarding the occupancy of this cabin met with little success. Local rumour suggested that the cabin was the base camp of a trapper who, with his wife, worked a trapline up the Simpson River in the early 1900's.

EgPw H1 -- The remains of a log building were discovered at the margin of a terrace approximately 1.5 metres above the north side of Porcupine Creek, about 300 metres east of the creek's junction with the Simpson River. The cabin parallels Porcupine Creek, with the doorway facing southwest, and is just under four metres by three metres outside dimensions with a maximum height of 1.25 metres at the apex of the front wall. The pole frame roof has caved into the interior of the cabin,
which has an excavated floor. The walls are unchinked, with board door jambs, nailed with wire nails. This cabin apparently belonged to the wife of the trapper mentioned above.

EgPw H2 -- This cabin is located at the fork in the Simpson River Trail, with the branch continuing up Porcupine Creek passing in front of the building, and the section headed for Simpson Pass, on the west side. The cabin had been ransacked by a grizzly during the winter of 1971-72, and the interior was a shambles. The bear had ripped the roof off and pulled part of it into the interior of the building. It is in otherwise excellent condition though reputed to be about fifty years old. Dimensions are 5.2 metres by 4.0 metres by 2.7 metres high at the peak of the roof.

EdPw H2 -- Situated just outside the south-western park boundary, this cabin is on the east bank of the Kootenay River approximately 550 metres north of the mouth of the Cross River. It is oriented north-south, parallel to the river, with the door to the south. The cabin appears to be in quite good condition, with roof and walls still intact, but as it was outside the park, the field party did not attempt to ford the river for further investigation.

The cabin is similar to that of the cabin at site EdPw H1 (see below) in that they both have roughly square roofless walled enclosures adjacent to the rear walls. The relationship between these two sites is uncertain, as is the function of the rear enclosures. No homesteads were claimed on the east side of the Kootenay River in this vicinity, and indeed, there appears to be very little ground clearing connected
with the cabin. Possibly it served as the base camp of a trapper.

Other Reported Sites: Scace (1971:13) mentions a log cabin located near the Vermilion River terminus of the older trail which bypasses the ochre beds. The cabin was built by W.G. Wollenstein, a Dominion Forest Ranger who lived in it from May 1917 to August 1919.

3. Homesteads

EdPw H1 — This site is located on a flat sandy terrace one metre above the present floodplain, on the east bank of the Kootenay River about one third mile north of the mouth of the Cross River. A shallow intermittent stream channel bordered by willows bisects the cleared area, and a second, flanked by similar vegetation, bounds the site on the south. To the north the flat is pinched off by the river. A high terrace on the west, forested with fir on its margin and pine on top, overlooks the site. A swampy meadow atop this terrace feeds the two stream channels during peak runoff.

A single log cabin is located near the centre of the cleared area, south of the bisecting stream channel. It is four metres square with a present height of 1.5 metres and oriented east-west with a window in the south wall and the door facing east. Walls of the cabin are of moss-chinked logs, 15-20 cm. in diameter. Round nails were used in construction. A peaked, sod-covered roof of small logs, some of them split, formerly covered the building. The south half of the roof and the adjoining sidewalls have collapsed at the southwest corner.

Ten to 15 cm. distant from the rear of this cabin, but not con-
nected to it, is a roofless square log enclosure, inside which are three large fir trees. The logs forming the enclosure, which is 4 m. square and 0.9 m. high, are 10-12 cm. in diameter. As previously mentioned, the function of this rear enclosure is unknown.

The cabin and cleared area which comprise the site are probably those of the W.A. Dillon homestead, recorded in 1913.

EeQA H1 — Bisected by Highway 93 at Bench Mark 1617, this site consists of the remains of C.J. Crook's homestead, now known as "Crook's Meadows." East of the highway, and three metres southeast of the Bench Mark, is a concrete foundation — the remains of building I. The foundation is oriented north-south, and is 6.1 m. long and 4.9 m. wide. An overgrown area of wood planks, of equal length and 5.2 m. wide, was found adjacent to the east side of the foundation. Just to the southeast is a deep hole, roughly square in outline. Evidence of construction materials of building I is sparse, consisting of a few pieces of plumbing pipe, some asphalt shingles, and several wire nails.

The remains of a road, now overgrown by grass and young lodgepole pine, was discernible leading eastward through an area containing a large number of partially decayed saw-cut logs and stumps. The road led approximately 100 metres east to a ridge in which building II was constructed at ground level. The building is excavated into the side of the ridge, and appears to be a well-constructed log root cellar. Approximately four metres of the building's length is visible; it is 2.8 m. wide. The entryway is insulated on both sides by rectangular dirt-filled enclosures that form part of the side walls. The walls
themselves are unchinked, and the component logs have squared ends. The board door jambs were nailed with wire nails. The log roof, the rear half of which is still intact, was covered with sod.

To the west of the highway, a gravel road leads to Crook's Meadows campsite after crossing a small stream. About 20 metres up the stream on the south bank, building III is located. It is 1.6 m. by 1.5 m. with a present maximum height of 1.3 m. at the top of the door jamb. The walls are unchinked, and wire nails have been used in construction. A rotten board bench at the rear, with a barely discernible hole in it, indicates that the building was an outhouse. This structure was reduced to its present height by a falling tree.

Approximately 45 metres north of building III is the rectangular outline of building IV, 6 m. by 4 m. and of a maximum present height of two logs. The building, oriented north-south with the door facing south, had one window opening in the west wall. A pit, presently 1 m. deep and 0.8 m. by 0.6 m. with rounded corners, was discovered approximately three metres south-east of the southeast corner of the building.

Two additional features of this site were located on the western periphery of a large meadow. The first is a small copse of ornamental deciduous trees arranged in a semi-circle. Approximately 60 metres north of this is Crook's grave, which is enclosed by an unpainted board fence with two rails, 2.1 m. long, 1.1 m. wide, and 0.9 m. high. The headstone has a brass plaque with the inscription:
Charles John Crook
May 20, 1875
Nov. 20, 1945
Thy Will Be Done

Other Reported Sites: Additional homesteads of importance not investigated by the survey include several in the vicinity of Radium Hot Springs. John McKay was apparently the first settler there in 1881, but did not register a homestead claim for the Hot Springs. The earliest claim recorded on the land map is that of G.R.W. Stuart who in 1889 registered Lot 149 which includes the Hot Springs. The extensive recent development of the Radium Hot Springs vicinity has likely obliterated traces of this early settlement.

The present-day McLeod Meadows Campsite is located on the homestead of the McLeod Brothers. They did not erect any permanent structures, apparently, living for a short period of time in a temporary brush shelter.

Numerous other homestead claims were registered in the south part of the park along the Kootenay River, but most were not developed beyond the initial staking.

4. Industrial Camps

EfQa H1 — A two-rut dirt road leads into a cleared area on the west side of the Kootenay River, across Highway 93 from the Kootenay Crossing warden's headquarters. A concrete pad approximately 11 metres by 15 metres is located in the centre of the clearing. At the clearing's
southern margin, three plank-shored holes (possibly root cellars of some sort) were found. Amongst the trees in this area are several groups of horse-drawn construction equipment, including a wagon frame, and metal bucket and scoop ditching implements. Two wooden-spoked wagon wheels are lying in the clearing.

Available documentary evidence pertaining to the construction of the highway is scant. Reference is made to two main camps, headquarters being two miles (by the completed road) from the Hot Springs. This is probably at the mouth of John McKay Creek, site of the present park industrial compound. Investigation of this area indicates that construction of the compound totally erased any evidence of its predecessor. The machinery and structural features of EfQa H1 suggest that this is the location of the second highway construction camp.

EhQa H2 -- This site is located on the west bank of Tokumm Creek, two miles upstream from its junction with the Vermilion River, and about 100 metres above the first falls of Marble Canyon -- a part of Tokumm Creek valley that is known as Prospectors' Valley.

A wagon tote road, the winding course of which bridged Marble Canyon numerous times, leads to the site; this road is barely visible as a strip of second-growth shrubs and young pine.

The camp consists of four log buildings, one slightly separated and about 20 metres downstream from the other three which form a cluster. Dimensions of these buildings are listed in Table I. Refuse in the vicinity includes tin cans with overlapping tops and the modern crimped rim types.
Building I is oriented north-south along the wagon road, with the
door to the west, and the rear wall to the creek. The roof has collaps­
sed completely so that only the moss-chinked walls remain. The com­
ponent logs were sawn, notches then being cut by axe. There is little
consistency in log size, suggesting the builder used the trees closest
at hand. Round nails and spikes were used in construction of interior
fixtures.

Building II is on the opposite side of the road and is lined up
east-west. It has doors front and rear, with one window in the south
wall, and possibly a second window in the middle of the north wall.
The roof beams have collapsed inward. Most logs are notched only on
the bottom. Walls are moss chinked. Door jambs were shaped from split
logs and attached with round nails.

Building III is beside the preceding and is the largest structure
in the camp. There are doorways in the east and south walls; the east
and west walls have two windows each; while the north and south walls
have but one window each. The building's beam roof, covered with shakes,
is almost completely collapsed.

A partial foundation of one log's depth was laid to begin construc­
tion of a cabin, which appears to have been the work of at least two
separate builders. The lower three logs fit well, while the upper
remaining logs fit poorly and are of different sizes. The logs were
apparently cut originally by axe, and sawn later; they are bottom­
notched. In addition to moss chinking the walls have unnailed split
log spacers. Wire nails were used in assembling the shiplap window
frames and door jambs. The cabin contains a rusted sheet metal stove, and a square-nosed shovel blade.

Building IV is behind the latter two buildings, and is oriented east-west with the door to the east and a single window in the rear wall. The roof is missing. The walls have a partial foundation of one log, with other logs used in construction being notched top and bottom. The interiors of the walls are chinked with split logs nailed into place. Shiplap was used for door jambs and window frames, as on building III. This building differs from the others in that it has a wider door and higher walls. The single rear window, and the building's placement furthest from the creek suggest it may have been a storage shed, or possibly a stable.

It would appear that building I was the first, rather hastily-constructed, building at the site, possibly occupied during original assessment work on the nearby claims. Later expansion of mining activities (see Site EhQa H3) resulted in the enlargement of the camp.

Other Reported Sites: Investigation of the Paint Pots area failed to turn up evidence of a mining camp. The only other mining activity at which buildings were erected was talc mining near Natalko Lake above the Redearth Pass. Two buildings were constructed by the National Talc Company Limited around 1928; these were burned down during the 1960's at the request of the park administration.
B. Activity Sites

1. Mineral Claims

EhQa H3 -- Investigation of the vicinity of site EhQa H2 (see Industrial Camps, above) resulted in the discovery of a small-scale mining operation.

Remains of a small cabin were discovered at the base of the unnamed mountain on the west side of Marble Canyon, about 400 metres west-south-west of the building cluster of EhQa H2. The cabin is 5 m. by 3.2 m., with walls now only three logs high. Its construction is similar to buildings II and III of EhQa H2 in having bottom-notched logs, shiplap door jambs, and split log chinking. Wire nails were used in its construction.

The cabin is situated at the south edge of an avalanche slope, in the centre of which a smashed log pylon was found. Logs used in its construction have had their ends squared rather than notched. Five cables extend from it: one downslope about 30 metres where it is fastened to a large metal pin sunk in the ground; two to the southeast are wound around two large fir trees, in one of which the cable is embedded 3.5 centimetres. These three are likely guywires. The remaining two cables run up the avalanche slope. One is buried beneath the talus, while the other continues up the slope at least 300 metres, where it disappears from view atop a ledge about 25 metres above the head of the avalanche. Distinct "colours" of mineral streaking are visible on one overhanging portion of the ledge and 30 to 40 metres above the ledge is a mine entrance.
Fourteen mineral claims (the Zenith claim and the Duke and Phoebe groups) are recorded for this locality. They were filed in Wilmer by H.P. Saunders in 1914, and were assayed to contain gold, silver, and lead. Discovery by the Provincial Department of Mines that certificates of work for these claims were fraudulent resulted in their cancellation in 1943.

EhQa H4 — This site, near the mouth of Ochre Creek, designates the Margaret and Vermilion claims from which ferrous oxide was obtained. The National Parks Service has constructed an informative display at the site of these Paint Pots, and the site has been quite well documented by Dawson (1885) and Scace (1971). EhQa H4 designates the location of historic activity in the Paint Pots vicinity. EhQa l (see above) is the designation for the prehistoric site at the Pots.

Other Reported Sites: Talc mining activities in the vicinity of Redearth Pass have been previously mentioned. These were the Red Mountain, Gold Dollar (formerly Black Diamond) and Diamond Fraction claims, originally located and filed by Walter J. Peyto in 1917. In 1927, Peyto sold his interest to the National Talc Company Ltd. who conducted small scale operations there. The claim lapsed after 1938 but was reactivated in 1943–44 by the Wartime Metals Corporation. About 7½ tons of ore were produced.

Another group of claims (the Albion group on upper Hawk Creek) also underwent investigation as a result of the War Measures Act. This group of claims had been previously staked erroneously in 1929–30, being subsequently nullified in 1933 because of its location in the park. A
second erroneous staking in 1941 was followed up by an authorization under the War Measures Act for the Base Metals Mining Corporation to conduct exploratory drilling. The results indicated that although a significant quantity of zinc could be obtained, the overall operation would be uneconomical.

An additional pair of claims were located on the south side of Mt. Whymper. The Mt. Whymper, a talc claim owned by J. Sera of Banff, was apparently cancelled some time after 1933. The second claim, for silver and gold as well as talc, was staked by Burton S. Fox, also of Banff, in 1915. It was sold to National Talc Ltd. in 1927, who subsequently sold it to Mountain Minerals Ltd. This claim remained in good standing as late as 1960, but because it was in the park, no work has been done on it.

2. Miscellaneous

EdQa H1 — Remains of a log building were located on the east end of Sinclair Canyon, above the south bank of Sinclair Creek. The rear wall and one log of the west sidewall cling precariously to the bank about 3 metres above the present creek. The cabin was apparently 2 metres wide, and has a present height of 1.1 metres. The rear wall consists of 13 logs and was set into an excavation in the slope. The logs are notched deeply on the bottoms and slightly on top. Round nails were used in construction. This building is reported to have served as a powderhouse during construction of the Banff-Windermere Highway.

EfQa H2 — A long, irregular clearing, approximately 180 metres by 90
metres lies immediately east of Highway 93, 2.6 miles north of the Dolly Varden picnic site. The clearing, now bearing a sparse cover of small lodgepole pine, once served as an aircraft landing field.

CONCLUSIONS

Occupation of the park can be divided into stages as follows:

I. Prehistoric

II. Historic

1. Exploratory
2. Fur trade
3. Homesteading
4. Industrial Development

In constructing the chronology, presence or absence of historic materials was used for the basic division and within the historic category, documentary evidence was used for a rough sorting of the sites into an occupational sequence. For sites having log buildings, the relative state of decay was used in further ordering of the sites. The cabins of EfPx H1 and EgPw H1 were the most dilapidated, the former being completely decayed. The majority of log structures fall into an intermediate state, while the cabin of site EgPw H2 was the best preserved, and coincidentally the most recently occupied.

Evidence from two sites indicated two distinct stages of occupation. The homestead of C.J. Crook (EeQa H1) contained log buildings which date to the Homestead period, but he continued living at the site when the park was created after which time he operated a campground and
gas station. The cement foundation of building I would therefore date to the Industrial/Developmental time interval. Investigation of constructional details of buildings at site EhQA H2 suggested a two-stage development of the mining camp, with building I being constructed first (see Industrial Camps, above). A provisional chronology of the historic sites is presented as Figure 3.

The prehistoric assemblages are so small and so undistinctive that there is little can be said about their probable age.

Insofar as material relating to aboriginal occupants is concerned, this survey of selected areas of Kootenay National Park has disclosed that the archaeological resources of the park are few. This conclusion is consistent with the impression gained from the search of ethnographic and historic sources that the park area was little used by Indians from either side of the Rockies. It is also supported by the experience of long-term residents of the area who report knowing of no artifacts ever recovered from the park. If display material relating to early Kutenai or Blackfoot visitors is to be acquired, it will likely have to come from excavations beyond the boundaries of the park, in the Windermere Valley and Alberta foothills.
3 Chronology of historic sites. (Broken line indicates uncertain date).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building No.</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Width</th>
<th>Present Height</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.0 m.</td>
<td>5.0 m.</td>
<td>1.75 m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
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The Carrier Indians in the 19th Century:
A Study in Metropolitan-Satellite Relations
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v Abstract
vi Preface
1 Introduction
7 The Inter-cultural Alliance 1793-1821
12 Colony 1821-1870
12 Monopoly
19 Self-Sufficiency
23 The Colonial Condition
26 Class 1870-1900
32 A Life History
34 Colonialism, Class and Development
36 Conclusions
37 Appendix A
38 References Cited

Illustrations
44 1 Map of New Caledonia showing the Hudson's Bay Company posts and some of the Carrier Indian villages.
45 2 Map of New Caledonia showing the major cultural divisions of the Carrier Indians plus other tribes of the district.
46 3 A photograph taken at Fraser Lake showing a salmon weir with drying racks and smoke houses in the background, 1909.
46 4 A photograph taken of the mouth of the Stuart River near Necoslie showing a salmon trap, part of a weir and a smoke house.
47 5 A photograph of Necoslie showing the relationship of
the rancherie to the Hudson's Bay property.

47 6 A view of the rancherie looking towards the Hudson's Bay Company post, 1913.

48 7 The Roman Catholic Church and the Indian Mission village at Fort St. James, circa 1915.

48 8 Another view of the Indian Mission with the residential school in the foreground.

49 9 1972, an Indian fishing for salmon at the Moricetown Canyon on the Bulkley River.

49 10 1972, two Carrier Indian girls paddle toward a salmon net set across the mouth of the Pinchi River.
Abstract

In this report the author examines the relation between the Carrier Indians of central British Columbia and the whites who entered the area in the nineteenth century. He argues that a colonizer-colonized relation obtained between the two groups eventuated in the underdevelopment of the Carrier Indians. The report is based on ethnohistoric and ethno-graphic research.
Preface

The National Historic Sites Service began excavations on the site of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s post of Fort St. James, B.C. in the summer of 1971. The following spring, Don Harris, archaeologist in charge of the project, proposed that I do an ethnohistoric study of the Carrier Indians upon whom the historic post was dependent for its trade. Such a study was to focus on the impact of the fur trade on the Indians and provide a perspective for their inclusion in the interpretation of the post.

Research began in April 1972 and entailed the examination of H.B. Co. material in the Public Archives of Canada and the recording of oral histories at Necoslie Reserve and Pinchi village near Fort St. James during the 1972 field season.

I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Don Harris for his constant interest in and support of my project and to Virginia Field whose editorial skills were invaluable. I would like to thank the H.B. Co for giving me permission to research their archival material. Finally, I want to express my gratitude to John Prince, Frank Julian, Francesca Antoine and J.B. Patrick of Necoslie Reserve and Sarah Duncan of Pinchi village for spending time with me so that I might learn something of their history.
Introduction

This report is an analysis of the historical and structural factors determining the early development of inter-ethnic relations in Fort St. James, British Columbia. It deals with the years 1790-1910. In writing this report I have tried to achieve two ends. First, this report is intended to be a contribution to the already extensive body of scholarship and research devoted to the reconstruction and interpretation of the Hudson's Bay Company post of Fort St. James. In this sense it should serve to underscore the importance of treating the Carrier Indians as the foundation of the development of Fort St. James. By implication then this report is an argument for considering the Carriers as the focus of any thematic interpretation of that nineteenth century post. Anything less than that only serves to reinforce the colonial situation with which this paper deals. Secondly, this report is intended to be a substantive contribution to the study of development and underdevelopment in Canada. So long as it is recognized that this report offers a story line which the building of the fort and other artifacts could illustrate, these objectives need not be at variance.

For the purpose of organizing the material, I have found it useful to apply a conceptual scheme based on the notion of internal colonialism (Frank 1967, 1969; Stavenhagen 1966, 1968; Gonzalez-Casanova 1966). This perspective was developed in Latin America, and, although it has been applied in Canada as well (Daniels, 1970; Davis 1971; Elias 1972), it may be useful to offer some explanation of it here.

The basic assumption in the concept of internal colonialism is that in terms of economics and sociology there are
no dual societies: isolated segments within the national social and economic structure do not exist. All ethnic groups from the most "progressive" to the most "backward", from the most to the least powerful are integrated into the national and international system through a series of metropolitan centre-peripheral market relations. In this perspective socio-economic groups are seen in their relation to the metropolis. The linkage between the metropolis and the satellite determines the latter's development as for example the linkage between Fort St. James and Prince George determined the former's development or, in a larger sense, the relation between London and Canada determined the latter's growth. In a chain-like fashion, these linkages extend from the capitalist world and national metropolises to the regional centres... and from these local centres, and so on to large land owners or merchants who expropriate surplus from small peasants or tenants, and sometimes even from these latter to landless labourers exploited by them in turn. (Frank 1969:7)

It is important to understand the terms being used. Surplus value (or, simply, surplus) refers to the difference between the aggregate output of workers and their real income. For example, industrial workers generate surplus because they are poorly paid in relation to the value of the goods they produce; fishermen generate surplus because they are paid little for their catch in relation to the money middlemen receive for the same fish. It is this surplus which the capitalist appropriates in the form of net profits and uses for his own development (see Baran 1968:22-43). It is in this sense that we can speak of exploitation for the movement of wealth is unidirectional; there are no redistributive mechanisms such as small scale societies have in the form of reciprocity (see Sahlins 1965) or state bureaucracies have in the form of transfer payments, loans and
subsidies. Capitalism, then, refers to an economic system (or a mode of production) which yokes labour in order to create surplus value in production (see Dobb 1963:chpt. 1).

Frank argues that historically the capitalist penetration of a continent or region converts the settlements of that area into a series of minor economic constellations each with its own minor metropolis and satellites, these in turn being composed of still more metropolises and their satellites, all of them directly or indirectly dependent at that time on the European metropolitan centre (Frank 1969:15). Each level in the metropolitan centre-peripheral market chain appropriates the surplus of the next lower one. Since capital flows to the top, development creates underdevelopment.

To use Canada as an example, our country was dependent upon two metropolitan centres in the nineteenth century - England and the United States. For a variety of reasons (see Naylor 1972) capital which remained in Canadian hands was merchant capital while industrial capital was introduced from the United States, largely through Toronto. That city subsequently became the major national metropolis and today drains capital from such regional centres as Quebec City, Winnipeg, and Regina. These latter centres in turn drain from a more immediate hinterland. However, Canadian capital, being merchant capital, services American capital. It does not allow for indigenous economic growth (Naylor 1972:20-21). Consequently the major flow of capital is to the metropolitan centre to the south. In the metropolitan centre-peripheral market chain, whatever is returned to the peripheral market by way of investments is done in the best interests of the corporate concerns comprising the metropolitan centre and hence the net gain is to them while the hinterland's economy is distorted.

Corresponding to the economic relations of metropoli-
tan centre-peripheral market are the cultural relations of the colonizer-colonized. These are crucial, for only when the satellite group is culturally as well as socially and economically distinct is the condition of internal colonialism realized.

Internal colonialism corresponds to a structure of social relation based on domination and exploitation among culturally heterogeneous, distinct groups (Gonzalez-Casanova 1966:32).

Internal colonialism at the cognitive-ideological level is characterized by cultural and racial discrimination; at the level of day-to-day events it is characterized by commercial monopolies, restrictions on production and marketing and political control. In other words, a capitalist not only expropriates the surplus of a worker, but in calling that worker an "Indian", he can allow him to do work which he has defined as being fit for only an "Indian". Under conditions of internal colonialism there is a close fit between cultural stereotypes and social categories.

In this report, I am treating the metropolitan-satellite relation that existed between London and Fort St. James as structurally similar to that between Fort St. James and such communities as Pinchi, Nécoslie and Tache. Although Fort St. James has maintained its position as a minor metropolis with respect to these particular communities, the substance of the relationship has undergone a profound change. In the specific instance of New Caledonia, metropolitan-satellite relations took two forms according to the dominant mode of production. Of these two modes of production, one was characterized by relations of production based on trade and the other by relations of production based on labour. Historically, there was a transition from the former to the latter. As the social and cultural cohesion of the colonized (or satellite) communities broke down and as the colon-
ized people entered the colonizer's wage employment system the relations between the two groups were characterized less by colonialism than by social class, less by trade relations and more by labour relations. While a person may be regarded primarily as an Indian, and in that sense remains a victim of colonialism, he/she also may be a packer, choke setter or domestic, and to that degree part of a social class system. Once the boundary of traditional cultural pursuits gives way, a variety of class defined relationships develop (Stavenhagen 1966:74).

These are two broad points of view concerning the relation between whites and Indians that I would like to comment on. I will do so briefly for this subject has been dealt with at greater length by others (Daniels 1970; Elias 1972). The first assumes that Indians and whites inhabit two distinct cultural worlds, the first traditionalistic and reticent, the second progressive and innovative, and while contact between them has been largely fortuitous, nonetheless it has had an unfortunate impact on the former. Faced with overpowering technological and social impulses radiating from the metropolitan centres, Indian cultures have disintegrated, leaving the individual psychologically demoralized and culturally uprooted (e.g., Honigmann 1949). And yet for some reason, these people cling to their own values making their introduction into our system difficult.

This perspective, which is basically that of the dual society approach, implicitly denies that there is a prevailing political, social and economic integration of Indian and white societies. As a corollary it treats the Indian people as though they are simpletons incapable of establishing a coherent way of life in the face of change and without the psychological sophistication to deal with the backwash of European civilization. This, of course, flies in the face
of Indian history which is essentially a catalogue of adaptations.

The second assumption is that while Indians and whites may be integrated in some communities, the communities themselves are isolated from the main stream or entirely self-sufficient. The changes that come about in these communities are the result of conscious direction of the personnel of the metropolitan agencies located there (e.g., VanStone 1963). The native people are culturally incapable of advancing themselves.

Neither of these assumptions generate adequate descriptions of the reality. The first reifies cultural differences making them into absolute boundaries, whereas in reality culture has become the colonial mode of expressing the social class relation between Indians and whites (e.g., "Indians make 'natural' carpenters.") the second fails to see that the historical and structural determinants of the backwardness or underdevelopment of the supposedly isolated community lies in the nature and development of the metropolitan centre-peripheral market relation itself.

In this report, I am using both an historical and a structural perspective as the internal colonialism scheme allows. I have divided the period 1790-1910 into three sections which successively deal with the progression from a time when a metropolitan-satellite relation did not obtain, which I have called the inter-cultural alliance, to the institution of colonial relations based on the trading of fur and finally to the emergence of class characterized by labour relations. I will deal with each in turn.
The Inter-cultural Alliance 1793-1821

In 1793 when the first European crossed the Rocky Mountains, the fur trade was already well underway among the Indians of what is now interior British Columbia. For many years, English, American and Russian sailing captains had been trading with coastal Indians for sea otter furs. A few years prior to Mackenzie's westward exploration for the North West Company, the Pacific trade had broadened to include other types of fur such as beaver, lynx, bear and moose (Mackenzie 1801: 310). This means that the interior tribes had to be incorporated into this coastal trade since they were the sole suppliers of these kinds of furs.

The extent to which the trade had penetrated inland by 1793 is indicated by Mackenzie's description of his encounter with Sekani Indians on the Parsnip River. They claimed that they got their iron work from the Carrier Indians living to the west on Stuart Lake in exchange for beaver skins and dressed moose hides.

[the Sekani] represented the latter [the Carrier] as travelling during a moon, to get to the country of other tribes, who live in houses, with whom they traffic for the same commodities; and that these also extend their journeys in the same manner to the sea coast . . . where they trade with people like us, that come here in vessels as big as islands. (Mackenzie 1801:201; Lamb 1960:170).

Mackenzie found in fact that this trade was extensive throughout the central interior. People at the junction of the Fraser and West Road Rivers "procured iron, brass, copper and trinkets, from the Westward" (Mackenzie 1801:254). On the West Road River itself, he met Indians who had "come in a different direction from us, but were now going the same way (i.e., to trade on the coast). . ." (Mackenzie 1801:309). Goods entering and leaving the central interior did
so through either the Bella Coola Indians on North Bentinck Arm or the Tsimshian Indians at the mouth of the Skeena River 280 miles to the north.

The trade to the coast was carried on by means of what I have elsewhere described (Smith n.d.) as a series of inter-cultural alliances (see also Rotstein 1972). Inter-cultural alliances allowed commercial relations to be carried on in the guise of international relations. The alliance articulated relations between peoples. It was a political institution which allowed for the establishment and maintenance of peace. The primary mechanism through which this could be accomplished were gift-giving and marriage. The substance of peacable relations was visiting, feasting and trade. Set in this pre-eminently social context the trade was hedged with rights and duties, whose sanction was warfare, and the initial relationship at least was one of mutuality. When a person traded he usually also stayed for ceremonial feasting. Usually, affinal relations were established (Goldman 1941: 406). These alliances were in effect between the Indians of the hinterland (Carriers and Sekani) and the coastal Indians (Tsimshian and Bella Coola) and between the latter and white coastal traders. Furs moving from the Parsnip River to the coast might change hands three or four times before they reached the people who were in direct relation to the whites.

In 1805, the North West Company began establishing posts in the central interior. Simon Fraser, commander of the expedition, named the area New Caledonia. By 1807, he had built four posts: Fort McLeod, Stuart Lake post (later named Fort St. James), Fort Fraser, and Fort George. It soon became clear to Fraser that even though he was free of competition from the Hudson's Bay Company, he could not establish monopoly control; that in fact he was only setting up alternatives to the prevailing coastal trade. On one
occasion, he remarked that the Sekani of McLeod Lake "must be severely treated to break them of the custom of coming to the Carriers [to trade]" (Lamb 1960:247). On another, he wrote from Fort Fraser, 

I have succeeded in sending back Qwa . . . le Gourmand & several others of the Indians of Nakazleh . . . [Necoslie] & many of the Stragglers that were here dispersed as they have ate up all the salmon these of this place [Natleh] had. They now go to trade at Steele . . .  

(Lamb 1960:253).

This situation of choice appealed to the Carriers and Sekani. Under steady pressure from the Beaver Indians and having an eye to potential feuds among themselves, these people were not about to ignore a new and convenient source of European goods. There was now a market not only for furs, but for fish and small manufactured items as well. In return, the Europeans traded iron goods, guns and hides (especially moose since it was becoming increasingly scarce west of the Rockies).

At that time, labour was not a commodity to be bought and sold on an open market. The Carrier and Sekani were free to use their furs as clothing or to trade them in the interior or on the coast. This ease of movement underscores the fact that the Indians were neither dependent serfs nor free labourers but allies. Moreover, prices were determined through the interaction of supply and demand, since neither the North West Company nor the native people had the means to enforce monopoly conditions. Fraser for example wrote that

a good net cannot be had for a small ax. I traded one of small meshes which appears very good for an half ax. I got only 50 salmon for a small ax today (Lamb 1960:250).

Alternatively, neither could Fraser command a sufficient quantity of goods from any one source. For example, salmon
(the staple of New Caledonia) might be in such short supply in one place as to force the Europeans to look elsewhere. Harmon wrote that

*Mr. Stuart and myself, with the most of our people went to purchase furs and salmon, at Fraser's Lake [Natleh] and Stillas [Stella]. The last fall, but few salmon came up this river [the Stuart]. At the two places, above-mentioned, we were so successful as to be able to procure a sufficient quantity* (Harmon 1903:188).

Mutuality (or balanced reciprocity, Sahlins 1965) was apparent in the social sphere as well. Theft was not tolerated by either party. On the few occasions that it did occur the stolen goods were immediately returned and the thief singled out by his corporate community (Harmon 1903:164). Fighting and threats of fighting between Indians and whites were rare. In 1811, the first of many marriages took place between Carriers and whites. Significantly, this union involved the daughter of a Carrier big man or noble and the interpreter at Fort St. James (Harmon 1903:165), indicating that the Indians at least wished to put the intercultural alliance on a firmer footing by creating affinal relations and so enter into a more generalized relationship.

However, a basic contradiction existed between the demands of the fur trade on one hand and the alliance on the other. I will discuss the attempt to resolve this contradiction and its consequences in the next section. Here I only want to indicate that, first, as the trade war east of the Rockies was demonstrating, substantial profits could be taken from a fur trade district only under conditions of monopoly control. Hence, if the trade in New Caledonia was to be continued profitably, the competitive trade to the coast must be stopped. This could be accomplished either by forcing the Sekani and the Carriers to break their alliances with the western Indians or by reducing the role of
commercial exchanges inherent in them. Practically, this meant that people could go where they pleased so long as the furs stayed at the post at which those individuals were accustomed to trade. As we shall see, the emphasis tended to fall on the latter alternative. However, the point to note is that some vehicle other than a system of alliances had to be found to carry the trade.

The other factor militating against alliance relations was the continuously high operating costs that plagued the trade. For example in 1822 the cost of goods at Fort St. James was 43 2/3 per cent higher than a York Factory, the entrepot on Hudson's Bay (Fleming 1940:326). In an attempt to reduce these costs Governor George Simpson enforced a policy by which the men at the posts were expected to become involved in subsistence activities. In this way, the posts in New Caledonia would no longer have to rely entirely upon the Indians supplying them with salmon, wildfowl, berry cakes and meat. It was expected that each post would have its own garden, cattle and horses and that the men would hunt and fish.

The immediate economic effect of this policy was that the Indians lost a considerable portion of their trade. They became increasingly dependent upon a single commodity for trade and consequently lost control over price to the monopoly organization. Hence, the Hudson's Bay Company's attempts to rationalize the trade lead to an immediate and severe reduction in the scope of Indian commercial enterprise. The coalition of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 (under the name of the latter) created the climate for monopoly control. The exercise of monopoly control by the Hudson's Bay Company brought the period of the inter-cultural alliance to a close.
A colony is defined by its relationship to the mother country. It is a producer of primary products, it exists under a body of rules governing its commercial relations with the outside world, and it is politically dependent on the parent nation. Following the union of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, relations between the Indians and the whites began to be cast in this mold. These relations were characterized by dependence and cultural discrimination.

I have suggested that there were two primary reasons for the development of colonial relations. The first was the Hudson's Bay Company's move toward monopoly control and the establishment of an exploitable hinterland for each of its posts. The second was the need to cut costs and the consequent decision to make the posts as self-sufficient as possible. I will deal with each of these factors in turn.

**Monopoly**

Immediately after the union of 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company in New Caledonia began to expand toward the northwest. Ft. Kilmaurs was built in 1822 and Ft. Connelly followed in 1826. The construction of these posts was part of a larger policy aimed at penetrating areas currently exploited by the Russians (Fleming 1940:303; also Rich 1959, 2:606-656). The rhetoric and activity surrounding the establishment of Ft. Kilmaurs reveals a great deal about the attitude of the Company at that time.

The Indians of Babine Lake traded extensively with their allies on Stuart and Fraser Lakes. William Brown, chief trader at Ft. Kilmaurs wrote that

> the greatest part of the Babines of the Lake traded their Furs with the Indians of the Portage, and Fond du Lac of Nakasley [Stuart L.] un-
les which people come from St. James in the winter to trade with them - those of Simpson's River [the Bulkley] carried part of their Furs to the Establishment of Fraser's Lake - or traded them with the Indians of Stellah - but as far as I am able to judge... Three-fourth of the Furs procured by the Indians of Simpson's River were carried below and traded with the Indians of the Sea Coast (Hudson's Bay Company Archives [hereafter referred to as HBCA] B11/el, Babine: Report on District, 1822-23, folio 3).

Brown claimed that this trade threatened to siphon off the profits of New Caledonia.

Brown claimed that this trade threatened to siphon off the profits of New Caledonia.

It will be necessary to check this sort of trade, as it can answer to no good purpose and will be prejudicial to the Establishment - as also to the concern in general (HBCA. B.11/al, Babine: Post Journal 1822-23, Oct. 23, p. 9).

As we shall see, the Company's intention was to systematically establish relations of dependency. Not only would such a policy reduce overhead expenses through the institution of monopoly control, but it would also instill in the Indians a consciousness of their inferior position in the trade. It was, therefore, the expedient thing to do. An unsigned letter from the Hudson's Bay Company's depot of Fort Garry testifies to this general sentiment.

I am convinced the [Indians] must be ruled with a rod of iron to bring them and keep them in a proper state of subordination, and the most certain way to effect this is by letting them feel their dependence upon us... In the woods and the northern barren grounds this measure ought to be pursued rigidly next year (i.e., 1823) if they do not improve, and no credit, not so much as a load of ammunition, given them until they exhibit an inclination to renew their habits of industry (quoted in Innis 1956:287).

Moreover, among the Hudson's Bay Company's Minutes of Council Northern Department for 1823 is the resolution that a list of the Indians, half-breed and Freemen trappers considered apper-
taining to each District be made out and settled on annually by the Gentlemen in charge of neighbouring Districts, and that no hunts in payment of supplies advanced by one Post or District be taken or received by the Gentlemen in charge of another Post or District (Fleming 1940:63).

Apparently this regulation had gone into effect in the previous year. On his way to establish Ft. Kilmaurs Brown met some Carriers on the Stuart Lake side of the Babine-Stuart lakes portage. He refused to trade with them. Instead he delivered a lecture on his purpose and intentions. [I] gave them to understand that the Establishment we were on our way to form, was intended solely for the Babines alone, and that in passing and repassing I would trade nothing from any Indian on this side of the Portage save such provisions as I required for the voyage. St. James being their fort, and to that place they were to carry their furs (HBCA B11/al Babine: Post Journal 1822-1823, Oct. 13, p. 3).

Shortly after this incident he tried to bluff the Indians, threatening to close the yet unfinished Ft. Kilmaurs unless the Indians were co-operative and supplied furs and provisions (HBCA B11/al Babine: Post Journal 1822-1823, Oct. 24, p. 11). In January of the following year he repeated his complaint.

All the Furs they procured in the Summer (save a few which may have found their to Fraser's Lake) they carried to the Atnah village at the Forks [a Gitksan village near Hazelton], and sold them to the Indians of the sea coast [Tsimshian] who mounted the river to there. This traffic will be very prejudicial to us if we do not get a stop put to it - as all the Indians here are talking of taking their furs there [this] ensuring summer - (HBCA B11/al Babine: Post Journal 1822-23, Jan 1, p. 50).

The effect of managing credit in order to prevent Indians from trading at more than one post was indeed to gradually inhibit any given group of Indians from dealing simultaneously
with several competitive outlets. The dependency established could never be total, but the policy was effective to the extent that it disrupted native patterns of trade. For example the Sekani of the Parsnip River, who also came under this system, had previously traded moose hides to the western Carriers who acted as middlemen for the coastal Indians. As moose became increasingly scarce in the interior, this trade assumed greater proportions, extending from the Peace River country to the Pacific. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, had supplanted the Sekani in the transportation of these goods. Knowing the value of these hides -

The trade in this Country cannot be carried on without leather, the natives prefer it to almost any other commodity . . . (HBCA B. 188/a3 Fort St. James: Post Journal 1823-1824, Nov. 3, p. 45).

- they could exert leverage on the Carriers of Babine Lake to pry them loose from the coastal trade. After receiving a supply of leather from Ft. St. James, Brown wrote

I am particularly glad of it as it will enable me to show the Indians that we can furnish them with as good leather as they can procure from the sea coast, which may be a means of drawing trade from that quarter (HBCA B.11/a2 Babine: Post Journal 1823, March 23, p. 104).

In this manner, the trading system built on alliances that Mackenzie had described was all but destroyed.

Monopoly control was coincident with the credit system. Once the initial advance had been made a man could be effectively in debt to a particular post for the best part of his trapping life. To illustrate how this system operated, in one case a man traded the equivalent of 30 Made Beaver - the Made Beaver (M.B.) being the Hudson's Bay Company's standard of value. Thirty M.B. went to pay off his debt from the previous autumn. He had, therefore, a profit of nine skins. However, in order to supply himself for the coming year he took 30 skins worth of goods on debt plus a
gratuity of 5 small measures of ammunition, 2 needles, 2 flints, and 1 skein sewing thread "as he has made a good Hunt and promised to work well" (HBCA, B.188/a2 Fort St. James: Post Journal 1823-1824, Nov. 3, p. 45). Obviously a good deal of latitude was allowed the trader. For example, the leading noble of Necoslie was given a gun worth 60 M.B. on credit; another Indian would have been expected to pay for the gun entirely or substantially through a series of advance payments. This particular noble, however, was considered to be a hard worker who used his influence to keep the younger men on good terms with the Hudson's Bay Company. By rewarding certain forms of behaviour and punishing others through the extension or withdrawal of credit, the credit system was used to control the local Indians.

The Carriers entered into trading relations because they were beneficial. They could make good use of the wares the traders brought. In every area, but small game hunting and bush travel, European manufactured goods were demonstrably superior in terms of the savings in labour they provided. However, there were other factors which tended to reinforce this relationship and make extrication from the consequent dependence difficult for the Indians. In the first place the Hudson's Bay Company held the leading noble of a village responsible for that village and the conduct of its people. This was part of the common Hudson's Bay Company practise of working through influential men in each area. Brown, for example, told the leading noble of one village that

[I] intended to leave this [place] in the Morning, and hoped that he would not only exert himself in hunting during my absence, but behave well in other respects, and endeavor to impress upon the minds of his young men the necessity of their doing the same (HBCA B.11/a2 Babine: Post Journal 1822-1823, Nov. 16, p. 40).

In reference to the end of the nineteenth century, in-
formants say that the food and equipment for all the people trapping in a noble's trapping ground were charged to the account of that noble. Quite likely this was the practise earlier as well. Such responsibility placed great pressure on the nobles to keep the younger men trading at Hudson's Bay Company posts and maintain the peace. By virtue of the power and authority they wielded through their ownership of trapping and fishing areas, these nobles were largely successful. In this way, Hudson's Bay Company managers could make good use of the Carrier's rank system to maintain a relation of dependence.

When necessary, however, the Hudson's Bay Company could use force to still what they considered unruly natives or to avenge the murder of one of their employees. One interpreter in particular - "the terrible Waccan" (Morice 1904:passim) was famous for his ability to track down and kill murderers or administer beatings to "truculent" Indians. It was always the case that the interests of the Indian and white trade relation prevailed over the humiliation and anger felt by the individual. Only on a few occasions did the Carriers resort to collective action but this was directed against particular Hudson's Bay Company employees or officers rather than the presence of the company as such.

There has been a good deal of discussion concerning the effectiveness of the credit system in determining the trading practises of the Indians. A clerk in New Caledonia in 1834 wrote that it would indeed be desirable that this credit system long since introduced, were abolished; but if this were done the natives would carry the greatest part of their hunts to another quarter (McLean 1849 I:302). On the other hand, P.S. Ogden, the chief factor of New Caledonia at that time, was a little less sanguine about its
effects.

it is said it acts as a hold on them from the great temptation of
low prices which the Coast Traders who now are annually in the habit of
resorting to the frontiers in quest of Furs, it may have this effect on
some altho I have my doubts, still with many at this [place] in debt of
occasionally clandestinely trading their furs (Sage 1937:48).
The important point is not that the coastal trade came to a
halt - unquestionably it did not - but that the credit system
reduced its attractiveness sufficiently for the Hudson's Bay
Company to establish effectively monopoly control at the in­
terior posts of New Caledonia. The western Carriers might
have been able to take advantage of the coastal trade, but
for the eastern sub-groups it was much more difficult. Any
person found trading to the west or even visiting a western
post could be threatened with the withdrawal of credit at
the post to which he regularly came with his furs or have his
furs siezed. The credit system was so effective that in 1831
at Ft. Alexandria which was an interior post, 169 hunters
were in debt out of a total of adult male population of ap­
proximately 250 (Morice 1904:120; 1906:275).
A direct consequence of fostering relations of dependence
was that Carrier villages began to orient their activities
around the posts. The sources indicate that a pattern was
developing of one tribe clustering around each post (McLean
1849, I:291). Another indication that the posts had become
a major focal point is that during the closing of Ft. George,
due to the murder of several servants of the company by local
Indians, the people who traded there simply moved to the next
closest post, Ft. Fraser. They did not use their freedom
from post control to take up the trade to the coast (HBCA,
38).
During the 1850's and 1860's the Hudson's Bay Company was less concerned about where Indians traded. The credit system had been abolished *de jure* some years before, but its *de facto* effect was still felt, insofar as the trade into the posts had been regularized and relations of dependence established. Perhaps the most significant factor in the easing of legal restriction of trade was the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company on the coast after 1834. From Rupert's Land to the Pacific it was a single trading system.

**Self-sufficiency**
The second factor in the development of colonial relations was the effort on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company to become self-sufficient. John Tod, a clerk at Ft. McLeod, summed up the Hudson's Bay Company's policy in this period with these words:

*Whenever a new post was established, the resources of that part of the country had to be relied on. The company would supply you with anything you could convey, but the conveyance of the supplies must first be provided for* (Tod 1878:14).

In New Caledonia, it seldom occurred that good agricultural land was coincident with good fur bearing country; in point of fact, good agricultural land was everywhere at a premium. The chief factor in 1824 wrote that the whole of New Caledonia throughout maybe considered as a mountainous Country and the Soil varies in various parts but is nowhere much calculated for cultivation and the whole of it is rather barren rocks or woody country where being no plains and very few swamps in any part of it (HBCA, B119/el, McLeod's Lake: Report on District 1824, folio 3). A decade later, John McLean added the quip that

*I have experienced at Stuart's Lake, in the month of July, every possible change of weather within twelve hours; frost in the morning, scorching*
heat at noon; then rain, hail snow (McLean, 1849 I:284).
Whatever the degree of exaggeration involved, agriculture and animal husbandry were difficult undertakings. As early as 1811, a small garden was started at Ft. St. James. Under the Hudson's Bay Company, other posts soon began their own operations. The success of these ventures varied considerably from post to post. Ft. McLeod could not support itself in any manner; Ft. St. James was in almost as bad straits in the beginning, while Ft. Fraser and Ft. Alexandria lying within another biotic zone, produced excellent gardens.

However, gardening never allowed the Hudson's Bay Company's posts to be self-sufficient. From the early 1800's until the late 1860's, Indians and whites alike subsisted on salmon and from the beginning it was apparent that the posts would have to trade for that commodity. Whites had no rights to places in the Carrier's Salmon wiers (see Figures 3 and 4) and they could not catch enough by fishing elsewhere. Sometimes for variety, but more often out of fear of starvation, whites also traded for water fowl, berry cakes, trout, carp, whitefish and rabbit, marmot and caribou meat. Inevitably, they became dependent upon the Indians for their subsistence.

The subsistence trade was quite extensive. The forty or so men who brought the annual outfit into New Caledonia wintered there as well. They, along with the fifteen to twenty regular officers and servants, consumed salmon at the rate of four per day per man plus an equivalent amount for each dog. This was a formidable amount. For example, the expenditure of provisions for the servants in the different posts of New Caledonia in 1836 was: 67,510 salmon, 11,941 smaller fish, 781 sturgeon, 346 trout, 2,160 rabbits, 153 ducks, 10 lynxes, 8 marmots, 3 porcupines, 1 swan and 14 dogs (Morice 1904:173). Reckoning salmon at 60 for one M.B. and calculating the other foods proportionately, the Hudson's
Bay Company's outlay for subsistence in that year was approximately 1,500 M.B. This is a considerable sum in view of the fact that on the average only 8,000 M.B. in furs left the district annually (Innis 1956:336). It is obvious that the trade in foodstuffs gave the Carriers an important alternative means of paying off their debts. So long as the Hudson's Bay Company remained dependent upon the Indians of New Caledonia for their subsistence needs, the Carriers had a diversified series of income-generating strategies. In the winter they lived off the flesh of the animals they trapped and in the summer they sold the surplus of what they gathered and caught.

The Hudson's Bay Company, however, was never content to remain dependent on others for its provisions; it constantly strove to be self-sufficient. Their price of 60 salmon per one M.B. was a reflection of the fact that it had to be transported by dog team from Ft. Kilmaurs and Ft. Fraser (the main sources of supply) to the other posts in the district. By 1840, the transportation system had become more efficient and consequently the price dropped.

Salmon are bartered at the rate of 90 for one Beaver and are paid for in the most valuable goods, the Carriers know too well their own interest to take any other, formerly at this place [Fort St. James] 60 were equal to a skin as an inducement to them to trade more and to save transportation in the winter with dogs but as the cause no longer exists as the introduction of carts in the Babine portage and Boats [on Babine and Stuart lakes] have removed it . . . they now willingly when [they have] any to dispose of part with them at 90 per made Beaver . . .

(Sage 1937:49-58).

The Carriers did not "willingly" part with their salmon at the new price. For example, in 1852 the Carriers of Babine Lake demanded that the price of salmon be increased from 90 per M.B. to 50 per M.B. (HBCA, Bl88/a21 Fort St. James:Post
Journal 1851-1856, Sept. 16, 1854, p. 44). The Hudson's Bay Company refused to bargain, let alone rescind the price increase, and the Indians lost credibility and hence further control over price.

Moreover, the post gardens had begun to yield appreciable returns. Ogden wrote in 1842 that there were convincing proofs of the benefits arising from farming at Ft. George ten men were solely supported on grain and at Alexandria even more in proportion . . . I have within the last year reduced our demand on Colville [a major supply depot on the Upper Columbia River] twenty-five bags of flour (Sage 1937:52).

As a result, the supplemental foods such as berries, berry cakes, fish roe, white fish and carp declined as items of trade. By the 1850's these "Indian" foods did not figure to any significant degree in the trade, while wild fowl and caribou meat were found only at the tables of the officers of the Company.

It is apparent that the range of activities the Carriers could undertake to gain an income were being radically curtailed. Of all the Carrier sub-groups the Babines alone could count upon salmon as an article of trade with any degree of consistency. Among the other sub-groups only trapping regularly paid off. Increasingly, the strictly traditional pursuits of the Carriers (fishing, gathering and hunting) simply provided a subsistence for themselves. By 1860 New Caledonia had become a monopoly district with a dependent Indian population producing, on one hand, a commerical product whose true value was realized only by the Hudson's Bay Company - the returns of 1834 gave a net profit of £8,000 with total expenses of £3,000 (McLean 1849 I:250; see Appendix A) - and on the other a subsistence product whose price had been reduced by one third.
It cannot be argued, therefore, that the Indian's subsistence economy represents another world, a different, separate, untrammelled area of cultural stability. The Indian's attachment to traditional subsistence pursuits was a direct result of their underdevelopment following the Hudson's Bay Company's course toward monopoly control and self-sufficiency. The Company did not recreate the conditions of the indigenous subsistence economy prior to contact; instead it created a new set of determinants. It effectively decapitalized the native peoples insofar as it created a dependency on goods manufactured and distributed solely by Europeans. The extent of this dependency can be seen by the range of articles in the outfit of 1836: Indian awls, beads, 3 different kinds of belts, 412 blankets, a large quantity of capots (overcoats with hoods), a "goodly" number of Indian guns, gunflints and gunwarms, plain brass finger rings, 12 rolls of Canadian twist and 1 bale carrot tobacco, 2 lb. vermillion, quills and penknives, 5 kegs of rum, 555 dressed moose hides, 25 dressed buffalo skins, 25 moose parchment skins and 30 lb. of sinews (Moric 1904:185-6).

The Colonial Condition

The Indians as a social group were locked into this economic dependency; as a cultural group they were discriminated against. It is in this respect that we can speak of internal colonialism for the exploitation of one group by another was couched in terms of a superior culture dominating an inferior one. When the Indians did not leave their homes to go trapping in the dead of winter, they were described as being an "indolent race" or as simply "idling their time" (HBCA, B188/a21 Fort St. James:Post Journal 1851-1856, Jan. 25, 1854: folio 80; B 74/al Fraser Lake:Post Journal 1822, Dec.
McLean, after seeing a potlatch, wrote in a paternalist fashion that the scene [a dance representing a personal totem] was interesting, as exhibiting the first rude attempts at dramatic representation of a savage people; and it served, in some measure to efface the impression made by the somewhat disgusting spectacle previously witnessed [the actual feasting] (McLean 1849, I:43).

In commenting upon the eclecticism of a revivalistic movement current among the western Carriers, McLean argued that their minds were too gross to comprehend, and their manner to corrupt to be influenced ["by the doctrines of our holy religion"] (McLean 1849, I:268).

Ogden was more blunt

*I cannot say much in favour of the Carriers a brutish, ignorant, superstitious beggarly set of beings* (Sage 1937:47).

This cultural discrimination was translated in practise into the exclusion of all Carriers from jobs and activities not considered typically theirs. They were the providers of raw materials and some food stuffs. Occasionally they packed salmon between the posts. Often they were employed as translators. However, there was no conception of a continuum of positions or statuses running from trapper to chief factor. The line between an Indian and a gentleman of the Company was unapproachable.

Associated with the Carrier's colonized status was a particular mode of production. The Carriers owned the means of production. The Carrier big men trapped specific hunting territories and had rights to set their baskets in certain places in the salmon wiers. Relatives and affines were allowed to trap the big man's areas so long as they gave him a percentage of their catch (Morice 1888-1889:125). Salmon fishing was more of a co-operative undertaking with the chief
noble of the local group apportioning the catch (Morie 1910: 135; Jenness 1943:487-488; Goldman 1963:367). The Carriers, therefore, had well defined means of allocating goods among themselves. Each family had control over a certain portion of the year's fur and salmon harvest which they sold to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Although the Indians owned the means of production, the relations of production were exploitative. The Carriers were compelled to sell their goods at a fixed price to the Hudson's Bay Company. The advances given every year, even after the official abolition of the credit system, placed legal restrictions upon the freedom of the Indians. As a group, they owed the company furs. It had become their obligation to trade. Hence, the Hudson's Bay Company could directly expropriate their surplus without at the same time owning the means of production. With no prospect of upward mobility and little latitude in work, the Carriers Indians were indeed a colonized people.
During the 1860's the slow transition from a colonized status to a position within the social class system of Canada began for the Carriers. The emergence of class took the form not of a breakdown in cultural distinctions - for people still categorized themselves and others as either Indian or white - but of a gradual movement of Indians into jobs formerly reserved for whites.

In this period too, the relation between the metropolitan centre and the satellite community began to assume a new form (see Figures 5, 6, 7 and 8 for the juxtaposition of the two communities). As the Carriers gave up their total reliance upon trapping and fishing, the mode of production characteristic of the colonial period declined. Relations between Indians and whites became contractual in nature. Indians took on the role of labourers. Labour relations provided the metropolitan centre with new means of expropriating surplus from the Indians. They were not only labourers in a variety of jobs but also consumers of an increasing variety of goods. Thus the domestic production unit and the consumption unit, co-terminus under the colonial mode of production were disassociated leaving a mercantile relation as the only bond between them. A person had to work so that he could buy (see Terray 1972:151-153).

The employment of Indians resulted from the intersection of three factors: 1) the decline in profits for the Hudson's Bay Company, 2) the difficulty the Company experienced in keeping its men in New Caledonia, and 3) the gold rush of the 1860's. I will discuss each of these factors in turn.
The decline in profits for the Company was a precondition for the employment of a large number of Indians. From 1839 onward, New Caledonia underwent a steady decline in returns on fur. The district averaged £8,000 - £10,000 profit on each of the outfits from 1822 to 1838 (Innis 1956:336-337). By 1848, the annual profit had fallen to £6,900. Sir George Simpson wrote that New Caledonia had undergone a decline due to the exhaustion of the district (Morice 1904:159), but this was only part of the truth. Silk had begun to replace beaver in the making of hats and finer pelts, such as marten and land otter, were beginning to be used in the manufacture of coats. The Company became acutely cost conscious. Ft. Connelly and Ft. Fraser were closed in the 1880's as their returns did not justify their remaining open any longer. In the 1890's there were cut-backs in the white labour force (personal communication from G. Ingram). But the decline remained unchecked. In 1892, the district showed a loss of approximately $11,000. Not one post showed a profit (HBCA, B188/a22 Fort St. James:Post Journals 1892-1893, Aug. 20, p. 18). Although New Caledonia was one of the least productive of the fur bearing districts, the decline in returns there reflected the drop in profits for the Company in general (Innis 1956:337).

In view of the fall in profits and under constant pressure from the English Parliament, the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869 sold Rupert's Land to Canada and gave up its legal protection from competition in the drainage systems of the Pacific and Arctic Oceans. The way was thus open for other entrepreneurs to enter New Caledonia.

A second and more immediate factor in the employment of the Indians was that in the 1850's the Hudson's Bay Company began to experience difficulties in keeping its men in New Caledonia. The work was too arduous and the conditions too
harsh for the pay the servants received (approximately £30 per year). Eventually the officers of the district resorted to "club-law" (beatings) to keep the men at their posts. However, "club-law" posed as many problems as it solved. In 1853, Sir George Simpson wrote to Donald Manson, the chief factor of New Caledonia.

you must really put a check on the "club-law" that prevails in your district. It makes the service so unpopular that it is difficult to induce men to join it . . . We hear that Mclean and Ogden [two junior officers in the district] use their fists very freely, and I think you should caution them on the subject (quoted in Morice 1904:278-279).

The dissertions continued and although many servants were caught and brought back to their posts, the labour shortage became acute. The solution was obvious: hire Indians and pay them in goods from the Company stores. An unsigned letter from a Company official to Manson in 1854 confirmed the policy.

In your letter of the 2nd of October allusion is made to the employment of Indians to make up for the deficiency of white servants, a very proper measure and you must provide goods for the payment of such services (quoted in Morice 1904:110).

In the following year gold was discovered at Colville and by 1859, miners had reached Quesnel. The gold fever infected the Hudson's Bay Company's servants thus excabrating the employment problems of the Company while enhancing the employability of the Carriers.

Finally, the free traders that followed the miners into the district were instrumental in creating employment possibilities for the Indians. The scope of the free trader's retail activity necessitated improved means of transport. In the 1860's, they had established themselves at Quesnel. By the mid 1870's, they were on the Peace River west of the Rockies (Selwyn 1877:63; British Columbia Provincial Archives
(hereafter referred to as PABC) n.d., p. 3) and in the 1870's they were operating out of Hazelton as well (Dawson 1881:16).

The native peoples provided the transport that this expanding trade needed. Both the free traders and the Hudson's Bay Company used them as packers from Hazelton to Babine at the rate of $4.00 per 100 lb. per trip (Dawson 1881:21; see also PABC n.d.:6-7). This was an abysmally low rate considering that Hudson's Bay rum sold for $2.00 a bottle in Hazelton and overalls were $1.25. An employee of the Hudson's Bay Company described the make-up of the Hazelton-Babine pack-train of the late 1880's.

A few Indian horses and human animals were relied on. In the first place, the pack-train consisted mostly of women who were all heavily loaded with large packs not less than 100 lb., on top of which would be provisions, blankets and in some cases a baby (PABC 1940:53).

The Hudson's Bay Company had built schooners for Babine and Stuart Lakes. Indians were employed on these boats as well as at the portage between the lakes. In addition Indians were hired to bring goods up from Quesnel to Ft. St. James and to pack goods from there to Ft. McLeod and Manson Creek.

The presence of free traders not only provided alternative places of trade and employment for the Indians, but also stimulated retail sales. In the late 1860's, flour, rice, bacon, beans, tea and sugar were introduced into New Caledonia as trading goods for the Indians, and to a lesser degree, as supplies for the Hudson's Bay Company's employees as well (Morice 1904:299; also PABC n.c.:14). By 1886, the Company was supplying New Caledonia with 50,000 lb. of flour and 20,000 lb. of sugar through Hazelton (PABC n.d.:6-7) while at Quesnel, as there was a considerable mercantile opposition. The Company carried a very large and varied stock. This included all the merchandise required to outfit trappers, prospectors and miners and the traditional
Indian trade. Also, as Quesnel was taking on increased importance as a supply point for the whole territory which included important cattle and ranching activities, there was a line of household goods, agricultural supply items and leather goods (Daniell 1957:38). By the turn of the century, retail sales started to take precedence over fur trading (Harris and Ingram 1972:183; Daniell 1957:41). About the same time, the Company discontinued its use of tokens and paper slips which had been redeemable in goods (PABC 1940:70). It ceased to be the sole financial agency in New Caledonia. By the second decade of the twentieth century, the local economy was operating on a cash basis.

It is important to realize that the overall transformation from colonial relations to class relations did not occur overnight, nor was it an easy succession of stages. It was a very long and a very slow process and it is still going on at present. Class relations have yet to supplant all forms of colonialism. Indians are still seen as Indians and whites as whites although in many areas detectable cultural differences have disappeared (see Dunning 1964 for a discussion of the phenomenon in Ontario).

The primary reason for the relatively slow emergence of class relations is that the movement of Indians into jobs has been sporadic. It was only during boom times that labour shortages gave them full-time employment and hence tightened their relationship with the metropolitan centre. In between these times, when capital was in short supply, Indians were given part-time employment or contract work.

In the period 1870-1910 the Carriers began to assume the characteristics of a surplus labour force. At the turn of the century, Indians were employed in various jobs. Not only were they instrumental in transportation in the district, but they also supplied the bulk of the labour about the Hud-
son's Bay Company's posts. They hunted and fished for the Company; they worked in the gardens; they cut wood and hay and whip sawed lumber; they were mail couriers; they ran the express boats down to Quesnel; they worked in the boat building yards and helped in the construction and maintenance of the post's buildings.

For this work, they were either paid the equivalent of $1.25 a day in goods and/or food from the Hudson's Bay Company stores or their labour was reckoned as payment for outstanding debts. In this manner the Hudson's Bay Company minimized the cost to themselves and maintained the dependence of the Indians. Moreover, as a result of their labour pool status, the Indians were the first ones to be let go during the seasonal lay offs (HBCA, B.188/a22, Fort St. James: Post Journal 1892-1893, Nov. 19, p. 26, and Dec. 24, p. 28).

From 1900 on the number and types of employers increased. They too drew upon the labour pool at Necoslie. The farmers who had begun to settle along the Stuart River and the south shore of Stuart Lake hired Indians to help in clearing, building and haying. With the extension of the Grand Trunk railroad to Ft. George in 1914, timber and mining companies moved into the area providing jobs for Indians as cutters, carpenters and survey guides.

Coincident with the penetration of new economic interests into New Caledonia, was the increase in the population of Necoslie. In 1880 it stood at 75 (Dawson 1881:30); by 1892 it had grown to 180 (Morice 1892-1893:26) and at the turn of the century it was 346 (Morice 1904:192). Whether this represents a remarkable recovery from the depredations of smallpox which infected the area (and practically wiped out Natleth and Stella) or whether it represents a gathering of people about a major economic centre cannot be accurately
determined, although the latter would seem to be the case. What is important here, however, is that the population did supply the Hudson's Bay Company alone with a convenient and stable labour pool of approximately 35 men (calculated from HBCA, B.188/a22 Fort St. James: Post Journal 1892-1893). During boom times, this labour pool was extensively drawn upon, thereby moving a large number of people into a labour relation with the dominant white society.

During periods of tight money, the labour pool diminished in size and the individuals turned to trapping. At these times, the people of Necoslie fell back on the colonial-domestic mode of production. To increase their subsistence margin, for fur prices were extremely low, they took up gardening (Dawson 1878:46) and cut hay in the meadows to sell to the Hudson's Bay Company. But even with these supplementals of food and income sources it was difficult to stay alive. The turn of the century was described to me as a time when there was neither money nor jobs and trapping again provided the sole means of securing European goods for the majority of the Carriers. However, this source often proved inadequate and the Hudson's Bay Company had to hand out relief. The heads of families received 1 lb. of moose tallow, 4-5 lb. of flour, a little tea and some sugar per month. The granting of supplies may have been in fact a contributing factor in the development of the labour pool at Necoslie. The creation of a small, economically unproductive reserve there crystallized this tendency.

A Life History
At this point I want to present some data extrapolated from a life history given to me by an informant living in Fort St. James. This data illustrates that during the period of
tight money (circa 1890-1900), the Carriers were subsistence oriented while in a boom period (i.e., post 1910) they quickly took on employment. My informant was a non-status Indian born in the 1880's.

I never go to school . . . I go mostly with the big white people and got further ahead than any other Indian . . . not a pure Indian from the reserve like . . . I owned lots of land, no Indian ever owned that much. I remember when only Hudson's Bay Company store and church [R.C. mission] in Ft. St. James . . . not much credit and everybody set net at night . . . in summertime, some of them go to set rabbit snares, some did a little work on their traplines . . . this was about 75 years ago . . . trapping all that Indians had to live on, no money, no jobs, nothing . . . no white men around, people spent a lot of time in the bush . . . had a big trapline, trapped it for over 50 years, paid tax on it . . . pretty near every family live on trapping, eat the meat of animals - even muskrat - never throw the meat away, eat it, dry it, - everything . . . nobody go trapping now . . . used to work all the time for Hudson Bay, had mail contract for 14 years - 4 years at a time - from Ft. St. James to Finlay Forks right through . . . used dog team in winter . . . Hudson Bay supplied me with 7 horses at least . . . in summertime get all Hudson's Bay stuff, Hudson Bay gave me money to get furs, "Buy from your friends up there [around Manson Creek] and bring them back down" . . . made it pretty good for 14 years . . . [circa 1900] Hudson Bay had 4 or 5 men working for it, make hay, got some horses, got a cow, go fishing just like Indian do at that time . . . In fall time, Hudson Bay manager give 1 box gun powder and 25 lb. number 2 shot, got muzzle loader - Indian shoot rabbits for Hudson Bay, clean them up, put them in ice house, 2-300 rabbits for winter . . . white people just as poor as Indians at that time . . . only manager and other fellow [clerk] at store, others work away from store . . . Hudson Bay get rich on Indian, had no scale used tin cup for measure . . . no money, used tickets in trade, small hard things, some blue, some red, some white, four bits, one dollar . . . once in a while 3 or 4 canoes go down to
Quesnel, pick Hudson Bay stuff up . . . buy rum $1.25 a bottle there, overalls $1.25 . . . [before 1900] lots of people starving . . . not much jobs $1.25 a day . . . when I started working got $45.00 month, looked after Hudson Bay horses . . . no cash money at that time, just credit, give Hudson Bay skins and they give us paper slips how much they're worth . . . worked in gardens [his own] until end of July, planted potatoes with shovel, start to make hay . . . end of August do a little hunting, stay in bush in winter . . . bush house made out of spruce or balsam, sat on ground like tent, woven with branches - people go in [to Ft. St. James] to pick up grub from time to time . . . come back before Christmas stay 2 or 3 months and go out again . . . 1906 got married and had homestead, 4-5 acres scattered all over the place, no Indian had homesteads . . . didn't believe railroad would come, "heh, heh you crazy fool, how do you think railroad is going to come, lots of big rivers and lakes and windfall" . . . pretty soon railroad come [1914] . . . packed supplies to Manson Creek, had freighting outfit for 10 years . . . had store in Tache, went broke, gave too much credit [after this he held a number of jobs and contracts until 1961 when he retired to live on his pensions].

This man of course is not typical of all the people at Necoslie, but his career does represent the faltering movement away from a colonized status into a social class relation with the white society. He belonged to an increasingly numerous group of Indians who laboured for white employers and acted as brokers for their own people.

Colonialism, Class and Development
The central problem of this report is the nature of the relationship between the Carrier Indians and the white society. I have argued that concepts such as colonialism, class and development are needed to deal with this problem. I have shown that the seemingly golden era of the fur trade was in
reality a type of development that was neither self-generating nor self-perpetuating. The natural resources that the Indians controlled were appropriated by the colonial or metropolitan power - principally the Hudson's Bay Company. The net flow of capital was to London.

As class relations emerged, the relationship between the metropolitan centre and the peripheral market were redefined. A mode of production based on labour relations developed. However, the Indians as a whole did not become a social class for their various relations with whites had both a class and a colonial aspect. Nonetheless, the basic structural condition remained the same: the surplus that the Indians created through their productivity was appropriated by the regional centre.

Moreover, since the wages the Indians received were so low that little or nothing remained after the necessities were bought, no savings could accumulate which would stimulate growth or create native entrepreneurial activity. In terms of economics, the marginal returns on trapping and fishing and the savings generated through labour were so slight that there was no capital to invest in development. In addition, it was merchant interests that had invested in the area so that once adequate transportation reached it, there was little industry to create sustained employment. The Indians had to accept their position as a source of cheap labour simply to stay alive. The creation of reserves which were unalienable not only stabilized the population of this labour pool, but also effectively wiped out whatever capital base they might have had in the form of land. With no control over economic forces, and with the domestic unit's self-sufficiency broken the Indians had no alternatives to exploitation and impoverishment.
Conclusions

The presence of the Hudson's Bay Company and other concerns in New Caledonia did not lead to the assimilation or acculturation of the native people in the sense that something good or beneficial was provided them. Generally, when acculturation and assimilation are being discussed it is done either on too concrete a level - they use our technology - or on too abstract a level - they have accepted our cognitive orientation. The result is that the latent assumption that the acceptance or use of something is equivalent to benefits being derived from it is left unexamined. They may use our institutions, our technology, even our cultural patterns, but this has not given the Indians our health, our money or our power. To a large extent, therefore, the notion of acculturation is a red herring. It is to this contradiction that I have directed this paper. I have shown that underdevelopment can proceed even with the Indians using our technology so long as the relations of production are exploitative. It is for this reason that concepts of colonialism and class are necessary to the understanding of inter-ethnic relations at Fort St. James.
Appendix A

Sir George Simpson appeared before a Parliamentary committee in 1857. Here is part of the exchange.

- I (one of the members of the committee) will now read to you from the Indian tariff of the territory embraced within the Royal Licence, situated east of the Rocky Mountains. I find that a gun which in England cost 22s., is charged to the Indian 20 beavers, equivalent in market value of 32£10s.; is that anything according with your experience?

- (Sir George Simpson) It was true many years ago, but it is not true at present.

- Have you wonderfully reformed of late?

- No, but the price of beaver is not that; it is £3s. in the market at the present day.

- Then the Indian would have to give more beavers?

- No, it would be the same; and the gun might rise to 30s. or 40s.

- In marten skins he gives for the same gun, costing 22 s., 60 skins and their value is 46£10s.?

- I never saw more than two martens go to a beaver since I have been in the service.

- He gives five silver fox skins for the same gun and their market value is 50£?

- Yes, it is true. (MacKay 1926:262).

It should be kept in mind that this tariff (which was the same as New Caledonia's) was the highest that the Company had. At the same time, however, the tariff of a district was bound to the cost of transporting the outfit to that district. Thus the profit margin remained constant.
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Map of New Caledonia showing the Hudson's Bay Company posts and some of the Carrier Indian villages.
Map of New Caledonia showing the major cultural divisions of the Carrier Indians plus other tribes of the district.
3  A photograph taken at Fraser Lake showing a salmon weir with drying racks and smoke houses in the background, 1909. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Swan nell Collection).

4  A photograph taken of the mouth of the Stuart River near Necoslie showing a salmon trap, part of a weir and a smoke house. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia).
5 A photograph of Necoslie showing the relationship of the rancherie to the Hudson's Bay property which is in the foreground, 1905. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia).

6 A view of the rancherie looking toward the Hudson's Bay Company post, 1913. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia).
7 The Roman Catholic Church and the Indian Mission Village at Fort St. James, circa 1915. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia).

8 Another view of the Indian Mission with the residential school in the foreground. (A copy of a picture loaned to me by Amelia Prince of Necoslie Reserve).
9 1972, an Indian fishing for salmon at the Moricetown Canyon in the Bulkley River. A salmon is dangling from his gaff and in the background is a fish ladder.

10 1972, two Carrier Indian girls paddle toward a salmon net set across the mouth of the Pinchi River. The dug-out was built in 1971.