



*FIVE ISSUES
FIVE BATTLEGROUND*

REUBEN M. WARE

FIVE ISSUES

FIVE BATTLEGROUND

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY

OF INDIAN FISHING IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

1850 – 1930.

BY REUBEN M. WARE

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*Long ago Transformer was travelling over this world. He was carrying some little Salmon bones in his hands. He came to a river and dropped in one of the bones. "You shall become the Spring Salmon and there shall be many of you," he said. Then he went further down the river and dropped another Salmon bone in the water. "You shall become the Humpback and there shall be many of you." Next Transformer came to the great river and travelled far up its course, dropping Salmon bones in many streams and small rivers. "And you shall be the Sockeye," he said. He then dropped bones in other lakes and creeks and they became the Suckers, the Trout, and all the other fish.**

*Adopted from Folktales of the Coast Salish, collected by Thelma Adamson (New York: 1934).

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INTRODUCTION

FIVE ISSUES, FIVE BATTLEFIELDS

*"My land and my body are the same. I will never let go my land. This is my country and I will never let it go until the end of the world. I am not speaking in anger to the governments but simply because I know my country is my life and my own."*¹ Chief Joseph Sinamulogh, Lower Similkameen, 27 November 1920.

*"The right has been preserved to the Indians to take, for their own use, Salmon above the commercial fishing boundaries to which all other fishermen are excluded. . ."*² John P. Babcock, Assistant Commissioner of Fisheries, British Columbia, 1917.

*"We the members and chiefs of the Thompson tribe appeal to you to consider our rights as the laws imposed upon us last year by taking away our right to fish for Salmon – our natural food. . . The Indians are not responsible for the scarcity of Salmon. We only catch what we need for food. The white men are responsible for this and particularly the Big Companies who use traps and other methods to catch the fish for commercial trade and in some cases destroy the Fish in large quantities. . ."*³ Louis James, Inkilsaph, and eight others, 19 April 1920.

FIVE ISSUES

These statements of Indian leaders of years ago illustrate the five focal points of the history of Indian fisheries over the past 150 years and the struggle to protect the rights to these fisheries.

1. British Columbia is Indian Land.

First is the idea that British Columbia is Indian land and that all of its resources have never been surrendered or sold. The issue here is Indian control of tribal resources. Crucial to this has been the struggle to use aboriginal rights as a basis for an economic foundation for Indian communities.

2. The Importance of Fish.

The critical importance of fish and fisheries to Indians, both as a food source and as community activity.

3. Governmental recognition of Indian Rights.

Since the 1850's governments – imperial, colonial, federal, and provincial – have recognized the existence of Indian fishing rights. They have recognized that these rights cannot be altered or ended without compensation and without the consent of the Indians.

4. Indian Management is Best.

The tragic destruction done to the fisheries of the Indians of British Columbia under the management of white governments and the exploitation of white corporations is an issue that has long concerned Indians fighting for fishing rights. The evidence of white mismanagement is clear and perhaps the control of the fishery resources should be turned over to the rightful owners for restoration.

5. Governmental Regulation.

The gradual development of governmental, both federal and provincial, restriction of Indian fishing rights is irregular, but steady. These regulations have been a part of many Indian protests and are an important chapter in the history of Indian fisheries.

This introductory history of Indian fisheries, especially the “food fishery,” will highlight these five issues. Evidence will be presented to illustrate each factor. These issues are keys to understanding the struggle of the past, they are keys to organizing current research, and they are keys to winning the victories of the future.

FIVE BATTLEFIELDS

The importance of fishing to Indian communities throughout British Columbia and the efforts of the Federal fisheries department to restrict, and even abolish, Indian fishing, has resulted in an irregular, protracted struggle since the 1880's. At times this struggle has intensified into open confrontation, even gun battles. There have been long drawn-out court cases, delegations to Ottawa and Victoria, petitions to the Fisheries Department and to the Department of Indian Affairs, agreements made and broken, misunderstandings, erratic enforcement of the regulations by local fisheries officers, and at times and in parts of British Columbia non-enforcement of sections of the Federal Fishery Act.

This confused pattern of the development of Federal regulation has meant a gradual, but steady erosion of Indian fishing rights and increasing restrictions on a critical food source for Indian communities. The struggle of the British Columbia Indians against this process forms an important aspect of Indian political activity in the 20th century. This struggle primarily occurs at the traditional fishing grounds of the Indian tribes of British Columbia. Virtually every area and tribe has been involved, but the struggle has focused on five battlegrounds:

1. The Cowichan River.

2. The West Coast of Vancouver Island.
3. The Fraser River.
4. The Skeena-Babine-Bulkley River system.
5. The Carrier region of Stuart Lake.

This introductory paper will mainly deal with the Fraser River, especially the Salmon fisheries of the Salish tribes from Bridge-River-Lillooet to the mouth of the river. But examples from the other battlegrounds, as well as from other tribal areas, will also be presented. Further research could develop the story of each tribe's struggle so that a detailed history, focusing on the five issues, can be written.

SOURCES AND NOTES
FOR INTRODUCTION

1. Chief Joseph Sinamulogh to John Oliver, Premier of British Columbia, 27 November 1920, enclosed in Teit to Oliver, 18 December 1920. British Columbia, Premier, Correspondence Inward, Box 207 (File 53), Provincial Archives of British Columbia.
2. Canada. Report of Special Fishery Commission, 1917 (Ottawa: 1918), "Testimony of John Pease Babcock," p. 46.
3. Louis James et al. to John Oliver, 19 April 1920. British Columbia, Premier, Correspondence Inward, Box 207 (File 51).

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF INDIAN FOOD FISHING IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

There is an important distinction to make when discussing British Columbia Fisheries and that is between "food fishing" and commercial fishing. This paper is primarily about "food fishing" and the historical development of Indian "food fishing" in British Columbia, but it should be clearly understood that in many ways this distinction is a distortion. In the traditional social systems of the Indians in British Columbia, there was no distinction between "food fishing" and commercial fishing. In the Indian economies that existed during the fur trade era (1780's-1850's) in British Columbia there was no such distinction. The same techniques were used and the same social practices took place during both "food fishing" and commercial fishing. In the social economies that developed in the transitional phase (ca. 1860-1930) of Indian communities, Indians rarely made any distinction. This distinction has been imposed on Indians by white governments. It is the point of view of non-Indians, but in terms of Indian political positions put forward in early petitions to governments and in statements of Indian leaders, there was little distinction between the two — "food fishing" and commercial fishing. Some examples will reveal the nature of this Indian position and the lack of this distinction. Chief Owahagaleese, of the Kwawkwalth Band, stated in 1914:

*"We are protesting the fact that we are losing our lands. . .not only our lands, but all other things that would be good for our benefit, such as fishing and trapping. . .we are losing the privileges among ourselves to have all the fish that are in the river and seas that belong to our country."*¹

Clearly the issue is Indian control over all Kwakiutl resources, without the distinctions imposed by governmental regulation. Earlier the council of Metlakatla, attempting to stop exploitation by canneries, had laid claim to their fisheries:

*". . .Our forefathers were brought up on fishing. . .and their work is still in our hands, and we claim the fishing places as our property. We do not want white people to take these places from our hands, or to be driven from our stations where our forefathers have lived. . ."*²

Many other examples from throughout British Columbia could be cited to illustrate this position. Indians throughout British Columbia had always caught, sold or traded their fish and from the Indian position, changes in technology and equipment or the development of non-Indian exploitation of the fishing resources could not alter the fundamental fact of Indian sovereignty, aboriginal rights, and the unity of "food" and "commercial" fishing. In 1923 Mrs. R. Cook, Kwakiutl delegate from Alert Bay, made this clear to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Duncan C. Scott:

*"We are part of this country. . .we have now to speak about the rights that the government and the people of Canada have deprived us of. . .our fishing for food; in the old days when there were no white people in the country, but now today we say we should have the same fishing privileges that we had in those days, for commercial purposes. . .Because the Indian cannot live alone on fish, as he did in those days; he has got to buy other kinds of food. . .he really needs that industry. . .just as he did in those days for his livelihood."*³

The making of this distinction by governmental action in British Columbia is one of the main wedges of colonial rule that was established over Indians. This distinction between "food" fishing and commercial fishing defined Indian fishing in a regulatory over which Indians had no control. It legislated traditional fishing practices out of commercial use and made a viable local economy based on traditional techniques and fishing practices not "permissible." For example, A. C. Anderson, who first made this distinction, reported in 1882:

*"Indian fisherman, fishing above tide-water with their own appliances, had been encouraged by several canneries to bring Salmon down for sale for canning purposes. On report of Mr. Pittendrigh (Fisheries Overseer), I went to New Westminster, early in October (1881), and after enquiring the practice was interdicted. A wide field of abuse was being opened in regard to the Indian privilege. . ."*⁴

There was a channel where Indians could participate in the commercial fishing industry, but they had to participate in it on terms over which they had little control. The growth of labor radicalism and unionism among Indian fisherman and cannery workers was an attempt to re-exert some control over fisheries in British Columbia, but although some victories have been won in these struggles these movements have not regained any control for Indians over resources or territory.⁵ The large cannery corporations and the government's regulatory bureaucracy are still in tact, still running and ruining the resources of Indian lands. Chief Joe Capilano put it right in 1906:

*"In the past few years, white men have so increased that they are like a storm of locusts, leaving the earth bare where they pass by. . .the cariboo is doomed and our rivers no longer give forth the abundance of fish that was the heritage of our forefathers. The close season should be made more restrictive for the whites and more open for us. With them it is a recreation, with us it is our living. . ."*⁶

The problem for the Indian land movement and its political organizations has been and is today, how to put a stop to this process. So when reading this background history of "food fishing" in British Columbia, these limitations, this distortion, this problem for Indian politics should be kept in mind.

This introduction will mainly focus on one of the 5 battlegrounds – the fisheries of the Interior and Coast Salish tribes of the Fraser River. The tribes are the Stó:lō tribe (from Musqueam to Spuzzum); the Thompson (Nlakapamux tribe) from Spuzzum to midway between Lytton and Lillooet; and the Lillooet tribe (above the Thompsons along the Fraser River to Bridge River). Their main fishery is the Salmon (both Sockeye and Spring), but the Sturgeon and the Eulachon were also important to the Stó:lō.⁷

In the traditional methods and techniques of these Fraser River fisheries, Salmon were fished with nets, weirs and gaffs; Sturgeon were fished with nets and long spears; and Eulachons were fished with rakes. To illustrate the bounty of the Fraser River in those days, let us consider the Eulachons. These fish ran up to about Chilliwack. One of the Elders of the Stó:lō tribe reported from his grandfather that there was a hill along the Fraser River where they would stand and wait for the Eulachons to come. They would be seen as two broad, black ribbons going up along each bank. Eulachons still run in the river and some are still caught in nets, but in the old days they were caught with a pronged rake. People would stand on the bank of the river or sit in a canoe in a back eddy and just whip them out with the rake.⁸ That is what the Fraser River was once like.

In terms of the Salmon fishery the primary food and commercial fish was the Spring Salmon, not the Sockeye. Ethnographic and documentary evidence describe that it was the Spring Salmon that was primarily caught in the 19th century. It was the early run of Springs in March and April that broke the late winter doldrums and occasional food shortages and that brought thousands to the fishing grounds from Yale to Bridge River. As late as 1926, Spring Salmon was still the most important fish as the following "estimates" of Salmon taken by Indians in the New Westminster, Lytton, Lillooet and Williams Lake Agencies indicate:⁹

SOCKEYE	5,600	31%
SPRING	6,700	37%
COHOES	4,500	24%
CHUM	<u>1,500</u>	8%
TOTAL	18,300	

With the development of commercial fishing industries, the ecological destruction and the gradual depletion of the Spring Salmon came the transition to the Sockeye as the main fish in terms of Indian "food fishing." On the other hand, Sockeye was early "the staple product" of the Fraser River commercial fishing. Spring Salmon, though never an important fish to the non-Indian commercial industry, was also used in the 1870's and 1880's.¹⁰

There is another misconception about Salmon fishing in British Columbia, and that is that Indians fish on spawning grounds. The Federal Fisheries Department, other government officials, the commercial interests have repeatedly made this charge. In reply to allegations that Indians "wastefully destroy Salmon on the spawning grounds," A. C. Anderson stated in 1877:

*"That at every point where I have been. . .I have yet failed to discover where the practice exists. . .and I believe the native modes of fishing to be altogether unobjectionable and economical."*¹¹

But A. C. Anderson was an exception and Fisheries officials that came after him repeated, and even proclaimed, the distorted stereotypes of "Indian waste and destructiveness." In 1891, Fisheries Inspector John McNab, "from information I can gather" (Read "hearsay"), reported that:

*" . . . the Indians on the Nass River (have) very destructive methods of securing fish. . .The creeks frequented by Salmon are obstructed by dams and weirs, and the parent fish destroyed."*¹²

In 1897, the Dominion Commissioner of Fisheries, reported on his inspection visit to British Columbia:

*"No doubt Indians do spear and trap Salmon on their spawning grounds during the close season. . .but it is impossible in remote and distant districts to prevent this. I am of the opinion, however, that barricades so intensive and destructive as to block up important rivers should be dealt with. They should be destroyed."*¹³

Such reasoning was used for the attack on the weirs of the Cowichan River and elsewhere in British Columbia. Later in 1921, Major J. A. Motherwell, British Columbia Inspector of Fisheries, stated:

*"Each season, with increased amount of information received, it becomes more and more apparent that the depredations of Indians on the spawning beds of the Salmon has become so serious as to greatly endanger the supply of this variety of fish."*¹⁴

These allegations buttressed attempts during the 1920's by Federal Fisheries to completely abolish Indian fishing in the Fraser River system. These attitudes are the underpinning of Federal Fisheries policy since the early days of regulation. They have been, and are used to restrict, curtail, and even abolish Indian Fishing in British Columbia.

From the Fisheries Department racist view of the subject "spawning grounds" were considered to be any area above the commercial limits.¹⁵ Statistically, the Indian catch has always been deducted from "escapement" figures, but the commercial catch is deducted

from the total run. The commercial catch is considered a "harvest" or a "pack", while the Indian catch is treated as a hindrance to the spawning of Salmon. As A. P. Halladay, Assistant Inspector of Fisheries, said in 1916:

*“. . .it would seem very undesirable after these fish have escaped the nets and other fishing appliances below (the commercial line) and have successfully negotiated the swift and difficult passages in the Fraser River on their way to their natural spawning grounds, that they should then be captured (by Indians). . .”*¹⁶

This is still the attitude of Fisheries today. Furthermore, this has distorted the conservation methods of Fisheries as there were, and are attempts to curtail about 5% of the total number of fish taken, while the corporate interests – foreign and domestic – continued with little effective restriction.

Though these allegations and attitudes are typical of the distorted views towards Indian fishing, they are seldom based on fact. There is no Indian fishing that takes place on Spring or Sockeye spawning beds. In the interior it has traditionally taken place near or at the mouth of spawning streams, but this fishing clearly does not take place on spawning beds or channels.

There is fishing on spawning grounds, but this is fishing for species other than those that are spawning. For example, Coho and Pink Salmon spawn in the main stem of the Fraser River, and while they are spawning there is fishing but it is fishing for Spring and Sockeye, not for Coho, Cnum and Pinks. Even in this case, Sockeye and Spring fishing mostly takes place when Cohoes and Pinks are not spawning. So these charges are distorted.

Another thing about the river is that a lot of people have the idea that the Salmon swim upstream against the current. But if you go to the river and watch during the runs, there is a channel down the middle, but along the banks there are a series of back eddies all the way up. Primarily, the Salmon swim with the current, only upstream in the back eddies, and this is where the fishing takes place. A bag-net was suspended between two canoes and drifted in these back eddies. This is only a brief description of some of the ethnographic background to the Indian fisheries of the Fraser River.¹⁷

The following chronological framework is suggested in order to understand the development of governmental regulation with special emphasis on the Fraser River.

Phase 1	Pre-1858	Indian control of land and resources. No restrictions on Indian participation in commercial fisheries. Recognition of aboriginal rights.
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Phase 2	1858-1880's	Non-regulation of British Columbia Indian fisheries. Protection of these aboriginal rights with no restrictions.
Phase 3	Early 1880's-1894	First attempt to separate Indian participation in the commercial fisheries from "food fishing." First regulatory clauses in Fisheries Act and British Columbia Regulations. Early attempts to "administer" fishing laws against Indians.
Phase 4	1894-1914	Significant regulation and restrictions of Indian "food fishing". Offensive launched on weirs and fish dams. A "permit system" established, though haphazardly enforced.
Phase 5	1914-1922	Intensified attack on Indian fisheries. Attempts to abolish all nets; then attempts at total prohibition of Fraser River Indian fishing.
Phase 6	1923-1930's	Beginnings of the contemporary "Food Fish Permit" system.

EARLY RECOGNITION

Prior to Confederation, between 1849 and 1871, there was no governmental regulation of any kind over Indian fishing. In this era, there was no distinction between "food fishing" and commercial fishing. There were no regulations, no Proclamations, no Orders-In-Council, no laws of any kind which specifically restricted or regulated Indian fishing in British Columbia. 18

As far as Indian fishing is concerned, there was actually an understanding on the part of the government that it was to be protected. During Governor James Douglas' rule in British Columbia, there was an application by a non-Indian for exclusive fishing privileges on the Chilliwack River. This was denied by Douglas because of the Indian fishery on that river, so there was a protection and a recognition of aboriginal fishing rights. 19

"Commercial" fishing was a part of the Indian economy throughout British Columbia as food supplies were often sold to the Hudson's Bay posts. Indian fishing was even more important commercially along the lower Fraser as the Sto:lō tribes sold to the Salmon salteries of Fort Langley. In 1850, Sir George Simpson wrote to James Murray Yale, Chief Factor of Fort Langley:

"The Salmon trade at Fort Langley has now become a very important item of our coast business. . ." 20

These Salmon operations were the chief source of revenue for the fort and were an important reason why it continued to be kept as a trading post. Sto:lo's not only sold Salmon but also worked at these salteries and by the 1850's were demanding high wages. Commercial activity continued after the establishment of the colonial government of British Columbia in 1858. As one observer noted:

"Salmon is one of the chief sources of Indian revenue. The natives are active in hawking it in the white settlements. . ." 21

James Douglas also recognized aboriginal rights prior to the establishment of the government on the mainland of British Columbia through the treaties made on Vancouver Island. The fourteen Indian treaties, made between 1850 and 1854, guaranteed to the Indian tribes of those areas the right to "carry on our fisheries as formerly."²² Between 1850 and 1852, there were six treaties with Songhees villages; two with Klallam (Becher Bay); one with Sooke; and two with Saanich. Similar treaties were made with the Nanaimo and with Fort Rupert Kwawkwalth in 1854.

It was frequently been asserted, especially by the provincial government, that Douglas never intended to recognize Native Title and aboriginal rights on the mainland of British Columbia. But many Chiefs testified to the Royal Commission (McKenna/McBride) that promises to this effect had been made by Douglas in the early 1860's.²³ Furthermore, while the treaty making process was underway on Vancouver Island, Douglas had written to James Murray Yale:

"I have been lately engaged in buying out the Indians right to the lands in this neighbourhood. . . I mention this circumstances as your Indians will no doubt be claiming payment for their lands, also, but that can be settled bye and bye." 24

Due to Trutch, Helmcken, McBride and many other Provincial officials, the "bye and bye" still has not come, but James Douglas clearly recognized the existence of Native Title and aboriginal rights.

Today, the "Jack Case", dealing with the fishing rights of the Cowichans, is before the Supreme Court of Canada. The argument being used questions the power of the Federal government to regulate Indian fishing in British Columbia. When British Columbia joined the Canadian Confederation in 1871, it did so by the "Terms of Union." Article 13 of the Terms of Union says that the Federal government shall pursue "a policy as liberal as hitherto pursued by the British Columbia government." This was apparently Trutch's scheme to throw sand in the face of the Federal authorities as far as the Colony's Indian

land policy was concerned. But what the Indians are arguing in the "Jack Case" is that the clause, "a policy of liberal," is a constitutional limitation on the powers of the Federal government to regulate Indian fishing in British Columbia. This "policy as liberal" argument is one that has never been used before in cases dealing with Indian fishing rights.²⁵

Another aspect of fishing policy prior to Confederation, which carries over into the 1970's, is that the existence of Indian fisheries was used as a rationale by colonial officials, namely Trutch, as a reason for making small reserves. Ottawa was told that since the British Columbia Indians hunt and fish they only need a little chunk of land. For example, when the wholesale reductions of the Neskainlith and Kamloops reserves were being planned, Philip Nand, Government Agent and Gold Commissioner, conveniently ignoring the large Shuswap herds of horses and cattle, wrote:

*"These Indians do nothing more with their land than cultivate a few small patches of potatoes here and there; they are a vagrant people who live by fishing, hunting, and bartering skins. . ."*²⁶

Federal officials also took this line of argument. As I. W. Powell, Indian Superintendent for British Columbia, expressed it:

*"There is not, of course, the same necessity to set aside extensive grants of agricultural land for Coast Indians; but their rights to fishing stations and hunting grounds should not be interfered with, and they should receive every assurance of perfect freedom from future encroachments of every description."*²⁷

From this rationale, the Federal position is clear — the Indian fishing is something that must be practiced free of restriction and regulation. The Province of British Columbia agreed and thereby recognized the existence of aboriginal rights. The Attorney General of British Columbia, George A. Walkem, in the mid-1870's, suggested that industries should be developed based on these Indian fisheries and that this would be a good base for local Indian economies.²⁸ When the first Federal Fishery regulations were passed in 1878, the Chief Justice of the British Columbia Supreme Court requested that the section on nets should not apply to:

*"Indians fishing by their accustomed methods for the support of themselves or their tribes. . ."*²⁹

Although this recognizes Indian fishing rights, there is a pretense to this excuse about using Indian fisheries to make small Reserves because it fails to recognize the social and economic fabric of Indian communities in this period. By the 1860's and 1870's the tribes of the lower Fraser, southern Vancouver Island, and the southern Interior, had developed a mixed economy. There was still gathering and hunting and trapping, but in the Interior,

there was significant Indian ranching of horses and cattle, as well as agricultural production.³⁰ There was also significant Indian food and commercial Indian fishery. Indian Affairs officials, James Lenihan and I. W. Powell, in their annual reports through the 1870's constantly stresses the contribution to British Columbia's economy by the Indians, and especially Indian fisheries — without distinguishing commercial and food fishing.³¹ In order to get Indian land, Trutch and other officials deny the development of this mixed economy and the importance of agriculture.

The early petitions presented by the Fraser River Chiefs, in the 1860's and 1870's, make clear this multiple base economy. They seldom talk of fishing rights and Indian fisheries because there is no regulations or restrictions. There is no regulatory threat to these rights. On the contrary, fishery rights are recognized. Instead these petitions talk about their land. One says:

*"Some of our best men have been deprived of the land they had broken and cultivated with long and hard labour. . ."*³²

Another explained:

*"Some days ago came new men who told us that by order of their Chief they have to curtail our small reservation. . .and so they did. . .by their new paper they set aside our best land, some of our gardens, and gave us in place, some hilly and sandy land, where it is next to impossible to raise any potatoes; our hearts were full of grief day and night. . ."*³³

This is not the protest of a "primitive people roaming about land," who had "no right to the lands they claim, nor are they of any actual value or utility to them," or who held land in an "unproductive condition."³⁴ It is the protest of settled villages based on a mixed economy of which fishing was an important part.³⁵ It was a local economy that might have developed into a viable base for the prosperity of the Indian villages. In the 1860's and 1870's, these economies were deprived of their land base. In later decades, the other elements of the economy — fishing, hunting, trapping, and industrial employment were also attacked.

Elsewhere in British Columbia at this time, fishing was the key to the Indian economic future. This was especially true on the central and north coast and tribes moved to extend ownership of their traditional fisheries into the developing commercial fishing industry. In 1878, Powell reported that there was great dissatisfaction along the coast over encroachments by white fisheries. The Port Simpson protested these encroachments and Powell sent \$250.00 in construction supplies, not as a payment, but because it was "judicious owing to their dissatisfaction over. . .fisheries."³⁶

The next year, Powell visited the north coast, accompanied by British Columbia Fishery Inspector, A. C. Anderson, and "many difficulties in regard to the fishing rights of the Coast Indians were adjusted." The Superintendent General of Indian Affairs reported that there is still problems but was hopeful that agreements were made.^{36a}

Other concerns were conservation and food supplies as illustrated by developments at Alert Bay in 1881. The activities of the Alert Bay cannery was threatening Indian control of the Nimpkish River and the Indians protested to Indian Agent, George Blenkinsop:

“. . .fearing that the entire run of Salmon would be secured by the nets of the company and none would be allowed to go up river to spawn, and that they would also be deprived of their usual supply of summer food. . .”

Blenkinsop told the Indians that:

“. . .the company was strictly prohibited from interfering with the established fishing rights of Indians. . .”³⁷

FIRST REGULATION

The first regulation dealing with fishing in British Columbia was in the 1870's, after the extension of the Fishery Act to British Columbia in 1875.³⁸ When British Columbia became a Province, existing Federal statutes had to be extended by the Act of Parliament into British Columbia. They did not automatically become law in British Columbia. This is why there is a lapse of four or five years in the application of much Federal law in British Columbia. The 1868 Federal Fisheries Act was first applied to British Columbia by the Order-In-Council of May 8, 1876.

The first British Columbia Fishery Inspector, Alexander C. Anderson, was appointed in 1876, but no regulations were issued until 1878. No specific mention was made of Indians in these regulations and there were no restrictions specifically placed on Indian fishing. However, these regulations had an impact on Indian fishing and raised the whole question of Indian rights and Federal regulatory powers. The regulations stated:

- “1. *Drifting with Salmon nets shall be confined to tidal waters; and no Salmon net of any kind shall be used for Salmon in fresh waters.*
2. *Drift nets for Salmon shall not be so fished as to obstruct more than one-third of the width of any river.*
3. *Fishing for Salmon shall be discontinued from eight o'clock A.M. on Saturdays to midnight on Sundays.”³⁹*

Literally interpreted, this regulation abolishes all net Salmon fishing on the fresh waters of British Columbia. Clearly, this was unenforceable in British Columbia.

Even before these regulations were passed, Anderson had warned Ottawa that "many portions of the Fishery Act" are necessarily unapplicable to British Columbia and reported that he would apply only those sections "as may be found necessary or expedient." He recommended that the example of Washington Territory be followed and that the provisions of the Fishery Act should not apply to Indians.⁴⁰ When the 1878 regulations were passed, Anderson was quick to react and urged exemption of Indians. On 8 August 1878, he was granted authority to "suspend the application in regard to Indians, of the fishery enactments." The Federal Fisheries department gave:

*"Directions that the Indian population should not be interfered with, save in case of obvious abuse, while fishing in their accustomed way. . ."*⁴¹

Anderson urged passage of an Order-In-Council to formally exempt the Indians from the Fishery Act and to recognize that:

"Fourteen tribes, under distinct treaty, have their fishing rights thus indefeasibly secured to them; and the same right; though unexpressed in writing, has of necessity been understood, as settlement extended to be secured to all the rest."

No Order-In-Council was passed, but neither was there any significant restriction or regulation of Indian fishing. Anderson's attitudes towards Indian fishing rights were clear and, with a few exceptions, he made regulatory policy until his retirement in 1884.⁴²

There were dangerous precedents however. These first regulations also outlawed drift or bag-nets which were an important method of Sto:lō fishing below Yale. This method used two canoes with a net suspended between them. The canoes then drifted down the river against the back eddy. The fish were loaded into the canoe and the drift repeated. One of the largest drift net fisheries was across from New Westminster. Into the 1880's, large encampments of the various Coast Salish tribes that would come and fish.⁴³ The 1878 regulations prohibited drift nets, but this regulation was not rigidly enforced for many years and this activity gradually merged into the "commercial" fishing and canning industry that developed at New Westminster.

An example of the pattern of early policy can be seen in an incident concerning the regulation of this drift net fishery at New Westminster. During the 1883 fishing season, the local fish guardian, George Pittendrigh, seized a large number of nets in the Fraser River. Indians from Yale to Squamish "protested loudly and angrily" against the seizures. A. C. Anderson, Fishery Inspector, quickly issued an order to return the nets and a relieved Indian Agent reported:

*"It is hoped that such a mistake will not occur again, as there is nothing that would excite in the Indian's mind a more bitter feeling than to interfere with that cherished right of theirs to fish when and where they choose. . ."*⁴⁴

The drift nets were seized but quickly released by the Fisheries Department. The laws were in the books, but local Fishery officers were virtually given authority to amend the regulations depending on circumstances. What it meant for Indian fishing rights was that they were at the mercy of local regulatory authorities over which they have no control. There was, as is, no systematic nature to this authority and it was arbitrary. Regulations were put in the books, but Indian pressure forced irregular pattern of enforcement. This is still the case today. Indeed, even though it is "against the law", drift netting still takes place today on the Fraser River.

Although the first Fishery Inspector, A. C. Anderson, extended Federal recognition to the special nature of Indian fisheries and to aboriginal rights, he is the one who made the distinction between commercial and food fishing. When he was given authority to make relations as he saw fit, on the spot, one of the first policies was to make Indian food fishing, or rather "fishing for food purposes," exempt from the British Columbia Fishery Regulation, but when Indians fished with whites and when they fished with modern techniques, they then had to come under the law. In 1878, the Department of Fisheries instructed Anderson that Indians:

*"Where fishing with white men and with modern appliances, the Indians so fishing should be considered as coming in all respects under the general law."*⁴⁵

An early application of this policy was in 1881, when Anderson put a stop to the Sto:lo practice of catching fish "above tide-water with their own appliances" and selling them to canneries at New Westminster.⁴⁶ As with other regulations, it is a decade or more, before this policy becomes generally applied to all areas of the Province, but the handwriting was on the wall and the omens were bad for the aboriginal rights of British Columbia Indians being used as a foundation for the economic development of Indian communities.

Another way that the government took arbitrary power by this act with respect to Indian fishing was that it stipulated the Minister "may" make any regulations he desires, any section of the Act notwithstanding. It gave a federal Minister an arbitrary power over British Columbia fisheries, including Indian fishing.

The same situation holds true today. Indeed it is the general case with most Federal (and Provincial) legislation, including the Indian Act. Because Indians are subject to statutes that give arbitrary powers to Ministers and the bureaucracies, there are no guarantees for Indian rights or positions. A policy that appears to recognize Indian rights can be willfully

swept into oblivion by "Order-In-Council" or "Policy guideline." As far as Indian fishing is concerned, this has been the case since 1878 when Anderson was granted the authority to make policy as he saw fit. As long as Anderson held office, Indian rights, at least to fish for food, were generally respected, but the Fisheries' officials that came after (Pittendrigh, Mowat, McNab, Sword, etc.) began an assault on Indian rights that continues today.

The position of some tribes in the 1880's brought the danger of the Fishery Act into sharp relief. The Act "assumed" that the government had a right to sovereignty and control over Indian land and Indian resources, but this was an assumption that Indians did not recognize. When one of the first Fishery officials, John McNab, went to the Nass River country in 1888 to collect license fees, he visited the villages of the Nishga's and the Chiefs asked him, "Who are you? What are you doing in our land?" The officer answered, "The Queen sent me." The Chiefs replied, "So what." "Well, I'm here collecting money for license fees," said McNab. The Chief gravely stated, "But you didn't get our permission first, and you have done wrong. The river belongs to me and my people and white men should pay us for these licenses." The Chiefs told the officer that since he had worked so hard they would let him take 50% of the money, but that he should tell the government of their position. ⁴⁷

The Nishga's claim sovereignty over the country in accord with their early land claim petitions, and right through to today, claim as recognition of the right to control their land. There is a clear continuity between the first Nishga land and resources and their position today on the land question. They question the government's assumption of sovereignty. Other tribes have taken a similar position. Charles Wesley, of the Kispiox Band, spoke to the Royal Commission in 1915:

"We don't want a reserve. This country originally belonged to our ancestors. . .and it is only quite recently that the Government sent men out here to measure this land. . .then the Provincial Government came in and sold this. . .all the old camps up the Kispiox River, where we used to gather Salmon, and our hunting camps. . .We asked that the land the Provincial Government had sold be returned or given back to us. . .The land marked off for our ancestors was from mountain to mountain. . .This is where our inheritances came from and where they were handed down from generation to generation, but now these have all been sold. Therefore, we ask that these be returned." ⁴⁸

Joseph Chamberlain of Owikeno, also protested that the Provincial Government had sold Owikeno land to canneries and demanded:

"All these canneries around here should pay us a rental for the use of the land. All this land is ours and we want to preserve it for our children." ⁴⁹

The 1911 Declaration of the Lillooet tribe put in the clearest terms:

*"We claim that we are the rightful owners of our tribal territory, and everything pertaining thereto. We have always lived in our country, at no time have we ever deserted it or left it to others. . ."*⁵⁰

The position continues to the present day, but it is a position that is in direct contradiction with that of the Fisheries Department and other regulatory agencies of the Provincial and Federal governments. From the White point of view, the Federal Fisheries Act claimed authority with respect to British Columbia Indian fisheries.

Despite this, A. C. Anderson did argue a very strong case for protection of Indian fishing and the exemption of Indian "fishing for food purposes" from the Federal regulations. He suggested a number of times to Ottawa that this protection should be put into an Order-In-Council or some regulatory or statutory recognition of these rights. His position, as Fishery Inspector, was that these rights cannot be "legally interfered with in any way." Anderson was also, for his first two years as Fishery Inspector, on the Indian Reserve Commission. In his dual capacity, he allotted exclusive fishing rights to some of the Bands along the Fraser River and in the Fraser Canyon. Despite the fact that he made the distorted distinction between "food fishing" and commercial fishing, within the area of "food fishing" he did attempt to set up a regulatory protection for these rights. His reasoning with Ottawa was that in the future over zealous local officials might get control of fishing policies and that Indian rights would suffer.⁵¹

George Pittendrigh was the next British Columbia Fishery Inspector and shortly after taking office, he wrote to Ottawa claiming that the Indians really had no right to the fisheries, they fished on spawning grounds, thereby depleting the resource, they fished for Salmon Fry, and that their fishing should be curtailed, if not abolished altogether. Even as a subordinate under Anderson, Pittendrigh acted on hearsay and attempted to abolish all nets above tide waters. As Anderson reported:

"In consequence of information received he (Pittendrigh). . . judged it necessary to visit the mouth of the Harrison River, near which it was reported that certain Indians were in the habit of destroying Salmon Fry. The law was pointed out to the chiefs and they gave assurances that the practice would be discontinued."

However, there were no "Salmon Fry being captured, but late runs of Hooknose or Dog Salmon."⁵² Yet Pittendrigh persists. Though he had been instructed "to exercise his duties of his office with all consistent leniency," he acts with stringency and in 1882 recommends that a Fish Warden be stationed at Yale. Only Indian fishing could be the object

of this recommendation. In 1885, he again accuses the Sto:lō of taking Salmon Fry in buckets and launches the first attempt to remove the Cowichan weirs.⁵³ It was this kind of mentality which came to dominate Federal Fishery policy in British Columbia. It was against this that Anderson had tried to protect Indian fisheries when he had tried to get exemptions and recognition put into Order-In-Council.

THE CURRENT GETS STRONGER

The Fisheries Act works through its regulations. If one reads through the various Fisheries Acts passed over the years, little will be found about British Columbia or Indians. However, it "gives" the Minister authority to make regulations for the different provinces.⁵⁴ The British Columbia Regulations are thus made through the act. Today, there are three or four sets of regulations made every year, but in the early days, regulations were in effect for several years before being amended.

The first time that Indians are put in the British Columbia regulations was in 1888, enacted on 26 November 1888. Section 1 stated:

*"Fishing by means of nets or other apparatus without leases or licenses from the Minister of Marine and Fisheries is prohibited in all waters of. . .British Columbia. Provided always that Indians shall, at all times, have liberty to fish for the purpose of providing food for themselves, but not for sale, barter, or traffic, by any means other than with drift nets or spearing."*⁵⁵

Even though it had been policy for years, this was the first time that the distinction between "food" and commercial fishing was put into statute or regulation. During the 1880's the Nishga, Nootka, the Gitskan, and others had continued to sell to canneries or to contractors working for canneries.⁵⁶ Now this was prohibited specifically.

Between 1888 and 1894, there are many examples of confused interpretations of the Fishery Act and the British Columbia regulations and of inconsistent and irregular application. In 1893 fish dams on the Nicola River were demolished because the Fisheries Department alleged they "completely prevented Salmon from reaching their breeding places."⁵⁷ Now the 1888 regulations (and the subsequent versions in 1889 and 1890) had guaranteed liberty to Indians to fish "by any means other than drift nets or spearing."⁵⁸ Elsewhere the Fisheries stated:

*"The use of nets or other apparatus for the capture of Salmon shall. . .be confined to tidal waters, and any fishery officer may determine the length and place of each net or other apparatus used in any of the waters of Canada. . ."*⁵⁹

Despite the guarantees for Indian fishing, the Fisheries Department is "granted" sweeping powers to abrogate these guarantees and abolish Indian rights. Such conflicts in laws and regulations made arbitrary and discriminatory actions against Indians possible, even likely. A case in point is the destruction of the Nicola fish dams because it was more likely that the damage to the Nicola runs was caused by the mill dam erected by white settlers, rather than the Indian techniques which had been used for many generations.⁶⁰

The next major period starts in 1894, when a new set of regulations is handed down which marks the first attempt to regulate Indian fishing on a permit basis. The section dealing with Indians in the British Columbia Regulations was changed to state that:

*"Fishing by means of nets or any other fishing apparatus whatever for any kind of fishing without licenses from the Minister of Marine and Fisheries is prohibited in any of the waters of the Province of British Columbia, (a) Provided always that Indians may, at any time, with the permission of the Inspector of Fisheries, catch fish for the purpose of providing food for themselves and their families, but for no other purpose, but no Indian shall spear, trap, or pen fish on their spawning grounds, nor catch them during the close season or in any place leased or set apart for the natural or artificial propagation of fish, or in any other place otherwise specifically reserved. . ."*⁶¹

These regulations mark the first significant attempt to consolidate the regulatory policy towards Indian fishing. Though some of these policies had been applied haphazardly before this was the first systematic attempt to regulate Indian fishing. To summarize, these regulations:

1. Required the permission of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries to fish with dip nets on inland waters.
2. All other nets prohibited.
3. Indians may not fish during close season.
4. Weirs, traps, pens not allowed at all "on spawning grounds" and can only be used under a license of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

It was the intention of the Fisheries Department to issue permits to all Indians in British Columbia fishing "for food purposes only."

There was a severe reaction to this policy. There were Indian protests by petition and letter. Chief John Sualis of Soowanlie and five others presented a statement to A. W. Vowell, Indian Superintendent for British Columbia, at the April 1894 opening of the Coqualeetza Industrial Institute. It said in part:

“ . . . we are troubled when we are told that we must no longer catch our fish in the way we have always caught them, viz., the long net anchored along the sides of our streams and rivers. We are also told that certain seasons we may catch Salmon for our own use, but not sell them to white people. We think this very unjust, for there are times when the sale of Salmon would bring to us little things which we could not otherwise have. And when the Salmon are in season, why should the Indians be compelled to pay licenses for catching and selling what belongs to them?” 62

Indian Agent and Fish Guardian, William Lomas (Cowichan Agency), complained to the British Columbia Fisheries Inspector:

“There is no doubt. . . that the Regulations are causing discontent and if carried out properly would be a great hardship to a great many Indians, and also an unnecessary inconvenience to the public generally. . . .” 63

Despite these and other protests, the Fisheries Department took the position that there were no Indian complaints about these Regulations. McNab reported that he had “not received a remonstrance or heard a word of complaint.” 64 However, one wonders when the Fisheries has ever heard or listened to Indians?

Furthermore, the Provincial Government also got into the act and passed an Order-In-Council in July 1894, which protested the application of these regulations. They wrote to the Federal government and warned that the regulations were impossible to enforce and that Federal Fisheries was courting violence and severe Indian reaction by tampering with Indian fishing rights. 65

The Federal government responded to this 1894 political pressure with Dominion Order-In-Council No. 388J (24 August 1894) based on a report by Fisheries Minister, Charles H. Tupper. It rationalized and attempted to explain away Indian protests and the warnings of the Province. However, in its application of the regulations the Federal government backed off and, though some permits were issued, the irregular and haphazard enforcement procedures continued. There was no systematic issuance of permits until the 1920's. Besides even the Minister did not seriously intend to stop Indian fishing and saw no conflict between the regulations and the fact that:

“The officers of (the) Department do not anticipate that. . . the Indians will not continue, as in the past, to store fish for their winter use.” 66

Another element of Fisheries policy in the 1894-1914 period was that the Fisheries Department requires Indian nets to be marked with special markers. To get these, an Indian fisherman had to register (i.e. get a permit) with the Inspector. Sometimes Fish Guardians, working under the Inspector's direction, would seize a net if unmarked. Other times, they would know the identity of all nets and would not bother to seize those not marked according to the regulations.⁶⁷ So there was this type of "regulatory toleration" of Indian fishing, but in terms of the law and what was possible to enforce, Indian rights were in a very serious danger.

The first real confrontation on the Fraser River took place over Sturgeon on the issue of conservation. Today, there are few Sturgeon left in the river, but in traditional times, it was an important food fish. Simon Fraser and other early travellers, were frequently given Sturgeon at the Sto:lo villages. In 1906, P. L. Peters, testified to the Commission to investigate the British Columbia Fishing Industry:

*" . . . when I was a young boy I always ate Sturgeon. At the present time there are no Sturgeon for me or my young ones. The cause of the scarcity is that whitemen came and used 500 hooks at one time. . . "*⁶⁸

Sturgeon had been sold commercially by the Indians through the 1870's and 1880's, but starting in the late 1880's, it became an important commercial fishery for non-Indians and to the British Columbia economy. The production goes to a high of over 1 million pounds (sold at New Westminster) in 1897. Some of the destructive practices associated with this commercial Sturgeon fishery was what caused the first confrontation.⁶⁹

In 1894, groups of Stó:lō Chiefs protested and wrote letters to the Indian Agent, Indian Superintendent, and the Fisheries Department about these destructive practices – fishing with hundreds of hooks on long drag lines and large scoop shaped drag-nets. This is what the Stó:lō protested. The Indian Agent warned the Fisheries Department that the Indians of Chilliwack are threatening to arm themselves, go onto the river, and destroy the drag-nets and hook lines if something was not done.⁷⁰ Captain John Sualis complained to A. W. Vowell about "the wholesale slaughter of the Sturgeon in the Fraser River." Rev. C. M. Tate, Moral governor of the Coqualeetza Institute, wrote that Sturgeon were being shipped by the carload. Eight Stó:lō Chiefs and 148 others protested that:

*"We have witnessed boat loads of Sturgeon under four feet dead and wounded returned or dumped into the river, as the company only makes use of the large ones for exportation. It grieves us to think that the white people are allowed their means which will soon kill Sturgeon life in the river."*⁷¹

Sturgeon regulations were passed in 1894 and stiffened in 1895, but production continued to increase and Sturgeon fishing practices did not really change. By 1905-1906

the Sturgeon production is down to the 35,000 pounds, after 1910 Sturgeon is seldom reported in Fisheries Department reports, and by 1917 only 730 pounds were marketed.⁷² The industry had disintegrated. This was the first confrontation over the use and management of Fraser River fishery resources between the Indians and the government.

Some of the other early confrontations also combined protests in support of conservation with restriction of Indian fishing. For example, in 1888 "a numerous delegation of Indians" petitioned Indian Agent, P. McTieran, New Westminster Agency, about the damage done to Salmon runs:

*" . . . in consequence of the very large number of fishing boats engaged at the entrance to the Fraser by cannery men. . . the Salmon are prevented from ascending the River, and are diverted from their natural course and spawning grounds."*⁷³

Concern was expressed in other areas too. John T. Walbran wrote, in 1898, about Bella Bella protests over the use of seine nets across Creek mouths:

"The action that the Indians of Bella Bella seem to be most aggrieved about, is that of leaving a lot of fish to waste on the shore after the seine is hauled in, the fish not being suitable for cannery purposes. . ."

The Bella Bella especially objected to the wanton destruction of Dog Salmon, which were routinely thrown away by canners in these early years.⁷⁴ In this same period, the Ahousahts, Nitinats, and others protested the destructive seining practices of canneries in their territories.⁷⁵

As pointed out, Salmon conservation was early, a main concern of the Chiefs of the Fraser River. Between 1901 and 1905 the Fraser River Indians, led by Chief John of Musqueam and the Chiefs of Coquitlam and Matsqui, Langley, and New Westminster, wrote repeatedly to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries urging conservation measures on the Fisheries Branch. In 1903, the Chiefs warn:

*"We. . . beg to call your attention to the alarming increase of deep nets in use this season by Cannerymen and private individuals . . . We have watched the Salmon run every year carefully and as Fisherman have added to the depth of their nets so has the run of the fish lessened. . . We on a former occasion gave the government timely warning as to the fate of the Sturgeon fishing. . . We trust however that the government will consider the matter we now complain of and remedy the evil without that delay which in time past has caused such harm and loss to these Fisheries. . ."*⁷⁶

The Fisheries Department stalled on implementation of the proposals to limit net sizes because of the opposition of the canners. The Indians renewed their requests in 1904 and 1905, urging in addition to shorter nets, restricted mesh, a longer weekly close time, and an extended close season. They requested the Fisheries Department to implement these measures, but they were largely ignored until canners also advocate conservation.⁷⁷

These same conservation practices became standard Fisheries Sockeye policy in British Columbia and they still are today, but the Indians were ignored for a decade or more. Only when the situation became serious, after the turn of the century, did the majority of canners consider conservation practices. Only after the Fraser River situation became desperate, after the 1913-1914 Hell's Gate disasters, did serious advocacy of conservation become popular.

An example is the history of one creek in the Chilliwack area — the Luckakuk. An early Stó:lō name for it is "Coqualeetza" which means "beating of the blankets". The Salmon were so plentiful in this creek that no nets were necessary. In 1897, because of the stench the Salmon gave that died along the way, the residents of the town of Sardis dammed up the creek to keep the fish out. They did this for two consecutive years at least. Though later the practice was apparently stopped and reduced runs of Salmon in this creek continued to dwindle into the 1940's. The Luckakuk has been also damaged by the dumping of refuse from the dairy plant at Sardis. Today, this creek barely survives as a Salmon spawning area, and the Fisheries Department's Salmon Escapement figures, for the 1960's, estimate at best 100 Coho and 100 Chum.⁷⁸

The Chilliwack/Vedder River has long been an important Stó:lō fishery and at the place where it flows through the Soowahlie Reserve is of special importance to the Chilliwack tribes. The villages of Skowkale, Yakweakwoose, and of course, Soowahlie, harvested fish resources here the year round. In January, Steelhead and Coho were running and in late winter Suckers and Dolly Varden were taken with sack nets. At the end of April and for the month of May, Jack Springs and Spring Salmon began their runs. The summer months were given over to the plentiful Chilliwack Lake Sockeye. In early September, the Cultus Lake Sockeye came and by early winter the Coho and Dog Salmon were in plenty. Up to the early years of this century, this bounty formed the basis of the food economy of the Chilliwack River besides those already mentioned. Harvesting took place by a variety of techniques, including spears, gaffs, and various types of nets.

This situation was basically unchanged during the 19th century, though apparently there was some pressure from the Fisheries Department for Captain John Sualis, Soowahlie Chief until 1906, led early Stó:lō protests to maintain fishing rights. But radical change came in 1914 with the construction of the Cultus Lake Hatchery. After hundreds of years of bounty, the Chilliwack River/Sweltzer Creek/Cultus Lake area was declared a spawning zone and the Fisheries Department moved against Indian fishing. First the use of gaffs and spears, used from small canoes, was outlawed. Later nets were prohibited as well. Indian **objections** were met with harassment, intimidation, confiscations, and bureaucratic guises.

In the late 1920's Fisheries put in a fish trap on Sweltzer Creek in order to count the runs. Thousands of Sockeye and Coho would congregate below the trap and would try to jump over. The hatchery personnel would not open the gates very far and not many could get through. With eggs oozing from their bodies, the Salmon fought against the trap, but hundreds, perhaps thousands, would drift downstream dead. Several years later, Fisheries attempted to make a spawning channel of one of the sloughs on the Soowahlie reserve. They showed up with equipment and a grader, but Amy Cooper, wife of Chief Albert Cooper, ran them off and they did not return. Shortly after that, the hatchery closed, but significant damage had been done to the Chilliwack/Cultus Lake runs and Indians rights in this area had been curtailed in the process.⁷⁹

The chief focus of these protests was that the Fisheries Department was severely damaging the Salmon runs of Cultus Lake. They were also taking eggs from the fish spawning in Sweltzer Creek and other small creeks flowing into Cultus Lake and taking them to other rivers. The Cultus Lake fish were cut open, the eggs extracted, and then planted in other streams and rivers. Many were taken to the Birkenhead River. This was the early experimental days of the Fisheries Departments' hatchery program and these practices were standard procedures at these Federal hatcheries. One can imagine what tremendous amount of damage done to the Salmon runs by this practice. Eggs can hatch in this manner, but few or no Fry can live and return to spawn. The fundamental nature of the Salmon species is to return to their natal creek, yet the Fisheries Department went against this by transplanting of eggs and Fry. Between 1901 and 1923, there were over 276,000,000 eggs taken by 8 Federal hatcheries.⁸⁰ This was the same Department, the same officials that constantly complained of Indian fishing methods and used its "mission" of conservation to curtail Indian rights.⁸¹

Indians quickly realized the damage being done by the federal and provincial hatcheries, and opposed them, sometimes by direct action. Shortly after the establishment of the Seton Lake hatchery, Chief James of Pemberton, led a protest in a dispute over spear fishing in Birkenhead. Later, Chief James testified against the operations of the Owl Creek hatchery, where a 1924 fiasco wiped out over 60% of the eggs extracted from that year's run.⁸² Both these hatcheries "were greatly hampered. . .by recurring trouble with Indians." In 1912, a Fish Warden, guarding facilities at Seton Lake, was pushed off a fish dam. A dam which even the Federal Fisheries Department found too destructive.⁸³ In 1912, the Chehalis disrupted the activities of the Harrison hatchery at Morris Creek by stealing hatchery nets being used in a Sockeye operation.⁸⁴

One common assumption about Indians is that they were the original conservationists and practiced ecological protection as part of their spiritual relationship with the land. Others have questioned this, by pointing out that it was Indian hunters who wiped out the sea otter for commercial gain and that Indian trappers depleted the beaver and other game during the era of the fur trade. Yet, fish and game were plentiful when whites began settling here in large numbers after the 1858 Gold Rush. It has not been Indians who have created the ecological crisis facing British Columbia today. It was not Indians who drained Sumas

Lake, dammed the Cowichan and the Quesnel, or poisoned the Coquihalla. It has not been Indians who have regulatory and administrative responsibility for protecting the environment and conserving the fisheries and other resources.

As far as the Salmon fishery is concerned, Indians were the first conservationists as the evidence shows. They not only suggested to the Fisheries Department that it do certain things, but also objective to specific practices of both the Fisheries Department and commercial interests claiming that fishery resource was being destroyed. It was the ecological damage caused by "conservation" methods such as those used by the hatcheries and the destruction caused by the resource extraction industries that was a focal point for early Indian protests about fisheries.

ERA OF RESISTENCE

After 1900, and especially in the years immediately preceding 1914, there was a growing level of confrontation between Indians and the Federal government about fishing. Primarily places where this occurred was in the two other battlegrounds — the Skeena-Babine and the Cowichan River. On the Cowichan River, the struggle centered on the use of fish weirs. There had been agreements on the use of the Cowichan weirs since at least the 1880's, but gradually the Fisheries Department contending that the weirs were destroying the resource moved to abolish them.⁸⁵ The Indians on the other hand maintained that the Salmon depletion was due to the liberal policy of Fisheries in the issuance of purse seining licenses at the mouth of the Cowichan River and in Cowichan Bay, to the construction of the dam, and the logging in the headwaters of the Cowichan River. Chief Te-hil-ton stated in 1902:

*"The weirs have been here a long time. . . The weirs are not the cause of the deterioration of the river. The logs are the cause of this, they spoil the spawning beds and feeding grounds. The weirs are always open on Saturday and Sunday. . . (I) think the seines and netting in the Cowichan Bay did a lot of harm to the river."*⁸⁶

Yet, despite this and clear evidence of the dangers, Fisheries, in 1907, issued a seine lease to Richard Hall, Victoria canner.⁸⁷ Cowichans were denied commercial fishing rights on their river and gradually had their aboriginal rights curtailed, yet the Fisheries Department seemingly saw no conflict with its responsibilities in licensing the destruction done to the Cowichan fisheries.⁸⁸

The Cowichan River today, does not look much like the pictures that exist from the turn of the century. It is a different river as the banks have been severely damaged and with them the Salmon spawning areas. The Cowichan story is an important chapter in the history of Indian fisheries.

The Skeena was also a critical arena for the struggle to protect fishing rights in the pre-1914 period. These struggles took place in an era of confrontation between the Gitskan people and the Provincial and Federal governments. The tribes of the Gitskan were protesting virtually every aspect of governmental policy and regulatory authority that was coming into their territory. Simon Gun-a-noot became a symbol of Gitskan resistance to the white world.⁸⁹ The tribes rejected the authority of the Indian Department and stood for the Indian land question. William Holland, on behalf of the Chief of Kuldoe Band, testified before the Royal Commission in 1915:

*"We sent a petition down to Ottawa for all our Skeena River nation – we want our land back again. Kuldoes, Kisgiges, Kispiox, Glen Vowell, and Hazelton, and all those tribes right down – We just want one thing, and that is to get our land again. . .all the land along the Skeena River."*⁹⁰

The Gitskan and Babine struggle to protect Indian fisheries before 1914 took place in this environment and the threat of Indian reaction partially restrained the Fisheries Department. On the Skeena, the government never attempted a total ban on Indian fishing as it did on the Fraser.⁹¹

The stand taken by the Gitskan and Babine also forced the Fisheries Department to recognize the aboriginal rights of Indians. In 1906, the first of the "Barricade Agreements" was made, which guaranteed the right of Indian fishing on the upper Babine River, but the struggle to secure recognition was a difficult one. In the fall of 1904, Fisheries officers went to the Gitskan fishery below Babine Lake and announced to the people that barricades must be removed. Chief Atio spoke for the Gitskan:

" . . . he said they have had an indisputable right for all time in the past, that if it was taken away, the old people would starve, and he wanted to know to what extent the government would support them, he thought it unfair to forbid them selling fish when the cannerymen sold all theirs, and I had to promise him to tell the government to compel the canners to let more fish come up the river, as some years they did not get enough, that the canners destroyed more spawn than they, that formerly he could not see the water below his barricade for fish, that they were so plentiful that some of them were forced out on the beach. . ."

But the Fisheries officers insisted and the barriers were torn out. The next year, 1905, the river was patrolled carefully and no barricades were allowed. But the Gitskan food situation was becoming critical, and in 1906, the Gitskan rebuilt the barricades and prepared to defend them. Fish guardians were sent in August and destroyed them, but the Gitskan put them up again, attacked the Fishery officers, and drove them away. A compromise was reached, the "Barricade Agreement," which upheld the principle of aboriginal rights. In 1911, similar agreements were made with bands of the Stuart Lake area.⁹²

Another example on the Skeena is the Kitwancool village. This band has long stood for Indian sovereignty, resisted the authority of the Department of Indian Affairs, and consistently refused to recognize the governments' allotment of reserves. Albert Williams, spokesman for Kitwancool, in 1915 made this clear when he rejected the "reserves" set aside by Provincial surveyors:

"I am not going to tell anything crooked – I am going to tell everything straight. . . We were born right here in this country. We know George V is a great power in the world and he knows that we belong to this country. . . We don't ask for any reservations at all. . . but the land that belongs to us for a long time, we are asking for that. . ." 93

This was the political perception that lay behind Gitskan reactions to governmental policies, including those of the Fisheries Department.

As far as the Fraser River was concerned, there was a steady growth of net seizures and confrontation in the first decade of the 20th century, but the years 1913-1914 saw an escalation of the Federal attack on Indian fishing rights due to a series of ecological disasters that hit the Fraser River for the 1913 and 1914 runs. As Albert Wesley, President of Kitwancool, expressed it in 1920:

"We will control our own land, under the Canadian flag, no matter what color our skins. . ." 94

The dominant food fish for Indians, at the time, was the Spring Salmon, which has important early runs from March to May, and these were seriously affected. By the time the Sockeye hit the river, the Fisheries Department had people at the site with nets, dipping them from below to above the slide so they could continue their journey. In August, a box flume was constructed, but these were stop-gap measures and basically the river was blocked to Salmon for most of the 1914 season. Also the currents of that area were greatly changed by slide and railroad construction on the Canadian Northern. This eventually necessitated the construction of a fishway in 1945, but one wonders if the Fraser River Salmon will ever recover.⁹⁵

What was the response of the Fisheries Department to Indian fishing during the slide crisis? The first thing it did was to amend the British Columbia Fishery Regulations and strictly enforced the clauses which specified that no nets were permitted in inland waters.⁹⁶ Of course, the Indians (Stó:lō, Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet) fish with nets (dip nets and side nets) and this policy was directed at them. F. H. Cunningham, British Columbia Fishery Inspector, also issued instructions, in early July, that all Indian fishing between Hope and Lytton be prohibited. It was reported that there were:

“ . . . certain temporary restrictions placed on the Indians. Special guardians were appointed to patrol the river to see that the “new regulations” were enforced. This curtailment of the liberties of the Indians was very strongly resented by them, it being probably the first time this ancestral privilege had been in any degree interfered with. However, the regulations were enforced despite strong and organized objection. . . ” 97

That there was strong and vigorous protest there is no doubt. The Indian Agent wired that the Indians throughout the District were complaining bitterly. The Chiefs absolutely refused to stop fishing and wrote “we have been accustomed to living on Salmon and cannot and will not do without it.” 98 Later, Dennis S. Peters, a protest leader from the Hope Band, brought a suit for damages. The protests achieved their immediate object as the restrictions were lifted on the 22nd of August, and the Fisheries official in charge at Hell’s Gate noted that “the Indians doubtless obtained all the fish they required.” 99 Still Cunningham was not satisfied and later urged:

“ . . . a strict enforcement of all regulations as they stand. . . also all possible curtailment of the capture of Salmon by Indians above tidal limits.” 100

Another response of the Fisheries Department to the Hell’s Gate disaster, was to enforce the prohibition against selling or bartering fish. The selling policy, since about 1900, had been that as long as Indians were selling “for food purposes only” selling was permitted. To sell fish in order to buy food was interpreted as fishing for food purposes. The Dominion Commissioner of Fisheries, E. E. Prince, did not like this and argued against recommendations sent in by the British Columbia Fishery Inspector, Fish Guardians, and Indian Affairs officials that this policy be continued. Prince maintained that this was unnecessary, and that Indians should not be allowed to sell or barter under any conditions, but those on the spot – local magistrates, police officials, and some Fish Guardians – would frequently ignore Indians selling fish. They just looked the other way and seldom tried to distinguish between selling for food and just selling. Fisheries, itself, recognized the right of Indians to sell fish. The clause in the regulations, which stated that Indians could “fish for food purposes,” was interpreted to mean that Indians could sell fish as long as the proceeds were used to purchase other food supplies. The Fisheries Department policy was:

“To cooperate with the Department of Indian Affairs in making it as easy as possible for the Indians in remote localities to make a little money, provided they do not interfere with the Regulations made for the preservation of the fisheries. . . ” 101

This was the situation until after 1914, when the selling restrictions got rigidly enforced. 102

These enforcements, after 1914, illustrate the dangers to Indian rights when recognition and protection are not guaranteed in statute, treaty, or constitutional law. The Fisheries Department has long recognized aboriginal rights and the special nature of Indian fishing. It has done this through regulations issued under the Fisheries Act, in agreements and departmental correspondence with the Provincial government, in agreements and official correspondence with Indian Bands, in policy statements to the Department of Indian Affairs, and in the day-to-day application of its regulations by local officials. However, there were always sections in the British Columbia Regulations and in the Fisheries Act, that stood in conflict with these forms of recognition. For example, Indians of the Fraser and other rivers continue to fish with nets, but "nets and other apparatus" have been excluded from inland waters since 1888. Spears also were prevented in 1888, but continued to be used on many streams.

The special provision made for Indians, despite the restrictions and harassments, constitute a form of recognition of Indian rights. Indians could fish "for food purposes" by any means other than drift nets or spears, and though the list of prohibited means has grown over the years, this basic provision is still part of the Regulations. However, a conflict is built into this recognition for permits are to be issued only "with the permission of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries." "Permission" legally, can be and has been, denied wherever the Fisheries Department has thought advisable. Elsewhere, in the Fisheries Act, Fisheries can make any changes in the rules and regulations it wants, whenever it pleases and it can enforce these rule changes with the police power of two governments. Such a situation, is the root of the protracted struggle since the 1880's to protect Indian fishing rights.

To illustrate this pattern, we can look at the situation at Bridge River Falls, above Lillooet. This has been an important fishing site for the Lillooet tribes and was the scene of a confrontation. A primary traditional method there was fish weirs constructed in the back eddies. In 1912, the weirs were destroyed for the last time as a culmination of the protracted dispute there since the 1890's. The Fisheries alleged that the use of these weirs was a destructive practice and issued nets to the Lillooets with instructions that these be used as a replacement for the weirs. Then two years later, the use of the nets were restricted as well.¹⁰³ Such policies of double-dealing and treachery are what the Indians have been struggling against with respect to the Federal Fisheries Department.

Eventually these growing restrictions, culminated in 1919, in a total closure of the Fraser River, though here "total" must be considered in light of irregular application. Indian rights were acknowledged when the closure was ordered.

"They were informed in writing by the Indian Department that an order had been issued from Ottawa prohibiting the Indians from taking Salmon above the commercial fishing limits. They were also informed that they would be compensated." 104

However, a total closure and ban of Indian fishing is what was in the British Columbia Regulations and it is what many of the Fish Guardians attempted to enforce along the river. 105

This closure was legally in effect until 1922, but again, it was uneven in application, as some local judges would not convict for violations. The Fisheries Inspector for the Fraser River, A. P. Halladay, supported complete prohibition of Indian fishing. His argument was that since fish was an important source of food for Indians, canned Salmon could be distributed through the Department of Indian Affairs to replace fishing. This was Halladay's conception, or rather lack of conception, of the social and cultural life of the Salish tribes of the Fraser River. 106

The Indian protests, from around British Columbia, continued steadily through these years, but focused on the Fraser River Closure. Peter Kelly made the Indian case before the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs:

"As it is said here, we claim the right to take fish for food at all times, from any of the creeks where Indians have been in the habit of catching fish for food – Salmon for food. Now within recent years, the Indians have been suffering a certain amount of hardship in that. Almost every Indian Agent, I think, can report cases where the Indians have been held up, where Fisheries officials have come and summoned Indians to Court for catching Salmon for food. Fines have been paid. I am just thinking of one particular instance in Nanaimo, only last year, where two parties have gone up the Nanaimo River and speared Salmon for food; they had, I think, two Salmon in the canoe, one was on the beach, and they were brought before the Magistrate, and they were fined. It was not very much, but they were fined, nevertheless. I think they paid something like five or six dollars apiece. But for taking a food which they thought they had perfect right to take. Now that sort of a story can come from all parts of the Province. Our friends from the Fraser River have the same story to tell, where wagons have been confiscated, teams of horses have been confiscated, because they were hauling Salmon from one reserve to another – from river to the reserve." 107

The picture of Indian fishing in the 1920's and 1930's is not as clear as research in primary source material and official correspondence has not been possible, but there was a backing off in terms of total prohibition. This enforcement of the Fraser River Closure was dropped as it was realized that it was unenforceable short of physical occupation of the villages. All the tribes, from Chilliwack up, resisted the prohibition. Dip netting at night was one method. J. P. Babcock reported:

“ . . . notwithstanding the Dominion’s order prohibiting the Indians from taking Salmon above. . . Mission Bridge, a considerable number of Sockeye were taken by them in the canyon.” 108

Indian resistance eventually forced an end to this total closure.

By 1922, “deserving and needy Indians” were able to get permits to take Salmon for food.¹⁰⁹ The Fisheries department relaxed its enforcement even more in the late 1920’s and could even state:

“In the years of the good runs the percentage taken by the Indians obviously is not so serious as that during the smaller runs. . . There is, of course, another side to the question and the position of the Indians must be appreciated. . . the catch of the Indians. . . should be curtailed if not discontinued entirely, but they realize that some adequate measures should be taken to the end that the Indians may not suffer.” 110

But there is an increasingly more strict enforcement of the regulations that do exist. W. A. Found, Director of Fisheries, pointed out this policy to the Special Joint Committee by explaining that Indians must realize that all fishing must be done according to law and that the regulations must be observed.¹¹¹ By the 1930’s, the “Food Fish Permit” system, as it exists today, was intact. Violations of the regulations (fishing without a permit, fishing out of season, fishing during the weekly close time, fishing with improper gear, etc.) under the Permit system were gradually more strictly enforced. This process is still going on today. There is still drift netting, there is still selling of Salmon, fishing during close time, yet the permit system still operates and there is an overall increase in strictness and rigidity in the enforcement process year by year.

SUMMARY

In summary, there are three basic factors in Federal Fisheries’ unsystematic, but continuous attack on Indian fishing:

1. The development and requirements of British Columbia commercial fishing industry;
2. The demands made on Canadian fishing policies by international agreements with United States;¹¹² and
3. Knee-jerk reaction to ecological crisis alternative with periods of mismanagement of the fisheries resources.

The first real move against the Indian was in the 1890's and it was during this decade that the commercial Salmon industry expanded, as the number of canneries and the production figures dramatically increased.¹¹³ In 1914, due to the ecological disaster and the requirements of wartime production, there is a campaign to clamp down on Indian fishing.

And again, today you have the ecological problems resulting in growing restrictions on Indians and an exacerbation of the conflict. Fisheries officials and marine biologists assure us that it is a natural condition of Salmon races to experience disastrous failures from such phenomena as land slides, flooding, and the like, yet to recover in a few cycles.¹¹⁴ Yet the Horsefly run still has not "recovered" from the construction of the Quesnel Lake Dam and the Coquitlam River races are extinct as are the races of many streams and creeks throughout British Columbia. The Fraser River runs generally are only holding their own and the ecological future of the Fraser is clouded with uncertainty.¹¹⁵ For example, there are some 63 current Salmon creeks in the territory of the Sto:lo tribe and many have seriously declined since 1947. Some of the creeks and sloughs of Nicomen Island (between Harrison Mills and Mission) in 1947 had runs of 2,000 to 5,000 fish, but today they have runs of only 25 to 50 and for some there are no recorded spawners. There are many reasons for this, such as damage done by toxic materials waste discharges, logging activities, low levels of dissolved oxygen, and lack of pollution control efforts. Local residents also attribute the declines to the dyke built at the head of Nicomen Slough which has radically altered the drainage pattern and affected spawning areas.¹¹⁶ Ironically, this is an area that the Salmonid Enhancement Program has selected as one of its pilot projects — the Norris Creek project. But where was the Fisheries Department when the ecological damage to the Salmon was being done? It has been and is the responsibility of the Federal Fisheries Department.

Between Yale and Hope, there are several small side creeks that were once Salmon spawning streams, yet today these streams are dry during the Salmon runs and no fish return to spawn. The reason? If you look above the streams, up on the hillsides, you can see that they have been logged off. By destructive logging practices, the ecological system of these stream drainages have been destroyed — and there are no fish today. The effect of logging has long been known, yet despite making presentations before Royal Commissions, the Federal government has not been effective.¹¹⁷ It has been the direct responsibility of the Federal Fisheries Department to protect Salmon spawning areas and the Salmon resource. While they were confiscating a few nets, smashing weirs, and harassing Indians practicing their aboriginal rights, the resource was being severely depleted. Due to continuing declines, Fisheries has seen fit to restrict increasingly the fishing activities of Indians. Five years ago, most charges were dropped, but many of these same violations are being prosecuted. Charges such as selling fish or fishing during close time, drift netting, or without a permit were dealt with by fish and gear (net, boats, etc.) confiscations. Today there is more likely to be confiscation and prosecution and it is likely that these policies of the Fisheries Department will only increase in scale.

SOURCES AND FOOTNOTES
FOR THE
INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF
INDIAN FOOD FISHING IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

1. Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Evidence, "Kwawkewlth Agency," p. 136.
2. Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report (1879), pp. 113-115, 120. This statement was signed by Paul Sebassah, Donald Bruce, Abraham Lincoln, Legaic, Simon Delaney, Moses Venn, and Peter Simpson. Chief Sebassah had prevented a cannery from opening operations in Lowe Inlet and had seized some of its nets. The Port Simpson tribe presented a similar petition.
3. Conference minutes of a Meeting between the executive Committee of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia and Duncan C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, Victoria, B. C., 7-11 August 1923, p. 87. Reprinted by Nesika (1976).
4. Department of Marine and Fisheries, Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 5 (1882), "Appendix No. 6, British Columbia," p. 189.
5. For the history of Indian labor struggles in the fishing industry, see Percy H. Gladstone "Industrial Disputes in the Commercial Fisheries of British Columbia," M. A. Thesis, University of British Columbia (1949) and H. Keith Ralston "The 1900 Strike of the Fraser River Sockeye Salmon Fishermen," M. A. Thesis, University of British Columbia (1965), and of course British Columbia's oldest Native newspaper, Native Voice.
6. Vancouver Province, 14 August 1906, p. 8.
7. For information on the traditional fisheries of these tribes, see Wilson Duff The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser River of British Columbia (Victoria: 1952), Wayne Suttles "Katzie Ethnographic Notes," Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir No. 2 (Victoria: 1955), and Captain Charles W. Wilson "Report on the Indian Tribes Inhabiting the Country in the Vicinity of the 49th Parallel of North Latitude," Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, New Series, Volume IV (1866), pp. 282-286 for the Stó:lō; for the Thompson, see James A. Teit The Thompson Indians of British Columbia, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, Volume I, part IV (New York: 1900); for the Lillooet, see James A. Teit The Lillooet Indians, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, Volume II, part V (New York: 1906).
8. Stó:lō History Field Notes, Coqualeetza Education Centre, 1977. This method was widespread along the coast of British Columbia. See Erna Gunther Indian Life

8. on the Northwest Coast of North America, as seen by the Early Explorers and Fur Traders during the last decades of the Eighteenth Century (Chicago: 1972), p. 35, 100.
9. Department of Marine and Fisheries, Fisheries Branch, Annual Report 1926-1927, "Report of the Chief Inspector, Major J. A. Motherwell. . .British Columbia for 1926;" See also Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 10a (1893), "Report of the 1892 British Columbia Fishery Commission," pp. 131-132.
10. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1876. Canada Sessional Papers No. 5 (1877), "Report of the Inspector of Fisheries for British Columbia for the year 1876, A. C. Anderson."
11. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1877, Canada Sessional Papers No. 1 (1878), "Report of the Inspector of Fisheries for British Columbia, A. C. Anderson, for the year 1877;" See Appendix No. 1 of this report for the testimony of Antione Gregoire Interpreter for the Indian Reserve Commission.
12. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1891, Canada Sessional Papers No. 11a (1892). See "Appendix F. . .Annual Report of the Inspector of Fisheries for British Columbia for the year 1891." Things have changed little for McNab also reported that from the government's point of view "the Indians on the Nass River are difficult to deal with as they adhere very tenaciously to what they consider their privileges." Then as now the Nishga's stand strongly on aboriginal rights.
13. "Memorandum of E. E. Prince, Report on a visit to British Columbia," Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 1469 (part 1, pp. 330-338). On the other hand, W. H. Lomas, Indian Agent and Fish Guardian, said, ". . .all who have studied the subject know that the weirs only delay the fish, and do not prevent their passage up the stream." See Appendix No. 3 of this report.
14. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1921, Canada Sessional Papers No. 29 (1923), See "Report of Chief Inspector, J. A. Motherwell. . .British Columbia for the year 1921."
15. British Columbia Commission of Fisheries, Box 9, "Report on Indians Fishing Sockeye Salmon on the Spawning Grounds, 1929;" Box 24, Babcock to R. Leckie Ewing, 8 August 1919. Provincial Archives of British Columbia.
16. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1915-1916, Canada Sessional Papers No. 39 (1917), p. 254. Statistics are still kept in this manner; see Appendix No. 4 of this report.

17. W. Suttles, "Katzie Ethnographic Notes," p. 21; W. Duff, The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser River of British Columbia, pp. 68-69; C. W. Wilson, "Report on the Indian Tribes Inhabiting the Country in the Vicinity of the 49th Parallel of North Latitude," Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, New Series, Volume IV (1880), p. 284. For excellent illustrations of traditional methods, see Indian Fishing: Early Methods on the Northwest Coast, by Hilary Stewart (Vancouver: 1977) and the important fishing technology research of the B. C. Indian Languages Project, Victoria.

18. The only legislation pertaining to fishing or fisheries prior to 1871 was an act of 5 September 1862, "An Act to amend an act for the Preservation of Game." The section dealing with Fisheries reads:

"That from and after the passage of this Act, no person shall use or employ a net, seine, drag-net, or other engine of like description for the purpose of capturing fish in Victoria Arm above Point Ellice, or in any lake, pond, or standing water in this Colony, under penalty not exceeding fifty pounds. . ."

This law applied only to a portion of the Colony of Vancouver Island, not to the mainland of British Columbia.

19. British Columbia, Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, Letterbook 1859-1861, No. 84 Good to Moody, 11 October 1859. This application was for the exclusive fishing privilege on the Chilliwack River by G. D. F. MacDonald. In 1863, a similar request by Robert Burnaby was also denied; see British Columbia, Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, Letterbook 1863-1864, Young to Burnaby, 7 December 1863.

20. Correspondence relating to Fort Langley, from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 1830-1859; Simpson to Yale, 24 June 1848; Simpson to Yale, 18 June 1850, copies in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. See also Yale to Simpson, 5 November 1849, Yale Family Papers, Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

21. Matthew Macfie Vancouver Island and British Columbia (London: 1865), p. 166.

22. Wilson Duff, "The Fort Victoria Treaties," B. C. Studies No. 3 (Fall, 1969), pp. 3-57. Hunting rights were also preserved and recognized in these treaties and these were upheld in Regina V. White and Bob (1965), 50 Dominion Law Review. However, Canadian courts have found that Parliament can by enactment alter or abolish "treaty rights," see Regina V. Sikyea, Northwest Territories Court of Appeal (1964) 46 W. W. R.

23. For example, see the minutes of the meeting between the Chehalis Band and the Royal Commission, 10 January 1915. Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Evidence, "New Westminster Agency," pp. 230-233.
24. Douglas to Yale, 7 May 1850, James Murray Yale Papers, Correspondence Inward, Provincial Archives of British Columbia. For Trutch's denial of recognition, see B. C. Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850-1875, (Victoria: 1875), "Report of the Government of British Columbia on the subject of Indian Reserves," p. 11. Trutch alleges that "the title of the Indians has never been acknowledged by the Government, but, on the contrary, is distinctly denied."
25. For Trutch's trick, see Robin Fisher, "Joseph Trutch and Indian Land Policy," B. C. Studies No. 12 (Winter, 1971-1972), pp. 22-23.
26. Philip Nind to Colonial Secretary, 17 July 1865, in B. C. Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850-1875 (Victoria: 1875), p. 29.
27. Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1876, p. 32.
28. In 1875, Walkem wrote:
- "No good reason exists why 'Fisheries,' such as those established by our merchants on Fraser River for curing and exporting Salmon, and other merchantable fish, should not be erected in suitable places for the benefit of the Indians, and be in time profitably controlled and conducted by themselves. . ."*
- See B. C. Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850-1875, "Report of the Government of British Columbia on the subject of Indian Reserves," p. 8.
29. Begbie to Attorney-General, 26 June 1878, British Columbia Supreme Court, Correspondence Outward, Letterbook, 1865-1878, Provincial Archives of British Columbia. See also Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1878, Canada Sessional Papers No. 3 (1879), "Appendix No. 17. . .British Columbia."
30. At the 1876 United States Centennial Exhibition, held in Philadelphia, two diplomas and a medal was awarded to Douglas Lake Indians for agricultural produce. See Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1877, "Report of the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, L. Vankoughnet, 31 December 1877," p. 7.
31. For example, British Columbia exported \$73,270 and \$31,433 of fish and fish oil respectively in 1877, totals which were "almost entirely of Indian production." See Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1877, "Report of I. W. Powell, Indian Superintendent of British Columbia, 18 October 1877," p. 49-50.

32. Petition of the Chiefs of Douglas Portage, of the Lower Fraser, and of other tribes on the seashore of the mainland to Bute Inlet, 14 July 1874, B. C. Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850-1875, pp. 136-138. This published version states that it was signed by Chief Pierre Ayessik of Hope and 109 others. Actually, 50 Chiefs' names appeared on the petition, including: Chief Pierre, Chief Alexis of Cheam, Chief Swallasset of Katzie, Jean Akwim of Pemberton, Jean Baptiste of Lillooet, and 13 Chiefs from the Squamish, Sliammon, and Sechelt tribes. For a complete list of signatures, see British Columbia, Provincial Secretary, Letters Received, 1874, No. 510, Powell to Ash, 5 August 1874.

33. British Columbia, Colonial Correspondence, File 503, Durieu to Seymour, 6 December 1868. This petition of the Whonnock village protested the reserve reduction policies of the colonial government. It was signed by: Kolasten, Slapken, Tsecatlack, Sltemtem, Saykwiltsa, Skerholam, Saaha, and Skwayaten.

34. B. C. Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850-1875, "Report of Joseph Trutch, Lower Fraser River Reserves, 28 August 1867," pp. 41-43.

35. Although not as crucial as the land question for the southern tribes in the 1860's and 1870's, fishing rights did concern Indian leaders. In an 1867 petition presented to Governor Frederick Seymour, 70 Chiefs said, "We like to fish where our fathers fished. . ." Great Britain, Colonial Office, Despatches, C.O. 60/27, Seymour to Carnavon, 19 February 1867.

36. Department of Indian Affairs, Western Series Black, RG 10, Volume 3668 (File 10619).

- 36a. Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1879, "Report of the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs," p. 14. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 9 (1880). For a report of Powell's trip, see Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report, 1879, pp. 111-133. Further research is needed to uncover the specific nature of these agreements, but certainly it was understood by both the Indians and the officials that Indian fisheries had been reserved.

37. Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1881, pp. 167-168.

38. "An Act respecting the extension and application of 'The Fisheries Act,' to and in the Provinces of British Columbia, Prince Edward Island and Manitoba," 37 Victoria Chapter 28. This enactment allowed for the extension of "An Act for the regulation of Fishing and protection of Fisheries," 31 Victoria Chapter 60, Statutes of Canada, into British Columbia.

39. Canada Statutes 1878, Dominion Order-In-Council, 30 May 1878. See also Canada Gazette, Volume 11, p. 1258.

40. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1876, Canada Sessional Papers No. 5 (1877), "Report of the Inspector of Fisheries for British Columbia for the year of 1876," and Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1877, Canada Sessional Papers No. 1 (1878), "Report of the Inspector of Fisheries for British Columbia. . .1877," p. 291.
41. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1878, Canada Sessional Papers No. 3 (1879), "Report of the Inspector of Fisheries for the year 1878."
42. Ibid.
43. New Westminster, British Columbian, 8 August 1861. People from the Stó:lō villages of the Fraser River, as well as from Cowichan, Saanich, Semiahmoo, Skadgit, Lummi, and others.
44. Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1883, "Report of P. McTieran, Indian Agent, Fraser River Agency," p. 45.
45. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1877, Canada Sessional Papers No. 3 (1878), "Report of the Inspector of Fisheries for British Columbia. . .1877."
46. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1881, Canada Sessional Papers No. 5 (1882), p. 189.
47. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1888, Canada Sessional Papers No. 8 (1889), pp. 249-250.
48. Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Evidence, Babine Agency, "Meeting with Kispiox Band. . ."
49. Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Evidence, Bella Coola Agency, "Meeting with Owikeno Band. . .", p. 1-2.
50. Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe, 10 May 1911 Provincial Archives of British Columbia. This petition was signed by Chiefs: James Nraiteskel (Lillooet Band), James Stager (Pemberton Band), Peter Chalal (Mission Band), James James (Seton Lake Band), John Koiustghen (Pasulko Band), David Eksiepalus (No. 2 Chief, Lillooet Band), James Smith (Tenass Lake), Harry Nkasusa (Samahquam Band), Paul Koitelamugh (Skookum Chuck Band), August Akstonkah (Port Douglas Band), Jean Baptiste (Cayoose Creek), David Skwinstwaugh (Bridge River), Thomas Bull (Sla-hoos Band), Thomas Jack (Anderson Lake), Chief Francios (Fountain), and Thomas Adolph (Fountain).
51. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1878, Canada Sessional Papers No. 3 (1879), "Report of the Inspector of Fisheries for British Columbia for 1878."

52. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1879, Canada Sessional Papers No. 9 (1880), "Report of the Inspector of Fisheries for British Columbia for the year 1879," p. 281.
53. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1881, Canada Sessional Papers No. 5 (1882), "Appendix No. 6, British Columbia," p. 189. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1885, Canada Sessional Papers No. 11 (1886), "Report of the Inspector of Fisheries for British Columbia," p. 290.
54. The 1886 Fisheries Act, 57-58 Victoria, Chapter 51, "An Act respecting Fisheries and Fishing."
55. Dominion Order-In-Council, 26 November 1888. Canada Gazette, Volume 22 (1 December 1888), pp. 956-957.
56. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1888, Canada Sessional Papers No. 8 (1889). Fish Guardian, H. Guillod, also serving as Indian agent, reported that "a number of Indians sold fish to parties without procuring a license." John McNab, Fish Guardian on the Skeena and Nass Rivers, reported on the difficulties of enforcing the regulations because "Salmon will be caught by Indians in remote places, and sold to their friends who are fishing on contract who will land them at the canneries as their own catch. . .", p. 249. This was carried on particularly by the Gitskan villages near Hazelton at a fishing station called Kityap.
57. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1893, Canada Sessional Papers No. 11 (1894), p. xxiii.
58. Ibid, pp. cxxxii, cxxxiv-cxxxv.
59. Statutes of Canada. "An Act to Amend 'The Fishery Act', 1889," 52 Victoria, Chapter 24.
60. In 1887, Thomas Mowat, British Columbia Inspector of Fisheries, recommended a fish way in this mill dam so that "thousands of Salmon would. . .have free access to the large natural spawning grounds above." Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 16 (1887), p. 251.
61. Clause 1, British Columbia Fishery Regulations, Dominion Order-In-Council No. 590, 3 March 1894. See Appendix No. 5 of this report for extracts of these regulations.
62. Chilliwack Progress, 2 May 1894, p. 1. Vowell explains paternalistically that "restrictions placed upon indiscriminate slaughter of fish were as much for the benefit of the Indian as the white man. Without such laws, fish and game would become extinct. In case of any special grievance. . .appeal to the Agent and he would forward it to the Department."

63. Lomas to McNab, 3 July 1894. Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 6, part 1, p. 130. Microfilm, University of British Columbia.
64. McNab to Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 25 June 1894, Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 6, part 1, p. 199; see also the report of Captain James Gaudin in Gaudin to Smith, 15 May 1894, RG 23, File 6, part 1, pp. 117-118.
65. Provincial Order-In-Council, 20 June 1894, British Columbia Executive Council, Papers, 1894-1895, No. 150, Provincial Archives of British Columbia. For the text of this order, see Appendix No. 7 of this report. For the reply of the Fisheries Department, see Gaudin to Smith, 27 June 1894, Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 6, part 1, pp. 126-127.
66. Dominion Order-In-Council, No. 388J, 24 August 1894. For the text of this Order-In-Council, see Appendix No. 8 of this report.
67. Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 1469, part 1, McNab to Prince, 1 February 1896; McNab to Prince, 11 February 1896; McNab to Prince, 18 February 1896; RG 23, File 1469, part 2, pp. 261-275, Chief Ned to R. C. McDonald, 23 March 1910; MacDonald to McLean, 7 April 1910; Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries to Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 22 April 1910; Found to Cunningham, 27 March 1911. More research is necessary to determine the actual application of the 'permit system' prior to 1922.
68. Report to the British Columbia Fisheries Commissioner (1906), p. 24-40.
69. Simon Fraser, Letters and Journals, 1806-1808, edited by W. Kaye Lamb (Toronto: 1960), p. 101. Fort Langley Journal, 31 July 1827, p. 9 of typescript, Provincial Archives of British Columbia; Canada Sessional Papers No. 11a (1898), for production statistics. Gaudin to Smith, 15 May 1894, Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 6, part 1, pp. 117-118.
70. Memorandum of E. E. Prince, 27 March 1895, Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 6, part 1, pp. 318-319; Chilliwack Progress, 2 May 1894, p. 1.; Tate to Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 28 March 1894, Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 890.
71. Chief Cassimere to Vowell, 12 March 1894, Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 890. Other Chiefs who signed this letter were: Tzats-ell-ton, Nicomen Slough (Lakahahmen Band), Auguste (Matsqui Band), Phidell (Whonnock, Langley Band), Swan-i-sit (Katzie Band), Johnny Punch (Coquitlam Band), Johnny Quie-qui-aluck (Musqueam Band), and Harry (Tsawwassen Band).

72. McNab to Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 27 February 1895, Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 1469, part 1; McNab to Prince, 1 May 1897, RG 23, File 1469, part 1; in May 1898 the Fishing Gazette wrote "unless strict laws are at once enacted. . . Sturgeon fishing will soon be a thing of the past." This was certainly the case on the Fraser River. Statistics taken from Department of Marine and Fisheries, Annual Reports, various years.

73. McTieran to Powell, 23 July 1888, Department of Indian Affairs, Western Series Black, RG 10, Volume 3802, File 50341. Microfilm, Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

74. Walbran to McNab, 9 May 1898, Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 1469, part 2; Sword to Prince, 19 October 1899, RG 23, File 6, part 2. It was not until 1898 that Dog Salmon became important commercially.

75. McLean to Goudreau, 14 November 1902, Department of Fisheries, RG 23, File 678, part 4.

76. Chief Cassimere (Langley) to Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 10 October 1902, Department of Fisheries. "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 6, part 2, pp. 341-343. For the complete text of this letter see Appendix No. 9 of this report.

77. Sword to Prince, 30 April 1914, Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 6, part 3; Chief Johnny Coquitlam to R. Prefontaine, 4 February 1905; and Fraser River Cannery Association to R. Prefontaine, 23 August 1904, RG 23, File 6.

78. Coqualeetza Elders, 20 July 1977, Stó:lō Place Names File, unpublished manuscript, Coqualeetza Education Training Centre; Chilliwack Progress, 3 November 1897; Andrew Commodore, 21 December 1977, Stó:lō History Field Notes, Coqualeetza Education Training Centre; Salmon Escapement Figures, 1934-1966, File 30-1-66, Department of Fisheries, Pacific Region, Vancouver; Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Evidence, New Westminster Agency, p. 203.

79. The Soowahlie story is based largely on information of Andrew Commodore, 28 March 1978, Stó:lō History Field Notes, Coqualeetza Education Training Centre, Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 3043; Department of Fisheries, RG 23, File 706-7-8.

80. British Columbia, Commissioner of Fisheries, Papers, Box 24 (1923).

81. For reports of hatchery practices, see Department of Fisheries Annual Report, various years, and British Columbia Commissioner of Fisheries Annual Report, various years.
82. Robinson to Department of Fisheries, 10 June 1905, Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 3043, part 1. For Chief James' testimony see Appendix No. 10 of this report.
83. Memorandum to John P. Babcock, 14 June 1913, British Columbia Commissioner of Fisheries, Papers, File 9 (1913). Brodeur to Babcock, 6 May 1909, Box 5 (1908-1916). The Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, Brodeur, protested the fact that thousands of Salmon were dying at the hatchery's dam.
84. Hickman to Babcock, 8 June 1921, British Columbia Commissioner of Fisheries, Box 12. All hatcheries in B. C. were closed between 1934 and 1937 due to complaints about their methods.
85. Lomas to Mowat, 31 December 1887, in Appendix No. 7 of the Canada Sessional Papers No. 6 (1888); the best source of information on the early struggles on the Cowichan is Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia", RG 23, File 583. See especially, Reed to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 27 June 1895; Memorandum to E. E. Prince, 22 June 1897; Dominion Commissioner of Fisheries to McNab, 19 March 1898. See also Prince to Smith, 19 August 1895, RG 23, File 6, part 1.
86. Testimony before the 1902 "Special Commission to Investigate Alleged Illegal Fishing in Certain Areas," Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 1469, part 2.
87. Templeman to Hall, 10 May 1907, Department of Fisheries, RG 23, File 6, part 4, pp. 137-139.
88. Sword to Prince, 19 October 1899, Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 6, part 1, page 115; Vancouver Island Fish and Game Club to Prefontaine, 5 May 1904, RG 23, File 678, part 4; McNab to Minister of Fisheries, 18 February 1894, RG 23, File 583, part 1, pp. 2-6.
89. Vancouver Province, 29 August 1906, p. 1; 30 August 1906, p. 1; 11 September 1906, p. 1; Victoria Times, 6 November 1907, p. 8; Victoria Colonist, 9 November 1909, p. 4.
90. Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Evidence, Babine Agency, p. 73.

91. Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 583, parts 1 and 2; Department of Fisheries Annual Reports, Canada Sessional Papers No. 22 (1906), No. 22 (1907), and No. 29 (1923).
92. Ibid. For a report on the barricade agreements in Stuart Lake Agency, see "Federal Recognition of Indian Fishing Rights in British Columbia," by Barbara Lane, Union of B. C. Indian Chiefs, 1978.
93. Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Evidence, Babine Agency, pp. 16-24; Wilson Duff (editor) Histories, Territories, and Laws of the Kitwancool (Victoria: 1959), pp. 12-13.
94. Albert Williams, President of Kitwancool, to John Oliver, 18 February 1920, British Columbia, Premier, Correspondence Inward, Box 207, File 52.
95. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 39 (1915), Appendix No. 9, British Columbia, p. 254; Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 39 (1916), Appendix No. 8, British Columbia, "Report of Removal of Obstructions to the Ascent of Salmon on the Fraser River at Hell's Gate. . .", pp. 263-275; Canada Sessional Papers No. 39 (1917), Appendix No. 9, British Columbia, "Report on the Department's Resident Engineer, J. McHugh," pp. 263-271; Cicely Lyons, Salmon: Our Heritage (Vancouver: 1969), pp. 290-298, 626. Another blockage, due to record low water levels, took place in 1941. Lyons states "the Salmon fishery of British Columbia has not yet (1969) fully recovered" from these disasters at Hell's Gate, pp. 298, 447.
96. Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 6, part 8, Cunningham to Found, 18 July 1914.
97. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 39 (1916), p. 271.
98. Chilliwack Progress, 6 August 1914, p. 3; Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 6, part 8.
99. Found to Cunningham, 22 August 1914; Cunningham to Found, 3 August 1914; Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 6, part 8; Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 39 (1916), p. 271.
100. Ibid., p. 254.
101. Found to Cunningham, 20 September 1911; Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 6, part 6.

102. Dominion Order-In-Council, 11 September 1917; Chilliwack Progress, 1 November 1917, p. 3, 27 December 1917, p. 6. For the earlier policy, see Minister of Marine and Fisheries to McNab, 25 May 1894, Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 6, part 1; Found to Cunningham, 20 September 1911, RG 23, File 6, part 6, p. 609, "The policy of this Department has always been to cooperate with the Department of Indian Affairs in making it as easy as possible for the Indians in remote districts to make a little money provided they do not interfere with the Regulations made for the preservation of the fisheries in the public interest."
103. 'Fishing in the Lillooet Area, as told by Sam Mitchell,' in "Lillooet Stories," edited by Randy Bouchard and Dorothy I. D. Kennedy, Sound Heritage, Volume VI, Number 1, 1977, pp. 64-67; Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 22 (1914), p. 289.
104. Memorandum, Babcock to Sloan, 22 April 1920, British Columbia Commission of Fisheries, Box 28, Provincial Archives of British Columbia.
105. British Columbia, Commissioner of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1919, p. 21; Annual Report, 1921, p. 65; and Annual Report, 1922, p. 51.
106. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 39 (1917), p. 254; Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 39 (1918), p. 243.
107. Conference minutes of a meeting between the Executive Committee of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia and Duncan C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, Victoria, B. C., 7-11 August 1923, p. 76. The case of the wagon confiscation referred to, occurred at Soowahlie where Albert and Amy Cooper were accosted and had their wagon taken. It was eventually returned. Andrew Commodore, 21 December 1977, Stó:lō History Field Notes, Coqualeetza Education Training Centre.
108. British Columbia, Commission of Fisheries, Box 41, Newcombe to Babcock, 24 August 1919; Box 32, Memorandum, Babcock to Attorney-General, 30 July 1921.
109. British Columbia, Commission of Fisheries, Box 4 (1922), "Indian Permits;" British Columbia, Commissioner of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1922, p. 51; Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, Canada Sessional Papers No. 29 (1925), p. 54.
110. Department of Marine and Fisheries, Annual Report, 1929-1930, "Report of Chief Supervisor of Fisheries, Major J. A. Motherwell, Western Division, British Columbia, for 1929," p. 105.
111. Canada. Parliament. Special Joint Committee, Claims of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia, June 1926 (Ottawa: 1927), pp. 202-203, 253.

112. Further research is necessary to determine the effect of international commitments on the regulation of Indian fishing in British Columbia. R. G. McMynn, "Report to the Special Committee on Fisheries concerning the jurisdictional and administrative management of the commercial fisheries of British Columbia and the major problems associated with the management of the resource," British Columbia, Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1965.
113. In 1891, there were 21 canneries on the Fraser River with a pack of 178,954 and in 1906, 49 canneries were in operation with a total pack of 974,911. See H. K. Ralston, "The 1900 Strike of the Fraser River Sockeye Salmon Fishermen," M. A. Thesis, University of British Columbia (1965), p. 2.
114. Michael Kew, "Salmon Abundance, Technology and Human Population on the Fraser River Watershed," paper presented at the Conference on Northwest Coast Studies, 12-16 May 1976, Simon Fraser University; Based on R. E. Foerster The Sockeye Salmon, Fisheries Research Board of Canada, Bulletin No. 162 (1968), p. 54, and the works of F. Neave on the Pink and Chum Salmon in Salmon of the North Pacific Coast, Part III: A Review of the Life History of the North Pacific Salmon, Bulletin No. 18 (1966), International North Pacific Fisheries Commission, Vancouver.
115. For the Quesnel Lake Dam, see Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 2236, part 1 and various years of the annual reports of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, especially Canada Sessional Papers No. 11a (1900), pp. 196-197. For the Coquitlam River, see Department of Fisheries, "Materials re British Columbia," RG 23, File 2235, part 2, File 2780, and File 2970; New Westminster British Columbian, 3 May 1913, p. 1 and 28 May 1913, p. 1. There are, of course, other examples; perhaps the most infamous being the extinction of the Upper Adams River Sockeye due to the Hell's Gate railroad construction slide in 1913-1914. See C. Lyons Salmon: Our Heritage (Vancouver: 1969), pp. 152-153 and "Both good news and bad on Sockeye and Pink Escapement," Western Fisheries, Volume 95, Number 4, January 1978, pp. 16, 25, and 27.
116. The Uncertain Future of the Lower Fraser edited by Anthony J. H. Dorsey (Vancouver: 1976), pp. 175-177.
117. "Protection of Watershed and Fishing Streams, Sloan Commission (1944-1945)," British Columbia Commission of Fisheries, Box 21. This was the presentation of the Federal Department of Fisheries, which complained that measures to regulate the forest industry to protect the fisheries, were beyond its jurisdiction. Yet when the Federal government had had control over forestry operations in the Railway Belt, it did little to insure that the fisheries were protected. For example, the Salmon runs of Lorenzetto Creek, below Hope, were damaged by the dumping of saw mill waste,

117. but no effective action was taken. See Purdon to Babcock, 1 March 1920, British Columbia, Commission of Fisheries, Box 21, Provincial Archives of British Columbia. Each government blamed the other for these problems of conservation. J. A. Motherwell, Federal B. C. Fisheries Inspector, wrote in 1931 to John P. Babcock of the Province, "Your department. . .is aware of the damage done to the Salmon fisheries due to deforestation." Babcock replied, that the logging problem was one of Federal jurisdiction. British Columbia Commission of Fisheries, Box 4 (1931), Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

APPENDIX NO. 1

THE TESTIMONY OF ANTOINE GREGOIRE

REGARDING

INDIAN FISHING METHODS

THOMPSON RIVER, 1877

THE TESTIMONY OF ANTOINE GREGOIRE
REGARDING
INDIAN FISHING METHODS
THOMPSON RIVER, 1877

In reply to queries put to Antoine Gregoire, Interpreter of Kamloops and Adam's Lake, B. C., by Alex C. Anderson, Inspector of Fisheries, Gregoire deposed as under.

1. With regard to the alleged destruction of Salmon Fry, by the Indians, in parts within his knowledge?

Positively that it does not take place. That the great spawning ground, i. e., of the first and principal shoals which ascend the South Thompson, is near the embouchure of the Adam's Lake, above the highest fishery. That early in the year, from the end of April to the middle of May, the waters (in the shallows) are usually alive with the young fish. That the Indians, who in any case could have no object in catching them for food, having copious resources in their Trout and other fisheries, abstain from molesting them on higher grounds. They know, and say, that if the young fish are destroyed, the shoals returning from the sea will be proportionally diminished. That the Indians, with this fact in view, are careful not to destroy, wantonly or wastefully, the mature fish, or to impede their passage to the spawning beds. That the barriers they construct in rivers are only to retard the passage of the fish, to enable the Indians to obtain their necessary winter supply, and that these temporary obstructions are thrown open, as necessary, to give passage to the ascending fish.

2. As to the assertion, made some years ago, that the Indians destroy the spawn in the beds, by gathering it for food?

That the allegation is altogether unfounded. That even if it were practicable (which to any extent is very questionable) the Chiefs would not permit it, for reasons before stated. The roe of the fish caught and cured for consumption, are, of course, preserved, and form an item of the usual diet of the Indians.

3. As to whether he has ever heard of either of these practices being followed elsewhere, outside of his personal knowledge?

Never. Thinks that the whole statement is imaginary. That his experience (while more specially applicable to the vicinity of Thompson's River and Adam's Lake), extends also to the Upper Fraser, and he speaks with equal confidence with regard to those parts.

Antoine requests Mr. Anderson to add that, so careful of the Salmon are the Chiefs, they will not permit the Indians to use the pole to propel canoes in passing over the spawn-

ing shoals, after the spawn is deposited, but the paddle only. Also, that in the spring, when the children sometimes seek to amuse themselves by making mimic weirs to entrap the young fish, they are at once made to desist by their parents. In brief, he says that he believes firmly that the Indians act most prudently with regard to the Salmon, and do all in their power to protect them.

His
ANTOINE X. GREGOIRE
Mark.

Antoine Gregoire made these statements before me at Head of Okanagan Lake, B. C., 24 September 1877, and I believe him to be a competent and trustworthy witness.

GILBERT MALCOLM SPROAT
Joint Commissioner Indian Land Commission.

ALEX. C. ANDERSON
Inspector of Fisheries, B. C.

APPENDIX NO. 2

LIST OF FISHING STATIONS

AND

FISHING RIGHTS

ACCORDED TO INDIANS BY THE

INDIAN RESERVE COMMISSION

1876-1892

LIST OF FISHING STATIONS
AND FISHING RIGHTS
ACCORDED TO INDIANS BY THE
INDIAN RESERVE COMMISSION
1876-1892

The preservation of fishing rights and the setting aside of fishing stations by the Indian Reserve Commission is one of the most important forms of governmental, both Federal and Provincial, recognition of the aboriginal rights of the Indians of British Columbia. This Appendix is a list of these fishing rights recognized between 1876 and 1892.¹

The Indian Reserve Commission was set up jointly by the Federal and Provincial governments and began its work in 1876. Instructions were issued, and approved by both governments through Orders-In-Council that the commission was "to be careful not to disturb the Indians in the possession of any villages, fishing stations. . ." Later, as we shall see, the Federal government, under the pressure from the Fisheries Department, disassociated itself in part from these guarantees made to Indians on the basis of the official instructions to the Indian Reserve Commission.²

The three Commissioners, however, were aware of the importance of that part of their instructions dealing with fishing rights. Gilbert M. Sproat wrote that the "Indian Reserve question and the buffalo question are trifles compared with the fishery question in British Columbia. . ." ³ A. C. Anderson, B. C. Inspector of Fisheries, was also an Indian Reserve Commissioner, and in his dual capacity recognized Indian rights and made guarantees of future protection. Anderson wrote:

*"I have from the first been alive to the necessity every protection to the interests of the natives in this important particular (fishing rights), and I have carefully watched, in as far as practicable, that there be no infringements of their rights. . .and as a matter of expediency alone, omitting entirely the higher moral claim, their protection deserves the earnest care of the government. . ."*⁴

What could be clearer?

The Fisheries Department recognized the validity of these rights and in November, 1877 informed the Minister of the Interior, who was responsible for Indian Affairs, that:

*"Arrangements be made to protect the Indians in the possession of any fishing stations which they have hitherto enjoyed. . ."*⁵

In 1880, the terms of the Indian Reserve Commission were altered and Peter O'Reilly was appointed to be the sole Commissioner. However, he too was given instructions to recognize Indian fishing rights and to carefully define them.⁶ But in the years ahead the

Fisheries Department was to break its promises and refused to recognize the guarantees it had given to the Indians in regard to fishing. In 1883, W. F. Whitcher, Dominion Commissioner of Fisheries, wrote:

"This Department does not recognize any unauthorized appropriations of public fishing rights by the Department of Indian Affairs for the exclusive use of Indians."

Fisheries maintained that the reservation of fishing stations was dependent on the approval of the Fisheries Department and exceeded the requirements of the Indians.⁷ The position taken by Fisheries became the subject of a dispute throughout the 1880's with the Department of Indian Affairs. Twice the matter was submitted to the Justice Department for an 'opinion' but these, one of which had no legal basis at all, went against the Indians. The Department of Indian Affairs showed little enthusiasm for defending Indian rights or in upholding its own commitments and virtually capitulated to Fisheries. Despite continuing assurances given to the tribe of British Columbia, fishing rights were being forfeited behind their backs in Ottawa.⁸

The guarantees of, the Indian Reserve Commission and the early Federal, recognition of Indian fishing rights became the basis of much Indian protest between 1880 and 1930. The Department of Indian Affairs, wrote in 1898, with respect to fishing rights:

*"The matter of general rights of Indians has been frequently brought to the attention of your Department (Fisheries). It is found to be difficult to deal with this question as on account of the frequent promises made to Indians by Treaty and by written and verbal communication. . .any infringement of their rights is considered by them to be a grievance."*⁹

The "legal" basis for the steady erosion of these rights had already been laid in Ottawa, but clearly the fishing "allotments" of the Indian Reserve Commission are an important instance of the recognition of aboriginal rights in British Columbia.

NORTHWEST COAST AGENCY

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Nass	1. Kit la da max	The exclusive right of fishing in the Nass River the entire length of this reserve also in Chemanne Creek.
Nass	2. Tsim Man wein chits	The exclusive right of fishing in the Nass River for a distance of 2 miles upstream from this Reserve.
Nass	3. Se aks (Island)	The exclusive right of fishing in the Se aks River for a distance of 1 mile from its mouth.
Nass	4. Fishing Station	Near No. 4 bounded on the north by the Nass River and on the south by a slough. The exclusive right of fishing in the mentioned slough its entire length.
Nass	6. Am a tal	The right to fish in the Nass River the entire length of this Reserve.
Nass	7. Kit wil luc shilt	The right to fish in the Nass River the entire length of this Reserve.
Nass	8. An de gu lay	The exclusive right of fishing on the Nass River commencing at the mouth of Andegulay slough and extending upstream half mile and the fisheries in Andegulay slough for a like distance from its mouth.
Nass	9. Lach kat tsap	The old established fisheries on the Nass River within the limits of this Reserve, also the right to fish in the various sloughs running through it.
Nass	13. Red Cliff	The exclusive right of fishing in the Nanook River for a distance of 1/4 mile from its mouth.

N.B.: Allotted by Minute of Decision for Reserves No. 1-13, dated 20 October 1881.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Nass	10. Stoney Point	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	11. Black Point	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	12. Lach tesk	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	8a.	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	14a.	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	1a.	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	14. Kincolith	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	15. Kinnamax	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	16. Tal a haat	The exclusive right of Salmon fishing in the Kinamax River the entire length of the Reserve a distance of about 1/2 mile.
Nass	17. Georgie	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	18. Kullan	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	19. Skamakounst	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	20. Kinmelit	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	21. Slooks	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	22. Stagoo	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	23. Kt sinet	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	24. Gitzault	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	25. Witzimagou	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	26. Tachwan	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	27. Ksh wan	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Nass	28. Scow ban	Intended as a fishing station.
Nass	29. Zaul yap	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Allotted by Minute of Decision for Reserves No. 14-29, dated 8 September 1888.
Tsimpseans	5. Cloyah	The exclusive right of fishing on the Cloyah River for a distance of 1 1/2 miles from its mouth. Dated 20 October 1881.
Tsimpseans	15. Toon	The exclusive right of fishing in the Toon River for a distance of 2 miles upstream from the head of tidal waters. Dated 13 September 1882.
Tsimpseans	1. Fort Simpson	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	2. Tsimpseans Pen- insular	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	3. Wilnaska caud	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	4. Shoo wah tlaus	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	6. Willa Slough	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	7. Point Lambert	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	8. Khyex	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	9. Kilkutseen	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	10. Khtahda	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	11. Scuttsap	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	12. Tymgowyan	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	13. Enshehese	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Tsimpseans	14. Wilskashammel	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	16. Lachmach	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	17. Spakels	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	18. Birnie Island	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	19. Finlaysen Island	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	20. Butnt Cliff	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	21. Tugwell	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	22. Dashken	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	23. Ksh woom	Intended as a fishing station.
Tsimpseans	24. Meanlaw	Intended as a fishing station.
Masset	4. Lunas	The exclusive right of fishing in the Ya-koon River a distance of 1 mile upstream from the southeast corner post of Reserve No. 4. Dated 13 July 1882.
Masset	14. Ja lun	The exclusive right of fishing in the Jalun River for a distance of 1 mile above tidal water is reserved for these Indians. Dated 13 July 1882.
Masset	1. Masset	Intended as a fishing station.
Masset	2. Hi ellen	Intended as a fishing station.
Masset	3. Ya gan	Intended as a fishing station.
Masset	5. Sa tim gin	Intended as a fishing station.
Masset	6. Ain	Intended as a fishing station.
Masset	7. Yan	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Masset	8. Meagwan	Intended as a fishing station.
Masset	9. Kose	Intended as a fishing station.
Masset	10. Naden	Intended as a fishing station.
Masset	11. Kung	Intended as a fishing station.
Masset	12. Dan in gay	Intended as a fishing station.
Masset	13. Yat ze	Intended as a fishing station.
Masset	15. Kit oo sta	Intended as a fishing station.
Masset	16. Ta te use	Intended as a fishing station.
Skidegate	5. Deena	The exclusive right to fish in the Deena River for a distance of 1 mile above tidal waters. Dated 28 July 1882.
Skidegate	6. Kaste	The exclusive right to fish in the Kaste River 1 mile for the distance above tidal waters. Dated 28 July 1882.
Skidegate	1. Skidegate	Intended as a fishing station.
Skidegate	2. Skaigha	Intended as a fishing station.
Skidegate	3. Deena	Intended as a fishing station.
Skidegate	4. Khra na	Intended as a fishing station.
Skidegate	5. Lagins River	Intended as a fishing station.
Skidegate	7. Cum she was	Intended as a fishing station.
Skidegate	8. Skedan	Intended as a fishing station.
Skidegate	9. Ta noo	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	1. Dolphin Island	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Kit lath la	3. Ku o wa dah	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	4. Sand Island	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	5. Klap thlon	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	6. Pa aat	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	7. Tsim lach	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	8. Too wartz	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	9. Cit e yats	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	10. Kit la wa oo	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	11. Kee cha	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	12. Ko oe yet	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	13. Clo wel	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	14. She gan ny	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	15. Tsim lair en	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	16. Key swar	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	17. Key ar ka	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lath la	18. Kul	Intended as a fishing station.
Kitasoo	2. Canoona	The exclusive right to fish in the Canoona River for a distance of 2 miles from its mouth is assigned to the Indians. Dated 1 September 1888.
Kitasoo	1. Kitasoo	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit kah ta	1. Kit kah ta	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit kah ta	3. Qua al	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Kit kah ta	4. Kul ka yu	Intended as a fishing station. N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated July, for Kit kah ta Reserves No. 1-4.
Kemsquit	1. Kemsquit	Intended as a fishing station.
Kemsquit	2. Chats ca	Intended as a fishing station. N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 14 July 1882, for Kemsquit Reserves No. 1-2.
Bella Coola	1. Bella Coola	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Coola	2. Noose seek	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Coola	3. Taliomey	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Coola	4. Kwat lena	Intended as a fishing station. N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 11 August 1882, for Bella Coola Reserves No. 1-4.
Koky et	1. Ko ky et	Intended as a fishing station.
Koky et	2. Grey Island	Intended as a fishing station.
Koky et	3. Ky ar tie	Intended as a fishing station.
Koky et	4. Nee kas	Intended as a fishing station.
Koky et	5. Yan kee ah	Intended as a fishing station.
Koky et	6. Ko guy	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Bella	1. Bella Bella	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Bella	2. Hoo nees	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Bella	3. Quart cha	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Bella	4. Noota	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Bella Bella	5. Clat se	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Bella	6. Elcho	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Bella	7. Kis a met	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Bella	8. How e et	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Bella	9. Kun soot	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Bella	10. Ka jus tus	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Bella	11. Werk me lek	Intended as a fishing station.
Bella Bella	12. Yel ler tlee	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 25 August 1882, for Bella Bella Reserves No. 1-12.
Kitimat	1. Kitimat	Intended as a fishing station.
Kitimat	2. Kitimat	Intended as a fishing station.
Kitimat	3. Waw elth	Intended as a fishing station.
Kitimat	4. Tah la	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 24 July 1880, for the Kitimat Reserves No. 1-4.
Kit lope	1. We kil lals	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lope	2. Kitlope	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit lope	3. Ke ma no	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 25 July 1880, for the Kit lope Reserves No. 1-3.
Kit se las	1. Kit se las	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit se las	2. Chim de mash	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Kit se las	3. Ik shen e gwolk	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit se las	4. Ksh ish	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit se las	5. Zymoetz	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit se las	6. Kuls pat	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit se las	7. Ke tone da	Intended as a fishing station.

N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 6 October 1891, for the Kit se las Reserves No. 1-7.

Kit sum Kay lum	1. Kitsumkaylum	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit sum Kay lum	2. Zim a gord	A fishery Reserve of one hundred and fifty acres situated on the river bank of the Skeena River about five miles from its mouth. Intended as a fishing station.
Lakelse	1. Killoot sal	Intended as a fishing station.

BABINE AGENCY

Kit wan gar	1. Kitwanger	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit wan gar	3. Squin lix stat	A fishing station of 25 acres, situated on the right bank of the Skeena River about 10 miles below Kitwanger.
Kit wan gar	4. Kwat sa lix	Intended as a fishing station. Dated 6 October 1891.
Kit wan gar	5. Tumbah	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit wan gar	6. Kits ha haws	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit wan gar	7. Koon wats	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit wan gar	8. Chig in kaht	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVES</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 16 September 1893, for Kit wan gar Reserves No. 5-8.
Kit se gue cla	1. Kitsegucla	Intended as a fishing station.
Kit se gue cla	2. New Kitsegucla	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 1 October 1891, for Kit se gue cla Reserves No. 1-2.
Hazleton	1. Hazleton	Intended as a fishing station.
Hazleton	3. Tsitsk	Intended as a fishing station.
Hazleton	4. Anlaw	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 20 September 1891 for Hazleton Reserves No. 1-4.
Kis py oux	1. Kispyoux	Intended as a fishing station. Dated 26 September 1891.
Ha gwil get	1. Lach kal tsap	Intended as a fishing station.
Ha gwil get	2. Clo ta lair quot	Intended as a fishing station.
Ha gwil get	5. No cut	Intended as a fishing station.
Ha gwil get	8. Cas de ded	Intended as a fishing station.
Ha gwil get	9. Tsak	Intended as a fishing station.
Ha gwil get	10. Ne tsaw greece	Intended as a fishing station.
Ha gwil get	11. Ne do ats	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minutes of Decision, Dated 19 September 1891, for Ha gwil get Reserves No. 1-11.
Stoney Creek	1. Stoney Creek	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Stoney Creek	2. Sack ani te cla	Intended as a fishing station.
Stoney Creek	3. Lake Town	Intended as a fishing station.
Stoney Creek	5. Clus ta lack	Intended as a fishing station.
Stoney Creek	6. Noon la	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 29 August 1892 for Stoney Creek Reserves No. 1-6.
Fraser Lake	1. Nautley	Intended as a fishing station.
Fraser Lake	2.	Intended as a fishing station.
Fraser Lake	4. Se as pun kut	Intended as a fishing station.
Fraser Lake	5. Stella guo	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 2 September 1892 for Fraser Lake Reserves No. 1-5.
McLeod	1. McLeod	Intended as a fishing station.
Trembleur	1. Celangle	Intended as a fishing station.
Trembleur	2. So yan co star	Intended as a fishing station.
Trembleur	3. Tees lee	Intended as a fishing station.
Trembleur	4. Ste van	Intended as a fishing station.
Trembleur	5. Grand Rapids	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 23 September 1892 for Trembleur Reserves No. 1-5.
Tache	1. Tache	Intended as a fishing station.
Tache	2. Pinchie	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Tache	3. Man cut	Intended as a fishing station.
Tache	4. U causley	Intended as a fishing station.
Tache	5. Car soos at	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 27 September 1892 for Tache Reserves No. 1-5.
Necoslie	1. Necoslie	Intended as a fishing station.
Necoslie	2. Tat sel awas	Intended as a fishing station.
Necoslie	3. Sow chea	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 30 September 1892 for Necoslie Reserves No. 1-3.
Fort George	1. Fort George	Intended as a fishing station.
Fort George	2.	Intended as a fishing station.
Fort George	3. Clas ba onee check	Intended as a fishing station.
Fort George	4. Sa la quo	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 5 October 1892 for Fort George Reserves No. 1-4.
Black Water	1. Black Water	Intended as a fishing station.
Black Water	2. Nahlquenate	Intended as a fishing station.
Black Water	3. Ulkah	Intended as a fishing station.
Black Water	4. Um li is le	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 6 October 1892 for Black Water Reserves No. 1-4.

KWAWKEWLTH AGENCY

	<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
	Owekano	1. Ka tit	Intended as a fishing station.
	Owekano	2. Kil ta la	Intended as a fishing station.
Sep- 1-5.	She lah	2. Ne kite	The exclusive right to fish in the Sammo River for 2 miles above tidal waters. Dated 3 August 1882.
	Nak wock to	1. Ky questa	Intended as a fishing station.
	Nak wock to	3. Pah as	Intended as a fishing station.
	Nak wock to	4. Mah pah kum	Intended as a fishing station.
Sep- 1-3.	Nak wock to	5. Ta a ack	Intended as a fishing station.
	Nak wock to	6. Saa goom bah la	Intended as a fishing station.
	Nak wock to	7. Small Island	Intended as a fishing station.
	Nak wock to	9. Kwe tah kis	Intended as a fishing station.
	Nak wock to	10. O wis too a wan	Intended as a fishing station.
	Nak wock to	11. Pen eece	Intended as a fishing station.
tober 1-4.	Nak wock to	12. Waw watl	Intended as a fishing station.
	Nak wock to	13. Tsai kwi c	Intended as a fishing station.
	Nak wock to	14. Ko kwi iss	Intended as a fishing station.
	Nak wock to	15. Kai too kwis	Intended as a fishing station.
	Nak wock to	16. Wa ump	Intended as a fishing station.
tober 1-4.	Nak wock to	17. Pil loothl kai	Intended as a fishing station.

N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 17 August 1888 for Nak wock to Reserves No. 1-17.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Nahwitti	1. Hope Island	Intended as a fishing station.
Nahwitti	2. Se mach	Intended as a fishing station.
Nahwitti	3. Ouch tum	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 17 September 1886 for Nahwitti Reserves No. 1-3.
Fort Rupert	1. Fort Rupert	Intended as a fishing station.
Fort Rupert	2. On Beaver Harbour.	Intended as a fishing station.
Fort Rupert	4. Tsul qua te	Intended as a fishing station.
Fort Rupert	5. Thomas Point	Intended as a fishing station.
Fort Rupert	6. Keogh	Intended as a fishing station.
Fort Rupert	7. Klick see wy	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 18 September 1889 for Fort Rupert Reserves No. 1-7.
Klaskino	1. Telaise	Intended as a fishing station.
Klaskino	2. Tsow e machs	Intended as a fishing station.
Klaskino	3. Klas kish	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 9 May 1889 for Klaskino Reserves No. 1-3.
Nimkeesh	1. Cormorant Island	Intended as a fishing station.
Nimkeesh	3. Ches la kee	Intended as a fishing station.
Nimkeesh	4. Ase wy se	Intended as a fishing station.
Nimkeesh	5. Ot saw las	Intended as a fishing station.

BAND

RESERVE

INFORMATION

N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated January 1880 viz: Head of Karmatsen Lake. A Reserve consisting in all of 20 acres or thereabouts to include the old fishing, camping ground at the head of the lake described as Karmatson Lake on the Admiralty Chart to be laid off as the fishing and survey requirements dictate.

Laich kwil tach	1. Kwe ah kah Sub-group.	A Reserve of an acre or thereabouts to include the fishing station near the mouth of and immediately west from the stream which flows into Phillips Arm at its head. Dated 28 August 1879.
Laich kwil tach	2. Kwe ah kah Sub-group.	A Reserve of 2 acres or thereabout to include the fishery station Hayden Bay on the west side of Loughborough Inlet. Dated 13 October 1879.
Laich kwil tach	3. Kwe ah kah Sub-group	A Reserve consisting of about 5 acres to include the fishing station in the northwest corner of Hyacinthe Bay Sutil Channel to be laid off adjoining stream as most convenient for survey. Dated 13 October 1879.
Laich kwil tach	4. Kwe ah kah Sub-group.	Campbell River Discovery Passage. The Indians are to have the right of encamping to catch and dry fish at their old fishery about a 1/4 of a mile on the right bank of Campbell River above Kemper Landing.
Laich kwil tach	1. Salmon River	Intended as a fishing station.
Laich kwil tach	2. Ho may no	Intended as a fishing station.
Laich kwil tach	3. Loughboro'	Intended as a fishing station.
Laich kwil tach	4. Mat la ten	Intended as a fishing station.
Laich kwil tach	5. Ma tsay no	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Laich kwil tach	6. Sa ai youk	Intended as a fishing station.
Laich kwil tach	7. Village bay	Intended as a fishing station.
Laich kwil tach	8. Open Bay	Intended as a fishing station.
Laich kwil tach	9. Drew Harbour	Intended as a fishing station.
Laich kwil tach	10. Cape Mudge	Intended as a fishing station.
Laich kwil tach	11. Campbell River	Intended as a fishing station.
Laich kwil tach	12. Quinsam	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 7 May 1888 for Laich kwil tach Reserves No. 1-12.
Village Island	1. Mahma lilli kulla	Intended as a fishing station.
Village Island	2. Meetup	A Reserve at the mouth of the stream which flows into the southeast corner at the head of Viner Sound consisting of 50 acres or thereabouts to include the Indian fishing, camping grounds and improvements in a shape most convenient for survey.
Village Island	3. Ahta	A Reserve at the mouth of Ahta Stream which flows into the northeast corner at the head of Bond Sound consisting of 25 acres or thereabouts to include the Indian fishing, camping ground and improvements in a shape most convenient for survey.
Village Island	4. Kah we ken	A Reserve at the mouth of the Kahweken River, Thompson Sound, consisting of 50 acres or therabouts to include the Indian fishing station, camping ground and improvements in a shape most convenient for survey.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Village Island	4. Kah we ken	Allotted by Minute of Decision, Dated 27 December 1879; and surveyed and confirmed by Minute of Decision, Dated 29 September 1886.
Village Island	5. Dead Point	Intended as a fishing station. Dated 29 September 1886.
Knight's Inlet	1. Tsaw wa ti	Intended as a fishing station.
Knight's Inlet	2. Keokh	Intended as a fishing station.
Knight's Inlet	3. Kwat se	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 29 September 1886 for Knight's Inlet Reserves No. 1-3.
Turnour Island	1. Kar luk wees	Intended as a fishing station. Dated 2 October 1886.
Gilford Island	1. Quayastums	Intended as a fishing station.
Gilford Island	2. Kunstamis	Intended as a fishing station.
Gilford Island	3. Keogh	Intended as a fishing station.
Gilford Island	4. Quay	Intended as a fishing station.
Gilford Island	5. La wanth	Intended as a fishing station.
Gilford Island	6. Cley ka	Intended as a fishing station.
Gilford Island	7. Qua ee	Intended as a fishing station.
Gilford Island	8. Alalco	Intended as a fishing station.

N.B.: Tsa waw tineuch and Ahkuawarmish Sub-bands. Minute of Decision, Dated 25 September 1886 for Gilford Island Reserves No. 1-8.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Matulthpe	1. Et se kin	Intended as a fishing station.
Matulthpe	2. Keecekiltum	Intended as a fishing station.
Matulthpe	3. Hay lah te	Intended as a fishing station.
Matulthpe	4. Ha khom	Intended as a fishing station.
Quatsino	1. Quattishe	Intended as a fishing station.
Quatsino	2. Tohquogh	Intended as a fishing station.
Quatsino	3. Palatlume	Intended as a fishing station.
Quatsino	4. Kultah	Intended as a fishing station.
Quatsino	5. Cayilth	Intended as a fishing station.
Quatsino	6. Cayuse	Intended as a fishing station.
Quatsino	7. Tee tah	Intended as a fishing station.
Quatsino	8. Mahte nicht	Intended as a fishing station.
Quatsino	9. Clatu	Intended as a fishing station.
Quatsino	10.	A fishery containing 110 acres situated on the northern shore of Koprino Harbour.
Quatsino	11. Oyakumla	Intended as a fishing station.
Quatsino	12. Quatleyo	Intended as a fishing station.
Quatsino	14. Clienna	Intended as a fishing station.
Quatsino	16. Ahweehaolta	Intended as a fishing station.

N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 15 July 1889 for Quatsino Reserves No. 1-16.

COWICHAN AGENCY

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Songhees		It was part of the agreement made by Mr. Douglas on the 10 of June 1888 that Indians should be permitted to carry on their fisheries as formerly. Dated 30 April 1850.
Esquimalt		It was part of the agreement made by Mr. Douglas on the 10 of June 1888 that Indians should be permitted to carry on their fisheries as formerly. Dated 30 April 1850.
Beacher Bay		A fishing station to contain about 5 acres on the Government Reserves Sec. CX at Albert Head. Dated 11 June 1877.
Sanich	1. Goldstream	A fishing station at the head of Sanich Inlet containing 18 acres. Dated 26 April 1877.
Youkulahs, Lemalachas and Penelakuts		Original fishing station on Somenos Creek consisting of eastern portion of Sec. 6 R. V. V111 Chemainis district confirmed. In addition all Kuper Island with the exception of Mr. W. Conns' claim of 100 acres. Also Tent Island and a fishing station at Cowichan Gap at the north end of Galiano Island at Portier Pass, 76 acres. Dated 18 January 1877.
Nanaimo		A fishing station at the western side of and at the entrance to Bay in Sec. 1 Gabriola Island estimated to contain about 2 1/2 acres. Dated 18 January 1877.
Cowichan	1. Tzartlam	A fishing station on the left bank of the Cowichan River about a mile west from the western boundary of the Quamicha district, 16 acres.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Cowichan	2. Kakalatza	A fishing station on the left bank of the Cowichan River about 1 1/4 mile west from Tzartlam, 24 acres.
Cowichan	3. Skutz	Two fishing stations on both banks of the Cowichan River about 5 1/2 miles west from the boundary of the Quamichan district, 40 acres.
Cowichan	4. Georges Station	A fishing station on the left bank of the Cowichan River about 1/4 mile down from Skutz, 18 acres.
Cowichan	5. Chemanis and Sickameen	A fishing station on the River being portions of Sections 8 and 8 R V11 and V111.
Cowichan	6. Chemanis District	A fishing station part of Sec. 2 R V11 lying to the west of the Chemanis River. Dated 18 January 1877.
Cowichan	7. Lyacksum	A fishing station at the southern most end of Valdex Island consisting of a rocky point and estimated to contain about 3 1/2 acres. Dated 18 January 1877.
Cowichan	8. Chemanis and Sickameen (Oyster Harbour)	A portion of the frontage of the two Reserves has been leased to a few Indians for the cultivation of Oysters in payment of a license fee. The rest of the Reserve frontage is leased to white men.

WEST COAST AGENCY

Cheek le set	1. Acoas	Intended as a fishing station.
Cheek le set	3. Mahope	Intended as a fishing station.
Cheek le set	4. Hisuit	Intended as a fishing station.
Cheek le set	5. Ononkinish	Intended as a fishing station.
Cheek le set	6. Upsenis	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Cheek le set	7. Malksope	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	1. Village Island	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	2. Mission	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	3. Akmacinnit	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	4. Cranite Island	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	5. Yakats	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	6. Houp si tas	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	7. Chamiss	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	8. Ka shittle	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	9. Ka youk	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	10. Ka oo winch	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	11. Tah sish	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	12. Aht lish	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	13. Ka ouk	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	14. Kar kale	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	15. A mai	Intended as a fishing station.
Kyuquot	16. Kach ta	Intended as a fishing station.
Esperanza	1. Nuchatl	Intended as a fishing station.
Esperanza	2. Nuchatl	Intended as a fishing station.
Esperanza	3. Ah puk too	Intended as a fishing station.
Esperanza	4. Ope it	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Esperanza	5. Shoo maht	Intended as a fishing station.
Esperanza	6. O was sit sa	Intended as a fishing station.
Esperanza	7. O clue je	Intended as a fishing station.
Esperanza	8. Occosh	Intended as a fishing station.
Esperanza	9. Chis e u quis	Intended as a fishing station.
Esperanza	10. Oke	Intended as a fishing station.
Esperanza	11. E hat is	Intended as a fishing station.
Esperanza	12. Che nah kint	Intended as a fishing station.
Esperanza	13. Tat chu	Intended as a fishing station.
Hesquiat	1. Hesquiat	Intended as a fishing station.
Hesquiat	2. Homais	Intended as a fishing station.
Hesquiat	3. Te ah mit	Intended as a fishing station.
Hesquiat	4. Mah ahpe	Intended as a fishing station.
Hesquiat	5. I u suk	Intended as a fishing station.
Opetch is aht	1. AhAhswinis	Intended as a fishing station.
Opetch is aht	2. Kleh koot	Intended as a fishing station.
Opetch is aht	3. Co us	Intended as a fishing station.
Opetch is aht	4. Chu cha ka cook	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 5 June 1882 for Opetch is aht Reserves No. 1-4.
Clayoquot	7. Winohe	The exclusive right to fish in that part of the river which bounds this Reserve on the east, is assigned to the Indians.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Clayoquot	8. Ilth pay a	The exclusive right to fish in the Kennedy River from the southwest corner of this Reserve, extending downstream about 1 mile to the head of tidal waters, is allotted to the Indians.
Clayoquot	19. Wahlous	A fishery Reserve of 110 acres situated at the mouth of Trout River at the head of Cypress Bay, Clayoquot Sound. Dated 24 June 1889.
Clayoquot	1. Opit sat	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	2. E cha chis	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	3. E so wis ta	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	4. Koo to wis	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	5. Oke a min	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	6. Cla l qua	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	9. Onad silth	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	10. Eel se uk lis	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	11. Yarksis	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	12. Cloolth pich	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	13. Quarts o we	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	14. Oin im it is	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	15. Mark to sis	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	16. A hous	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	17. Cho tar pe	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	18. Suit a quis	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Clayoquot	20. Wah ous	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	21. Tequa	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	22. Pen e etle	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	23. Mo ye hai	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	24. Seek tuk is	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	25. Wat ta	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	26. Wap pook	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	27. Ope nit	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	28. Tootoowiltena	Intended as a fishing station.
Clayoquot	29. Kish na cous	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	1. Yuquot	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	2. Tsark sis	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	3. A ass	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	4. Ne suk	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	5. Mout cha	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	6. Suc woa	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	7. Hisnit	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	8. Ho iss	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	9. Coopte	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	10. Tsow win	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	11. Tah sis	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	12. Ah am in a quis	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Nootka	13. Matchlee	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	14. Hleepte	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	15. Cheeshish	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	16. Mooyah	Intended as a fishing station.
Nootka	17. Ous	Intended as a fishing station.
N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 24 June 1882 for Nootka Reserves No. 1-17.		
Uchucklesit	1. Cowishil	Intended as a fishing station.
Uchucklesit	2. Elh la teese	Intended as a fishing station.
N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 5 June 1882 for Uchucklesit Reserves No. 1-2.		
Ohiet	1. Nu muk a mis	Intended as a fishing station.
Ohiet	2. Nu cha quis	Intended as a fishing station.
Ohiet	3. Doch supple	Intended as a fishing station.
Ohiet	4. Lach sa	Intended as a fishing station.
Ohiet	5. Sa cha wil	Intended as a fishing station.
Ohiet	6. Kirby Point	Intended as a fishing station.
Ohiet	7. Hamilton Point	Intended as a fishing station.
Ohiet	8. Haines Island	Intended as a fishing station.
Ohiet	10. Kich ha	Intended as a fishing station.
Ohiet	11. Clutus	Intended as a fishing station.
Ohiet	12. A na cla	Intended as a fishing station.
Ohiet	13. Ma sit	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 1 June 1882 for Ohiet Reserves No. 1-13.
To quaht	3. Che quis	Barclay Sound. The exclusive right of fishing in the creek which flows through this Reserve, from its mouth to a lake at the head of it (the appoximate distance of 1 mile) is allotted to the Indians.
To quaht	1. Ma co ah	Intended as a fishing station.
To quaht	2. Deck yac us	Intended as a fishing station.
To quaht	4. Chena tha	Intended as a fishing station.
To quaht	5. Dook qua	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 3 June 1882 for To quaht Reserves No. 1-5.
Pacheena	1. Pacheena	Intended as a fishing station. Dated 7 June 1882.
Pacheena	2. Pacheena	Intended as a fishing station. Dated 7 June 1882.
Pacheena	3. Cullite	Intended as a fishing station. Dated 17 June 1882.
Pacheena	4.	A fishing station containing about 28 acres situated on the right bank of the San Juan River. Dated 30 October 1894.
U clue let	1. Itatsoo	Intended as a fishing station.
U clue let	2. Clackamucus	Intended as a fishing station.
U clue let	3. Outs	Intended as a fishing station.
U clue let	4. Quinaeuilth	Intended as a fishing station.
U clue let	5. Kley kley house	Intended as a fishing station.

BANDRESERVEINFORMATION

N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 5 June 1882 for U clue let Reserves No. 1-5.

U clue let	6. U cluth	Intended as a fishing station.
U clue let	7. Wya	Intended as a fishing station.
U clue let	8. Oo Oolth	Intended as a fishing station.
U clue let	9. Quisitis	Intended as a fishing station.

N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 18 June 1889 for U clue let Reserves No. 6-9.

Sheshalt	1. Tsa ha hep	Intended as a fishing station.
Sheshalt	2. Alberni	Intended as a fishing station.
Sheshalt	3. Iwachis	Intended as a fishing station.
Sheshalt	4. Tseeswa	Intended as a fishing station.
Sheshalt	5. Ahmasitsa	Intended as a fishing station.
Sheshalt	6. Clcho	Intended as a fishing station.
Sheshalt	7. Keith	Intended as a fishing station.
Sheshalt	8. Equius	Intended as a fishing station.
Sheshalt	9. Ouisah	Intended as a fishing station.

N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 3 June 1882 for Sheshalt Reserves No. 1-9.

Nitinat	1. Ahuk	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	2. Tsuquanah	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	3. Wyah	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	4. Clo se	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Nitinat	5. Sanque	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	6. Camahna	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	7. Ik tuk	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	8.	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	9. Oyees	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	10.	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	11.	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	12. Ilclo	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	13. Opatseah	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	14. Wo kit sas	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	15. Chuchumozako	Intended as a fishing station.
Nitinat	16. Saouk	Intended as a fishing station.

N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 7 August 1890 for Nitinat Reserves No. 1-16.

FRASER AGENCY

Hamalco	1. Hamalco	Intended as a fishing station.
Hamalco	2. Hamalco	Intended as a fishing station.
Hamalco	4. Oxford Bay	Intended as a fishing station.
Hamalco	5. Musk kin	Intended as a fishing station.
Hamalco	6. Aupe	Intended as a fishing station.

N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 10 August 1888 for Hamalco Reserves No. 1-6.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Klahoose	1. Klahoose	Intended as a fishing station.
Klahoose	3. Salmon Bay	Intended as a fishing station.
Klahoose	4. Siaken	Intended as a fishing station.
Klahoose	5. Deep Valley	Intended as a fishing station.
Klahoose	6. Quequa	Intended as a fishing station.
Klahoose	7. York	Intended as a fishing station.
Klahoose	8.	Intended as a fishing station.
Klahoose	9. Apocum	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 12 August 1888 for Klahoose Reserves No. 1-9.
Sliammon	1. Sliammon	Intended as a fishing station.
Sliammon	2. Harwood Island	Intended as a fishing station.
Sliammon	3. Pauk e a num	Intended as a fishing station.
Sliammon	4. To kwa na	Intended as a fishing station.
Sliammon	5. To ko natch	Intended as a fishing station.
Sliammon	6. Kahk ay kay	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 6 August 1888 for Sliammon Reserves No. 1-6.
Hope		The fishing places of these Indians in this neighborhood are as follows:
Hope	1.	A rock on the left bank of the Fraser, below the sawmill on land which is said to be owned by the Rev. A. D. Pringle.
Hope	2.	A rock on the bank not far from the house of Pierre the Chief of the Hope Reserve.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Hope	3.	A rock on the right bank of the Fraser, opposite to but about a 1/4 mile below Ay waw wis.
Hope	4.	A rock about a mile below Hope on the right bank of the Fraser.
Hope		Their right of access to these places is confirmed but in such a manner as to inconvenience the owners of the land in the least, and the Indians are not to occupy these places except for capturing and drying the fish in their accustomed manner, and only in their fishing seasons. Dated 10 August 1879.
Yale	1. Yale town	Intended as a fishing station. The fishing places on these Indians in this neighborhood are as follows:
Yale		Two places on the right bank of the Fraser River between the Sister rocks and the first Indian Reserve below Puch a thole chin and about opposite the disused logging stable on Trafalgar Flat. Two places also on the right bank of the Fraser River respectively opposite Aywawwis village and the mouth of the Kine kive hahla River.
Yale		Their right of access to these places is confirmed but in such a manner as to be least inconvenient to the owners of the lands (at present unowned) and the Indians are not to occupy these places except for capturing and drying the fish in their accustomed way and only in their fishing seasons. Dated 12 August 1879.
Yale		The right of these and other Indians who have resorted to the Yale Fisheries from time immemorial to have access to and to

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Yale		encamp upon the banks of the Fraser River for 5 miles up from Yale is confirmed as far as the commission had authority in the matter. Dated 5 August 1879.
Pemberton	4. Lochla	The exclusive right of fishing in the Birkenhead River the entire length of this Reserve a distance of 1/4 mile is assigned to the Indians.
Pemberton		The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Lillooet River from the foot of Pemberton Lake 1/2 mile downstream is Reserved for the use of the Indians. Dated 6 September 1881.
Douglas	1. Sam ah quam	The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Lillooet River the entire length of this Reserve a distance of about a mile is allotted to the Indians.
Douglas	2. Sach teen	The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Lillooet River the entire length of this Reserve is assigned to these Indians.
Douglas	4. Skookum chuck	The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Lillooet River the entire length of this Reserve is assigned to these Indians. A distance of about 1 1/2 mile. Dated 6 September 1879.
Se shelt	1. Chick wat	A fishing station about 3 miles above Klay e quin, Jervis Inlet on the right bank of the river not to exceed 11 acres. Dated 7 December 1876.
Katzie	1.	Intended as a fishing station.
Katzie	2.	Intended as a fishing station.
Katzie	3.	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Katzie	4.	Intended as a fishing station. N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 13 September 1894 for Katzie Reserves No. 1-4.
Nicomeen		The Indians are to have the right of fishing at the little creek near Mr. Bales, where they get large Salmon in the fall of the year. Dated 26 June 1879.

KAMLOOPS AGENCY

Spuzzum	1.	The right to capture and dry their fish in their accustomed way at their fishing stations is confirmed to the Indians.
Spuzzum		The right of access to the following places and of camping thereon for fishing purposes.
Spuzzum	4.	A fishing station along the left bank of the Fraser River about 1/2 mile beyond the 17 mile post from Yale on the Yale-Cariboo wagon road.
Spuzzum	6.	A fishing station on the left bank of the Fraser River about 30 chains above the 15 mile post above Yale.
Boston Bar	3. Hell's Gate	Situated at their old fisheries near the 19 mile post from Yale on the Yale-Cariboo road (at Hell's Gate) in two portions about 5 acres on the right bank and about 10 acres on the left bank of the Fraser River.
Boston Bar	Hells' Gate	The right of access to and encamping on a strip of land on the left bank of the Fraser River about a mile above Hell's Gate for the purpose of capturing and drying their fish in their accustomed way.
Boston Bar	6. Skoke um	About 2 acres at the fishing station called Skokeum on the right bank of the Fraser

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Boston Bar.	6. Skoke um	River about 1/2 mile below the Skat zeese Falls. Dated 1 June 1879.
Adams Lake		A fishing station on the west bank of the Adams River at its mouth included in the original Reserve. Dated 13 August 1877.
Boothroyd	2. Tsin tahk tl	Near Nine mile Creek. This Reserve includes a fishery at a rock spot on the left bank of the Fraser River about the north end of the flat.
Boothroyd	Tsin tahk tl	A fishing station immediately below the Reserve, opposite the Stie hanny Reserve on the right bank of the Fraser River and containing about 5 acres. Dated 8 June 1878.
Kanaka Bar	1. Nckliptum stream	These Indians are to have their old right of fishing along the whole of the frontage of Mr. Palmers land on the left bank of the Fraser River with suitable access in the manner least inconvenient to the land owner, and also at a fishing place on the right bank of the Fraser River opposite Mr. Palmer's land and immediately north of a bare bank. Dated 18 June 1887.
Lytton	2. Kleetlekut	Intended as a fishing station.
Lytton	3. Spintlum flat	Intended as a fishing station.
Lytton	4. Nickel palm	Intended as a fishing station.
Lytton	5. Se ah	The exclusive right of fishing Salmon on both banks of the river, from a point 1/4 mile north of this Reserve, and extending downstream 1 mile.
Lytton	6. Nesikep	The exclusive right of fishing on both sides of the Fraser River from the northern boundary of the Reserve to the southern boundary, a distance of about 2 1/2 miles.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Lytton	7.	A fishery Reserve at Fish Lake at the head of Stuouck creek on the Trail from Foster's Bar to the Fountain containing 80 acres. Dated 24 August 1881.
Lytton	8. Maka	Intended as a fishing station.
Cooks Ferry		The old rights of these Indians of fishing on both banks of the Thompson River with access to the river in the most convenient manner to the land owner and particularly to a flat called Tsin tahk tl immediately past the 87th mile post from Yale on the Yale-Cariboo wagon road are confirmed to them. Dated 20 July 1878.
Oregon Jack Creek		A Salmon fishery commencing 1/4 mile above the mouth of Oregon Jack Creek and extending downstream on both sides of Thompson River, a distance of 2 miles. Dated 12 August 1881.
Siska	5. Zacht	An old fishing station a rock below Zacht to be marked off and Reserved. Dated 18 June 1878.
Ashcroft	1. Cheetsum's farm	The exclusive right of fishing on both shores of the Thompson River from the head of Black Canon upstream a distance of 1 mile.
Ashcroft		Also the exclusive right of fishing on both sides of the Thompson river from the mouth of the Minnaberriat Creek upstream a distance of 1/2 mile.
Ashcroft	1. Cheetsum's	Intended as a fishing station.
Ashcroft	2. Cornwall	Intended as a fishing station.
Ashcroft	3. McLean's	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 10 August 1878 for Ashcroft Reserves No. 1-3.
Chuk chu ku-alk	1. Nchalliston	Fishing, 5 acres on the left bank of the North Thompson near little fort and nearly opposite the mouth of Nchalliston creek.
Chuk chu ku-alk	2. Barriere	5 acres on the left bank of Barriere River, about 400 yards from its mouth.
Chuk chu ku-alk	3. Lewis Creek	5 acres on the left bank and at the mouth of Lewis creek.
Kamloops	Heffleys Creek	Fishing station on each side of Heffleys creek between the two lakes about 8 miles from the North Thompson River. Dated 18 July 1878.
Kamloops		A fishing station at Bartlett Newmans pre-emption on the Kamloops-Nicola road.
Kamloops		15 acres to include the point formed by the Lake and Adams River at the commencement of the right bank of the latter.

KAMLOOPS-OKANAGAN AGENCY

Upper Nicola		The Indians are to have access to and carry on as formerly their fisheries for the various kinds of fish at their accustomed fishing places. More particularly in Salmon Lake, Salmon River, and the creek falling into Salmon River a little below the lake Trout Lake, upper Chapperton Creek falling into Chapperton Lake with the Upper Nicola River, Spahamin Creek, Ninnie Lake, the Upper and Lower Nicola Rivers, Hamilton's or McDonald's Creek, Coldwater River, Mameet Lake, Mameet River, Papsuel stream, and the Thompson River. But fish of the Salmon kind are not to be taken out of season unless required
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<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Upper Nicola		urgently for food and at no time is Salmon roe to be destroyed or to be taken for use or sale. Dated 28 September 1878.
Osooyos	2.	Fishing station at the foot of Dog Lake about 20 chains wide extending from the foot of the Lake so as to include both sides of the Okanagan River as far south as the creek, the northern boundary of Mr. Kreagan's pre-emption claim. Dated 8 May 1878.
Okanagan		Swan Lake Fishery in Sec. 26. Tp. 8.
Okanagan		Priest's Valley Fishery in Sec. 30. Tp. 9.
Okanagan		Mission Creek Fishery Lot 133. Tp. 26.
Shushwap		Spellumcheen Lake Fishery in Tp. 7.
Shushwap		All that portion of the southwest quarter south 23 lying east 7 south of Meadon Creek and Spellumcheen Lake, also the southwest quarter of south 13. Tp. 7.
Lillooet		The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Fraser River from the mouth of Cayoosh Creek upstream to 1/2 mile below Bridge River, is Reserved a distance of about 4 miles.
Lillooet		Also on the left bank of the Fraser River from the mouth of Cayoosh Creek downstream, a distance of 3 miles.
Lillooet		Also on both banks of Seton Creek, from Seton Lake downstream, a distance of a 1/4 mile. Dated 31 August 1881.
Lillooet	1. Lillooet	Intended as a fishing station.
Lillooet	3. Kilchult	Intended as a fishing station.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Lillooet	4. McCartney's flat	Intended as a fishing station.
Lillooet	5. Seton Lake	Intended as a fishing station. N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 3 September 1881 for Lillooet Reserves No. 1-5.
Cayoosh Creek		The exclusive right of fishing on the right bank of the Fraser River, from the mouth of Cayoosh Creek downstream 2 1/2 miles.
Cayoosh Creek		Also the right of fishing in the Cayoosh Creek, from its mouth to the site of the old bridge, a distance of 1 mile. Dated 29 August 1881.
Cayoosh Creek	1. Pashilqua	Intended as a fishing station.
Cayoosh Creek	2. Cheewack	Intended as a fishing station. N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 29 August 1881 for Cayoosh Creek Reserves No. 1-2.
Seton Lake		The exclusive right of fishing Salmon on the stream which connects the Anderson with the Seton Lake, a distance of about 1 1/3 miles.
Seton Lake	1.	Intended as a fishing station.
Seton Lake	2.	Intended as a fishing station.
Seton Lake	3.	Intended as a fishing station.
Seton Lake	4.	Intended as a fishing station.
Seton Lake	6.	Intended as a fishing station. N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 3 September 1881 for Seton Lake Reserves No. 1-6.

WILLIAMS LAKE AGENCY

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Pavillion		The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Fraser River from Leon Creek downstream to 1/4 mile above 11 mile Creek on the Lillooet road.
Pavillion	1.	Intended as a fishing station.
Pavillion	2.	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 8 August 1881 for Pavillion Reserves No. 1-2.
Bridge River		The exclusive right of Salmon fishing on both sides of the Fraser River from 1/2 mile south of Bridge River upstream to Fountain Indian Fishery.
Bridge River	1.	Intended as a fishing station.
Bridge River	2.	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 1 September 1881 for Bridge River Reserves No. 1-2.
Clinton		The exclusive right of fishing on both sides of the Fraser River from Lion Creek upstream to the High Bar Indian Fishery, 1/2 mile below Barney Creek.
Clinton		Also the right to fish in Green Lake, situated 4 miles east of the 73 mile post on the Cariboo wagon road. Dated 30 July 1881.
High Bar		The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Fraser River commencing at a point 1/2 mile below Barney Creek and extending upstream to the northern boundary of the Reserve, a distance of about 6 miles. Dated 25 July 1881.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Canoe Creek		The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Fraser River from a point 1 1/2 miles above the mouth of Canoe Creek to a conical shaped rock in the middle of the river, a distance of about 5 1/2 miles.
Canoe Creek		The right to fish in Green Lake situated 4 miles east of the 73 mile post on the Cariboo wagon road.
Canoe Creek	3.	Intended as a fishing station.
Canoe Creek	5.	Intended as a fishing station.
		N.B.: Minute of Decision, Dated 21 July 1881 for Canoe Creek Reserves No. 3-5.
Dog Creek		The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Fraser River from the mouth of the Dog Creek to the mouth of Harpers Lake Creek, a distance of 1 1/2 miles. Dated 21 July 1881.
Anahem	1. Anahem	Intended as a fishing station. Dated 8 July 1887.
Alexandria		The exclusive right of fishing on the west bank of the Fraser River commencing at the northeast corner of the Hudson's Bay Company's claim and extending upstream an approximate distance of 125 chains to the northeast corner of the Indian Reserve. Dated 4 July 1881.
Alkali Lake		A fishing Reserve situated on the north shore of the Lac la Haeke between the 122 and 123 mile posts on the Cariboo wagon road and containing about 3 acres.
Alkali Lake		Also the exclusive right to fish on the left bank of the Fraser River from the mouth of the Chilcotin River to the mouth of Little Dog Creek, a distance of 4 miles.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Alkali Lake	6. Wycott flat	Intended as a fishing station. Dated 15 July 1881.
Soda Creek	1. Soda Creek	Intended as a fishing station.
Williams Lake	4.	A fishing station of 10 acres at the mouth of the San Jose on Williams Lake Creek commencing at its confluence with the Fraser River and running up the left bank of the river 6 chains thence due east, 10 chains thence due south, 10 chains thence due west, 10 chains to the Fraser River thence up the river to the point of commencement.
Williams Lake	5.	A fishing station of 46 acres at the mouth of Chimney Creek.
Williams Lake	6.	A fishing station at the foot of Williams Lake, containing 40 acres, a portion of which has been enclosed by Mr. Puchbeck. Dated 10 June 1881.
Quesnelle	2.	Quesnelle Indian fishery. Situated on the right bank of the Fraser River, directly opposite the Indian village, and containing about 33 acres.
Quesnelle	3.	A fishery on a small lake situated about 2 miles east of Quesnelle town containing 40 acres. Dated 2 July 1881.
Toosey	3.	A Salmon fishery of 14 acres situated about 2 miles above the mouth of Riskie Creek. Dated 13 July 1887.
Stone		The exclusive right to fish in the Canon on the Chilcotin River is Reserved for these Indians from a point 1 1/4 miles below Mr. O. T. Hanees house, downstream for 1 mile. Dated 11 July 1887.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Fountain		The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Fraser River, from 1/4 mile above the 11 mile creek on the Lillooet-Clinton wagon road, downstream to the Bridge River Indian fishery, a distance of about 4 1/4 miles is assigned to the Indians. Dated 26 August 1881.
Fountain	3.	Intended as a fishing station.

NORTHWEST AGENCY

Nass	10. Stoney Point	5 miles below the village of Lac kal tsap, on the right bank of the Nass River contains 380 acres; it is a place of much importance, not only to the Nass River Natives, but also to many of the coast tribes, who resort there in the early spring, during the Eulachon fishing season, for the purpose of obtaining a supply of grease from that fish, an article much prized by the Indians. Except for the purpose of fishing, this land is of little value, being swamp or mountains. There are, however, some 20 acres that, when cleared and improved, may be cultivated while the hill side is well covered with timber. As will be seen from the plan, 10 acres on this flat, almost in the heart of the fishing ground, has been alienated by the local government, a crown grant having been issued to Mr. J. J. Robertson on the 22 July 1878, which rendered any interference on my part powerless. This transfer should never have been made, as the land is clearly a portion of the Indian fishing ground. Mr. Croasdale has since purchased the interest of Mr. Robertson and has built there a Salmon cannery and a sawmill. Adjoining the above land so alienated Mr. Grey has erected building for the purpose of salting Salmon, etc. but
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<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Nass	10. Stoney Point	inasmuch as he holds no title, I informed him he must remove his building, it being my intention to include the land occupied by him in the reservation and I have done so accordingly.
Nass	10. Stoney Point	On this Reserve, some 10 or 12 families, belonging to Lac kal tsap village, reside attracted by the employment furnished by the cannery of Mr. Croasdale, and here they have cultivated vegetables on a small scale. As before stated, the Indians of various tribes congregate here and also on Reserves Nos. 12 and 13, for the Eulachon fishing which lasts about 6 weeks (commencing in the early part of March and continuing till about the middle of May), after which they return to their respective homes. I arranged that the resident Indians should have the exclusive privileges of cultivating the land, while the rights of those who have been in the habit of fishing should not be interfered with. For the purpose of carrying out this arrangement, a frontage on the river of 1 chain in depth, extending the entire length of the respective Reserves, must be considered commonage, this settlement of the question met with the hearty concurrence of the Indians and was highly approved by Messrs. Shute and Robertson, the missionaries of the Episcopalian and Wesleyan Societies (who were present at my interview with the Indians), and subsequently Mr. Duncan, of Metlakahtla, who takes a deep interest in the adjustment of this matter. The carrying out of the details of this arrangement will develop upon the local Indian Agent, when one is appointed, for this district.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Nass	12. Lac tesk or Canaan	Contains 250 acres on the left bank of the Nass, nearly opposite to No. 11. I reserved this land for the resident Indians of Kincolith (at the mouth of the Nass River) subject, however, to the rights of the numerous tribes that congregate here for Eulachon fishing as previously stated, and for whose use a commonage of 1 chain in depth is set apart. On this land, some few acres, have been cleared and cultivated, which may be increased to 30 or 40, but for the most part, it is swampy and subject to overflow; there is a limited quantity of timber at the western extremity.
Nass	12. Lac tesk or Canaan	Contrary to the wishes of the Indians of Kincolith, who have always claimed this land, two such Chiefs, from Port Simpson (50 miles distance) named Clah and Moses McDonald. They have established themselves here, and were on the ground when I visited it, and they stated that they wished to hold the land for purposes of agriculture.
Nass	12. Lac tesk or Canaan	At the request of the Kincolith Indians, I explained to them that they could use the frontage for fishing as they had been in the habit of doing, but that they must not interfere with the cultivated land that being the property of the Nass River tribe.
Nass	13. Red Cliff	On the right bank of the Nass River, contains 650 acres, and has a frontage of 3 3/4 miles, the greater part of which is used during the Eulachon season as a fishery by the Indians of numerous tribes. A similar commonage to that on Reserves Nos. 10 and 12 has been set apart for this purpose. A greater portion of this is rough mountain slope, but a number of patches of good land, about 100 acres in

<u>BAND</u>	<u>RESERVE</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>
Nass	13. Red Cliff	the aggregate, can be cultivated with a small outlay of labor, it being free of timber and underbrush. There is abundance of small timber on the hill side. This also has been assigned for the use of the Kincolith Indians, who are destitute of agricultural land.
Nass	13. Red Cliff	The exclusive right of fishing in a small river named Nanook at the westernly end of the Reserve, for a distance of 1/4 of a mile from its mouth, is allotted to the Indians.
Nass	13. Red Cliff	An application dated 15 September 1881, to purchase 160 acres of the land included in this Reserve, had been made to the Provincial government by Mr. H. E. Croasdale, but upon my representation to Mr. Walkem, the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, the purchase was not completed, and I have added it to the Reserve. Reserve Commissioner's Report, Dated 25 March 1882.

SOURCES AND FOOTNOTES
FOR APPENDIX 2

1. Department of Indian Affairs, Western Series Black, RG 10, Volume 3908, File 107297, part 1.
2. Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1876, p. xvi. In 1878, the Department underscored this policy, informing Fisheries that:

“In instructions given by both governments to the Commissioners, great stress was laid upon the necessity of not disturbing the Indians in their possessions inter alia of fishing stations, and on the impolicy of attempting to make any violent or sudden change in the habits of the Indians engaged. . .in fishing.”

Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1878, p. 16.

3. Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1878, p. 16.
4. Department of Fisheries, Annual Report, 1878, Canada Sessional Papers No. 3 (1879); Department of Indian Affairs, Western Series Black, RG 10, Volume 3908, File 107297, part 1.
5. Ibid. Minister of Marine and Fisheries to David Mills, 13 November 1877.
6. Ibid. Instructions to Peter O'Reilly, 9 August 1880.
7. Whitcher to Vankoughnet, 9 January 1883, Department of Indian Affairs, Western Series Black, RG 10, Volume 3766, File 32876.
8. Ibid. See also RG 10, Volume 3908, File 107297, part 1.
9. McLean to Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 7 April 1898, Department of Fisheries, “Materials re British Columbia, RG 23, File 583, part 1.

APPENDIX NO. 3

AN 1898 SITUATION REPORT:

INDIAN FISHING RIGHTS AND FEDERAL REGULATIONS

AN 1898 SITUATION REPORT:
INDIAN FISHING RIGHTS AND FEDERAL REGULATIONS

In December 1897, the headquarters office of the Department of Indian Affairs, sent a circular letter to all Indian Commissioners, Superintendents, and Agents in Canada, asking for information on the status of Indian fishing rights and methods. The replies of the Indian Department's officials in British Columbia provided a picture of the situation in the various tribal areas. As can be seen, the regulations were very unevenly applied in British Columbia. The most severe enforcement was in the Cowichan Agency. Here the Fisheries Department was moving against the traditional weirs of the Cowichan and the reef nets of the Saanich, the Songhees, and the Becher Bay. Elsewhere, such as in Babine and West Coast agencies, there was little or no enforcement at all.

SOURCE: Canada. Department of Indian Affairs. Western Series Black. RG 10, Volume 3908. File 107297 (1). Microfilm, Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

BRITISH COLUMBIA, GENERALLY

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 31 of December, last covering a "Circular" issued to all Inspectors, Superintendents, and Agents in the Dominion, with regard to Fisheries (reserved for different Bands of Indians, etc.) in respect to which I beg to enclose herewith for the information of the Department a list of all the fishing stations and fishing privileges allotted and granted to the Indians in each Agency in my Superintendency, by the Indian Reserve Commissioner,¹ as compiled from the Minutes of Decision, etc. placed on record by the last named officer.

I may state that the Indians, when so requested, as a rule, accept the Fishery Regulations though not without some protest against the rough handling which they occasionally experience at the hands of the Fishery officers, chiefly deputies who are over zealous and exacting in the discharge of their duties.²

In connection with the above, I may state that the "close season" provided for therein, does not at all meet the requirements of the case for the simple reason that the provision made is inapplicable to the different kinds of Salmon, which periodically ascend the fresh water streams and Rivers of this Province to spawn; those different Salmon do not ascend. . .at the same time, but have their own particular seasons when they ascend these waters for breeding purposes.

There are six varieties of Salmon each kind having. . .a different spawning season, and selecting its own particular locality. Of these, three kinds only are used by the white people and might fairly require protection viz: the Steelhead, Spring Salmon and Soky (generally spelled "Sockeye"); the other kinds known as Dog Salmon, Cohoes and Humpbacks, being poorer fish, not so fat or oily as the first named, keep well when smoke-dried and are used by the Indians for their winter food, etc.

I would recommend that the last named (fish) on account of their not being of any commercial value for canning purposes, etc. and forming as they do such an important factor in the food supply of the natives, be exempted from the operations of the Fishery Regulations as at present framed, at least until such time as it may be found, if ever, absolutely necessary to conserve them.

Some of the Interior bands necessarily secure their winter stock of fish at the spawning grounds, as they have done from time immemorial, and I would remind the Department that if these Indians be prevented from doing so, provision will have to be made by the Department for their support during the winter months. Regarding the last named practice, which has for so long a time been carried on by the aborigines. I may observe that from all I could ever learn on the subject during the last thirty years, it has not been found to have caused any lasting diminution in the annual supply of fish ascending such rivers and streams as they frequent. . .

In conclusion, I would urge that individual Indians be allowed to dispose of all kinds of Salmon caught in the sea in like manner as they have been accustomed to take them in times anterior to the imposition of the Fishery Regulations, or the introduction of the seine. Such fishing is generally done by the old people with a spoon-bait. . . a hook and line being the simple means generally adopted.

These old people interfere with no one, in or out of the business, by the sale of fish taken in the manner here described; and even with the trifling amount received for an odd fish, so taken, their comfort is much increased as they are enabled to buy a little sugar, tea, flour, or some other necessary, besides which it affords healthful occupation and relieves them from the monotony and deteriorating effects of enforced idleness.

A. W. Vowell
Indian Superintendent, British Columbia
8 February 1898

WEST COAST AGENCY

. . . I have the honor to inform you that of the 150 Reserves in this Agency, some 60 have Salmon streams with various runs of Salmon, the Somas River at Alberni being the largest. The rest are small streams, principally frequented by Dog Salmon, which are of no commercial value, and some Cohoes. When the Reserves were laid out by the Hon. P. O'Reilly, the Indian Reserve Commissioner, it was understood by the Indians that they had fishing rights in all these streams, some of the reserves being given for that reason only, and that they were allowed to procure fish for their own consumption with spear, net, or trap, as they had always been accustomed. The Indians do not observe the fishing regulations, or any close season. Weirs are still used on some rivers, but not nearly to the same extent as in old times. . . with regard to the enforcement of the fishery laws, it must be taken into consideration that the Indians only take what they require for their own and do not

use nearly so much fish food as formerly, and if traps are put in, they are generally taken out again when sufficient are taken. . .in any case, the first heavy rains raise the river and often wash out the weirs and the fish then have free access up the River, and they have fished according to their laws since time immemorial. Fifty years ago, there were probably more than twice the number of Indians on this coast than there are at the present time, and almost entirely dependent on fish food for support, and we hear of no failure of the Salmon runs. When I first came to Alberni, the Indians had weirs up the river, principally for King (Spring) and Dog Salmon. Since the Paper Mill Dam was put across the river, about two miles from the mouth, all the Salmon wanted by the Indians for their supply of dry fish food are taken by spear and net, just below the dam. . .there are different runs of Salmon in this river most months of the year. . .at the present time, Steelheads in May, there is a run of Sockeye in June and July, and Cohoes after August. Fish are plentiful for home consumption to the end of the year. Since the Paper Mill has been shut down, the fish have had fairly free access up the river past the dam with the exception of King and Dog Salmon (which) exclusively are used by the Indians. These fish have never been up the river since the dam was built, but there has been no failure. . .on the King Salmon run, these fish having spawning grounds in the lower part of the river, but as a new company is formed to operate the mill this season, it is urgent that a proper and substantial fishway be built during the coming summer and one suitable to all species of Salmon.

The only complaints I have had from the Indians, were at Nitinat, last April, where traps were arbitrarily destroyed by a temporarily appointed fishery officer on the Hometan and Chawit Rivers. On the Hometan, near the mouth of the river, a weir principally used for catching Dog Salmon was destroyed and set floating down the river, and I think it would have been more just to have opened the weir and cautioned the Indians; on this question, there was correspondence with the Fishery authorities through the Department. On the Chawit, the Indian had his trap in again this past season. I visited the weir when I was at Nitinat, and told the Indians to open it on Saturday nights and leave it open until Monday morning, and probably he would not be interfered with. I think the Indians on this coast should be allowed to use their weirs with some restrictions. At Clayoquot, the Indians ask for permission to use a net in the Lake in the fall to procure spent fish for drying, as their custom is to smoke the Salmon without salt, they prefer old fish for this purpose. The fat fish do not keep. The Salmon they get at this time are principally King and Dog Salmon with some Sockeyes and Cohoes. . .I think the privilege of netting them be granted them provided they do not take more fish than they can use. A few of the Clayoquot Indians use weirs at the streams on the lake on Reserves Clasqua and Winche, and I do not think these should be interferred with as long as the weir does not extend right across the stream. The Kyuquots tell me they do not use weirs but get their fall Salmon by netting. In July and August, the Cohoes are caught all along the coast by spoon-bait. With regard to the other fishing streams in my Agency, I can give little information without taking a special trip to inquire into the matter (and) it would be impossible to enforce fishing regulations without an officer were there at fishing times.

Harry Guillod, Agent
Alberni. . .21 January 1898

NEW WESTMINSTER AGENCY

I . . beg to report for your information that no fisheries have been set apart or Reserved for the Indians of this Agency.³ The only privileges, which the Indians are allowed, is that they are permitted to take fish at any time for food for themselves and their families from any of the waters in British Columbia except on spawning grounds. In swift waters, where the current is very strong, they use dip nets and in smooth waters, set nets. Indians are not allowed to sell fish excepting those caught under license with a drift net and in tidal waters under the fishery regulations. The Indians here observe the fishery regulations and as a rule do not overstep the privileges granted them. A great many of the Indians, of this Agency, take out licenses and fish under the Fishery Regulations, just the same as white fishermen. The only concession or privilege I would ask for or recommend for my Indians, would be that the Inspector of Fisheries be authorized to issue a permit free to old and destitute Indians, whom I would recommend to sell any fish they might catch at any time, excepting during the close season. This privilege to apply only to Indians, which I know to be destitute, and whom I have to give relief from time to time. As you are aware, there are quite a number of such Indians in this Agency, and were they allowed this privilege it would enable them to provide food etc., for themselves which now has to be supplied by the Department and would have no injurious effect on the Fisheries of this Agency.

Frank Devlin, Indian Agent
Fraser Agency, 11 January 1898

KAMLOOPS—OKANAGAN AGENCY

. . . In regard to the question of fisheries within my Agency, viz: What fisheries have been reserved for the Indians; the privileges they enjoy; whether they observe the fishing regulations, especially those relating to close season; what complaints the Indians have; and what special privileges I consider should be accorded them. . .⁴

As to the privileges the Indians enjoy: Section 1 of the Fishing Regulations, B. C. reads: "Fishing by means of nets or any other fishing apparatus, whatever for any kind of fish without license, is prohibited in the waters of B. C. (a) Provided always that Indians may at any time, with the permission of the Fisheries Inspector, catch fish for food, but no Indian shall spear, trap or pen fish on their spawning grounds or catch them during close season."

With permission, as before, they are allowed to use dip nets.

These sections furnish all the special privileges accorded Indians, which I can find in the Fishery Regulations mentioned.

Whether they observe fishing regulations, especially those relating to the close season: I can't answer officially on this point, as I have not been long enough in office, but from

long residence in the district I would say they do not. For reasons which I will submit the observance of these restrictions would be a great hardship upon the Indians.

What complaints: As the regulations are not enforced to any extent, consequently I know of no complaints.

Special Privileges: Section 4, Fishery Regulations, B. C.: "No Salmon shall be taken in any of the waters of B. C. from the 15th day of September to 25th day of September, inclusive, nor from the 31st day of October to the 1st day of February, following." The interim between the 15th and 25th of September, might be said to be the harvest time for Salmon in the Thompson River and tributaries. At that time, the fish are better than they are later. It would be a great hardship and might result in actual want, were this enforced. After the 31st of October, Salmon are frequently taken by means of spears in the Fraser and Thompson Rivers.

In the tributaries of the Thompson for instance, the Nicola, Spalumcheen, and Eagle Rivers, these streams at the time of the Salmon run are too shallow to admit the use of dip nets. Consequently to provide themselves with food, the Indians have to construct weirs or have recourse to spears, both of which are at present illegal. I would therefore submit:

1. That Indians be allowed to use the spear. It is at once the most primitive and the most effectual means available to them and can be employed where other methods cannot.
2. That with proper safeguards they be allowed to build weirs.
3. That during close season, they be allowed to take Salmon in restricted quantities.

Fish, especially Salmon, furnishes the staple supply of food for the Indians of this district. They have, from time antedating statistical information, been taking fish in unrestricted and unlimited quantities. From my own observation for a period of nearly twenty-five years, I can say that the supply is not diminishing; on the contrary, it is increasing. Another fact, and a very apparent one, is that the Indians are decreasing in numbers and for the past decade, at least are becoming poorer.

A. Irwin, Indian Agent
Kamloops, 18 January 1898

KOOTENAY AGENCY

. . . I may say that no fisheries have been reserved within the Agency, as far as I know, for the Indians, as they enjoy all the privileges the white settlers have, viz: "The right to fish on any river or lake in the District." The fishing regulations are not observed by the

Indians or the Whites and no effort has been made to enforce them as to close season. No complaints have been made to us with regard to the fisheries and I consider that the Indians should not be accorded any more privileges than they now enjoy.

I may add, for the information of the Department, that our fisheries are in no case like the fisheries along the coast or on the Fraser River, by fisheries, I mean the rivers and lakes of the district and the Indians have always enjoyed the privileges of fishing in them without restrictions.

When I came to the District, thirty-one years ago, there was a fishery at the head of the Columbia River on the Shuswap Reserve known as the "Salmon Beds", where the Salmon reached in August and September, very much bruised and in my mind unfit for food. Still the Indians in those days dried the fish for winter food; of late years very few fish ever reach the "Beds" and the Indians have ceased to depend on the fishery for foods.

R. L. Galbraith, Indian Agent
Kootenay Agency, 22 January 1898

COWICHAN AGENCY

To: A. W. Vowell, Indian Superintendent of British Columbia.

In reply to your letter. . .from Vancouver, I beg to enclose a few notes of the complaints of the Indians of this neighborhood and in doing so, I would state that all Indians consider the present regulations unjust and nearly all sportsman (Trout fishermen) consider them very unadvisable as all who have studied the subject, know that the weirs merely delay the fish, and do not prevent their passage up the stream.

Your letter of the 29th June. . .enclosing an extract from a letter. . .is a misstatement of facts as there are not hundreds of acres on the Cowichan Reserve of the best cultivable land unoccupied and uncultivated. The Indians do not earn large wages at the Salmon canneries or in the hop fields, and even if they did, they still have a right as formerly to the Salmon which run up these rivers. To speak of these Salmon weirs as the "most destructive barriers" only brings the Fishery Department into ridicule as all know that when there were ten times as many Indians, living almost entirely on fish, the rivers were full of these weirs and still the Salmon are as plentiful as ever.

The close season for Salmon on these rivers is unnecessary, the only time to take Steelhead Salmon in good condition is in the close season.

W. H. Lomas, Indian Agent
Cowichan Agency, 9 October 1897

Memorandum respecting Salmon weirs. . .Fishery Regulations generally as they effect Indians on the Cowichan, Chemainus, Nanaimo Rivers.

- 1st. Indians contend that their rights have never been bought out, but that in all arrangements with the Hudson Bay Company, Former Governments, and with the Indian Reserve Commission, they were always promised that their right "to hunt on unoccupied land, and to carry on their fisheries as formerly would always be respected."
- 2nd. That the Salmon weirs have been in use for generations, that from 10 to 15 weirs have often been in use at the same time on the Cowichan River, that the fish are as plentiful now as then.
- 3rd. That a weir only delays the Salmon and does not prevent their ascent of the rivers. If one had that effect, as some people think, of totally obstructing the passage of Salmon, why would the Indians place other weirs further up the streams, and if Salmon can pass the weirs why cannot trout do so also.
- 4th. That all those subjects were gone into and understood by the Indian Reserve Commissioners when they promised that the Indians should fish as formerly. The proof of which lies in the fact Indian Reserve Commissioners laid out four fishing stations on the Cowichan River where Indians always had weirs, and which are of no use to Indians for any other purpose.
- 5th. That the Indians are injuring no one, as the fish they prize most for drying come up the rivers to spawn, and die and are not a marketable Salmon, even if there were canneries in the neighborhood (which there are not) those fish would not be used, not being saleable.
- 6th. Fishery regulations, Clause 1a, is considered very unfair treatment by the Indians as it states that the Indians may "with the permission of the Inspector of Fisheries catch fish for the purpose of providing food for themselves and their families, but for no other purpose." No restriction of the kind is made with regard to other nationalities unless nets are used. And as a matter of fact, other people do catch fish and if they take more than they need they sell or give away. . .by the regulations Indians may not do this, and many of the old people depend upon the sale of a few fish for their means to purchase their tea, sugar, flour and clothing. . .
- 7th. That Clause 4 of the regulations is quite unnecessary in the Island rivers whatever it may be on the Mainland of British Columbia.⁵

In reply to your letter of the 31st. . .in regard to the question of Fisheries within this Agency. . .

Reserves

I would state that no fisheries have been properly reserved for the Indians, and their former modes of taking Salmon for their own use, and for peddling to the white people

is now stopped, unless they can afford to pay a ten dollar license, or permission from the Inspector of Fisheries.

Privileges

A portion of the Frontage of the two Reserves is Oyster Harbour and Chemainus has been leased to a few Indians for the cultivation of oysters on payment of license fee, the rest of the Reserve frontage is leased to white men.

Regulations

In the neighborhood of Victoria, Cowichan, and Nanaimo, Indians are compelled to observe the Fishery regulation, which I consider a great injustice to them, as they were promised by the Indian Reserve Commissioner that their right to fish as formerly should always be respected.

Close Seasons

The Indians are compelled to observe the close season the same as the whites, and cannot legally catch fish, either for sale or for their own use, during it.

Complaints

The Indians complain that the promises of the Indian Reserve Commissioners have not been carried out, but their former rights and methods of taking fish have been interfered with.

That by the Regulations (though they may not always be enforced) they must have permission from the Inspector of Fisheries to catch fish, while no such regulation applies to Whitemen or Chinese.

That the payment of a dollar license only allows them to catch fish for their own use. By the Fishery regulations an Indian cannot sell fish in or out of season, unless he has a \$10.00 license, which is making paupers of all the old people who used to peddle from house to house, and by this means could buy their clothes, sugar, tea, and flour and are (now) dependent on the Department for support.

That the close season is not necessary on this Island, where there are no canneries, and where the Salmon are as plentiful as they were 50 years ago when there were ten times as many Indians living chiefly on Salmon.

If the Indians place a Salmon weir on the rivers, they are at once prosecuted, yet I myself have seen (12) twelve weirs at one time on the Cowichan River, and if one stopped the Salmon or Trout ascending, why erect others higher up? As a matter of fact, the weirs do not prevent Salmon from ascending the Island rivers.

That the close season is quite unnecessary on the Island where there are at least eight (8) varieties of Salmon running at different months of the year. For instance, the Steelhead (the best Salmon) runs only during the close season: viz: November, December and January. The Qua-lo (or Dog Salmon) and the Cohoes, which are the only ones the Indians dry for food, commence running when the Island rivers commence to rise, which is generally in October. Only the Indians use the Qua-lo, which is a white fleshed fish and of no marketable value. Both these varieties only come up the rivers to spawn and die. Why should there be a close season for them?

At Becher Bay, last spring, the . . . Streamer "Quadra" seized a number of Indian fishing nets for catching Salmon without a license.

White fishermen, chiefly Italians, have destroyed the small fish around Victoria and Esquimult, formerly a source of food supply for the Indians.

United States Indians are allowed to bring Salmon and sell them, during the close season, where Indians of B. C. are forbidden to catch or sell them.

I consider that the promises of the Indian Reserve Commissioners should be carried out and that the weirs should not be interfered with provided always that (as formerly) they be left open from Friday 6 p.m. to Monday 6 p.m. (and) that Indians be allowed to sell Salmon as formerly.

. . . That with respect to the Vancouver Island Rivers the close season be done away with. I know of nothing of the mainland rivers, but am certain that there will be no decrease of either Salmon or Trout if this is carried out, besides which, it will not necessitate the granting of so much relief to the old people who are now actually unable to earn a living of any kind. . .

W. H. Lomas, Indian Agent
Cowichan Agency, 10 January 1898

BABINE AGENCY

. . . Every family of the Kit-ksun Indians, on the Skeena, boasts of having one or more fisheries, which exist in eddies back of projecting points of rock on this river. (Also) the fisheries used in common are on the perpendicular sides. . . of all the canyons on this river.

As regards the first, a large dip net of interwoven willow wreaths. . . is used. It is handled from a platform with ropes of twisted cedar bark fastened into crevices or onto points of rock. The vibrations on the handle of the nets indicate, approximately, the amount of fish therein.

In respect to the second, the Salmon are gaffed. The gaff, attached to a long, well-seasoned slender pole, is let down into the seething and foaming waters, and is passed down with the current. The narrow confines of the canyons cause a large spread of Salmon (to) converge into a dense mass, this leaving little possibility of missing one. The vibrations, conceived through the medium of the slender pole, indicate the Salmon fastened. On the Salmon becoming hooked, of its own weight and resistance, the gaff is caused to part from the pole. The intermediate connection. . .consists of braided pieces of sinew about six to eight inches in length. The Salmon are drawn up to the platform, suspended in like manner as before mentioned but at greater heights. . .and killed with the blows of a club, and kept nicely arranged thereon.

Thence the fish are packed in cedar bark baskets, by women and girls, on a continuous line of notched sticks four or five inches in width, in almost perpendicular positions, frequently at distances of forty feet and more, to the top of the bank where. . .the smoke and curing houses are situated.

One of the latter, in many cases, suffices for several families as co-owners. . .(those) being in the possession of a single family, same is readily shared with those less fortunate. . .

The fishery regulations, pertaining as to specified time, regulating the canneries of the coast, are here not strictly observed. The catching of the main fish supply, that for winter's use, is limited to about the same period.

Some fish are caught by the Indians in the Skeena during the Spring and Fall: less during the winter. . .but in its large tributaries with small nets under the ice. . .and this in way of fresh fish for a change of food now and then. . .having no other Reserve means of subsistence. . .worth making mention of.

From the best information at my disposal, I cannot discover that the Indians have any reason for complaint in regard to their existing privileges. The only complaint long since removed, had been the fishing with nets of whitemen and Tsimpshian Indians for cannery supplies at the narrow tide waters about thirty-five miles above the mouth of the Skeena, which received a check after bringing the matter to the attention of the Department. . .

The fisheries apportioned to the Hoguel-get division of the Agency at those at the canyon. . .three and a half miles (from Hazelton). . .comprising both sides thereof. The Hoguel-get village is situated on the left bank of the river, and the fisheries are included within its Reserve. . .

The Indians of the Interior are depending more on trapping and hunting, and on fish to a lesser extent, and derive them mostly at the discharges of the continuous chains of lakes by inserting traps of willow work, consisting of several successive conical baskets. . .

The latter mode of fishing is also in practice at only one of the Kit-ksun villages. . . that of Kitwancool. . . on the lake of the same name. . . The baskets being placed, in no instance, entirely obstructing the passage of the fish, as same cannot be made efficient any distance from shore. I often chanced to see them filled and found fish going under, over and by the flanks of them. . . the general supposition that they shut off their passage is a matter where the imagination plays the greater and observation the lesser part. . .

R. E. Loring, Indian Agent
Hazelton, 11 February 1898

SOURCES AND FOOTNOTES
FOR APPENDIX NO. 3

1. For a complete list of the fishing allotments of the Indian Reserve Commission, see Appendix No. 2.
2. It was common practice by the Fisheries Department to appoint temporary Fish Guardians during the fishing season to patrol for violations. Such officers were often local police, game wardens, or constable of the B. C. Provincial Police.
3. Devlin is apparently referring to the special allotments to commercial fishing interests by the Fisheries Department to carry on operations in certain bays or at the mouths of specified rivers. He must surely have been aware of the fishing allotments made by the Indian Reserve Commission.
4. Irwin then listed some of the fishing allotments made by the Indian Reserve Commission, but not all that were made in the Kamloops-Okanagan Agency. For a complete list, see Appendix No. 2.
5. Clause 4 of the 1898 Regulations established a close season for all Salmon in all B. C. waters from the 15th to the 25th of September and from the 31st of October to the following 1st of February.

APPENDIX NO. 4

FRASER RIVER CATCH
AND ESCAPEMENT STATISTICS

1953-1959

FRASER RIVER SOCKEYE RUNS 1953-1959

1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	
2,032	4,806	No data.	906	1,688	5,259	1,810	U.S. Catch
1,989	4,718	No data.	894	1,353	5,241	1,581	Canada Catch
4,021	9,524	No data.	1,801	3,041	10,500	3,392	Total Commercial Catch
1,382	2,579	No data.	941	1,758	4,016	1,011	Gross Escapement
108	94	No data.	62	97	82	64	Indian Catch
1,274	2,485	No data.	878	1,660	3,934	946	Net Escapement
5,403	12,103	No data.	2,742	4,799	14,516	4,404	Total Run

Figures are in thousands. So the "Indian Catch" for 1957 was 97,000. The total run for that years was 4,799,000.

SOURCE: International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission, 1959.

The average yearly Indian catch for these years was only 1.5% of the total run. The average yearly commercial catch was 72% of the Fraser River run!! The priority of the governmental fisheries bureaucracies is clear and, from these figures, it certainly is not conservation. Otherwise, why spend so much time and money harrassing Indian fishermen, less than 2% of the total run.

1959 FRASER RIVER RACIAL CATCH TOTALS
FRASER RIVER SOCKEYE

U.S. Catch	Canada Catch	Total Commercial Catch	Gross Escapement	Indian Catch	Net Escapement	Total Run	Name of Run
133,222	185,156	318,378 86%	48,986	525 0.14%	48,461	367,364	Cultus Lake
336,656	338,540	675,196 83%	143,122	8,340 1%	134,782	818,318	Adams River
63,333	97,190	160,523 84%	29,492	930 0.5%	28,562	190,015	Harrison R.
81,023	132,301	213,324 83%	44,087	5,483 2%	38,604	257,411	Birkenhead R.
242,652	280,922	523,574 86%	87,497	8,142 1.3%	79,355	611,071	Stellako R.
18,128	21,589	39,717 86%	6,470	463 1%	6,007	46,187	Late Stuart Run
599,752	325,406	925,158 65%	503,800	33,176 2.3%	470,624	1,428,958	Chilko R.
165,385	80,375	245,760 82%	55,569	3,244 1%	52,325	301,329	Seymour Run
27,025	24,223	51,248 62%	30,802	1,555 1.9%	29,247	82,050	Bowron Lake Run
27,454	41,516	69,061 87%	9,945	293 0.4%	9,652	79,006	Early Stuart Run

SOURCE: International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission, 1959.

APPENDIX NO. 5

THE 1894 BRITISH COLUMBIA FISHERY REGULATIONS

THE 1894 BRITISH COLUMBIA FISHERY REGULATIONS

1894 Fishery Regulations for the Province of British Columbia, Dominion Order-In-Council No. 590, 3 March 1894. (Extracts only)**

1. Fishing by means of nets or any other fishing apparatus whatever for any kind of fish without licenses from the Minister of Marine and Fisheries is prohibited in any of the waters of . . . British Columbia.
 - (a) Provided always that Indians may, at any time, with the permission of the Inspector of Fisheries, catch fish for the purpose of providing food for themselves and their families but for no other purpose, but no Indian shall spear, trap, or pen fish on their spawning grounds, nor catch them during the close season, or in any place leased or set apart for the natural or artificial propagation of fish, or in any other specially reserved.
2. Nets for catching "Quinnat or Spring Salmon" in the tidal waters of British Columbia shall only be used from the 1st day of March to the 15th day of September, both days inclusive. . .
3. The meshes of nets for catching Salmon, other than Quinnat or Spring Salmon. . . shall only be used between the 1st day of July and the 25th day of September, both days inclusive, and between the 25th day of September and the 31st day of October, both days inclusive. . .
4. No Salmon shall be taken in any of the waters of British Columbia from the 15th day of September and the 25th day of September, both days inclusive, nor from the 31st day of October to the last day of February following. . .
5. No nets other than drift nets shall be used for catching Salmon of any kind, and such drift nets shall only be used in tidal waters.
6. No nets of any kind shall be used for catching any kind of Salmon in the inland lakes or in the fresh or non-tidal waters of rivers or streams. But Indians may, with the permission of the Inspector of Fisheries, use dip nets for the purpose of providing food for themselves and their families, but for no other purpose.
7. Drift nets shall not be used so as to obstruct more than 1/3 of the width of any river or stream of any branch of channel thereof, and nets shall be kept at least 250 yards apart. . .
9. No one shall fish for Salmon from Saturday morning at 6 o'clock until the following Sunday afternoon at 6 o'clock. All nets or other fishing gear set or used and all

** These regulations rescinded those of 14 March 1890.

9. fish caught during this period shall be deemed to be illegal. . .and shall be liable to seizure and confiscation and the person or persons so violating the law shall also be liable to the fines and penalties provided by the Fisheries Act. . .

22. Every settler or farmer actually residing on his lands or with his family being a British subject, shall be entitled to obtain one license, by applying to the Inspector of Fisheries, and under such license may fish in any of the waters of British Columbia, except in any prescribed limits at the mouths of rivers or streams or during the close seasons, or in any place leased or set apart. . .or in any other place otherwise specially reserved. Such a license shall be called a "Domestic" license. No net shall be used under any "Domestic" license shall exceed 300 yards in length. . .such nets shall only be used for obtaining fish for the use of the owners' families and not for sale, trade or barter, the fee for a "Domestic License" shall be one dollar (\$1.00). . .

26. No one shall fish for, catch, or kill, buy, sell, or process any Brook Trout or any other kind of Speckled Trout, between the 15th day of October and the 15th day March, both days inclusive. But Indians may at any time catch such Trout for the purpose of providing food for themselves and their families, but for no other purpose.

27. No one shall at any time fish for, catch, or kill Brook Trout or any other kind of Speckled Trout by means other than angling with hook and line, and this restriction shall apply to Indians. . .

30. The above regulations shall come into force on the 1st day of May 1894. . .

APPENDIX NO. 6

1914 STO:LO FISHING PROTEST

1914 STÓ:LO FISHING PROTEST

When the Hell's Gate slide occurred in 1914 the Fisheries Department attempted to stop all Indian fishing in the Fraser Canyon. Indian reaction was strong. Despite patrols, fishing continued and enough food for the winter was caught and dried. The Chiefs of the Upper Stó:lo also sent a protest to Ottawa, hired a lawyer to press for damages, and publicized the issue in the newspapers. The following letter appeared in the Chilliwack Progress 6 August 1914, page 3.

“ . . . We wish it thoroughly understood that we do not intend to stop fishing and that the Fishery department has no right to attempt to stop us from doing so for our own use, as we are the aboriginal owners of the land and water, which provided food for us as in the past and present, and for all time to come. We also claim that all the fish we catch in the whole season does not amount to the number caught in one day at the mouth of the river by the fishermen employed in catching for commercial use.

We also claim that this is an unjust act on the part of the Fishery department to attempt to block the source of our supply of food for the winter. We have been accustomed to living on Salmon and cannot and will not do without it. We are therefore looking to the Department of Indian Affairs to uphold us in our demands and rights.”

*Chief James, Yale
Chief Michael, Maria Island (Seabird)
Chief Paul Spuzzum
Chief August Billy, Aywawous
Acting Chief Harry, American Bar
Chief Jimmy Ohamal
Chief Pierre Ayessik, Hope*

APPENDIX NO. 7

PROVINCIAL ORDER—IN—COUNCIL

20 JUNE 1894

PROVINCIAL ORDER—IN—COUNCIL

20 June 1894

When the 1894 regulations were passed in Ottawa, there was an immediate reaction in British Columbia. Indians from various areas protested and the Provincial government objected as well. The Province expressed its concerns in the following Order-In-Council.

PROVINCIAL ORDER—IN—COUNCIL, 20 JUNE 1894

The Committee of Council have had under consideration the "Fishery Regulations for the Province of British Columbia" established by Order-In-Council 3 March 1894, and especially the Provisions in respect to the rights of Indians thereunder:

The Committee remark that the Indians are subject under the regulations to, amongst others, the following prohibitions and restrictions:

1. The permission of the Inspector of Fisheries is required to entitle an Indian to fish with nets for any kind of fish and moreover for catching Salmon in inland waters such permission is confined to dip nets (Clauses 1 and 6).
2. Indians may not fish during the close season.
3. Indians may not catch fish for barter.

In considering these several restrictions and the general subject of what prohibitions should be imposed on Indians in British Columbia in respect of fishing, the Committee remark that the relations between the Dominion and the Indians of this Province are very different from similar relations in the Northwest Territories and other portions of Canada. The Indians of British Columbia, by reason of the still plentiful supply of game and of the almost inexhaustible supply of fish, are furnished with independent means of support and the Dominion Government is therefore relieved of the expense of their maintenance and support. Through the Salmon canning industry, a large number of Indians are enabled to obtain sufficient ready money to buy supplies in the way of groceries and other goods as are not afforded them by hunting and fishing, but with the exception of this industry, few have any means of obtaining ready money, the only source being the sale of such game and such fish as those resident near populous centres are able to find a market for. For their main diet the year round, the large majority of the Indians are dependent on the supply of game and of fish, either taken daily as required or dried during the season when fish are plentiful. Moreover, the supply of fish in the Province is still enormous and with an Indian population to a certain extent diminished during the last twenty years, there seems no necessity for the enforcement of stringent regulations against the native population of the Province.

Viewing the above prohibitions in the light of these remarks, and taking them up in order, the following comments are submitted:

1. The Committee are not aware of the practical method by which the permission of the Inspector will be given to Indians to fish with nets, but if this be required in the case of each Indian, no matter where residing, the Regulations will be generally unenforceable and in those cases, where it is capable of enforcement will inflict want upon those Indians obeying it. If general permission is to be given unconditionally and by a general order it is difficult to see the reason for the presence of this restriction in the Regulations.
2. Clause 4 and 9, of the Regulations, define the close times and seasons as between the 15th and 25th of September; the 31st of October and the last day of February; and between Saturday at 6 a.m. and the following Sunday at 6 p.m. If the prohibition contained in Clause 1, of the Regulations, is to be enforced it will entail enormous hardship upon the Indians of the Province generally. From the intense dissatisfaction, which prevails among the Indians upon the subject of this regulation, it is apparent that the same can only be enforced at the risk of a general outbreak or in its mildest form serious breaches of the peace. The further effect of taking away the food supply of the Indians will moreover have to be dealt with and the Committee would strongly urge that if this Regulation is to be continued, provision be made for supplies to the Indians as in other Provinces.
3. The provisions prohibiting Indians from catching fish for barter are not, as hitherto enforced objectionable, but if it be endeavoured to prevent the selling or bartering of two or three Salmon by an Indian in order to obtain a few groceries, it will be unnecessarily oppressive and creative of hardship, as this, as before pointed out, is one of the few means the Indians have of obtaining food and raiment.

The Committee in view of the objections above urged, would recommend that representations be made to the Dominion Government urging that the Fishery Regulations referred to, in so far as they relate to Indians, be revoked, and pending further regulations suitable to the condition of Indians, the regulations in force prior to the 3rd of March last be restored.

The foregoing are submitted without prejudice to the contentions of the Province as to the Provincial jurisdiction in the matter of fishery regulations.

The Committee advise that copies of this Minute, if approved, be transmitted to the Honourable Secretary of State for Canada and to the Honourable Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Theodore Davie
Clerk, Executive Council
Province of British Columbia

APPENDIX NO. 8

DOMINION ORDER-IN-COUNCIL

NO. 388J, ANNEX "A"

24 AUGUST 1894

REPORT OF MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES, CHARLES H. TUPPER

DOMINION ORDER—IN—COUNCIL NO. 388J, ANNEX "A"

24 AUGUST 1894

REPORT OF MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES, CHARLES H. TUPPER

The federal government answered the Province's objection to the 1894 British Columbia Regulations with this Order-In-Council and refused to revoke them. However, their application in the field was spotty and irregular. Few or no permits were ever issued for the greater part of the Province.

ORDER—IN—COUNCIL, NO. 388J, ANNEX "A"

The undersigned has the honour to report upon a reference of a certified copy of an approved Minute of the Executive Council of the Province of British Columbia, dated 20 June 1894, dealing with the right of Indians under the Fishery Regulations for that Province, adopted by Order-In-Council of the 3 March 1894.

The Minute alludes to the relations between the Indians of the above named Province, and the Dominion Government, and claims that they were different from those in the Northwest Territories and in other portions of Canada, by reason of the abundance of game and of the almost inexhaustible supply of fish which furnish these Indians with independent means of support, thus relieving the Dominion Government of the necessity and expense of their maintenance.

The Minute then proceeds to enumerate the objections entertained to the Fishery Regulations. Briefly they are as follows:

1. Indians will experience difficulty if they are obliged to comply with the requirements of Clause No. 1 of the Regulations.

Clause No. 1 reads as follows:

1. Fishing by means of nets or any other fishing apparatus whatever for any kind of fish without licenses from the Minister of Marine and Fisheries is prohibited in any of the waters of the Province of British Columbia.
 - (a) Provided always that Indians may, at any "time with the permission of the Inspector of Fisheries, catch fish for the purpose of providing food for themselves and their families, but for no other purpose, but no Indian shall spear, trap or pen fish on their spawning grounds, nor catch them during the close season or in any place leased or set apart for the natural or artificial propagation of fish, or in any other place otherwise specially reserved."

Upon this the Committee of the Executive Council of British Columbia remark that Indians are subject under the Regulations to, amongst others, the following prohibitions and restrictions:

1. The permission of the Inspector of Fisheries "is required to entitle an Indian to fish with nets for any kind of fish, and moreover for catching Salmon in inland waters such permission is confined to dip nets (Clauses 1 and 6).
2. Indians may not fish during the close season.
3. Indians may not catch fish for barter."

The language of the Regulation may, perhaps, be a little ambiguous, but this ambiguity can be practically and substantially overcome by the instructions, which will be sent to the Fishery Overseers, so that the following, which is the Departmental interpretation of the Regulation, will be understood, and the objection of the Executive Committee to a great extent met.

The Regulation is intended and interpreted by the Department to mean that, while the license system is to obtain generally, and no fishing to be allowed without a license, the Inspector of Fisheries may, directly or through officers under him, grant to the Indians at any time, that is to say, in close season or out of it, a permit to catch fish for the purpose of providing food for themselves and their families.

The prohibition, which follows this proviso, to be read subject to this. That is to say, without a permit an Indian is prohibited from catching fish during the close season, and he is at all times forbidden to spear, trap or pen fish on their spawning grounds, or in any place leased or set apart for the natural or artificial propagation of fish, or in any other place otherwise specially reserved.

So in the case of Clause 6 of the Regulations, which reads as follows:

6. No nets of any kind shall be used for catching any kind of Salmon in the inland lakes or in the fresh or non-tidal waters of rivers or streams. But Indians may, with the permission of the Inspector of Fisheries, use dip nets for the purpose of providing food for themselves and their families, but for no other purposes.

It would be exceedingly prejudicial to the Fisheries, and inconsistent with regulations for their protection, which generally obtain, that nets should be used in Salmon rivers, in the small lakes, or in the fresh or non-tidal waters of rivers or streams. They are, therefore, prohibited.

In the interest, however, of the Indians of British Columbia, a proviso is necessary in the Regulation prohibiting nets, under which Indians may, with the permission of the Inspector of Fisheries, use dip nets for the purpose of providing food for themselves and their families.

The undersigned, in this connection, would call attention also to sub-section 8 of Section 14 of the Fisheries Act, Chapter 95, 49 Vic., which reads as follows:

“Provided that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries may appropriate and license or lease certain waters in which certain Indians shall be allowed to catch fish for their own use in the manner and at the time specified in the license or lease.”

The undersigned desires further to report that he would be glad to have any suggestion from the Executive Council of British Columbia as to the application of this provision to such special circumstances as may appear to them to call for the exercise of the powers vested in him.

The undersigned observes that the difficulty of issuing fishing permits to the Indians of British Columbia is quite small. A large number of these Indians come down to the Fishery Inspector's Office in New Westminster, indeed, some hundreds, including the Chiefs of the different bands on the Fraser River, from the Gulf of Georgia to Yale, have within the last few months attended there, and through them the permits can be issued with facility. During the canning season, the number of Indians who come down is very large. The same holds true of subordinate Fishery officers, through whom the permits can be delivered. It is believed that much benefit will follow to the Fisheries, and certainly this Regulation tends to prevent abuses by Indians at the instigation of unscrupulous white men.

2. Clauses 4 and 9 of the Fishery Regulations which define the several close seasons for Salmon and establish a weekly close time from 6 a.m. on Saturday till 6 p.m. on Sunday are also objected to, on the ground that such restrictions will entail enormous hardship upon the Indians, and that they can only be enforced at the risk of a general outbreak or serious breach of the peace.

The undersigned must remark that the officers of his Department do not anticipate that any hardship will result from the operation of these clauses, and there appears so far, after enquiry, to be no ground for the assertion that intense dissatisfaction prevails, or that the Indians will not continue, as in the past, to store fish for their winter use.

The undersigned submits that the fact that the sale of unseasonable Salmon has hitherto been allowed on a limited scale, does not afford sufficient reason for allowing the practice in the future. There is naturally, a tendency amongst certain dealers to take advantage of exceptional privileges granted to Indians. This tendency is increased by the recent growth of the salting and freezing industries.

Referring generally to these objections, the undersigned desires to say that he will be happy to reconsider this subject should experience support the views expressed in the communication under review.

The undersigned recommends that a copy of the present report, if approved, be transmitted through the Secretary of State, to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia.

Respectfully submitted.
(sd) Charles Hibbert Tupper

APPENDIX NO. 9

CONSERVATION PROTEST OF
FRASER RIVER AND SQUAMISH CHIEFS

10 OCTOBER 1902

CONSERVATION PROTEST OF FRASER RIVER AND SQUAMISH INDIANS

10 October 1902

Langley, British Columbia

10 October 1902

To the Honourable: The Minister of Marine and Fisheries

We, the undersigned, respectfully beg to call your attention to the alarming increase of deep nets in use this season by Cannerymen and private individuals, to the great injury of us poor fishermen who can ill afford to go to the expense of buying so costly an outfit by the present unwarrantable depth of the nets when in the water.

The depth of the nets, we complain of, are from 70 meshes to 110 meshes, thus when in action, dragging along the river bed and giving but very little chance to those fishermen using nets of lesser depth to catch any fish, also preventing the surplus fish on their way up, from reaching the spawning ground in the interior waters.

We are all agreed, that this years' run through Yale and Lytton Canyons, are the poorest for years past, which we attribute almost solely to the use of these deep nets.

We have watched the Salmon run every year, carefully, and as fishermen have added to the depth of their nets, so has the run of fish lessened in the Fraser River where we Indians can carefully note how the run is.

In the early days of the fishing industry, 30 and 40 meshes only, were used and we can all with truth state, that there was just as many fish caught then as there are now with the 110 mesh net. The Salmon also had a chance to pass on to the spawning grounds. . .

What we are anxious for the Department to do, towards all parties concerned, is to adopt a uniform depth of nets of not more than 60 meshes to be used in the future. This will give all an equal chance and leave a big margin of space to allow fish not gilled to pass on to the spawning beds. Unless this plan is adopted, the Salmon industry will be greatly injured in the future.

We, on a former occasion, gave the Government timely warning as to the fate of the Sturgeon fishing and with what results we all know now to our loss and regret. The Sturgeon now have been destroyed in the Fraser.

We trust, however, that the Government will consider the matter we now complain of, and remedy the evil without delay which in time past, has caused such harm and loss to these Fisheries. Hoping you will give this matter your speedy attention. . .

Chief Cassimere, Langley
Chief Johnny, Coquitlam

Chief Joe Isaac, Katzie
Chief Johnny, Musqueam
Chief Augustan, Matsqui
Chief Phidell, Whonnock
Chief Captain Jim, Sumass
Chief Pierre Ayessik, Hope
Chief Harry, Squamish
Chief Joe, Squamish
Chief Harry, Cheam
Chief George O'Hammon, (Ohamil)
Chief Johnny Leon, Chehalis
Chief Jules, Sechelt
Johnny Point
Johnny Sparrow
Seymour Grant
Bob Watchman
D. Bailey

APPENDIX NO. 10

TESTIMONY ON FISHING AND FISHERIES

OF THE B. C. INDIANS

TO THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

1913-1916

TESTIMONY ON FISHING AND FISHERIES OF THE B. C. INDIANS
TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS
1913-1916

BABINE AGENCY

Hagwilget Band:

Commissioner McKenna: How do these people on the reserve make their living?

Chief Charles: A long time ago, the old people used to come here to catch fish in the canyon and they lived on that, and after that they went out hunting, and today we pretty near do the same thing.

McKenna: Your main business is hunting and fishing?

Charles: Yes.

McKenna: How do you find hunting and fishing? Do your lives compare today with what they were fifteen years ago? Is it as good now as it was then. . .?

Charles: We are living now just the same, we have a coat, but we live pretty near the same way, trying to make our living like the white peoples, but we have hard trouble to get it.

McKenna: Do you get any work from the white people at all?

Charles: We get some work from the white people, but they don't let me stop very long, only two or three days a month at a very low price. . .

Moricetown Band, 26 April 1915:

Commissioner MacDowall: Do the Indians here catch Salmon?

Chief David Francis: In July the Salmon come up the river and they put up the fish for winter.

MacDowall: Do they catch different kinds of Salmon?

David Francis: Yes, Spring Salmon, Sockeye, Coho, Steelhead, Trout and Ling.

MacDowall: So, I suppose, your principal food supply is. . .from fishing?

David Francis: A long time ago, we used to have enough fish, but the Government closed down our traps and now we don't get enough.

Kisgegas Band, 13 July 1915:

Chief William Jackson: We are asking to get back the land of our grandfathers. We want our places to be free as they were before; as our fathers had a free living in their own land, we want to be the same way. Where we catch fish, where we hunt, and where we get berries, we want to use it as our fathers did. God gave us this land, where we were brought up, and it was free. There was no bothering us and we want the land, just as it was before the white men came into this country.

Commissioner MacDowall: William Jackson and Indians of the tribe, you need not speak to us about holding this land the same as your grandfathers did, the world moves along, and you in your lifetime must move with it. It is for the sake of your grandchildren that we are here; to preserve something for them. The world will be different for your grandchildren than what it is today, and if you think of them at all, you should select a piece of land for them. If you are not willing to do that, we might as well not talk to you at all.

William Jackson: What is moving this world?

MacDowall: You will have to go to a wiser lot of men than the Kuldoes are to find that out, but you will have to move with the world. If you don't, you will be wiped out.

Indian Agent, R. E. Loring, Babine Agency, 4 November 1915:

Commissioner MacDowall: Those fishing stations, I suppose, are absolutely necessary to the Indians. . .?

R. E. Loring: In my opinion, they will be no use in a very few years more, because only the very oldest Indians are using them now.

MacDowall: Why do you come to that conclusion?

R. E. Loring: Because they will have other means of fishing, they will fish with nets in other localities. As it now, the very old Indians. . .use a scoop net and spear.

MacDowall: How do the Indians of this tribe make their living?

R. E. Loring: They go down to the coast and work for the canneries.

BELLA COOLA AGENCY

Bella Bella Tribe, 25 August 1913:

Chief Moody Humchit: I think we ought to enjoy exclusively the hunting, and particularly the fishing privilege on these Reserves and in the vicinity of these Reserves, which we do not enjoy at the present time.

Commission Chairman: Who interferes with you fishing in these rivers, which are situated on the Reserves?

Moody Humchit: Mr. Draney, of the Draney Cannery Company, has taken the use of the rivers for a long time.

Chairman: Did you not give the cannery company the right to do so?

Moody Humchit: We tried to stop them, but have not been successful. We spoke to a former Indian Agent, Mr. Todd, about it, but nothing was done.

Chairman: Did not the Indians give the cannery company permission to take the fish out of these rivers?

Moody Humchit: No, we did not.

Chairman: Then how did the cannery company get the privilege?

J. A. Pauline: They applied to the Marine and Fishery Department.

Chairman: And the Marine and Fishery Department gave them permission?

J. A. Pauline: Yes.

Moody Humchit: We want to be able to fish with seines at the mouth of the rivers.

Chairman: You claim the right to fish at the mouth of the rivers?

Moody Humchit: Yes.

Harry Humchit: (The Chief's brother spoke as follows): I am speaking for the whole Band now. We have already had two meetings, amongst ourselves, to discuss this, so that we have it all ready for you in short order. We have nothing against the white men around here. All we want is to Reserve certain rights to ourselves, which we feel we shall require in years to come. We have talked with these white men, the pre-emptors, sometimes, and have "gone after" them in a way and told them to let our fishing privileges alone, but these whitemen have told us to go away and mind our own business. . .

Bob Anderson: Now we think that the money which has been received for all these fishing licenses, in the past, should have been (and should be) paid over to us, as all the

Bob Anderson: fishing privileges rightly belong to us Indians. The place is ours. All the money, which is received from the licenses issued to the cannery people, should be paid over to us. This place was ours long before the cannery people ever came here, and before any white people ever came into the country at all.

Mr. Shaw: Do you mean that this money should go over to the Indians as a Band?

Bob Anderson: Yes, to the whole band. If we fished these rivers ourselves, we would pay the licenses.

Dr. McKenna: And the proceeds of these licenses would go to the whole band, is that what you mean?

Bob Anderson: The proceeds of all licenses, which have ever been issued to anybody for fishing on these rivers, should be paid back to us, and in the future, we should be allowed to pay for and take out our own licenses ourselves. We want to have these licenses in our own name, so that we can sell the fish when we get them, to whatever cannery or people we like.

Kitimaat Tribe, 1 September 1913:

Chief John Bolton: We are troubled about our land. It is not straight to us somehow. It is ours because we were born here and our fathers and forefathers had it before us. We want you to understand about it. We want to know how the government got that land outside of the Reserve. We are troubled about how the government has gone and sold the land outside our Reserves. We know it is our land and not the government's, and they had gone and sold it and done what they like with it. There is lots of land outside the Reserves where we had houses and villages and camping places and all these have been taken from us.

Amos: This is what I wish to know. I heard about you coming here to see about this trouble of land here. There is lots of places where our forefathers had their habitation and different places where different ones of us were born. The government at Victoria put their hand down on these places and did what they liked with them. They gave us a small piece of land and the rest they sold away. We want to come before you, before you cut it up. We don't want you to cut it up. . .

McKenna: What is the point of the prohibition at Rivers Inlet?

Commissioner White: Is that for nets and seines?

No answer.

George Robinson: (interpreter) The Indians simply want a place reserved where the white men cannot go and interfere with their fishing.

Chairman: I understand that they want a certain point here above which the whitemen cannot go to fish?

Robinson: Yes, that is so.

Chairman: Are all these places you speak of at the mouths of rivers?

Robinson: Yes.

Chairman: Is a whiteman allowed to go up the river to where they spawn and take fish?

Robinson: No, he is not, but there is no one there to watch them.

Kitkatla Band, 4 September 1913:

Chief Moses Gladstone, Joshua Brown and others addressed the Commission on the subject of the Indian title, and being informed by the Chairman that the Commission could not deal with this question, they declined to give information as the character of the Reserves, stock, population, etc., although every opportunity was afforded them of giving testimony.

Iver Fougner, Bella Coola Agency, 4 September 1913:

Commissioner Shaw: In a general way, would you consider that the Indians have as many fishing stations reserved for them as are reasonably necessary for their requirements?

Fougner: Well, I don't know that they complain about not having sufficient fishing stations so much as their right to fish when and where they like.

Chairman: What I want to know is, are their present Reserves adequate for their uses?

Fougner: I think so, for the present, but as for the future I cannot say.

Chairman: The Kitimaat Indians spoke more earnestly than any other Indians about requiring additional places for fishing. Have they, in your opinion, got sufficient fishing stations?

Fougner: Of course, they fish wherever they like. They are not debarred from fishing at any place, Reserve or no Reserve. They just fish where they like.

Chairman: That is not an answer to my question. What I want to know is, they have certain places which are used as fishing stations; are these places quite adequate for their requirements?

Fougner: For the present, yes, I think, however, the Kitimaat's and the China Hat Indians are worse off in this respect than the others.

NASS AGENCY

Metlakatla Band, 27 September 1915:

Chief Solomon Auriol addressed the Commission as follows: I wish to express my pleasure at being able to be present before you gentlemen. The people have all spoken about our Reserves and about the land being secured. My chief trouble is about. . .the Salmon stream which has been taken away. The white people have taken it and built a sawmill on it, the name of the place is Kyex (No. 8), and the railway has gone right through it and I have never received any compensation for it and we want our rights recognized. I am helpless now and I want to get something out of it. I got all my food from there, my fish, berries and all my hunting grounds are there, and ever since the white people have come there, I have never received anything and I want my rights recognized. . .

Port Simpson Tribe, 29 September 1915:

William Moody: I was one of the men appointed by the Chiefs to speak for the village and I thank the Commissioners from the Dominion government and Provincial government for this opportunity. . .We have been. . .thrown out of employment from our various rivers, namely the Skeena and the Nass. We are denied the privilege of an independent license with which to fish on these various rivers. . .on that account the Indians cannot all fish on these rivers as they cannot all procure licenses. All the licenses that are issued by both the Dominion and Provincial governments for fishing privileges on these two rivers, over ninety per cent are held by Japanese. We now take this opportunity of asking you and placing before you, the request that we be given the privilege of the independent license and in that way replace the Japs, which are now fishing on the various rivers. In this way, we can resume our work and make our living on the Skeena and various waters of our forefathers . . .by using these licenses, we may be able to take our fish to the best markets and in that way, the money made from these fish will remain in the country. Another point about the fishing right along the shores of our Indian Reserves here, men were granted privileges to use their seines and take the Herring on the grounds right on the shore here. Even though we protested about this, and the Custom House tried to do their best for us, by helping us to try and stop it, they could not do it. They (the Herring fishermen) not only got more than they really wanted, but they wasted a great deal of the Herring. We are denied these privileges ourselves and we now ask for equal rights. If they have the privilege of seining on our land, we ask for the same so that we can compete with them for a fair living wage. This is one point that I bring up as regards one of the grievances of the people, which I think is most important. . .

Commissioner Shaw: When the matter was referred to about the white men taking a net and fishing for Herring near the Reserve, when did that happen?

Moses Johnson: Two years ago, they were taken right down near the shore here. . .before that, it was (where) the Herring had spawned.

Shaw: It was two years ago that the men came and took the Herring away right near the Reserve with a net?

Moses Johnson: Yes.

Shaw: Do you know whether he was an American, or a British subject, or a Jap?

Moses Johnson: He was a British subject.

Shaw: Do you know whether he had a license for using that net?

Moses Johnson: The first party that was here two years ago had no license to gather fish off the edge of the Reserve.

Shaw: And has it happened since that time?

Moses Johnson: We appealed to the Customs officer. . .and it was through his efforts that the man stopped fishing.

Shaw: And has anyone fished there since?

Moses Johnson: Last winter they carried on the same practice right inside Whiskey Bay.

Shaw: Do you know whether the men who were there had licenses or not?

Moses Johnson: I telephoned personally to the Fisheries Inspector to find out whether they had. I then asked him over the phone if he was aware that they were fishing on spawning grounds, and he got sore and hung up the receiver. Not only him, but one, two, or three large corporations were fishing there.

Shaw: Did they all receive licenses to fish?

Moses Johnson: According to the Fishery Inspector, they all had, which had been granted from Ottawa.

Interpreter: The importance of the Herring as regards to the spawning grounds here, is that the Spring Salmon follow the Herring and if the Herring are driven from here, there are no Spring Salmon. . .

Kincolith Tribe, 2 October 1915:

W. J. Lincoln addressed the Commission with regard to Reserve No. 15: I have been appointed to speak at this meeting about some land belonging to the Nishga people that they work on, known as Kinnimax No. 15. From time which we cannot remember here today, this land was used by the tribe for different purposes. There was one man appointed to be the head man of this river and ground. From this place they derived different kinds of food; starting from the river, we caught our Salmon, then further up the valley we got the marten, mink, and other fur bearing animals, also the bear. . .leaving the valley and going up the mountains we got the mountain goat, which we used to use for food. . .we also used the trees from the very smallest tree, which the white people would use as a fishing pole, we used it as a gaff, to the largest tree, which we used for canoes. We see that the Reserve does not cover, and never did cover, all these different places that I have explained to you. Our timber. . .white people have come in and taken timber limits. In other cases, the canneries have come in with seines and taken up our fish from these creeks from which we expected to get money. But instead of us getting money, these people have come in and taken the money. . .the thing that troubles us most is that this place is supposed to be ours from time immemorial, but now we see that instead of us making money at this place and using the money for ourselves for food. . . and clothing. . ., it is slipping away altogether. Although this land was supposed to belong to us and does belong to us. There used to be land there (Kinnimax No. 15) and hunting places and also fishing grounds, but now this place has all been taken up and our hunting and fishing places have been spoilt there. Now this is a great grievance which we lay before you today.

Henry Smart addressed the Commission on the Commonage and also on the 10 acre lot at Fishery Bay No. 10: There is a piece of land owned by white people right in the middle of our Reserve at Fishery Bay, it is a ten acre lot, which formerly belonged to a company that erected a cannery there. This ten-acre lot is a hindrance to us on our working ground as it is. We want it to be returned to us as the company told us in the first place. . .the company told us that after they were through with their cannery, the land would revert back to us again. In the first place, before the company arrived at Fishery Bay, this land was covered with Indian houses and when the company came, these houses were removed from this piece of land to accommodate the company. . . It is over twenty years now since this cannery was taken away from this piece of land. . .

KWAWKEWLTH AGENCY

Nuhwitti Band, 28 May 1914:

Chief George: The main thing I want to mention are the rivers. I think there are three or four of them. . .we use, and we are now losing our principal food, the Halibut. It is now taken by the whitemen who (are) coming here now. This river, the Tsutas empties into Shushartie Bay. . .the Nahwitti river. . .Kosas river. . .another river called Somach at Sea Otter Cover. . .another river called Wakami at Negei Island. . .

Chief George: There is one place which is very sore to my heart; this place I name Pakiunts. It has been taken away from me by the whitemen, and I ask that it be returned to me. I thank you gentlemen for coming here, and I have some hope now of claiming my land which has been taken. . .I am so hopeful of getting it back for my children.

Commissioner MacDowall: Do you use this island (Hope Island) as a base for catching Halibut?

Chief George: Yes, each one of us has a place of our own around this Island. We go to our own place and don't interfere with the others fishing.

MacDowall: And do they catch Halibut. . .to give them all a comfortable living?

Chief George: Yes, we did sufficient, but lately it has not been enough because there are so many whitemen coming here to catch them as well as ourselves.

MacDowall: What whitemen have been catching them. . .where did they come from?

Chief George: There are many whitemen who have come here of recent years, but we don't know exactly where they come from. . .

Quawshelah Band, 29 May 1914:

Commissioner: Speaking generally, are (you) fairly well fed, well clothed and well housed the year round?

Taiakinkomi: Some years we don't get enough fish, and some years we don't get enough furs.

Commissioner: The seasons they don't get enough fish, is it because they neglect to go out and catch them, or because they are getting scarce?

Taiakinkomi: We cannot tell exactly, but it seems that there are some years in which there are more fish than other years.

Commissioner: Are the fish as plentiful now as they were in the old days?

Taiakinkomi: Just now there seems to be more fish then there used to be, but I think it is because they have a better and more up to date means of catching them.

Commissioner: Do they live exclusively on fish?

Taiakinkomi: Yes.

Nahkwockto Band, 30 May 1914:

Chief George Pokleetami: I will now speak of my land which was always owned by my forefathers and now I come into possession of them myself. This is what I want to say, that the Reserves which are measured out for us I think they are too small, there is hardly room to turn around in them where we get our livelihood. There is only one place where we can earn money; that is the cannery where we get fish, and we have not enough for to buy our children food and clothes. . .when the money that we earn from the cannery is all gone, we go to our different places and get what we can from them. . .I now ask that these Reserves might be made larger. The places where we get clams to eat. I would also like to get this place where we are now. . .then that Island out there where we have our fishing stations; we fish for Halibut on that island (Deserters Island). There are two things that we get there: Halibut and seaweed. Now I will speak of the rivers up the inlet. . .I would ask that at Seymour Narrows. . .be closed against whitemen coming up in that Inlet. . .

Commissioner: What is the chief occupation of your Band?

Pokleetami: Fishing is our principal occupation and hunting.

Commissioner: Do your people go outside to other places during the fishing season at the canneries?

Pokleetami: Yes, some of us go to canneries and work there, and some stay home to fish.

Commissioner: At what cannery do they go?

Pokleetami: At the canneries up at River's Inlet. . .the Beaver cannery and different canneries up there.

Commissioner: About how many men go to the cannery?

Pokleetami: We generally go there, all of us. . .15 boats we have there.

Commissioner: And do the women go to work in the canneries?

Pokleetami: Yes.

Commissioner: About how long does the fishing season at the canneries last?

Pokleetami: Five weeks.

Commissioner: And the Indians fishing for the canneries, how do they work, by the day or do they catch the fish and sell them at so much each?

Pokleetami: We sell the fish.

Commissioner: Does the cannery supply them with boats and nets, or have you your own boats and gear?

Pokleetami: It belongs to the cannery.

Commissioner: Do you get enough fish in the different places to maintain you throughout the whole year?

Pokleetami: The Halibut we generally dry for our own use in the winter, and when that is gone, then we have the dried Salmon, which comes next for our food during the winter.

Commissioner: But do you get enough to keep you the whole winter?

Pokleetami: Yes, it is enough with the help of the clams, etc. and other food.

Commissioner: Then. . .are the fish as plentiful now as they were in former years?

Pokleetami: Yes, they are as plentiful now as they were in former years.

Kwawkewlth Band, 1 June 1914 (Fort Rupert):

Chief Owahagaleese: . . .The land around here was all cleared by our forefathers, and the whiteman came along and seeing the place cleared, they put their houses up and stayed there. We want this place taking in both sides of that river, Kliksweway. We want both sides of that river, Kliksweway, running the whole length. We want this river also for the Salmon that runs there, and the beach for the clams that are there, and for the trees. . .and the soil. We trap there and get different fur bearing animals. . .Wattsolis (Deer Island). . .we want that for the clams that are there. We ask for the exclusive right for our fishing grounds outside of Fort Rupert, the Halibut fishing grounds. When we go there to fish, we don't want to be annoyed by others. Why we ask for the exclusive right to these places, particularly the fishing grounds, is so that we shall have a feeling of having a right to do that work there because it is our own. If we did not know that we had a right for fishing there, we, perhaps, would submit to the orders of other fishermen coming there, namely the Japanese and whitemen. When they find us fishing there, they will likely push our canoes away and tell us to get out of there. That is the reason we are so glad of meeting the Commissioners. . .we want to be free in doing what we want to do at these places, although we know it is our own from olden times, and we ask for these protections. . .

Johnny Whannock: There is a little Indian Reserve there (Asakis). . .they want that extended 1/2 mile along the shore line and back to the source of the Tsulquate River.

Commissioner: What do you want that for?

Johnny Whannock: There was a village to the south of the present Reserve and another village where the Reserve itself is, and we want it for the soil and the timber and the Salmon, and on the front of it for the clams.

Commissioner: Their present little Reserve furnishes them with a station for the fishing of Salmon and drying it?

Johnny Whannock: Yes

Commissioner: Do you mean that you want the river itself exclusively for the Indians?

Johnny Whannock: Yes, they want this river for Salmon, which is going up there, and also for the soil and the timber. They want the extension to go along both sides of the river. . .

Nimpkish Band, 2 June 1914:

Commissioner: You said you used to sell fish, but you could not sell them now. Do you mean that you were stopped, or do you mean that there is no market outside of the cannery that is here?

Chief Lagius: I meant that years ago, when I was a young man, they were able to use the traps all along to get Salmon and we sold them from the traps, but now we are not allowed to use the traps. . .the Sockeye Salmon, we have been stopped from selling the fish at any time of year.

Commissioner: Can you catch them for your own food?

Chief Lagius: We are not allowed now, because we are not allowed the traps. . .the cannery has been given the exclusive right to fish in that river (Nimpkish). . .

Commissioner: Are you not allowed to catch Sockeyes in that river for food?

Chief Lagius: We cannot use traps and we cannot get it from the men that use it for commercial purposes. The canneries are fishing with nets and they won't let us have any of the fish in the nets. . .we don't get any Sockeyes now for our food. . .

Commissioner: Do they get Dog Salmon in the Nimpkish River?

Chief Lagius: Yes, we are allowed to fish for the Dog Salmon in their season. . .

Jane Cook: The chief does not and never could understand the situation with respect to the fishing. When the cannery had first got its fishing rights on this river, Mr. Hall,

Jane Cook: then resident missionary, to offset the injury to the Indians by the cannery fishing, secured for the Indians the right to fish in their own river on their own Reserve and established a small hatchery just to give them something to do and to show them that they might still fish. He had got some of the boys licenses and they had got and salted a few Salmon. It was to show the Indians that they still had the right to fish. There were others fishing for the cannery at the same time and in the same place and the two parties quarrelled and threw stones at one another. Mr. Hall afterwards drew out and the saltery was closed, and since then, the Indians had never tried fishing there any more, nor had they ever again been able to get fishing licenses. . .

Ququece: I want to know if it is right for the whiteman to fish on the Indian Reserve on both sides of the mouth of the river?

McKenna: Does he go on the Indian Reserve?

Ququece: Yes, they pull the seines up on the beach of the Indian Reserve.

McKenna: No one has the right to go on the Indian Reserve itself. The Agent will look into that and if there is any trespass, he will prevent it. No whiteman has any right to go on an Indian Reserve whatever. . .

Awalaskinis: I want to know if I can build a trap on the river to catch my food?

MacDowall: No, you can't build a trap. It is against the fishery regulations.

Awalaskinis: Why are we not allowed to build a trap? If we cannot use a trap, we lose our food. I want to say that our traps are no worse than the nets they use there. If we cannot build a trap, may we be allowed to use a net to catch the fish there?

MacDowall: The proper thing for you to do is to enquire from the Fishery Inspector, Mr. Lucas, he will inform you just exactly what the law is in that regard, and the Commissioners cannot interfere with the laws of the land as they now stand. . .

Campbell River Band, 3 June 1914:

James Smith: . . .We also want the places where our forefathers used to live, which we understand do not belong to us now. We now ask that these be returned into our possession. . .the places where our forefathers used to live and we want them for the hunting, trapping, and fishing. We are told by the whitemen that these places don't belong to us and they will not allow us to do anything on these places. . . Our forefathers used to take the fish for food and we also want to do the same, and we want to have exclusive right to these places and keep the white men from coming to catch our fish; and we also want to use the trap that our forefathers used to use on these rivers because it is a very much easier way of catching Salmon.

James Smith: We ask for the powers to enable us to stop the whitemen when they go to fish for the Salmon with big nets and we would like the power to stop them. We want to catch the fish ourselves and bring them to the cannery, so that we may be able to sell the fish ourselves. When the first whitemen came to these places, they saw the Indians. . .putting traps in the river, they at once destroyed these traps, cut them up with an axe and threw them away. Those are the troubles that are coming to us by the whitemen. . .

MacDowall: . . .With regard to the whitemen taking fish with a seine net, that is not a matter for us to deal with. The Department of Marine and Fisheries has to deal with all such matters as that. . .

Tsawataineuk, 4 June 1914:

Chief Cesaholis: Now I will go on about these whitemen. . .they went on cutting the trees down all along the river, and these whitemen never have stopped cutting down the trees which I thought belonged to us. . .and they have driven piles right across the river, so close that we have hardly any room to turn our canoes around when we fish there. Since these piles have been driven there, the fish appears to us to be getting less and less all the time. They also built a bridge, just at our village, blocking the river, and I would beg very strongly to mention what I want. I want particularly the river, the whole length of it from its mouth up to its source, and the land on both sides of it, where our forefathers always had their fishing ground. . .

Kwawaineuk Band, 4 June 1914:

Chief Tlageglass: . . .I want to mention at once that I want my places where I fish, the rivers where I get my food, because now I don't get the full benefit of my food myself, because the whiteman comes and takes the fish for themselves. I want to say that the whitemen are now digging the banks of the river. . .and it affects the animals there that I used to get and that I don't get now. . .it was very valuable to me. Another thing, I don't want other people to come and fish on my rivers, and I want the right of fishing there myself to sell to whomever will buy them. When I go there, I am generally ordered off. It is not only just now that I want to get my places (they) have always been mine. . .

Cape Mudge, 10 June 1914:

Charles Homiskinis: . . .Some twenty years back, I used to get a lot of different things . . .which I cannot do now. . .Since the whitemen has come here, I cannot do that any more, and if I do take them, they order me away. The fish and the Salmon . . .if I do take them, they threaten to put me in jail. My forefathers used to live far up the river and used to take their Salmon there for their food in the winter time, and also hunted and trapped in those days. What am I going to live on now

Charles Homiskinis: since the whiteman won't let me take food any more. . .I know that the country belongs to me, and was given to me by the creator from the olden times; and this is what I ask of the Commission, that they may take my words to the government and be friendly and that I may get my land all along the river. . .whenever we try to catch the Salmon that run in our river, we are afraid to take them because of the threats that are made to us by the whitemen.

Commissioner: Do you mean on the Salmon River, running through the Reserve. . .?

Homiskinis: Running through the Reserve. . .the Reserve is on both sides of the river. Our forefathers used to put traps all around that river, but we are afraid to use them any more. . .they were not used all the time, the longest time they would be in the river would be about ten days, and then we would take them out again, we don't keep them in the river all the time; and this is what I ask that I may be allowed to do that again, so that I can sell them to the whitemen and so enable me to get my food. . .

WESTCOAST AGENCY

Nitinat Band, 7 May 1914:

Nitinat Joe: . . .The depredations by the Americans and the Japs are cutting down the number of fish we used to catch. You will now see the two rivers from which we get our living, the Chawheet and the Homitan. The rivers are not big enough. There is just room for the Indians. We want to get authority from the government to stop whitemen from fishing there. . .you will see that we cannot do any farming here, so that fishing is the only thing which we can do. If the white people should get started out on the river, they would clear it out in 5 days as the rivers are not large.

Opetchesaht Band, 11 May 1914:

Chief Dan Watts: . . .Many years ago, the big men told all the Indians they could fish in this river (Sumass) all they wanted for their food, but now, these white people try to stop us. I don't know what we are going to do. We live on fish, we are not like white people. It is hard for us to get a job here. The old people cannot get a job from the whitemen. . .they won't employ them. . .if the white people stop us from fishing with gill nets, I don't know what we are going to do. . .and we don't want to be stopped. We always want fish. They stop our traps up the river there. The purse seine does more damage than we do. . .

Sheshaht Band, 11 May 1914:

Chief Shewish: . . .Now the Indians claimed the river (Somass), but the white people say we have no rights to fish, and we cannot make our living in any other way. . .(We

Chief Shewish: fish now) with nets. . .there (formerly) were 400 Indians using traps. Only Chiefs had traps. . .there were 15 traps, and what fish we caught. . .were distributed among the tribe. We only used the traps for a couple of weeks and when there was a freshet, we put our traps away and allowed the fish to go up. The whites came in here and stopped them fishing with traps and run the river with their laws. . .they thought they would run the place better and thought they would have more fish by having the Indians not use traps. (Then) the purse seine came and began fishing at the mouth of the river, and sometimes caught. . .15,000 Salmon and they caught Salmon before they got up to the spawning grounds. Even the small fish were caught in the seine. . .if they keep on fishing with the purse seine, they won't have any Salmon to take out of the river.

Ahousaht Band, 18 May 1914:

Chief Billy: . . .Schooners come right in here where we fish for Dog Salmon and get our fish, and I want to stop them coming into this Indian Reserve. They come in to get the fish for themselves. They come in just opposite where our houses are. They sell the fish from these Indian Reserves; the Indians get Dog Salmon and dry it for their own food. . .if all the Dog Salmon are going to be gone by these men coming . . .what will we do? The fish will be scarcer year after year. . .

Commissioner: Did you ever speak to the Indian Agent about it?

Chief Billy: I have spoken to the Indian Agent about it and he said he is going to help me sometime. Well, the Indian Agent, he keeps on going. He seems to forget what he told me.

Commissioner: Is it the cannery people or the Halibut people that come in?

Chief Billy: The cannery people and the Halibut people. . .when are we going to know about the help you are going to give us? When are you going to let us know about stopping these men from coming in?

Commissioner: The proper person for you to apply to is the Fisheries Officer. He has instructions what to do and has the power to prevent anything that is wrong. . .when the fishery officer comes near your Reserve you had better see him.

KAMLOOPS AGENCY

Deadman's Creek Band, 29 October 1913:

Chief Joe Tomma: The grievance of all the Indians in British Columbia (is) that the white-men has kind of spoiled (things) and locked us in. The whitemen had taken all the land and have claimed all the water rights, and stopped us from hunting and fishing.

NEW WESTMINSTER AGENCY

Squamish Band, 21 June 1913:

Chairman of the Commission: As to hunting and fishing, that is entirely a different thing. These laws, which provide for a close season, are for the purpose of preserving and increasing the fish and game. . .they are intended to protect the fish and game during the breeding season. If you open the door to the Indian, you have to open wide the door to the whiteman, and if that were done, both the fish and game would very rapidly decrease, and perhaps disappear. . .I may say that in the eastern parts of Canada, where they have not been careful in that respect, the fish and game have almost disappeared. So. . .these close seasons are as much in the interests of the Indians as they are of the whitemen, but the government, recognizing that it is a greater hardship upon the Indians to have to forego hunting and fishing during the close season than it is to the whiteman, have made some provisions in favour of the Indians, which they cannot make in favour of the whiteman. For instance, both the whiteman and the Indians can fish at all times with lines. . .but the. . .Indian can obtain a fishery license from the Fishery Inspector to fish with a net to obtain food for himself and his family. Then as to game, the Indian can obtain from the Game Warden or the Fishery Warden. . .but I should imagine that the Warden or the Game Keeper would exercise a fair discretion and that he would not refuse to issue a license to an Indian without reason. For instance, if an Indian abused his license and did not catch fish for himself and family, but caught them to sell, his license would be taken away and he would not get another. Or if he abused his game license in killing more game than he was entitled to or killed game wastefully, his license would be cancelled.

Cheakamus Band (Squamish), 17 August 1915:

Timothy: We clear land but it is very small. We tried to chop down a few trees for timber and we were stopped right away by the Agent, and if I keep on I am afraid I will be "run in." I wish to cultivate the soil here, but I have no money to start in with, and the only way we got our seeds this year, was by asking the government for them. . .I have no work. . .and now work is scarce and the white people won't allow us to work. All we depend on is fishing in the rivers and now the government stops us from fishing and now we don't know what to do. . .

Burrard Inlet, 21 June 1913:

Chief Jimmie Harry: When I make this statement, regarding fishing and hunting, it applies principally to the older people, who are unable to work and follow the lines of work that the young people follow in order to earn their living. About 4 weeks from today, there was a net, which was in the stream out here, belonging to an old Indian residing in this Reserve. His only means of getting fish for him to eat and make his living by fishing. . .the Fishery Warden willfully and without warning

Chief Jimmie Harry: cut his . . . which was about 15 fathoms long and put it into his boat and took it away. Now this same poor old man has no net and no money to buy another. . . and therefore, he can not get any more fish to eat. The Indians residing in this Reserve (Seymour Creek) never raise any objections to the white people who come to fish in this creek running right along this Reserve, which Indians claim as their own. . . it causes hard feeling when the white people object to the Indians catching fish to eat. When they do that, the Indians are afraid. . . to set another net and catch fish. . . and yet allow the white people to fish all day Saturday and all day Sunday in our fishing grounds. . . it creates hard feelings, and yet we are blamed that fishing and hunting have been decreasing. Now during time immemorial the Indians, before the whiteman came here, were living on fish and game and (it) never decreased. . .

Musqueam Band, 24 June 1913:

Chief Johnnie: Before the whiteman came, the Indians used to have all kinds of game to live on, but since the arrival of the whiteman, pretty nearly all the game around here has disappeared. Even the fish in the waters are going the same way. . . I say that I did not destroy all those things which God made for us Indians, it is the whiteman who came to this country that. . . destroyed our game and fish. . . I want to be at liberty at all times, to take and kill fish and game of all descriptions, to support my family and for our own use. I don't want to be restricted by the whiteman's law. There was one time that I had trouble. I had bought a net and the same year I took sick and could not use the gear. So I sent two men to go up and get a few Salmon. . . for my winter's grub. They were there only one day and an officer came along and took the net away from them. . . I wanted the fish for the winter and they came and took it away. . .

Chairman: Now I wish to state what the object of such a laws (the Fishery Regulations) means, you are an intelligent man and you had better think it over. . . the objects of these laws are to prevent the fish and game from becoming extinct. If there was no close season, the game would disappear and the fish would disappear. . . Do you see these laws are passed not only for the benefit of the whiteman but for your benefit, and the government. . . are spending large sums of money in hatcheries where the fish can be hatched and preserved. I don't know whether you ever heard the story about killing the goose that laid the golden egg, that is just what it means.

Chief Johnnie: I have a few words to say yet. It is indeed true what the Chairman said. The Indian's custom of taking fish was only by the means of a small net, and they only caught very few so as not to destroy the fish with a net only three feet wide. That is the reason that I say I did not destroy the fish. It is the whiteman that brought the long nets and catch all kinds of fish. That is the reason the fish are all going away. Whenever we go out to hunt for a deer, if we get one, we bring it down and use all the meat, we don't waste any of it, only the guts and tripe is

Chief Johnnie: left behind. The whiteman goes out hunting for deer (and) sometimes they shoot a buck and just take the horns or maybe just take the skin off and leave the meat there. . .and about the fish, it is the same way. The whitemen use a long net, and whenever they get so much fish that they cannot sell them, they throw them overboard. But the Indians do not do that, whenever we get or catch fish, we know when to stop and we eat or sell all we catch. . .I say that the food of the Indians is being seized and destroyed.

Coquitlam Band, 8 January 1915:

Chief David Bailey: We, the Coquitlam Band, bring to your attention in regards to our hunting, fishing and game matters. In the former years, we used to get our permit and net tags free, and now we are to pay for the tags before we are at liberty to set our nets of which we do not agree to do so. . .we should be allowed to sell what little fish we may have to spare for our house purposes. . .for we must have our flour and sugar and tea. . .

Upper Sumas Band, 12 January 1915:

Chief Slelesmlton (Ned): This is the land and that is what the old people know, that is what they used to say. The Indians have always been poor, that is the reason I have always been worrying. . .I know the old people used to say that the white people will be shoving you around all over this open prairie to get our food. We used to get our meat, ducks, and fish out on this lake (Sumas) and on the prairie. We go out on the Fraser and catch our fish; and we'd go out on the mountains on each side of this lake and get all the meat we want; but today it is not that way any more. We can't get what we want. If I go out and take my gun, there is always someone to round me up and have me arrested. If I go out and catch a fish, the policeman comes out after me with a gun. Every year that we use a net, they come out and take it away from us; and that is what worried me all the time. . .

Aitchelitz Band, 13 January 1915:

Chief William Dick: I want my full liberty to go fishing, shooting, and hunting throughout the year.

Commissioner: We cannot give you any more privileges than the law allows. You are at liberty to hunt on vacant lands during the open season for game, and if you want to kill a deer at any time of the year, if you will apply to Mr. Byrne (Indian Agent), and if Mr. Byrne feels that you are entitled to it, he will get you a permit. . .in regard to the fishing, we are now making enquiries into the fishing matter and we shall make such recommendations as we think will be of benefit to the Indians.

Skulkayn Band, 14 January 1915:

Chief William Sepass: In the early days, we were at liberty to fish and hunt all over, but now the laws are coming to a point that they are closing in on us, and some day, we will be cleared from hunting and fishing altogether. . . I said before, we are short of acreage and for that reason I want an enlargement of our Reserves.

Sechelt Band, 17 February 1915:

Chief George: We heard here in our place that the Royal Commissioner of Indian Affairs . . . were going to come. . . and my people. . . told me to take a piece for us for a hunting place for deer, and they also told me to get some extra land, and they told me to get the sea from where we will get fish for our food. We see now. . . that not long from now, we will be very miserable because the white people are getting more and more on our place.

Chehalis Band, 10 January 1915:

Chief Johnny Leon: I know the government does not want us to talk about some things that we want to talk about, but I will talk about it a little. . . the land title.

Commissioner MacDowall: We have nothing to do with that matter, that will be tested in the courts.

Johnny Leon: Who made this world? Who made me here? Who made everything that is on this earth? Who made the deer and the animals and also the fish that swim in the waters? . . . Whenever one of my members or myself goes out and catches a Salmon and wants to sell it, a policeman comes along and puts us in gaol. There are some instances where some people went out to kill deer for their children, and when they were caught they were put in gaol. I think that we have more right to those animals than anyone else. . .

Andrew Phillips: . . . The government do not treat us right. They cheated us, they don't give us of what was promised to us in the early days, and they intruded in Indian Reserves in many places. Just because God created us in this country, therefore, we claim our rights as sacred. It was not the government nor anybody, that gave us the rights. . . our title to the whole territory is aboriginal. . .

Mt. Currie (Pemberton) Band, 20 August 1915:

Chief James Stager: . . . Yes, we are the inhabitants of this here province of British Columbia. Everything now is in the office at Ottawa, that is everything we used to live on, and again I would call to your attention to this matter. . . we are really very sorry and it hurts our feelings about our land and about our title to our land. Not only our title, but our hunting, fishing and everything that we used to live on, the government has taken it all and left us nothing. All my people are poor and living

Chief James Stager: thin. Everything that we should live on now the government has taken hold of it, even the timber! . . .The next thing I wish to talk about is the Birkenhead Creek. I suppose you have seen the hatchery on that creek which is supposed to increase the fish, but ever since we have come here we have noticed the Salmon and all the fish have been decreasing and. . .we can't live as well now as we used to. Three quarters of my people are away for their living because they cannot get sufficient Salmon in this creek to do them all winter. Last winter, four people had to live on seventy Salmon, so all my people are very sorry about this bad state of affairs. Some of my people here, have five in a family and sometimes six. Now sometimes we don't get one Salmon. . .About putting in nets — we would like to put in nets and allow them to stay there overnight. We don't put them across the Birkenhead, we just put them along the beach. We don't get enough fish and we don't want to have another winter like we had last winter. We catch Sockeye with these nets.

Commissioner Shaw: Don't you get a supply of fish from the hatchery?

James Stager: I want them when they come up here fresh, by the time we get them from the hatchery, they are all spoiled and we don't get half or even a quarter as much as before that hatchery was put in there.

Commissioner Carmichael: About how many fish did you get last year from the hatchery?

Constable J. Grant: They got 17,000 last year, including about 2,000 Cohoes, but not including the Striped fish.

Carmichael: Are those male fish in good condition?

Grant: Towards the last they are not, but the majority of them are.

McKenna: . . . We cannot give you leave to put in nets because it is not within our authority to do so.

Tenass Lake, 24 August 1915:

Indian James Smith: I hope that the Commission on their way down the lake will examine my fishing station at the junction of the Lillooet River and the lake of the same name. We had plenty of fish, we had plenty of timber and land until the whiteman came and now we are deprived of the right of fishing. . .

Samahquam Band, 26 August 1915:

Chief Harry Peters: Everything in this world seems to be stopped on us Indians — everything that we eat. As you see, the Salmon they are getting very scarce now and if these whitemen didn't put up hatcheries that fish would not be so scarce today.

Chief Harry Peters: There are three days in the year when the Salmon come. Whenever they come early it is three days before (this) and when they come late, it is three days behind, but since they made these hatcheries, they come any time and sometimes they don't come at all. You see this summer, they are one month late and so far there haven't been fifty Salmon taken out of Skookumchuck this year. . .

COWICHAN AGENCY

Nanaimo Band, 28 May 1913:

Albert Wesley: We wish to make mention of the "Dog Salmon." We want to be allowed to catch that. The Indians had permission from Mr. Taylor (Fishery Overseer) at one time, to throw nets and haul it in.

Chairman: When was this privilege taken away?

Albert Wesley: Well, we are not allowed to catch anything at all lately.

McKenna: Have you ever applied to the Fishery Officer for permission to fish for food and been refused?

Albert Wesley: No.

Chief L. A. Good: The coal company (uses). . .the river and the Salmon can't get up.

McKenna: What you claim is that the coal company has been allowed to put their dross in the river here to the detriment of the fisheries?

Albert Wesley: Yes.

MacDowall: That is a matter for the Fisheries Department.

McKenna: You think that has lessened the Salmon a lot?

Albert Wesley: Yes.

McKenna: If the channel were dredged and made deeper, do you think this would make any difference in the supply of fish?

Albert Wesley: Yes, they might become more plentiful.

Cowichan Tribe, 27 May 1913:

Chief Joe Kukahalt: . . .The whitemen are making laws which are getting our people into trouble. The way they are now, our people cannot do anything without violating

Chief Joe Kukahalt: some law. They cannot get their grub anywhere without being subject to some law. . .the government do not seem to try to find out the particulars of their grievances. There are Japanese out fishing every day in the week, but they don't touch them. These Japanese are the people who are killing off the fish. . .they don't go after them, only after the Indians. Also the white people are making fish traps which exterminate the fish. . .

John Elliott: With reference to the Cowichan River, the whitemen come fishing with rods and lines. They catch the very small fish and sometimes they carry them away in their baskets to Victoria. At other times they take them from the hook and throw them back into the River, and of course, the fish is then dead. We want this prohibited. The Indians never disturb these small fish. They used to catch them in nets in which case they would be taken out and put back into the water without hurting them, or very often the meshes of the net were large enough for the small fish to escape. It has been said that we kill Salmon with our weirs. This is not so, the weirs only stop the Salmon for a short time. The Salmon soon get through them. Another thing that kills the fish in the river is the logs being sent down the River in big quantities. . .these crush the fish. . .

STUART LAKE AGENCY

Fort George Band, 30 July 1914:

Sub-Chief Joseph: Joseph said that the Indians could no longer take Salmon in the Fraser River; they were only allowed to fish the Nechaco and wanted to get a small piece of land there as a fishing station, four or five acres, and also a fishing station at the mouth of the Salmon River.

Indian Agent McAllan: He replied that he could not say with definiteness, but was of the opinion that most of the land was taken up and settled in those places.

Indian Billy: The Indians had now no fish and no places to fish; they had no place to kill beaver. . .all the trapping on which the Indians had largely depended, had been spoiled. . .

Commissioner: And you want a piece at the mouth of Salmon River?

Sub-Chief Joseph: Yes. We just want it for the fishing season. If we go there now, we will be chased away, but if we had a piece of land up there, we would not be chased away. . .

Stellaquo Reserve, 4 June 1915:

Chief Isodore: The principal food of these Indians were Salmon, potatoes, and beaver. Since four years ago, they could not get but a small supply of fish. The nets supplied

Chief Isodore: them by the government were practically useless. The Stellaquo and Endako Rivers met at this reserve, and the Indians desire a weir across the Stellaquo and ask the government to help them to do this. Again, with respect to the beaver, the practice of the Indians from time immemorial had been to conserve or farm the beaver colonies, keeping up the stock at all times. The white people came in, however, and killed the beaver indiscriminately, without regard to the preservation of the stock, and this could not but have the result of exterminating the beaver in a short time. . .

Necoslie Band, 15 June 1915:

Chief Jimmy and Sam Prince: . . . Five years ago, the government had forbidden the use of Salmon barriers, and the Indians had obeyed the orders of the government in this matter. The government had given a net, with which however, the Indians could not take enough Salmon for their winter use. As a result, they were very hard up and sometimes starved. They, therefore, asked the help of the Commission. Up in this country, as the Commissioners know, the ground was not good for growing all sorts of crops. . . and at the same time these Indians could not get work from the whitemen. The whites in the locality would only hire other whitemen. If present conditions continued, some of the Indians must die hungry. . . Another thing, as to the game and fish: at certain times the whitemen would not allow the Indians to kill game or catch fish. The Indians had no money and could not earn money like the whitemen to buy the necessities of life; the game and the fish were the Indians' money. They were the Indians food. The white trappers, when they killed, left the meat and took only the skin. The Indians wanted the meat even more than the skins, to dry it for use. They therefore protested against the waste of the whiteman's methods. The Indians knew well when the animals had their young, and the birds and the fish as well, and I did not kill them. They wanted to save the game and protect it. That was how, in the old days, the game and the fish never ran short. The Indians therefore claim that they should have the right to kill game at any time, as they did not abuse this right. . .

WILLIAMS LAKE AGENCY

Canoe Creek Band, 17 July 1914:

Commissioner: Before this trail was cut off, did the Indians get a large supply of fish from the river?

Chief Camille: Before it was cut off, they used to go down to the river and dry a lot of Salmon for their winter use.

Commissioner: And that formed the chief means of subsistence?

Chief Camille: Yes.

Commissioner: How long ago is it since the trail to Fraser River has been cut off?

Chief Camille: Just this Spring.

Commissioner: So they have not been able to get there this Spring and they have not been able to put up any Salmon for this winter?

Chief Camille: When they go down to fish, they go on horseback and they turn the horses loose. Whenever the men who work the company see the horses, they turn them out and we have no place for the horses when we are down there fishing. . .

Commissioner: What time of the year do they usually go to the river to catch the Salmon?

Chief Camille: Just about this time of year.

Commissioner: And they can not get down there this year at all.

Chief Camille: It is fenced all the way down and we cannot go down at all.

Dog Creek Band, 18 July 1914:

Commissioner: Now you said that they lived on Salmon — where do they get the Salmon?

Chief Edward: They go down on the Fraser River.

Commissioner: Have they caught any fish this year yet?

Chief Edward: No, they have not been down to fish yet.

Commissioner: But they are going, aren't they?

Chief Edward: I cannot tell you for sure, no one has got any yet.

Commissioner: Did any go last year?

Chief Edward: Yes.

Commissioner: And no one tried to stop them?

Chief Edward: No.

Commissioner: The Indians have the right to fish for several miles on the Fraser River.

Nemiah Valley Band, 21 July 1914:

Chief Seal Canim: Whitemen are getting away with all our land. That is what I want to talk about. . .There is nothing of our own land to be used for anything. We have been using meadows which all know belong to whitemen. All the rancheries are on land belonging to whitemen. We cannot grow anything up there, but we can cut this meadow, and that is all. The way it is now, it does not belong to us. . .we would like to get a big piece of land, but we can't get it. We go fishing in some place, and whitemen have been getting after us for it and sometimes we cannot get anything to eat. . .We don't like to see this whiteman anywhere near us.

Soda Creek Band, 25 July 1914:

Commissioner: Do you fish here?

Chief Charlie, Deep Creek: They are kind of scared to catch fish here. They have a fishing lake 14 miles from here.

Commissioner: Is it a reserve?

Chief Charlie: No, but they have been going out there to fish. . .their forefathers have been going out there to fish, but they say it is all surveyed now.

Commissioner: Is that the only fishing ground that they have, is that the only place they want to fish?

Chief Charlie: Yes, it is all the fishing places the Indians had.

Commissioner: Do they ever go fishing in the Fraser River?

Chief Charlie: Well, they catch Salmon in the Fraser River and dry them for winter food.

Commissioner: Do they get a good supply of Salmon for their winter food?

Chief Charlie: Yes, when they have a good run they have enough; but when it is a poor run, they don't have enough.

Commissioner: They depend upon the fish from the lake and the Salmon from the Fraser River?

Chief Charlie: Yes. . .

Commissioner: Do you want the whole lake?

Chief Charlie: We want a little portion, so that we can camp there while fishing.

Commissioner: You would not object to anyone else fishing there, so long as the Indians were secured a little piece of land. . . ?

Chief Charlie: No . . .

Alexandria Band, 25 July 1914:

Chief Sam Alexander: It is the law that has kept us back in the late years. The Indians will not go against the law in killing the game, but the whites will. Here is the fish. We used to live on fish at one time, but now we dare not touch them. That is all we were raised on, was fish, when we were young. . .

Quesnel Band, 27 July 1914:

Johnnie, son of Chief Charlie, speaks for the Quesnel Band: We want another place of land besides what we have got. That is what we want to talk about. The poor Indians here have only one small fish lake (Ten Mile Lake) to fish out of, and it is taken up by whites. It is all fenced in and we would like to get a small place for fishing. . .

OKANAGAN AGENCY

Spallumcheen Band, 2 October 1913:

Commissioner: How many acres are cleared on the Salmon River reserve. . . ?

Sam Pierre: I will ask you a question first. What do you intend to do with the land that is already under cultivation? If you will tell me your purpose, I will explain it all.

Commissioner: I can't say anything about that until we find out what the character of the reserve is like.

Sam Pierre: I am in the same fix, and would like to know what is going to be done with the land. . .

Commissioner: We are not here to be examined by the Indians. We are here to examine the Indians, and if we cannot find out what we want here, we will find it out elsewhere. Do you know that we could place you in prison for not answering our questions? We have all the powers of a court, and we can deal with persons who refuse to answer questions as Contempt of Court, but we don't intend to go that far.

Sam Pierre: I want to find out right here in Court today, what is right myself. . . what was your object for putting me in gaol?

Commissioner: Because you didn't answer our question. But we don't intend to do that . . . I am only telling you what power we have. . .

LYTTON AGENCY

Lillooet Band, 4 November 1914:

Chief James Retasket: . . . We have been asking for a long time that our rights be settled, and that is the main thing that we want to settle. . . Our friends, the whites, have been taking our lands away from us, and there is nothing left to us, everything that we use—they stop us from using it. We think we have a right to claim our rights in this country because we owned this country before the whites came to this country . . .

Commissioner: Do you fish here?

James Retasket: Yes, we are fishing, but they won't let us fish all the time.

Commissioner: That is all the year round. . . ?

James Retasket: Yes.

Commissioner: Do you catch any Salmon here?

James Retasket: Just enough for our own use—we don't sell any. You people have power and authority to help us, and we would like to fish at any time that we want to fish.

Commissioner: For what kind of fish?

James Retasket: There is a certain place where we are fishing up on the Fraser that we want to fish there all the time (Bridge River Falls). Mr. Graham (Indian Agent) and some other fellows went up there and stopped the Indians from fishing. . .

Indian Agent: It is the Dominion Government fishing regulation prohibiting fishing on any waters of the Fraser. It is a regulation passed by the Inspector of Fisheries. The Inspector. . . has the power to enforce this, which he did this year on account of the slide in the river which prevented the fish from getting up to their spawning ground.

Commissioner: Is it a spawning ground where they go fishing now?

Indian Agent: No, it is on their way up to the spawning ground. They have always had the permission of the Fishery Inspector, but this year he refused to allow them to catch fish at that point. He did allow them to get their winter supply of fish, and then they were stopped. Mr. Babcock complained that there was a large scarcity of fish in the Fraser, and we heard that the Indians caught 20,000 fish, which were

Indian Agent: on the dry racks at the time the complaint was made. So when we examined . . . we estimate there were only two Indians who had not gotten their winter supply of Salmon, so on Tuesday. . . we gave them until the following Saturday to get their winter supply. The Indians were notified to that effect, after which the Fishery Inspector withdrew his permission and closed the fishing on the Fraser. . .

Seton Lake Band, 5 November 1914:

Chief Peter: . . . Now at this particular time we have a hard time to make a living. The whites tied up the Salmon and the whites tied up the game, and the whites, they have ties (on) everything outside the Reserve. . . the whites corral the fish down at the end of the lake—the hatchery people I mean— and they don't allow the Salmon to come up and spawn. When the Salmon comes up to the weirs, they pound their heads up to their eyes and they die.

Commissioner: Hatcheries are established for the purpose of increasing the fish supply?

Chief Peter: No, the Salmon are not increasing at all. Now when there was no hatchery, the Salmon used to run up here on these lakes and spawn in their spawning grounds. Every year they used to be so thick, if you threw a stone across the lake, the rock would not go down. . . Down there at the hatchery I know that where the eggs were not ready to come out of the mother, they were ripped out with a knife and the mother died, and when they tried to raise the little eggs, the little fish also died. . .

Cayoose Creek, 7 November 1914:

Commissioner: What about fishing—do they catch much fish?

Johnnie, I. R. No. 2: Yes, I went this fall and got a little fish. I just caught what I wanted, but I hear that the whites don't want us to fish any more, so I came home.

Commissioner: Where was that?

Johnnie: Up on the Fraser River. . . we used to get a lot of fish, and we used to dry and salt them. Sometimes they were salted in a keg, and sometimes we dried them.

Commissioner: And do you find your being stopped from fishing has made a difference in your winter's supply?

Johnnie: Yes, it makes a difference.

Fountain Band, 9 November 1914:

Commissioner: Where do you do your fishing?

Chief Tommy Adolph: Down in our fishing grounds on the Fraser River. . .(Bridge River Falls).

Commissioner: And do you catch all the fish that you need for your year's food?

Tommy Adolph: Yes.

Commissioner: Where you catch fish, is that on Indian Reserve land?

Tommy Adolph: Yes, it is an old Indian settlement.

Commissioner: Is it a reserve?

Tommy Adolph: It is not marked on the map.

Commissioner: Is it on No. 1 Bridge River?

Tommy Adolph: It is outside the reserve and we want it to be a reserve.

Commissioner: Have you ever been interfered with there by the government officials?

Tommy Adolph: Not that I know of, until this year.

Commissioner: And they told you this year that you could not fish?

Tommy Adolph: Yes. . .Mr. Graham stopped them from fishing.

Commissioner: Well, I can tell you that it was not Mr. Graham that stopped you from fishing; it was government officials, and Mr. Graham on behalf of the Indians went to see those officials. . .and asked them that the Indians be allowed all the fish they needed from Tuesday to Saturday.

Tommy Adolph: Our Indians have been waiting for the Salmon all summer, and this is the only time they came, and when the Indians went down to catch them, we were stopped. . .

Lytton Band, 13 November 1914:

Commissioner: Do you catch much fish here?

Chief Paul Spintlum: The last two years we haven't caught very many. . .and that has made us very poor. We haven't got sufficient food to last us and the old people have none at all.

Commissioner: Why haven't they caught any within the last two years?

Paul Spintlum: In building this new railway, there has been a slide in the river so the fish could not get by. Besides that, they have started canneries and are using fish traps, so there is not enough fish going up the river, and the government allowed us two days out of the week to fish. . .

Yale Band, 19 November 1914:

Chief James: It is true that my heart is very sore over the land question. I am now reaching an old age and my heart has always had a thorn in it. I have had no benefit yet from my land. It is the government that has taken all my land and sold it to the white people. That is what hurts my heart. . .And my heart shall never be remedied until the government of Canada has compensated us for our original rights. Then my heart will be smothered down. It is sure that the lands surrounding here is my land; the mountains are mine and the timber is mine and the fish is mine. . .as far as I remember, there was no whiteman in my land except my forefathers. They are the only ones I have seen around this and it is. . .the whitemen. . .are the intruders in my country. . .For instance, look at the Salmon. The Salmon is my food and then the whitemen came with a policeman. . .and stopped me from using my food, and I was sore again in my heart. If the white people feeding on a place, I would never go there and snatch away their food; it would be a bad thing to do. . . When the whitemen comes and takes the land away from the Indians. . .we heard that part would go to the support of Indians and part would go to the Crown. . . That is the words of Sir James Douglas. He said that whitemen will not take land away from the Indians, unless whitemen will buy it before they take it away—that is what he said. I remember it in my very heart. . .

APPENDIX NO. 11

FISHING RIGHTS ALLOTMENTS OF THE
ROYAL COMMISSION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS
FOR THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

1913-1916

FISHING RIGHTS ALLOTMENTS OF THE
ROYAL COMMISSION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS
FOR THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1913-1916

The Royal Commission (McKenna-McBride) acknowledged the importance of fishing to the Indians of British Columbia and recognized that fishing rights required attention. Although they were not given authority to deal with fishing questions, the Commissioners were concerned that doing nothing might do injury to Indian rights. Therefore, they, "to the extent (they) . . . had authority" reconfirmed some, but not all, of the fishing allotments of the Indian Reserve Commission. For a complete list of the allotments made by the Indian Reserve Commission between 1876 and 1892, see Appendix No. 2.

FISHING RIGHTS OF INDIANS IN B. C.

MINUTE AND RESOLUTION OF THE 6TH OF JUNE 1916:

"Whereas former Indian Reserves Commissioners, acting under joint governmental agreements, allotted defined Fishery Rights to certain Tribes or Bands of Indians in British Columbia:

Whereas this Commission has been unable to obtain any advice from the law officers of the Crown in right of the Dominion of Canada as to the authority of the said former Commissioners to allot such fishery rights:

And Whereas this Commission desires that any right or title which Indians may have to such allotted fisheries may not be adversely affected by inaction on its part —

Be It Resolved: That, to the extent to which the allotting Commissioners had authority to allot such Fishery Rights, this Commission, insofar as the power may lie in it so to do, CONFIRMS the said allotted Fishery Rights as set forth in the Schedule hereto appended."

BELLA COOLA AGENCY

Kitasoo Tribe: Minute of Decision of September 1st 1882, constituting Canoona Reserve No. 2: . . . "The right of fishing in the Canoona River for a distance of two (2) miles from its mouth is assigned to the Indians."

KAMLOOPS AGENCY

Ashcroft Tribe: Minute of Decision of August 10th, 1881, re: Fisheries: "The exclusive right of fishing on both shores of the Thompson River from the head of the Black Canyon upstream a distance of one (1) mile; also the exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Thompson River from the mouth of Minnaberiet Creek, upstream a distance of one-half (1/2) mile."

Oregon Jack Tribe: Minute of Decision of August 12th, 1881: "A Salmon fishery commencing one-quarter (1/4) mile above the mouth of Oregon Jack Creek and extending downstream on both banks of the (Thompson) River a distance of two (2) miles."

KWAWKEWLTH AGENCY

Quawshelah Tribe: Minute of Decision of August 3rd, 1882, constituting Wyclese Reserve No. 1: . . . "The right to fish in the Sammo River for two (2) miles above tidal water is reserved for these Indians."

LYTTON AGENCY

Anderson Lake Tribe: Minute of Decision of September 5th, 1881, constituting Anderson Lake Reserve No. 1: . . . "The exclusive right of Salmon fishing on Mosquito River through the entire length of Reserve No. 1, a distance of one (1) mile."

Bridge River Tribe: Minute of Decision of September 1st, 1881, constituting Bridge River Reserve No. 2: . . . "The exclusive right of Salmon fishing on both banks of the Fraser River from half (1/2) a mile south of Bridge River upstream to Fountain Indian Fishery."

Cayoosh Creek Tribe: Minute of Decision of August 29th, 1881, constituting Pashilqua Reserve No. 2: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing on the right bank of Fraser River from the mouth of Cayoosh Creek downstream two and one-half (2 1/2) miles; also the right of fishing in Cayoosh Creek from its mouth for a distance of one (1) mile, to the site of the old bridge."

Fountain Tribe: Minute of Decision of August 26th, 1881: "The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of Fraser River from one-quarter (1/4) mile above 11 Mile Creek on the Lillooet-Cariboo Wagon Road downstream to Bridge River Indian Fishery, about four and one-half (4 1/2) miles is assigned to the Indians."

Pavilion Tribe: Minute of Decision of August 4th, 1881, constituting Marble Canyon Reserve No. 3: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Fraser River from Leon Creek downstream to one-quarter (1/4) mile above 11 Mile Creek on the Lillooet Road."

Lytton Tribe: Minute of Decision of August 24th, 1881, constituting Se-ah Reserve No. 5: . . . "The exclusive right of Salmon fishing on both banks of the (Fraser) River from a point one-quarter (1/4) mile north of Se-ah Reserve No. 5 and extending one (1) mile downstream."

Lytton Tribe: Minute of Decision of August 24th, 1881, constituting Nesikep Reserve No. 6: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Fraser River from the Northern boundary of Nesikep Reserve No. 6 to the southern boundary thereof, a distance of about two and one-half (2 1/2) miles."

Clinton Tribe: Minute of Decision of July 30th, 1881, re: Fisheries: "The exclusive right of fishing on both sides of Fraser River from Leon Creek upstream to the High Bar Indian Fishery one-half (1/2) miles below Barney Creek; also the right to fish in Green Lake situated four (4) miles east of 73 Mile Post on the Cariboo Wagon Road."

High Bar Tribe: Minute of Decision of July 25th, 1881, constituting High Bar Reserve: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of Fraser River commencing at a point one-half (1/2) mile below Barney Creek and extending upstream to the northern boundary of the (High Bar) reserve, a distance of about six (6) miles."

Lillooet Tribe: Minute of Decision of August 31st, 1881: "The exclusive right of Salmon fishing on both banks of the Fraser River is reserved from the mouth of Cayoosh Creek upstream to one-half (1/2) mile below Bridge River, a distance of about four (4) miles; also on the left bank of the Fraser River from the mouth of Cayoosh Creek downstream a distance of three (3) miles from Seton Lake."

Seton Lake Tribe: Minute of Decision of September 3rd, 1881, constituting Necait Reserve No. 6: . . . "The exclusive right of Salmon fishing on the stream which connects Anderson Lake with Seton Lake, a distance of about one and three-quarters (1 3/4) miles."

Hope Tribe: Minute of Decision of August 16th, 1879, re: Hope Indians: "The fishing places of these Indians in this neighborhood are as follows:

1. A rock on the left bank of the Fraser below the sawmill on the land which is said to be owned by the Reverend A. D. Pringle;
2. A rock on the bank not far from the house of Pierre, the Chief, in the Hope Town Reserve;
3. A rock on the right bank of the Fraser opposite to but about one-quarter (1/4) miles below Ay-waw-wis; and
4. A rock about a mile (1) below Hope on the right bank of the Fraser.

Their right to these places is confirmed, but in such manner as to inconvenience the owners of the lands in the least, and the Indians are not to occupy these places except for capturing and drying the fish in their accustomed way and only in their fishing season."

NASS AGENCY

Nass River Tribe: Minute of Decision of October 20th, 1881, constituting Tsimmanweenclit Reserve No. 2: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing in the Nass for a distance of two (2) miles upstream from Tsimmanweenclit Reserve No. 2, is assigned to the Indians."

Nass River Tribe: Minute of Decision of October 20th, 1881, constituting Seaks Reserve No. 3: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing in the Seaks River for a distance of one (1) mile from its mouth, is allotted to the Indians."

Nass River Tribe: Minute of Decision of October 20th, 1881, constituting Fishery Reserve No. 5: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing in the slough, the length of the reserve, is assigned for the use of the Indians."

Nass River Tribe: Minute of Decision of October 20th, 1881, constituting Amatal Reserve No. 6: . . . "The right to fish in the Nass the entire length of Amatal Reserve No. 6, is allotted to the Indians."

Nass River Tribe: Minute of Decision of October 20th, 1881, constituting Kitwilluchsilt Reserve No. 7: . . . "The exclusive right to fish in the Nass River the entire length of this reserve is assigned to the Indians."

Nass River Tribe: Minute of Decision of October 20th, 1881, constituting Andegulay Reserve No. 8: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing on the left bank of the Nass commencing at the mouth of Andegulay Slough and extending upstream one-half (1/2) mile from its mouth are reserved."

Nass River Tribe: Minute of Decision of October 20th, 1881, constituting Lachkaltsap or Grenville Reserve No. 9: . . . "The old established fisheries on the Nass River within limits of this Reserve (No. 9), as also the right to fish in the various sloughs running through it, are reserved for the use of the Indians."

Nass River Tribe: Minute of Decision of October 20th, 1881, constituting Red Cliff Reserve No. 13: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing in the Nanook River for a distance of a quarter (1/4) of a mile from its mouth is assigned to the Indians."

Nass River Tribe: Minute of Decision of September 8th, 1888, constituting Talahaat Reserve No. 16: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing in the Kin-na-max River the entire length of Talahaat Reserve No. 16, a distance of about one-half (1/2) miles."

Nass River Tribe: Minute of Decision of October 20th, 1881, constituting Kitladamax Reserve No. 1 (A): . . . "The exclusive right of fishing in the Nass River the entire length of Kit-lac-da-max Reserve No. 1 and also in Che-ma-nuc Creek, is allotted to these Indians."

Tsimpsean Tribe: Minute of Decision of October 29th, 1881, constituting Cloyah Reserve No. 5: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing in the Cloyah River for a distance of one and one-half (1 1/2) miles from its mouth, is reserved."

Tsimpsean Tribe: Minute of Decision of September 13th, 1882, constituting Toon Reserve No. 15: . . . "The right of fishing in the Toon river for a distance of two (2) miles upstream from the head of tidal waters, is reserved for the use of the Indians."

NEW WESTMINSTER AGENCY

Pemberton Tribe: Minute of Decision of September 6th, 1881, constituting Graveyard Reserve No. 5: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Lillooet River from the foot of Pemberton Lake one-half (1/2) mile downstream, is reserved for these Indians."

Pemberton Tribe: Minute of Decision of September 6th, 1881, constituting Lokla Reserve No. 4: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing in Birkenhead River the entire length of Loch-la Reserve No. 4, a distance of one-quarter (1/4) mile, is assigned to the Indians."

Douglas Tribe: Minute of Decision of September 7th, 1881, constituting Samahquam Reserve No. 1: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Lillooet River the entire length of Douglas Reserve No. 1, a distance of about one (1) mile, is allotted to the Indians."

Douglas Tribe: Minute of Decision of September 7th, 1881, constituting Sachteen Reserve No. 2: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Lillooet River the entire length of Reserve No. 2."

Douglas Tribe: Minute of Decision of September 7th, 1881, constituting Skookumchuck Reserve No. 4: . . . "The exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Lillooet River the entire length of Skookumchuck Reserve No. 4."

Sumas Tribe: Lakahahmen Band: Minute of Decision of June 26th, 1879, constituting Lakahahmen Reserve No. 11: . . . "The Indians are to have the right of fishing at the Little Creek near Mr. Bale's where they get large Salmon in the fall of the year and the Surveyor may show this piece on his plan."

QUEEN CHARLOTTE AGENCY

Masset Tribe: Minute of Decision of July 13th, 1882, constituting Lanas Reserve No. 5: . . . "The right of fishing in the Yakoun River for a distance of one (1) mile upstream from the southeastern corner post of the Reserve (No. 4) is allotted to the Indians."

Masset Tribe: Minute of Decision of July 13th, 1882, constituting Jalun Reserve No. 14: "The right to fish in the Jalun River for a distance of one (1) mile above tidal water is reserved for the use of the Indians."

Skidegate Tribe: Minute of Decision of July 28th, 1882, constituting Deena Reserve No. 3: . . . "The right to fish in the Deena River for a distance of one (1) mile above tidal water is assigned to these Indians."

Skidegate Tribe: Minute of Decision of July 28th, 1882, constituting Kaste Reserve No. 6:
. . . "The right to fish in the Kaste River is assigned to the Indians for a distance of one (1) mile above tidal water."

WEST COAST AGENCY

Clayoquot Tribe: Minute of Decision of June 24th, 1889, constituting Clayoqua Reserve No. 6: . . . "The right to fish in the stream that runs through the entire length of Clayoqua Reserve is allotted to these Indians."

Clayoquot Tribe: Minute of Decision of June 24th, 1889, constituting Winche Reserve No. 7: . . . "The right to fish in that part of the Elk River which bounds Winche Reserve No. 7 on the east is assigned to the Indians."

Clayoquot Tribe: Minute of Decision of June 24th, 1889, constituting Ilthpaya Reserve No. 8: . . . "The right to fish in the Kennedy River from the southwest corner of Ilthpaya Reserve No. 8, extending downstream about one (1) mile to the head of tidal waters, is allotted to the Indians."

Toquart Tribe: Minute of Decision of June 3rd, 1882, constituting Chequis Reserve No. 3: . . . "The right of fishing in the creek which flows through Chequis Reserve, from its mouth to a lake at the head of it, an approximate distance of one (1) mile, is allotted to these Indians."

WILLIAMS LAKE AGENCY

Alexandria Tribe: Minute of Decision of July 4th, 1881, constituting Alexandria Reserve No. 3: . . . "Also the exclusive right of fishing on the west bank of the Fraser River commencing at the northeast corner of the Hudson's Bay Company's claim and extending upstream an approximate distance of one hundred and twenty-five (125) chains to the northeast corner of the Indian Reserve."

Alkali Lake Tribe: Minute of Decision of July 15th, 1881, constituting Fishery Reserve No. 7: . . . "Also the exclusive right to fish on the left bank of the Fraser River from the mouth of Chilcotin River to the mouth of Little Dog Creek, an approximate distance of four (4) miles."

Canoe Creek Tribe: Minute of Decision of July 21st, 1881, constituting Spilmouse Reserve No. 4: . . . "The Canoe Creek Indians have the exclusive right to fish on both banks of the Fraser River from a point one and one-half (1 1/2) miles above the mouth of Canoe Creek downstream to a conical shaped rock in the middle of the river, a distance of about five and one-half (5 1/2) miles; the right to fish in Green Lake, situated four (4) miles east of the 73 Mile Post on the Cariboo Wagon Road."

Dog Creek Tribe: Minute of Decision of July 19th, 1881, constituting Dog Creek Reserve No. 4: . . . "Also the exclusive right of fishing on both banks of the Fraser River from the mouth of Dog Creek to the mouth of Harper's Lake Creek, a distance of one and one-half (1 1/2) miles."

Stone Tribe: Minute of Decision of July 11th, 1887, constituting Meadow Reserve No. 2: . . . "The right to fish in the Canyon on the Chilcotin River from a point one and one-quarter (1 1/4) miles below Hanceville downstream for one (1) mile."

APPENDIX NO. 12

SALMON ESCAPEMENT

AND

CATCH STATISTICS

SALMON ESCAPEMENT AND CATCH STATISTICS

There is data available with which to write histories of many of the Salmon streams of British Columbia, including traditional uses and conservation methods, the imposition of governmental regulation, exploitation by commercial interests, and the struggle to maintain Indian rights. Such histories could also document the changes in ecology for these streams. Salmon "escapement" statistics will be useful in helping to tell of these changes. Included in Appendix No. 12 is a sample from streams and rivers in different parts of British Columbia.

ADAMS RIVER

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>
1934	100,000+	1 - 2,000	5 - 10,000	100 - 300
35	100,000+		500 - 1,000	
36	2 - 5,000		1 - 2,000	
37	5 - 10,000	1 - 50	100 - 300	
38	100,000+	50 - 1,000	300 - 500	
39	20 - 50,000		500 - 1,000	
1940	10 - 20,000		300 - 500	
41	1 - 50		300 - 500	
42	100,000+	50 - 100	300 - 500	
43	5 - 10,000	1 - 50	300 - 500	
44	1 - 2,000		300 - 500	
45	20 - 50,000	50 - 100	2 - 5,000	
46	100,000+	1 - 50	2 - 5,000	
47	50 - 100,000	300 - 500	100 - 300	
48	10 - 20,000	300 - 500	500 - 1,000	
49	2 - 5,000	300 - 500	500 - 1,000	
1950	100,000+	5 - 10,000	1 - 2,000	
51	100,000+	500 - 1,000	500 - 1,000	
52	10 - 20,000	2 - 5,000	2 - 5,000	
53	100,000+	2 - 5,000	2 - 5,000	
54	100,000+	500 - 1,000	1 - 2,000	
55	50 - 100,000	2 - 5,000	1 - 2,000	
56	5 - 10,000	500 - 1,000	1 - 2,000	
57	100,000+	500 - 1,000	2 - 5,000	
58	3,000,000			
59	50 - 100,000	500 - 1,000	1 - 2,000	
1960	1 - 2,000	1 - 2,000	1 - 2,000	
61	20 - 50,000	100 - 300	1 - 2,000	
62	1,000,000+	500 - 1,000	1 - 2,000	
63	151,373	500 - 1,000	1,000 - 2,000	
64	796	300 - 500	300 - 500	
65	55,041	500 - 1,000	1 - 2,000	
66	1,141,272	300 - 500	2 - 5,000	
67	765,000	1 - 300	1 - 2,000	

BELLA COOLA – ATNARKO RIVER

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>	<u>PINKS</u>	<u>CHUM</u>
1934	10–20,000	2–5,000	1–2,000	1–2,000	100,000+	5–10,000
35	10–20,000	5–10,000	1–2,000	2–5,000	100,000+	10–20,000
36	10–20,000	5–10,000	2–5,000	2–5,000	20–50,000	50–100,000
37	10–20,000	5–10,000	2–5,000	2–5,000	100,000+	5–10,000
38	10–20,000	5–10,000	5–10,000	2–5,000	5–10,000	10–20,000
39	5–10,000	5–10,000	5–10,000	2–5,000	100,000+	5–10,000
1940	10–20,000	5–10,000	5–10,000	2–5,000	2–5,000	10–20,000
41	20–50,000	5–10,000	5–10,000	2–5,000	100,000+	10–20,000
42	10–20,000	5–10,000	5–10,000	2–5,000	20–50,000	10–20,000
43	10–20,000	5–10,000	2–5,000	2–5,000	100,000+	20–50,000
44	5–10,000	5–10,000	5–10,000	2–5,000	20–50,000	10–20,000
45	NO RECORDS					
46	2–5,000	2–5,000	2–5,000	5–10,000	2–5,000	100,000+
47	10–20,000	5–10,000	2–5,000	2–5,000	50–100,000	20–50,000
48	20–50,000	2–5,000	2–5,000	1–2,000	20–50,000	10–20,000
49	50–100,000	5–10,000	5–10,000	2–5,000	100,000+	50–100,000
1950	50–100,000	20–50,000	10–20,000	5–10,000	100,000+	50–100,000
51	50–100,000	20–50,000	10–20,000	5–10,000	100,000+	50–100,000
52	50–100,000	10–20,000	20–50,000	2–5,000	100,000+	50–100,000
53	50–100,000	10–20,000	5–10,000	5–10,000	100,000+	50–100,000
54	50–100,000	50–100,000	10–20,000	2–5,000	50–100,000	20–50,000
55	50–100,000	10–20,000	10–20,000		100,000+	10–20,000
56	50–100,000	50–100,000	20–50,000	10–20,000	100,000+	20–50,000
57	150,000	50–100,000	10–20,000	5–10,000	3–400,000	20–50,000
58	10–20,000	20–50,000	20–50,000	5–10,000	2–300,000	50–100,000
59	50–100,000	50–100,000	10–20,000		4–500,000	20–50,000
1960	20–50,000	20–50,000	5–10,000		1,000,000	20–50,000
61	20–50,000	20–50,000	10–20,000		1,000,000	10–20,000
62	50–100,000	20–50,000	5–10,000		2–5,000,000	20–50,000
63	50–100,000	50–100,000	20–50,000		5–600,000	50–100,000
64	20–50,000	50–100,000	20–50,000		600,000	50–100,000
65	10–20,000	20–50,000	10–20,000		150,000	2–5,000
66	10–20,000	20–50,000	10–20,000		800,000	20–50,000
67	36,000	4,000	25,000		46,000	18,000

BIG QUALICUM

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>	<u>PINKS</u>	<u>CHUM</u>
1947		3,500				7,500
48		3,500				100,000+
49		1,500	200			35,000
1950		3,500	750	400		75,000
51		3,500	400	1,500	400	35,000
52		3,500	200	1,500	200	35,000
53		3,500	750	3,500	75	35,000
54		3,500	75	1,500	200	15,000
55		3,500	1,500		25	35,000
56		3,500	1,500	750	200	35,000
57		3,500	1,500	750	500	98,500
58		3,500	750	750	25	60,000
59	25	3,624	2,411		11	13,800
1960	25	2,562	1,569			36,700
61		2,286	1,111		1	37,900
62		4,223	787			36,400
63		4,500	619		1	18,800
64		4,859	602			53,400
65		3,817	1,118		75	46,600
66		4,324	870		11,900	139,900
67		1,346	764		4	
68		2,325	830		2,500	

BIRKENHEAD RIVER

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>
1934	10 - 20,000	1 - 2,000	500 - 1,000
35	20 - 50,000	500 - 1,000	300 - 500
36	50 - 100,000		100 - 300
37	20 - 50,000		300 - 500
38	20 - 50,000	5 - 10,000	500 - 1,000
39	NO RECORD		
1940	20 - 50,000	2 - 5,000	300 - 500
41	20 - 50,000	2 - 5,000	2 - 5,000
42	50 - 100,000	10 - 20,000	500 - 1,000
43	20 - 50,000	1 - 2,000	500 - 1,000
44	20 - 50,000	2 - 5,000	1 - 2,000
45	50 - 100,000	20 - 50,000	500 - 1,000
46	NO RECORD		
47	100,000+	1 - 2,000	500 - 1,000
48	100,000!	20-50,000	500 - 1,000
49	50 - 100,000	2 - 5,000	1 - 2,000
1950	50 - 100,000	2 - 5,000	500 - 1,000
51	100,000+	5 - 10,000	500 - 1,000
52	100,000+	10 - 20,000	500 - 1,000
53	50 - 100,000	2 - 5,000	1 - 2,000
54	20 - 50,000	500 - 1,000	500 - 1,000
55	20 - 50,000	1 - 2,000	500 - 1,000
56	50 - 100,000	2 - 5,000	500 - 1,000
57	20 - 50,000	1 - 2,000	2 - 5,000
58	20 - 50,000	1 - 2,000	500 - 1,000
59	20 - 50,000	500 - 1,000	500 - 1,000
1960	39,000	2 - 5,000	500 - 1,000
61	49,627	2,500	500 - 1,000
62		2,500	
63	67,151	2 - 5,000	500 - 1,000
64	69,937	2 - 5,000	500 - 1,000
65	NO RECORD		
66	81,134	2 - 5,000	500 - 1,000
67	58,036	3,000	100

CHEMAINUS RIVER

"This river suffers from excessive logging of watershed. . ."

<u>DATE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>	<u>PINKS</u>	<u>CHUM</u>
1934	PRESENT	PRESENT	PRESENT	PRESENT	PRESENT
35	1 - 2,000	500 - 1,000	500 - 1,000	1 - 2,000	50 - 100,000
36	NO RECORD				
37	5 - 10,000	100 - 300	5 - 10,000	500 - 1,000	50 - 100,000
38	5 - 10,000	500 - 1,000	500 - 1,000	500 - 1,000	50 - 100,000
39	5 - 10,000	5 - 10,000	5 - 10,000	500 - 1,000	20 - 50,000
1940	5 - 10,000		5 - 10,000		50 - 100,000
41	NO RECORD				
42	5 - 10,000	1 - 2,000	500 - 1,000	100 - 300	50 - 100,000
43	NO RECORD				
44	NO RECORD				
45	NO RECORD				
46			1 - 2,000		10 - 20,000
47	100 - 300	100 - 300			20 - 50,000
48	1 - 2,000	100 - 300	50 - 100		20 - 50,000
49	500 - 1,000	1 - 50	300 - 500		50 - 100,000
1950	5 - 10,000		300 - 500		100,000+
51	1 - 2,000	1 - 50	10 - 20,000		50 - 100,000
52	2 - 5,000		5 - 10,000	1 - 50	20 - 50,000
53	5 - 10,000		2 - 5,000		20 - 50,000
54	5 - 10,000	1 - 50	2 - 5,000		100,000+
55	500 - 1,000		1 - 2,000	1 - 50	50 - 100,000
56	1 - 2,000	100 - 300	1 - 2,000		20 - 50,000
57	2 - 5,000	1 - 50	1 - 2,000		20 - 50,000
58	2 - 5,000		2 - 5,000		20 - 50,000
59	300 - 500		1 - 2,000		2 - 5,000
1960	300 - 500		500 - 1,000		2 - 5,000
61	100 - 300	1 - 50	50 - 100		2 - 5,000
62	300 - 500	1 - 50	300 - 500		2 - 5,000
63	300 - 500		100 - 300		2 - 5,000
64	300 - 500	1 - 50	100 - 300		2 - 5,000
65	300 - 500	1 - 50	100 - 300		5 - 10,000
66	300 - 500	100 - 300	300 - 500		20 - 50,000
67	300 - 500	1 - 500	300 - 500		10 - 20,000

CHILLIWACK RIVER

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>	<u>PINK</u>	<u>CHUM</u>
1934	50-100	2-5,000	50-100	1-2,000		10-20,000
35	1-50	20-50,000	50-100	1-2,000	100,000+	10-20,000
36	1-50	20-50,000	50-100	2-5,000		20-50,000
37	1-50	2-5,000	100-300	2-5,000	100,000+	50-100,000
38	50-100	5-10,000	100-300	2-5,000		10-20,500
39	1-50	5-10,000	100-300	1-2,000	50-100,000	2-5,000
1940		5-10,000	100-300	2-5,000		5-10,000
41	1-50	5-10,000	50-100	2-5,000	100,000+	20-50,000
42	50-100	10-20,000	100-300	2-5,000		5-10,000
43		5-10,000	100-300	2-5,000	10-20,000	5-10,000
44	1-50	2-5,000	100-300	2-5,000		5-10,000
45		20-50,000	50-100	5-10,000	100,000+	20-50,000
46	1-50	5-10,000	100-300	2-5,000		5-10,000
47	NO RECORD					
48	1-50	2-5,000	100-300	1-2,000		10-20,000
49	1-50	2-5,000	100-300	5-10,000	50-100,000	20-50,000
1950	100-300	5-10,000	100-300	5-10,000		10-20,000
51	50-100	10-20,000	1-2,000	5-10,000	100,000+	10-20,000
52	500-1,000	10-20,000	500-1,000	5-10,000		20-50,000
53	50-100	10-20,000	300-500	5-10,000	50-100,000	10-20,000
54	1-50	5-10,000	500-1,000	5-10,000		5-10,000
55	100-300	10-20,000	500-1,000	5-10,000	100,000+	5-10,000
56	50-100	10-20,000	500-1,000	5-10,000		5-10,000
57	100-300	10-20,000	300-500	2-5,000	100,000+	10-20,000
58	50-100	20-50,000	500-1,000	10-20,000		5-10,000
59	300-500	10-20,000	500-1,000	5-10,000	100,000+	10-20,000
1960	100-300	5-10,000	300-500	5-10,000		10-20,000
61	100-300	10-20,000	300-500	5-10,000	225,000	20-50,000
62	100-300	50-100,000	300-500	10-20,000		20-50,000
63	300-500	50-100,000	300-500	10-20,000	200,000	20-50,000
64	100-300	20-50,000	300-500	10-20,000		20-50,000
65	50-100	5-10,000	100-300	2-5,000	200,000	5-10,000
66	50-100	10-20,000	50-100	5-10,000		10-20,000
	AUGUST & SEPTEMBER	AUGUST	MARCH & SEPTEMBER	NOVEMBER & MARCH	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER & JANUARY

CLEAR WATER RIVER

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>	<u>PINKS</u>
1934	50 - 100		3 - 500		
35	NO RECORD				
36			5 - 10,000	1 - 2,000	
37			2 - 5,000	300 - 500	
38	50-100		2 - 5,000		1-50
39			2 - 5,000		
1940			2 - 5,000		
41			300 - 500		
42	NO RECORD				
43			1 - 2,000		
44			PRESENT		
45			2 - 5,000		
46		PRESENT	PRESENT		
47	NO RECORD				
48	NO RECORD				
49			5 - 10,000	PRESENT	
1950		2 - 5,000	5 - 10,000		
51		PRESENT	1 - 2,000		
52		PRESENT	100 - 300		
53	NO RECORD				
54	NO RECORD				
55		2,500	1 - 2,000		
56	NO RECORD				
57			2 - 5,000		
58			2 - 5,000		
59			1 - 2,000		
1960		PRESENT	500 - 1,000		
61			1 - 2,000		
62			2 - 5,000		
63			1 - 2,000		
64			500 - 1,000		
65			500 - 1,000		
66			1 - 2,000		
67			1 - 2,000		

COQUIHALLA RIVER

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>	<u>PINK</u>	<u>CHUM</u>
1934	5-10,000	300-500	100-300	PRESENT		100-300
35	500-1,000	1-2,000	50-100	1-50	500-1,000	300-500
36	2-5,000	1-2,000	300-500	50-100		500-1,000
37	2-5,000	1-2,000	100-300	50-100	500-1,000	500-1,000
38	500-1,000	500-1,000	100-300	50-100		500-1,000
39	2-5,000	500-1,000	50-100	50-100	2-5,000	300-500
1940	2-5,000	500-1,000	50-100	50-100		300-500
41	100-300	100-300	1-50	500-1,000	2-5,000	1-50
42	1-50	1-50		500-1,000		1-50
43		1-50		1-2,000	2-5,000	300-500
44		50-100		500-1,000		100-300
45		50-100		1-2,000	20-50,000	300-500
46		1-50		2-5,000		50-100
47	NO RECORD					
48		50-100		500-1,000		300-500
49		50-100		1-2,000	10-20,000	100-300
1950		1-50		2-5,000	1-50	1-50
51		50-100		5-10,000	2-5,000	100-300
52		100-300		1-2,000		500-1,000
53		1-50		1-2,000	2-5,000	100-300
54		100-300		2-5,000		1-50
55		100-300		5-10,000	500-1,000	50-100
56		1-50		2-5,000		1-50
57		50-100		1-2,000	2-5,000	50-100
58		100-300		2-5,000		50-100
59		50-100		2-5,000	2-5,000	50-100
1960		100-300		1-2,000		100-300
61		100-300		1-2,000	5-10,000	50-100
62		100-300				
63		1-50		1-2,000	2-5,000	1-50
64	NO RECORD					
65		100-300		300-500	2-5,000	1-50
66		50-100				1-50
67		1-50			3,000	1-50

OCTOBER

JUNE

SEPTEMBER

OCTOBER

KISPIOX RIVER

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>PINKS</u>	<u>CHUM</u>
1954	FEW	5 - 10,000	2 - 5,000	50 - 100,000	10 - 20,000
55		5 - 10,000	5 - 10,000	100,000	1 - 2,000
56		5 - 10,000	5 - 10,000	50 - 100,000	1 - 2,000
57		10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	50,000	2 - 5,000
58		20 - 50,000	5 - 10,000	50 - 100,000	1 - 2,000
59		1 - 2,000	5 - 10,000	750,000	1 - 2,000
1960				50 - 100,000	100 - 300
61		2 - 5,000	PRESENT	300,000	300 - 500
62		300 - 500	1 - 50	50 - 100	1 - 50
63				20 - 50,000	
64		500 - 1,000	50 - 100	7,500	100 - 300
65		500 - 1,000	1 - 2,000	20 - 50,000	300 - 500
66		50 - 100	300 - 500	2,000	500 - 1,000
67				74,000	
68		1,000 - 2,000	300 - 500	2,000 - 5,000	300 - 500
69		500 - 1,000	300 - 500	180,000	300 - 500
1970		500 - 1,000	300 - 500	5,000 - 10,000	300 - 500
71		500 - 1,000	300 - 500	400,000	300 - 500
72		500 - 1,000	300 - 500	10,000 - 20,000	2,000 - 5,000
73		500 - 1,000	2,000 - 5,000	398,000	1,000 - 2,000

KITSUMGALLIM RIVER (BEAVER RIVER)

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>PINKS</u>
1947	500 - 1,000			
48		2 - 5,000		
49	1 - 20,000	5 - 10,000		
1950	2 - 5,000			
51	2 - 5,000			
52	2 - 5,000			
53	1 - 2,000			
54	2 - 5,000			
55	1 - 2,000			
56	2 - 5,000			
57	500 - 1,000			
58	2 - 5,000	5 - 10,000		
59	1 - 2,000			1 - 2,000
1960	NO RECORD			
61		2 - 5,000	1 - 50	
62		500 - 1,000		
63		FEW	FEW	
64		1,000 - 1,500		
65	300 - 500			
66	FLOOD			
67	NONE			
68	NONE			
69	100 - 300	500 - 1,000	300 - 500	
1970	1,000 - 2,000	500 - 1,000	100 - 300	
71	500 - 1,000	500 - 1,000	100 - 300	
72	300 - 500	500 - 1,000	100 - 300	
73	300 - 500	500 - 1,000	100 - 300	

GOLDSTREAM RIVER

<u>DATE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>	<u>PINKS</u>	<u>CHUM</u>
1934	3 - 5,000		100 - 300	50 - 100	5 - 10,000
35	1 - 300		50 - 100		5 - 10,000
36	1 - 300		50 - 100		5 - 10,000
37	1 - 300		50 - 100		5 - 10,000
38	500 - 1,000	1 - 50	100 - 300	1 - 50	5 - 10,000
39	3 - 5,000	1 - 50	100 - 300	1 - 50	5 - 10,000
1940	1 - 300		50 - 100		5 - 10,000
41	2 - 5,000		50 - 100		5 - 10,000
42	500 - 1,000		50 - 100		5 - 10,000
43	300 - 500		50 - 100		10 - 20,000
44	300 - 500		50 - 100		5 - 10,000
45	NO RECORD				
46	1 - 2,000		50 - 100		10 - 20,000
47	1 - 2,000		50 - 100		10 - 20,000
48	1 - 2,000		50 - 100		20 - 50,000
49	500 - 1,000		1 - 50		20 - 50,000
1950	1 - 2,000		1 - 50		20 - 50,000
51	1 - 2,000		50 - 100		10 - 20,000
52	1 - 2,000		1 - 50		20 - 50,000
53	100 - 300		1 - 50		5 - 10,000
54	300 - 500		1 - 50		10 - 20,000
55	50 - 100		PRESENT		2 - 500
56	100 - 300		1 - 50		2 - 500
57	50 - 100		1 - 50		2 - 500
58	100 - 300		1 - 50		2 - 500
59	300 - 500		PRESENT		2 - 500
1960	300 - 500				2 - 500
61	NO RECORD				
62	50 - 100	1 - 50	SMALL RUN		5 - 10,000
63	300 - 500	2	LIGHT RUN		2 - 5,000
64	2 - 5,000	FEW	LIGHT RUN		5 - 10,000
65	50 - 100	1 - 50			10 - 20,000
66	500 - 1,000	1 - 50			5 - 10,000
67	300 - 500	1 - 50	1 - 50		5 - 10,000

PUNTLIDGE RIVER

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>	<u>PINKS</u>	<u>CHUM</u>
1947		3,500	3,500		1,500	75,000
48		1,500	3,500		750	35,000
49		3,500	7,500		7,500	15,000
1950		1,500	7,500	1,500	7,500	15,000
51		3,500	7,500	3,500	100,000+	75,000
52		3,500	3,500	3,500	15,000	15,000
53		7,500	3,500	3,500	7,500	35,000
54		7,500	15,000	3,500	15,000	35,000
55	25	3,500	7,500	1,500	15,000	35,000
56	25	3,500	1,500	1,500	7,500	15,000
57	200	7,500	3,500	1,500	15,000	35,000
58	400	7,500	7,500	1,500	35,000	35,000
59	25	1,500	3,500	1,500	3,500	35,000
1960	25	3,500	3,500	1,500	3,500	35,000
61	25	3,500	1,500	1,500	7,500	15,000
62	25	3,500	1,500	1,500	3,500	35,000
63		7,500	1,500		7,500	75,000
64	25	15,000	750		750	35,000
65		1,500	1,500		1,500	1,500
66		1,500	1,500		1,500	35,000
67		1,500	840		1,200	20,000
68		1,100	720		210	55,000

SQUAMISH RIVER

<u>DATE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>	<u>PINKS</u>	<u>CHUM</u>
1934	20 - 50,000	10 - 20,000	20 - 50,000	2 - 5,000	50 - 100,000
35	20 - 50,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	50 - 10,000	100,000+
36	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	500 - 1,000	100,000+
37	1 - 2,000	20 - 50,000	10 - 20,000	50 - 10,000	
38	5 - 10,000	5 - 10,000	10 - 20,000	500 - 1,000	100,000+
39	NO RECORD				
1940	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	500 - 1,000	20 - 50,000
41	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	20 - 50,000	100,000+
42	20 - 50,000	20 - 50,000	20 - 50,000	100 - 300	50 - 100,000
43	2 - 5,000	10 - 20,000	20 - 50,000	5 - 10,000	20 - 50,000
44	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	100 - 300	50 - 100,000
45	50 - 100,000	10 - 20,000	20 - 50,000	10 - 20,000	20 - 50,000
46	5 - 10,000				10 - 20,000
47	2 - 5,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	350,000	20 - 50,000
48	50 - 100,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000		50 - 100,000
49	5 - 10,000	10 - 20,000	20 - 50,000	250,000	20 - 50,000
1950	2 - 5,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000		20 - 50,000
51	50 - 100,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	200,000	20 - 50,000
52	50 - 100,000	10 - 20,000	20 - 50,000		175,000
53	2 - 5,000	10 - 20,000	5 - 10,000	175,000	10 - 20,000
54	20 - 50,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000		10 - 20,000
55	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	100,000	10 - 20,000
56	1 - 2,000	10 - 20,000	5 - 10,000		5 - 10,000
57	20 - 50,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	50 - 100,000	20 - 50,000
58	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000		20 - 50,000
59	1 - 2,000	10 - 20,000	5 - 10,000	50 - 100,000	50 - 100,000
1960	5 - 10,000	10 - 20,000	5 - 10,000		5 - 10,000
61	20 - 50,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000	5 - 10,000
62	2 - 5,000	10 - 20,000	10 - 20,000		10 - 20,000
63	5 - 10,000	5 - 10,000	5 - 10,000	50 - 100,000	5 - 10,000
64	20 - 50,000	5 - 10,000	10 - 20,000		10 - 20,000
65	5 - 10,000	20 - 50,000	10 - 20,000	20 - 50,000	2 - 5,000
66	5 - 10,000	10 - 20,000	5 - 10,000		2 - 5,000
67	10,000	5,000	10,000	15,000	20,000
68	7,000	10,000	10,000		70,000
69	8,000	20,000	8,000	10,000	18,000
1970	15,000	25,000	6,000		50,000
71	18,000	8,000	2,500	15,000	15,000

SWELTZER CREEK

Vedder Floods of 1948-49 washed away extensive spawning grounds at the confluence with Chil-
liwack (approximately 3-4 acres). Spawning populations dropped off sharply within 4 years of this.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>	<u>PINK</u>	<u>CHUM</u>
1934	1-2,000	1-2,000		1-50		10-20,000
35	10-20,000	1-2,000		1-50	5-10,000	5-10,000
36	5-10,000	500-1,000		100-300		20-50,000
37	2-5,000			1-50	1-2,000	10-20,000
38	10-20,000	100-300		50-100		50-100,000
39	50-100,000	500-1,000		1-50	10-20,000	10-20,000
1940	74,000	1-50		100-300		10-20,000
41	10-20,000	100-300	1-50	50-100	10-20,000	10-20,000
42	10-20,000	100-300		50-100		50-100,000
43	10-20,000	50-100		300-500	5-1,000	10-20,000
44	10-20,000	500-1,000		100-300		10-20,000
45	5-10,000	300-500	1-50	50-100	10-20,000	10-20,000
46	20-50,000	300-500		50-100		20-50,000
47	NO RECORD					
48	10-20,000	100-300	1-50	100-300		5-10,000
49	9,033	100-300			10-20,000	5-10,000
1950	20-50,000	300-500				20-50,000
51	10-20,000	300-500			50-10,000	20-50,000
52	10-20,000	300-500				10-20,000
53	12,000	500-1,000			20-50,000	2-5,000
54	20-50,000	300-500			1-50	10-20,000
55	20-50,000	100-300			5-10,000	2-5,000
56	10-20,000	100-300				500-1,000
57	19,500	50-100			5-10,000	1-2,000
58	10-20,000	1-50				1-2,000
59	20-50,000	300-500		50-100	2-5,000	2-5,000
1960	10-20,000	50-100		50-100		1-2,000
61	16,428	1-50		1-50	5-10,000	1-2,000
62	20-50,000	100-300				2-5,000
63	10-20,000	50-100		1-50	5-10,000	2-5,000
64	NO RECORD					
65	2-5,000	50-100		1-50	5-10,000	1-2,000
66	16,712			50-100		2-5,000+
67	33,000			1-50	19,500	7,500
	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER		DECEMBER	OCTOBER	OCTOBER

NAHATLATCH (SALMON) RIVER

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>	<u>PINKS</u>
1934	1 - 50	1 - 50	1 - 50	1 - 50	
35	1 - 50	50 - 100	1 - 50	50 - 100	1 - 50
36	50 - 100	50 - 100	1 - 50	1 - 50	
37	1 - 50	50 - 100	1 - 50	50 - 100	
38	1 - 50	100 - 300	1 - 50	50 - 100	
39	100 - 300	100 - 300	50 - 100	50 - 100	
1940		100 - 300			
41	NO RECORD				
42	1 - 50		1 - 50	100 - 300	
43	1 - 50	1 - 50	300 - 500	2 - 5,000	
44	1 - 50		500 - 1,000	300 - 500	
45	NONE SEEN				
46	NONE SEEN				
47					1 - 50
48		300			
49		300 - 500			50 - 100
1950		100 - 300			
51		500	300		500
52		300-500	100-300		
53			50 - 100	300 - 500	
54	NO RECORD				
55		2 - 5,000	300 - 500		50 - 100
56	NO DATA				
57		1 - 2,000	1 - 50		100 - 300
58	NO RECORD				
59			1 - 50		100 - 300
1960			1 - 50		
61		100 - 300	1 - 50		50 - 100
62		10,000 - 29,000			
63		1 - 50	100 - 300	FAIR	500 - 1,000
64		1 - 50	120	FAIR	
65	1 - 50	1 - 2,000	50 - 100		500 - 1,000
66	1 - 50	1 - 2,000	1 - 50		
67		50 - 100	60 - 100		1 - 50

NAHWITTE RIVER

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>	<u>PINKS</u>	<u>CHUM</u>
1950	10 - 20,000	2 - 5,000	1 - 2,000	50 - 100,000	2 - 5,000
51	2 - 5,000	2 - 5,000		1 - 2,000	2 - 5,000
52	10 - 20,000	1 - 2,000			
53		100 - 300			
54	1 - 2,000	1 - 2,000		5 - 10,000	1 - 2,000
55	1 - 2,000	1 - 2,000			
56	1 - 2,000	1 - 2,000		10 - 20,000	1 - 2,000
57	1 - 2,000	1 - 2,000		5 - 10,000	1 - 2,000
58	1 - 2,000	1 - 2,000		5 - 10,000	1 - 2,000
59	2 - 5,000	1 - 2,000		5 - 10,000	50 - 100
1960	1 - 2,000	1 - 2,000		5 - 10,000	300 - 500
61	2 - 5,000	1 - 2,000		1 - 2,000	100 - 300
62	10 - 20,000	2 - 5,000	500 - 1,000	20 - 50,000	500 - 1,000
63	2 - 5,000	300 - 500		300 - 500	50 - 100
64	1 - 2,000	2 - 5,000	NO ESTIMATE	5 - 10,000	300 - 500
65	500 - 1,000	2,000 - 5,000		30 - 500	100 - 300
66	2,000 - 5,000	2,000 - 5,000		50 - 10,000	500 - 100
67	2 - 5,000	500 - 1,000			

NICOLA RIVER

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>STEELHEAD</u>	<u>PINKS</u>
1939	100 - 300	100 - 300	50 - 100		
40	NO RECORD				
41			50 - 100		
42		300 - 500	1 - 2,000	1 - 50	
43		300 - 500	100 - 300		
44		300 - 500	300 - 500		
45		500 - 1,000	1 - 2,000	100 - 300	
46		300 - 500	2 - 5,000		
47		2 - 5,000	2 - 5,000		
48		1 - 2,000	1 - 2,000		
49		1 - 2,000	5 - 10,000	500 - 1,000	100 - 300
1950		2 - 5,000	500 - 1,000		
51		2 - 5,000	5 - 10,000		
52		500 - 1,000	5 - 10,000		
53		2,000	7, 100		
54			5 - 10,000		
55		2 - 5,000	5 - 10,000		2 - 5,000
56	NONE	REPORTED			
57		500 - 1,000	2 - 5,000		1 - 2,000
58		500 - 1,000	5 - 10,000		
59			5 - 10,000		100 - 300
1960		300 - 500	2 - 5,000		
61		100 - 300	300 - 500		100 - 300
62		300 - 500		FAIR	
63		300 - 500	2,000 - 5,000	FAIR	300 - 500
64		50	4,500	FAIR	
65		2 - 5,000	2 - 5,000		1 - 2,000
66		1 - 1,000	300 - 500		
67		1 - 50	200 - 5,000		1 - 2,000

NIMPKISH RIVER

Spawning reports (1950–1962) indicate that river is subject to freshets due to legged off watershed.
See also Biological Survey of the Nimpkish River: Department of Fisheries (Ottawa, 1962).

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SOCKEYE</u>	<u>COHO</u>	<u>SPRING</u>	<u>PINKS</u>	<u>CHUM</u>
1949	100,000+	10 – 20,000	2,000 – 5,000	5 – 10,000	100,000+
50	100,000+	5 – 10,000	5 – 10,000	10 – 20,000	100,000+
51	100,000+	10 – 20,000	10 – 20,000	5 – 10,000	50 – 100,000
52	100,000+	10 – 20,000	10 – 20,000	10 – 20,000	100,000+
53	100,000+	10 – 20,000	10 – 20,000	2 – 5,000	50 – 100,000
54	50 – 100,000	5 – 10,000	10 – 20,000	2 – 5,000	20 – 50,000
55	50 – 100,000	10 – 20,000	10 – 20,000	1 – 2,000	50 – 100,000
56	50 – 100,000	10 – 20,000	10 – 20,000	2 – 5,000	20 – 50,000
57	100,000+	10 – 20,000	1 – 2,000	1 – 2,000	20 – 50,000
58	50 – 100,000	5 – 10,000	5 – 10,000	2 – 5,000	20 – 50,000
59	50 – 100,000	5 – 10,000	5 – 10,000	2 – 5,000	10 – 20,000
1960	50 – 100,000	5 – 10,000	5 – 10,000	2 – 5,000	20 – 50,000
61	50 – 100,000	10 – 20,000	5 – 10,000	2 – 5,000	20 – 50,000
62	100,000+	20 – 50,000	10 – 20,000	2 – 5,000	10 – 20,000
63	150,000	20 – 50,000	5 – 10,000	10 – 20,000	10 – 20,000
64	100,000+	10 – 20,000	5 – 10,000	2 – 5,000	10 – 20,000
65	20 – 50,000	20 – 50,000	2,000 – 5,000	300 – 500	10 – 20,000
66	120,000	10 – 20,000	1,000 – 2,000	5 – 10,000	20 – 50,000
67	100,000+	2 – 5,000	1,000 – 2,000	300 – 500	10 – 20,000

APPENDIX NO. 13

INDIAN FISHING PERMITS

FRASER RIVER 1922

INDIAN FISHING PERMITS FRASER RIVER 1922

The Fraser River was closed to all fishing above the Mission Bridge from 1919 through the 1921 fishing season.

WILLIAMS LAKE INDIAN AGENCY

Canoe Creek Band

Old Lucy	Mrs. Sargent	Williams Adam
Mrs. Chas. Peters	Old Sulee	

Dog Creek Band

Mrs. Louie	Saxie	Eliza Muchue
Mrs. Joe Bacon	Mrs. Edward	

Alkali Lake Band

Sam	Mrs. Dick	Old Mrs. Shaw
Mrs. Jack	Pete Suckers	Mrs. Qualaskin
Mrs. Joseph Dan	Mrs. August Battoo	Charlie Shaw
Mrs. Williams	Astokya	Marcia
Mrs. Jack Suckers	Lucia Augustine	Mrs. Billeau

Riske Creek Band

John Baptiste	Tenas Tyhee	Willie Isnardie
Frank	Antoine	Susan

Stoney Band

Susannah	Brigham	Nellie
Maggety Mary	Sleepy Dave	Nemaiah
Mrs. Joe Haller	Arboo	

Anaham Band

Fancy Charlie	Susanna Tenasse	Old Lucy
George Betsie	Betsey	Lucy
Mrs. Seymour	Mrs. Chinaman	Rosa Lee
Mrs. Corn	Amelia Andrew	Wolverine
Queen	Minnie	Alex Hum

Redstone Band

Aziel	Catherine	Mrs. Old Charlie
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Williams Lake Band

Old Seymour	Mrs. Williams	Old Mrs. Grouse
Lucille	Anne	Old Anzell
Mrs. Jimmie Grouse	Oregon Johnny	Old Billy
Old Bazile		

Soda Creek

Old Sam Cabbage	Widow Grey	Long Charlie
Old Capt. Charlie	Old Mary	Josephine
Widow Isaac	Widow Clapp	Old Maggie

Alexandria Band

Sam	McKay	
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Quesnel Band

Teresa	Mrs. Halise	Mrs. Dick
Frank Stone	Allan Paul	Old Stone
Lee Lee woman	Juliet Isadore	Old Tommy
Mrs. Vital	Mrs. Charlie	

Canim Lake Band

Maggie Paul

Unattached: Red Bluff Charlie, living near Gang Ranch, Fraser River at Churn Creek Bridge.

KAMLOOPS AGENCY

Spallumcheen Reserve No. 1 (Salmon River)

Wm. Nonies (Madeline)	Jim Haskett	George Purdie
Alen Haskett		

Spallumcheen Reserve No. 2 (Enderby)

Charlie Kustah
Louis Haskett

Joe Jalitchja

Jim Nicholas

Okanagan Reserve No. 1 (Head of the Lake)

Luke Paul
Narcisse Quihamiken
Basil Alexander

Frank Pete
Pierresche Jack
Pierre Quahamiken

Joe Williams
Jimmie Joseph

Okanagan Reserve No. 9 (Westbank)

Felix Tomat
Antoine Eli

Jimmie Swite
Joe McLeod

Dominick Tom
Esan Eli

Kamloops Indian Reserve

Philip Tomma
George Alexis
Antoine Jules
Johnny Xavier
Elie Matthew
Ann Joachim
Pierre Ignace
Alex Leonard
Basil Paul
Alex Laurent
Seymour William
Baptist Denaault
Seymour Fidell
Elie Lareau
Basil Faladoau
Duncan Joyal
Frank August
Narcisse Le Camp
Mary Louie

Peter Frezie
Alex Camille
Mrs. Willie Bob
Philimena Daniel
Dennis Prosper
Peter Bushey
Ann Francis
Johnny Leonard
Gabriel Paul
David Dennis
Josephine Gabriel
Allan Laviguer
David Elie
Antoine Lareau
Joe Laviguer
Harry Duncan
Antoine Celester
Felix Auxime

Saul Tomma
Jim Samille
Ignace Alphonse
Joe Edward
Frank Boney
Patrick Casimir
Andre Manuel
Nacy Petels
George Alexis
Jack Smiler
Moyese Silpahan
Fidel Paul
Joe Jules
Leo Leonard
Willie Gabriel
Michel Celester
Alexander Bob
Julia Manual

Cook's Ferry Reserve

Jimmie Spence
David Lestum
Charlie Frank
Susan Drynooh
Big George

Tommy Spence
Little George
Johnny Drynooh
Tiddlewink
William Silas Nalee

Charlie Walkem
Tommy Yemelst
Catherine Drynooh
Johnny Pasco
Philip Charlie

Cook's Ferry Reserve (Continued)

Moses Hewitt

Joe Albert

Rachel Whitimitsa

Nancy Louis

Willie Jack

Jimmy Tom

Johnny Pasco

Lucy Spring

Willie Anderson

Susan Tetlinatiza

Joe Lam-Touse

Old Tom

Salmon Arm Reserye

William Celester

Willie August

Michel Purtaby

David Maxime

Pierre Moyese

Moses Allan

Fidel Allan

Johnny James

Pete Michel

Casimir Anthony

Daniel Adam

August James

Patrick Allan

Jack Purtaby

Cyprian Anthony

Thomas Andrew

Tappen Indian Reserve

Francis Silpahan

David John

Joe Kinbasket

Adam Edward

Andrew Johnny

Francis Andrew

Harry Pierro

Jules Arnouse

Little Shuswap Lake

Peter Tomma

Alexander Tomma

Isaac Thomas

Patrick Arnouse

Burnaby William

Jack Sam

Casimir Pascal

Smashton Tomma

Michel Tomma

Agnes Harleon

Felix Arnouse

James Arnouse

Agette Sanister

Allan Tomma

Dennis Michel

Tahan Arnouse

Charlie Francis

Simon Andrew

Baptist Paul

Adams Lake Band

Antoine Tawhalst

Leon Kenoras

Michel Antoney

Martin Andrew

Alexander Edward

Elie Halo

Daniel John

Duncan Spamola

Mrs. Alex Michel

Jim Arnouse

Adrien Narcisse

Appoline Antoney

William Michel

Mary Edward

Jack Baptiste

Francis Antoney

Casimir Michel

Margaret Spamola

Charlie Goosta

Etienne Adrien

Charlie Andrew

Charlie Edward

Willie Johnny

Marcel John

Andrew Edward

Francois Sampola

Joe Martin

Adams Lake Band (Continued)

Ambrose Thomas
Jim Moses
Madeline Ignace
Paul Ignace
Larry Celester

William Goosta
Joseph Arnouss
William Antoine
Christine Edward
Josephine Adam

August J. Sculle
Alex Joseph
Louis Stock
Francois Samson

Neskainlith Band

Lucy Pierrish
Peter Auxime
John Paul
Alexander Cassell
Charlie Alexis
Mrs. Pierre Manuel
Anthony August
Isaac Willard
Cyprian August
Tommy Jerome
Leo Kootenay
Saul William
Joe Dick
Michel Paul

William Pierrish
Paul Pierre
Cecile Celester
Abel Pascal
Sam Alexander
Pierre Joseph
Maggie Moses
Joe Wye
Gabriel August
Philip Bapalst
Harry Samson
Ernest August
Marcel Joe Dick

Abel Shaulna
Angelis Edward
Amber Edward
Basil Dennis
Andrew Dick
Tommy Harris
James Manuel
Adolph Moses
Louie Petel
Julia Louie
William Martin
Jim Alexander
William Adolph

North Thompson Band

David Casimir
Celestine Baptist
Louis Emile
Laurine Gorbeau
Youster Phillip
Fidel Alexis
Andy Matthew
Hyacinth Alexis
Camille Dennis
William Celester
Alice Alexis
Sam Tomma
Matilda Fortier
Nancy Cree

Etienne Felix
Annie John
Cecile Victor
Joe Joseph
Patrick Phillip
Alexander Joseph
Joe Saul
Adelina Tom
Francois Jules
Harry Abel
Yerma Pierre
Peter Sluskin
Seymour Lampleau

Daniel Neas
Augustine Joseph
Pierre Basil
Pierrish Joseph
Casimir Phillip
Antoine Matthew
Octavia Jules
Isaac Joseph
Emile Celester
Margaret Neas
Margarette Neas
Tomma Phillip
Catherine Abel

Deadman's Creek Reserve

Jimmy Antoine
Gus Edwards
Narcisse Etienne
Annie Basil
Louis Camille
Johnny Petell
Jimmy Peters
Vivian Simon
William Rynes
George Petel

Willie Jules
Jim Camille
John Calhoun
Johnny Burke
Jimmy Taylor
Louis Deneault
Alex Ignace
Anastasia Celester
Clemes Tomma

Edward Jules
Edward Ignace
Abel Simon
Rosey Ignace
Basil Simon
Alfred Deneault
Madeline Simon
Mack McNabb
Agnes Ignace

Bonaparte Indian Reserve

Basil Dick
Felix Caspier
Charlie Narcisse
Joseph Phillip
Nels Porter
Jimmy Pierre
Andrew William
George Deacon
Jim Etienne
August La Pah
Jimmy Burke
Angela Pierro
Nancy Casimir
Alex Gray

Antoine Basil
Michel Bob
Victor Philip
Dandy Jim
Jimmy Rynes
Antoine Wilbur
Saul William
Joe McGee
Francis Etienne
Johnny Morgan
Claud Mack
Alfred McLean
Aggat Jim

Susan Gabriel
Johnny Gray
Charlie Sandy
Jimmy Porter
Mille Gabriel
William Jack
Cecile McLean
Johnny Casper
William La Pah
Matilda Casimir
John Pierro
Mary Sywick
Isabel Pierro

Ashcroft Reserve

Francois Scotty
Frank Harry
Justine Samson
Nicola Edwin
Jim Pacush
Sarah McGee
Leha Pacouch

Jimmy Spie
Joe Emposh
Willie Harry
Robbie Edmond
Joe Lulu
Harry Basket
John Barzum

Christine Spence
Sam Samson
Albert Harry
Charlie Jim
Raymond Kirkpatrick
Johnny Lulu
Harry Lulu

Oregon Jack Reserve

Jack Frost
Simon Pasco

Alex Tooney
Harry Spie

Willie Dick

Nicomen Reserve

Albert Drynoch
Johnny Moberly

Tommy Lick
Nicomen Peter

Tommy Lytton
Annie Collins

Shackan Reserve No. 11

David Nakalst
George Seymour
Anthony Joe
George Richardson
Billy Jack
Jack Silk

Charlie Paul
Jimmie George
Frank Fair
Billy Snow
Joseph George
George Ignace

Joe Paul
Tommy Patterson
Alex Jimmie
Jim Pickles
Jack Swite
Julia Silk

Nooaitch Reserve

Jimmie Brown
John Isaac
Jimmie Shackella
Steven Pattie
George Andrew
Sam Nullock
Billy Ernest

Johnny Martin
John Anderson
Angus Shackella
Joe Billy
David Washington
Charles Spintlum
Peter Frank

Anthony Suchel
George Pickles
Dennis Shackella
John Sampush
Billy Pickles
Sam Paul

Nicola Mameet No. 1

Tom Peter
Louis Charlie
Johnny Swakum
George Kilroy
Billy Toontis
Jack Yuester
Jimmy Moses
Old Moses
Tommy Swakum
Jimmy Edward
Andrew
Louisa Spie
Sally Sallay-sa-lek
Ike Swite

Tommy Peter
Louis Jonah
Johnny Jackson
Tores Squakin
Skookum Billy
Frank Swakum
Eddie Harry
Moses Jack
Jack Swakum
Jim Sutta
Mary Isaac
William La Pierre
Charlie Stewart

Cultus Charlie
Johnny Harper
Chance Squakin
George Bent
Francois Jackson
John Gilmor
Willie Mike
Johnny Swakum
Gio Tool-li-lin
Rosaline
Willie Swakum
Albert Suchel
Harry Etienne

Coldwater Indian Reserve

George Sandy
Leo Queer
Michel Antoine
Billy James
Charlie Coutlee
Johnny Spuzzum
Edward Hall
Susan Queer
Major McKay
Johnny August

Jack Sandy
William Lane
Charlie Swakum
Dick Allulum
Bob Robertson
Charlie Jules
Felix Sampson
David Oppenheim
Joseph Andrew
Emily Felix

Bob Queer
August Wilputkin
Peltiva Moyese
Nicola Captain
Old Elizabeth
Frank Bob
Joe Basil
Albert C. Halliday
Saraphine Antoine
Charlie Kilroy

Joeyaska Reserve

Antoine Spahan
Sarah Joeyaska
Rosaline

Charlie Spahan
Isaac Jackson
Louise

Jack Spie
Ossil Quilasket
Albert Sterling

Zoht Reserve

Old Suitta
Johnny Magee
Moses Luma

Sam Sinasket
Annie Tom
Violet Tom

Harry Haljam
Matilda Willie

Douglas Lake Reserve

Johnny Chillihitza
Billy Fountain
Cyprian Splugin
David Tom
Jimmy Fish
Long Johnny
Johnny McAuley
Alex Chillihitza
Tommy Alex
Jennie Tatlian

Frank Paul
Charles William
Johnny Statkie
Adele McRae
Felix Gregau
Jimmy Charters
Margaret Frank
Theresa Marcel
David Saul
Baptiste Nopia

Jim Alexander
William Jack
Cecila Tom
Charlie Shaulna
Lucy Pablo
Sophie Holmes
Sally Jim
Alex Saddleman
Agatha Lampleau

Hamilton Creek Reserve

Sicamen Timibalst
Myers Michel

Paul Saxey
Charlie Mike

Jimmy Duncan

Quilchena Reserve

Saul McLeod
Michel Baboon
James Alekson
Charlie Archahan
Adam Boston
August Stroney

Alex Chilli hitza Jr.
Marion Lubenick
Mack Manuel
Louis Saddleman
Edward Shena
Quilchena Jack

Johnny Moon
Agnes Pierre
George Chilli hitza
Mary Shena
Pete Saddleman

NEW WESTMINSTER AGENCY

Skwah Reserve

Chief Harry Stewart
Pat Tommy
August Jim
Mrs. August William
Old Mrs. William
Charlie Sam

Cassimere Jack
Bob Joe
Fred Joe
Annie Sam
Samson Charlie
Tommy Lewis

Jones Mussell
Gabriel George
Paul James
Andrew Joe
Paul Joe

Skway Reserve

Joe Phillips
Felix Joe

August Joe

Andrew Jim

Skulkayn and Yakweakwoose Reserves

Julius Malloway
Charlie Jim
Antone George

Isaac Joe
Jimmie George
Harry Uslick

Bert Louis
Chief Billy Sepass
August Jack

Soowahlie Reserve

Chief George Cooper
Edward Mussell
Albert Cooper
Francis Kelly

Samson Jim
August Sam
Willie Dick
Isaac Sam

Ernest Commodore
Sam George
Harry John

Squiala Reserve

Jimmy Swevelius
Charlie Swevelius

Pat Joe
August Paul

Old Charlie

Tzeachten Reserve

William Hall
Sam Cassimere
Old Louis
Frank Roberts

James Wealick
Alex Joe
Chief Charlie
Pat Joe

Solomon Wealick
Ida Uslick
Robert Joe

Chenalis Reserve

Chief Alex Joseph
Stanley Marshall
Daniel James
Seraphine Leon
Francois James
Mitchell Peter

Felix Joe
Jacob Harry
Francis Leon
August Paul
Moses Brown
Edward Leon

Harry Joseph
William Harris
Ambrose Point
Alphonse Miller
Francois Dan
Joseph Joe

Douglas Reserve

Chief James Douglas
Alphonse Jack
Antone Charlie
Alex Cole

Alex Jack
Bazil Charlie
Lucy Paul
August Charlie

Johnny Dehague
Sam Charlie
Peter Innis
Old Mary

Skookum Chuck Reserve

Chief Paul
August Isaac
Ambrose William
Ann Sebastine
Felix James
August Jacob
Charlie Sarl
Billy Joe

Frank Charlie
Louie James
Paul Alexander
Shorty Bob
Johnny Frank
Paul Lodge
Capt. Alex
Robert Charlie

Robert Charlie
William Jim
Tommy Dan
Dan Paul
Jim Antone
August Hunter
George Frank

Pemberton Reserve

Alphonse Stager
Pierre Jim
Andrew Joseph
Alex Gabriel
Joseph Jim
Johnny Sky
Pascal Joe
Old Dan

Peter Peter
Big Leo
Frank Gabriel
Joe Ross
Charlie Wallace
Billy Julian
Johnny Wells
Pielle Johnny

Old Joe
Mary Wattie
John Baptist
August Edmonds
Augustine Stanley
Mack Seymour
Francis Joe
Coffee Jack

Pemberton Reserve (Continued)

Phillip Gabriel
Paul Jim
Dan Charlie
Paul Dick

Joseph Louis
Old Phillip
Henry Wallace
Chief Charlie

Joseph Joe
Sam Jim
Felix Sam
Old Agnes

Samahquam Reserve

Harry Peters
Baptist Smith

Baptist Harry

Joe Billy

Scowlitz Reserve

Chief Joe Hall
Susan Phillip

George Billy

Billy James

Coquitlam Reserve

Chief David Bailey
Captain John

John Shield
Coquitlam William

Fred Cunningham
Coquitlam Joe

Katzie Reserve

Chief Joe Isaac
Solomon Miller
Simon Pierre

Willie Johnson
August John
John Johnson

Peter Pierre
Joe Florence

Langley Reserve

Chief Cassimere
John Gabriel
Charlie Pierre

Joe Gabriel
Mrs. Tommy Black

George Fillardeau
Peter Gabriel

Matsqui Reserve

Chief Charlie
Frank Tommy

Mrs. Felix McKay
Dan Milo

Mrs. Captain George

Musqueam Reserve

Cassimere Johnny
Willie Gearn
Johnny Stogan
Seymour Grant
Tom Peter

James Point
Andrew Charlie
Joe Gabriel
Alex Peter
Edward Sparrow

Frank Charlie
Tommy Cole
Johnny Point
Musqueam Jim
Dave Lock

Semiahmoo Reserve

Chief Sam
George Sam

James Charlie
Willie Dolan

Maurice Baker
Roderick Dolan

South Westminster Reserve

Chief Charlie
George Roberts

Fred Dan
George Joseph

Jimmy Charlie

Lakahahmen Reserve

Johnny Sumas
Ray Morris
Joe Kelly

Mrs. Hope Charlie
Louie Punch
Jimmy Kelly

Dave Jasper
Frank Lewis
Joe Punch

Whonnock Band

Felix Fidell

Harry Cheer

Dan Cheer

Upper Sumas Reserve (Kilgard)

Chief Ned
George Jim
Gus Commodore
Oscar Ned

James Kelly
Mrs. Hope Charley
Mrs. Ed Williams

Peter Silver
Jim Pool
Mrs. Thompson Charley

Tsawassen Band

Chief Harry Joe
Billy Pielle
Willie Williams

Pielle Jacob
Old Mary
Felix William

Old Nancy
Gus Williams
Peter Pielle

Burrard Inlet Reserve

Chief George
Old Tom
George Daniel

Joseph Thomas
Susan Sampson
Felix Joseph

Jim Leo
Gus Jim

Capilano Reserve

Chief Mathias Joe
Mrs. Johnny Baker

Andrew Louie
Old Captain Jack

Mrs. Jimmy Antone

Seymour Creek Reserve

Jim Alex
Isaac Joe

Ignace Austin

Jimmy Harry

Squamish (Howe Sound)

Jimmy Jimmy
Chief George
Old Charlie
Cyprian Timothy

Billy Williams
Andrew Natural
Chief Andrew
Billy Snow

Chief Charlie
Charlie Douglas
Christine Paul
Chief Tom

Squamish Mission Reserve

Danny Mack
Gabriel Moody
George Johnson
Willie Baker
Mrs. Emma Williams
Margaret George
Jimmy Frank
Chief Moses
Denny Mack
Harry Discon
Dennis Paul
Andrew Jack
Andrew Paul

Charlie Louis
Charlie Antone
Billy Pielle
August George
Edward Nahinee
Henry Newman
Jacob Louis
Peter John
Tommy Moses
Frank Baker
Joe August
Fred Corkill
Mrs. Agnes Joe

Dan Paul
Dennis Rivers
Gus Band
Tommy Johnny
August Billy
Henry Jack
Henry George
Tommy Moody
Christine Paul
Patrick Sarl
William Nahinee
Arthur Gonzales

LYTTON INDIAN AGENCY

Seabird Island

Chief Harry Joseph
Mary James
Louis Alex
Dan Thomas
Mrs. Jimmy Charlie
Fred Ewen
Joe Pettis
Christina Joe
Alfred Hope
Patrick Louis
Joseph Paul
Pauline Harris

Edmund Joe
Fidel Johnson
George Seymour
Katy Thomas
Charlie Alexander
Henry Ewen
Martin Harris
Harry Joe
Mrs. Sam
Rosy Jones
David Charlie

Arthur Joe
Jimmy Andrew
Jim Harris
Mary Andrew
Johnny Bob
George Pettis
Paul Cheam
Christina Michel
August Andrew
August Charlie
David Leon

Skawahlook Reserve

Chief Isaac James

August Jack

Joe Chapman

Ruby Creek Reserve

Chief Johnny Ohamil
Billy Williams
Patrick Charlie

Jimmie Charlie
Captain Charlie
Jim Punch

Pierre Jack
Cecilia

Yale Reserve

John
George Hope

Peter Emery
Elizabeth Green

Kitty Emery
Annie

Hope Band

Chief Pierre Ayessik
William Lewis
Oscar S. Peter
Peter Joe
Alex Pete
Pat Charlie
August Jim
Lucy Black
Katherine Sam

Charlie Andrews
Louis Jackson
Mary Skit
Dennis S. Peter
Peter Pete
George Pat Charlie
Alex D. Peter
Lucy Joseph

Louie Charlie
Tommy Jackson
Johnny Joe
Laura Peter
Edmund Lorenzetto
Louie Skookum
Joe Stewart
Alex Victor

Ohamil

Jimmie Joseph (Church Chief)
Willie George
Gabriel Pierre
George Henry

Tommy Joe
Henry Wallace
Paul Webster
Pat Johnny

Pierre Ohamil
Dominic Wallace
Isaac Joe

Popcum

Chief William Gladdis

Tom Cheer

Fred Cheer

Cheam

Chief Harry Edwards
John Cassimir
Andrew Jimmie
Joseph Douglas
Peter Victor
Morris Charlie
Lillian

Edmond Victor
Patrick Shaw
Dan Murphy
George Douglas
Paul Edward
Mrs. John Nelson
John Charlie

Andrew Shaw
Charlie Douglas
Lucy Olale
Charlie Murphy
Pauline Joe
Johnny Pierre

Squawtits (Peters Band)

Chief Harry Joe
Joe Peters

William Joe
Joe Marino

Louis Squawtits
Agnes Joseph

Union Bar

Chief August Billy
Lucy William

Billy Swallisea

Charley Pat

American Bar (Union Bar Band)

Chief Harry Michael
Jimmy Andrew
Lawrence James
Matilda Charlie

David Andrew
Joseph Alex Josh
Patrick Joe
Mary Margaret Harry

George Josh
Dan Michael
Dan Joe

Boston Bar

Chief John Charlie
Jesse James
George Stout
George Cregan
Anny Jimmy
David Lewis
Antoine McHalsie
Tom Boston
Alex Brown

George McKenzie
Louis Pettis
Ida Sye
Chief Joe Brown
Matilda John
Adela Magee
Charlie Bly
George Clarke
Peter Isaac

Susie Florence
Willie Fraser
Andrew James
Louisa Brown
Bert Jimmie Pierre
Charlie Smith
James Scott
Kitty Captain
Jack Campbell

Lytton (Nesikep)

Chief Johnny Antoine
Annie Albert
James Sampson

Ausgin Samson
Harvard Mack
Alfred James

Henry Albert
Julia Lytton
John James

Lytton (Cayoose Creek)

George James
Jimmy Adams

Lucy Austin
Jane Adams

George Williams
Johnny Riley

Lytton (Nickle Palm Indian Reserve)

Chief Sam Mack
Simon Philip
Johnny Billy Smoker

Isaac Paul
Billy Smoker

Paul Henry
Johnny Hance

Lytton (Cameron Bar Indian Reserve)

Henry Aleck Captain Dick	Captain Aleck	Moses Charlie
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Lytton (Tawncht Indian Reserve)

Chief Johnny Joe Willie Charlie	Ernest Charlie	Kitty Charlie
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Lytton (Spintlum Flat Indian Reserve)

Philip Jim Webster Dixon	Johnny Jim James Phillips	Frank Charlie Jimmy Smoker
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Lytton (Nohomin Indian Reserve)

Jim Thomas	John Matchie	Mary Shumalst
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Lytton Band (Stryne Creek Indian Reserve)

Chief Jimmie Justice Albert Tom George Roberts Edward Paqualst Malby Bob Thomas Dick Albert Charlies	William Klaushut Justice Williams Aleck Fraser Pandice Charlie John Malby Joseph Justice Jack Synods Jack Thompson	Harry Williams Emma Wilson Carles Phillip Arthur Billy Johnny Albert Lytton Dick Billy Cisco
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Lytton (Spapyum Indian Reserve)

Andrew Bob Isaac Harry Charlie Williams	Henry T. Curneau (Chief) Tommy Joe Frank Dick	Joe Chutatlum Harry Cisco
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Lytton (N'kala Indian Reserve)

Chief Harry Sam Tommy Paul Joseph Peter Billy Ancutty Tommy Walker	William Tom Jim Baldy William Jesse Jimmy Stone	Martha Thomas Sam Lytton Joe Peter Paul Nalee
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Lytton (Kleetlekut Indian Reserve)

Chief Paul McCarty

James Duston

Harry Brown

Lytton (Inklecheen Indian Reserve)

Johnny Raphael
Riley Spinks

Peter Charlie

Charlie Stewart

Lytton (Klickkumcheen Indian Reserve)

Susan Swartz
Susan Joe
Billy Seymour
James Thomas
Joe McIntyre
James Lytton
Tommy Mack
Albert Hance

Isaac Jumbo
Matthew McKay
John Frank
Jimmie Quinn
Thomas Albert
Amy McKay
Eliza Jim

Jimmy Cisco
Tommy Moddy
Mary Dick
George Snowball
Arthur Skuki
Aleck George
Charles Cisco

Kanaka Bar

Chief Charlie Kanaka
Johnny Spike
Harry White
Alice White
Harry Hance

Johnny Henry
Johnny Fraser
Harry Spike
Susie Daniel

Salmon Dick
Hance Wallace
Jimmy White
Charlies Mitchell

Spuzzum

Chief James Paul
Jim Lee
William John
William Andrew
William Bobb
Johnnie Fraser
Charles Chapman
William Johnston
William Bradley
Andrew James

Henry James
Billy Graham
Paul Yola
Louisa Andrew
Mike Bobb
Harry Bobb
Kitty Alexander
Patrick Charlie
Pat Bradley
Lilly Wynsa

Tommy Johnson
Clement Stump
Joe York
Henry Bobb
Bessie Dick
Mary McInnes
Johnny Chapman
Agnes
Kayma
William York

Cisco (Siska)

Tommy Cisco
Dick Richardson
Dixie Pickles

William Munro
Ellen Dixon Wise
George Munro

George Wish
Charles Dixon
Alice Rose

Boothroyd

Chief Benedict
Tommy Jones' wife
Johnny Mack
George Phillips
John Michell
William Na-how-litch
Sam Adams
Charlie James
Henry Abbott
Harry McKay
Johnny Blair
Johnny Florence

Wallace Bradley
John Jones
Annie Skwowe
Annie Bolin
Thomas Tom
Aleck Michael
Andrew Jerry
Louisa James
Charles Smith
Johnny Andrews
Percival Matrin
Jack Sampson

Johnny McCarty
Henry McCarty
Johnny Edwards
Felix Angus
Johnny James
Joe Grandstone
Jimmy Martin
George Abbott
George Isaac
Priscilla James
James McLinden
Mary Thompson

Fountain Band

Chief Thomas Adolph
William Adolph
John Milcow
Mary Ann
John Sheep
Rosalie Narcisse
Donald Mosquito
Seymour Rafael
Andrew How
Silas
Andrew
Annie
Charlie Harry
Sam Mitchell
Saul Tabaskas
Nicola
Charles Bob
Cyprian Billy
William Bob
Paul Diablo
Lillie Rose
Cecilia Jackson
Felix Pierre

David Adolph
Teresa
Pierre
Edward
Edward Net
William
Albert
Harry John
Aeneas Jacob
Peter Diablo
Alexis
Dick
Louis Jacob
Rafael Pierre
Louisa Kikaboia
August
Antoine Billy
Joseph
Willie Frank
Alexander Dan
Louisa Lyon
Ambroisnie Sheep

Charlie Adolph
Madeline Bob
Alfred Patrick
Adrian Bob
Eugene
Johnny Prosper
Francis Joe
Lillie
Spohia
Emile
Alexander
Alexis Tenahoos
Ambrose Jacob
Andrew Pierre
Cyprian Joe
Peter Whimpkin
Michel Billy
Gabriel Bob
William Diablo
Alexander Tom
Leon William Hume
Cecile

Pavilion

Chief Bob
Harry

Saxy
Joseph Harry

Annie Shinta
Alfred Harry

Pavilion (Continued)

Edward
Theophilus Edwards
Jack Edwards
Ellen
Julia Bob
Antoine Shinta

Louis Shinta
Johnny Edwards
Francis Edwards
Johnny Bill
Alice Brown
Lizzie Hoffman

Pecalla Antoine
Harry Edwards
Pecalla
Andrew Bob
Elizabeth Bob
Jimmie Hoffman

Pavilion (Leon Creek)

Chief Major Churchill
Casimir Ko-rha-law
Eddie Brown

Casper Lawyer
Aleck
Johnny Frank

Joe Major
Peter Aleck

Bridge River

Chief David
Andrew James
Antoine Jack
Alexis James Sampson
Michel Moon
Angela Tom
Frank Billy
Peter John
Mary Seymour
Cecilia James

Julia
Frank Michel
Dan Peter
David Ignace
Jim Lake
William Porter
Louisa Bonaparte
Alphose Seymour
James Bell
Julia

Bell Felix
Dick Terry
Gabriel Pierre
George Kistemet
Anthanase Jim
Mary Magdalen
Jack James
Mary Ann
Billy McEwen
Michael Jack

Lillooet Band

Stephen Retasket
Susan Jones
Mary Samson
Ann Otis
Julia
Susan Napoleon
Julia Means
Annie Billy

Madeline Retasket
John Scotsman
Doctor Michael
Pauline Charlie
Mathias Charlie
Tommy Napoleon
Margaret Phillip

Henry Andrew
Jim Potatoes
Paul Hickson
Johnny Dick
Emily Saul
Catherine Baptist
Annie Jim Pocock

Cayoos Creek

Chief Charlie Lush
Margaret
John Whimpkin
Camille
Albi Moomoos

Patrick
Jean Baptiste
William Old man
Edward Frank

Big Frank Jules
Billie Jumpt
Madeline Mary
Adam Bob

Anderson Lake

Chief Tommy Jack
August Dan
Isaac Charlie
Cowman Johnny
Mary Ann Ritchie

Selina Jack
Madeline Barney
Doctor Joseph Joe
Mary Cole

Johnny Jack
Mary Ann Jack
Caspar Charlie
Bob

Seton Lake

Chief Jimmy James
Paul Charlie
David George
Cecilia James
Chief Tommy Bull
Johnny Joe
Rosy Jimmie
Jacob Peter
Benjamin Peter
Dan Alexander
Bob Alexander
Agnes Jackson
Susan

Harry James
Billy Ben
Cutla James
Joe Link
Willie Tommy
Sam Paul
Susan Michael
Caspar John
Patrick Oleman
Peter Alexander
John Tom
Ray Creqna

Mike James
Annie George
Jan Felix
Ann
Alex Sampson
Joe Paul
Chief Mission Peter
Caroline Sheel
William Patrick
August Alexander
Lizzie Tom
Johnny Eaneas

Clinton Band

Chief Jimmy Gabriel
William Bedan
Margaret
William Young

Felix Bones
John Parnell
Lucy Gabriel

Johnny Peter
Johnny Adolph
Sarah

High Bar Band

Chief Joe Moses
Melanie
Charley Fenton
Walter Fenton

Madeline
Ann
Julia Campbell
Narcisse Walla

Sophy Saxy
Pete Carson
Pete Campbell

*FIVE ISSUES
FIVE BATTLEGROUND*



REUBEN M. WARE