

A Camp is a Home and Other Reasons Why Indigenous Hunting Camps Can't Be Moved Out of the Way of Resource Developments

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Abstract: Tahltan Athapaskans at Iskut Village, British Columbia have been challenged by resource developers to explain why hunting camps cannot be moved away from mining activities in the Klappan River watershed. In response, Iskut people tell that hunting camps are homes where family histories are shared, hunting activities are conducted, and gender roles are taught and reinforced. This article builds on Heidegger's notions of dwelling and building, and the anthropological literatures on place and home, to elaborate on Iskut peoples' insistence that their camps are enduring places, used indefinitely by both the living and the spirits of their ancestors. The implications of Iskut perspectives for development activities are explained as well.

"Why Can't They Move the Camps?"

On May 21, 2008¹ I attended a meeting in Vancouver, British Columbia (BC) of Tahltan Indigenous² leaders and politicians; environmental consultants; government representatives from BC's Integrated Land Management Branch (ILMB); and executives from Shell Canada, Fortune Minerals, and other resource extraction companies. The meeting of nearly twenty people was convened to discuss a provincial government initiative, the creation of a "strategic land and resource management plan" for a region of northwestern BC called the Klappan (*Tl'abāne*).³ I participated on the project as a member of a Tahltan research team that had been working for more than a year to use social science research methods and computer modelling to predict quantitatively the impacts of mining in the *Tl'abāne* on the lives of Tahltan people. The resource extraction companies owned the rights to drill for coal bed methane gas and to dig for coal in the area. They were anxious to hear what we had determined and if the results would cause delays in their development plans. There was a lot at stake for both the Tahltans and

the companies. Many Tahltans wanted the Tl'abāne (henceforth instead of Klappan) to remain unadulterated and completely accessible for their food gathering purposes; Shell Canada and Fortune Minerals wanted to continue exploring and, eventually, begin extracting the minerals from under the Tl'abāne landscape.

During the meeting, the Tahltan research team shared the results of interview-based research into the social and cultural values the Tl'abāne region held for Tahltan natives who lived at Iskut Village, Dease Lake, and Telegraph Creek. Given the limited time allotted, our group presented a small case study on the hunting camps of families from Iskut Village that dotted the area under proposed development. Camps, in our presentation, were tangible reflections of the continuing use of the local lands by Tahltan people. We drew connections, for example, between the camps and hunting areas that had been used by Iskut and other Tahltan families for procuring food for generations.

Polite questions followed our presentation from those sitting around a large boardroom table. Some were curious about the activities at camps. Others probed us on the connections between camps and animal corridors. One particular question stunned the Tahltan research team. The environmental consultant sitting across from me asked: "Why can't they move the camps?" Silence followed. No one offered an answer to the question. I was shocked and embarrassed that, despite all the data collected, the answer was not apparent to the assembled government and mining representatives. We had taken for granted that the importance of the camps as physical manifestations of the interconnectedness of Tahltan cultural values and practices was self-evident.

After the meeting, and away from the discussion table, it was clear that the Tahltans were annoyed, if not upset, by the question. Responses came pouring out. Camp was the wrong word, I was told; "camp" implied something recreational and temporary to the non-Tahltans in the room. The Tahltans continued: It was better to think of the camps as "homes." Further, camps unused by living people were, in fact, used by the spirits of the deceased. In short, the question implied a misunderstanding of the connections between camps, animals, the land, and Tahltan culture. The consultant had missed the point entirely—and the reality of the corporate interest in clearing obstacles from development was now entirely visible. But why hadn't I heard these statements about camps from Tahltans before now? Why had no one spoken up at the meeting? Upon reflection, I saw that more research into camps and their significance was needed. Without answering the question of why the camps could not be moved, it seemed unlikely that

any plan for managing the lands and resources of the Tl'abāne that honoured Tahltan uses would be possible.

In August 2009, I visited Arthur Nole's *Didini Kime* ("Young Caribou Camp")⁴ in the Tl'abāne to try and answer the consultant's question.⁵ Arthur Nole is an Elder from Iskut Village. While the Tl'abāne is in the asserted traditional territory of Tahltan-speaking people from Iskut, Telegraph Creek, and Dease Lake, it is used most extensively by families who live in Iskut Village.⁶ For many of them, it is the homeland where they lived or travelled as children. Today, it is the primary hinterland from which village families harvest moose, caribou, plants, and fish. Arthur's camp is located 115 km from the beginnings of an access road that starts on BC's remote Highway 37. The drive to the camp is along the trackless BC Rail grade, a very rough road that sits on the unfinished and trackless railway extension to Dease Lake.⁷ Arthur's *Didini Kime* is one of six camps he maintains along or near the approximately 150 km of rail bed that runs through the Klappan and Skeena River watersheds. Camps belonging to other Iskut families are also located along the grade.

On the Impossibility of Moving the Camps

As a practising anthropologist, I assist First Nations clients in British Columbia to prepare reports and maps that illustrate their relationships to local lands. The reports are generally related to resource development and land use planning in forestry, mining, and hydroelectricity contexts. Often, the reports are connected to larger environmental assessment processes in which industrial developers are fulfilling the legal requirements of consultation with First Nations in the province.⁸ As part of larger assessments, these traditional land use reports address proposed developments in terms planners expect: culturally significant places are pencilled in on maps and the significance of these places is considered in terms of the potential harm that might come to them from development. In the context of this applied research, I am frequently confronted with the differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives on the land, its resources, and their use. While I sometimes find that First Nations groups are categorically opposed to development projects, this is rarely the case. Rather, First Nations leaders and members typically want an opportunity to comment on the scale or location of the projects. In the case of the Tl'abāne, members of the Iskut First Nation are concerned about the mining plans of Shell Canada and Fortune Minerals and what those projects might mean for their ability and opportunities to hunt, fish, collect wild foods, travel, relax, and camp. This article attempts to answer the question of why hunting camps cannot

be moved out of the way of proposed mining activities. While my answer comes from my experiences living and working with Iskut people, I believe it offers points of consideration for other resource development situations and conflicts. Indeed, the development projects slated for the Tl'abāne region are but one example of a raft of development projects currently proposed for northern BC and Canada.⁹

Camps cannot be moved out of development zones because they act as anchors that sit between the remembered past and the lived present. Camps are "dwellings" in a philosophical sense (cf. Heidegger 1971) and they symbolize intimate, historically-deep, and enduring relationships between Iskut people, local lands, and animals. Strikingly, the Tahltan language word for camp is *kime*, which translates into English as "home"—the following ethnographic sketch of Arthur Nole's Didini Kime shows how camps are homes. Further, the immovable nature of camps is related to their importance in hunting. The hunting of moose and caribou is, symbolically, the central cultural defining activity of Iskut people (McIlwraith 2012; also Davis 2001). I am not so naïve to think that Iskut families live as they did prior to the arrival of Europeans in northwestern BC. I acknowledge that hunting is but one part of the complex and modern lives lived by Iskut people. That said, the continuing use and occupation of these camps by Iskut people is a reclamation of the contested Tl'abāne region from resource developers (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003:18).¹⁰ Relocating camps is not possible because they are the places at which relationships between people and between people and animals are established and maintained. To move the camps would require moving the animals, the plants, the trails, and the rivers. To move the camps would require coaxing the spirits of the ancestors to follow and it would mean denying the connections between specific places and family. Camps do not exist outside of these relationships.¹¹

Likewise, Iskut hunting continues to be a significant source of both cultural identity and nourishment for Iskut people (McIlwraith 2012). Hunting requires relationships of respect with animals and other people lest a hunter fail to secure food. While the camps cannot be moved for practical reasons, people do move when they hunt, they hunt in different areas, and they move around a lot by truck, snowmobile, all-terrain vehicle (ATV), and foot. To hunt and to be away from Iskut Village, then, hunters must have camps to stay at and, ultimately, places to which they can return. The notion that camps can be moved because they appear on a planner's map as isolated dots within a large expanse of seemingly unused land is to misread the maps.

Iskut Camps as Dwelling Places

Anthropologists who study human relationships with places have made productive use of Heidegger's philosophical reflections on dwelling (Heidegger 1971). In his essay "Building Dwelling Thinking" Heidegger contrasts the acts of dwelling and building. Dwelling, says Heidegger, is how humans are as they live on earth. Dwelling in a particular place produces peacefulness and a sense of security (Heidegger 1971:148–149). Building comes from the same German root as dwelling but, in contrast to dwelling, building has come to mean the erecting of buildings (Heidegger 1971:148). While it might seem obvious that people dwell after they build, Heidegger insists that building happens after an environment is known. It is dwellers who build (Heidegger 1971:148; quoted by Ingold 2000:186). Anthropologist Thomas Thornton, in his insightful research on Tlingit place-making, summarizes Heidegger's distinction between dwelling and building: "dwelling ... implies such things as "sparing" and "preserving" places as well as "cultivating" them ... [In contrast] building denotes constructing things" (Thornton 2008:25). Thornton continues, invoking British anthropologist Ingold: "dwelling breeds a certain intimacy through everyday experience" (Thornton 2008:26; cf. Ingold 2000; also Tuan 1977:184).

A definition of "place" is useful when discussing camps as places of dwelling. For Thornton, "a place is a framed space that is meaningful to a person or group over time" (Thornton 2008:10). Gray plays along, uniting notions of place and dwelling: "Dwelling refers to the creation of meaningful places that together form a surrounding world ... It entails people's relationship to the world, motivated by concern and consequent involvement. 'Dwelling' thus privileges the practical and the spatial in the constitution of knowledge and meaning" (Gray 1999:449). And, given the role of camps as important places for creating and reinforcing social norms and relationships for Iskut Tahltans, I offer Rapport and Dawson's definition of place: places are "fixities of social relations and cultural routines localized in time and space" (1998:4).

Feld and Basso, two more anthropologists, use dwelling to set a theoretical framework in which locally determined understandings of places and their social creation can be investigated:

we aim to equate such ethnographic evocations [of place] with local theories of dwelling—*which is not just living in place but also encompasses ways of fusing setting to situation, locality to life-world* ... [we seek to] locate the intricate strengths and fragilities that connect places to social imagination and practice, to memory and desire, to dwelling and movement. (Feld and Basso 1996:8; emphasis added)

Basso (1996) develops this approach in *Wisdom Sits in Places* with reference to Apache connections to the land. Basso concludes that places animate ideas like social norms (Basso 1996:107) because being in place, or thinking about a place, triggers memories or personal reflections. For the Apache, the intimate relationship between places and Apache dwellers conveys examples of Apache morality. Place names and the stories they invoke inform Apache people, for example, about proper behaviour.

I offer one more example from anthropology. Brian Thom's doctoral dissertation "Coast Salish Senses of Place" (2005) draws connections between dwelling and the contemporary politics of land claims in British Columbia. While describing the experiences of Coast Salish peoples on the east side of Vancouver Island, Thom postulates that hunting, fishing, and gathering demonstrate respect to non-human animals and ancestral spirits who dwell alongside people (Thom 2005:6). The possibility that animals and spirits dwell—and not simply exist—on the earth is powerful. It requires acceptance that animals are actors who interact with people in events like hunts and at places like camps (Thom 2005:13; also Ingold 2000; McIlwraith 2008, 2012). The relationships that Coast Salish peoples and Iskut Tahltans have with animals and spirits are, then, akin to relationships with other people. Care, reciprocity, and, frequently, love characterize the relationships between people and non-human persons. Where the land claims and resource politics of BC are concerned, dwelling implicates those living in an area to care for places and other non-humans living there. By considering Indigenous commitments to place as dwelling leads to the observation that governments and Indigenous peoples know the same locations in differently ways (Thom 2005:1; Casey 1997:300; Thornton 2008:26).

Further clarifications are required. The philosophy of Heidegger, and the application of it by Thornton, Basso, and Thom, insists that dwelling has nothing to do with staying put or remaining still. Despite the fact that camps are fixed in place, they imply the movement of people and animals. Arthur's camp, like others in the area, is a permanent fixture with immovable infrastructure like tent frames. But any individual camp is tied to other camps by trails or roadways and no camp exists in isolation. Camps are the pauses along trails, to paraphrase the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1977:182). They are the places people rest during longer travels between other places. Camps are occupied in accordance to the animals or plants that are likely to be there in a particular season. The activities that depart from one camp, like hunting, may cover great distances on foot, truck, or ATV. So, staying at one camp implies dwelling in the entire area. These—camp and territory—are the two scales of knowing a landscape Tuan identifies. Tuan gives primacy

to the camps because of the intimate connection hunters and campers have to camps. In contrast, Tuan suggests that the larger territory through which hunters move “seems more shadowy ... because it lacks a tangible structure” (Tuan 1977:182) created by trails linked by camps. I am not sure Iskut hunters would agree. The territory outside of the camps and off the trails is visited for shorter durations than camps; hunters pass through hunting areas while lingering longer in camps. But the places where animals are procured are not less known than camps. A hunter needs to know where animals will be, after all. And, the extensive repertoire of Tahltan-language place names in the wider territory testifies to the structure Iskut hunters impose on what outsiders might call wilderness. Indeed, the parkland adjacent to the BC Rail grade is named officially as the Spatsizi Plateau Wilderness Park. It isn’t wilderness to Iskut hunters who have hunted there throughout their lives.

By questioning why camps can’t be moved, resource developers reveal a culturally specific notion of place, land, and dwelling. It is this ethnocentric view that underscores the expectation that Iskut camps are buildings, merely set on a natural foundation that is ripe for exploitation. As buildings, the camps are seen as temporary, inanimate, impersonal, and, ultimately, portable and destructible. The resource development perspective assumes a dichotomy between rural Indigenous people living in a natural world and urban, modern people using and consuming that natural world. Ingold is mindful of this in his analysis of built-worlds in various eras of human history:

hunter-gatherers build as part of their adaptation to the given conditions of the natural environment ... the environment is given in advance, as a kind of container for life to occupy ... building is a part of everyday life [for hunter-gatherers and], it is not supposed to have any lasting impact on the environment. (Ingold 2000:180)¹²

Ingold hints at the mistake resource extractors make: Iskut people simply build as a reaction to place and then inhabit containers called camps. As buildings, places of habitation called camps can, then, be moved. And, to be clear, when a developer suggests moving a camp the reality is that the original camp will have to be destroyed and re-built elsewhere.

Arthur Nole’s Didini Camp

Arthur Nole’s Didini Kime is located in the valley of the Little Klappan River, on the flank of *Ts̓etsedle* ‘Klappan Mountain’ (lit: little mountain).¹³ Arthur has camped here since the early 1980s.¹⁴ Its infrastructure, including tables, tent frames, and poles for holding up tents and tarps, stay at the place all year

long (Fig. 1). It is a permanent place. That said, the camp is not a year-round residence. Arthur resides at this camp from early August to early or mid-September each year, although he and his grandsons sometimes visit the camp by snowmobile during the winter. I first camped with Arthur at Didini Kime in August 2002 and then again in August 2004. Since those initial visits, Arthur reconstructed the cooking area using plywood and posts. The new construction replaced a similar area that was covered with a blue tarp; the rebuilding process reminded me that camps are always under construction. Arthur's camp is accessed by a short driveway leading off of the rail grade and up onto an area of level ground near a creek. In a subtle reminder of a previous and aborted era of resource development, the driveway into the camp passes a pit from which gravel was removed to build the rail grade. During my more recent visits, this gravel pit served as a shooting range for young people to sight their rifle scopes.



Figure 1. Arthur Nole's Didini Kime showing Arthur's kitchen and sleeping area and an outlying cabin (August 2009)

A discussion of Iskut camps is aided by a review of the usage of the term "camp." I use the word camp as I hear Iskut people using it today. A camp is a place where people stay, usually temporarily, outside of their primary residence in Iskut Village. It is characterized primarily by a building in which people rest and sleep, like a cabin or tent. Cooking and camp maintenance

are primary activities. Fire for heat and cooking and a water source are implied by the term. Size is inconsequential to the identification of a camp as a resting place, although camps with different purposes may be of different sizes.

Didini Kime is comprised of multiple features. It includes three primary habitation areas each with a canvas tent on a frame, a firepit for cooking, and an eating area. One of these spots is Arthur's tent and kitchen. The other two were built by Arthur's adult children. There are several additional canvas tents and a small cabin within the larger camp's footprint; Arthur's grandchildren usually stay in these structures. Arthur's adult children might talk of going to "their camp up in the Klappan" although they are just as likely to say they are going to camp "with dad"; an Iskut audience familiar with the camps and with Arthur's family understands Arthur's connection and identification with this camping location. In acknowledgement of the work Arthur has put into building this place, and likely in deference to his age, Iskut people know and refer to this place as Arthur's Camp. Arthur refers to this camp as "his camp." It is common to hear him say something akin to "I'm moving up to my camp next week." Arthur might refer to the place simply by saying that he is going camping in the Klappan. While potentially misleading, because Arthur has several camps in the Tl'abāne region and along the rail grade, this camp is the place he uses more frequently these days.

Arthur's kitchen and sleeping area within the larger camp is the focal point for all inhabitants and visitors to Arthur's camp (Fig. 1). This habitation area is comprised of a cooking area at the front. Here, a wood stove, large fire pit, Coleman-style camping stove, a propane barbeque, food preparation tables, and washstands for dishes and for hands are found (Fig. 2). A kitchen and eating area with storage shelves, a dinner table with benches, and a counter are located immediately behind the cooking area and firepit. Arthur's tent frame, made of plywood and lumber and covered in a blue tarp, is behind the kitchen and accessed by walking through the eating area (Fig. 3).

Several utilitarian areas surround Arthur's living areas. Dishwater and some kitchen waste are poured on a clump of *gū̄* (fireweed; *Epilobium angustifolium*) near the cooking area. Large blocks of spruce wood, split for the wood stove, are scattered outside the cooking area. Three-foot lengths of jack pine for the firepit are stacked nearby. Garbage pails with drinking water sit on a raised bench. Antlers of a caribou, shot recently, hang in a tree. A sandpit with children's toys is behind Arthur's sleeping quarters. A pit toilet is a little further away. Still further back is a small meat house; caribou meat hangs from poles and flies are kept away with the smoke from green alder wood. A gasoline-powered generator is located behind the toilet, dug

into the side of a hill. The generator powers lights in the kitchen and cooking areas and, more importantly, runs the freezer in which butchered meat is frozen before it is transported back to the village. Some of these features are visible in figure 1.



Figure 2. Cooking area with cooking firepit, water pails, and food preparation tables

Some of the features of Arthur's living area are replicated in the habitation areas of two of his adult children, who have camps several metres behind Arthur's main camp. They have their own cooking and sleeping areas, and their own wood piles and water. But everyone shares the toilet and the meat house. While I was there in 2009, one of the habitation areas at Arthur's camp was occupied by Arthur's son and daughter-in-law. They had a young son with them and an adult daughter visited with her infant son. The other habitation area was built by Arthur's daughter and her husband. Their teenaged sons were in the camp too, but they stayed in canvas tents located between their parents' tent and their grandfather's tent. Arthur's twenty-eight year old grandson stayed in a small cabin next to Arthur's sleeping area. Visitors came and went with some frequency. Most visitors were staying at the other large multi-family camp in the area called *Kāti Chō* (lit: big slide). *Kāti Chō* is located 30 km north of Didini Kime along the rail grade. Some visitors had left Iskut for the day and used Arthur's camp as a destination for their daylong outing.

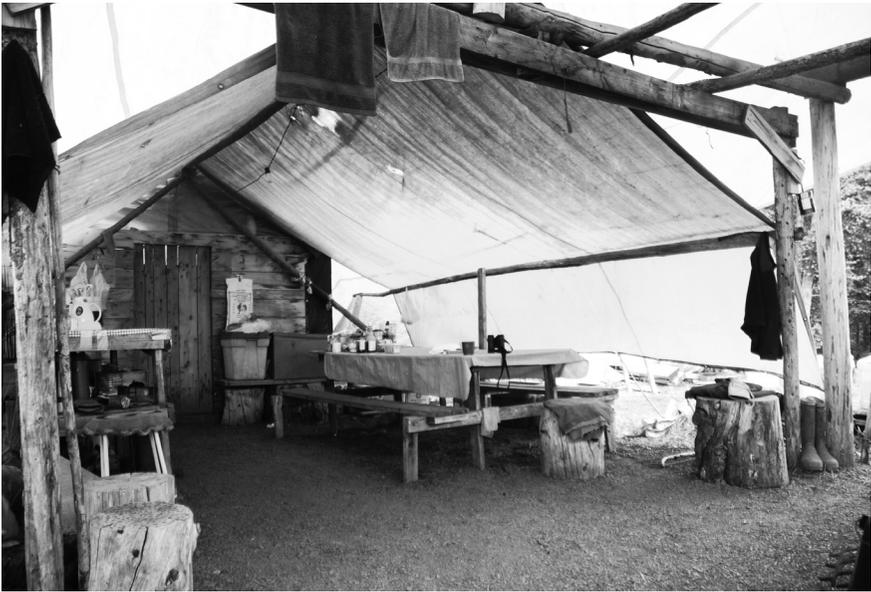


Figure 3. Eating and sleeping areas

Many activities take place in or depart from Arthur's camp. They frequently revolve around hunting. As hunting on Tsëtsedle (Klappan Mountain) and elsewhere in the local valleys tends to take place on "bikes" (ATVs), bike maintenance is a constant preoccupation in the camp. I was stunned by the number of tools and the skills of the people in Arthur's camp to dismantle, clean, lubricate, and return to working order this equipment. Hunting from bikes or with the aid of a pickup truck along the rail grade tends to take place in the early morning or in the late afternoon and evening. Hunters paid attention to their watches noting that animals would not be wandering around before 2:30 p.m.

Cooking, eating, and maintaining the camp are also preoccupations for campers. During one of my visits, and over the course of five days, Arthur's son built a new meat house using lumber and other materials stockpiled in the camp. Most of the construction was completed with a hammer and a chainsaw. The young men of the camp assisted with this work. Men and women both took part in food preparation and cooking. Arthur likes to cook breakfast, as does his nephew. Young children, both boys and girls, cleaned *dediye* 'groundhogs' (marmots, *Marmota monax petrensis*, or, *Marmota caligata*) and *tsili* 'gophers' (ground squirrels) ensuring that they are ready for eating. Women frequently took the lead in making dinner. Lunch was usually leftovers and at other eating times, like evening snacks,

people tended to fend for themselves. To be sure, we ate extremely well in Arthur's camp—probably better than most people eat in their Village homes, most of the time. Arthur reminded me that he is known to Iskut people and client hunters for a few different dishes. He makes, for example, a macaroni breakfast called Klabona Special, named for the Tl'abāne region, while the Spatsizi Slam breakfast evokes images of a Denny's restaurant on the Spatsizi Plateau. Alcohol is not present in camps.

Towards a Functional Classification of Iskut Camps

Camps are built for specific reasons and in notable places. Arthur's son-in-law told me so directly when he announced that people started camping at Didini Kime because "game, particularly caribou, comes through here." Mabel, Arthur's sister-in-law elaborated, saying that camp sites are chosen because "there is something to do there." Access to game influences only a general area in which to camp. Level ground, access to clean water, and the availability of firewood are all important components of a *kimot'iyē* 'good camp'.¹⁵ This is consistent with Arthur's comments that when arriving at a *ninitē kime* 'overnight camp', travellers immediately set to tasks like pitching the tent, getting water and firewood, starting the fire, and making supper. He learned the importance of such co-operative effort while camping with his father.

When choosing a camping spot, the importance of visual aesthetics cannot be ignored. The places in which camps are made are chosen for their views of surrounding scenery. While a viewpoint may be functional, affording, for example, the opportunity to "glass around for game" (look for animals with binoculars), Arthur is clear that camps are places to be enjoyed. Campers and visitors alike should like the place because it looks nice. Indeed, says Arthur, the camps he remembers best are the "nice camps."¹⁶

In its most inclusive definition, *kime* means 'home'—and it is a place where people dwell. This camp is a home because it is a familiar place which invokes memories and creates feelings of security and serenity. It is associated with family, the teaching of children, the discussion of history, and practices associated with personal and community identity (see Mallett 2004).¹⁷ It is a physical structure within which social relationships are practiced and reproduced (cf. Giddens 1984:122; Mallett 2004:68) and specific kinds of activities—like eating, relaxing, and cleaning game—take place here. Camps are places that exist in the imagination even when they are not occupied. In this sense, camps are immaterial (Miller 2005). In short, camps function as homes in emotional and sentimental ways, and they do so despite the

Other examples he gave emphasized the materials of construction. *Eṣage khit* 'brush house' is a house made of materials found in the forest. It is, essentially, a cabin which is unlikely to last for more than a few years. *Tsistlē khit* 'rag house' is a canvas tent on a frame or hanging from poles.¹⁸ And, in an *ejināya kime*, meat is hung in an *etṣen' khit* 'meat house'. A meat house is built to house butchered animals and, as such, is not a kime or home.

The activities conducted at or near a camp influences the way in which people refer to a camp in conversation. Arthur has, for example, beaver hunting camps (*tša' kime*) near the rail grade in the headwaters of the Skeena. He goes there to hunt beavers. Likewise, spending time in an *ejināya kime* 'hunting camp' or a *luwe kime* 'fish camp' implies that hunting or fishing (and often both) will occur. Still, a visit to a hunting camp when caribou are not present or a fish camp when the salmon are not running still permits the use of the activity-related labels. Notably, I did not hear Arthur refer to his Didini Kime as *ejināya kime* 'hunting camp' although when asked he agreed that the label was reasonable. Given the primacy of hunting in Iskut culture (McIlwraith 2012, 2008; Davis 2001:27), I suspect that hunting is the unmarked food gathering activity and does not require direct reference. It is assumed that people will hunt when they camp unless otherwise noted. Indeed, having spent time with Arthur in his *luwe kime* near Telegraph Creek, I am fully aware that hunting takes place from that location too. Further, I did not hear Arthur call Didini Kime a *kedā kime* (moose camp). Again, moose may be the unmarked category of hunted animal and it seems reasonable that all camps are moose camps by default even if other animals are sought from the same location.¹⁹

The classification of camps by activity is reinforced by the names they are given (proper nouns) or the names with which they are referred (forms of reference). Camps are frequently named for the central inhabitant or primary builder. Arthur constructed his Didini Kime. I asked Arthur for permission to camp there with him and his family. Bluebell's Camp is where Bluebell camped. Naming for a builder does not preclude other names. Camps have proper names that are usually derived from a feature of the local environment. Hence, Arthur's Camp is also Didini Kime 'young caribou camp'. The large, multi-family Iskut camp is *Kāti Chō* 'big slide'; not surprisingly, it sits in the shadow of a mountainside on which a large slide occurred. *Ebele Duwe Kime* 'no sleep camp' is located on a trail into the Spatsizi near the rail grade. Its name is derived from the noise of sheep ramming their horns together and, thus, preventing campers from sleeping. High Camp is located on a bluff high above the rail grade. Windy Camp is at a windy place. Beauty Camp offers a lovely view.²⁰ The possibilities are endless. Beyond function

and material, Iskut camps are classifiable by time. Reference to a “fly camp,” a simple structure strung between trees or over poles close to the ground, implies a *nanitē kime* ‘overnight camp’ (lit: go-to-sleep camp). This kind of camp is used when people are travelling between villages or larger camps. *Sā’e kime* ‘old camp’ are camps that have either been used for a long time or are no longer used by the living.

Villages also fit into the classification of places within the built environment of Iskut people.²¹ Iskut people dwell both in camps and in houses in Iskut Village, but Iskut is different from camps in several ways. In Iskut, families live close together in suburban-style houses. The families live close to relatives through blood and marriage. Personal identity is marked in Iskut by clan memberships, ancestral family groups, different homelands, and matrilineal descent. Because of these features, it is likely that these families would not have lived together in the same location in the past. They certainly do not camp close together.²² There are no forest animals in Iskut Village with the exception of birds and squirrels; there are domesticated dogs and horses. People work for wages in the village and, while they cut meat and feast in the village using food gathered in the hunting territories, most hunting and gathering activities are not conducted there.

Since the late nineteenth century, Iskut people have lived for much of the year in villages (see Sheppard 1983; McIlwraith 2012). Iskut Village, in its current conception, was built by Iskut people and the Department of Indian Affairs in the early 1960s.²³ This history raises the possibility that the built village exists in contrast to camps as *kime* and home. By extension, it is questionable whether or not Iskut people truly dwell in the village. Iskut leaders requested that they be relocated to a new village location on *Luwechōn Menh* ‘Kluachon Lake’ in 1962 (Sheppard 1983; Walker Various Dates). During the 1950s, Iskut people lived at Telegraph Creek, but on the south side of the Stikine River opposite the native and non-native towns that were there. Starting in 1948, the Iskut families had moved to Telegraph Creek from homelands on the Spatsizi Plateau and in the Tl’abāne because of pressure from priests who wanted to bring people together with churches and schools. Big game outfitters also encouraged the move, say Iskut Elders, because the outfitters wanted the game for their clients. By the early 1960s, the Iskut families wanted to move again. Telegraph Creek was too far from their traditional hunting territories and many did not feel welcome at Telegraph Creek. It was not home.

The 1960s and 1970s were decades of significant change. Connections between Iskut and a larger Canada were increasing. Many Iskut people worked on the construction of a highway south through northwestern BC

from the Alaska Highway. The BC Rail project to Dease Lake was started and benefited from Iskut labour. It is safe to say, however, that Iskut people felt constricted by life in the village. Indeed, in 2002, I recorded a number of comments from people that the village was dirty and an unpleasant place to live (McIlwraith 2007). While it is a place where health services, schooling, wage work, and a store are available, it is also a place of compromised health, whether from alcohol and drugs or from unexplained cancers that, anecdotally, seems to exist in large numbers.

Given this history, it is clear that camps tie Iskut people to hunting territories and traditional homelands more securely than a house in Iskut Village. The possibility exists, then, that camps are also places of refuge from the confines of a village. I think this position holds merit, at least today. Iskut people do not conceal the fact that they enjoy camping and that they go to camps to relax, to play, and to have a good time (also Nadasdy 2003:253).²⁴ Further, the camps provide culturally safe places to do these activities, away from the colonial relations that structure so much of life, so much of the time.

The Meanings of Kime

*Place is the most fundamental form of embodied experience —
the site of a powerful fusion of self, space, and time.*

Feld and Basso (1996:9), paraphrasing Edward S. Casey

While visiting Didini Kime, Arthur recounted memories of travelling with his father throughout the Tl'abáne region. He told animal stories set in myth-time. One such story describes a hunter who gets stuck in a porcupine's den. Paraphrased, the story goes like this:

A man lived with Porcupine for nine months. He chased around after Porcupine. He went here and there, like a porcupine does. He should have quit chasing around. He followed that Porcupine into a crack in the rock. He got stuck. He looked behind him. There's a little hole. So he took off his snowshoes and leaned up his rifle. The snowshoes stick out of the hole this much [Arthur gestures with his arms]. The Porcupine and its family come and go. Each time they pass by him they brush him. Maybe that's how they feed him. After nine months, the man looks at that hole. It's bigger. He gets out. He sees wolf tracks in the snow. He puts on his snowshoes. He follows the tracks back to his village.²⁵

The story is set in myth-time, when people and animals interacted directly and personally. Myth-time is when animals and people could speak

to each other. In many cases, the line between human and animal was blurred or non-existent. The porcupine story is set in the porcupine's den, said by Arthur to be near his camp. The man, presumably a hunter by the gear he is carrying, becomes trapped in the den. He remains in the den for nine months before a birth-like event frees him.

Arthur makes several points directly and indirectly in this story. First, the story is about a man who is out of place. He is trapped in a porcupine's den. After nine months dwelling in the home of Porcupine, he has become sufficiently porcupine-like to be reborn. He has become familiar with the den but remains an outsider who returns to his village. The story ties Iskut people and their history to the local Tl'abāne landscape. This story is set in this place. By locating the story in the Tl'abāne, Arthur implies that Iskut people have dwelled in the area since myth-time. And, if animals are really people, animals must dwell too.

The events in the story are initiated after the man, the outsider, harasses Porcupine. People must not "suffer animals," as Iskut people would say. Suffering animals is to show animals disrespect through annoying, mocking, or harmful actions. People must not chase animals or talk badly about them. Likewise, people must not "act tough" toward any animal, lest the animals punish them. This is especially true of *khoh* 'grizzly bear', says Arthur, for acting tough to grizzlies usually leads to harm.²⁶ In this story, the man chased after Porcupine. After doing so, the man is punished by becoming stuck in Porcupine's den. Notably, Porcupine is in control of events and relations in this story, not the human hunter. It behooves visitors to behave.

Arthur tells stories like this to teach his grandchildren about everything from the proper treatment of animals to hard work. Teaching hunting-related expectations and morals is central to camp life. Arthur is patient, but firm, with younger people. When he wants something done in the camp, he often speaks indirectly. I have heard him say, for example, "I wish that generator start by itself" as a way of prodding a grandchild to start the generator. Or, I have seen Arthur point to an empty teapot on the fire and, with his grandchildren in earshot, say "I wish this could fill itself." Or, as the fire dies down: "Come here wood. Walk into the fire." Arthur is more direct in his instructions regarding camp safety. He tells his grandchildren that they should not throw meat into the fire because that attracts grizzly bears to camps. The caution was augmented with a short story of a hunter who did this and was confronted by a grizzly in his camp. Arthur is also more direct when he speaks about work ethic. He insists that he was taught to work hard by his father. He expects nothing less from his children and grandchildren. Arthur's son reiterated his father's words as he built the new smokehouse;

his son told me proudly that the family is not lazy and that they always work when they come to the camp. Likewise, when the teenagers ask if they can go hunting, Arthur commonly responds "You don't even clean your game." This rebuke, tied to respecting animals, reinforces proper hunting behaviour by tying the opportunity to shoot with the responsibilities that come after taking the shot. As Arthur's oldest grandson in the camp said, "teaching kids in camp is about more than teaching them to hunt and skin."

The younger people in the camp teach each other about gender and age-related expectations, too. Both boys and girls hunt. They do so in the absence of parents or grandparents as young as eight years of age. But teenagers and preteens do not hunt alone. They are always in small groups that include younger children and older children.²⁷ Older children look out for younger ones. I witnessed one of Arthur's teenaged grandsons ask a preteen grandson if the rifle the younger boy was walking with was loaded. Upon hearing "no," the older boy told the younger one to "check again."

Preteen children carry out specific chores around the camp. They are typically responsible for washing and drying dishes, filling water pails, and keeping full the pots of warming water on the fire. The younger children also watch out for still younger children, particularly toddlers, by walking around the camp with them. Older preteens also chop wood into the sizes needed for fueling the camp stove. Teenagers and adults are responsible for routine maintenance of the camp including activities like filling the generator with gasoline. Adults cook the meals and dress the meat. None of these tasks are exclusive to one age set or another; there is overlap in roles. The overarching principle is keeping an orderly camp and much of the work falls to people who happen to be around. Sometimes being put to work is simply a result of being caught idle by Arthur.

There are some gender-based tendencies and patterns that emerge in Arthur's camp. Women cook dinner more often than other meals (also Sheppard 1983:364). Men cook breakfast. The eight-year-old girl in the camp appeared to watch the toddlers more than the preteen boys. The following exchange between an older teen boy and a preteen girl, his cousin, caught my ear as a group of us played cards:

Boy to girl: "Get me tea."

Boy's aunt to boy: "Please."

Boy to girl: "Please."

The boy was not trying to be mean or demanding of the girl, in my estimation. She did not complain. But, the exchange struck me as representing an expectation of the older boy towards the younger girl (also Sheppard

1983:375–376). Age and generation played a role, too, as the boy's aunt corrected the boy as a parent would. Notably, as Sheppard documents, these gender and age-based patterns found in the camps are also present in village homes (Sheppard:370–371).

Iskut people explain that camps are also places where people encounter the deceased. The spirits of the deceased that remain at a camp are usually the spirits of people who occupied, often built, the camp. Sometimes the spirits remain at a camp of family members at which they spent time. I have been aware of the possibility that camps might be occupied by the spirits of the deceased for a long time. During fieldwork in 2002, I visited camps frequently with Elders from Iskut Village. We drove out to the camps with a picnic lunch as part of getting out of the village. As they say, Iskut people like to "see the country." These trips took place between May and November, when roads were passable without snowmobiles. We often collected plants for medicines on these trips. After pausing at a camp, the Elders instructed me to walk around the camp calling *ānay* 'come' followed by the names of each person who was with us. The idea was to call the spirit of the traveller lest it linger too long and be left behind after our departure. The idea is that the spirits of ancestors can be restless, wandering away if one sits too long; indeed, the spirits of deceased people at the camps might try to lure away the spirits of the living.

Moreover, living people encounter the spirits of their ancestors at camps. Arthur's grandson explained that he likes camping at Arthur's Didini Kime because he feels the presence of his grandmother and father there. The young man elaborated, saying that being able to "talk" (his word) with his grandmother and father he might gain luck in his hunting moose; he may have been implying that his ancestors would direct him to animals. Arthur Nole talks about the land around Didini Kime in much the same way as his grandson does. He described for me finding a campsite in the timber near Didini Kime. It was a cleared area, surrounded and protected by trees with a small opening. A fire pit was there. For Arthur, this was one of a lifetime of moments in which he "followed in the footsteps of [his] ancestors." Indeed, Arthur speaks regularly of encountering his ancestors in dreams. The ancestors speak to him, telling him the names of places on the landscape. Camps provoke memories of relatives who have passed on. Mabel, Arthur's sister-in-law, explained to me that she equates Kāti Chō camp with her brother Philip, who passed away a few years ago. Mabel said: "I just think of my brother when I think of Kāti Chō." And, as Mabel and I passed two large campsites on a drive from Iskut Village to Kāti Chō, Mabel told me: "I think of my mother. She camp here with us." The idea that

places invoke or provoke memories is developed by Basso (1996) and Palmer (2005). Morphy (1995) writes about the connections between ancestors, the living, and landscape in Aboriginal Australia: "The [Australian] landscape is redolent with memories of other human beings. The ancestral beings, fixed in the land, become a timeless reference point outside the politics of daily life to which the emotions of the living can be attached. To become this reference point the ancestral journeying had in effect to be frozen for ever at a particular point in the action, so that part of the action became timeless. Place has precedence over time ..." (188). The presence of the ancestors makes Iskut camps timeless, too.

The idea that the spirits of deceased people dwell at camps means that camps that are unused by the living are still in use by the dead. For developers, some camps appear to have fallen out of use and, thus, should not pose a concern for mining, logging, or other forms of resource extraction. But, as was explained to me both after the meeting in Vancouver and in Arthur Nole's camp, the spirits of the deceased who remain at the camp would not want them disturbed. Thus, camps are places of dwelling for living and deceased. A camp's location may be chosen for one reason—but it endures for others.

Camps are homes for Iskut people. They are intimately tied to families. They are places where families interact and where children learn the skills associated with men and women. They are places of healthy eating and prideful work. Iskut people encounter their ancestors at camps. They visit with their living relatives at camps. In other words, camps like Arthur's Didini camp allow social relations to develop in ways that Iskut Village does not always permit (also Basso 1996; Thornton 2008). They evoke the past in a number of ways: through direct encounters with the deceased; by facilitating hunting and the consumption of meat; and, by encouraging people to travel in the footsteps of the ancestors. Camps are places where stories of the past are told, as memories of personal experiences, as stories of raids by and against the neighbouring Nisga'a peoples, and as myth-time tales of relationships with animals.²⁸

For Arthur Nole and other Iskut campers, the built environment is secondary to the dwelled-in environment. The camps are an expression of the dwelling perspective. Dwelling-in begins in mythological time. Camps exist in the landscape where events in mythological time occurred and where ancestors lived, worked, and played. Being in a camp motivates stories set in mythological time. Camps evoke and provoke relationships with animals and other people that predate living memories. Dwelling in camps prompts memories of recent history and spectacular hunts that require careful

management in order to preserve them (McIlwraith 2008, 2012). Camps permit continued dwelling in the Tl'abāne. It is absurd to Iskut people that resource developers, without any depth of experience in this place, could reflect upon it or dwell within it in any meaningful way. They, it seems, are here simply to build.

The Politics of Development

Arthur Nole insists that his camping activities, including the building of and staying in camps, reflects his commitment to traditional cultural practices like hunting. Arthur pushes this point when he says that camping is how he continues to use the land. For Arthur and others at Iskut, camping and its related food gathering activities represent a presence on the lands outside of Iskut Village. Arthur states that if people do not use the land, they might lose it. They are places invested in and, in a real sense, owned by individuals and families. Camps are, in this sense, a claim to land through use and occupation. They reflect the claim of the entire community to areas like the Tl'abāne but, significantly, they remind observers that such collective claims rely on the presence of individuals and families in specific places which, through use, become identified with them. What constitutes use of land can be problematic. When Arthur talks about camping, it is apparent that his presence at a camp is as important as any measureable consumption of animals or plants. Arthur's words suggest that non-use of resources—leaving the land alone—is a form of use. The demands by Iskut people that unoccupied camps must be protected from destruction because the spirits of the ancestors still dwell there is a remarkable example that an uninhabited camp is still in use.

Arthur's stories about raids by Nisga'a people attest to the fact that Tahltan-speaking peoples in the Tl'abāne and elsewhere defended their land from outsiders. Protests against companies like Shell Canada are an extension of this tradition. Arthur is pragmatic about the defense of territory. He indicates that there was no boundary line in the past—but that people knew when they are trespassing on the hunting areas of others. Without clearly demarcated territories, says Arthur, people had to communicate. The outsiders who annoy Arthur today are primarily the non-native and sport hunters who come into the Tl'abāne after hunting season opens to shoot a moose or caribou. These hunters, says Arthur, take and burn the tent poles from Iskut camps. They steal tables. They aggressively use and damage the bike trails cut by Iskut people. Arthur is concerned that outsiders do not understand the permanence and endurance of the camps. Somehow, the hunters and developers see the tent frames, tables, and trails as features of

the landscape that were once used and are now up-for-grabs. Perhaps this reflects the fleeting and disengaged relationship the outsiders have with the local lands predicated on temporary use and short-term visits from afar to the area. Non-native hunters and resource extractors build a permanent presence in the form of camps (too), wells, and pipelines. But, they do not dwell in them. Their focus on building is in evidence by the theft of poles from Iskut camps by non-native hunters; the poles are simply means to an end. Ironies abound.

Resource development in the Tl'abāne became a significant concern for all Tahltans in 2005. At that time, Shell Canada began exploration projects for coal bed methane in the area, exercising its rights as owners of the coal bed methane leases. Fearing the damage that such development might create, Iskut Elders and other Tahltans blocked Shell from using the access road and the rail grade. More than a dozen Tahltans were arrested (Paulson 2006). The protests continued for three years. Notably, a protest camp—modelled after most other camps in the area—was set up at the entrance to the access road. Then, in 2008, Shell agreed to a moratorium against exploration for two years. The moratorium was extended for two more years in 2010. Today, the protests against Shell continue through a global campaign seeking a permanent ban and full protection for this area. Iskut people, through the Klabona Keepers Society, are leading this campaign. The Klabona Keepers have been joined in their efforts by National Geographic Explorer-in-Residence Wade Davis and environmental organizations like the Skeena Watershed Conservation Coalition (Davis 2011b; McIlwraith 2012).

In September 2009, a protest with a different focus began. After a summer of limited moose and caribou kills, Iskut people blocked the road again to non-native hunters. The protest was aimed at bringing attention to the importance of hunting to Iskut people, alerting the government to problems associated with an open-access hunt in northwestern BC and allowing moose and caribou populations to rebound without threat. As with the protests against Shell Canada, the actions and authority of the Iskut people against non-native hunters are founded on their presence in the Tl'abāne, knowledge of the area, and concerns for the well-being of people and animals. They invoke a history of use of the area that predates the appearance of any non-natives in the area.

In sum, the physical presence of the camps symbolizes Iskut claims to land in a way that is consistent—frankly—with resource development. The camps are tangible expressions of the use of territory by Iskut people who know well that using the land and consuming its resources are part of validating a claim to that land. Ironically, when governments and resource

developers define land use as land consumption, Iskut people are encouraged to occupy lands that might have otherwise come to exist only in the collective imagination of the Iskut people. Camps facilitate family use and ownership and demonstrate the community's presence in the region. After a Canadian and provincial colonial history that put mobile peoples on small reserves, Iskut people are now criticized for staying fixed in one place. They are being asked to move! Camps are evidence of Iskut people using their traditional lands and my observations suggest that Iskut people are extremely reluctant to move again.

Afterword: On Not Moving the Camps

The forms people build ... arise within the current of their involved activity, in the specific relational contexts of their practical engagement with their surroundings.

Tim Ingold (2000:186)

Iskut uses of the Tl'abāne region are fluid and flexible. They have changed over time. Likewise, the hunting camps of today are different and used differently than they were a generation ago or 200 years ago. Rigid notions of Indigenous uses of the land, notions that deny the possibility of change, minimize or eliminate the good intentions of bureaucrats who try to include Indigenous voices in land use planning projects. As Paula Pryce notes in her study of the Sinixt people of the BC Kootenays: "change and continuity are not opposites; rather, change is an integral part of the continuity of any culture. Ethnic identity [of a people]... comes from their current understanding of a connection to the past" (Pryce 1999:10). Iskut hunters may not live entirely on the land any more, but their presence in camps and at generations-old hunting spots informs contemporary outlooks, including a reticence to move the camps.

The question of moving camps comes back to perceptions of place and the differences between building and dwelling. Camps are built, to be sure. In a basic sense, Iskut people dwell in, or occupy, them. But, the forms taken by the camps, the passion with which they are maintained, and the emotional connections created in those processes are possible because Iskut people already dwell in the Tl'abāne (cf. Ingold 2000:186). The Tl'abāne is well-known and camps are symbols of a human environment built only after the Tl'abāne has been experienced directly. Resource managers, developers, and non-native consultants tend to privilege locations—dots on maps that appear as built locations—over the more holistic presentations afforded by the notions of landscape, defined by physical and metaphysical elements. The privileging of built locations (dots) over lived experience or even an

understanding of the relationships between local peoples, the land, and animals leads easily to the conclusion that the camps can be moved. The built perspective also supports the digging of a mine in a place far removed from the dwellings of a mine's owners and planners (also Davis 2011a:27).²⁹ But, it is my hope that drawing links between camps and other camps, trails, hunting and gathering areas, family time, ancestors, and the reinforcement of age and gender roles, the question of moving fixtures of the Indigenous cultural landscape might finally disappear. Likewise, building in a place might only happen after the intending builders have come to know, nay dwell, in that place.

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge the support and assistance of Arthur Nole, Dustin Nole, Kelsey Marion, Shelby Marion, Sharon Marion, Vern Marion, Mabel Dennis, Feddie Louie, Jim Nole, and the Iskut Chief Marie Quock and her Council. I also thank Jill Ahlberg Yohe for a careful reading of the article. Three anonymous reviews from *Northern Review* provided terrific suggestions and provocative questions; I am grateful to them. The research was funded, in part, by the Common Professional Development Fund at the Douglas College. I am responsible for the interpretations contained in this article.

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Notes

1. The issues raised here remain current because of a growing number of development projects in northwestern British Columbia. The voluntary moratorium against drilling in the *Tl'abāne* (Klappan) by Shell Canada expires in December 2012. Fortune Minerals, owners of the Mount Klappan Anthracite Metallurgical Coal Project, now called the Arctos Anthracite Project, is in the pre-application stage for its mine development. And, Imperial Metals' Red Chris project is in the construction stage after receiving a permit in May 2012.
2. In deference to current trends, I use Indigenous to refer to the first peoples of North America. I use the label First Nations in situations where proper nouns or community names require it, or when I am referring to Indigenous political organizations. I tend not to use the label Aboriginal except when referring to the work of other scholars who use that term.
3. The name Klappan comes from the Tahltan word *Tl'abāne*, which means 'open grass flats.' *Tl'abāne* refers to the headwaters of the Klappan River, a region that is characterized by alpine grasslands surrounded by rugged mountains. *Tl'abāne* can also refer to the Little Klappan River. The name is associated with

the *Tl'abānot'ine*, a Tahltan ancestral group (Teit 1912-15a and b; Teit 1956; also Sheppard 1983). *Tl'abāne* has also been adopted by the Klabona Keepers (an Anglicized version of *Tl'abāne*; see Klabona Keepers n.d.), a Tahltan group formed in Iskut to prevent development in the *Tl'abāne* region. A final note: the Klabona Keepers and environmentalists are referring increasingly to the *Tl'abāne* as the "Sacred Headwaters" because the headwaters of the Stikine, Skeena, and Nass Rivers are found here (see Davis 2009, 2011a, 2011b). In all cases, I use the orthographic system employed in the *Tahltan Illustrated Children's Dictionary* (Carter, Carlick, and Carlick 1994).

4. *Kime* is the Tahltan-language word for camp (see below). *Didini*, or young caribou, are seen regularly near the camp. Inevitably when discussing the name *Didini Kime*, Arthur will criticize government map makers for their poor transcription abilities. The map makers labelled the nearby creek with the name "Didene Creek" instead of *Didini* Creek. *Didene* is the Tahltan word for native person. For me, this is another example of the distinctions between insider Iskut dwellers and outsiders who visit, but do not dwell, in this area.
5. This essay is complemented by field research in Arthur Nole's *Tl'abāne* camp in August 2002, August 2004, and August 2010. I spent time in Arthur's fish camp at Five Mile, along the Stikine River near Telegraph Creek, in July 2003. I have also spent time at the camps of other Tahltan families over the years.
6. Iskut people are Tahltan Anthapaskans and they are frequently lumped together with other Tahltan communities at Telegraph Creek and Dease Lake. That said, Iskut has its own history which only sometimes dovetails with the history of other Tahltans (see Sheppard 1983; McIlwraith 2012).
7. The grade was built in the mid-1970s by BC Rail (Sheppard 1983). Fortune Minerals is reviving the idea of a railroad into the area along this route as a means of removing coal extracted from the Mount Klappan deposit.
8. In the British Columbia context, much of this work falls under the label of "traditional use study" (TUS). These projects are referred to generically as land use and occupancy studies (e.g., Brody 1988).
9. The most visible of these projects is the Northern Gateway Pipelines Project, proposed by Enbridge to carry bitumen between the Alberta oil sands and the port of Kitimat in British Columbia. The merits of the Northern Gateway Pipelines Project are currently being debated in British Columbia and Canada.
10. Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga define contested spaces as "geographic locations where conflict in the form of opposition, confrontation, subversion, and/or resistance engage actors whose social positions are defined by differential control of resources and access to power ... contested spaces give material expression to and act as loci for creating and promulgating, countering, and negotiating dominant cultural themes that find expression in myriad aspects of social life" (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003:18).

11. This is a theme explored by James Cameron in the blockbuster *Avatar* (Cameron 2009). In that film, resource colonists on the planet Pandora seek a mineral called Unobtainium [sic] in the face of resistance by the Indigenous Na'vi. In a particularly poignant scene, Parker Selfridge, the man in charge of mining on Pandora explains, exasperatedly, why the Na'vi's position in the dispute is irrelevant: "They're fly-bitten savages that live in a tree! Look around—I don't know about you but I see a lot of trees. They can move" (Cameron 2009, at 1 hour, 49 minutes, 22 seconds).
12. Ingold is discussing the work of Peter Wilson who, according to Ingold, distinguishes between foraging societies without architecture from agricultural societies with architecture (Ingold 2000:179-180).
13. Some people call Klappan Mountain *Dzeltse* (little mountain). *T̥s̥ē* and *d̥zet* can both mean "mountain" (Carter, Carlick, and Carlick 1994).
14. Anthropologists of foragers often describe Indigenous camps and camping activities in their writings. Many of these descriptions provide wonderful pictures of the pace of life in camps and the material culture of camps. Ridington (1988:26–32) sketches Beaver camp life as he experienced it. It is part of his rich, narrative presentation of Beaver life in *Trail to Heaven* in which he implicates the anthropologist in the process of researching foragers. Likewise, Brody (1988) shows Beaver camping as part of continuing participation in foraging economy. Jarvenpa offers a lively account of camping and trapping with the Chipewyan in *Northern Passage* (Jarvenpa 1998; also Jarvenpa 1980). Classic ethnographies frequently include descriptions of camps and camping in longer accounts of the characteristic traits of Indigenous cultures. This is done usually under a heading like "habitation" and plays on older paradigms of salvage ethnography (Morice 1894) or acculturation studies (Honigmann 1949).
15. *Kimot'iyē* is a contraction of *kime* (camp) and *t'iyē* (good).
16. In an attempt to differentiate Tlingit experiences with Alaskan landscapes from those of tourists, Thornton says that Tlingits "are more likely to perceive and characterize places in terms of the practical activities that engage them ... the negotiation of mundane affordances in the process of dwelling is more central to Tlingit place making than the extreme geographies produced and consumed through tourism" (Thornton 2008:26). I think Iskut hunters and campers would probably agree, at least in ordering practicality before aesthetic pleasures.
17. Jackson reminds us that the label 'home' is "shot through with ambiguity" (Jackson 1995:3). He continues, suggesting that people are comforted by a taken-for-granted notion of home as a place where belonging and autonomy are created in isolation from the real world (Jackson 1995:4, 6). This case from Iskut is no exception to Jackson's pronouncements. There is a burgeoning literature in the social sciences on the idea of home (Mallett 2004; also Jackson 1995). Discussions of Indigenous homes have frequently focused on their symbolic aspects (e.g., Douglas 1972; Bourdieu 1977) or featured homes as houses within

materially-oriented salvage anthropologies. Mallett asserts that the study of the organization of western homes is an understudied area (Mallett 2004). The term "home places" appears in the literature too, and it is synonymous with something like "homeland" for a community or an ethnic group (e.g., Blu 1996; Geertz 1973; Casey 1997). I am looking at camps as an expression of individual place making and use of space within a larger community. Tahltan camps are typically used by families, and just about every family stays in camps at some point during the year.

18. The *Tahltan Illustrated Children's Dictionary* says the word for tent is *ts'isā khit* (Carter, Carlick, and Carlick 1994:135).
19. The name *Didini Kime* comes from the fact that *didini* (young caribou) are seen in the area. The expectation is that those caribou would be hunted. Other animals like *kedā* 'moose' and *didiye* 'groundhog' would also be hunted during trips leaving from this place.
20. To my knowledge, there are no Tahltan language names in use for High Camp, Windy Camp, or Beauty Camp.
21. The Tahltan language word for village or town is *keyeh* (Carter, Carlick, and Carlick 1994:76). *Keyeh* is a cognate of the word *keyoh* from the *Dakelh* (Carrier) language. While meanings of the word *keyoh* vary between Carrier communities, it is a word that translates to territory (Yinka Déné Language Institute n.d.) and tends to refer broadly to land held by families for their use. Similar conceptions are not obviously in use in Iskut and, frankly, I have never heard any reference to Iskut Village as *keyeh*.
22. The exception to this is the "culture camp," a formal and organized camping event in which Elders are hired to teach children about traditional culture. The Iskut Community, through the Band Office or Clinic, tries to hold a culture camp once a year, usually in August. See Fienup-Riordan for an example of a Yupik culture camp in Alaska. Fienup-Riordan shows how culture camps are used to teach children (Fienup-Riordan 2001).
23. Iskut people have a long association with the place where Iskut Village was built. Some Elders remember living there in the 1930s. Archaeological investigations suggest that this place was used for habitation long into the past.
24. Nadasdy's comments (2003:253) that it was not until native people started working in offices that they started thinking about camping as relaxation and a way of getting away from it all. This is part of what is happening at Iskut camps.
25. The story is based on my notes, written down immediately after the story was told.
26. Arthur's grandchildren hear these rules and prohibitions. But, the fact is they talk badly about some animals. Smaller animals, like groundhogs, are teased as fat and stupid. Porcupines can save a starving traveller because they are often found moving slowly on the ground. But their treatment—being clubbed

to death—is hardly humane even by Tahltan standards for treating animals. The careful treatment of moose and caribou, in talk and action, suggests much greater reverence for moose and caribou than for other animals. For more on Tahltan and Iskut relationships with animals, see McIlwraith (2012).

27. Indeed, adults do not usually hunt alone either, although adults will drive out on a bike or in a truck to “glass around” on their own.
28. Arthur’s *Didini* Camp has many of the features of a “culture camp” of the kind that distinguishes components of a traditional culture from the everyday and regular lives of people living in Iskut Village. It is, to be sure, a place of learning. But, unlike Fienup-Riordan’s cultural camp (Fienup-Riordan 2001), the time Arthur and his family spends at *Didini Kime* is not intended to facilitate “culture” in a contrived way. Iskut people hold culture camps to be sure, but most people camp informally and in the absence of a formal agreement to bring children together with Elders for the purpose of delivering cultural information to the children.
29. To quote Ingold: “Here, then, is the essence of the building perspective: that worlds are made before they are lived in; or in other words, that acts of dwelling are preceded by acts of worldmaking” (Ingold 2000:179).

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