



# Negotiating the production of space in Tl'azt'en territory, Northern British Columbia

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*Societies produce the space in which they operate through social practices that visualize, administer, and use lands and resources. Because Native peoples have held relatively little political power, their ability to influence the production of space has received little attention. Yet the superimposition of Euro-Canadian social practices onto Native spaces rarely erased native spatiality, but rather created a territory made up of shared and hybrid spaces which resulted from the interaction of Native and Euro-Canadian societies. This paper suggests that the social processes involved in the production of space are perhaps most visible when two parties are negotiating the allocation and management of lands and resources. In the 1970s the Tl'azt'en engaged in negotiations over the construction of a railway through their territory. Through the negotiations Tl'azt'en social and economic goals were inscribed to a significant degree in the spatial organization of the territory. Like current treaty negotiations, the 1970s negotiations involved compromises by both parties, and resulted in the creation of new hybrid social spaces which reflected the goals and strategies of both groups.*

**Key words:** First Nations, aboriginal, production of space, British Columbia, negotiations

*Les sociétés produisent l'espace dans lequel elles opèrent à travers des pratiques sociales qui visualisent, administrent et utilisent les terres et les ressources. Parce que les peuple Natifs ont eu relativement peu de pouvoir politique, leur capacité à influencer la production de l'espace a reçu peu d'attention. Cependant, l'imposition de pratiques sociales Euro-Canadiennes sur les espaces Natifs a rarement effacé la spatialité indigène, mais a plutôt créé un territoire composé d'espaces partagés et hybrides, résultat de l'interaction des sociétés indigènes et Euro-Canadiennes. Cet exposé suggère que les procédés sociaux impliqués dans la production de l'espace sont peut-être plus visibles quand deux partis négocient l'allocation et la gestion des terres et des ressources. Dans les années 70, le peuple Tl'azt'en s'est engagé dans des négociations au sujet de la construction d'un chemin de fer à travers leur territoire. Dans ces négociations, les buts sociaux et économiques du Tl'azt'en furent inscrits à un degré significatif dans l'organisation spatiale du territoire. Comme les présentes négociations de traité, les négociations des années 1970 ont impliqué des compromis par les deux partis, et ont résulté à la création de nouveaux espaces sociaux hybrides qui reflétaient les buts et stratégies des deux groupes.*

**mots-clé:** premières nations, aborigène, production de l'espace, colombie-britannique, négociations

## Introduction

Every society produces the space that it occupies. The complexities concealed within this seemingly prosaic observation have been elaborated upon by a diverse range of geographers and other scholars (e.g. Smith 1984; Soja 1989; Lefebvre 1991; Harvey 1996). To employ Lefebvrian terminology, societies visualize, name, administer, and use the lands and resources around them by a variety of processes. Variations among societies in cultural, political, and economic practices will result in the production of different spaces. Differences within each society also determine that any given social space is the product of a complex internal process characterized by the mixing of different groups' spatialities. As power is a key variable in this process, geographers have attended to the way dominant groups fashion social space.

Yet, exclusive attention to the dominant group's role in the production of space will misconstrue the complexity of the process, and thus inaccurately portray the nature of the space produced. Spaces produced in the midst of power discrepancies are in danger of being portrayed falsely as homogenous and devoid of internal difference, ambivalence, or contradiction – the “coherence of ‘the powerful’ overstated” (Massey 2000, 280). The agency of colonised or marginalized actors, however limited, needs to be recognized to fully comprehend and appreciate the spaces in which we live (Yeoh 2000).

Difference within a society, whether through its mere presence or its conscious resistance to hegemonic conditions, may influence a society's visualization, administration, and use of space. As Edward Casey states (1998, 79), even in the most hegemonic society, “[t]he heterogeneous in space is present as the trace of historical as well as the prospect of the differential.” Multiple influences on the production of social space will produce a hybrid space — in the sense that it is the combination of influences, and also in the sense that it is something new created from their interaction.

### Spaces of negotiation and negotiated spaces

A less powerful, or marginalized, group will employ various political strategies to attempt to create a political forum, or ‘*space of negotiation*’, where it will have the opportunity to make its voice heard. Spaces of negotiation are locations within the politics, culture and discourse of a society where groups with

different interests and perspectives engage in dialogue. Much literature on social space has focussed on the creation of such political spaces (e.g., Law 1997; Pile and Keith 1997; Poluso 1995; Staheli 1994; Berman 1998). Less attention has been given to how space is reconfigured as a result of these efforts (but see Ripmeester 1995; Hanham and Banasick 1998; Stokes 1999). While political spaces are important, we agree with Katharyne Mitchell's (1997) call to pay more attention to the spaces produced as outcomes of social relations, rather than just to the spatial dimensions of social interaction.

When a group within a society possesses a different spatiality, it will influence the way space is produced. But this influence may, in fact, be difficult to detect or describe. One area where the role of difference in the production of a hybrid space may be most recognizable is where parties are engaged in *negotiations* over the definition, administration and use of lands and resources. A negotiation process may provide the best opportunity to follow and understand how participating groups interact to produce space, as such a process entails the values, goals and spatiality of each group being made visible. Differences in the relative power of the groups may exist, but a negotiated agreement produces a hybrid ‘*negotiated space*’ that reflects to some degree the modes of production and spatial strategies of each group.

## The Production of Space in British Columbia

The space now known as British Columbia was Native space – a space defined, administered, and used by Native societies. Works such as those of Cole Harris (1995, 1997), Ken Brealey (1995, 1997), Bruce Braun (2000) and Daniel Clayton (1992, 2000a, 2000b) explore the practices by which Europeans re-produced the geography of this part of North America. These authors trace how European spatial imagination was introduced into Native spaces, first through discourse and cartography, later through new institutions of land administration, and through European settlement and use of lands and resources. By emphasizing the tactics by which geographic change was imposed on, and negatively affected, Native people, this literature has greatly contributed to our understanding of the construction of British Columbia's spaces.

Yet the influence of Native people in the produc-

tion of the spaces of British Columbia remains to be adequately described. This inquiry must begin with an appreciation of the pre-contact Native productions of space (cf. Sterritt *et al.* 1998). Although we may never be able to fully describe early Native geopolitical organization, we need to recognize that "long before the contact period (from time immemorial), First Nation peoples had clear conceptions of ownership, political authority, and social and ecological responsibilities...[a First Nation's territory was] a fully social and political landscape" (Willem-Braun 1997, 24).

To understand the post-contact spaces of British Columbia, we need to bear in mind that European power to re-make the life-worlds of Native people has never been absolute. Native visualization, administration and use of space did not evaporate after contact. Susan Marsden and Robert Galois' remarkable account of a Tsimshian chief's efforts to organize his fur trading territories testifies that in some areas of British Columbia (Marsden and Galois 1991), Native organization of space continued to be *the* organization of space for some time after contact. The fact that different geographies can exist simultaneously can be seen in the recent re-assertions of traditional family and Nation territories by Native people, exemplifying Doreen Massey's (1994, 1) assertion of the "simultaneity and multiplicity" of spaces. Or, as Lefebvre (1991, 229) avowed, "nothing disappears completely... In space, what came earlier continues to underpin what follows. The preconditions of social space have their own particular way of enduring and remaining actual within that space."

Accounts of Native geopolitical action in B.C. in the 1800s and early 1900s are few (but see Stadfeld 1993). And there is a significant gap in our understanding of what happened between the settlement period and the period of modern Native political activism (beginning c. 1975). More research into the individual experiences of British Columbia's Native communities is needed to develop a fuller understanding of the way in which Native and Euro-Canadian<sup>1</sup> spatialities have interacted in the period since contact to produce the space of British Columbia.

Recent increases in Native political power and resistance to Euro-Canadian domination in production of space in British Columbia have received more attention, including by geographers. Nicholas Blomley (1996), for example, describes Native blockades as actions which materially and symbolically

challenge Government ownership and jurisdiction and non-native use of traditional Native space. Blockades are assertions of Native space, protests against, and attempts to affect, Euro-Canadian views of that land. Matthew Sparke (1998) discusses how during the 1991 Delgamuukw court case two cartographic representations of the same space (Gitksan/Wet'suwet'en and Euro-Canadian) were juxtaposed. Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en spatiality, manifested in place names, House territories, and resource use sites, challenged observers to rethink British Columbia's official geography. Through these and other geopolitical efforts, Native people have begun to "cast some doubt over the legitimacy of our own space" and to create powerful spaces of negotiation: "the space of Calder v. Attorney General, Nisga'a AIP, of the blockades, and Delgamuukw v. BC, ...of the Sechelt Self Government Act, and the British Columbia Treaty Commission" (Brealey 1997, 235).

Treaty negotiations, which began in British Columbia in the 1990s, are negotiations through which Native goals will be re-inscribed in space. At the treaty table Native visualization, organization, and use of lands will be manifested in the production of new hybrid spaces. Yet an examination of spatial change in the territory of one First Nation — the Tl'azt'en Nation — shows how a First Nation had significant influence on the production of space prior to era of modern treaty making in British Columbia. It is on this pre-treaty negotiations period that we focus attention, to explore the oft-ignored but persistent role of non-dominant parties in inscribing their values and goals in the evolving hybrid geography of British Columbia.

In particular, we focus on Tl'azt'en negotiations with the British Columbia Railway and the Provincial Government in the 1970s, to observe how the values and goals of each group were made visible in what each negotiated for. The dialogues, community meetings with government officials, and the proposals and counter-proposals exchanged by the parties were components of this interactive process that resulted in the production of a hybrid space.

To comprehend and disclose the role of the non-dominant party in contributing to this hybrid space, we felt it critical to rely not only on non-native sources of information (cf. Yeoh 2000). Thus, our research is based in part on 40 interviews with Tl'azt'en individuals about the history of their territory. It also draws on Band office archives, which contain documents not in Government archives, such as

transcripts of Band strategy meetings, notes of negotiation meetings, letters between the Tl'azt'en and their lawyers, and letters between the Tl'azt'en and other bands. The use of these Tl'azt'en sources, oral and written, allowed us to discover the complexity of interaction, and to more easily detect Tl'azt'en geopolitical strategies and their role in the production of space.

### Geopolitical Change in Tl'azt'en Territory, 1800-1969

The Tl'azt'en Nation, a sub-tribe of the Carrier linguistic group of the Dene (Athabaskan) family, inhabit the forested uplands of central British Columbia, where the Nechako Plateau meets the Omineca Mountains (Tobey 1981; Figure 1). Their traditional territory is centred on the Stuart and Trembleur Lakes. Tl'azt'en organized control over this territory through two imbricated social institutions, the clan system and the *bahlats* (potlatch). Rights to lands, including *keyoh* (family hunting and gathering grounds) and fishing sites, were passed from generation to generation according to the clan system (Figure 2).<sup>2</sup> Conflicts between resource users, and changes in rights to resource territories were regulated through the *bahlats* (Steward 1960; Hudson 1983; Alec 1998). By their administration and use of the area, the Tl'azt'en produced the space recognized as Tl'azt'en territory by themselves and their neighbours.

In 1806 the Northwest Company opened a trading post just to the south of Tl'azt'en territory, at the southern end of Stuart Lake. Fort St. James provided a new source of income for the Tl'azt'en, who began to trap to supplement their hunting and fishing economy. Subsequent establishment of a Catholic mission and a non-native settlement outside their territory allowed the Tl'azt'en to access the resources and opportunities conferred by a Euro-Canadian presence, while remaining relatively isolated from direct territorial encroachment (O'Hara 1992; Moran 1994). Not until the 1970s would the Tl'azt'en identify *de facto* loss of control over their territory as a significant problem.

*De jure* erosion of territorial control, however, proceeded, as the state redefined Tl'azt'en space as state space, and gradually began administering activities within Tl'azt'en territory. In 1871 the government established three reserves for the Tl'azt'en, thus explicitly disavowing their ownership of their tradi-

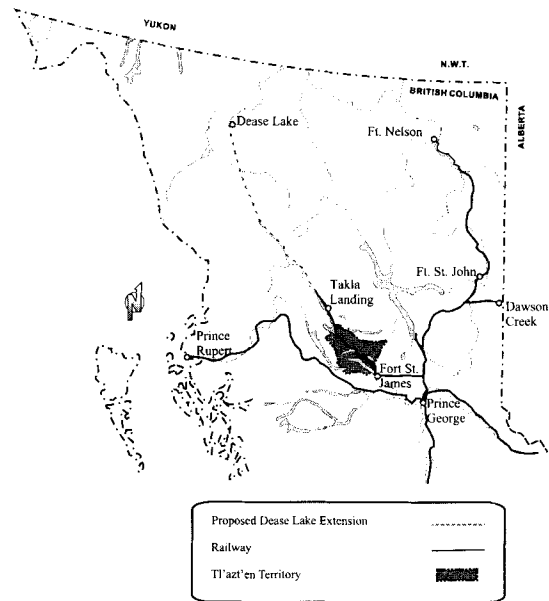
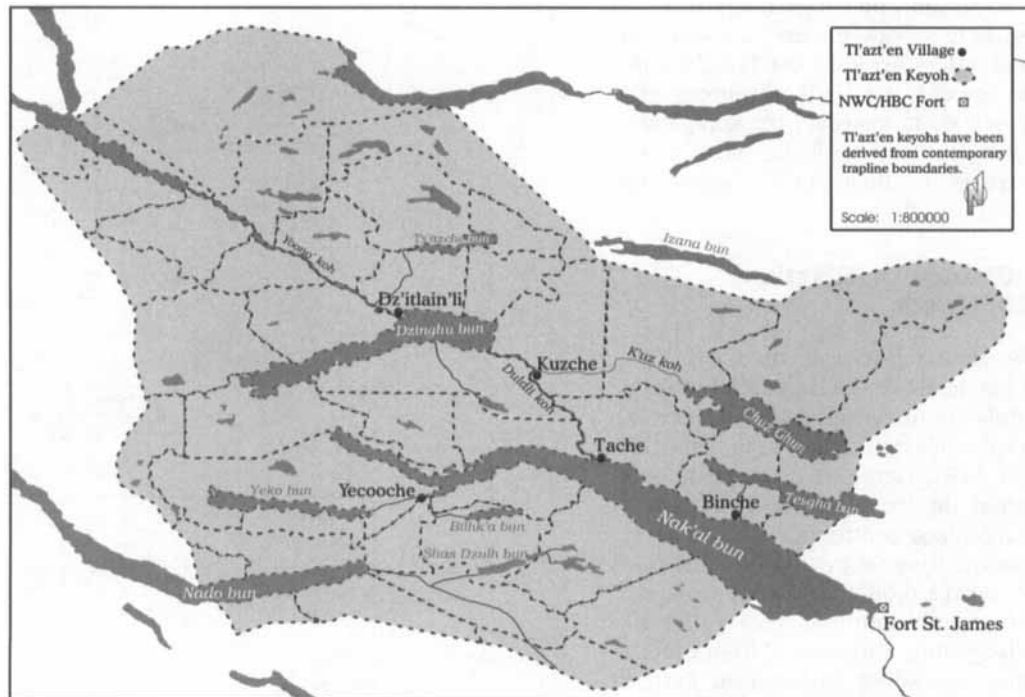


Figure 1  
Tl'azt'en territory

tional territory. Twenty-one years later it expanded these reserves, and granted another seven (O'Reilly 1892).

Blomley (1997, 286) identifies in a property regime two elements: "the categorization and organization of space whereby every space is known, named and positioned," and "the establishment of rules of interaction by which space can be used, shared and appropriated." The reserves were the first building blocks of the Euro-Canadian property rights system in Tl'azt'en territory, which categorized small areas as 'Indian land' and imposed different regulations for the use and appropriation of land within and beyond these bounded areas. The establishment of reserves did not, however, immediately or very significantly affect Tl'azt'en mobility or land use. Nevertheless, Tl'azt'en early and actively engaged in this legal restructuring of their territories. At the McKenna-McBride Indian Reserve Commission Hearings of 1915-16, the Tl'azt'en applied for nine new reserves. When one of seven reserves granted by the commission was not land deemed critical by the Tl'azt'en, they negotiated its replacement by a more advantageous parcel (Hudson 1983). By such actions they contributed to the shaping of the material spaces produced by provincial law. If enclosed by the artifi-



**Figure 2**  
Tl'azt'en keyohs

cially straight borders of a non-native mode of spatial organization, the reserves contained sites used and valued by the Tl'azt'en (cf. Stokes 1999).

Other state regulations and actions constrained Tl'azt'en administration and use of space outside the reserves. The federal government passed legislation in 1884 forbidding the potlatch. The 1911 Barricade Treaty imposed controls on Tl'azt'en access to fish resources. By 1926 the state imposed a registered trapline system throughout British Columbia. Tl'azt'en *keyoh* now had to be validated by the state; failure to register could result in the allotment of traditional family territories to other persons (native or non-native) (Dimitrov 1986).

Trapping, hunting and fishing laws were significant agents in converting Native space into government space. Letters written by chiefs, and on their behalf by Indian Agents, demonstrate that the Tl'azt'en were aware of such regulations, and concerned with their implications.<sup>3</sup> The written records also indicate that through petitions and protests, Natives did influence the way laws were drafted and instituted, if in limited ways, given the power imbal-

ances.<sup>4</sup> The creation of new spaces in British Columbia was not unilaterally effected by the British/Canadian state, nor were these spaces singularly Euro-Canadian. For instance, in the case of the Barricade Treaty, the Tl'azt'en lost the ability to use fish weirs on streams. However, they did exercise influence in negotiating the terms of the treaty, and moved the government to agree to something it rarely allowed — fishing with nets in lakes — in addition to a promise to grant reserves at sites used for fishing whitefish and char (Lane 1978). Despite the radical power discrepancy between the two groups, Tl'azt'en demands did contribute to shaping a new space of fishing in Tl'azt'en territory — a hybrid space neither entirely Euro-Canadian nor entirely Tl'azt'en in its visualization, administration and use.

The state surveyed the southern part of the Tl'azt'en territory, and offered "crown" land for sale to settlers. By 1926 forty-five private lots had been sold to non-natives within Tl'azt'en territory.<sup>5</sup> Yet actual settlement by non-natives was, and remains, very limited, largely confined to the fringes of this territory. Tl'azt'en spatiality, if somewhat impercepti-

ble and often ignored, is still characterized by key-ohs, fishing sites, and seasonal bush activities. As such, it has co-existed with a slowly expanding Euro-Canadian spatiality.

Cognizant of the growing importance of legally recognized rights to land, the Tl'azt'en remained engaged in the shaping of new legal spaces throughout the mid-twentieth century. In the 1940s the Tl'azt'en asked for, and received, another two reserves and an addendum to one existing reserve. The Band also asked (unsuccessfully) that lands which its members used for haying, grazing and gardening be granted as reserves in 1960.<sup>6</sup> It also requested several exchanges of reserve land for other, more useful parcels (Stuart-Trembleur 1960). Throughout the first seven decades of the 20th century, the Tl'azt'en continuously endeavoured to improve their legally recognized land base and to include in this areas especially valued, if with mixed results.

At the same time, the impetus to do so was not overwhelming. No industrial activities encroached upon Tl'azt'en territory until the 1940s. In that decade, horse logging began along the shores of Stuart Lake; it slowly penetrated along the waterways and inland. Contemporary technology limited the rate and territorial scope of expansion. Importantly, Tl'azt'en men participated at every stage of the forestry activity in their territory, from falling and skidding the trees, to driving the logs down the Tache River and towing booms down Stuart Lake to the mills at Fort St. James. Tl'azt'en also found employment in the numerous portable sawmills which temporarily peppered the landscape. Rough estimates suggest that Tl'azt'en constituted at least 50 percent of the labour force for forestry operations in Tl'azt'en territory at mid-century (Hudson 1983; Hoy and Hoy 1998).

Tl'azt'en also participated in the growing tourism industry, as a network of fishing and hunting lodges expanded into their territory. A significant percentage of the men found work at the lodges, as fishing and hunting guides for non-natives, while women worked as housekeepers and waitresses (Moran 1994; Hoy and Hoy 1998).

The 1940s saw the development of a mercury mine on the shores of Pinche Lake. Here too the Tl'azt'en found short-term and seasonal work, cutting cordwood, which articulated well with their desires to continue a way of life based largely on hunting, trapping and gathering (Alec 1998; Anatole 1998; John

1998; Monk 1998)

The Tl'azt'en had minimal control over the changes that were beginning to affect their traditional territory. Yet a corollary to this was that, until the late 1960s, the changes that were occurring little affected the Tl'azt'en's ability to continue to practice *de facto* control over the resources of their traditional territory that mattered most to them. Logging was selective and seasonal, and did not affect a large portion of the territory. In places where it did take place, it did not threaten the Tl'azt'en's ability to hunt, fish and trap. It provided opportunities that seasonally complemented subsistence activities, allowing Tl'azt'en to pursue a blend of bush and wage economies. No logging took place above Trembleur Lake on Middle River — the area most important for moose hunting and beaver trapping. Negative effects of logging, mercury mining and sports hunting and fishing were perceived as outweighed by the benefits enjoyed from participation in these activities (Alec 1998; Anatole 1998; Hanson 1998; Monk 1998; Prince 1998).

If Euro-Canadian modes of visualization, administration, and eventually use, were gradually superimposed over Tl'azt'en organization and use of space, for a long time the two geographies existed simultaneously with little conflict, and linkages between the two developed. Both Euro-Canadians and Tl'azt'en participated in the re-production of space. Tl'azt'en ability to dominate the production of space in their territory eroded over time, but the interaction of Tl'azt'en and non-natives produced a landscape composed of hybrid, negotiated, and shared spaces.

Notably, the Tl'azt'en early adopted, and continually pursued, a strategy of attempting to have their land and resource use recognized by Government institutions. The lack of *legal* control over off-reserve development was an especially strong pre-condition for future conflict. It was in the late 1960s, when activities incompatible to both the subsistence economy and involvement in wage labour began to encroach upon Tl'azt'en territory, that the exigencies of legal control over territory became paramount.

#### Spaces of incompatibility

The opening of pulp-mills in Prince George in the mid-1960s concurred with larger forest companies taking over smaller ones in the Stuart Lake region. Clear-cutting replaced selective logging, as the pulp-mills could utilize smaller-diameter timber. Logging operations also became year round, and the amount

of timber being removed increased substantially. Tl'azt'en found their opportunities for wage labour in forestry decreasing, as operations became more mechanized, an increased level of training was required, and the year-round work-regime conflicted with valued subsistence activities of hunting and fishing (Johnston-Watson 1969; Hudson 1983).

Another major change to Tl'azt'en life and spaces was the completion of the Tache-Fort St. James road to all-season standard in 1969. Previously, travel to 'The Fort' had been by boat in summer or sleigh in winter. The road facilitated visits from the reserves to town; it also increased non-native access to Tl'azt'en territory for both logging and recreation (Moran 1994).

Today Tl'azt'en elders characterize their earlier history as one of isolation and independence, when they lived off the land unimpacted by non-native settlement and development. Indeed, they were able to benefit from articulation with non-native activities in their territory. The isolation was increasingly jeopardized by the gradual increase of non-native access to their territory and the development of forest resources. Until the end of the 1960s, however, the core of their territory remained very much Tl'azt'en space. In 1969, the road to Tache began to alter this, but it would be a railroad that would most drastically change the space of their territory.

### **Railroad Right-of-Way and Tl'azt'en Geopolitical Initiatives**

The lack of an adequate transportation network by which to extract timber and other resources ensured that encroachment on Tl'azt'en territory had remained modest. In the late 1960s the provincial government announced that the Crown corporation Pacific Great Eastern Railway Company (PGE) would construct a rail line north from Fort St. James to Takla Landing and Dease Lake, to facilitate access to large tracts of forest and other resources not presently economically accessible (Wedley 1998; see Figure 1). The province visualized this territory as unused hinterland, the resources of which could contribute to its economy.

The route that PGE proposed for the Takla Extension passed through seven Tl'azt'en reserves (Figure 3). These First Nations spaces were not seen as obstacles to development. Nor did those planning the project pay attention to the fact that Tl'azt'en

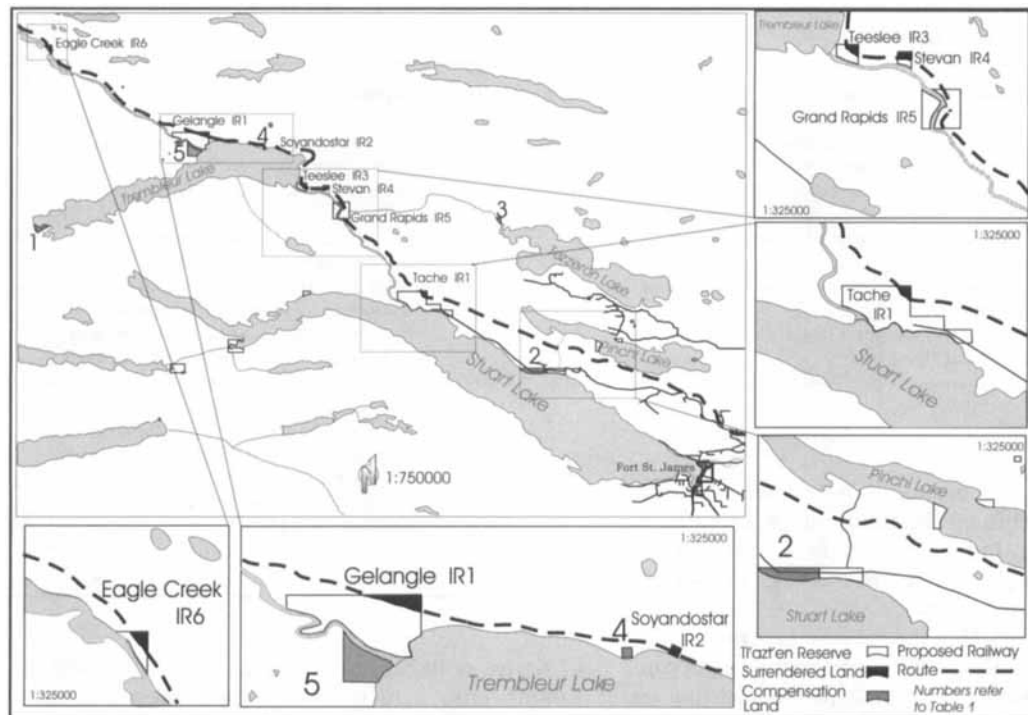
used the resources outside the reserves, along the proposed route. Yet the Tl'azt'en viewed this provincial vision of their homeland, and the plans to re-produce this space into a resource hinterland, as a grave assault on their cultural survival.

Although the Band expressed concerns about the impact of a railway on wildlife, and on their reserves, it apparently did not have the option of not granting the right-of way (ROW). However, by establishing that *it* would decide what it wanted as compensation, through independent negotiations with PGE, the Band asserted its authority over the reserves. The reserves were a site of 'difference' and of Native power within the Provincial government's production of space, and the Tl'azt'en's reserve rights enabled them to delay construction, and to demand compensation. Aware of their limited power, they leveraged their rights to the legally recognized spaces of the reserves, to create a space for negotiation with the railway and provincial government.<sup>7</sup>

PGE officials and Tl'azt'en Chief and Council met to discuss PGE's request for a ROW through the reserves and appropriate compensation on 15 January 1969. By this time the ROW had been cleared almost to the boundary of Tache Indian Reserve (IR) 1. The Tl'azt'en came to the meeting with a proposal for compensation. They asked not only for land in exchange for that which would be alienated for the ROW, but for land in exchange for the portions of the reserves that the ROW would "cut off" from the main part of the reserves. A Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) official reported that "PGE did not want to include the fractions... but the Indian people insisted that these be included in the trade because they would be very small isolated parcels of land with little value." (Johnston-Watson 1969). In trading the "cut-offs", the Tl'azt'en could use the negotiations to enlarge their legally recognised space.

At a second meeting with PGE in late January 1969, the Tl'azt'en proposed to surrender 378 acres<sup>8</sup>, either as ROW (57 acres) or as cut-offs (321 acres).<sup>9</sup> In exchange, the Band asked for a three-to-one deal: that is, three acres to be awarded for every one surrendered. Under these terms, the Tl'azt'en would receive 1,134 acres of new reserve lands. Chief Harry Pierre presented the five parcels the Band would like to receive. PGE stated that the request was reasonable, but only the Minister of Lands could approve the deal.

That the Band developed its proposal for new legal spaces so quickly may seem surprising, given



**Figure 3**  
Tl'azt'en reserves and the proposed PGE route, 1969

the significant change it represented. The Tl'azt'en benefited from past experience in considering land selections and exchanges; they appear already to have had in mind the lands they most wanted the state to re-categorized as reserves. They had goals that they sought to inscribe in space, given the opportunity to secure lands within the Government production of land rights. The lands they selected attest to the importance of access both to traditional resources and to new economic opportunities (Table 1).

The Provincial Government approved the Band's land exchange proposal in three days (Ritchie 1969). The speed with which the Band's terms travelled from their isolated village to the centre of power in Victoria reveals how anxious PGE and the Provincial Government were to proceed with the construction of the railway. PGE requested that the Band give it "timely confirmation that the Railway could proceed," adding that "the small details as to the variable acreages will need to be decided after a legal survey" (*Ibid.*). This manner of haste would mean that: 1) the ROW would be cleared prior to its exact location

being known by the Tl'azt'en, and 2) the line would be constructed prior to a signed agreement. Both moves would have important consequences.

The Band obliged PGE, issuing a Band Council Resolution on 2 February 1969 which permitted PGE to proceed with ROW clearing. At the same time the Band requested that the parcels involved in the land exchange be surveyed so that the exchange could proceed (Roache 1969). PGE completed clearing the ROW in mid-March 1969. When by late May no surveying had been completed, the Band made it clear that it would "cancel the whole proposal unless Ottawa acts immediately".<sup>10</sup> Survey orders were issued a short time later, but PGE then postponed the surveys repeatedly over the course of the next two years. Frustrated by such delays in finalizing the agreement, the Band would eventually reconsider the deal.

Other irritations exacerbated the already strained relations between the Tl'azt'en and PGE. The cut-off on one reserve (Gelangle IR 1) greatly exceeded that originally indicated by PGE; thus the Band eventually decided not to surrender this cut-off. Most impor-



**Table 1**

Compensation lands proposed by Tl'azt'en band, 1969

	Acres	Rationale for Selection
1	50	Favorite hunting and fishing campsite
2	488	Lake shore property suitable for development into summer home sites to provide lease revenue. Also medicinal plant and berry picking area
3	120	Hunting and fishing campsite, favorite spot of Pierre family
4	8	Cabin site for Za Williams and family, to replace that on surrendered Soyandostar IR2
5	468	Probably for development for lease lots and/or hunting and fishing
Total	1134	

tantly, the Tl'azt'en began to notice a significant reduction in wildlife on their hunting grounds along the railway route. Individual members began to ask the DIA for compensation for the loss of wildlife (Joseph 1971; Pierre 1999).

By the spring of 1973 the railway had been completed as far as Takla Landing, and trains began running. This underscored for the Band the fact that no compensation had yet been received for the ROWs through the reserves. The Tl'azt'en used this opportunity to present a revised request for compensation lands (Table 2). The revisions increased the diversity of their spatial and economic strategies (e.g. parcels 5, 6, 7). In shuffling parcels, the Band was operating within Euro-Canadian modes of visualization and administration of space, yet continuing to select land to pursue both traditional and capitalist economic goals.

Yet simply securing more reserve lands was beginning to look like a losing strategy. It was larger tracts of wildlife habitat that provided Tl'azt'en with their security and independence. The land exchange did not address the reduced ability of the Tl'azt'en to enjoy the resources of these spaces. When the PGE and DIA repeatedly refused to compensate the Tl'azt'en for the lost opportunities to harvest wildlife because the Band had "already agreed on a land exchange with the railway as a means of compensation for the reserve lands taken" (McIntyre 1973), the Band disputed whether such an agreement had in fact been concluded.

#### Re-opening the negotiations

The early 1970s in British Columbia saw increased communication among First Nations, and the growth

**Table 2**

Compensation lands proposed by Tl'azt'en band, 1973

	Acres	Rationale for Selection
1	80	Hunting and fishing campsite, also potential for leasing cottage sites
2	488	Extension of Pinche IR2 for Tl'azt'en home sites, or for Pinche Village lease lots as summer cottage sites
3	120	Base for hunting, trapping and fishing
4	10	Base for hunting, trapping and fishing. A new cabin for Za Williams already had been built here, to replace that on surrendered Soyandostar IR2
5	50	Extension of Nancut IR3 to include farmlands used by Yecoochee (Portage) Village Band members
6	20	Hayland/pasture, and base for hunting, trapping and fishing
7	100	Potential home sites for Tl'azt'en living in Fort St. James plus possible rental to other parties for residential or commercial use
8	50	Extension of Tache IR1 to provide land for future Band members' homes
Total	918	

of Native political organizations (Tennant 1990). By forging links across the Province, these organizations contested the division and separation which colonial and Department of Indian Affairs administrations had created with the 'Indian Band' and 'Indian Reserve' systems. British Columbia's political space was being reconfigured as communication among First Nations increased. Empowered by a sense of collective struggle and by knowledge of other bands' actions, Native people were producing a space from which they could more effectively mount resistance against a variety of concerns.

Seeking legal advice from the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, the Tl'azt'en determined that they had given permission to PGE (now renamed British Columbia Railroad or BCR) to survey and clear the land. The fact that PGE/BCR had gone ahead and built the railway, without any finalized exchange of land, constituted trespass.<sup>11</sup>

On 30 August 1973 the Band issued three Band Council Resolutions.<sup>12</sup> These called for a halt to any land exchanges as agreed to in 1969; a re-opened negotiation regarding compensation for the ROW; and payment of \$7 million for the trespass committed by the Railway, the unauthorized use of land, and compensation for loss of game. The Band stated that if its demands were not met within two months, it would either block the passage of trains through reserve lands, or levy a toll on such trains.

BCR decided, on the deadline set by Tl'azt'en (1 November), to meet to discuss these new demands. The Band held that the 1969 negotiations had not resulted in an enforceable contract, only an agreement to make an agreement. It asserted its right to proceed against BCR for trespass, and for prevention of future trespass, and noted that it had a possible action against the Railway under the tort of nuisance for the disruption caused to hunting, fishing and the Band members' way of life. Chief Pierre also stated that the land exchange discussed in 1969 had been compensation for lost reserve land, not for loss of hunting and trapping resources.<sup>13</sup> The Band did not base its claim on Aboriginal rights, but on state-sanctioned property rights, and on the ecological and social impact of the railway. That is, the Tl'azt'en did not at this time seek to challenge the authority of the Provincial Government to continue to administer the lands and resources outside of the reserves, nor to ultimately prevent the railway from operating. The new compensation agreement that they sought did not significantly challenge the state's view of Indian space.

BCR agreed to further negotiations, following the completion of a study which would investigate the impact of the railway on wildlife. It would fund the study, and also pay the Band \$5000 as a permit for the use of the ROW while the study was being carried out. It stated that the band's demand for \$7 million was excessive.

The impact study's results were presented in the Tl'azt'en community of Tache in April 1974. The report concluded

...the Indian People have suffered damages over the years 1969 to present. These damages have been in the form of reductions in monetary income from trapping, plus a reduction in real income from the use of moose and fish as a source of food. (Envirocon Limited 1974, 74)

It attributed the disturbance of wildlife to the *construction* (not the *operation*) of the railway, and listed a set of remedial actions that BCR could take to eliminate negative effects in the future.<sup>14</sup> The report noted that "[m]any Band members feel that their use of the land and its resources has been seriously threatened by the railway line, and that the future of the Band is uncertain as a result of this threat." (*ibid.*, 76). When reiterated by the impact study, the concerns of the Tl'azt'en could not be easily dismissed by BCR.

### Expanding the scope of negotiations

The railway, however, was no longer the only source of change that threatened the Tl'azt'en's traditional territory and ability to determine their future. A growth in sales of private lots on both Trembleur and Stuart Lakes was predicted. Sports fishing was intensifying in these lakes. The construction of new roads also greatly increased hunting by non-natives in Tl'azt'en territory.

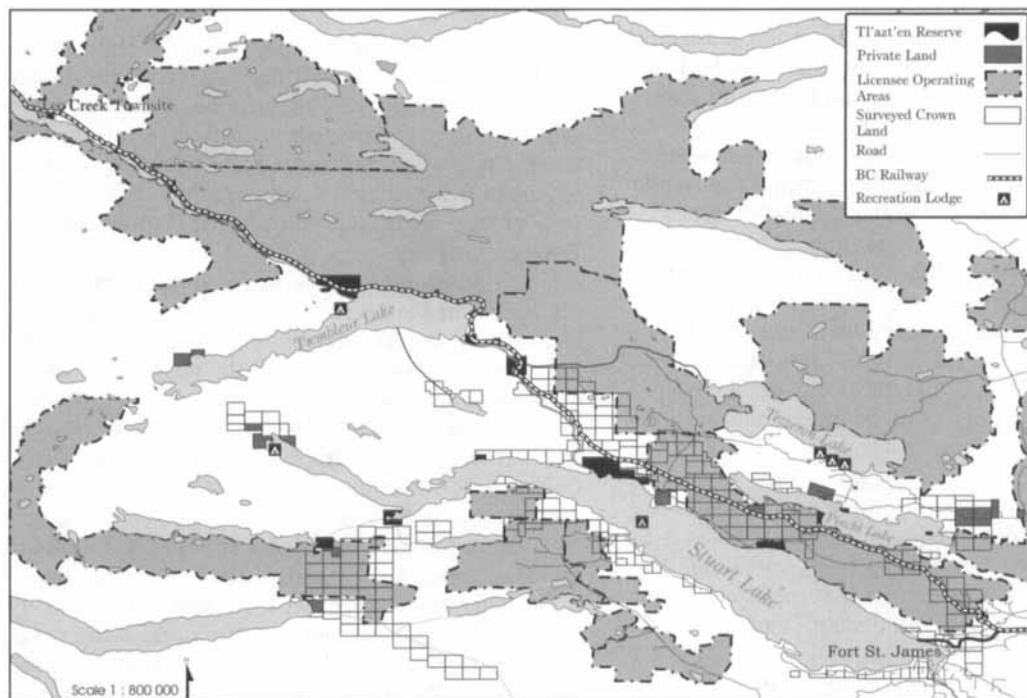
Most importantly, the railway and roads had made the timber in the heart of Tl'azt'en territory accessible. In 1974 the Ministry of Forests allocated timber rights to various companies in the region opened up by the railway (Figure 4). Two mills and a town site were built at Leo Creek. After generations of relative isolation with only a gradual increase in non-native presence, the pace of development in Tl'azt'en territory increased dramatically. The Tl'azt'en could see that industrial timber extraction, now year-round, intensive, and in the heart of their territory, would bring ecological changes which would further threaten their ability to harvest country food. At the same time, fewer band members benefited from employment in the forestry operations: unionization of the labour force, educational requirements, racism, and scheduling conflicts with subsistence activities thwarted Tl'azt'en participation in increasingly mechanized forestry operations.

Thus, the Tl'azt'en decided to expand their negotiations over the legally authorized spaces affected by the railway to address other concerns, and other spaces. Tl'azt'en territory was being reconfigured by increasing Government administration of the territory, and by increasing non-native use. Off-reserve space — both the space of the bush economy and that of wage labour — was shrinking. A compensation package for the land lost to the railroad ROW from BCR would clearly be insufficient. Due to the changes wrought by the expansion of industry, facilitated by the railway (and roads) and abetted by the timber quotas, the Band now felt it needed to negotiate directly with the Provincial Government.

### Tl'azt'en Negotiations with the Provincial Government, 1975-1984

Blockade: bringing the provincial government to the table

Over five years after the Railway had begun construction through the Tl'azt'en's reserves, the Band



**Figure 4**  
Tl'azt'en reserves and the proposed PGE route, 1969

felt that very little progress had been made. The Government had never properly responded to its demand for compensation. It seemed that once the railway was operational, BCR and the Government failed to give negotiations a high priority. After Government representatives rescheduled and then cancelled meetings, the Band resolved to try another tactic to force serious negotiations. On 28 April 1975 the Tl'azt'en blockaded the railway near Tache IR.

The blockade remained in place for three and a half months and had a significant impact on the region's forest industry. Three mills shut down, and across the forest industry three hundred and twenty workers were left unemployed. The blockade also halted construction of the Dease Lake Extension, and stopped the transport of supplies to the communities on Takla Lake (Whipp 1975).<sup>15</sup>

In 1969 the Tl'azt'en had created a space of negotiation regarding *reserve* lands. By blockading, the Tl'azt'en forced open a space of negotiation concerning *off-reserve* issues. They sought an opportunity to engage the Government and industry in a dialogue

about how they and non-native people could co-exist over the extent of their whole territory. This meant coming to an agreement over the organization and allocation of a space valued by both parties.

While the blockade was in place the Province refused to meet or negotiate with the Tl'azt'en. By way of letter, the Government made what it called a "final offer" (Norris 1975). The Band would be granted the 3-for-1 land exchange and \$50,000. Though unsatisfied with the Government's offer, the Tl'azt'en showed goodwill by removing the blockade on 15 August, with the warning that if serious negotiations did not commence within two months the blockade would go up again.

The Tl'azt'en's blockade was one of thirteen Native blockades in B.C. that summer (Blomley 1996; Tennant 1990). This Native political activism appears to have precipitated a shift in the Government's will to consider other visions of space.<sup>16</sup> That autumn the provincial negotiating committee came to the table with the authority to make a deal.

### Negotiations regarding spaces of economic development

In February 1977, to a gathering of one hundred fifty Band members, Allan Williams (BC Minister responsible for Indian Affairs) announced that the Province was prepared to proceed with the land exchange as proposed by the Tl'azt'en in October 1976, plus \$50,000. The announcement was not received as positively as he might have wished, as the Tl'azt'en reminded him that their demand was for the land exchange and \$7 million.<sup>17</sup> Figure 5 offers several comments by Band members which conveyed a disappointment that non-native society envisioned so limited a place for them in the changing spaces of their territory.

The Band had originally asked for money because it was not yet sure what types of spaces would be best to negotiate for. After further internal deliberations the Band developed a spatial strategy for adapting to the evolving circumstances. This included a demand for timber rights and an expanded land base (i.e. new reserves). Securing timber rights was a way to benefit from the forest industry which had come to dominate their territory and the region's economy. These rights, however, would only directly benefit that portion of the Tl'azt'en community experienced or interested in logging. Because the Band's negotiating committee wanted to spread the benefits of the settlement throughout the community, it also sought to secure rights to the lands along traplines or at favorite hunting and fishing locations where band members had cabins. It was felt that much would be gained by creating reserves for their cabins because logging companies had recently destroyed some cabins, and because of the difficulty (if not the mere requirement) of acquiring a Provincial permit for the cabin sites.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, when the Government asked for a counter-offer, the Band proposed the right to harvest 140,000 cubic metres of timber annually on Provincial land, as well as an exclusive hunting area, and 10 acres (4.05 hectares) of new reserve land for every acre surrendered to the railway.

The government was not willing to grant the hunting area, or add significant acreage to the land exchange. However, in a move that would eventually bring a resolution to the negotiations, the Province stated that it was prepared to grant the Tl'azt'en's request for rights to timber. A Tree Farm License (TFL) was granted to the Band in the area between Stuart and Trembleur Lakes west of the Tache River (Mercer 1978).<sup>19</sup>

- "Things were pretty good around here, there's not too many difficulties in success that [we] have had with the government, Whiteman, loggers and mines, but as time has been going on ... the only thing we been getting from Government is a hard time. ... We don't like to be forced to be put in positions like this where we cannot rely on resources of the land as we have done in the past." Ed John
- "Each time the White man came there's more. They come on our land and spoil everything and as a result we Indians suffer more. We no longer can hunt as before for there is so little game left. Long ago my home used to be where ever I hunt, now I am only allowed to have one home and that home has to be on the reserve. ... they have no right whatsoever to build a railway through our reserve without our consent which we did not give them. ... they took our land, as much of it as they wanted. What land I have they spoil - our trapline." Justa Hanson
- "Where you get the idea of offering \$50,000? There's a population of 500 people in Tache alone. If you give them a \$100 a piece it wouldn't be enough." Alec Thomas
- "Mr. Allan Williams and representatives of BCR, you have heard my people's feelings now ... You understand their way of thinking and the livelihood, the way of livelihood, for the native people that you have destroyed. And I'm pretty sure you must realize it. Their land that you make a boundary around for them and said, 'Now look, you Indians, you stay inside the boundary line, and if any White trespasses us you charge them'. ...but the \$50,000, like the young girl said it, it's more like dropping in a bucket. You're making a lot of money with this ... but we are losing every way, that's what my people think. Like Louie John said, I might be the last Indian to be stepped on. ... That's my people's feelings." Chief Justa Monk

**Figure 5**

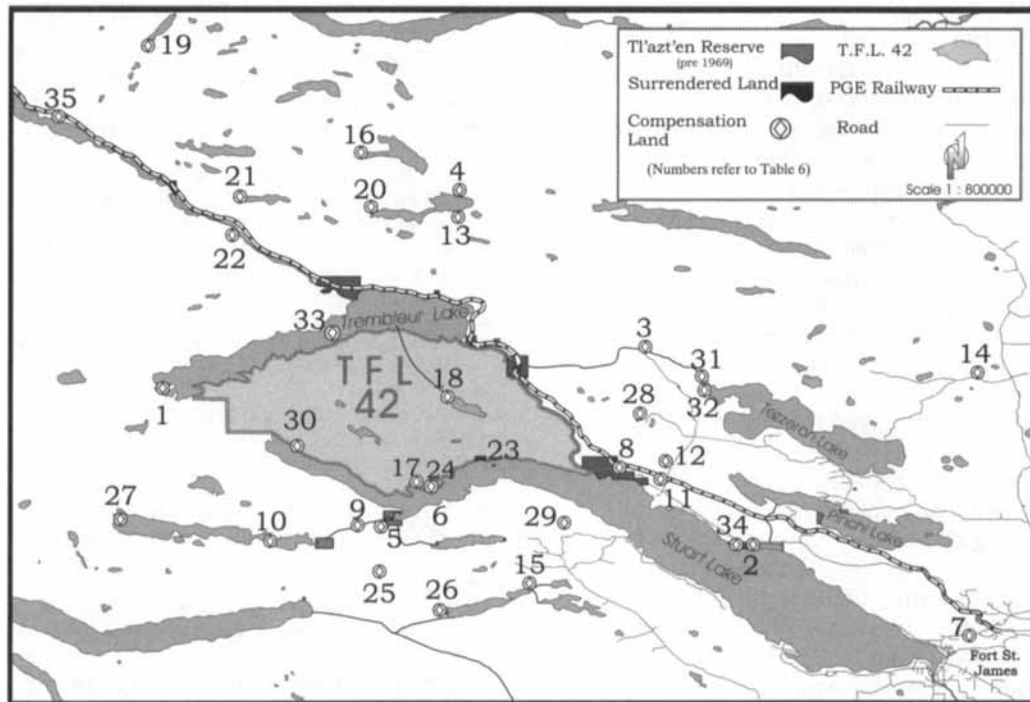
Band members' statements to Government and BCR officials, 17 February 1977 public meeting, Tache, BC

### The Space Created by the 1984 Agreement

By employing the opportunities presented by the railway negotiations, Tl'azt'en insured that their economic and social goals influenced the production of space in the territory. The final agreement resulted in the creation of new legal spaces which reflected both the non-native mode of production, and the spatiality of the Tl'azt'en community.

#### Tree Farm License 42

A Tree Farm License is an organization of space conceived of by Euro-Canadian society, but the Tl'azt'en chose to adapt it to meet their economic goals, creating a TFL different from others in the Province. Thirteen Tl'azt'en reserves were combined with Crown land to make up the land base of the TFL. This integration of Federal IR land and Provincial land was unprecedented and points to how the Tl'azt'en's



**Figure 6**  
Tl'azt'en reserves and the proposed PGE route, 1969

geopolitical efforts changed the way both Governments were willing to administer lands.

Another distinguishing characteristic of TFL 42 is that it is held by a community company. Normally it is large forestry corporations which receive timber rights from the Province. In the early 1980s, granting a TFL to a community marked a new approach to resource management. Giving management responsibilities to a Native community on provincial land was a striking indication of the way government views regarding the place of Native people in British Columbia was evolving. The negotiations truly created a hybrid space – in the sense that the TFL was formulated, located, and shaped by multiple influences, and in the sense that it was something *new* produced from their interaction.

Although the Tl'azt'en had enough political power to get the Government to grant them timber rights, their power to shape the production of space *within* the TFL has been constrained. The Tl'azt'en desired to manage the TFL to meet the community's goals for timber, wildlife, berries, minimum use of pesticides,

maximized employment, and training (John Prince Research Forest 1999; Karjala *et al.* 2000). However, though the TFL gave the Tl'azt'en the exclusive right to harvest timber on Crown land, when they accepted the license the Tl'azt'en had to agree to manage the land within Provincial regulations, including those regarding annual allowable cuts and pest management. Year by year as the TFL is managed, the Tl'azt'en *and* the Government are re-producing its space – as an evolving, hybrid space resulting from the interaction, contestation, negotiation and compromise of both parties' goals and spatial strategies, albeit on intensely unequal terms.

#### New reserve lands

In the final agreement the Tl'azt'en also received 1,115 acres of new reserve land which they used to create 35 new reserves (Table 3, Figure 6). The new reserves are an expression of mid-20th century Tl'azt'en spatiality. The sites selected included some used by certain families, reflecting personal power within the community. It does appear, however, that

selection was done through an open community process (Morris 1999), and that the lands selected represent the diversity of interests within the community.

The selection of farming/hay lands, bases for hunting and fishing, a site for a sawmill, a site for homes in Fort St. James, lands which could be leased, and land for a guiding business speaks of the community's desire to continue 'traditional' activities *and* to articulate with the outside economy. The selection of 22 cabin/camp sites is particularly interesting. The distribution of these reserves (parcels 11 to 33) suggests a re-surfacing of the Tl'azt'en's *keyoh* or family hunting territories – a pre-contact spatial organization which had never been obliterated. Within the constraints of a fixed number of acres, and in the presence of other land holders, the land selections expressed the spatial dimension of Tl'azt'en lives.

#### The remainder of Tl'azt'en territory

The challenges facing Tl'azt'en hunters and trappers resulting from the intensification of forest development and other types of encroachment were not well addressed by the final agreement. The Tl'azt'en wanted to make the Government continue to consult with them concerning non-native activities and development in their territory, but the agreement included no such provision. In the 1970s the Tl'azt'en used the lack of a finalized settlement with BCR, and threats of blockades, to open up a space of negotiation with the Provincial Government. At the negotiation table the Tl'azt'en were able to articulate their goals and their needs. They were able to exert some influence on the way the Government perceived their territory, and therefore on the way lands and resources were allocated and administered. However, after the agreement was executed, their ability to access Government ministers, to get the attention of resource managers, to obtain legal recognition for lands which they used, and to demand a share of the benefits from resource development, disappeared. The Agreement created new legal spaces for the Tl'azt'en but it did not perpetuate the space of negotiation that had existed.

The remainder of the territory increasingly became the space of forest companies, and of ever growing non-native recreational use. Band members' off-reserve bush economy space continued to be eroded, and throughout the 1980s and 1990s the Tl'azt'en struggled with the incompatibility of traditional activities and the intensive forestry that came to

**Table 3**

Reserve lands received by Tl'azt'en, Final Agreement

	Reserve name	Acres*	Rationale for Selection
1	Dzin Tl'at IR 46	80	Hunting, fishing and trapping base. Also, potential for development into lease lots
2	Addition to Pinche IR2	195	Extension of Pinche IR2, potential for development into lease lots
3	Tl'o Ba IR 22	40	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
4	Tsaz Cheh IR27	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
5	Addition to Nancut IR3	100	Extension of IR3 for farming
6	Bihlo'k'a Chah IR20	10	Hay/pasture and hunting/fishing base
7	North Road IR19	100	Home site for band members in Fort St. James
8	Addition to Tache IR1	10	Extension of IR1
9	Ihch'az Uz Ta Tsoh IR44	40	Farming/pasture land
10	Skoooby Island IR48	8	Used as base for guiding business
11	Sisul Tl'o K'ut IR21	375	Future sawmill site (formerly used for haying)
12	Sisult Tl'o K'ut IR14	19	Rationale not known
13	Tsaz Cheh IR28	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
14	Lhoh Cho IR29	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
15	Camsell Lake IR30	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
16	Dlah Koh IR21	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
17	Jus K'ay Tl'oh	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
18	Tanizul IR43	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
19	Metso A Choot IR23	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
20	Tsaz Cheh Koh IR24	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
21	Natazutlooh IR25	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
22	O K'ay Wha Cho IR26	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
23	K'ay Noo IR47	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
24	La Tse Cho Diz I IR48	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
25	Tse Bay Ha Tine IR34	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
26	Shas Dzuhl Koh IR 35	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
27	Ta Huhl IR36	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
28	Tsun Tin Ah IR37	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
29	Keom Cho IR38	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
30	Nak'a Lat IR39	3	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
31	Wah T'a Noo IR40	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
32	Chuz Teeslee IR41	1	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
33	Noo Kat IR42	2	Hunting, fishing & trapping base
34	Chundoo Lhtan LA IR45	105	Medicine and berry gathering site; potential for development into lease lots
35	The Noo'n Chee IR49	10	BCR property at Leo Creek Site
	Total	1116	

\*Acreage has been rounded to nearest acre. See Figure 6

dominate their territory, with almost no avenue for complaints concerning the impact of forestry on hunting, fishing and trapping. This is a striking change from the period of the railway negotiations when they held the Government's attention.

## Conclusion

The Tl'azt'en have been continuous and significant participants in the production of space in their homeland. During the fur trade era the territory was organized not by the Northwest/Hudson's Bay Company but by the Tl'azt'en, through their clan and keyoh system. As governments began to draw lines on the land and to impose new laws, the Tl'azt'en had a limited but perceptible influence on these lines and laws. In the early decades of the forest industry (1940-1970) the space of early logging was shared — as much Tl'azt'en as Euro-Canadian space. The Tl'azt'en also persistently created spaces of negotiation, using the Reserve Commissions and other fora and opportunities to try to gain legal rights to lands which they used and valued. By the late 1960s, however the Tl'azt'en's hunting, trapping and gathering spaces, largely outside their reserves, were not recognized in the Government administration of the territory. Because of slow Euro-Canadian encroachment and enduring Tl'azt'en culture, until this time the two visions of the same territory co-existed, if uneasily.

These differing visions, and the uses they engendered, led to a significant struggle over the space of Tl'azt'en territory in the 1970s. A government-built railroad, which revealed state visions of turning the territory into a resource hinterland, precipitated the struggle. The Tl'azt'en, as they had since contact, responded by trying to ensure the space of their territory as a viable homeland. By using their Reserve land rights and articulating their own use of the territory, the Tl'azt'en were able to open up a effective space of negotiation wherein they influenced the Government vision, allocation, administration and use of space in their territory. Tl'azt'en and Government spatial strategies both acknowledged the value of forestry and of legal rights to land. And Tl'azt'en spatiality, as well as Government and industry spatial and economic goals, imbued the social and legal spaces created through the negotiations.

Recent works by geographers such as Braun, Brealey, Clayton, Harris and Sparke have sought to "dra[w] out and destabiliz[e] the historical relations between power, knowledge and geography that are implicated in the ongoing subjugation and marginalization of Native people" (Clayton 2000b, 393). We argue that a poorly explored but equally fruitful path to such destabilizations is to uncover and communicate the substantive role of First Nations (and other marginalized groups) in shaping the hybrid spaces of

today's British Columbia. We do not wish to exaggerate the degree of power that Tl'azt'en were able to exercise in the production of space in their territory, nor dismiss the high social costs their participation has entailed. We do believe that a better understanding of the persistent role of First Nations in shaping their spaces will challenge caricatures of space as homogenous and myths of Native peoples as ineffectual victims of colonial forces. At the same time, our research has shown that, while negotiated spaces can endure, spaces of negotiations may be short-lived.

The power struggle over the production of space in Tl'azt'en territory continues. In the 1980s and 1990s the Tl'azt'en undertook new political initiatives to try to engage the Government and industry in dialogue over the visualization, administration and use of the territory. In April 1982, a month after the TFL was granted, together with other member bands of the Carrier Sekani Tribal Council, the Tl'azt'en submitted to the Federal Treaty Negotiation Office a declaration which claimed ownership of their territory and expressed their desire to negotiate a treaty. By putting their traditional territory boundary on the map and asserting a spatiality as yet unrecognized by the Government, the Tl'azt'en embarked on another stage of their journey to re-produce the space of their territory.

Court decisions in the 1980s gradually gave more legal recognition to the existence of Aboriginal title in British Columbia. These rulings, Native blockades and other protests eventually forced the Province in 1990 to agree to begin treaty negotiations. Throughout the Province, Native power continued to grow in the 1990s, and as Native spatiality and alternate mappings of traditional territories have been asserted, British Columbia's official geography has been significantly destabilized. Current negotiations taking place in British Columbia concerning the reconciliation of Native title and Government title should be considered in the light of the ideas presented in this paper. For, to a greater degree than ever before, Native visualization, organization and use of lands will be manifested in the production of new hybrid socio-spatial arrangements, such as the spaces of treaty settlement lands and co-management arrangements.

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## Notes

- 1 We ask the reader to accept that while we do not wish to essentialize categories of "Native" and "Euro-Canadian" we use these terms as convenient (if simple) glosses. In fact, we argue for the recognition of the interpenetrating influences of the cultures from 'contact' to the present.
- 2 Figure 2 shows the trapline boundaries, rather than the *keyoh*. The Tl'azt'en Nation are currently mapping the boundaries of the *keyoh*, but have not yet released their maps; thus we use this map as a(n admittedly not fully satisfactory) proxy for the *keyoh* boundaries, but one which suggests their general contours.
- 3 See RG10, Volume 6735, File 420-3, TNROC, which contains letters written by Carrier chiefs of the Stuart Lake region, including one by a Tl'azt'en chief. See also Morice (1903, 1919-20).
- 4 It is also clear that in the late 1800s and early 1900s priests and Indian Agents were conscious that they were dealing with the co-existence of native and provincial law. They employed Carrier law on numerous occasions in their handling of resource and justice issues (cf. Fiske 1997).
- 5 Data on private land holdings was obtained from manual registers of the Crown Lands Registry Division, Surveyor Generals Branch, Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks (Victoria, B.C.). Morris (1999 35a) provides a map of such holdings.
- 6 DIA File 985/30-26-1, Vol. 1, 1948-69, TNROC.
- 7 They excluded the Department of Indian Affairs from this space of negotiation. While until this time, the DIA had handled most of the Band's dealings with external parties, in this case the Band Council announced to the DIA that it would handle the negotiations on its own (Johnston-Watson 1969). Independence from the DIA and a commitment to community discussion and decision-making were the pattern that the Band followed for the duration of the negotiations.
- 8 Indian Reserve (IR) areas are expressed in the imperial measurement of acres in this article, as this is the measure used in the historical literature and documents. One acre equals 0.405 hectare. Other measures (e.g. timber) are expressed in metric measurements (cubic meters).
- 9 The Tl'azt'en proposed to surrender the cut-offs on all but one reserve. On Grand Rapids IR5, the ROW passed through the centre of the reserve, and the Band felt that too much important land would be lost. It chose to surrender to whole of Soyandostar IR2, because the tracks would be laid so close to the shore of Trembleur Lake as to compromise the use of the camp situated on this reserve.
- 10 Note to file regarding phone conversation between Stuart Lake Agency Official (DIA) and F. Walchli (DIA), 27 May 1969, located in DIA Railway Right-of-Way File 985/31-2-26, 1968-1972, TNROC.
- 11 Notes by DIA Official of a meeting of 1 November 1973, between BCR, Harry Crosby (Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs) and DIA in Vancouver, located in DIA Railway Right-of-Way File 985/31-2-26, Vol.2, 1970-74, TNROC.
- 12 Stuart Trembleur Lakes Band Council Resolutions 10/73-74; 11/73-74; 12/73-74, TBOBC.
- 13 Notes by DIA official of meeting in Tache, 3 November 1973. DIA Right-of-Way file 985/31-2-26, Vol.2, 1970-74. TNROC.
- 14 These included moving railway construction crews away from water bodies, removing construction debris from streams, making culverts passable for fish, seeding disturbed banks, making crossings of the

railway grade where needed, and reconstructing a trail between several of the villages.

- 15 The band acknowledged and apologized for the effect that the blockade had on others: "Our Band realizes the serious economic hardships the blockade has produced for the Takla Lake Band, the sawmills, logging contractors, proprietors and other groups and individuals, and to these people and the organizations we humbly apologize." (Stuart Trembleur Lakes Band Press Release, 15 August 1975. Land Claims Second Copies File STB v. BCRail, TBOBC)
- 16 In early September, for example, the Provincial Government announced that an agreement had been reached with the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs to establish a joint Indian-Government Committee to examine the entire subject of the 'cut-offs' (Levi 1975).
- 17 Transcript of Meeting at Tache Village, 19 February 1977. Box: Land Claims Second Copies, File: STB v. BCRail, TBOBC.
- 18 According to the *Prince George Citizen*, MOF had located partial blame for destruction of trappers' cabins and traps by logging operations with the Indians "for not making adequate maps". Band members complained that "Indians are unable to even lease enough land to protect their cabins. We're not trying to take the whole forest, we just want enough land to build a cabin on." Some Band members had received Special Use Permits for their cabin sites as the result of meetings held with the Department of Recreation and Conservation in the late 1970s, but wanted their cabin sites to have reserve status so they would not have to pay the annual fee which cost up to \$40/year (Graham 1973; Alexis 1980; Pierre 1999).
- 19 Like any other TFL, TFL 42 had to be put out for bid, and was advertised in May 1981. Two other bids by private companies were received, as well as the one from Tanizul Timber Limited, the newly formed Tl'azt'en company. Tanizul was awarded the TFL on the strength of its plan to incorporate significant reserve lands in the TFL, and on its intention to create the greatest number of jobs and to hire local people in these positions (Ministry of Forests 1981; Goodwin 1982)

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