

A HISTORY OF THE OKANAGAN:
INDIANS AND WHITES IN THE SETTLEMENT ERA,
1860 - 1920

By

DUNCAN DUANE THOMSON

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Department of History

The University of British Columbia
1956 Main Mall
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1Y3

Date October 16, 1985

ABSTRACT

This study's primary focus is on white settlement and Indian dispossession and marginalization, the theme being developed in the context of a comprehensive local history. A number of sub-themes are developed including the relationship between political power and landholding, the changing role of chiefs in Indian society, the importance of the railway in consolidating economic power, the connection between transportation and changing industrial activity and the significance of land tenure regimes in economic performance.

After an introduction and outline history the paper is organized in three parts. The first deals with the institutions which supported settlers and were imposed upon Indians. The four institutions examined are missionary activity as it related to Indians and the political, judicial and educational structures as they affected Indians and whites. The notable characteristic of these institutions is that the services delivered to the two racial groups were markedly different, that Indians never received the benefit of their support. The second section considers the critical question of Indian access to resources, the conditions under which reserves were assigned and then repeatedly altered, and the question of aboriginal rights to the land. The discrepancy in the terms in which whites and Indians could claim land and the insecurity of tenure of Indians is documented. The third section considers economic sectors: hunting, fishing and gathering, mining, stockraising and agriculture. In the latter two industries, pursued by both Indians and whites, the two communities are juxtaposed to observe differences in their conduct of those industries. The critical elements determining different performance are identified as the differing quantities of obtainable land, and the land and water tenure regimes under which the participants operated although other factors such as increasing capitalization, an oppressive Department of Indian Affairs, inadequate access to education and health services and restricted rights in the political and judicial spheres were contributing factors.

Okanagan society in the pre-World War I era is seen as a racist society, one in which a completely different set of rules

existed for each race and in which social distance between races increased over time. White settlers succeeded in building a society with all the features of the modern world: well-developed transportation and communications, urban centres, supportive social service institutions, and an educated and prosperous population, in short, a harmonious and just society. But this development occurred at the expense of the Indian population. As a society they could only be characterized as a dependent, impoverished, diseased and illiterate people, prone to alcohol and appearing to lack in ambition. White success was built upon Indian dispossession.

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Chapter I: INTRODUCTION

The local historian has two primary responsibilities to fulfill in order to make his study useful and significant. He must, first, attempt to understand and explain the economic, social and political development of his particular community and to show how different elements within that region of study are related to each other. He should present an integrated view which traces the changing relationships of these elements with each other over time. Secondly, the historian must place the local community in the larger context of national and world history and assess the nature and strength of external forces. A region such as the Okanagan, in the interior of British Columbia, did not develop in isolation but was one of many areas in the white settlement frontiers of the world which grew in response to global conditions. Various hypotheses have been developed which attempt to explain the process of national or community development and the ways in which external forces impinged upon local development. The critical questions raised by those models therefore offer a challenge to the local historian which is two-fold: to capture the detail, colour and nature of his particular community and to assess the nature and strength of external forces as they impinged upon the local scene. Presented in such a manner, local history can thereby contribute to one's understanding of a particular community and the process by which communities in the new world have developed.

Prior to the 1970s western Canadian scholars who examined local communities typically did not do so from an historical perspective. The most extensive studies emerged during the late 1930s as part of the Canadian Frontiers of Settlement series and were contemporary profiles of communities written by sociologists, geographers or economists.¹ They are static and lacking in any time or process perspective, although over time they have become, for the historian, useful documents in themselves. Until recently Canadian historians have largely eschewed community studies and left the writing of local history

to amateur historians and genealogists. Until the last decade, professional historians' concerns were with broad national topics, political, constitutional or economic history and with the biographies of national figures. As late as 1969 J. M. S. Careless, in his presidential address to the Canadian Historical Association, found it necessary to deplore this concentration on national topics.² He observed that the experience of regionalism had been, and continues to be, the prominent and distinctive feature of Canadian national life; that Canada is a country of many particular societies. He urged that historians study smaller communities and examine regional patterns. Following this plea, although only partially because of it, the academic community has turned to more local topics.

The shift in focus to the region and smaller communities has been promoted as well by the growing interest of contemporary historians with social history. Canadian communities have been explored from a number of perspectives. Some have chosen local cases to use as examples of processes or structures which they think are in evidence more generally. Others have identified types of cities or societies and invite comparisons with other localities in order to test their findings. Historical geographers have made an important contribution to the study of the urban and rural Canadian past by examining the social landscape of particular areas. Cole Harris, for example, has examined migration patterns, work and poverty in the seigneurie of Petit-Nation in a particularly well-crafted study.³ Peter Goheen, Jacob Spelt and Michael Doucet have examined Ontario cities and related patterns of residence and the economic function of those centres.⁴ Various historians have pursued single agency explanations for urban change. J. M. S. Careless, Alan Artibise, Max Foran and others have focussed on the role of the business elite in urban politics and development, sometimes to the exclusion of other agents of change.⁵ Norbert Macdonald and Foran have portrayed the role of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in the growth of Vancouver and Calgary respectively.⁶ Single industry studies have been conducted by David Breen in analyzing the role of the petroleum industry in Calgary's development and by N. Gidney in assessing

the role of coal and forest industries in Nanaimo's growth.⁷ Larry McCann credits Vancouver's rise to prominence to its ability to capture the trade of a resource-rich hinterland.⁸ Another group of historians, the most prominent of whom is Michael Katz, have examined such topics as social stratification, inequality, immigration and transiency in the urban setting.⁹ David Gagan has conducted similar quantitative studies in a rural setting with his Peel County articles on rural transiency, indebtedness and inheritance systems.¹⁰

Dubbed historians of the working class, another historical school has recently concentrated on such questions as poverty (J. Fingard), real income and living conditions (M. Piva and T. Copp) and control over conditions in the workplace (G. Kealey, C. Heron, I. McKay, B. Palmer).¹¹ It is clear that the local community has provided the natural basis from which to study a broad range of questions of interest to the contemporary historian. Each historian mentioned has related his theme, whether it be resource use, economic function, education or the civic elite, to social changes which have been observed in the particular community under study.

While Canadian historians have made progress in analyzing the factors which have contributed to community development in Canada, the results nonetheless have been piecemeal. Single agency studies illustrate but one or two dimensions of community life. Yet, it is clear that many aspects of the life of a community are tightly interwoven. Only by examining the interrelationships between, for example, land tenure, the operation of agricultural enterprise, political power and the ethnic and religious background of immigrants, can a community's development be fully understood. Few attempts have thus far been made by Canadian historians to write comprehensive community histories although that would seem to be a natural next step in the direction which historians have been travelling. Where such steps might most profitably lead is suggested in more developed literature elsewhere.

Scholars in England particularly have made significant strides which Canadian historians might emulate. Local historians concentrating largely on rural village communities

have contributed in a major way to the re-writing of national history. H. J. Dyos wrote a seminal study in 1961 entitled Victoria Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell. His work has been followed by David Jenkins' The Agricultural Community in Southwest Wales at the Turn of the Twentieth Century, by David Hey's An English Rural Community and by Margaret Spufford's Contrasting Communities.¹² These historians have progressed beyond the stage of relating one or two variables, to giving insight into the causal nexus between a number of factors. They recognize that a new level of sophistication has been reached, that nothing less than a fully integrated study of a community of people is acceptable, and they argue that historians must write the "total history of village communities". This compelling concept offers a goal which Canadian historians might profitably pursue.

Other historiographies also offer insightful approaches. The process of European settlement, contact with aboriginal people, the imposition of capitalism, economic development and community building has not been limited to Canada or to North America. A similar process has occurred in South Africa, Oceania and Latin America. Historians of Latin America and elsewhere have been active in attempting to comprehend and present these global forces and to assess their impact on particular regions. Social scientists have created models which purport to explain the nature of these international forces and to assess and predict the type of accommodations which local areas must make to these external pressures. Two broad theories, labelled the modernization theory and the dependency theory, have emanated from scholars attempting to understand the Third World, the process of development and the phenomenon of underdevelopment.¹³

Attempting to explain the historical development of Third World economies, modernization theory was a product of war-time and immediate post-war economic and socio-political developments in Latin America. The World War II period was one of relative prosperity in the region as war-induced demand for resources provided good markets for raw materials, and the economic disruption of Europe and of oceanic transport stimulated

import-substitution industries. Observers applauded and promoted these changes, envisaging very positive results in the direction of economic modernization and the development of liberal democratic institutions. Modernization was seen as a process by which societies passed from traditional to modern societies, economically, socially and politically. Typologies were established for these two ideal societies. Traditional societies were characterized as having a static social and political order -- a society cemented by a traditional world view, a network of overlapping, confining social relationships and the heavy hand of custom. Traditional societies were economically static and could not significantly increase productivity to generate self-sustained economic growth. Modern societies displayed very different characteristics such as rapid economic change, social mobility and political democracy. Modern society was expressed as dynamic, rational and very much a copy of western, industrial, liberal democracies.

The process of change from traditional to modern was the absorbing question. Social scientists from various disciplines contributed to the examination of the processes at work. Economists examined the stages of economic growth as a society moved to "take off" on a trajectory leading to industrialization.¹⁴ Political scientists examined topics such as urbanization, literacy, the growth of mass media, political participation and expansion of government activities.¹⁵ Anthropologists studied the peasant world and its progressive destruction.¹⁶ Modernization was the frame of reference from which a large number of social scientists worked.

Modernization theory, however, is open to criticism, the most important arising from the model's poor predictive record. It predicts movement toward a modern state which displays a degree of industrialization, a rising national income and an increasingly equitable distribution of that income, social mobility, democratic institutions and a low level of social conflict. Yet, most jurisdictions in Latin America have not progressed in this manner. The region has continued, despite an interlude in the wartime and immediate post-war era, to be characterized by resource-export economies, low national

incomes, gross inequalities in wealth, racial tension, labour exploitation and authoritarian political regimes. A model that predicts so poorly loses credibility. It can also be criticized for the use of the ideal-type community which misrepresents real societies; for the treatment of traditional societies as custom-bound, irrational and static; for the assumption of simplified, uni-directional change when in reality social change is uneven, varied and multi-directional; and for the ethnocentricity of the model which assumes that there is one route to modernization. Despite this discredit, questions raised by the model are worthy of consideration. Questions regarding the source and process of economic and social change and the direction of movement in society can perhaps be posed in a local study. Interestingly enough, the modernization model would seem to correspond, superficially at least, more closely to Canadian experience than to the Latin American and other underdeveloped economies for which it was designed.

Dependency theory offers another frame of reference from which to examine the development of American societies. This theory has been developed more recently to explain the occurrence of some of the problems common to Latin America -- problems of foreign domination, poverty, hierarchical social structures and instability in society and government. Writers of this school concentrate on the world capitalist structure dominated by a metropolitan centre which controls the development of the peripheral regions. The international capitalist economy is seen to be structured such that hinterland regions remain in an unequal, dependent relationship with the centre as suppliers of raw materials for the industrialized countries. The critical decisions are made external to the region, the terms of trade are controlled by the centre, and the economic surplus is systematically transferred from the periphery to the metropolis. The mechanism for exploitation may be a multinational corporation, a foreign enclave or a comprador national bourgeoisie which identifies with international interests, but the results are similar throughout the region. The masses suffer a double exploitation from the metropolitan centre and from the co-opted local elite, reducing them to

abject poverty and helplessness. The state is seen not as being representative of the population but as a vehicle by which the dominant classes impose their will upon the populace, perhaps through an exploitive land tenure or judicial system or through sheer police power. The metropolitan and hinterland regions are not merely at different stages of development but are part of the same world economic system; they are sub-systems within the global economy. The Latin American economies cannot hope to escape their dependency and advance to modern industrial status within this world system because the system itself is the cause of their exploitation. The solution often presented is the revolutionary one which seeks to break the imperialist grasp of international capitalism and so allow autonomous development.

Some analysts have applied dependency theory to Canada. Arthur Davis, for example, believes that the important themes in Canadian history are the successful colonization of Canada by English metropolitan forces; the successful American attempts to exploit Canada and reduce the country to hinterland status; the conflict of interests between hinterland and metropolis, between Saskatchewan and Toronto on the one hand and Canada and the United States on the other.¹⁷ To a scholar who subscribes to this interpretation the only alternative to a continued drift into the American orbit and complete dependency is a program of socialism and nationalism.

Dependency theory has generated much criticism. It reduces all change to a single type generated from one source -- the external sector, or the world capitalist system. Local development is not seen to be at all unique; rather, local history is assimilated into a single world process which admits of little diversity. The role of government is grossly oversimplified, leaving no room for government action on behalf of any but the metropolitan interests. The theory stipulates an inexorable polarization of society into two classes, the dominant and the dispossessed, a process which is an unacceptable simplification. The only conflict examined is that which develops between these two polar groups. Despite these serious problems, what can be said for the dependency theory? Are global forces the significant factor in influencing local

developments? Has an exploitive system been in force? What is the role of local government in community development? What weight should one give to material as opposed to ideological factors in assessing social change? What are the sources of conflict in local society? Many of these questions are pertinent to the local historian and asking them provides a basis for comparing the settlement processes in various areas.

One does not have to accept either the modernization or dependency theorists' frame of reference but can examine individual situations and determine empirically the impact of European settlement on local communities. Such an inductive approach is used by the anthropologist, Benjamin Orlove, in his study Alpacas, Sheep and Men and is worthy of consideration.¹⁸ His methodology is particularly attractive because it allows an historian to ask various critical questions regarding the settlement process but does not impose a rigid model upon the enquiry.

Orlove presents for consideration what he terms the sectorial model, really a method of enquiry rather than a theoretical model. He claims to draw on three strands of anthropological thought in his approach to the local community: the anthropologist's concern to study an entire culture through an interdisciplinary approach; the cultural ecologist's concern with the interaction between man and his environment, including the ecological restraints on human activity and a materialistic analysis of "modes of production"; and the "decision-making modeller's" treatment of men as rational actors faced with choices among alternative ways of reaching their goals. These features of his approach are most appealing.

The two basic components of the sectorial model are material resources, which may be used directly or exchanged to achieve goals, and human activity, including the production and distribution of goods as well as administrative or service activities. The basic actors in the model are units, small groups of persons organized for production, distribution or administration. A unit might be a group of persons engaged in the operation of a ranch, a mine or a missionary endeavour. Ranches have an economic function, missionary units an

administrative or service function. Units are goal-seeking. They control certain resources but face various ecological, political and economic constraints. All units engaged in a similar activity comprise a sector; examples are the mining sector or the governmental sector.

Each sector interacts with other sectors in an attempt to alter the distribution of resources or the economic and political constraints it faces. The resource base upon which the sector depends, as well as the external factors responsible for introducing the sector to the area, are described. Sectors are examined over time as they create an impact on the environment, face external markets and compete with or complement other sectors. Strictly economic relations between sectors would be similar to an input-output table for the local economy in which output from one sector may be used either as a finished product destined for sale outside the region or as an input contributing toward the output of another product. Relations between sectors are also examined in other than strictly economic terms. Social and political relations can be significant in determining how decisions are made. For example, if units in one sector have political influence or overlapping membership, or can rely on outside support this might be critical in a conflict situation.

From the historian's perspective there is a difficulty in following Orlove's approach. Orlove is not a historian and he is less concerned with historical change than with society's institutions and with relationships between sectors. Perhaps in the hands of an historian the dynamics of the intersectorial relations would be further emphasized thus focussing the analysis on humans rather than institutions. The sectorial model has certain advantages over other models discussed above. Like them, this approach considers external factors as variables affecting the local society, factors such as the impact of the global economy, religious authority and governmental decisions. This sectorial approach, however, also gives major consideration to internal factors: to local ecology, labour supply and resource endowment. It examines intersectorial relations without identifying or prescribing a single process. It provides the opportunity to examine local actors as rational

decision-makers who face alternative ways of reaching goals and not just as passive recipients of externally imposed conditions and structures. Few pre-judgments are made. Governments are viewed neither as exploitive agents of the dominant elite nor as representatives of a socially harmonious society; rather, their position and role is determined empirically. The model allows for the diversity that befits a local study. Local conditions interacting with global forces generate change which varies depending upon the particular circumstances.

External forces have been important factors in Canada's development and various Canadian historians, like dependency theorists, have attributed great significance to metropolitan power. The Laurentian School of Harold Innis, Donald Creighton and others advanced the staple thesis as the explanation for Canadian development.¹⁹ The staple trade was seen as the generating force in the economy. Metropolitan influence was exerted through marketing structures, provision of capital, merchant political activity and resource extraction transportation systems. The staple trade is held to be the critical variable governing the course of Canadian development. An offshoot of this interpretation is the metropolitan thesis whose chief advocate is J. M. S. Careless.²⁰ He concentrates on the role of cities in influencing hinterland regions. Metropolitan centres, the source of modernization, develop satellite cities in their hinterlands each of which in turn develops smaller satellites. Thus, Winnipeg is in Toronto's hinterland and tributary to the larger centre, but Toronto was in the hinterland of London or more recently New York. Cities are centres of business, politics and culture and transfer the dominant business methods, political forms and culture to their hinterland regions. Careless would have historians study the geopolitical relations between cities or between cities and their hinterlands.

The staple/metropolitan approach of Canadian historians thus provides an amalgam of the modernization and dependency schools of thought. Historians stress the importance of the metropolitan power, yet see modernization flowing from that contact. Rather than an exploited sub-system being created as

in the dependency model, the metropolitan power is usually seen more positively as a mechanism for introducing and transferring the western culture and economy. They do not deny that important social consequences flow from that control. They do, however, fall short of theorizing that social conflict is an inevitable result of the system or that a progressive polarization of society occurs, for which the only solution is socialism.

The Canadian sociologist S. D. Clark has examined the impact of the global economy upon the hinterland from the perspective of how specific modes of production determine the nature of social problems.²¹ He has been concerned with social breakdown in areas where new forms of economic activity are established and with protest movements as people react to attempts at domination. His emphasis is on social conflict resulting from capitalist development of the frontier. Obviously he does not share the modernizationists' view of a harmonious, integrated society developing gradually as the country escaped traditional forms. Nor does he focus narrowly on two-class conflict as the dependency theorists do. Thus he is bound neither by the deterministic view of historical change nor by the dependency school. Clark is ahistorical in the sense that he is content to document social conflict without examining its background or historical consequences.

Canadian fur trade historians have assessed Indian communities as they responded to the exigencies of the fur trade. J. Arthur Ray has examined the response of the Indian community to the export trade in furs and the effect of capitalism on their economy and society.²² Although he does not ignore metropolitan influence, Ray concentrates on the hinterland communities, examining the changing local economies, the ecological constraints on the Indian communities and the decisions of the Indians as they switched from fur gathering to buffalo hunting and provisioning. Clark and Ray have both examined the impact of the export economy on the frontier, the conflicts that were engendered, the constraints which peoples faced and the accommodations that were made. The questions which arise from this focus are of significant interest to

historians other than those concerned primarily with conflict or Indians. Perhaps, as well as examining the exogenous factors associated with the export economy, one should ask whether certain types of social conflict arise from different modes of production and be concerned with the ecological constraints imposed upon human activity.

Two of the many Canadian historians who have considered the impact of Europeans on Indians of British Columbia are Robin Fisher and Rolf Knight.²³ Fisher's Contact and Conflict employs Ralph Linton's acculturative model of non-directed (voluntary) and directed (coercive) culture change. He claims that until the settlement era, beginning about 1858, Indians could borrow economic and cultural elements from Europeans selectively, that they retained their political, social and cultural autonomy. With the onslaught of the massive immigration of miners and settlers, Indians lost their freedom of choice; henceforth cultural change was directed from outside. Fisher is particularly effective in assessing the nature of the external forces acting upon the Indian community -- the missionaries who aggressively promoted the new culture and world view, the government officials who dispossessed the Indians of their land, and the settlers whose racism was based upon a competition for resources. Fisher discusses the loss of identity suffered by Indians as a result of culture contact and the attendant problems of alcoholism, prostitution, disease and violence. He is entirely sympathetic to the Indian people. Because his field of study encompasses the whole of British Columbia with its numerous tribes and large Indian population, and because he emphasizes the character of the external forces at work, Fisher is unable to closely observe the adaptation of particular Indians to the new economic, political and cultural environment. That would require the detailed study of a smaller Indian community such as J. Arthur Ray has conducted or a series of local studies such as this paper provides.

Rolf Knight has closely examined the Indian community as it has adapted to those external forces. Knight's Indians at Work: an Informal History of Native Indian Labour in British Columbia, 1858-1930 provides a detailed examination of Indians

in their role of labourer. Using largely ethnographic sources, Knight follows the British Columbia Indian labourer to whaling ships, mining or logging camps, ranches and fishing boats. Knight attempts to correct an imbalance in research which has viewed the Indians merely as the objects of discrimination and exploitation. Knight views Indians not as passive victims of an economic system but as rational economic actors, as people willing to adopt new technologies, to seize opportunities and to profit from them. Knight's study makes a significant contribution to understanding the role of the Indian in adapting to new economic forms.

It is within the literature discussed above that this study is placed. A particular community, that which developed in the Okanagan Valley in British Columbia, will be considered through an examination of numerous external and ecological factors. The study will not be controlled by either the modernization or dependency schools of enquiry but many of the questions which those models pose regarding the significance of external forces will be examined. Rather than being bound by one model or another, an inductive approach will be used to establish empirically the nature and direction of historical change. External forces will be considered, such as whether or in what degree and by what methods metropolitan forces dominated the economy; the significance of missionaries in the settlement process; who held political power and to whose benefit it was used; and the influence of the judicial and educational systems on community development. External forces are one set of features determining a community's development but local ecology, traditional resource use, and cultural values and perceptions are other factors which affect local history. The Okanagan has had a distinctive development because of an unique combination of local conditions and the timing of the imposition of external forces, and it is desirable to capture this distinct identity.

In order to understand the nature of the settlement process this study will focus primarily on the Indian people who inhabited the Okanagan prior to the arrival of the white settlers and who were to remain a significant but decreasing

element in the population. The European settlers who began arriving about 1860 and then came in increasing numbers until, by the outbreak of World War I, they significantly outnumbered the natives, are examined primarily to reveal the nature of the challenges and opportunities provided to Indian people. By juxtaposing the experiences of these two groups, and documenting the relations between them, it will be possible to gain insights into the fundamental fact of western North American history, the dispossession of the Indian people and the progressive deterioration of their economic and social position.

After presenting an outline history, this local study is comprised of three sections. The first deals primarily with the external agents of change and their impact on both the Indian and white communities. The political, judicial, educational and religious structures imposed upon or made available to the two communities are examined in detail to assess the nature and significance of these forces. The second section concerns the process of the dispossession of Indians and the transfer of resources from them to the white community. The third section concerns the operation of economic sectors -- the mining, ranching, farming and the hunting, fishing and gathering industries. In order to assess and provide reasons for their respective performances and methods of operation the two communities are kept in focus as they participated in these industries and competed with each other. The two communities operated under different institutions and tenure regimes and they responded differently to new market conditions, new technologies, new capital requirements and changing government regulations.

Having examined the nature of the external forces and the Indian and white responses to these forces, economically and socially, some observations can be drawn regarding the reasons for the relative socio-economic positions which each group occupied by the end of World War I. From these observations one can attempt some general conclusions regarding the nature of the settlement process. Did Okanagan society develop as the modernization theorists predicted, as an integrated, harmonious society with political, social and economic equality for its

citizens? Or was the society closer to that predicted by dependency theorists? Observations can also be made regarding the place of this study in British Columbia historiography to assess the degree to which it conflicts with or supports interpretations of Robin Fisher and other British Columbian historians.

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Chapter II: AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE OKANAGAN

The Okanagan Valley is in the southern interior of the province of British Columbia, Canada. It is separated geographically from the Pacific coastal regions of the province by the Cascade Mountains through which direct transportation was virtually impossible by any means other than backpack or packhorse throughout the period under study. The Okanagan Valley, following the Okanagan River, flows southward through Washington state, USA, to the Columbia River, but this study is limited to that portion of the valley lying north of the International Boundary. The Okanagan region can be divided into four physiographic zones, each with distinct characteristics: the valley bottom; the terraces and upland valleys skirting the valley floor; the steep mountainsides; and the high plateau regions to the east and west.¹

The valley floor is dominated by Lake Okanagan which extends from Penticton to the head of the lake, a distance of eighty miles, and a series of smaller lakes and rivers in valleys tributary to the Okanagan. There are extensive tracts of flat bottomland in various locations, in particular on the valley floor extending from Penticton to the International Boundary and at the head of the lake, extending for miles to the north, where the valley bottom broadens until the Okanagan drainage system merges imperceptibly with the Shuswap and Fraser River drainage system. Other more limited areas of bottomland occur in the Coldstream and Similkameen Valleys, tributary to the Okanagan Valley in the north and south respectively, and in a delta area formed by glacial and river action midway up the lake on the east side at the present site of Kelowna. The elevation of this bottom land is approximately 1,000 to 1,200 feet above sea level.

The second topographical zone comprises the clay or silt terraces or benches which fringe Okanagan and other lakes and the upland valleys leading into the main valley. These land forms have a slightly higher elevation, different exposure to sunlight, different air and water drainage patterns and

different growing seasons from the main valley bottom; and consequently they have had different habitats and economic uses.

A third topographic zone comprises the relatively steep valley sides of the main and tributary valleys. In the main valley this zone is largely glacier-scoured rock, dissected frequently by rivulets emptying into the valley, while in the Similkameen a dominant feature is the talus slopes formed by rock eroding from the sides of mountains rising precipitously above the valley floor.

The final zone comprises the Interior Plateau, an area dominated by gently undulating land and rounded mountains. The elevation varies from 3,500 feet to an occasional height of land at 6,000 feet.²

The climate of the Okanagan is classed as semi-arid although this classification is too simplistic because the area exhibits considerable climatic variation depending on latitude, longitude and altitude.³ The climate arises from an interplay of continental highs which develop over western Canada in the summer and occasionally during the winter; the Pacific marine lows evident especially in the winter and spring; and the prevailing westerly winds. From south to north the mean daily temperature decreases from 48.2 degrees Fahrenheit at the border (Oliver) to 44.7 degrees in the Spallumcheen (Armstrong). Maximum summer temperatures regularly exceed 100 degrees Fahrenheit in the summer, with the record high for Oliver being 111 degrees and that for Armstrong being 105 degrees. Winter minimum record temperatures are -44 degrees in Armstrong and -23 degrees in Oliver. Temperature also decreases as altitude increases. The annual mean temperature decreases approximately one degree Fahrenheit every 275 feet between the valley floor and the plateau. Consequently the length of the growing season decreases as one moves from south to north or from lower to higher elevations. Osoyoos and Keremeos on the valley floor in the south have an average annual 251 frost-free days while Armstrong has 196 frost-free days. On the valley floors of some tributary valleys there is a still shorter growing season because of higher elevation, the number of frost-free days for Lumby being 177 and Westwold, 173.

Precipitation also varies considerably. Mean total annual precipitation increases from south to north, from 11.7 inches in Oliver to 17.63 in Armstrong. Precipitation also increases with altitude, increasing approximately one inch every 200 feet. The plateau receives more than twice the precipitation of the valley floor. Precipitation also increases as one moves from west to east in the region. The area around Merritt receives only ten inches of rainfall per year while farther east, in the Okanagan Valley, the rainshadow effect is lessened and more moisture is released, especially at higher elevations. Evaporation rates are another climatic factor of significance. The evaporation rate in the Kelowna area is approximately thirty-six inches per year, or three times the mean total annual rainfall. Evaporation rates decrease as temperatures decrease so that the evaporation rate is less at higher latitude and altitude where there is more rainfall, and greater in areas of lower latitude and altitude where rainfall is less. The evaporation rate intensifies the significant differences in precipitation.

Considerable variation in climate characterizes the Okanagan region. The valley floor, especially in the south, has near-desert conditions with hot summer temperatures, low rainfall and high evaporation rates. These conditions are ameliorated as one travels north. The east portion of the area is moister than the west. The valley floors of higher elevation are cooler and moister than the main valley floor and the plateau region is considerably cooler and moister with less evaporation. These climatic conditions are reflected in the biological habitat of the area.

Dr. V. J. Krajina defines three main biogeoclimatic zones for the Okanagan-Nicola region: the Ponderosa Pine-Bunchgrass zone, the Interior Douglas Fir zone and the Subalpine Engelmann Spruce-Subalpine Fir zone.⁴ Within each of these zones exist numerous distinct habitats consisting of uniform physical environments and plant communities. The zones, of course, contain numerous floral species but are named after their climatic climax tree species.

The Ponderosa Pine-Bunchgrass zone occurs on the valley floors of the Okanagan and major tributary valleys and on the

benchland bordering the lakes. Ponderosa Pine is the climax species because of the temperature and moisture conditions but numerous other trees such as Douglas Fir, Trembling Aspen, Rocky Mountain Juniper and Lodgepole Pine occur in particular locales. Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy⁵ identify a number of drought-tolerant shrub species inhabiting the zone: Sagebrush, Greasewood, Waxberry, Flat-topped Spirea, Saskatoon Berry, Chokecherry and Mock Orange. Grasses include Bunchgrass, Speargrass and Junegrass.

The Interior Douglas Fir zone is found at elevations above the Ponderosa Pine-Bunchgrass zone, from one thousand to four thousand feet above sea level. As well as Douglas Fir one finds Ponderosa Pine, Lodgepole Pine, White Pine, Western Larch, Trembling Aspen, Black Cottonwood, Rocky Mountain Maple and Western Birch. Shrubs include False Box, Waxberry, Flat-topped Spirea, Wild Roses and Ocean Spray. In places the understory is shrub free, the ground cover being Pinegrass or Arnica.

The Subalpine Fir zone is the forested zone occurring at the higher elevations (above four thousand feet) of the Okanagan Highlands and Thompson Plateau. The major tree species are Engelmann Spruce and Lodgepole Pine but in lower zones it merges with species of the Interior Douglas Fir zone and at higher elevations White Bark Pine and sometimes Alpine Larch are abundant. Prominent shrubs are False Box, False Azelea, Grouseberry, Saskatoon Berry, Thimbleberry, Black Mountain Huckleberry, Dwarf Blueberry. Many herbaceous species such as Yellow Avalanche Lily and Spring Beauty occur.

Each biogeoclimatic zone has gradations of habitat type and in numerous localities micro-environments offer resources different from the surrounding area. Floral and faunal resources suitable for human use, either for food or other economic purposes, occur in all of these habitat zones and are thus geographically separate or spatially incongruent. Floral and faunal resources were available only seasonally, creating a condition of temporal incongruity of resource availability.

The Okanagan Valley is the traditional homeland of the Okanagan Indians who were one tribal grouping in the Interior Plateau region of the Pacific Northwest. They shared an economy

and culture which differed in detail between plateau tribes but was broadly similar. They spoke the Okanagan language which is a dialect of the Interior Salish language and were completely surrounded by tribes with whom they could easily communicate. In the Similkameen Valley were Okanagan-speaking peoples who progressively displaced former Stuwix and Thompson Indians during the late eighteenth century.⁶ In the northwest was the territory of the Thompson River (Coutamine or Nekla-kap-a-muk) Indians and beyond them that of the Lillooet. To the north lay Shuswap territory. To the east were the Lake Indians, an Okanagan-speaking people with close trade ties with the Colville Indians to their south. To the immediate south, occupying the lower Okanagan River valley and the Columbia River, upstream from the junction of the two rivers, were the Southern Okanagans or Sinkaietk. Between the Cascade Range and the Sinkaietk territory lay the territory of the Methow, Chelan and Wenatchi peoples. East of Sinkaietk territory was that of the Nespelam, Sanpoil and Sxoielpi (Colville) peoples and beyond that lay the territory of the Coeur D'Alene, Pend D'Oreille and Flathead Indians. All of the tribes mentioned spoke languages similar to the Okanagan language. For example, the Flathead Indians, the most distant geographically of the tribes mentioned, spoke a language nearly identical to the Okanagan. The similarity in language reflected a common linguistic and cultural heritage and this greatly facilitated travel and co-operation between tribes in matters such as economics, marriage and warfare.

The establishment of the International Boundary in 1846 placed a barrier between the Okanagan people in British territory and the vast number of Salishan-speaking peoples in American territory. The border did not immediately prevent or even discourage economic intercourse or social relations between these people but henceforth they dealt with different missionary orders, different systems of government, political regimes and tenure systems. The Okanagans were doubly unfortunate in that the boundary was drawn through their territory. The Forks, where the Similkameen and Okanagan Rivers came together, had been their historic homeland and winter village site and was an important site for fish resource exploitation. It lay south of

the border while most of the Okanagan people lived north of the boundary. The Okanagan people in British Columbia were organized into numerous villages which included the Inkamip band, near the International Boundary, the Penticton band, near the present city of that name, the N^okamapeleks (Head of Lake) band, the Spahomin (Douglas Lake) band, the Spallumcheen band near the present town of Enderby, the Keremeos (Lower Similkameen) band, and the Ashnola and Upper Similkameen bands near Hedley. As well, there were numerous outlying sub-bands attached to these major villages such as those at the Mission and on the west side of the Okanagan Lake.⁷

Various authorities recorded the native population in the post-contact period. John McLeod, in his Kamloops Report for 1823,⁸ estimated that the Similkameen and Okanagan Indians had 100 and 250-300 adult males in their respective tribes, although one quarter of the latter figure probably comprised Indians south of the International Boundary and can be excluded. From these estimates the total populations can be estimated by multiplying the adult male figure by a factor of 3.3 giving a population of 330 Similkameen and 687 Okanagan Indians for a total of approximately 1017 Indians.⁹ Four years later Archibald McDonald submitted the results of a more carefully conducted census complete with a detailed map showing the boundaries of each tribal division.¹⁰ McDonald included a figure of 204 for Indians at the Forks of the Okanagan and Similkameen, an area which straddles the later International Boundary and probably included the Inkamip. Perhaps half of this band later claimed British status. He included the Spallumcheen band amongst the Shuswap Indians. This group is considered to be Okanagan in this study because, while they are of mixed racial background, they are in the Okanagan geographically and they have had a strong identification with the Head of Lake band of Okanagans in historic times. McDonald's Okanagan figures probably exclude about the same number of Spallumcheen Indians as they include Okanagan people south of the boundary, so no adjustment of his total figures has been made. McDonald claimed that there were 442 Okanagan Indians and 214 Similkameen Indians for a total of 656 souls.

The next censuses were conducted nearly fifty years later in 1874, 1875 and 1877 by Father Baudre, OMI, who was personally knowledgeable of the Indians north of the Mission and probably relied on estimates from another Oblate priest for those to the south. Baudre estimated the total Okanagan-Similkameen population at about 886 in 1877. G. M. Sproat, in a more rigorous examination, claimed that the Okanagans-Similkameens numbered 703 in 1877, exclusive of Nicola Lake Okanagans or perhaps 810 in total.¹² The Canada Census of 1881 claims an Okanagan-Similkameen Indian population of 627.¹³ Finally, the McKenna-McBride Commission conducted a census in 1914 establishing the population at 661 Okanagans and 195 Similkameen for a combined population of 856.¹⁴ If the census figures are close to being correct the population has exhibited a slow but steady increase in numbers for 100 years from about 650 to 900 individuals.

The fur trade developed later in the Okanagan-Shuswap region than on the coast or in the other two inland regions, the Kootenay and New Caledonia districts. It was not until 1811 that David Stuart, in the employ of John Jacob Astor, ascended the Columbia and built Fort Okanagan at the junction of the Okanagan and Columbia rivers. He proceeded north through the Okanagan Valley to the Thompson River to which he returned the following year to build a post at "Cumcloups" or Kamloops in the proximity of where Joseph Larocque of the Northwest Company was establishing a post. The Pacific Fur Company sold out to the Northwest Company in 1813 leaving the latter firm and its successor, the Hudson's Bay Company, enjoying a monopoly position in the region for the next forty-five years.

The Okanagan became the supply route for the New Caledonia and Shuswap districts beginning in 1814 and continuing until the Oregon boundary settlement in 1846. Brigades transported furs by water from New Caledonian posts to Fort Alexandria on the Fraser River, thence by packhorses overland to Kamloops where they joined with the brigade from that region. They proceeded to Fort Okanagan where they delivered the bales of furs to a boat brigade and received their annual outfit to be transported north. With the establishment of the International Boundary,

this communication link between the Fraser and Columbia River systems was severed. Henceforth, furs were taken out and supplies imported over the Cascade Mountains via the Tulameen-Hope trail which bypassed the Okanagan Valley. Except for the occasional small express brigades between Fort Kamloops and Fort Colville, little fur-related traffic passed over the trail.

The fur trade itself was never of great significance in the Okanagan because the territory was semi-arid and not rich in pelts. Nevertheless, the presence of the fur traders had a significant impact on Indian people. Steel traps and firearms were introduced which led to the depletion of beaver, elk and other animals. The native people acquired a market for their horses and were introduced to cattle raising and horticulture. They were also introduced to new consumer products such as European clothing, steel axes, tobacco, sugar and tea for which they acquired a taste. They were exposed to virulent diseases such as smallpox, measles, dysentery, whooping cough and other unrecognized diseases which periodically swept through the population.¹⁵ The exact impact of diseases on the Indian population, in terms of mortality and social impact, is difficult to determine, but it is certainly clear that, from the Indians' perspective, contact with whites was a mixed blessing.

Okanagan Indians appear to have had an ambivalent attitude toward the intruding traders. They frequently harassed company servants travelling through their territory,¹⁶ engaged in occasional horse thieving and were sometimes thought to be very ill-disposed toward the traders.¹⁷ On the other hand, Okanagan Indians were certainly less antagonistic towards the traders than those tribes north of Kamloops¹⁸ and were usually "quiet and well affected".¹⁹ Nicola, the acknowledged chief of the Okanagan from the Douglas Lake area, was a frequent visitor at Kamloops and rendered the traders invaluable assistance on occasion.²⁰ The chief regarded himself as an ally of the Queen and refused to join in warfare against miners on the Thompson River or to retaliate for atrocities committed against his people, deciding to leave such matters to the civil authorities.²¹

The gold excitement which began around Fort Colville and

the Thompson River in 1855, moved to the Fraser River in 1858, and to Rock Creek and the Similkameen in 1860, was to mark the end of Hudson's Bay Company authority on the mainland. There had been considerable traffic through the Okanagan by 1857 when James Douglas, Governor of the Colony of Vancouver Island, proceeded to claim the ownership of all mines on the mainland for the Crown, to institute a system of mining licenses and to extend British jurisdiction by issuing regulations regarding trade and policing. On 2 August 1858 British authority was formalized with the creation of the Colony of British Columbia. In September 1858 the rights held by the Hudson's Bay Company to exclusive trade on the mainland were revoked and Douglas assumed the governorship of the mainland colony. Within six months British Columbia had its full complement of senior civil servants.²² The next summer the government presence was felt in the Kamloops area with the arrival of G. W. Cox as the government representative in the area.

Civil authority entered the Okanagan officially in September 1860 when Governor Douglas himself visited the Rock Creek mining camps. He appointed W. G. Cox as Assistant Gold Commissioner at Rock Creek, to be assisted by three constables. Cox's authority encompassed all matters concerning mining plus the duties of Justice of the Peace and Collector of Customs. Upon Cox's transfer to the Cariboo in 1862 his duties were assumed by J. C. Haynes and others. Throughout the colonial period the Okanagan was served by one resident Justice of the Peace, a travelling magistrate and an official capable of registering land claims. Local officials acting under the Governor's authority were also empowered to maintain law and order amongst the Indian population, assign Indian reserves and act as de facto Indian agents.

When British Columbia joined Canada in 1871 another level of government was added to the existing governmental structure. The Province of British Columbia retained some of the powers of the colony, in particular, its control over natural resources and administration of justice. The national government assumed jurisdiction over criminal law, trade and commerce, fisheries, Indians and lands reserved for Indians. Henceforth, many

governmental decisions affecting the Okanagan would be made in Ottawa. The federal system would create difficulties where jurisdiction overlapped; probably conflict was inevitable. For example, the National Government had jurisdiction and responsibility for Indians and Indian lands but the Provincial Government retained control of natural resources which meant that both governments were necessarily involved in the provision of land and water for Indians' use. However, the National Government presence was not felt immediately. The railroad link which bound together the two parts of the nation was not completed until 1885. Indian agents were not appointed until 1881 and federal fisheries regulations were not enforced in the interior until the turn of the century.

Transportation was a critically important factor in the development of the Okanagan economy, a fact reflected in the chapters on economic sectors. The periodization employed reflects the changes in access to markets and changes in modes of production made possible through changing transportation routes and technology. The economy passed through stages, each with an identifiable transportation system which was intimately linked to the development of Okanagan industries. Thus the Indian hunting, fishing and gathering economy which depended heavily on trade, task force mobility and the transport of storable goods, adopted a technology and developed trade routes suitable to that economy.²³ The fur trade sector relied on the same technology, horses and horse accoutrements, but demanded different routes and a different organization.²⁴ The mining population in the first phase of mining activity demanded greater quantities of provisions than could be carried efficiently on existing transport routes from coastal British Columbia. One legacy of the gold rush to the Okanagan was the pack trail and wagon road constructed from Hope to Similkameen and Rock Creek and eventually, in 1865, through to Wild Horse Creek. The Hope Trail was the main artery over which cattle were trailed to coastal markets and supplies were packed into the region for two decades and it remained important thereafter. Entrance to the valley from the north was facilitated by the gold rushes in the late 1860s as well.

Following completion of the Cariboo Road and in response to the Big Bend gold rush, the government accepted a tender to construct a steamer on Shuswap Lake which joined the recently constructed Hudson's Bay Company vessel, the Marten.²⁵ As the Spallumcheen River was navigable as far as Fortune's Landing (Enderby), the north Okanagan was connected by steamer to Kamloops thus stimulating agriculture in the Spallumcheen district. This access to the north Okanagan was supplemented by a wagon road constructed from Kamloops to Priest's Valley in 1871 and extended to the Mission in 1875,²⁶ greatly improving transport in the region. The pre-railway economy developed within the context of this transportation system. The watershed event marking the end of this era was the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), a significant economic event in itself, but also one which stimulated further developments in industries like mining and agriculture.

British Columbia awaited the railway with undisguised impatience as the population anticipated its promise of economic development. The railway was seen as a vehicle for regenerating a stagnant economy, for attracting settlers and capital and for giving access to new markets and new sources of supply. Eventually built via Calgary, Golden, Revelstoke, Eagle Pass and the Thompson and Fraser Rivers to the coast, the trans-continental Canadian Pacific Railway mainline passed through the sparsely populated interior region a few miles north of the Okanagan Valley. The railway land belt, transferred to federal jurisdiction, included a strip of land north of Enderby and is therefore just outside the Okanagan as defined in this study. Upon completion of the mainline, a group of local and provincial businessmen, including J. A. Mara, Moses Lumby, Frank S. Barnard and F. G. Vernon, incorporated the Shuswap and Okanagan Railroad (S and O) on 2 June 1886 to build and operate a branch line from Sicamous to the head of the lake near Priest's Valley. After receiving various Provincial and Dominion Government subsidies and guarantees, the construction work on the S and O began in August 1890 and finished in May 1892.²⁷ The CPR assumed the operation of the S and O line, ran a train from Sicamous to Okanagan Landing, and placed steamers on Okanagan Lake to give

service to the "lower country". The steamers serviced the whole of the lakeshore for a distance of roughly eighty miles to Penticton, provided an impetus to settlement and development at various points on the lake, and offered improved access via Penticton to the developing mining camps at Fairview, Camp McKinney and Hedley.

The railroad opened the Okanagan Valley to the outside world. Transportation development was closely related to the progress of white settlement because improved transportation made new industries viable and increased the value of the land and mineral resources, thus attracting new immigrants. Dramatic changes in immigration, economic activities and social development accompanied and followed railway construction, altering the face of the Okanagan and the environment within which the Indian people functioned.

The white settler population of the Okanagan began slowly but immigration steadily increased throughout the first five decades of settlement. The first influx of permanent settlers in the Okanagan was associated with placer mining activity in Rock Creek, the Similkameen and around the Oblate Mission on the Riviere l'Anse au Sable. Of the twenty-six claims for land in the Similkameen during August and September 1860 probably about six were to miners, who attempted to grow produce to reduce the cost of provisions, a group distinct from government officials who were speculating in land. At least one miner, J. F. Allison, wrote home that he had "taken up a very good farm of 160 acres which [he would] make something out of."²⁸ At Rock Creek four pre-emptions with fencing and ploughing under way were reported during the same period.²⁹ These people undoubtedly abandoned their land when the towns of Rock Creek and Boundary were deserted later that year.

The area around the Riviere L'Anse au Sable was the next area to which miners and settlers were attracted. The Oblate missionaries, two settlers and two speculators had taken land there in 1860³⁰ and these were followed the next year by a core of gold seekers, twelve of whom eventually claimed land.³¹ As early as 1862 Cox had reported that there were five settlers at the Mission with 130 acres cultivated and a

promising wheat crop. There were two good houses in the settlement, those of William Pion and John MacDougall, but the settlers were classified as "paupers, comparatively speaking" with not enough funds to construct a flour mill.³² William Young reported in 1863 that he was optimistic about the future of settlement in the Okanagan "as men of better means and greater energy would soon supercede the present settlers who [were] principally French and half breeds."³³ By 1865 the white community was reported to contain

twelve Canadians, including Frank and three others who [were] not here for the winter, six Frenchmen and one French woman, and two Protestants, married to Catholics.³⁴

The second half of the 1860s did see a different class of settler arrive in the Okanagan, the immigrants being largely English-speaking settlers from Great Britain or Canada. For example, A. L. Fortune and Mark Wallis took 160 acres each in the Spallumcheen in 1866. The next year Thomas Ellis and Andrew McFarland, two Anglo-Irish immigrants, took land at Penticton, just east of the Okanagan River at the foot of Okanagan Lake. In 1868 E. J. Tronson, Cornelius O'Keefe, Thomas Greenhow, William Coulter and Thomas Wood, took up land at the head of the lake and in 1869 four applications were received including those of J. C. Haynes and W. H. Lowe, both government officials in the south Okanagan who had previously applied for various parcels of land and abandoned them. In the Spallumcheen there was a rush in 1870 to take up land along the small river flowing north to the Spallumcheen River meeting at Fortune's farm as Frederick Bennett, Moses Lumby, Preston Bennett and Henry Harland took land adjacent to each other.

In the colonial era approximately fifty-nine settlers entered the Valley searching for land or at least prepared to take land for subsistence purposes while they engaged in mining ventures. Some, such as McLean and Houghton, took multiple parcels of land. Others, such as W. H. Lowe and G. Simpson, twice attempted to locate before finally settling on a location. A few were in the area a number of years before recording their first claim but most were located within a year of their arrival. Other than at the Mission, the settlers lived

on isolated holdings, often with only a handful of white neighbours within twenty-five miles of their pre-emption claims.

The decade of the 1870s saw settlers entering the Valley in increasing numbers. A small but steady stream of new settlers, between two and fifteen per year, entered the Valley throughout the 1870s until in 1878 the permanent population included forty settlers in the Okanagan District (from the Mission north), two in Penticton, one at Dog Lake, eight in the Similkameen, three at Osoyoos Lake, and seven at Rock Creek and the Kettle River.³⁵ Most of these settlers were engaged at least partially in agriculture. By 1881 the population designated white and Chinese numbered 413 persons although this included Indian wives or concubines of white settlers.³⁶ The white population was still only about one half the Indian population.

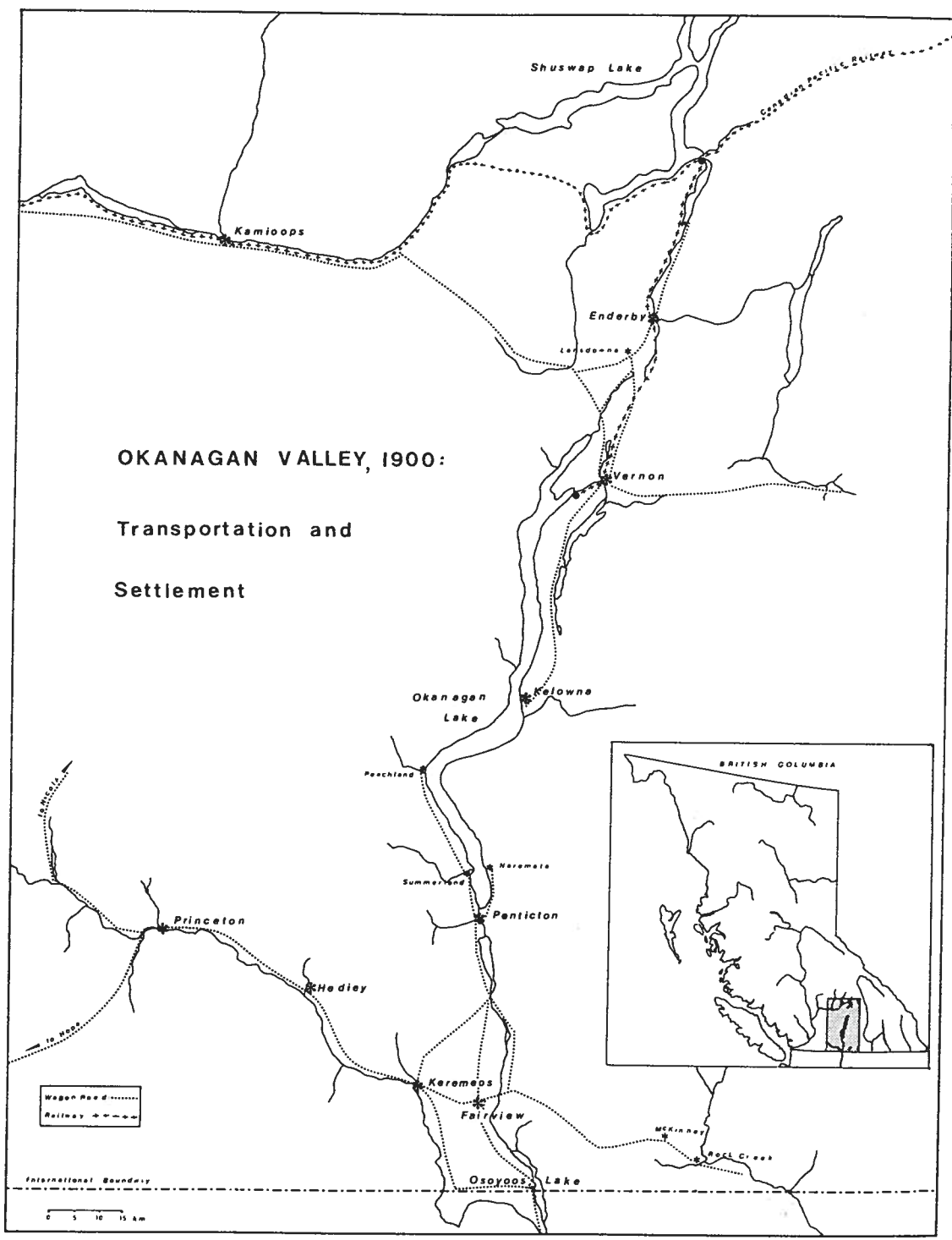
In the absence of good census data the white population can best be traced through land acquisition activity, although these figures understate the population because numerous individuals engaged in mining or agricultural labour without taking land. Still, pre-emption records can act as a guide to the population influx. Pre-emption Record figures for the Okanagan in the 1880s indicate a region in transition. During the first three years of the decade few settlers attempted to acquire land, the average being twenty per year, a number only slightly above that of the late 1870s. In the next five years the average number of pre-emptions jumped to eighty-three persons per year, over a threefold increase. The increased scale of pre-emptions undoubtedly reflected the railway construction activity in those years and the improved accessibility of the region as a result of the mainline railway having been built. The last two years of the 1880s saw another jump in pre-emption figures, to about 125 pre-emptions per year. It was during the mid 1880s that the white population surpassed the Indian community numerically.

The pattern of settlement in the eighties is striking, changing from an almost exclusive concentration of settlers in the head of the lake-Spallumcheen-Mission regions of the Okanagan in the first part of the decade, to a more balanced

growth in all regions at the end of the decade. The Similkameen, South Okanagan and Kettle River districts which had been uninhabited with the exception of a few scattered ranches, each attracted a growing number of settlers, especially after 1885. Interest in the South Okanagan and adjacent districts is undoubtedly associated with the placer gold development at Granite Creek and the renewed exploration activity in the whole southern region, activity which would culminate in the 1890s in the development of quartz mining at Camp McKinney, Fairview and Hedley. There was a quickening of economic activity in the South Okanagan as retailers, hotel-keepers, government officials and others rushed to the mining areas, as road contracts were let and as exploration activity and eventually large-scale employment in quartz mining and milling began. This expanded economic activity provided the incentive for pre-emptors to take land and to engage in farming activities to supply the area with provisions and draught animals.

The mid-decade also saw the first sustained interest in land pre-emption in the Coldstream-Cherry Creek region. This activity does not appear to have been directly connected with the Cherry Creek mines and may have been a spill-over from the previous intensive settlement of the Spallumcheen region, that is, it may have been a region of second choice. The area became the second pole of French-speaking settlers in the Okanagan with strong familial, religious and economic ties with the established Francophone region of the Mission. Many of the French settlers had attempted to settle elsewhere, at the head of the lake or at the Mission, before eventually choosing the Coldstream Valley, and a number of them tried numerous times to acquire land by pre-emption in the Coldstream itself before being successful.

A final feature apparent in the settlement pattern of the Okanagan in the 1880s regards the settlement of the west side of Okanagan Lake both in the Trout Creek-Summerland region and the west side north of Deep Creek near the present-day site of Peachland. One of the significant factors influencing pre-emption attempts and success on the west side is the



development of lake transportation. From 1883 to 1887 only three of twenty-seven or eleven percent of west side pre-emptors were successful in acquiring a Certificate of Improvement to their land. In the next two years, nineteen of sixty-nine, or twenty-three percent of pre-emptors, were successful in their efforts, indicating that the lake transportation which was established by 1888 was probably a significant factor in their success.

Unfortunately, after the 1880s land pre-emption records are a poor guide to white settlement activities because the relatively rapid urbanization and subdivision of existing farms for more intense settlement are not recorded in original land alienation records. Throughout the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century immigration continued and expanded, especially following the major subdivision activity around 1904. There were, by 1911, hundreds of individual plots of agricultural land planted to orchards, largely owner occupied and supporting a relatively dense rural population. The white population of the Okanagan-Shuswap increased from 2,543 in 1891, to 8,725 in 1901, and 15,981 in 1911.³⁷

As the population of the Okanagan increased, urban centres were established to service the growing rural population. Three towns, Belvidere, Lansdowne and Priest's Valley, were established in the year 1885. The government subdivided Lot 149 and laid out and sold twenty lots at the town of Belvidere (renamed Enderby in 1887) on the Shuswap River at Lambly's Landing.³⁸ Enderby became the site of a grist mill and sawmill which, combined with its trans-shipment function from river to wagon transportation, ensured its immediate success.

The town of Lansdowne began with the building of the Lansdowne Hotel in 1885 by Martin Fursteneau, a local farmer. Lansdowne, as described by a pioneer, was

the original business and social centre of the district for many miles around; . . . a crude little place, just a collection of unpainted lumber buildings, but here dwelt the doctor and the parson; there was a harness shop, a tinshop and a smithy, and of course, the usual up-country hotel whose main reason for existence was its barroom which knew no closing hours. . . . There was also the general store, . . . the post office, . . . a little schoolhouse, a hall where dances and public meetings were held, . . . and a small Anglican church -- the

first protestant church in the Okanagan Valley; . . . a few private homes, with fruit trees and gardens; in the middle a community well where all the village got its water, with a big water trough for the cows and horses. That was Lansdowne, a typical little frontier town.³⁹

The Priest's Valley settlement was established on the property of two area ranchers, Luc Girouard and Amos Delorier, and began with the construction of a schoolhouse and the W. F. Cameron store in 1884. A townsite, named Centreville, was laid out by the partners E. J. Tronson and Charles Brewer, in 1885, and the same year a hotel, government office and other buildings were constructed.⁴⁰ The name of the settlement was officially changed to Vernon on 1 November 1887. Vernon was described by Charles Holliday, a pioneer resident, as "a little cow town" with three hotels, a Hudson's Bay store, a general store, schoolhouse, government buildings and a collection of smaller structures.⁴¹

With the arrival of the railroad in 1891 and the operation of lakeboats by the CPR, the urban population increased generally, although the new transportation system favoured certain centres over others. Enderby continued to prosper as a flour milling and sawmilling town although it lost its trans-shipment function. Lansdowne, bypassed by the railroad, disappeared as many of its buildings were hauled to the nearby village of Armstrong, located on the valley floor beside the railroad. The Vernon townsite was purchased and much enlarged by the Okanagan Land and Development Company which built a new hotel, began a newspaper, planned a waterworks and advertised widely. Vernon quickly became the principal urban centre of the Okanagan. Lakeboats gave access to the length of Okanagan Lake and were the impetus for the Lequime townsite which was developed in 1891 and called Kelowna.⁴² Another townsite, Okanagan Falls, built on the south end of Skaha Lake, failed to prosper because of poor navigation between Lakes Okanagan and Skaha and it was superseded by Penticton which was developed on land bought from pioneer rancher Thomas Ellis by the Penticton Townsite Company with Harry Abbott, the General Superintendent of the CPR, a principal in the company.⁴³

The Okanagan urban population increased rapidly after

1891. Table 1 documents the growing population of the major Okanagan centres from 1891 to 1911.

TABLE 1

 POPULATION OF MAJOR OKANAGAN TOWNS,
 1901-1911

	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>
Enderby	164	835
Vernon	802	2671
Kelowna	261	1663

 Source: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics,
 Eighth Census of Canada, 1941. Ottawa:
 Printer to the King, 194_.

By World War I the Okanagan Valley was open to the world. Commercial agriculture had displaced the old ranching economy and quartz mining in Hedley and the Boundary country had replaced placer mining. The transportation infrastructure connected the major urban centres which serviced a fairly dense rural population. The Okanagan possessed educational institutions, health services and modern communications in the form of railways, telegraph lines, newspapers and daily postal service. The Okanagan was very much part of the modern world.

But one must look beyond the outward trappings of modernization and prosperity for they relate mainly to one group within the community. What of the large Indian population which numbered nearly a thousand persons and shared the Valley with the white settlers? They did not share the prosperity and the opportunity enjoyed by their white neighbours. They had been dispossessed, discriminated against and shunted aside in the process of modernization.

Chapter III: THE EXTERNAL INSTITUTIONS

With the advance of white settlement in the Okanagan came a number of institutions which provided support to the newly arrived immigrants. Settlers were provided with social services in the form of religious institutions and government services such as a judicial system, police protection, transportation facilities and educational and health services. These institutions and services were generally comprehended and appreciated by the immigrants due to their common European cultural background, although details of the workings of the institutions might have taken an immigrant from a jurisdiction such as France some time to understand. The institutions were broadly similar to those found in their homelands although they were rudimentary in nature, adapted to the isolated frontier conditions existent in the Okanagan.

The imposed institutions were, however, beyond the experience of the Indian community. Initially they did not appreciate the white man's educational or religious institutions nor understand the political and legal regimes which operated in the white community. Their experiences with fur traders had done little to prepare them to function within these institutions. Despite an initial hesitancy the Indian community quickly demonstrated a willingness to accept and adapt to these imposed institutions, to be judged by the same standards as whites, to receive the benefits of practical educational and health services and even to accept Christianity. The reasons for their acceptance of the foreign institutions are unclear. They were undoubtedly impressed with the technology, and the productive capabilities of European agriculture, whether it was new horticultural crops or improved strains of tobacco or breeds of horses. Other evidence of European advancement such as written communication, immunization and even musical instruments undoubtedly reinforced the impression of European technical, and by implication, cultural superiority. For whatever reasons, Okanagan Indians quickly attempted to adapt to the new conditions, emulating the Europeans' techniques and borrowing their

products and ideas.

The external institutions are examined first because they provided the legal framework within which Indians and whites alike conducted their affairs. These external factors were critical in determining access to resources and the conduct of various industries and are therefore properly examined prior to studying those topics. Four external institutions are discussed in this study, although others, such as the health sector might profitably have been examined. The missionary influence on Indian people is examined first because the missionary presence preceded other institutions and it was such an influential force in the first decades of settlement. The personal goals and methods of the missionaries are examined as well as the impact on the Indian people. The other three structures are government related: political, judicial and educational systems. White and Indian communities are juxtaposed to contrast the nature of the external influences and the impact on the respective communities.

A. THE MISSIONARIES

The Oblates of Mary Immaculate (Oblates) were the only missionary order to work in the Okanagan with the aim of the wholesale conversion to Christianity of the native people.¹ The Oblates arrived in the Okanagan in 1859, in advance of settlement, with established goals and a deliberate policy of forcing social and religious change among the Indian people. Their influence was not limited to religious conversion but was felt in education, health, economics and justice. An assessment of their impact is critical to an understanding of the social and economic development of the Indian people.

The Oblates, a French Catholic missionary order formed in 1816 by the priest Charles Joseph Eugene de Mazenod, dedicated themselves to the spiritual guidance and service of the poor and underprivileged of France, and later of the world. In devoting their lives to the service of God, the Oblates took vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, that is, they renounced personal material wealth, pleasures of the flesh and the right to independent thought and action. They were disciplined, selfless and dedicated soldiers of the Lord. Although they were established in Quebec, not until 1847 did the first contingent of five Oblates leave France for the Pacific Northwest. As the story of their journey across the Atlantic and the continent is told elsewhere,² it is appropriate to comment only briefly on the Oblates' experiences in Oregon.

The story of Oblate missionaries in the interior of Washington Territory and their subsequent move to British Columbia can be told through the experiences of one of the men in the field, Father Pandosy, who later became a folk hero in the Okanagan. Charles Pandosy was one of the initial contingent of Oblates sent to assist Bishop Magloire Blanchet in the Diocese of Walla Walla.³ The Oblate party arrived at Fort Walla Walla in October 1847, just as the Cayuse War began. War raged sporadically during the next eleven years and culminated in the 1855-1858 war organized by Kamiakin, the Yakima chief. Pandosy, alone among the Oblates, remained in the war zone for the whole decade, acting as spiritual advisor to his beloved

Yakimas, as interpreter and mediator between the Indians and the United States Army, and even as army chaplain. His position in the field eventually became untenable because he was accused by the army of aiding and abetting Indian rebellion and by the natives of being a traitor to the Indians, on whose behalf he professed to work. Pandosy became a captive of and fugitive from one side and then the other.⁴ The decision was made to withdraw the Oblates from the Yakima and Cayuse missions for "conditions in those areas [were] so unstable that it [was] not worthwhile to undertake . . . work [which gave] no promise of being of a permanent nature."⁵ In 1859, when the Oblates decided to move north to the more stable political jurisdiction of British Columbia, Pandosy regretfully closed his mission and abandoned his small dispersed band of Yakima followers.

While losses in the field and an inhospitable political climate which appeared to preclude long-term success were important factors in the Oblate decision to move north, there were other considerations. The Oblates had run into jurisdictional conflicts with other elements of the Catholic Church hierarchy, particularly their French-Canadian bishops. Two fundamental areas of conflict arose over ownership of the title to land pre-empted for mission sites and the decision to confine the Oblate Order to work exclusively among the Indian people rather than the white community of Olympia, a community on which the Oblates relied for material support. Relations were bad enough that de Mazenod considered withdrawing the Oblates from the West. The Oblates were removed from the Nesqually diocese, a move justified by the Acting-Superior of the Oblates, Louis d'Herbomez, as necessary "because the Bishop of that See wished to impose upon [the Oblate missionaries] conditions incompatible with the spirit of their vocations."⁶ The Order gradually withdrew to the jurisdiction of Bishop Modeste Demers, the Archbishop of Vancouver Island and New Caledonia, where the environment seemed more promising.

From the beginning the Oblates laboured among both the Indian and white communities in British Columbia and Vancouver Island. Aside from their various Indian missions, the Oblates also established a church for the French-Spanish-Italian sailors

at Esquimalt and became involved in the education of whites in that city. To the first interior mission, that of the Okanagan, Fathers Pandosy and Richard brought one settler and others followed in their wake. The large white mining population in the interior beckoned as well, and the Oblates proceeded to establish missions in New Westminster and later the Cariboo.

Relocation, however, did not eliminate friction such as there had been in Nesqually; in fact, friction may have been inherent in the Roman Catholic Church's internal structure. The Oblates chafed under the authority of a bishop from outside their order and pressed Rome for autonomy on the mainland of British Columbia where they might be "supported and encouraged in their efforts instead of having obstacles continually placed in their way."⁷ They succeeded in 1864 when the new Vicariate of the Mainland of British Columbia was created under the control of Louis d'Herbomez, OMI. The Oblates had succeeded in acquiring complete jurisdiction over the mainland of British Columbia. This was a formidable responsibility for the tiny congregation, which in 1864 numbered a mere seven priests and four lay brothers. The new responsibilities were to create tensions within the scattered congregation; the demands on their time and energy were beyond their capability to fulfil. The Oblates had to choose between their various responsibilities: serving the Indian community, diocesan activities, fulfilment of personal spiritual duties and temporal duties such as managing their farm. On whichever area they chose to concentrate, they would regret the time taken from alternate activities.

Fathers Pierre Richard and Charles Pandosy arrived with William Pion, a packer, and Cyprian Laurence, a French-Canadian settler in the summer of 1859.⁸ The first winter was spent in tents, but with little hardship. In the spring of 1860 the Fathers located a site suitable for a permanent mission a short distance away on the banks of Riviere l'Anse au Sable, or what would become known as "Mission" Creek. On 28 November 1860 in the town of Rock Creek, Father Richard officially pre-empted the land described as "160 acres of land near the shore on the east side of Okanagan Lake."⁹ Richard then returned north to the Mission site, planted survey stakes, and began constructing the

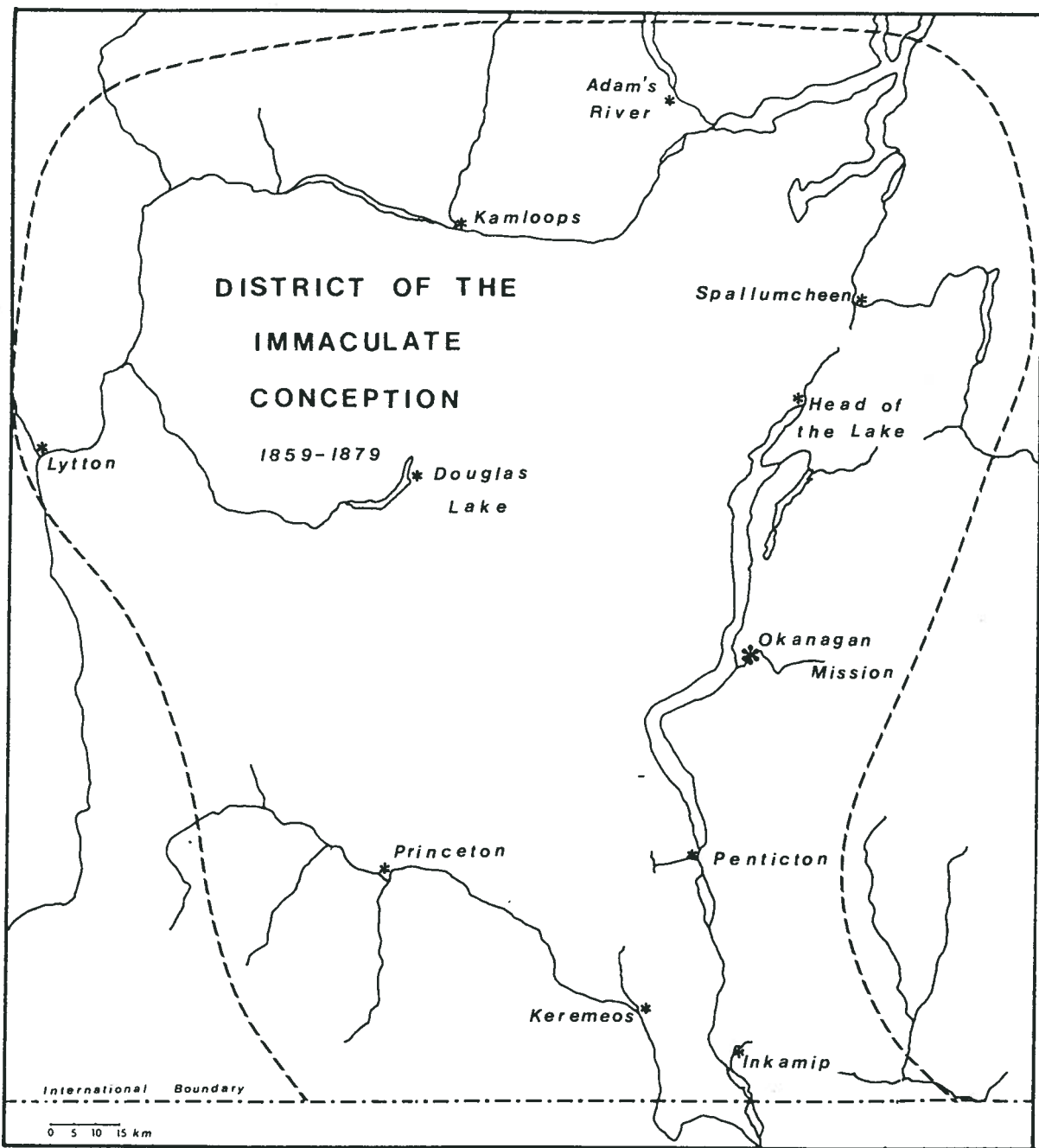
Mission buildings.¹⁰ The Mission received an initial allocation from the Vicarate of eight hundred dollars, enough to supply their annual needs and to construct, with the assistance of Brother Surel, a dwelling house and chapel. Richard reports seeding one minot¹¹ of peas, one minot of wheat, one minot of barley and oats as well as eight minots of potatoes and a small amount of corn. In effect, a permanent mission had been established.¹²

The missionaries who settled in the Okanagan in 1859 were not novices at living and preaching in isolated and exposed missions, nor were they strangers to personal hardship, bloody conflict or frustration at seeing years of effort abandoned and lost. Their time with the Yakima and Cayuse Indians had taught them practical lessons on how to survive by trading goods for salmon or venison and how to grow crops under conditions requiring irrigation. They understood the social structure and economy of the Indians of the Interior Plateau and the problems created by Indian-white contact. The Oblates had, from these experiences, forged a set of goals and a method of operation.

The history of the priests who served in the Okanagan for the first twenty-five years after 1859 can be traced through the letters they wrote to their Bishops from various establishments and through references made to their work in the letters of colleagues. An examination of the terms of service of each priest will establish the degree of continuity in missionary service in the Okanagan. The first and most famous of Okanagan priests was Father Charles Pandosy. Initially he served in the Okanagan for two years before being withdrawn, ostensibly for health reasons, to serve successively in Esquimalt and Fort Rupert at the southern and northern extremities of Vancouver Island respectively and then in St. Marie on the Fraser River. He returned to the Okanagan in 1868 but was again transferred to St. Marie in 1872. He returned for a third term in April 1874, this time to stay six years before travelling to France. On his return he served in St. Marie and Stuart Lake before transferring to the Okanagan a fourth time, where he served until his death in 1891. Father Pierre Richard spent the decade 1859 to 1868 at the Okanagan Mission before he transferred to

Tulalip (Washington) to serve as Father Chirouse's assistant. He returned in 1878 and remained in the Okanagan for five years before being transferred to the Kootenay district. Richard returned to the Okanagan in 1890 to serve for four years after which he was transferred to the coast to serve in various capacities.¹³ Pandosy and Richard were the two longest serving missionaries and they were joined by others who served single terms. Father Paul Durieu, who was destined to become Bishop, served from 1861 to 1863. Father Francois Jayol, who had previously managed the Oblate farm in Williams Lake, replaced Durieu and remained until September 1868. Before he left, Father Florimond Gendre arrived, remaining until his death in 1873. Fathers Julien Baudre and Charles Grandidier came to the district in approximately 1871 to serve seven and nine years respectively. Fathers Chiappini and Gregoire served briefly, early in the 1880s and they were followed by a succession of priests whose terms cannot be confirmed, including Fathers Walsh, Marchal, Bedard, Cornellier and Carion.

The Oblates made their initial contacts in 1859 and within a year were trading with and preaching to the Indians of the Mission's immediate vicinity. Thereafter they expanded their field of operations. Both Fathers Richard and Pandosy had travelled to the town of Rock Creek by the end of 1860, although Richard seemed more interested in the white miners of that town than with the southern Indians, and Pandosy may have been primarily interested in contacting his beloved Yakimas. Father Durieu actively expanded the Oblate theatre of operations. In his three years in the Okanagan he learned to speak the Okanagan language "like a native", constructed a priest's house at the head of the lake and established his authority with the band resident in that area.¹⁴ Durieu made at least one sojourn further north in 1863 to visit the Shuswap Indians whom he found gathered for fishing, probably on the Spallumcheen River. In 1864 and 1865 Father Richard expanded Oblate territory further with trips to Cherry Creek to service the small mining community and to the Spallumcheen, Shuswap, Kamloops and Nicola areas. Father Jayol mentioned visiting the Indians to the south, those of the Similkameen, Tea River and "la douane" in 1864 and of



meeting some Couteau (Thompson) Indians, by chance, on the Hope Trail. Within six years the Oblate priests were servicing a large territory from the International Boundary in the south to the North Thompson River in the north, and including the Okanagan Valley as well as the Nicola, Similkameen and Thompson Rivers to the west. In 1874 Bishop d'Herbomez described the District of the Immaculate Conception as counting sixteen hundred "sauvages" and one hundred whites. The Indians, thirteen hundred of whom were Christians, were divided into fifteen tribes ranging in size from forty to one hundred and fifty persons. As well, numerous small bands dispersed around the country carried no particular name.¹⁵

In 1879, an administrative reorganization established the District of St. Louis, centred in Kamloops, thus removing the whole northern territory from the jurisdiction of the Okanagan Mission. The territory of the District of the Immaculate Conception was reduced to the Okanagan Valley from Spallumcheen to the border including the Similkameen Valley. By 1892 the Residence of the Okanagan had been reduced in status to that of a mission subordinate to the District of St. Louis and in 1908 the priests' presence in the Okanagan was further diminished with the sale of the farm at Okanagan Mission. Henceforth the Okanagan territory was incorporated into the territory of the District of St. Louis. While the jurisdiction of the District of the Immaculate Conception was reduced, priests headquartered in Kamloops maintained the Oblate presence.

The Indians and whites in the territory comprising the District of the Immaculate Conception were served by either two or three Oblate priests, the number depending upon circumstances such as the size of the territory served, the functions performed by the priests, and even the health of individual priests. Only two priests served the Okanagan Mission until the school for Indian children opened in 1865, when a third priest was added. The complement was reduced to two in 1868 when the school closed but expanded to three again in 1871 because of the move into the Thompson River area. However, by this time Father Gendre was ailing and was to die of tuberculosis within two years. Not until 1874 were three healthy missionaries attached

to the District of the Immaculate Conception, at a time when no educational functions remained. This increase in personnel allowed sub-missions to be established in Penticton and Kamloops. Father Pandosy spent approximately six months of each year in Penticton and made trips to the south and west from that location. Father Grandidier spent most of his time in Kamloops and from there serviced the Nicola, Thompson River, North Thompson River and Shuswap areas. After the establishment of the District of St. Louis, the Okanagan was again reduced to two priests but, of course, the area that they served was greatly reduced. One priest again travelled north from Okanagan Mission and upon his return his colleague travelled south. This division of responsibilities between two priests appears to have continued until after the turn of the century. Each priest serviced particular villages, a feature made explicit in d'Herbomez's instruction to Pandosy in 1868:

There are two distinct Indian languages in your district. As Father Gendre has applied himself especially to the Shuswap, you will be required to learn the Okanagan language.¹⁶

The personnel of the Oblate Missions in British Columbia rotated according to the needs of the various missions and the capabilities or preferences of individual priests and brothers. The rotation of priests had certain advantages. The order transferred experienced priests to particularly sensitive districts in critical periods, often placing younger priests under the tutelage of more experienced men until they proved themselves.¹⁷ The timely transfer of priests from one district to another could smooth theological differences or personality conflicts.¹⁸ The movement of lay brothers also depended upon their particular skills and the needs of various missions. Those skilled at carpentry moved to those missions constructing houses, churches or barns. Other brothers specialized in cooking, horticulture and animal husbandry and remained at the mission where they were most needed.

The Okanagan Mission generally had two resident brothers because of the demands of the farm. The lay brothers did most of the manual work on the property of the mission: the fencing, ploughing, seeding, harvesting, irrigating, building, care of

cattle and all of the myriad activities required on a pioneer farm. The missionary letters abound with evidence of their importance, their backbreaking labour, the exhaustion imposed by the work regime during harvest, the industrial accidents that occurred. These brothers occasionally left the central mission to attend sick persons or assist with the construction of buildings. One brother, Joseph Buchman, helped teach Indian children; he was an invaluable asset as he was fluent in English, the language of instruction. Often poorly educated, semi-skilled workmen, the brothers were given little decision-making power and were expected to submit to the authority of the Mission's superior. Of course, priests and brothers at the Mission frequently clashed.

The work of the Oblate priests was heavy and varied. The Oblates classified their duties under two headings: temporal and spiritual. Their spiritual duties were of two kinds: their self-spiritual regeneration and their responsibilities toward their religious communities. They had committed themselves to lives of prayer and meditation, to the study of theology and literature and to the practice of virtue. The rules of their Order prescribed their personal spiritual duties. Each day's activities included periods of mental prayer, scripture study, visits to the chapel, recitation of the rosary, examination of conscience, and "Divine Office".¹⁹ Their responsibilities to their parishioners included "missions" to Indian villages, work as diocesan priests within the community, that is, preaching sermons, preparing individuals to receive the sacraments, taking confessionals, teaching catechism classes, as well as performing baptisms, marriages and burials.²⁰

As well as spiritual or confessional work, the priests performed temporal activities. The Oblates operated a farm to provide for their subsistence, to generate income to pay for imported goods, to support the mission at Kamloops and for a time, to support the school for Indian and metis children. The priests who were resident at the Mission, especially those who carried the title "Econome", had considerable temporal work. They were responsible for operating the farm; supervising the lay brothers and hired workers; supervising building

construction; keeping the accounts; selling farm produce and livestock; and trading with whites and Indians. They also had numerous responsibilities not directly related to the operation of the farm. Usually two or three trips were made annually to Hope to accompany the pack animals bringing in supplies. They gave advice and assistance to Indians regarding planting and building construction. The duties involved with managing the household and large farm were onerous enough to make the priests complain frequently of not having time to perform their spiritual duties adequately. Father Jayol lamented in 1865: "I have never worked so hard in my life as I have since my arrival in the spring."²¹

Temporal duties also included the considerable role played by the priests in teaching the Indian and metis youth, vaccinating numerous Indians against smallpox, practising elementary medicine, teaching habits of sanitation and horticultural methods and acting as an literate intermediary between Indians and civil authorities. Not a great deal of the missionary's time was taken up with such duties but in total they represented a considerable responsibility.

The daily routine of those stationed at the mission headquarters of the District of the Immaculate Conception varied, depending upon the season, the amount of work required on the "campagne", whether school was in session and a variety of other factors. Their individual spiritual exercises were worked into a busy schedule. Morning devotions invariably occupied them from five o'clock to six o'clock a.m. If school was in session, they then wakened the children and had breakfast, which was cooked by a brother with the assistance of one or two school boys. Gendre commented on the daily routine:

The children were from morning to night at the school run by the brother [Buchman] or myself. After noon, manual labour under the direction of Father Richard. From five o'clock to seven o'clock p.m. catechism, singing, praying and religious exercises.²²

The children were in bed by 8:30 p.m. Following the settling of the children, after dark, personal religious devotions were conducted. As the school for the Indian children only operated for a few years in the late 1860s the above routine is perhaps

not typical but at all times the resident priests had a wide range of responsibilities and seldom enjoyed periods of leisure. The demands made of missionaries throughout British Columbia were too great to allow manpower to remain idle.²³

Their numerous responsibilities, some of which could only be performed at specific times of the year, regulated the annual cycle of the Oblate Fathers. The prime reason for the mission enterprise was to Christianize and "civilize" the Indians, and to this end they undertook "voyages" to perform missions at Indian villages. But these trips could only be taken at times of the year when it was convenient or possible from the perspective of both the priests and the Indians. Facing responsibilities on certain dates which could not be avoided, priests had rigid calendars. Trips to Hope or New Westminster for supplies required travel between June and September because snow in the mountains precluded passage at other times.²⁴ As well, a priest's presence was required at the farm, either for supervision or actual work, in May for the planting of crops and in late August and early September for the harvest of grains, fruit and vegetables. Furthermore, certain dates on the Christian calendar prescribed community activities. Christmas and Easter witnessed intensive religious celebrations at a central mission site, either at the Okanagan or Kamloops. Jayol wrote in 1866:

Our Christmas holiday passed as joyously as possible. We had around 250 sauvages -- as many as have ever been seen here. There were a few from Kamloops and the Shuswap together with nearly all of the chiefs of our district. Regularity this year replaced the disorders of last year . . . [There were] 100 gunshots to greet a Chief . . . and noise all night . . .²⁵

As well as these annual meetings, occasional large pageants and special days of celebration were held. A letter from Gendre illustrates the manner in which tours fitted into the schedule of religious celebrations.

On Dec. 8 [at Okanagan Mission] we are planning a solemn celebration of the day of our patron saint, Marie Immaculee. We plan seven baptisms and three marriages. Then I go to Kamloops where they await me impatiently, then a quick trip to see the Shuswaps and then back to Kamloops for the great Christmas festivity and meeting of the sauvages.²⁶

Temporal responsibilities and the religious calendar of the priests severely restricted the time available to visit Indians.

Trips to Indian encampments also had to be fixed to coincide with those times when Indians were assembled, or at least were temporarily sedentary. There was little use, for instance, in attempting to visit Indians from 15 September to 15 November because they would be dispersed fishing or hunting in the mountains.²⁷ After about 1875 the Indians also dispersed from mid-August to mid-September to work for white farmers during the harvest.

The annual work cycles of the priests and Indians precluded continuous or even frequent missionary contact with the Indians.²⁸ When one considers the number of trips taken, the number of villages visited and the time spent travelling, it is apparent that villages were only visited one to three times a year for a period of three to six days on each visit. These visits were supplemented by Indian visits to the Mission during the Christmas and Easter celebrations, but in total, the priest's contact with individual tribes was necessarily very limited. These factors partially explain the nature of the system which the Oblates employed in attempting to Christianize and civilize the Indians.

The time available to the missionaries to visit Indian villages did not alone determine the system which they adopted. Their views of their own and of the Indians' roles in society were also important. Various writers have observed that Oblate priests had renounced personal material wealth and were committed to a life of service on behalf of the poor. From that premise they have attempted to portray the priests as emaciated individuals who embraced poverty and humbly identified with the people amongst whom they laboured.²⁹ This image of the barefoot priest, whether taken literally or figuratively, is misleading. The Oblate priests were neither poorly clothed and fed nor were they men of humility who attempted to identify with their Indian neophytes. From the beginning of the Mission in 1859 the Oblates were well provisioned, clothed and adequately sheltered. They had access to provisions beyond their own

requirements, supplies which they were free to trade for local produce.³⁰ Once established, the Mission farm quickly produced a surplus which was consumed or traded to the Indians for salmon or horses. The Mission eventually owned a relatively prosperous farm of two thousand acres with hundreds of head of cattle, sheep and horses and fields producing grain and quantities of fruit and vegetables. The mission was self-sufficient, able to sell enough produce and stock annually to pay for the allotment of imported goods and to provide assistance to other missions. If markets were bad they could expect temporary assistance from the Vicariat or credit from the Victoria merchant, Grancini.³¹ Eventually the priests relied on financial assistance from their parishioners, although the Indians responded only slowly to appeals for support. Ironically the Oblates, who renounced personal material wealth, were the owners of a prosperous farm which they used to support their missionary endeavours.

If the image of the priest in poverty was inaccurate in a material sense it was also misleading with respect to their attitudes. These were not men of humble backgrounds, who could easily identify with the poor Indians and whites among whom they worked. Evidence abounds that the priests who serviced the Okanagan were gentlemen drawn from the upper-middle classes of France. Their letters were written in flawless French, interspersed with Latin, and were written in a fine hand. Various of the priests were accomplished in music and linguistics while some wrote papers in theology, history or anthropology. Occasionally their letters refer to modest family wealth in France. Other evidence is more indirect. Some of them considered manual labour to be beneath their station. Pandosy, for example, did not wish to submit to field work, especially as invidious comparisons would be drawn between the Oblate congregation and the Jesuits of Colville who were spared the embarrassment of field work.³²

The priests' levels of education and attitudes towards work, combined with a conservative vision of the proper structure of society, shaped their attitudes toward their white and Indian parishioners. Far from identifying with these lower

classes, they regarded themselves as culturally and intellectually superior to them. The Oblates served their flocks as paternal, authoritarian figures. They maintained a conservative, hierarchical view of society in which authority flowed from God above, through the Pope and the church hierarchy, to the priest and hence to any local church hierarchy. Obedience to authority was the virtue upon which this pyramidal edifice rested. Indeed, one of the Oblate vows was that of obedience. They deferred to their superiors' views and expected similar deference from their flock. What they were prepared to offer to their neophytes was unblemished personal virtue, instruction in the Catholic faith that would save their souls for eternity, and authoritarian guidance in Christian conduct and virtue. What they demanded was piety and obedience to the authority of the Church. It is important to keep in view this Oblate vision of society, characterized by the attendant rights and obligations of the members of each social rank.

The priests also serviced a small, white, Catholic population in the Okanagan-Kamloops region which had grown to about one hundred souls by 1874, and to nearly two hundred by 1881. The Fathers frequently commented on their parishioners' moral and spiritual state. The Oblates detested the materialism of some of their white parishioners, whether it was Eli Lequime who sold liquor to the Indians for the almighty dollar or O'Keefe who attempted to confiscate Indian lands.³³ They frowned on the evils of gambling, drinking and dancing, especially when this provided a poor model for the Indians, and they commented on the indifference which some white Catholics displayed toward their church. But they did not, or could not, demand obedience and deference from this group, a fact they seemed to accept. With the white population the priests were willing to ignore moderate drinking and gambling, to accept long lapses in church attendance, and to be satisfied with a nominal Catholicism. A rationalization for this attitude is given by Bishop Bunoz who, in the process of defending his predecessor's methods, commented:

[I]n the state of religious mediocrity the white man has advantages on his Indian neighbour, for his sense of honour, the care of his reputation, the fear of shocking the

company he moves in, the fear of losing business etc. [i.e. community mores] are so many natural forces that will keep him at least in a state of apparent decency, although he may have little or no religion.³⁴

White Catholics did not, apparently, need religious motivation to control their behaviour; their Indian neighbours did.

Oblate attitudes toward Indians differed markedly from attitudes towards whites. They referred to the "sauvages" as child-like, fickle and inconstant.³⁵ Indians would pledge to alter their behaviour with regard to gambling, drinking or dancing, but promises were invariably followed by non-observance and excuses. They regarded Indians as lacking in moral fibre and resolve and in need of firm parental guidance, discipline and close supervision. Because of this "immature" Indian nature the Oblates felt obliged to demand obedience, as a firm parent would demand it of a child. Indians with "good" behaviour were described in terms of docility, piety and humility.³⁶ Troublesome Indians, or poor Christians, were those who displayed insolence, insubordination, vanity, independence or indifference to their priests or tribal authority figures.³⁷ The Oblates emphasized social control which sprang from the attitudes which the priests held regarding their Indian neophytes. The rationale for this control is revealed by Bishop Buno. He stated:

[it was a] means to protect the Indian against himself and against evil-doers and to confirm him in Christian life. The Indian is weak in mind and heart. To get in action the best there is in him, he must be paternally and effectively guided and be strengthened against moral inconstancy . . . [T]he Indian must be ruled from religious motives, if these fail we have lost our grip on him. Hence the minimum of religion sufficient to remain Catholic is not enough for him. He cannot walk on the edge of the precipice; he will fall in it.³⁸

In attempting to Catholicize and civilize the Indian people of virtually the whole of the interior mainland of British Columbia as well as the Fraser River and Gulf of Georgia regions, the Oblates faced a formidable task. Their manpower was limited in the extreme, especially when their attention was diverted from work amongst the Indians by their duties as

diocesan priests and by the burden of their temporal duties. To manage in the face of such pressing demands, the Oblates relied upon a system of conversion which had apparently been developed by Fathers Chirouse and Durieu amongst the Snohomish Indians of Puget Sound. The system, referred to initially as the "method of Father Chirouse", was widely used in British Columbia and was later formalized by Bishop Durieu and taught to new Oblates as the Durieu System. The system aimed not only at religious conversion but also at the economic and social transformation of Indian life.

The system of socio-religious control instituted by the Oblates involved the indirect rule of the Indian people through an hierarchy of appointed officials. The number of these officials varied slightly but usually the Oblates named a chief, a captain, one or more watchmen, policemen, and a variety of lesser figures. These officials comprised the church-appointed hierarchy but, as will be seen, their authority extended well beyond religious duties.

The chief was the person to whom the priests devoted the most attention, for through him they attempted to control the population. The chiefs presented unique problems because they may not initially have owed their positions to the priests. Chiefs achieved their positions in a variety of ways. Heredity was an important factor; chiefs such as Chilliheetsa of Nicola and Basile of the Head of Lake were direct descendants of the famous chief Nicola.³⁹ Priests appear to have had little direct jurisdiction over the appointments. Jayol ruefully reported Moise Cinq-Coeur's appointment in December 1865:

[Haynes] has named a chief for the Indians of Tel d'Epinettes and [the Mission], of course without consulting us and without even saying that he had done it. These people believe that the priests have too much influence amongst the Indians and do all they can to destroy it.⁴⁰

Later, upon that chief's death in the winter of 1878-1879, Richard wrote:

[T]he Indians desire to have as their chief, Basile, the last child of old Nicolas, and the government is disposed to recognize him, according to Mr. Forbes Vernon who has written to me.⁴¹

Gendre claimed to have appointed an unnamed Kamloops chief in 1867, but he probably was merely confirming a government appointment or naming a second, that is, a church chief, to the village. As the Oblates had no power of appointment, they were forced to work with existing chiefs.

The priests used a variety of techniques to convert and control the chiefs, at which they succeeded moderately. They counselled the chiefs closely and exhorted them to behave according to church precepts and to enforce compliance with Oblate-inspired regulations among the Indian people.⁴² The priests and chiefs developed a symbiotic relationship. While the Oblates depended upon the chiefs to impose their religious and moral standards on the community, the chiefs also depended upon the priests. The priests were the source of a considerable aggrandisement of power for chiefs because the Oblates deliberately buttressed their authority.⁴³ Nevertheless, relations between priest and chief were not easy. While priests wished chiefs to have near-absolute authority amongst their people, they expected them to defer to the authority of the priest and to use their power in a manner approved by the priest. The Oblate letters are full of complaints of intemperate or disobedient acts and broken promises of the chiefs. Those chiefs who would not be controlled had their powers reduced. When Petit Louis of Kamloops gambled away church funds, Father Grandidier reduced the chief's power by appointing a village treasurer and providing for majority rule on the village councils. When a hereditary chief proved unsuitable the Oblates would appoint a "eucharistic" or "real" chief and relegate the former to the status of "baton" or "figurehead" chief.⁴⁴ If a chief proved particularly intractable, as Chilliheetsa of Nicola did, the priests used every occasion to oppose him publicly.⁴⁵ The support of the chiefs was an important, but not a crucial, factor for Oblate success. Related aspects, such as the people's acceptance of chiefly authority and the civil authorities' willingness to co-operate with the continued exercise of power by village authorities, were also important.

Other officials serving in various capacities made up the

new village hierarchy. All of these church officials were appointed by, and served at the pleasure of, the priest and did not present the problems that chiefs often did. The captain or sub-chief enjoyed considerable prestige. He was chosen on the basis of his devotion to the faith, his submission to priestly authority and his willingness to assume spiritual leadership in the camp. Watchmen were responsible for observing and reporting wrongdoing in the village, that is, for being the eyes and ears of the priest during his absence, and for ensuring attendance at church or catechism.⁴⁶ Policemen assisted the chief and priest by ensuring compliance with their orders. Catechists taught hymns, prayers and elementary religion to young and old. Chanters were responsible for publicizing wrongdoings by reading aloud an inventory of community sins prior to confession. A sexton was the official responsible for regulating the daily community routine by bell ringing. The priest spent considerable time with this church-structured village hierarchy, instructing the Indians in theology and appropriate behaviour to ensure that the system would work during the months of his absence.

Each village had a council over which the priest reserved the right to preside, although the chief was the usual presiding officer. The council usually comprised the chief plus the captain, watchmen and, for a time, the treasurer. To this council were brought civil, moral and criminal cases arising in the village. Baudre reported that "*la coutume fait le lois*"⁴⁷ and, clearly, Indian concepts of justice were used in deciding cases in the Indian court. But the precepts of the Catholic church were also important elements in this system of justice.⁴⁸ Unlawful or immoral acts, such as gambling or keeping company with the opposite sex without a chaperone, were brought before the council by the village watchmen and penalties were levied according to the circumstances of the case and the chief's will. Penalties imposed might be a whipping, work in the fields of the mission, a fine, confiscation of property or simply prayers of forgiveness.⁴⁹ It is clear that the elements were present for the establishment of a kind of theocracy, an Indian state governed by precepts of the church

and customary law.

Through these officers and this hierarchy the Oblates attempted to control the religious, social and economic life of the community. Their primary object was a religious one, to save the soul of the "poor Indian" and it is appropriate therefore to consider their religious program first. Baudre's report in January 1875 provides a good example of a "mission":

Since January of last year I have visited the Spallumcheen and Head of the Lake three times. On the first visit I spent six days with each tribe and four or five days on the other occasions. I gave them religious instruction twice a day, not counting the mass where I always spoke of the Good God. They were generally assiduous about coming morning and evening. Only those who worked for the whites were missing. They confessed on each visit with the exception of some young men. I directed my sermons especially to the poor young people; they listened to me, publically recognized their sins, and promised to live better and not sink further in their appearance and bad habits. The conduct of the married people is generally regular. Peace reigns under my care more than in the past.⁵⁰

On visits such as these the priest would speak with the watchmen regarding the behaviour of the people, use this information to prepare the chanters with the inventory of community sins, attend council meetings, instruct the various officials on their duties and generally attend to the good order of the village. As well, he would prepare individuals for baptism, marriage and receiving the sacraments.

The degree of religious knowledge acquired by the Indians under this regime is a matter of debate. The routine of the Oblate "mission" itself consisted of a "set formula of prayer and preaching over a period of weeks, concentrating on the basic tenets of the Catholic faith."⁵¹ The experience of a later Oblate Father, John Hennessy, sheds some light on the amount of theology taught. He, like other Oblates, spoke in Chinook which, he claimed, had a vocabulary of 132 words, few of which were remotely concerned with religion. While speaking through an individual who had been interpreting in church for forty years, he used the term "la grâçe", which was not understood by the interpreter. Hennessy wondered how Catholicism could be conveyed in 132 words without including words such as "la grâçe"

and "how much [they] got across to those people . . . in regards to knowledge of the Faith."⁵² Pandosy had earlier criticized a colleague's practice in the Okanagan saying:

They have been baptised indiscriminately without catechism. What is called here preparatory instruction, one does three or four days before baptism, beginning with the Creation and running through all the mysteries, redemption and eternity.⁵³

Baudre, the object of Pandosy's missive, claimed that in 1875 a number of Indians had displayed "regularized conduct" for at least three or four years. In his defence he argued:

Without being Doctors of Theology, they know the essential things. I think that after a week of instruction they will be in a state of approaching the sacraments of the first table. Am I to admit them? I know I am moving quickly which is perhaps too much my habit,⁵⁴ which is why I refer the question to you.⁵⁴

The degree of theological preparation was obviously not great but was not seen to be as important as the regularized conduct mentioned by Baudre. Regularized conduct meant being monogamous, industrious, sober and obedient and it was this social behaviour which meant so much to the Oblates. Baudre reported on the Penticton band with considerable pride:

[A]ll are given up to morning and evening prayers and before long public disorders will have disappeared. The sauvages of our neighbourhood are no longer backward. They come regularly to mass. Their prayers are said together in each hut morning and evening,⁵⁵ with only a few showing indifference.⁵⁵

Baudre was describing the prescribed daily routine of village life, enforced by the priest and the village hierarchy. Monastic rules were in force in each village. The church bell awoke them, then summoned them to prayer and dismissed them for breakfast. Again in the evening it summoned them to prayer and then announced the curfew, at which time lights were extinguished. The purchase of a clock in 1877 by the Penticton band⁵⁶ takes on considerable significance when one considers the regimentation which it imposed on family and village life.

The Oblates did not limit their involvement with the social and moral life of the Indian villages to the indirect method of working through village councils. This internal

control mechanism was supplemented as required. On occasion special assemblies were called to inform all village Indians regarding a law which would be applied and penalties to be expected. One such incident, which occurred in 1876, was related by Father Baudre:

As the playing of cards and other gambling causes grave disorder amongst all the sauvages when I am not on this particular reserve I attempted, on my last visit, to put an end to it by stringent measures. All the sauvages were invited to attend a great meeting where the measures were discussed and approved by myself, the chief and the watchmen. The meeting attracted a number of the habitual gamblers and after a long discussion and some more or less eloquent speeches it was agreed that all the objects of gambling would be confiscated for the benefit of the mission.⁵⁷

As well, various other techniques were applied. Indians signed pledges of abstinence and petitions requesting the government to abolish alcohol sales. Temperance flags were flown over villages that adopted a temperance policy of refraining from alcohol, gambling and dancing. In order to force compliance, priests occasionally ostracized a tribe until it had corrected its behaviour, as when Grandidier refused to visit the Nicola because a chief was insolent⁵⁸ and when Baudre refused to visit the Spallumcheen band until a decent church has been built.⁵⁹

The regimented daily routine imposed on villages resulted from the priests' view of both the Indian nature and the priests' parental role. Despite their "child-like" nature the Indians showed promise of achieving a model state. They appeared neither materialistic nor deliberately evil; their sinful acts were seen as a result of a weak will and an innocent, vacillating mind, a mind and will which could be moulded into a Christian character. The Oblates were enchanted with the possibility of raising the Indian to a level of Christian perfection in a tightly disciplined village environment within which religion was the primary motivation for living.

In this setting the Oblates' duty was to protect the Indian from evil influences, whether it be indecent materialism, a debaucher of women or a seller of brandy, -- to show him the

proper path and to be there should he stray. It was not sufficient to allow the Indians to live under the light burden of civil authority -- that authority only made itself felt when a major crime had been committed and in that sense was merely a negative force for good. The church was the only positive force working for the salvation of the Indians. As Pandosy wrote in 1876 from Penticton:

The church must be strict to impede the perpetration of crime, and it must be especially so when there is little semblance of civil justice, which is our position here. Mr. Haynes bothered himself little when he had with him a highly paid constable, but now that he is alone, with diminished salary, he concerns himself less with his duties. Besides, an excess of courage never carried him to expose himself to mockery.⁶⁰

The priests persuaded themselves that it was necessary to enforce a strict discipline, and to substitute church precepts and law for an inadequate civil authority. Rigid discipline was necessary because the Indian needed to be kept safe from temptation.

In order to have access to the Indian people and to facilitate social control over them Indians had to lead sedentary lives. Nomadic or semi-nomadic Indians were largely beyond the reach of the priests, and even of the chiefs. The priests had neither the time, the skills, nor the desire to travel with the Indians or to tramp around to scattered homes. The priests spoke depreciatingly of those free Indians who continued to live by hunting, fishing and gathering because they were inaccessible. Therefore the Oblates attempted to persuade the Indians to settle in more permanent village sites. In 1866 Jayol wrote:

The chief that Mr. Haynes named last autumn appears to be well enough disposed, although he has, I believe, several wives. He wants to act in concert with the priests and perhaps also, after their counsel. Johnny [McDougal] has counselled him a great deal to act thus Following the advice of some whites and from me the chief did all he could to get the sauvages to cultivate land like the whites, to build houses on their reserves⁶¹

Jayol later reported that the chief was attempting to assemble the Indians on the reserve and "to make them work."⁶² But not

until 1872 did Baudre report that all were moving to the reserve where Chief Cinq-Coeur lived.⁶³ Four years later he reported a large and beautiful church on the reserve plus a large house for the priest. "They have decided in very large numbers to gather around the church and build comfortable homes."⁶⁴ It was at this time that Baudre was able to talk about stringent measures to combat the inveterate gamblers. Permanent village life appears therefore to have been established within the first fifteen years of the Oblate residency. The building of the church and homes undoubtedly meant European-style log structures, which represented a considerable outlay of labour and capital. This undoubtedly reflected a tendency to use one specific area, with good soil, for more weeks of the year than they would have done as semi-nomads. The building of homes nestled around the church and the practice of horticulture are certainly related developments and both were important for the proper functioning of the Durieu system. Only when the bulk of the tribe was within the sound of the church bell and under the scrutiny of the watchmen could the Durieu system function. Only if the Indians of a tribe were concentrated on one reserve, away from the white community, could they acquire the isolation needed to remove the temptations of the wider world. The move to village sites centering on the church re-oriented Indian life. The Indian moved from an open society where decisions were mostly of an individual nature to one which attempted to be closed and authoritarian.

The Oblates were not at all interested in Indians remaining independent, either in religious, social or economic terms. Religious and social control was exerted through the village councils or direct priestly intervention. Economic dependence was fostered by encouraging reliance on subsistence agriculture. Despite abundant evidence of Indian experience with and proclivity toward stockraising, the priests frequently expressed the opinion that Indian demands for land for their stock were wildly extravagant.⁶⁵ With the notable exception of Father Grandidier of Kamloops, the Oblates did little to support the Indians in their land claims and they obviously had no aspirations for the Indians as anything but marginal

stockraisers. Economic independence would inevitably buttress attitudes of independence which were all too evident in the Indian community and were considered unseemly by the Oblates.

As well as changing the lifestyle and social system of the Okanagan Indians the Oblates effected the conversion of the natives to Catholicism. Despite the priests' laments regarding their lack of success and their talk of Indians being nominal Christians, the priests ultimately succeeded in Catholicizing virtually all Okanagan Indian people. It is difficult to assess the depth of conversion but one suspects that, given the degree of control exercised in the villages, by the turn of the century conversion was relatively complete. That is not to say that Indians abandoned traditional beliefs completely; clearly they did not, for numerous Indian people to this day engage in traditional religious practices. James Teit, who knew the interior Indians so well, best describes Indian attitudes toward the Catholic religion.

The attitude of Indians towards missionaries is favourable and has been from the first. They say the missionaries are good because they teach only good and no evil. There is no contradiction between stories their forefathers told and those of missionaries. They both may be true. His forefathers told him nothing in their stories of future punishments, but the missionaries do. If they are right, then he can escape it by being baptised, attending church and using the prayers taught to him and living a life without doing evil as far as possible. Then if it turns out that the missionaries are right, when he comes to die he will be all right and if they are wrong, he will be no worse off than the other Indians.⁶⁶

The Oblate missionaries undoubtedly acted from the best of motives, to save the soul of the "poor" Indian and to protect him from the excesses which were so apparent in the white society around him. There is considerable evidence of the priests' positive influence: in protecting Indian girls from exploitation by unscrupulous whites, in preventing the worst abuses of the whiskey sellers, in introducing Indians to horticulture, and in educating and providing medical care for those in need. The Oblates hastened the acceptance by the Okanagan Indians of an agriculturally-based sedentary lifestyle. The missionary program was a mixed blessing

however. The permanent villages centered around the church and the regime imposed by the village bell re-oriented Indian life from the seasonal rhythms of nature to a rhythm based on industrial time. The new religion did not reflect either traditional values or, apparently, the values of the white society, and it left the Indians ill-prepared to deal with aggressive, acquisitive white neighbours. Virtues of piety and submissiveness, and isolation from the white society did not prepare Indians well for effective co-existence with their white neighbours. The authoritarian structures imposed by the Oblates, combined with other political, judicial and social structures, created a dependency on the part of Indian people. They progressively lost the independence to which they had been accustomed and the control of their own future.

B. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

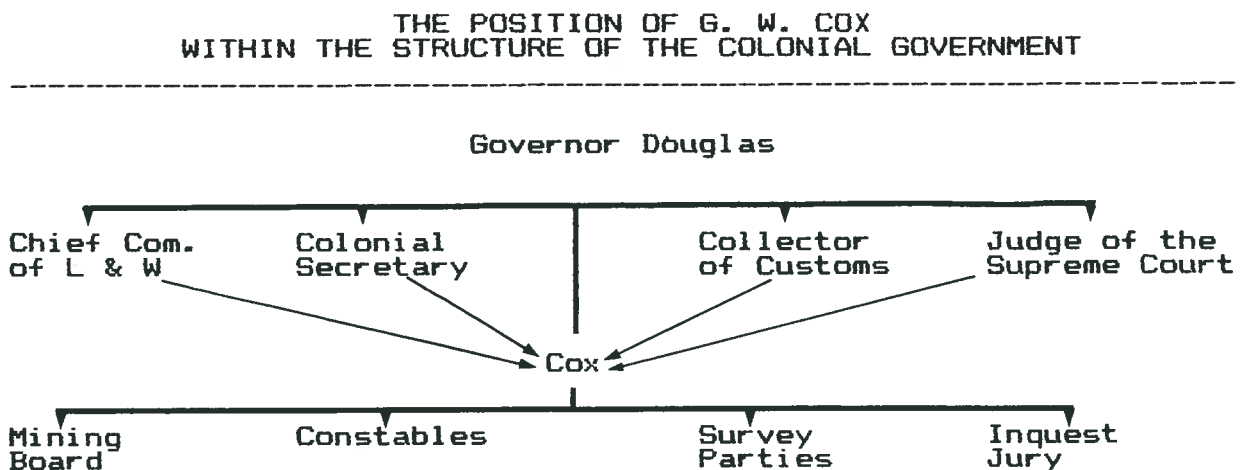
The political environment within which British Columbians have lived has, after the colonial era, been one in which a democratically elected government has been directly responsible to its electorate and therefore quite responsive to the needs of the community. But whites and Indians have not had the same rights in the political sphere; Indians were not enfranchised until after World War II. Before that they had an administrative structure imposed upon them, one which allowed only indirect access to political power. This had important detrimental effects on Indian people.

For the first five years of its existence, 1858-1863, British Columbia was ruled by James Douglas who had been granted "full and absolute power to make provision for the administration of justice and subject to review by [the British] parliament, the right to establish laws and ordinances"¹ in the Okanagan and elsewhere in the province. Douglas used his power to establish laws in areas such as mining, land acquisition, policing and public works. While his personal rule was not popular with many individuals, especially newspaper editors, the temporary powers allowed Douglas to act quickly and decisively to any crisis which arose. Douglas personally instructed his field officers and supervised their actions minutely. Indians had the benefit of an understanding administration that was sympathetic to their needs and aspirations. Under Douglas, although Indians were not enfranchised, they were promised equal treatment before the law and were granted equal rights in the acquisition of land for agricultural purposes.

G. W. Cox was the man responsible for applying colonial laws to whites and Indians in the Okanagan. Cox had comprehensive authority in his capacities as Gold Commissioner, Justice of the Peace, Stipendary Magistrate, Assistant Collector of Customs and Assistant Commissioner of Lands. His responsibilities were as diverse as enforcing mining legislation, selling land, acting as coroner, laying out townsites and selling town lots, laying out Indian reserves, encouraging

exploration, taking the census and sending information to his political superiors.

FIGURE 1



Left largely to his own initiative, Cox's actions were not without scrutiny by his superiors. In one case Cox reported that he was arranging with the Indians for miners to take peaceable possession of the Columbia River district, despite the Indians' opposition. For his

lack of prudence in deciding on so grave a measure implicating the honour and dignity of her Majesty's Government whose faith is by [this] act virtually pledged for the safety and protection of the miners, [Cox was severely reprimanded and ordered to try to] repair the mischief [by conciliating the natives, preventing] conflicts with the whites [and by] teaching the miners to respect the lives and property of the natives.³

J. C. Haynes replaced Cox in 1862 but Haynes was absent from the district much of the time. During his absence the principal resident government authority, Constable W. H. Lowe, issued free miners licences and held minor judicial powers. Any significant civil matters such as recording land pre-emptions and water rights lay in the hands of a Stipendary Magistrate in Lytton, outside of the Okanagan, an office held in the 1870s by Arthur Bushby.⁴ Local government was only in sporadic evidence in the Okanagan in the colonial era. While Cox or Haynes were resident in the Okanagan a colonial officer with

wide jurisdiction in administrative and judicial matters was responsible for government policy. While these gentlemen were absent, only a Justice of the Peace and a constable were available.

In 1863 Governor Douglas established a thirteen member Legislative Council for British Columbia comprised of five elected members and eight appointees. Representatives were elected on a franchise of male property owners which excluded Indians and Chinese. The first session met in January 1863 and it was to the second and third sessions, from 12 December 1864 to 11 April 1865 and 18 January 1866 to 5 April 1866, respectively, that J. C. Haynes was appointed. No other residents of the Okanagan served in the Legislative Council and no local record of the elections can be found.

With confederation, the government presence became more fractured. Rather than a single colonial government exercising its authority through one or two individuals in the Okanagan region, there were now two levels of government -- the provincial and national. Representatives of both levels of government were elected on a franchise restricted to adult males excluding Chinese and Indians. Table 2 lists the Okanagan's representation in the Parliament of Canada in the period under study:

TABLE 2

YALE MEMBERS IN THE PARLIAMENT OF CANADA,
1871-1913

<u>Years</u>	<u>Members</u>
1871	Charles Houghton
1872 - 1879	Edgar Dewdney
1879 - 1887	F. J. Barnard
1887 - 1896	John Mara
1896 - 1900	Hewitt Bostock
1900 - 1904	William A. Galliher
1904 - 1908	Duncan Ross
1908 - 1920	Martin Burrell

Source: Canadian Parliamentary Guide[s], 1871-1920. Ottawa: Administration, 1871-1920.

The influence of the Okanagan's Members of Parliament (MPs) deserves further study as at least three of them became cabinet ministers with significant portfolios.⁵ However, their influence on the local community appears to have been relatively minor with the exception of Senator Bostock, who chaired the 1926-1927 meeting of the Joint Senate/House of Commons Committee on the British Columbia Indian land question.

Table 3 lists the Okanagan's representatives in the Legislative Assembly and it shows that the large landholders had a near-monopoly on representation for the Okanagan in the Assembly, serving at the highest cabinet levels. Forbes George Vernon served as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works in the Elliott administration until its defeat in 1878 and also in the successive administrations of A. E. B. Davie, John Robson and Theodore Davie.⁶ Price Ellison became Minister of Lands in 1909 and was, at various times, Minister of Finance and Minister of Agriculture until his resignation in 1915.⁷

TABLE 3

YALE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
1871-1913

<u>Year</u>	<u>Members</u>
1871	Charles Semlin, Robert Smith
1872	J. Robinson*, (F. G. Vernon*), C. Semlin, R. Smith.
1876	F. G. Vernon, John Mara, Robert Smith
1878	F. G. Vernon, J. Mara, Preston Bennett*
1882	C. Semlin, J. Mara, P. Bennett (George B. Martin)
1886	F. G. Vernon, C. Semlin, G. Martin
1890	F. G. Vernon, C. Semlin, G. Martin
1894	Donald Graham*, C. Semlin, G. Martin
1898	Price Ellison*, C. Semlin, F. J. Dean
1900	P. Ellison, N. Fulton, W. Murphy
1902	P. Ellison
1907	P. Ellison
1909	P. Ellison

*East Yale (Okanagan) member

Source: Canadian Parliamentary Guide[s], 1871-1913. Ottawa: Administration, 1871-1913.

The Legislative Assembly proved to be very responsive to the needs of the settler-electors in the province, perhaps because of the influential cabinet positions held by rancher-politicians. In his study of the ranching frontier Greg Thomas documents numerous instances of the rancher representatives

achieving legislation regarding branding, fencing, and the protection of cattle ranges from sheep and American cattle drovers.⁸ Land legislation was probably the acid test for a provincial government since land was the major resource at the disposal of the government. Who had access to that resource and under what conditions was determined by the Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs). Undoubtedly at the urging of interior ranchers in government, legislation was passed, effective in 1871, allowing pre-emptions of 320 acres rather than 160 acres, large-scale leasing of land and the purchase of additional land lying contiguous to settlers' pre-emptions at the attractive price of one dollar per acre.⁹ This allowed the interior ranchers to increase their holdings of strategically-placed land and many responded in the early 1870s by purchasing additional acreages, often to about one thousand acres. The new land regime allowed about a dozen established ranchers to control access to water in the immediate vicinity of their ranches.

Aside from providing a favourable legislative environment for land acquisition by settlers, especially stockraisers, the government proved responsive to the general needs of the white Okanagan community in the provision of a transportation infrastructure. The first provincial assembly moved in 1871 to eliminate tolls on the roads leading to the interior,¹⁰ a welcomed improvement. Road building or improvement was pursued with some vigour in the Okanagan throughout the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s. All evidence points to adequate public works expenditures once a need was identified. Local electors expected an adequate level of public works spending and their expectations were generally met. The election campaign was the occasion of public works promises. A good example of this type of electioneering is given during the 1891 election when Forbes George Vernon campaigned on the basis of road projects which would be built around the district.¹¹ Vernon may have been defeated in 1894 partially because of opposition to the route which the new road to Kelowna took, as the road bypassed the townsite of Benvoulin and reduced its prospects dramatically. The importance of public works in the district moved one supporter of

Vernon to comment: "The local politics are summed up in roads, bridges and opposition to the Island."¹² The degree of responsiveness of the government is suggested by another example. Ranchers in the South Okanagan wished to clear out the old Dewdney Trail in 1885 so they hired the work done, then requested government reimbursement for the cost, an amount of five hundred dollars,¹³ and they assumed that it would be forthcoming. Government can only be classified as responsive if local initiatives of this sort could be undertaken with the expectation of repayment. Democracy appears to have been direct and effective, at least as it applied to the white community in the Okanagan.

The Indian community's access to political power, however, was severely restricted. Indians had no means of exerting pressure on the Provincial or Dominion Governments because they were not enfranchised and could be ignored with impunity. For example, the land regime imposed upon the Indians was extremely restrictive and land available to Indians was inadequate in quantity for the purpose of stockraising. What land they had was repeatedly threatened by the Provincial Government and much of it successfully cut-off at the end of the period under study. No provincial member desiring to be re-elected could, even if he wanted to, afford to side with Indians on the land issue. Forbes George Vernon said as much to G. M. Sproat in 1879 when he claimed that legislation had proceeded in British Columbia for twenty years on the assumption that Indians had no rights to lands and that while he personally agreed with Sproat's policies of fairness to Indians, he could take no action owing to an approaching election in his district.¹⁴ With such a restrictive land regime and no political power the Indians were doomed to subsistence agriculture and poverty.

A complete study of Okanagan Indian politics has not been attempted but considerable insight into the unenviable position of Indian people politically can be gained by examining the changing role of the Indian chief. Chiefs possessed political power and acted as spokesmen for their people but, because of inherent weaknesses in their traditional role and because of the particular administrative structures imposed upon them, they

were to prove ineffective in protecting the rights of Indians.

The traditional political role of Okanagan Indian chiefs must be seen in the context of the socio-political organization of Indians of the Interior Plateau. Verne Ray characterized it as

a band-village system whereby the band is composed of one or more autonomous villages, members of which were free to reconstitute at will, yet essentially retaining the original composition of the band. . . . It acted as a band only by informal and loose consent of village heads and residents.¹⁴

Each Okanagan village apparently possessed a headman who had various economic and social functions. Chiefs were

looked upon as fathers of the people and gave advice on all internal matters of the band. They exhorted the people to good conduct, . . . announced news, . . . and regulated seasonal pursuits. They looked after the maturing of the berries, personally or by deputy, in their respective districts, gave decisions and admonitions in petty disputes between families. . . . [It was their duty to be hospitable, help the poor, show a good example and give small feasts or presents to the people from time to time.]¹⁵

Clearly, a chief exerted political authority through the consent and approval of the people under his jurisdiction. The chief, usually descended from chiefly lineage, assumed leadership in mid-life when his managerial abilities and moral behaviour were well known to the group, and was the man who best expressed the value system of the group. If a chief continued to exemplify the virtues of the group, to "know no fear, not lie, steal or fight their own people, . . . to lead by example, to exhort and advise,"¹⁷ he might obtain great status. Accumulated wealth was not a prerequisite of office but distribution of wealth was often associated with chieftainship. Of course, good managers and providers who received gifts in kind and labour from the people were in a position to distribute goods widely.

Ray claimed that no superior chief stood above these village heads¹⁷ but Teit disagreed, claiming that, "while there was no hereditary nobility, there was "one recognized head chief of all the tribes, except possibly the Lakes," until after the boundary was drawn, when there were two head chiefs for the Okanagan. Teit identified Nicola as the chief of the Okanagan

and various others as chiefs of the Similkameen, Nicola and Thompson Indians.¹⁸

There were two classes of chiefs: hereditary chiefs, perhaps named by an aged chief from the chiefly lineage, and chiefs who acquired their position through ability in economic functions, war leadership, wisdom in council, moral status or some combination of these virtues. Chiefs, both hereditary and non-hereditary, sometimes acquired prestige and recognition among other bands and thereby laid claim to a moral authority over a wide area.

Examples exist of chiefs whose authority was not socially validated by large numbers of Okanagan people. Tonasket, from immediately south of the International Boundary, established himself as a band chief. Although not of chiefly descent, he had gained a reputation as a warrior through the collection of tribute from miners and was recognized by the whites as a chief. For example, he accompanied Haynes to Penticton and Head of Lake to re-draw reserve boundaries in those areas in 1865. However, his authority was never universally accepted. One informant said: "Tonasket never was chief of anybody except his own band. He was a mean man who beat his children. He underfed his people but they continued to recognize him as chief."¹⁹ Even Nicola, son of a famous Okanagan chief, Pelkamulox, who was to become the recognized chief of the Okanagan people, gained a reputation slowly, having to suffer the slight of being told he was "not a chief" by the Shuswaps in the spring of 1823 when he was attempting to organize a war party to avenge his father's death.²⁰ Chiefs had no means of exerting their authority other than exhibiting a record of good management, morality, prudence, fairness and consistency in expressing the people's will. But that authority was real, nonetheless, as was recognized by all in 1877 when the land commissioners came to the Head of Lake to settle with the Indians. Only on Chief Chilliheetsa's intervention and with his permission, was a settlement reached. The priests also recognized Chilliheetsa, Nicola's nephew and successor, as a consistent rival for authority among Indians from the border to the Head of Lake.

Contact with white civilization demonstrably changed the

chief's role in Indian society. Chiefs were the objects of considerable attention by the Hudson's Bay Company officials who bought their assistance by granting them gifts of tobacco, annual suits of clothes and other favours.²¹ Chiefs were frequently left in charge of the Thompson's River post during the traders' absence in the summer and for their efforts were paid in guns and other trade items. Chief Nicolas, the Okanagan chief, became very co-operative, perhaps even compliant, and came to value his relationship with the Hudson's Bay Company officials. For example, as an old man, acting on the advice of Company officials, he refused to retaliate against miners who had massacred his people. Before his death he was neither greatly feared nor valued by the traders but rather was tolerated and patronized.²² Nicolas is described nearly universally by Indians as a great chief; he appears to have retained or even increased his authority among his people, partially because of his relationship with the traders.

The relationship of the missionaries to the chiefs has already been considered in detail. Missionaries deliberately buttressed the authority of chiefs and constantly decried the chiefs' lack of control over their people, blaming the inability to exercise control on personal inadequacies of the chiefs involved. The priests promoted an aggrandisement of chiefs' power through the mechanism of the village-council system. Chiefs acquired powers of control and enforcement over their people which they did not historically possess. While their power increased in relation to their band, they owed their newly acquired position and prestige to the priests and were thus dominated by and made subservient to them.

Civil authorities in the Colonial Government proved equally desirous of co-opting Okanagan chiefs. Haynes appointed Moise Cinq Coeur as chief of the Head of Lake in 1865 and may have thereby bought his concurrence with the much-reduced size of the reserve.²³ Forbes Vernon, MLA, took it upon himself to report to the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) at the time of Moise's death that he approved of the choice of the Indians at the Head of Lake as William (Basile) would foster "good relations between whites and Indians in the Okanagan District."²⁴ Government

representatives appointed these chiefs where none had existed previously. The Head of Lake band had previously been the site of the winter home of Chief Nicolas, of Douglas Lake, and the people had looked to him as their band chief.²⁵

With confederation, jurisdiction over Indians was transferred to the DIA which imposed a new administrative structure on the Indian community. Initially, responsibility for Indian affairs in the whole of British Columbia was in the hands of one man, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Dr. Israel Powell. The Fraser Superintendency was established in 1874, with James Lenihan assuming responsibility for interior Indians. In 1881 a new system was imposed, the province being subdivided into eight agencies, each headed by an appointed Indian Agent who was expected to keep in close contact with Indians under his jurisdiction and lend them assistance in adapting to new conditions. These agents, answerable only to the DIA in Ottawa, saw the chiefs as intermediaries, as a means of exerting control over the wider Indian community, and their relations with the chiefs followed the pattern established by the Hudson's Bay Company and the missionaries.

Chiefs were recognized by the DIA in one of two categories: hereditary chiefs, who held their office for life, and chiefs appointed by the DIA for an indefinite term. Nowhere in British Columbia prior to 1910, except at Metlakatla and Port Simpson, were chiefs elected directly by band members.²⁶ Chiefs were instead appointed by the Indian Agent, subject to confirmation by the DIA,²⁷ usually, but not necessarily, on the basis of a majority band opinion expressed through an election by eligible band members. Agents had no legal power to depose hereditary chiefs²⁸ but appointed chiefs served at the pleasure of the Department and could be dismissed for cause upon the recommendation of the Agent. Any chief or councillor could be deposed by Order in Council for dishonesty, intemperance or incompetence.²⁹ The power to recommend appointment or deposition of Okanagan chiefs was used frequently by the Agents in a flagrant abuse of power. The Head of Lake band provides a good example.

In 1895 Louis Jim was the choice of the Indian people but

Indian Agent Irwin found him of a "turbulent nature" and "not tractable enough" and refused to appoint the people's choice.³⁰ Louis Jim was finally appointed a temporary chief by the DIA for a three year period in May 1901 although Department policy was that terms be indefinite.³¹ Agent Irwin "went beyond his powers", as he had done elsewhere in his Agency,³² deposing chief Pierre Michel in 1909 without the authority of the Department and replacing him with a compliant individual, Isaac Harris. After protests from Pierre Michel and a band lawyer, A. Bridgman, a band election was held after which Baptiste Logan was appointed on 1 March 1909.³³ Irwin then attempted to have Logan removed from office on the grounds of intemperance, submitting a petition allegedly signed by fifteen Indians including Isaac Harris and Pierre Michel³⁴ but his recommendation was not accepted, the Department thinking that Irwin was "stretching the point on intemperance instead of giving the real reason."³⁵ Irwin himself was dismissed on 11 February 1911.³⁶ Regardless, Logan was deposed by Inspector of Indian Agencies, T. Cumisky, when he opposed the sale of the Long Lake reserve to Cumisky's friend, and he was replaced by the "notorious" Pierre Michel.³⁷ Then, following the election of Gaston Louis, the new Inspector of Indian Agencies, A. Megraw, deposed this chief because he refused to accept a very unfavourable (for the Indians) lease which Megraw had arranged with one Henderson. In the words of J. H. Christie, an Okanagan farmer to whom Indians appealed for assistance, Gaston Louis was removed

as the only stumbling block between [the DIA] accredited official's dominant will, and the right of these people for protection from spoliation and every criminal intent against their peace, property and personal liberty.³⁸

In 1916, affairs on the Okanagan reserves reached such an aggravated state that demands for a public enquiry surfaced; an Okanagan Indian Rights' Defence League was formed; statements from various Indians of Head of Lake, Penticton, Spallumcheen and Westbank reserves were taken; and allegations of corruption, high-handed behaviour, and misconduct were laid against both Indian Agents and the Inspector of Indian Agencies. A depart-

mental investigation was held, but little appears to have come of it.³⁹ Chiefs had become little more than tools to be manipulated by agents and were patently unable to take effective action on the part of their people.

The experience of Okanagan chiefs over the hundred years of contact with white authority figures, the fur traders, missionaries and government officials, follows a distressing pattern. Chiefs initially exerted a moral authority over Indian people, an authority which had to be continually validated. Chiefs maintained their prestige as long as they expressed the will of the people or were responsive to their needs. Under the tutelage of each of the successive authorities, the traders, missionaries and government officials, chiefs acquired more formal authority, however, that authority was illusory rather than real. Co-opted chiefs lost power on two fronts. To the whites, on whom they relied for prestige and authority, they were eventually regarded as nuisances and unnecessary impediments to their will, officials who could be disregarded with impunity.⁴⁰ To the Indian people, they could only have lost their moral authority and become pathetic figureheads, completely dependent upon the will of the whites. It was an uncomfortable fate, one escaped only by the occasional individual such as Chilliheetsa of Douglas Lake. Chilliheetsa resisted attempts by the missionaries to acquire power, appealed over the heads of the local agents to the Canadian government and twice travelled to meet with the Queen to gain redress of grievances. But even Chilliheetsa, with his strong sense of traditional authority, was eventually destroyed by the twin forces of Indian agent and federal bureaucracy.¹¹

The political power of chiefs deteriorated significantly over the period of white contact, to be assumed by missionaries and Indian agents. The Department of Indian Affairs, officially responsible for the trusteeship of Indians, became a dominant force in Indian life in the twentieth century as the priests had been in the nineteenth. The assumption underlying the trusteeship of the DIA was one of incompetence and immaturity on the part of the Indian wards and competence and responsibility on the part of agents. Indians as a people, were, of course,

neither incompetent nor immature, having managed their own affairs and made a living quite nicely without supervision before 1881. However, the imposition of an external authority brought with it a complete set of obstacles for the Indian people. Part of the problem lay with the personnel of the Department.

The servants of the Department of Indian Affairs in the 1871 to 1916 era were political appointees and, with one or two exceptions, were unsuited to the duties assigned them. Initially part of the problem was due to the fact that only one and then two men had responsibility for Indian Affairs in the entire province. Powell, described by another Department official as an "inert, querulous, unsatisfactory sort of man without any earnestness of purpose or zeal in the discharge of his duties,"⁴² travelled to the Okanagan once, in 1874, but went no further than the head of the lake where he stayed with his brother-in-law, Forbes George Vernon. Lenihan travelled to the Okanagan once and while there managed to alienate almost everyone with whom he came into contact, including the Catholic priests, the Indians and the Indian Reserve Commissioners who were in the field at the time. The man was a pathetic figure, entirely unsuited to the task. The first agent for the Kamloops-Okanagan Agency was A. E. Howse whose appointment in 1880 was a mystery because he had little political support while many applicants had recommendations from Members of Parliament or other well-known figures. Howse was dismissed in 1884 after being accused of physically beating an Indian near Nicola.⁴³ While in office he made two or three trips to the Okanagan but these were very brief. J. W. MacKay, former Hudson's Bay Company employee at Kamloops, replaced Howse and virtually all sources credit the man with doing an excellent job. He advised the Indians on matters of hygiene, agriculture and other matters and under his guidance Okanagan Indians made rapid economic progress. Upon his retirement, about 1894, Agent Irwin of Kamloops assumed responsibility. Irwin was Indian Agent for nearly fifteen years until he had his Okanagan responsibilities removed in 1910 prior to his dismissal in 1911. Irwin seldom visited Okanagan reserves and when he did he assumed a

dictatorial manner. Commissioner McDougall described him as physically incapable of performing his duty, not having been on many reserves for years, and not having the respect of Indians. He was described by Indians as "good for the white man but very bad for Indians."⁴⁴ Agent Smith, a negro, replaced Irwin in the Okanagan for a brief period before the position was assumed by Agent J. R. Brown in June 1910. Brown, with Inspectors Cumisky and Megraw, was accused of serious breaches of responsibility.⁴⁵ Duncan C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Ottawa, wrote to McKenna, who was charged with investigating affairs in the Okanagan:

It appears to me that there is a very forcible case against the management of this agency by Brown and Megraw. It seems inexplicable that these men should recommend such a lease. They are there to protect the interests of the Indian⁴⁶

That view could only have been seconded by the Indians of the Okanagan who wrote:

since the retirement of Mr. McKay, as Indian agent whose memory we all respect, we have received no consideration, instruction or assistance in any manner whatsoever from any official in connection with the Indian Department.⁴⁷

The DIA was not responsive to Okanagan Indian needs in any way, either at the Department or Agency level in the time period under study. The agents were generally uncaring and corrupt, willful and authoritarian and were responsible for a considerable amount of the aggravation that the Indians felt. Indians' lack of citizenship forced upon them a system of governance from which they could get no satisfaction and from which they could not escape.

The experience of the two peoples, the Europeans and the Indians, within the political sphere, was very different. Europeans, through the exercise of the franchise, could rely on a government very responsive to their needs. Governments provided a legislative framework conducive to the farming and stockraising industries and provided other services as needed. The Indians had no such responsive government. DIA officials at the local level were often domineering, corrupt, and uncivil to their Indian charges. At the senior bureaucracy level the

officials ran the Department according to their own agenda and needs, not those of the Indians. Criticisms of the Department were ignored or deflected; Indian spokesmen were patronized and stonewalled; and Department officials regarded themselves responsible to their political masters, not to Indians. The whole experience of Indian people with the DIA bureaucracy was one of frustration and discouragement.

C. THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Residents of the Colony of British Columbia were favoured, from the moment of the colony's inception, with the protection of British criminal and civil laws. British Columbians still generally perceive their judicial system as a means of protecting their life, property and civil rights, as a mechanism for redress of grievances and as a structure that ensures equality of treatment of all individuals. Universal access to the protection of the courts is fundamental to the operation of a democratic society and is taken for granted by most British Columbians. Yet an examination of the historical experience of Okanagan Indians and whites before the courts reveals significant differences in treatment of the two groups. Legal disabilities were significant enough to seriously disadvantage Indian people in the protection of their rights.

Shortly after the establishment of the town of Rock Creek by California miners, Governor Douglas appointed William George Cox as Gold Commissioner, Justice of the Peace and Stipendary Magistrate. In his judicial capacities Cox heard all cases involving title to mining, land or water claims, subject to appeals to the Supreme Court if the case involved sums greater than twenty pounds. Litigation not involving title to claims or water and involving less than fifty pounds were remitted to the Gold Commissioner for hearing. The appointment of Cox signified the replacement of California style "camp rules" by English civil and criminal law, although in practice some California practices were adopted.

In the area of criminal law, Cox's activities were wide ranging: he captured a thief and drummed him out of town because of the inconvenience and expense of keeping him in confinement for the winter;¹ seized the goods of two Frenchmen who attempted to cross the International Boundary without paying customs duties; conducted an inquest into a murder;² and arranged for Indians who had stolen blankets, clothes and cattle from cattle dealers to compensate them by payment of horses.³

Cox's authority appears to have been accepted substantially, if not wholeheartedly, by the miners amongst whom he

moved. Interestingly, the Indians also submitted to his authority. When the young Indian was lynched without a proper trial, Chilliheetsa wrote to the Governor through Father Pandosy.⁴ Chilliheetsa's response to the outrage, over which no official action had been taken, is significant because it reveals the degree of acceptance by the Indians of colonial authority. It read, in part:

I do not come to argue and I will never argue or plead the cause of guilty but my heart is heavy on seeing the manner in which justice is delivered to us. If the guilty man had been taken by the authorities and judged according to the law, the entire camp would have learned a lesson at the gallows; but men without warrant apprehend us and execute us without a trial when Mr. Cox, your representative, is here and he has not even prepared a trial. There you are, Your Excellency, that is what makes my heart bleed, that is what rouses the anger of all the Okanagan tribe which has already taken up arms. I tried to quiet the insurrection by assuring them that I would have recourse to your kindness, persuaded as I am that you will give Mr. Cox instructions on the subject,⁵ if, indeed, you have not already done so.⁵

Chilliheetsa desired his people to be judged in the same manner as white people, although in this instance he did not receive that satisfaction. There were also other incidents of Indians deferring to the judicial authority of Douglas' government.⁶

After Cox's departure, J. C. Haynes was commissioned as a Justice of the Peace (JP) in 1864 but was absent from the area a good part of the time, in official capacities, and he was represented by Constable W. L. Lowe who settled minor disputes between Indians and settlers.⁸ Charles Houghton performed the duties of JP from 1867 until he left the Okanagan, in 1871, to become Yale's first Member of Parliament. Criminal cases were handled by a Judge of the Supreme Court of Civil Justice of British Columbia.

With confederation, the judicial system did not become as fractured as the political system. In the administration of justice the federally-appointed courts were charged with trying criminal and civil cases whether the laws being enforced were provincial or national in origin.

A few records of criminal cases have survived, relating to

crimes such as murder or conviction of individuals for attaining money under false pretenses. Many of the court cases as well as developments in British Columbia legal history are discussed in David R. Williams' biography of Sir Matthew Baillie Begbie, The Man for a New Country.⁹ That biography seems to confirm that white British Columbians were favoured by the application of English law with all of its safeguards for the protection of private property and civil rights. Without making a comprehensive study of the justice system as applied to whites, this paper assumes that a reasonably fair and just system was in place in the Okanagan.

TABLE 4

 JUSTICES OF THE PEACE IN THE OKANAGAN

<u>Name</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Year of Appointment</u>
C. W. Cox	Rock Creek	1860 (left in 1862)
J. C. Haynes	Osoyoos	1864 (absent for periods, 1867-1871)
Charles Houghton	Priest's Valley	1867 (left in 1871)
John F. Allison	Princeton	1876
Thomas Ellis	Penticton	1876
Moses Lumby	Spallumcheen	1877
Alexander Fortune	spallumcheen	1877
Thomas Wood	Mission Valley	1878
Walter Dewdney	Priest's Valley	1881
George Wallace	Spallumcheen	1885
Donald Graham	Spallumcheen	1886
Alfred Postill	Mission Valley	1886
Frederick Brent	Mission Valley	1886
E. J. Tronson	Priest's Valley	1887

Source: BC, Parliament, Sessional Papers, 1883, "Return of Justices of the Peace," pp. 410-412 and Sessional Papers, 1889, pp. 361-365.

Much of the administration of civil law in the post-confederation period was provided locally by provincially-appointed Justices of the Peace. In the colonial period one Justice of the Peace had usually resided in the Okanagan Valley but after about 1877 a JP was available in each of about five Okanagan districts, as the accompanying Table indicates. Justices of the Peace ruled on a variety of civil cases which may have been minor in terms of financial gain or loss but were nevertheless important to the community. A magistrate's court comprised of three JPs could be assembled to deal with significant issues. An example will illustrate the operation of the

magistrates' court. A rancher, Price Ellison, had constructed a fence along his property line which obstructed a long-established thoroughfare from the foot of Long Lake to the Priest's Valley village, an action which caused complaint by local landowners¹⁰ and by the Indian agent on behalf of Indians on the Kalamalka Lake reserve.¹¹ The JP and Government Agent, Walter Dewdney, tried to arrange a compromise but Ellison refused, "in a not very becoming manner" so Dewdney took him to magistrate's court, which was comprised of three JPs, Tronson, Wallace and himself. The court found against Ellison, who grew violent and insulting and refused to comply, whereupon the magistrates wrote an order and served it on him. Ellison pulled his fence down.¹²

The distinguishing feature of the Okanagan Justices of the Peace was that they were all, with the exception of Walter Dewdney, who was Government Agent, established landowners, and most of them were large landowners. If one was a large landowner and of an English-speaking background (either British, Anglo-Irish, American or Canadian), one was virtually assured a position as Justice of the Peace. No French-Canadians, Indians or members of other ethnic groups were appointed. The JPs provided a mechanism of settling disputes regarding property rights which was swift, inexpensive, locally based, and acceptable to the white community.¹³ Such is not the experience of the Indian population. On numerous occasions Indians attempted to use the office of the JP to gain redress for issues affecting them but they received little satisfaction. The missionaries reported case after case of blatant favouritism.

There is nobody here who will do justice to the Indians. If an Indian offends a white, if he threatens or strikes a white, the white complains to Mr. Haynes and the Indian is punished. Lately an Indian struck a white and the judge put him in prison. One Englishman beat an Indian about the head with a stick. Another pointed a pistol and rifle at the head and heart of an Indian. A third Englishman made off at midnight with an Indian girl whom he took for a wife. The father attempted to reclaim her . . . I have written to Mr. Haynes on behalf of the father but he responded in a letter to me that he was able to do nothing in this affair because McLean had said the father had arranged the theft of the girl.¹⁴

Exasperation with the faulty judicial system was heard from virtually all Okanagan priests.¹⁵

The Federal Government had assumed responsibility for Indian people with the entry of British Columbia into confederation and moved, in 1880, to create agencies throughout the province so that department officials could have closer contact with Indians. Indian Agents were named Justices of the Peace with responsibility for deciding civil matters for Indians. Agents did occasionally hold court, as when Agent Irwin met at the Head of Lake Reserve in 1904 to settle various civil suits. However, agents visited reserves only sporadically because the Kamloops-Okanagan Agency was an extremely large territory and not one agent prior to 1910 was resident in the Okanagan.¹⁶

In 1888 the Dominion and Provincial Governments concluded an agreement which provided for the Province of British Columbia to assume the cost of the administration of justice and the preservation of peace among the Indians of the Province.¹⁷ The provincial police did not take responsibility for Indians directly but recognized DIA appointed Indian constables. W. E. Ditchburn, the Chief Inspector of Indian Agencies of British Columbia, explained the system in 1911.

In the past it was the custom in this office when a man was appointed as a constable in the Indian department to have him also appointed a provincial constable without pay. The Attorney-General turned down this procedure in the last appointment¹⁸

The Indian justice system based, on Indian Agents exercising their judicial powers with the assistance of provincially-recognized Indian constables, apparently never worked effectively. Indian constables frequently could not maintain the peace. For example, the Vernon News reported one St. Pierre being charged with stabbing a constable named Victor in 1900¹⁹ and Joe Cawston, the Indian constable at Penticton, resigned because he was faced with liquor violations and other infractions which he could not control²⁰ and was not given sufficient support by the Indian Agent. The lawlessness on the reserve was also the subject of an editorial in the Penticton Herald on 19 November 1910 which noted the presence of tough

characters, open drinking, prostitution and other evidences of social disorder.²¹ The Chief Constable of the Provincial Police at Greenwood wrote:

[D]isgraceful conditions appear to exist on the Penticton Reserve, there being a lot of unchecked drunkenness among the Indians and outlawed white men from across the border being allowed to live there, which has at last led to a very serious assault and possible murder.²²

Some of the crimes with which the Indian constables and Indian Agent/Justices of the Peace were attempting to deal were clearly criminal cases. If assault and possibly murder had been committed against an Indian on the Penticton reserve, surely the criminal courts should have been involved. What was the Okanagan Indians' experience with the criminal law courts?

In Begbie's biography, David Williams gives evidence to show that Begbie himself went out of his way to apply the criminal law fairly to Indians and to ease its burden upon them in their ignorance of English legal precepts. Begbie seems to have taken an advanced stand on certain social questions, tempered his sentencing with mercy and done his best to see that Indians understood the law as it applied to them. For example, he was instrumental in the passing of the Native Evidence Ordinance in 1865²³ which altered the rules of evidence to accept testimony from atheists as well as Christians. They had only to swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.²⁴ But was Begbie genuinely acting in the best interests of the Indians? An examination of the Okanagan Indian experience with the criminal courts reveals a relationship rather different from that portrayed by Williams.

Indians very infrequently appeared in court and when they did it was nearly always as defendants in cases involving white men. Indians stood before white juries and judges, testimony was heard in a language that they often did not understand, they were tried by laws which had little meaning to them and they usually received stiff penalties. Indians had little access to the justice system for their own protection. Courts were little more than devices to protect white life and property. For example, in 1892 when one Wilson was accused of horse theft, he

was acquitted because

the evidence was almost entirely Indian evidence and on that ground not sufficient to convict the prisoner of the charge of horse stealing. There were five witnesses for the prosecution, none for the defence.²⁵

When a murder or other outrage was committed against an Indian, the case seldom, if ever, came to trial but was regarded as a case for Indian justice. For example, when an Indian was murdered at the foot of Okanagan Lake by some Chinese, four of them were captured and held for a trial which apparently never occurred.²⁶ The missionary letters document other cases of murders or suspected murders involving Indians which never came to trial. Grandidier relates incidents of one man killing his father and another his wife.²⁷ Moise Cinq Coeur who became chief of the Head of Lake band had earlier killed his brother to the knowledge of priests and settlers.²⁸ An Indian in Penticton allegedly killed his wife to marry another and while Haynes, in a highly irregular action, absolved him, the Indians of Penticton and Osoyoos thought him guilty.²⁹ It is apparent that the criminal justice system did not apply to Indians.

As it did not protect Indian life or property, it is no wonder that Indians attempted to avoid contact with the white man's court. Indians often protected other Indians who had committed an offence, thereby hoping to avoid prosecution. For example, in 1881 when an Indian, "Coyote Louis", from the Head of Lake reserve, allegedly stole goods from a white man's cabin, the chief and other band members refused to turn the offender over for trial. Failing to get their compliance, the settlers, by order of Moses Lumby, JP, and Forbes G. Vernon, MLA, collected rifles and pistols, assembled at O'Keefe's near the reserve, and "persuaded" the chief to turn over the reputed thief.³⁰

Evidence suggests that it was only after the turn of the century that the criminal courts began to become involved in Indian crime. For example, Edward Jack of the Penticton Reserve was charged with assault and murder of a fellow Indian, although only after considerable indignation had been expressed about the policing of the district.³¹ Despite being aided by friends he

was captured, charged, found guilty in the 1901 Spring Assizes in Vernon and sentenced to seven years.³² Other examples in 1900 and 1903 indicate that murder charges were beginning to be pressed against Indians for crimes against Indians.³³

About 1910, probably because Indian crime was affecting or disquieting white settlers, the Provincial Police assumed what had been their responsibility since 1888. For example, when it became obvious that proper policing of the Penticton reserve was not being performed by either an Indian constable or the constable from Kelowna, Constable Aston of Fairview was ordered to give police service as far north as Penticton.³⁴ Later, in co-operation with the Indian constable Cawston, he arrested a Penticton Indian for theft, had him tried, sentenced and transported to Kamloops.³⁵ Arrangements were made for a delineation of police boundaries to clarify the jurisdictional problem.³⁶ However, as late as 1909 white magistrates and constables in Vernon "refused to receive the information" in the case of a rape by a metis against an Indian woman and apparently refused to charge the same metis with murder despite charges against him by numerous Indians and other witnesses, including the man's son.³⁷ Although the situation was improving, Indians in the Okanagan and perhaps throughout the province could still not rely for protection of life and property on the criminal courts.

Two features of the justice system as it applied to Indians require further exploration: the operation of an officially sanctioned church-dominated system of justice; and the enactment of legislation which singled out Indians for extraordinary treatment. Because the civil authorities were unavailable or ignored many of the civil and social problems afflicting the Indian community, priests attempted to fill the jurisdictional vacuum. As early as 1866, on a visit to the Okanagan, Bishop d'Herbomez claimed jurisdiction for church-appointed Indian village councils in a number of areas. The Oblates demanded control over liquor infractions including the trial of those caught supplying liquor to Indians.³⁸ They also wanted to enforce church precepts including abolition of gambling, dancing and potlatching. Priests and chiefs alike

demanded the authority to provide protection for Indian women against kidnapping and to control Indian women in order to prevent their voluntary desertion of the Indian camp to become either concubines or prostitutes of white settlers or Chinese miners. The chiefs and priests wanted authority to physically force the return of women and to assess a range of penalties such as flogging and fines for offenders against church precepts.

The Oblates' demand for such authority was not without challenge. Various government officials objected to the authority of the priest-dominated village councils. Charles Houghton, Justice of the Peace in the North Okanagan, made it clear that his position gave him authority over the Indians. He strenuously objected to the use of the whip, especially on women, saying it was barbaric and contrary to English law.³⁹ In this gentleman's mind, the taking or enticing of an Indian woman to live as a concubine with a white was not illegal, especially as he, himself, had arranged with an Indian father, against the priest's edict, to acquire a young woman.

In consequence of the developing conflict over the respective authority of the Indian courts and the Justices of the Peace, an important meeting was held between Haynes, the JP in the South Okanagan, representatives of the Indians, and Father Gendre in May 1867. The Indians had informed Haynes that the Justice of the Peace had no power of imprisonment, that:

if the civil authorities imprisoned the Indians, the chiefs could go, with captains and soldiers and break down the doors of the prison with axes and release the prisoners.⁴⁰

The priest officially denied that the church claimed such power for the Indian court and blamed the "fabrication" on Chilli-heetsa, the hereditary chief of the Okanagans who lived in the Nicola, although one suspects that the chief was merely taking advantage of an actual overlap in claimed jurisdiction to attack the power of the priests. The chiefs then claimed the right to recover their stolen women from the homes of white men, by force if necessary, under the authority of the village council, as they had done the previous winter. Again, Gendre was forced to retreat from any strong stand that might have been taken and to

deny that Indian courts held jurisdiction where whites were involved. The question of the use of the whip was then discussed. The chiefs and priest wanted to retain the whip to keep the Indians under control while the whites wanted it abolished as did the majority of Indians who "cried out strongly . . . against the floggings."⁴¹ A compromise was reached whereby an Indian could be whipped only if he gave his consent, otherwise the individual had only to show the Judge (Haynes) the lacerations and the chief would be fined twenty-five dollars. Henceforth the Indian court was restricted to administering penalties which were not outside the law. This critically important meeting ended with Haynes lecturing the Indians to do as the priest told them with regard to gambling and drinking and with that he presented Father Gendre with a gold cross to confirm that the civil authorities sanctioned the priests' actions. The Haynes-Gendre accord laid down strict parameters on the authority of village councils and determined the boundaries of priestly authority over the Indian people.

The principles of the accommodation reached by Haynes and Gendre had to be tested by specific cases before exact jurisdictional boundaries were established. Cases dealing with the protection of Indian women illustrate how power was divided between the religious and government authorities in one area. A month after the Haynes-Gendre accord, the Justice of the Peace from the North Okanagan, Charles Houghton, temporarily lost his Indian concubine when she fled with an Indian youth. Houghton captured the youth and determined to bring him to trial. Although Houghton was a Justice of the Peace, he submitted the case to the Indian court where he demanded, ironically, that the youth be flogged and his head shaved. To the delight of the priests the Indian court acquitted the youth, reasoning that, as Houghton had earlier denied that stealing or enticing an Indian woman into concubinage was a crime, surely it was not a crime to entice her back again.⁴²

A second case involved a Kamloops woman whose husband was ill and who left him to live with a white man. The chief asked the constable and the magistrate to force her to return but John Mara, JP, claimed that he had no authority. At this, the chief

and his officers went to the house and demanded the woman's return. In the ensuing war of nerves the white man backed down and the woman was returned, but the Indians were indignant that the magistrate had refused to act. The priest was convinced that another case like this could easily have led to bloodshed.⁴³

In a third case an Indian youth from Penticton made off with an Indian girl and lived with her; that is, the couple was not considered married by Catholic or perhaps even Indian standards. Both were flogged by the chief in an effort "to achieve good order in the camp." Although the youth complained to Haynes, the chief was not fined, allegedly because the magistrate could not summon the courage to penalize him.⁴⁴

The three cases cited above illustrate some interesting aspects of civil jurisdiction and social relations. First, the Indian court did have a recognized area of jurisdiction to which even a white Justice of the Peace chose to submit his case.⁴⁵ Second, neither the Oblates nor the chiefs felt that the civil law gave sufficient protection to the Indian people in cases such as distribution of alcohol and the luring of Indian women into concubinage or prostitution. Another observation is that chiefly authority to try individuals and sentence them to a variety of penalties was real and arbitrary. A chief was able to inflict a harsh and illegal penalty for a moral infraction and was not held accountable. Indian court rulings were based on an amalgam of customary Indian law, church precepts and the whim or self-interest of the chief. The chief held far greater power than he had possessed in the traditional Indian community.

The dispute between the two authorities regarding the limits to the jurisdiction of village councils was conducted in the local arena by Haynes and Gendre, but the battle was also joined in the larger sphere of British Columbia politics. For example, in 1873 at Lytton, in the district adjoining and north of the Okanagan, the local magistrate imposed a fine of five dollars upon a chief who had whipped an Indian and he brought Father Marchal before the court although it was claimed, "rather as a witness than a criminal."⁴⁶ Missionaries then placed pressure on Judge Begbie on various occasions to give more

authority to church councils. Father McGuckin had discussions with Begbie and others in the Clinton area regarding authority of chiefs.⁴⁷ Judge Begbie had in the colonial era, as Judge of the Supreme Court of Civil Justice of British Columbia, recommended setting up separate tribunals for trying all crimes committed by Indians.⁴⁸ Now, as Chief Justice of British Columbia he requested that all Justices of the Peace refrain from interfering with "Indian chiefs exercising their customary jurisdiction over drunken and disorderly members of their own tribe [except in cases of] excessive severity."⁴⁹ Father McGuckin reported on the case:

Judge Begbie gave Foster [JP] and the people of Clinton the good advice to interfere no more between the Indian chiefs and their subjects and told the Clinton chief to punish his people as he was accustomed to do when they misbehaved. He gave the chief a paper authorizing him to do so and sent a copy of it to Dr. Foster. I spoke to both Begbie and Walkem of this matter when they were up this way. The latter promised me that he would not let the judge forget it when at Clinton.⁵⁰

Father Grandidier wrote to his Bishop that he was grateful for being informed of Begbie's declaration as it would prove most useful to him.⁵¹

Other influential British Columbians strongly supported Begbie. Father McGuckin reported: "[MLA, George A.] Walkem is most anxious to see the chiefs use the whip in earnest. He will attempt to have a law passed in the coming session of the Assembly on this subject."⁵² M. W. T. Drake, who became a Chief Justice in 1889, supported Begbie's position and expressed his concern to the Minister of the Interior in 1873. He had had considerable experience with Indians and the courts and was concerned that Indian ignorance of laws and legal concepts, especially of the law of evidence which did not permit courts to consider the circumstances of the crime, caused the system to bear heavily on the Indian. He observed that

the Indians in their tribal condition [had] established almost universally a system of recompense for almost all offences. Why should not that system be carried out and only those offences brought before the Supreme Court which couldn't be dealt with in this measure.⁵³

He recommended the appointment of Indian police who would

receive the support of civil authorities. The Drake letter may have had an impact on the Department of Indian Affairs. Shortly thereafter James Lenihan was appointed Assistant Superintendent of Indian Affairs with primary responsibility for the Indians of the interior and he is known to have been in agreement with the Oblates on the subject of the authority of village councils.⁵⁴

Village courts now held more power than under the Haynes-Gendre accord, but the Oblates desired more authority. In 1876 Grandidier reported:

A conference that I had with Judge Begbie on this subject has encouraged me. The judge asked me to put my plan in writing and said that he would add his own comments and send it to Ottawa. He told me that he shares my ideas on the internal administration of Indians and on the degree of authority to accord to the chief.⁵⁵

Grandidier hoped that Begbie's authority would achieve something in the way of legal recognition of the Indian court but he did not rely solely on Begbie's intervention. The priest organized petitions requesting jurisdiction for Indian chiefs over any women who might be stolen. On the occasion of the Governor-General's visit to Kamloops, Grandidier lobbied Lord Dufferin, who spoke favourably of giving the chiefs more authority. Despite his efforts, Grandidier was eventually disappointed. When informed by the Governor-General of the extent of Begbie's proposals, Grandidier lamented:

You are right. Sir M. Begbie wants to make the Indian chiefs mere constables and this is not enough. . . . We must watch out for all who surround us from the high to the low; we are in enemy country.⁵⁶

The unsuccessful efforts of Grandidier to further widen the powers of the courts reveal the limits to the Indian courts' powers. The Indian courts achieved no authority over the two areas which involved white settlers -- liquor sales and concubinage of Indian women. In the Okanagan at least, there were two parallel systems of law. This demarcation was made on the basis of race. The principle was that no white person could be tried in an Indian court.

It is difficult to put a favourable explanation on why Begbie, Drake and others, even under pressure from priests, were

willing to transfer jurisdiction of Indian cases to Indian courts. What these learned gentlemen chose to ignore was that "offences which couldn't be dealt with in the separate Indian judicial system"⁵⁷ were, in fact, cases dealing with white men and in those cases Indians would end up in the federal courts. Yet the Indians were robbed of any experience with, and consequently knowledge of, the courts' operation and were therefore placed at a continuing disadvantage before them. What these men knew well enough, but disregarded, was that a judicial system is designed to protect the property and civil rights of all citizens. The Chief Justice of British Columbia was responsible for denying Indians the protections of the court; for abandoning them to a system based on an arbitrary exercise of power instead of the rule of the law.

A few details survive of these Indian courts although no records were kept. Dr. Israel Powell, British Columbia Superintendent of Indian Affairs, reported receiving many communications from white residents "in regard to cruelties practised by different Roman Catholic priests."⁵⁸ Two Indian chiefs of Lillooet area wrote through E. H. Sanders, JP, to complain of the actions of Father Marchal, who was later to serve in the Okanagan. In each of their camps three persons, male and female, were whipped for what the priest termed "illicit connections", receiving from fifteen to forty lashes of a rawhide whip. Both chiefs saw the remedy to this system. One wrote:

I should prefer the Indians to be treated as other people and brought before the proper tribunal if they offend -- we had no such thing as whipping before the Roman Catholic priests came among us.⁵⁹

The example of Father Marchal and the later celebrated case of Father Chirouse may have been exceptions, but there is strong evidence to show that the same punishments were repeatedly meted out to Okanagan Indians for similar offences. Indians were punished by methods which many referred to as barbaric, for offences which were not crimes at all. Begbie and others had to know about the system -- it was reported in the press⁶⁰ and various citizens were outspoken in their

opposition to the system.⁶¹ The system continued intact until at least 1892 when Father Chirouse was sent to jail for ordering the whipping, on two successive days, of a girl who had been in the company of a male youth.⁶² The fact that the system was widespread can be inferred from Father Bunozy's spirited defence of Chirouse and the system.

The chief was absolutely within his rights. From time immemorial the laws and customs of the Indians gave to the chief, aided by his Council, the authority of the legislature and by granting to him the right of giving sanction to the law by punishment of offences.⁶³

The question must be asked: why did Begbie and other Justices institute and perpetuate a system which so blatantly denied Indians their civil rights? An obvious conclusion is that the Chief Justices did not recognize that these Indians had civil rights. One must look again at the much vaunted relationship between Begbie and the Indians. Williams, Begbie's biographer, has Begbie referring to Indians as "simple folk" with a language incapable of expressing "abstract ideas" who were best negotiated with on significant questions such as reserve boundaries by the distribution of presents, "printed calicos, flannels, needles and thread for the women . . ., tobacco, pipes and paint for the men."⁶⁴ They were not treated as rational adults with rights but rather as children to be guided by reward and punishment. Begbie's paternalistic attitudes toward the Indian people led logically to the establishment of a separate judicial system.⁶⁵

Accepting that the recorded cases may have involved individual priests who were particularly arbitrary or who prescribed particularly severe punishments and discounting these excesses, a few features of the system in effect in the interior remain clear. There was an arbitrary exercise of power by the priest or his appointees and officers; many so-called crimes were for actions which were not considered offences in English law but were based on the moral precepts of the Catholic Church; individuals were not represented by counsel and had limited rights to a defence; there was no right of appeal; and punishment was often in a form unacceptable to the British

community, including the extensive use of flogging and payment of fines to the mission.

From our present perspective it is only too easy to recognize the negative results of such a policy. Were there offsetting positive features of the separate criminal and civil justice system? From the missionary perspective, the English judicial system had proven incapable of controlling certain vices and this system offered some control although it was limited because village courts had no jurisdiction over whites, who were the source of many of the complaints. The system also offered a means of buttressing church authority in enforcing such precepts as legitimizing marriage, preventing gambling and eliminating winter dancing and other "pagan" rituals. The theocratic system certainly worked well as a social control mechanism. Unquestionably the court system provided the means for a rapid dismantling of the Indians' traditional ceremonial, religious and social customs. Depending upon how the Indians felt about the elimination of those features of their society, about the application of the arbitrary power of chief and priest and about their lack of access to any means of gaining justice in a conflict between themselves and whites, so should the system be judged.

The church-dominated system relied upon -- indeed it could only have been successful if it maintained -- a separation of the Indian and white communities. With the advance in white population came increased contact between the two peoples and an increase in cases involving the two races, cases over which the Indian courts had no jurisdiction. With the dramatically increased white population came an augmented government and judicial presence in the form of government agents, magistrates and policemen appointed to regulate the activities of the white community and, incidentally, the Indian community. With increased white settlement came increased scrutiny of the judicial system for Indians by government officials, newspapers and the general public. The Chirouse trial provided a vivid example to the public of the church-dominated system in operation and discredited it. Such adverse publicity persuaded the missionaries to refrain from such overt attempts to maintain

discipline in their villages. Missionary-dominated courts appear to have virtually disappeared from the Okanagan by the mid 1890s.

The second aspect of Indian justice which deserves examination is that of the special legislation which applied only to Indians. Indians had been singled out for discriminatory legislation with regard to liquor by colonial legislation⁶⁶ and in the post-confederation era by the Indian Act. Certainly alcohol abuse appears to have been much more prevalent among whites than Indians in the Okanagan until at least 1890. In 1874 Baudre reported that in his district "the Indians drink a little, but do not get drunk, if I except Whiskey Tom, who is known by his name."⁶⁷ The experience with alcohol varied greatly from village to village. Penticton, Inkamip, Head of Lake and Spallumcheen were considered model villages with regard to alcohol prior to the 1890s. Kamloops and the Mission were notorious for alcohol usage, probably because of the willingness of the merchants in those communities to sell it, and the existence of a large metis community with access to alcohol.

After the turn of the century, as urban development ended the Indians' isolation, as Indians faced a variety of economic and social disruptions, and as village discipline declined, alcohol usage appears to have become more prevalent. Citizen complaints and police reports give other evidence of its use. But public and police perceptions of Indian drinking may have been coloured by a few very visible, drunken Indians. The white population was not intimate with the Indian population and may not have been able to see Whiskey Tom as an individual as Father Baudre had seen him. Indians were brought to trial charged with offences under this discriminatory legislation by dominion, provincial or village constables and upon being found guilty were required to pay a fine, a portion of which was paid to the arresting officer. This system had been a feature of colonial legislation,⁶⁸ and after confederation the Department of Indian Affairs adopted the system with one half of the fines being paid to the Receiver-General and the other half portion, or moiety, to the arresting constable.⁶⁹ By agreement between

the Dominion and Provincial Governments, the moiety of the fine was, after 1887, paid to the Treasurer of the Province of British Columbia rather than the Receiver-General on condition that the Province assume the cost of the administration of justice including court costs, transport of prisoners and costs involved in the incarceration of those who did not or could not pay the fines.⁷⁰

Considerable abuse of the system was recognized by many observers.⁷¹ However, since Dominion and Provincial constables received the moiety of fines as part of their pay⁷² and it gave them a means of paying informers, there was little inclination to change the system.⁷³ Indians complained to the Minister of the Interior through the Indian Rights Association in 1913, that vendors rather than Indians should be prosecuted, but received the reply that such a measure was too drastic.⁷⁴ The only official complaint from the white community appears to have been from the Vernon Municipal Council, but it was based upon a quite different motive:

because of the cost of administration of justice within the city, [they] respectfully request[ed] that the fines and penalties . . . be handed over to them⁷⁵

The Vernon Municipal Council was unsuccessful with its request, which was fortunate for the Indians as it denied further incentive to exploit Indians for the fines which they provided.

The exploitive system under which Indians suffered with its systematic payment of police and informers for convictions, had no parallel in the white community. After a visit to the Okanagan, Reverend John McDougall, commissioned by the Department of Indian Affairs to report on Indians of British Columbia, wrote to his superiors:

[S]uch is the present administration of the liquor laws in British Columbia, that it is a matter of financial profit to everyone concerned to tempt and sell to, and fine the Indians for using intoxicants. There seems to be every effort made to catch the Indian and make money out of him, but little if any effort is made to catch and punish the man that sells the liquor to the Indian. From what I heard from reliable testimony, it looks, at the present time, as if the liquor seller, police constable, magistrate and Government are all in league to exploit the Indian who uses liquor. The whole system is an outrage on common justice Large sums of money are garnered from the Indian and himself and his

friends are thus impoverished. This condition is fostered by cunning and avaricious white men, the Indian is their victim and source of illegal revenue. The result of this is the Indian is becoming demeaned, and degraded and bereft of his manhood.⁷⁶

McDougall went on to recommend enfranchisement of Indians and the legal sale of liquor to them. But the system exposed by McDougall and complained of by Indians was to continue in force for decades. In 1933 Inspector Pragnall of the Lytton Agency reported on the continuing excesses of the moiety system. "This is an unpleasant state of affairs and is constantly hinted at in various places in the Province and even appear[s] in the papers."⁷⁷ In an accompanying letter C. C. Perry, Assistant Indian Commissioner for British Columbia wrote:

I am in favour of the discontinuation of the moiety system if it were possible to eliminate it and substitute therefore a constable's salary such as would render the constables independent upon the moieties.⁷⁸

Not until after World War II was the exploitive system changed.

Indians' experience with the judicial system was distinctly different from that of whites. Indians suffered natural disabilities including difficulty with language and unfamiliarity with legal precepts, but they were also officially disadvantaged. Their testimony was generally not accepted in court, the Crown took little responsibility for the prosecution of perpetrators of crimes against Indians, and their lives and property did not receive legal protection. Worse, they were subject to legal discrimination in the form of legislation which applied only to Indians, and was enforceable by an unacceptable method, the moiety system. The judicial system simply did not address many Indian problems. The village council system supplemented the official court system for Indians but provided them with few protections of the law. It was an arbitrary system which treated moral infractions as crimes and used severe physical punishment as a means of social and religious control. Unlike white people, Indians lived in a hostile and authoritarian judicial environment.

D. EDUCATION

Just as the experience of Indian people was different from that of whites in the political sphere and in the administration of justice, so in the field of education a dual system was in place. Two educational regimes were established, reflecting not so much the needs of the two communities as the social philosophy of those responsible for the provision of educational services. The glaringly unequal access to education was to be an important factor in widening the social and economic gap between the Indian and white communities.

Initially, the missionaries at the Okanagan mission were significant actors in providing educational services to both the white and Indian communities. They began a school for white and metis children within a few years of their arrival. As early as 1863 when Constable W. C. Young travelled through the Okanagan, Father Richard was reportedly teaching five or six white and metis children of local settlers in the French language.¹ After the arrival of the English-speaking Brother Joseph Buchman in 1864, instruction was conducted in French and English with appropriate alphabets and catechism books being provided.² Instruction was provided for five children² three times per week at the mission if the students appeared.³ During December 1865 when no students attended, the priests speculated that the cold weather might have been an excuse rather than a reason for non-attendance. Perhaps, they thought, it was because of recent complaints that the children were not learning enough or because parents did not want their children attending with Indian children in the recently established residential school.⁴ J. C. Haynes inspected the school and took a census in 1865 and his report is probably the basis for the claim of twelve scholars for the mission school for 1865 and 1866.⁴ Those figures must have included the Indian children who were anticipated in 1865 and finally enrolled at Christmas, 1866.⁵ There is no record of the school for settlers' children after 1866 although the missionaries may have continued to teach on a casual basis.

The Oblates also began a school for Indian boys at the Okanagan Mission but the experiment was shortlived. The school opened in November 1865 with one student boarder who helped around the house. In March 1866 Father Richard escorted four more boys to the school; all five boys were Shuswap Indians from outside the district, from families who could afford to contribute the most to the maintenance of their children.⁶ The Okanagan Indians at first refused to send their children, perhaps, the Oblates thought, because false stories had been spread about the school or because parents could not afford to supply clothes for the children.⁷ In the fall of 1866 school began with three boys and by Christmas it enrolled eleven. The Okanagan Indians had by then agreed to provide twelve boys, but the Oblates accepted only seven, two children of the Chief Cinq Coeur and five others from "the best families". Enrolment was limited because the schoolhouse was incomplete and because the Oblates had not yet mastered the Okanagan language.⁸ During the 1867-1868 school year the enrolment was limited to ten until the end of November when it increased to twenty-one, a number maintained for the year despite misgivings about being able to support the effort without government assistance.⁹ In the final year of operation, 1868, they again registered twenty boys in September but by Christmas the school was closed. Father Richard recommended moving the school to Kamloops as he was displeased with the attitude of the Okanagan Indians who were such "mediocre Christians." Of them he wrote:

The Okanagan Indians, who love their insolent children so much, can keep them at home. At the present time we have only four of their children and nobody is offering us any more.¹⁰

There were a number of reasons for the failure of the school. Lack of government funding was probably a factor but it was not critical because parents supplied clothing and some supplies; the Vicariate provided school supplies and hand implements; and, of course, the priests received no pay for their efforts. The school was nearly self sufficient as the Oblates had a substantial farm and the boys worked daily in the fields, especially during spring planting and fall harvesting

seasons and they engaged in brick making and building construction at other times. They took turns, in pairs, with food preparation duties under the supervision of Brother Guillet.¹¹

Other reasons were probably more significant, relating to the unhappiness of the children who were forced into a severely regimented daily routine and their consequent desertion;¹² to the sickness and death which invariably accompanied this and later Indian residential schools;¹³ and to the discouragement of the priests. Gendre, after six deaths and nine desertions, wrote in discouragement:

Father Richard does not want the school. The Brother does not want it. The children do not want it. Two have died in a house of twenty. Four more are at home with their parents, dead. Two have been expelled, two have escaped and a few have left by the good door. Shall I try to reassemble those children that I can or shall I close the school until a better time?¹⁴

As the missionaries did not find in the Okanagan "a passable fabric among the Okanagans to make [their] effort worth while, to repay [their] pain and money or to do [them] honour",¹⁵ the school was abandoned after three and one half years of operation. Few Okanagan parents were willing to submit to the separation from their children and the danger to their lives which living in the residential school implied. The formal education experience of the Okanagan Indians in the 1860s was probably not significant, in terms of a lasting effect on the pupils, as the school enjoyed such a short life. Educational opportunity for Okanagan Indians would not return for well over fifty years.

After confederation the Province of British Columbia passed a Public School Act (1872) which provided for the organization of school districts throughout the province. John Jessop, the first Superintendent of Schools, visited the Okanagan in 1872 and in 1874 to assess the area. On the latter tour he met with parents to inform them regarding establishing a school district as he found twenty-four white and metis children within a radius of two and one half miles from the mission. The school district was formed, trustees elected, a building purchased and the school opened in 1875.¹⁶ Until 1885 the school

at Okanagan Mission was the only school in the Okanagan Valley, serving local white and metis children and those from the South and North Okanagan who could arrange to board their children with a family at the Mission. Indian students were not eligible to attend this school and could not have anyway because, except for the first two years of operation, no Indians lived in the vicinity of the school.

The relationship between the school and the mission priests was a close one, reflecting the predominantly Catholic population of the Mission community. The Oblate priests had originally been requested by Jessop to assume responsibility for the school but the Oblate order could not muster the manpower necessary for such a task.¹⁷ Active clerical participation in the school's operation was denied when amendments to the Public Schools Act were passed in 1876 prohibiting clergymen from any denomination from serving as Superintendent, Deputy Superintendent, trustee or teacher and even prohibiting religious exercises. Still, this legal disability did not prevent priests from being involved. The first teacher, Angus McKenzie, although a man of irreproachable conduct, was an ardent Methodist who confessed to the Victoria Colonist that he considered it his duty to occupy "a considerable portion of time in giving religious instruction."¹⁸ He not only gave religious instruction but distributed Christian literature and invited his students to Sunday School much to the dismay of the priests.¹⁹ Opposition from the priests and a rebuke from Jessop caused the teacher to tender his resignation. The second teacher, Miss Marie Coughlan, was a competent teacher, as well as a practising Catholic, one who taught religious exercises during recreation time at school and was thus entirely satisfactory to the priests, if not the one Protestant trustee.²⁰ Through a majority on the board, the priests exercised considerable control but they fought a losing battle. After Coughlan's resignation they pleaded with their Bishop to help find a Catholic school master and to direct prospective Catholic immigrants to the district so that they might retain a numerical superiority.²¹ During the late 1880s the Protestant tide swept away what influence the priests had maintained in the

school system.

With the increasing immigration associated with the completion of the transcontinental railway, the school system in the Okanagan expanded dramatically. The white settler population received government schools wherever a minimum of seven children of school age could be found in a district.²² In fact, white children between ages seven and twelve were required by law to attend school or be otherwise educated for six months every year. Numerous country schools sprang up in the eighties and nineties in such districts as Westbank, Black Mountain, Oyama, Otter Lake, Deep Creek, Enderby, Round Prairie, White Valley, the Commonage, Salmon Valley, Dry Valley, Penticton and South Similkameen. Conditions in some of these schools were relatively primitive and the education rudimentary. One-roomed log cabins with one or two small windows for natural lighting, a pot-bellied stove for heat, and a small porch to give protection for the doorway were standard. Handmade desks, a blackboard, a world map and a few textbooks comprised the supplies. Teachers, often teaching with temporary certificates, received sixty dollars per month. Absences of children were frequent, especially during periods of peak labour requirements on the farms.¹⁹ Still, the white children received an elementary education and as population increased, conditions improved.

The Vernon school system provides an example of the progress of public and private education in the Okanagan Valley. Thirteen children of school age being available, a school district was formed in 1884. A small frame school constructed at a cost of \$625 burned down in its first year and was replaced by another costing \$500, the windows and some other parts having been saved from the former building.²³ This school served until 1893 when a four-room brick structure, the Park School, was built for \$5,087. By 1909 increased enrolment required a much larger facility and the commodious ten-room Central School was provided at a capital cost of \$45,000. In 1902 a high school was opened, the second in the interior of the province, with twenty-four pupils in attendance. The establishment of the high school was due largely to the initiative of

Price Ellison, the local MLA, who had a number of school-aged children himself and took an active role in promoting public and private education.²⁴ Any white child who wished to go to public school to the matriculation level in the Vernon area certainly had the opportunity as soon as numbers warranted such expenditure.

Private education had, from the beginning, supplemented the public school system. While a complete study of education in the Okanagan has not been attempted, a few examples will illustrate the variety of opportunities for education available to white residents. Families living on isolated ranches who could afford private tutoring had a room equipped as a classroom and employed governesses to educate their children. Governesses were employed regularly by the Haynes and Ellis families and occasionally by the O'Keefes, Christians and Richters.²⁵ Other families, out of necessity, sent their children to private, often church-operated boarding schools. For example, the Lequime children attended a convent school in New Westminster and two O'Keefe children a convent school in Ottawa.²⁶ Mabel Mair from Kelowna attended All Hallow's School at Lytton before facilities were available locally. Following her attendance there, her father searched for an appropriate ladies school in Toronto. He wrote to his friend Denison:

Can you give or get me some information as to Bishop Strachan Ladies School? Mabel must go to school this fall and Maude says Miss Dupont's is simply a nest of vulgar brewers' daughters and not to send her there. . . . Mabel is very pretty and clever and must now get to a good ladies school.²⁷

Other girls had similar educational experiences. Masie Spinks was sent to Toronto, Nina Smith to Detroit.²⁸ Boys were more fortunate as they had the choice of attending the Vernon Private College run by F. A. Meyer from 1892 until the public high school opened. The Meyer school offered advanced instruction in Maths, French, German and other subjects. Tuition was thirty-five dollars per term and board five dollars per week.²⁹

Even after public schools were readily available to white

Okanagan residents, parents often turned to private schools. Okanagan College was a co-educational boarding and day school established by the Baptist church in Summerland attracting students from the Okanagan and from elsewhere in British Columbia, Alberta and beyond.³⁰ Established in 1907 with 70 pupils, it registered 121 students by 1911, then declined to 90 students in 1914 before it closed its doors. The College offered a four year high school matriculation program; a two year university transfer program, at the time the sole university program in the province; a commerce program; and as well, part-time music and gymnasium programs. In the seven years of operation thirty-four boys and forty-one girls from the Okanagan enrolled in the high school program, which comprised thirty-seven and sixty-seven percent respectively of the school population. The commerce program enrolled nineteen boys and twenty-six girls from the Okanagan, comprising fifty-eight and seventy percent, respectively of the total. Fourteen Okanagan males and ten females comprised about fifty percent of the students in the university program. Only half of the Okanagan students were Baptists, indicating that the school had appeal to the general public who paid three hundred dollars per year per student for tuition and board.

Okanagan College failed because it could not attract financial support from the larger Baptist community in Western Canada, because it never did attract sufficient students to make it a viable operation, and because the outbreak of World War I greatly diminished its enrolment.

Other private schools were also established in the pre-war era. In 1911 a survey was done by Gordon Mackie for his father regarding the provision of private school education in the Okanagan Valley. He noted large numbers of the "better class" resident in the Valley, graduates of Harrow, Rugby, Eton or other British public schools. His survey noted that, aside from Okanagan College and government schools, Mr. Greene, the Anglican minister in Kelowna, ran a school for a handful of boys and that a Miss Bachelor took in a few small children in a kind of kindergarten. Because of an expressed need for a "high class" private school on English lines, Reverend A. C. Mackie,

came to the Okanagan to establish the Vernon Preparatory School which was to operate for over fifty years.³¹ In the three years between the survey and his arrival in 1914, two other private schools had been established. Chesterfield School was established at Kelowna by A. H. Scriven,³² and St. Michael's School, a girls' residential school, was established by Miss M. LeGallais.³³

Even after the high school was established and Okanagan College provided matriculation, numerous boys and girls were sent outside the Okanagan to private schools. A number of boys went to Schripen's Chesterfield School in North Vancouver before it moved to Kelowna. School lists for University School in Victoria record that nine boys, aged 10 to 17, attended that school in 1910 and it is thought that the next year one Ricardo and two Ellison boys also attended.³⁴

By World War I the Okanagan Valley had a mature educational system which provided a wide degree of choice for white parents according to their requirements and wealth. For an elementary education they could choose the nearest government school or could send their children to one of many private residential schools in the Okanagan or beyond. At the high school level students could attend the Vernon High School, Okanagan College, University School in Victoria or choose a private school in Ontario or elsewhere. Those who desired a university education could obtain the first two years at Okanagan College, the only institution of its sort west of Brandon, Manitoba. The type of education that parents chose depended upon ethnic and class background, religion and family circumstances.³⁵ Clearly, education beyond the elementary level was becoming a common experience for white youth in the Okanagan. White Canadian society was raising the academic standards for their own offspring.

Indian children in the Okanagan had no such opportunities. After the abandonment of the school in the Okanagan Mission little opportunity was available to them. Most Indian children were debarred from government schools in the province although the Provincial Government collected a poll tax meant specifically for school purposes whenever Indians took

employment off their reservations. This tax was collected indirectly and illegally until World War I when Indians resisted and refused to work, forcing the government to relent. The Department of Indian Affairs did nothing to take the Indians' side except to invite them to personally challenge the Provincial Government in court.³⁶ Only in isolated cases, and perhaps without the knowledge of the government, were Indians educated alongside whites. For example, in the small Lower Similkameen school, established for a very few white families, Indian children attended, among them Uffa Alexis, the Allison and the Terbaskets.³⁷ A few Indian children from Penticton also attended the public school in that city in 1908, with the DIA paying tuition of \$12.00 per student.³⁸ With these exceptions it appears that public schools were closed to Indians.

Although there is little direct evidence that the Okanagan Indians desired schools or demanded them prior to 1910 there is evidence from surrounding tribes. The Shuswap Indians demanded schools of Superintendent Powell when he visited them in 1874 and shortly thereafter Father Grandidier did set up a day school on the Kamloops reserve.³⁹ In 1879 G. M. Sproat met with the Nekla-kap-amuk (Thompson) Indians who expressed a strong desire for educational facilities. They asked for a grant of \$300, for which they would build and manage the school, guarantee attendance, and pay the difference between the teacher's salary and the Department grant.⁴⁰ Chief Chilliheetza, the Okanagan chief, was involved in those discussions. The request was ignored.

When Indian Agent MacKay took a survey of education in 1886 he reported no schools receiving support from the DIA in the Kamloops-Okanagan Agency. He found none of the 185 Okanagan Indian children attending school and only about 12 of the 660 Indian children in the entire agency attending small, tuition-supported, church-run, private schools. British Columbia, in 1880, had a total of only 544 Indian pupils in 7 schools.⁴¹ MacKay recommended that a DIA-supported residential school be established in Kamloops and he envisaged setting up a similar school at N'Kamaplix (Head of Lake) for Okanagan Indians as

parents there and elsewhere were anxious for schools.⁴²

The Oblates wanted the new school to be built at the Okanagan Mission where they had a good farm and a building suitable for a boys' school, requiring only the building of a girls' school.⁴³ But Kamloops was chosen instead, the site being selected in 1887. The government chose a secular administration assisted by the Sisters of St. Ann. The Oblates complained about lack of direct control and arranged for the withdrawal of the Sisters of St. Ann, so that within two years the school was turned over to the Oblates to administer.⁴⁴

The decision to build the relatively expensive residential school, which would service only a few persons, rather than a large number of day schools on various reserves, was taken deliberately. A day school had been operating at Kamloops and Agent MacKay rejected that concept "as long as the Indians [were] obliged to resort to hunting and fishing for a portion of their livelihood, as the children [had] to move with their parents."⁴⁵ Residential schools had the advantage of removing the children from native influences and providing them "with the full benefits of the example and teachings of their preceptors."⁴⁶ The physical separation of the child from its family was thought to "promote a more speedy and thorough inculcation of the habits, customs and modes of thought of the white man."⁴⁷ The missionaries had a controlled environment where they could obtain, to use Robin Fisher's phrase, "the total cultural capitulation"⁴⁸ of their Indian wards. They made an easy assumption that assimilation would solve the Indian problem.

Within a rigid, controlled environment the missionaries concentrated on the development of the work ethic, on habits of order, discipline and piety. Native languages were suppressed and an "English only" rule imposed. Father Carion, the principal of the Kamloops school reported that:

the officers never relax[ed] in their efforts to eradicate bad habits and inculcate good ones. Twice a day, at roll-call, attention [was] called to faults committed; and every month, in a more solemn manner, the conduct of the pupil [was] received, necessary corrections made and encouragement given.⁴⁹

If the schedule of the children was similar to that at the Okanagan Mission decades earlier the boys had their time fully occupied and were under constant supervision. Monastic rules were in force. Kamloops residential school was the education equivalent to the isolated model villages envisaged by Father Durieu.

Without the pupil registers of the Kamloops school it is difficult to assess the impact of the school on the Okanagan Indians. It is probable that most Okanagan children escaped the imposed mechanisms of social control and transformation, at least in the pre-war era. Enrolment was initially limited to twenty-five students or four percent of the agency's school-aged children.⁵⁰ By 1901 the school enrolled fifty-three students, still less than ten percent of the children in the Kamloops-Okanagan Agency.⁵¹ The school did not expand beyond that number in the period under study. Most of those children would have been from the Shuswap Indians as Kamloops was the center of that tribe.

There were a number of disincentives for the Okanagan people regarding sending children to Kamloops. One was cost. When the Oblates assumed control they imposed a \$50 per student tuition fee because the government grant of \$130 per annum was inadequate. The Indian agent had some difficulty explaining to the chiefs why they should pay for their children's education when white children received their education free.⁵² Other reasons, probably more important, regarded the fact that Indian parents objected to the attempts at assimilation and the forced physical separation from their children for lengthy periods. Around British Columbia, school authorities imposed a condition of "non-release of children for five or six years" which led to "one continuous appeal from parents."⁵³ Years of confinement were also very deleterious to the health of Indian children. Complete records of the Kamloops school are not available but those for schools in British Columbia which had been in operation for a few years are shocking. For example, after seven years of operation at the Kootenay School, also operated by the Oblates, of sixty-seven students discharged, forty-seven were dead and three were sickly.⁵⁴ Kamloops had only two

sickly children out of ten discharged but it probably got worse as the children spent more years in the institution. The health hazard was bad enough for an Inspector of Indian Agencies to recommend release of children at thirteen to reduce the effects of confinement. He noted that "[w]hatever good the children may receive through residence in a boarding school will be at the expense of the health of all and the lives of some."⁵⁵ The Indians apparently resisted attempts at assimilation. The Indian agent noted that Indian parents were eager only for a degree of education "that would serve as a convenience and protection with regard to such dealings as they [had] with the white population."⁵⁶ High truancy rates,⁵⁷ the refusal of Indian parents to accept assistance (interference) for ex-pupils,⁵⁸ and persistent requests for day schools emanating from Indian parents⁵⁹ attest to the rejection of efforts at assimilation.

Despite the Okanagan Indians' desire for an education for their children, few of their children received any schooling. The location of the school in Kamloops, the limited enrolment of the school, its policies of assimilation and confinement, the health hazard, and the cost, were all disincentives to attend. The prohibition of Indians from attending public school effectively closed that option except in occasional circumstances. In 1910, when Reverend John McDougall inspected the agency for the DIA he found the schools falling far short of the need.

The Indians themselves brought this matter to me and frequently importuned for schools. "Day schools, on or near the Reserve", "Secular Day Schools", these were what they asked for and after going over the District I could recommend that Day Schools with competent teachers be established at Enderby and at the Head of the Okanagan Lake and also in the Lower Similkameen country, also at Bonaparte . . . and Spence's Bridge. This would give five day schools, much needed . . . and earnestly asked for.⁶⁰

Until the 1920s education of any sort was virtually beyond the reach of the Indian population while, in the words of Inspector Megraw, "all those years they have been living alongside of whites who have good schools."⁶¹

Okanagan Indians did not receive day schools until after

World War I, a time which is beyond the scope of this study. It is probable that, with the exception of a very few Indian children in the Similkameen and Penticton, no Okanagan Indian children received formal education before 1920, over fifty years after the first efforts had been made by the missionaries in the 1860s. This incredible negligence was taken at a time when agriculture was being mechanized, urban life was becoming a reality in the Okanagan, education was of growing importance and the level of education in the white community was rapidly increasing. The rapid widening of the educational gap between the two groups is dramatic. Why was such a situation allowed to develop? The answer must be sought in the attitude of the DIA, the governmental agency responsible for the provision of educational and other social services to the Indian population.

In the 1880s and early 1890s the DIA followed an assimilationist policy, much in tune with that of the missionaries. While residential schools were expensive, costing more than ten times what it would cost to educate pupils in day schools,⁶² it was considered worthwhile because of the "happy results" expected when Indian youths were removed from their "savage" milieu. Of course, the high cost of one residential school precluded the establishment of other schools. With the election of the Liberal government in 1896, funds for Indian education became even more scarce, and in part reflected the sentiments of the Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton, who had "an unvaryingly parsimonious attitude toward Indians."⁶³ Sifton set the tone for the government:

I have no hesitation in saying -- we may as well be frank -- that the Indian cannot go out from school making his own way and compete with the white man. . . . He has not the physical, mental or moral get-up to enable him to compete. He cannot do it.⁶⁴

In the late 1890s government spokesmen stopped speaking in terms of incorporating Indians into white society and began to feign concern that the residential schools might "unfit . . . the pupil for the surroundings to which their destiny confines them."⁶⁵ The new policy of the government was to lead to changes in curriculum at residential schools as schools began to prepare students for the more restricted opportunities of

reserve life.⁶⁶ Indian students would not be equipped with the tools necessary to compete with whites in the industrial world, they would henceforth be educated to return to the narrower world of the reserve, to observe their station in life and to "develop the habits of deference and obedience to the Indian agent."⁶⁷ To those Indians without access to education, federal parsimony meant the continued non-accessibility of education. Departmental policy, justified by the statement that Indians were not mentally or physically fit for competition with whites but likely borne of the white man's determination to keep Indians in the lowest socio-economic rank and thus avoid competition from Indian labour, relegated Indians to unskilled, casual employment.

* * * * *

The institutions which arrived with the white settlers were designed to support those people in their residence in a wild and isolated part of the British Empire. Religious and government institutions, and the political, judicial and educational structures, provided fundamental services to the settlers. To Indian people, these were foreign, often poorly understood, structures which required considerable adaptation. What is remarkable is the speed and ease with which Indians accepted, or even demanded, these institutions.

Within a decade and a half Okanagan Indians had accepted Christianity in a fashion unknown to whites. They lived in a theocratic state which exerted significant social control. As early as 1858 and 1860 Okanagan chiefs Nicola and Chilliheetsa are on record as being willing to be tried by British laws, to "learn a lesson at the gallows". The Okanagan Indians submitted to the imperial political authority as well, although they may have regarded themselves more as allies than subjects of the Queen. With regard to education, by 1868 a few Okanagan Indians had attended the school at the Mission before its closure. There is ample evidence after the 1860s that Indians from

throughout the southern interior desired formal education for their children. They were not enthusiastic about the Kamloops residential school because of its distant location, its policies of forced isolation and assimilation and the serious health hazard that it represented. Okanagan Indians wanted what their white neighbours had, secular day schools. Indians apparently desired to live under the same institutions as the white settlers and made every effort to adapt.

Okanagan Indians were provided with few of the amenities of the modern state. Although the health sector has not been examined in detail, there is evidence that despite a tuberculosis epidemic raging in the Indian community for decades, no government made any attempt to alleviate its effects, let alone control its course.⁶⁸ It is a sad and startling commentary on the DIA which had responsibility for Indian health, education and other social services that these services were so entirely neglected.

The problem for Indians was not one of adapting to foreign institutions but rather of being denied access to them. Through various mechanisms Indians were excluded from the protections of the courts, were provided with an alternative judicial system and thus discriminated against. They were denied access to political power through the franchise and forced to deal with the authoritarian and oppressive Department of Indian Affairs. They were denied access to educational services except on unacceptable terms. Even the religion offered to Indians differed from that provided to whites. In all of the cases studied Indians were excluded from social services on the same conditions as they were provided to whites.

Chapter IV: ACCESS TO LAND

The conditions under which a community has access to resources is a critical factor in that community's development and standard of living. If two groups in a community, whites and Indians, were subject to different regimes determining their respective access to resources, it would have significantly affected the degree and manner in which those resources were available for exploitation by the respective groups. While Indian people were the sole occupants and owners of Okanagan territory an individual or band had open access to resources. With the establishment of the colonial government, a foreign legal regime was imposed, one in which the Indians initially had a place. Over the years, as government personnel and conditions changed, so did the rules under which Indians and whites could obtain land, minerals and water. Indian people were progressively denied equitable use of the country's resources to the detriment of their competitive position.

Two aspects of the Indian land issue are related and not easily separated: the question of aboriginal title and the question of reserve lands. Aboriginal title is the interest that the Indians hold in the land by virtue of their historic occupancy and ownership, an interest which in British Columbia has never been extinguished by treaty.¹ Reserve lands are those that Indians took, or were assigned, for their exclusive use in what might be considered partial compensation for allowing the British into their traditional territory. Okanagan Indians took reserve lands by agreement between themselves and representatives of the British government but the agreement was repeatedly and unilaterally broken by government agents. Indians suffered a double disability with regard to access to reserve lands. They lived under a different land tenure regime than did white settlers and reserve boundaries were continually changed without their consent.

The traditional Indian resource regime was determined to a considerable degree by their participation in the hunting, fishing and gathering economy. Concepts of resource ownership

prominent in that economy are known, at least in outline. The Okanagan bands had jurisdiction over tribal territory, territory over which they fought wars with the Shuswap, Stuwix and other Indians. Well defined, albeit shifting, boundaries separated their land from that of their neighbours. Within that territory band members had certain rights, by virtue of their birth, marriage, or residence. Headmen in each band exercised jurisdiction over the management of tribal resources, that is, they announced the beginning of the berrying season on individual patches, they supervised the building and operation of the weir at tribal fishing sites, and they provided leadership in group hunts, especially the major fall hunt. This management by headman prevented the exclusive use of resources by individuals within the bands and ensured a reasonable distribution of those resources. The feature of allowing the headman to acquire a surplus and perform a redistributive function further ensured equitable distribution of food, the major resource. No band member could or would exert exclusive claims to community resources although individuals did have usufruct rights over certain resource locations. Okanagan bands appear to have had the right to deny access to resources to outsiders and they themselves were obliged to seek permission to exploit another band's resources.² Tribes appear, however, to have been able to acquire resource procurement rights in neighbouring, friendly territories, rights based perhaps on intermarriage, band alliance or historic access.

Thus three significant features marked the Indian system of resource accessibility: an individual band member's right of access to tribal resources; a management regime by band authorities; and the right of the band to exclude outsiders or to give access on condition of the outsider's acceptance of the management regime. Access to the resources of one's tribal territory was a fundamental right. The history of reserve allocation in the Okanagan must be considered with the issue of aboriginal right in the forefront because that right was to be denied and directly changed by an alternative regime. Colonial and provincial governments attempted and eventually succeeded in usurping the right to manage and determine right of access to

Okanagan resources. Indian people consistently opposed the imposition of that alternate regime once they realized its implications.

Indian actions in allowing whites access to the resources found in their territory were liberal but controlled. While numerous fur trade brigades annually traversed Okanagan territory more or less unmolested from 1811 to 1860, no settlement was attempted on Okanagan lands. It is unlikely that the Indians would have objected to the erection of a Hudson's Bay Company post or gardens within their tribal territory had settlement been attempted. Evidence supporting this conclusion comes from a variety of sources: relations between Chief Nicola and the fur traders were excellent; other plateau Indians did not object to posts on their territory prior to 1860; Chief Factor A. C. Anderson recognized no obstacles to establishing a farm in the Okanagan in the 1850s³ and Okanagan Indians allowed the HBC to build a post in Keremeos in the 1860s.

In the settlement era Indians faced missionaries, settlers and miners who wanted to occupy their land. When the Oblate priests entered the valley with a few settlers, they obtained the permission of the Indians to reside in and cultivate land around the proposed site of the mission, although reportedly this was only achieved through the intercession of the Indian wife of one of the settlers.⁴ During the gold rush to Rock Creek and the Similkameen the Indians were faced with an influx of whites who came to exploit a specific resource, the gold to be found in the sandbars and banks of the local rivers. They appear to have been willing to give miners access to the mineral resources of their territory; in fact, miners reported that the Indians gave them friendly assistance in their endeavours. Only when the miners attempted to mine for gold and cultivate land near the village at the head of the lake did problems arise. This conflict eventually led to the establishment of an Indian reserve and a clear demarcation between land available to miners and land on which they could not trespass. Thus, Indians did not seriously object to the initial occupation of their land, probably because the resources sought were not those traditionally exploited by the Indians, and the Indians

consequently did not have a management regime in place. When their interests were threatened, they made their concerns known.

The colonial government's presence was established in the Okanagan in September 1860 although a month earlier, Peter O'Reilly, JP, had begun recording claims in the Similkameen from his office in Hope.⁵ It is not known if Douglas explained government intentions or even met with Okanagan Indians on his trip to Rock Creek to proclaim his jurisdiction. He may have, in view of his later actions in insisting that Cox obtain the consent of the Indians on the Columbia for the entrance of miners into their territory.⁶ Douglas probably merely assumed the right to alienate land, as he had permitted O'Reilly to record land for individuals before he came to the Okanagan personally.

These lands were taken by whites under the Land Ordinance of 4 January 1860, which included the following terms: land could be occupied to the extent of 160 acres with a pre-emptive right, that is, a claim could be registered to the land even though it had not been surveyed; the price was 10 shillings (about \$2.50) per acre, due when the survey was completed and title granted; occupation and beneficial use of the land was "made the test of title and no pre-emption title [could] be perfected without compliance with that imperative condition"; and provision was made for the purchase of additional land by a pre-emptor at 10 shillings per acre.⁷ On these terms settlers slowly began to take up land in the Okanagan.

When a dispute threatened between Indians and whites at the head of the lake, the government representative was forced to deal with Indian dissatisfaction with the new land regime. Cox, then the Assistant Commissioner of Lands and Works, wrote to Colonel Moody, the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works (CCLW), for instructions regarding marking out Indian reservations.⁸ His query was referred to Governor Douglas, an individual who held firm views on the subject of Indian lands.

James Douglas, Governor of the Colony of British Columbia from 1858 until 1864, had an enlightened attitude toward native peoples. He had had considerable experience with Indian people in his years in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, as

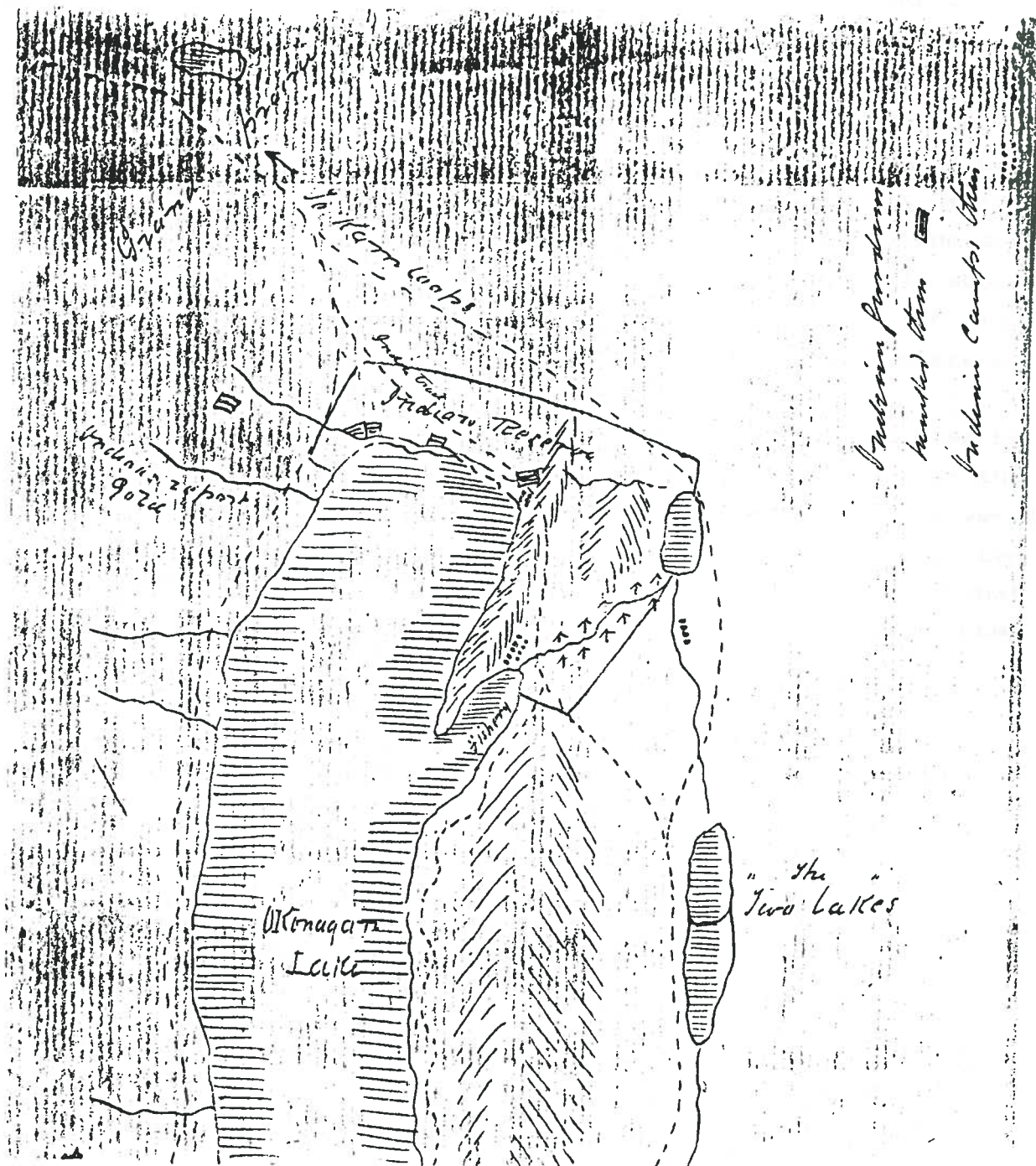
Governor of Vancouver Island, and as an interested observer of the Indian wars in Washington in 1847-1856. Writing about the Indians of Vancouver Island he recognized that they had "distinct ideas about property in land" and would "regard the occupation of such portions of the colony by white settlers, unless with the full consent of the proprietary tribes, as national wrongs."⁹ He, himself, wished to avoid at all costs the "numberless evils which naturally follow in the train of every course of national injustice, and . . . having the native Indian tribes arrayed in vindictive warfare against white settlements."¹⁰ As well, the Secretary of State for the Colonies had urged him to extend the hand of the protector to the Indian people when he wrote:

Her Majesty's Government earnestly wishes that when the advancing requirements of colonization press upon lands occupied by members of that race, measures of liberality and justice may be adopted in compensating them for the surrender of the territory which they had been taught to regard as their own.¹¹

Douglas' objective was to protect the Indians from injustice, to encourage their self-reliance and successful transition to agricultural pursuits and at the same time to allow a peaceful and orderly settlement of the colony. Such a goal necessitated settlement of the Indian land question in advance of colonization. Douglas' instructions to Moody were relayed to Cox by the Chief Commissioner.¹² The text of Moody's letter is worth examining since Cox's authority was later challenged. Moody wrote:

I have received instructions from his Excellency the Governor to . . . request that you will mark out distinctly all the Indian Reserves in your district and define their extent as they may be severally pointed out by the Indians themselves.¹³

Upon receipt of his instructions Cox travelled to the head of the lake, prominently marked out the reserve on 1 June 1861 and sent a sketch map to the CCLW a few days later. He justified the reserve boundaries by stating that "the Indians appeared well satisfied, having selected the ground themselves and also named the extent desired by them."¹⁴ The reserve was an excellent one. The Indians chose good bottomland, at the



Sketch map of W. G. Cox, showing boundaries of the Head of Lake Reserve, Indian and HBC trails, village sites, garden plots and the fishery. Dated 30 June 1861.

Source: PABC, Cox Papers, F 365, Cox to Douglas, 4 July 1861.

head of the lake, in the valley leading to the east arm of Okanagan Lake and in the valley around Swan Lake from the mouth of the present B X Creek around the west side of the lake to include the rich flatlands to the north.

Although no record or map may be found in the Cox papers of the Penticton or Inkamip reserves, Cox undoubtedly laid them out that same summer.¹⁵ The Penticton reserve had all of the earmarks of a Cox reserve as it included all of the bottomland between Dog (Skaha) Lake and Lake Okanagan. The land "was about the best in the country, both for stockraising or for cultivation, the soil being good and the place well sheltered from storms."¹⁶

The size and nature of the Okanagan reserves granted by Cox was to become an issue within five years. Elsewhere in the province, when asked to choose a reserve, the Indians were very modest in their demands, usually requesting no more than ten acres per family.¹⁷ Indian demands were so minimal that Douglas had the Colonial Secretary instruct Moody, the CCLW, that

in all cases where the land pointed out by the Indians appears to the officer employed on the service to be inadequate for their support, a larger area is at once to be set apart.¹⁸

The Indians of the interior were not nearly so modest. The Okanagans claimed "nearly all the agricultural lands situated about the head of the lake, as well as that on the south end."¹⁹ Indian families each had an average of 200 acres of bottomland for their use.²⁰ These figures are in the order of the acreage of land allowed the white settlers who could at that time claim 160 acres. Douglas later justified the large interior reserves saying that "they were necessarily laid out on a large scale, commensurate with the wants of these tribes; to allow sufficient space and range for their cattle in all seasons."²¹

The Okanagan Indians were not caught in ignorance, unaware of the value of their lands. As experienced stockraisers, they placed a great value on land which provided the best pasturage, especially as winter range. They valued the land for the same

reasons as did their newly-arrived competitors who were to use it for precisely the same purpose. When asked to define their boundaries, they chose land of a quality and extent that included their major fisheries and that would allow development of good-sized stock ranches at the foot and head of Lake Okanagan.²²

The terms of the agreement between the Indians and Cox can be inferred with close examination. The Cox reserves left exclusive jurisdiction to the Indians of land designated as Indian reservation. There is no evidence that Indians were denied access to gold or other resources found beyond the reserve. Certainly, no treaty was signed asking Indians to give up their access to the resources of their territory. They had, however, given up the exclusive management jurisdiction of some of the territorial resources, resources which they did not use. They had apparently accepted this without compensation, an indication that they had given up little of value to themselves. They retained what was essential to their livelihood, the good bottomland at the head and foot of Okanagan Lake and access to the resources of the country, their aboriginal right. Indians would have seen no need for themselves to pre-empt land, but that right was guaranteed by Governor Douglas anyway -- if individual Indians desired it and provided that they fulfilled the requirements of the various land acts with regard to residency, improvements and eventual payment for the claim.²³ Indians had the same rights as whites outside their reserves and were in no way confined to them.

Haynes, who replaced Cox as the Queen's representative in the Okanagan, held legal authority and responsibility in the vast Okanagan, the border regions, and even the Kootenays on occasion. Undoubtedly discussions were held with other government officials and prospective settlers while Haynes was in New Westminster because the Legislative Council was still sitting when Haynes wrote to the Colonial Secretary claiming that he had heard complaints from potential settlers that the Indians held nearly all of the best land in the Okanagan. While he considered the reserves too large, he did not "deem it

advisable to dispossess the Indians without compensation."²⁴ Arthur Birch's minute on Haynes' letter indicates that Birch, the Colonial Secretary, did prefer to dispossess the Indians without compensation as the reserves were "out of all proportion." Upon arrival in the Okanagan, Haynes inspected the reserves with Tonasket, the Okanagan chief from south of the International Boundary, and Thomas Ellis, who was examining the country with a view to settling and beginning cattle ranching operations.²⁵ Haynes wrote to the Governor saying that he considered the reserves "much too large as the natives [occupied] land in several other places and [remained] on the reserves but for a short time in each year."²⁶ He felt confident that he could reduce the reserves at small expense. Haynes received authorization to diminish the reserves if the steps could be taken without giving too much dissatisfaction to the Indians.²⁷

J. Turnbull, a surveyor, accompanied by Haynes and Chief Tonasket, proceeded to Penticton and the head of the lake for the purpose of reducing the reserves. Turnbull's journal notes that Haynes tried for four days to convince the Indians to take land on the eastern arm of the lake in Priest's Valley but "found them very discontented with the locality" so Haynes "ended by giving up the idea of reserving the arm, the Indians wishing the land at the head of the lake and also a portion . . . [on the west side] about six miles below the lake."²⁸ Haynes reported that he had completed his task and that sections of the former reserves should be listed in The Government Gazette as open for settlement.²⁹ Turnbull prepared a map and forwarded it to the CCLW along with his report.

The Penticton Reserve was reduced to the area between Dog Lake and Okanagan Lake bounded on the east by the Okanagan River and on the west by the base of the mountains. It comprised 842 acres or 42 acres per family of 5 and excluded the most valuable agricultural land on the former reserve. The second and third reserves, both near the head of the lake, comprised 1500 and 1100 acres respectively, only 45 acres per family of 5.³⁰ The West side reserve had only 500 and the Head of Lake reserve only 200 acres of cultivable land. Indian Reserve Commissioner G. M.

Sproat later estimated that they had only 10 acres per man of good arable land.³¹

The reduction in the size of the reserves was apparently not rigidly opposed by the Okanagan people present, as witnesses report that the protracted negotiations centred around which tract of land would be retained, not whether a reduction would occur.³² However, Chilliheetza, the most prominent and prestigious Okanagan chief and one who could be counted on to strenuously promote his band's interests, was not present. He was twelve years later to state to the Indian Reserve Commissioners that Haynes had laid out the reserves "without the consent and only with the partial knowledge of the Indians."³³ Tonasket, a chief from the International Boundary area, was present but he was described as a man who was "a chief in his own country which is on the American ground, but not here."³⁴ Haynes appointed Moise Cinq Coeur (or Selist-aspose), as chief of the Indians at the Head of Lake, in a successful effort to co-opt this chief and gain his acquiescence on the land issue. G. M. Sproat later drew attention to the "summary manner" in which Indians had been treated:

[T]he reserves were laid off by a magistrate . . . in the absence of the head chief and the bulk of the tribe. No proper inquiry was made as to the desires of the people respecting the reserves, nor as to their fishing places and favourite places of resort, nor was any explanation offered as to the effect of laying off the reserve upon the Indian gardens and farms in the district.³⁵

In ignorance of English legal concepts of an individual's exclusive right to use property, the Indians did not recognize the extent of the threat to their welfare. The unperceived threat to their right of access to their former domain was very real, however. Haynes' reductions had been preceded by a reduction of the Shuswap reserves upon recommendation of Phillip Nind and were part of a province-wide effort to reduce the size of reserves.³⁶ Joseph Trutch, the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, was responsible for subverting Douglas' minimum of ten acres per Indian family of five to a maximum of ten acres. When informing the Colonial Office of local practice regarding

Indian reserves, Trutch chose to ignore that the interior Indians had been granted large reserves under Douglas' authority and failed to inform his superiors that it had been he and Seymour who had authorized the reduction of the Okanagan-Thompson reserves. Trutch had a very selective memory, as he also failed to report that Indians had formerly been allowed to pre-empt or purchase land "on precisely the same terms and considerations in all respects, as other classes of Her Majesty's subjects."³⁷ He went further, denying that the colony had ever recognized the aboriginal title, and explained away the written treaties, involving an exchange of land on Vancouver Island for material goods, as merely gifts to mollify the Indians.

Trutch wrote that "the title of the Indians in fee of the public lands, or any portion thereof, has never been acknowledged by Government, but on the contrary, is distinctly denied."³⁸ Despite the fatuous nature of Trutch's claim, the position of the Provincial Government was henceforth to be that Indians possessed no claim to land beyond the borders of their reserves. Trutch deliberately misled the Imperial authorities on the issue of the Colonial Government policies towards Indian access to land.

Initially Trutch's policies had little impact on Okanagan people. The ten-acre maximum for an Indian family of five was not applicable to Okanagan Indians because even under the Haynes reserve they retained at least twenty-five acres of land per family and they were not confined to their reserves in any way. Neither did the disqualification of Indians from land pre-emption appear to affect the Okanagan Indians; there is no record either before or immediately after this change in policy of an Okanagan Indian either applying for a pre-emption or being denied permission to pre-empt or purchase land. In fact, the policy may not have been interpreted in the Okanagan as an obstacle to Indian pre-emption.³⁹ It was not official disqualification which prevented Okanagan Indians from achieving pre-emptor status, but, rather, the requirements of the various land acts and the unwillingness of the Okanagan people to initiate pre-emption proceedings. However, denial of aboriginal

title and of the unconditional right to pre-empt, combined with the government's concept of a settler's exclusive right to use land, greatly reduced the Indians' right to a share of the resources of their traditional territory. The reserve began to be regarded as an area to which Indians were restricted or confined, beyond which they had limited rights. When the implications began to be felt, the Indians became agitated.

While Indians were thus restricted to reserve lands, white settlers were given much easier access to resources. The Land Ordinance of 1870 of the new Province of British Columbia, which applied to whites only, changed the regulations for obtaining land. Pre-emptions east of the Cascades were now granted in extent of 320 acres and a pre-emptor with 160 acres could pre-empt another 160 acres contiguous to his claim. Before the pre-emptor was granted a "Certificate of Improvement" he had to make improvements of \$2.50 per acre and to have been in "continuous bona fide personal residence" for four years. If this requirement was not fulfilled, or a leave of absence granted, the Commissioner could cancel the pre-emption, without compensation, and grant it to another individual who was said to have "jumped the claim". Once a Certificate of Improvement was issued and the land was surveyed, the pre-emptor was required to pay one dollar per acre, in four equal annual instalments, after which a Crown Grant would be issued conveying the land to the pre-emptor in fee simple. The pre-emption clauses dealt with unsurveyed land but other clauses provided for the sale of surveyed public lands at auction with an upset or reserve price of one dollar an acre, those lands remaining unsold being available afterward at the upset price. Leases were also available to pre-emptors on the conditions that an annual rent be paid and that the lessee stock the range with a required number of animals. The lease system, however, appeared to provide few protections for a lessee as the land remained open for pre-emption and sale and the lease could be cancelled in summary fashion without compensation other than a pro-rated return of any prepaid rent.⁴⁰

In the fifteen years after the Haynes' reduction, white settlers had acquired virtually all of the good, watered

bottomland suitable for agriculture and winter pasturage available in the Okanagan Valley exclusive of the Indian reserves. Rather quickly these land acquisitions began to affect the Indians. By 1875 J. C. Haynes and W. H. Lowe had applied for lands on both sides of the Okanagan River which would give them a monopoly on water for 12 1/2 miles north of Lake Osoyoos. Thomas Ellis controlled the land around Penticton between the two lakes. Cornelius O'Keefe and Thomas Greenhow monopolized water in Meadow Creek north of the Head of Lake reserve and the Vernon brothers monopolized Coldstream Creek. Between F. J. Tronson, Luc Girouard and Charles Houghton, the creek from Swan Lake to Okanagan Lake in Priest's Valley area was virtually closed off to others. In the Mission Valley numerous settlers had pre-empted land along Mission Creek and as far north as the head of Long (Wood) Lake. Lack of access to water and winter pasturage gradually restricted the Indians' use of their territorial lands.

The erection of fences dramatically reinforced the concept of exclusive use of land. Surveys were undertaken privately in 1871 and by the government in 1875 and fences followed the surveys. Sproat noted:

It is, of course, impossible to open an Indian country for white settlement without largely interfering with the Indian mode of life -- the lines of the surveyor will run through favourite Indian camping places and berrying grounds and perhaps will cut the tribal race track in two41

Within ten years of the Haynes reserve reduction, fences were seriously impeding Indian mobility. Father Baudre complained to his Bishop that attendance at mass after the feast of the Pentecost was much reduced because the Indians were camped a full three miles away.

I have discovered the reason for them remaining at such a distance. The lands where they were able to leave their animals on other occasions are fenced. There is no pasturage available to them for their animals in this immediate vicinity because of the flooding of the creek.42

Later Baudre was to write: "Our valley is going to be a fenced district [A]ll the land that surrounds us has been taken with the exception of a single piece"43 Even

the missionaries had erected fences which interfered with the passage of Indians (and others) and it was only after "strong objections" on the part of Indians from Penticton and Osoyoos that a gate was put in their fence to allow public passage.⁴⁴

While land was being taken up rather quickly in the 1870s political developments had also altered the environment within which Indians operated. With confederation the Dominion Government had assumed responsibility for Indians, but under the Terms of Union the new Province of British Columbia retained control of its lands. Article Thirteen read:

The charge of the Indians, and the trusteeship and management of the lands reserved for their use and benefit shall be assumed by the Dominion Government, and a policy as liberal as that hitherto pursued by the British Government shall be continued by the Dominion Government after the Union.⁴⁵

The Canadian government had responsibility for the Indians, but if land was required the Dominion Government had to apply to the Provincial Government to make it available. The Provincial Government interpreted the clause "as liberal as that hitherto pursued" to mean only as liberal as that hitherto pursued by the Colony. Henceforth provincial officials would object to transferring title to lands in quantities greater than the niggardly amounts given under Trutch's regime as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. Trutch's appointment as the first Lieutenant Governor of the province left him in a position to exercise continuing influence over the land issue.⁴⁶

The management of Indian affairs in the province by the Dominion Government began with the appointments in 1872 and 1874 of Colonel Israel Wood Powell and James Lenihan as Indian Superintendents. The three-man board, established by the federal government, comprised of Lieutenant-Governor Trutch and these two officials, was continually frustrated by Trutch's attempt to control its actions until it was abolished and Trutch was relieved of his duties.⁴⁷ Henceforth, Powell acted on the Indians' behalf.

Superintendent Powell suggested to the Provincial Government that the Indians of British Columbia be allocated land on the basis of eighty acres per family of five but, unable

to obtain provincial consent, he eventually agreed to an acreage of twenty acres per adult male.⁴⁸ The agreement between the two governments on land was entirely without the consent of the Indians. When they learned the basis of the agreement they expressed alarm.

By 1874 trouble had been brewing in the interior of the province for a number of years.⁴⁹ As early as June 1871 Father Grandidier reported discontent with respect to land, water and the trespass law at Canoe Creek and Alkali Lake.⁵⁰ Rumours persisted in the form of telegrams to coastal newspapers of the threat of Indian warfare.⁵¹ These rumours were sufficient to encourage Powell to visit the interior Indians.

Everywhere Powell travelled in the Shuswap, Nicola and Okanagan, the message was the same: Indians claimed that the land had all been theirs before the coming of the white men, but now they had been reduced to poverty, without land enough to support their families and livestock. Powell quoted one speech from an Okanagan Indian verbatim, claiming that it was representative of the many that had been addressed to him at the Shuswap and Nicola and that it had been verified by Magistrate Clapperton:

My heart is glad now because I hope you will give us our rights. I had a piece of land which I cultivated for years. A white man named Chartres came and he agreed to work the land with me. We made a ditch and three other settlers came in with him, each one taking [by pre-emption] 320 acres. They took all my land -- all my fences -- my house -- and told me, go. I said nothing and told my people not to quarrel on this account. I went across the creek and commenced work on another place. Soon a man named Chapman came and ordered me off and said he had permission from the government to pre-empt it. I wanted to stay there one year longer but Chapman would not agree and told me to go off at once. I have had a bad feeling ever since and so have my people. If I do not get back my land I shall never get over it. All my people have a sick heart because we have no lands and have always been used this way by the whites. This is not right.⁵²

Powell could make no promises to the interior Indians for any amount of land over twenty acres per family which the Indians and Powell himself regarded as being totally inadequate. Powell warned: "that there has not been an Indian war is not because there has been no injustice, but because the Indians

themselves have not been sufficiently united -- being divided into so many small bands."⁵³

Powell's visit in 1874 was not an unqualified success. The Okanagan Indians from the Nicola refused to accept the gifts of clothing, agricultural implements and riding equipment which the Superintendent offered to them, either directly, or as prize money for foot and horse races because, despite his assurances, they feared that their rights would be compromised. The Indians from the Okanagan proper, having heard from Kamloops and Nicola that the Superintendent had no authority to redress specific grievances, refused to travel to meet with him. Their rejection of a meeting and their sentiments were relayed by Pandosy who wrote from Penticton:

The visit of the Superintendent has done more harm than good. It has irritated the Indians. "How," they say, "can he render us justice regarding the land that has been stolen from us if he does not even visit these places. Our reserves are too small, the whites continually encroach on them and nobody renders us justice. For a long time the government promised to send us a chief but this chief has yet to be born. They laugh at us. We thought that the English were not like the Americans but we know now. The Americans took the land, but they paid for it. The English do not pay for it. They let it be taken and promise a chief who will come only when there is no more land or when we are all dead."⁵⁴

Missionary reports indicate clearly the rising anger felt by Indians throughout the southern interior. In February 1874, before Powell's visit, Baudre wrote:

My conviction is that if the government meddles with the reserves that they currently occupy there will inevitably be grave disorders. . . . They should be given land rather than having it taken away, as they claim, not without reason, that their land is insufficient and of poor quality.⁵⁵

After Powell's visit he reported "an influence, new to [him], which wished to reclaim all the land" and the presence of "agitators" among various tribes.⁵⁶ On 27 August 1874, the heads of Indian families at Okanagan Mission visited Baudre to inform him that they intended to take lands on which to settle and work. Baudre reported his conversation with them verbatim:

They told me that the good God had given them the land, that the whites had stolen it and

they wanted to retake it.
 "What land do you want?"
 "The land of Johnny McDougal, Auguste [Calmels], Ventre Rouge [Francois Ortoland], Moore, Smithson, Chretien, Pierre Denys." [Lacerte was mentioned in a second letter.]
 "And that of the priests here?" I said.
 "Yes, that of the priests."
 "So you want to chase out all of the whites that you have named."
 "Yes, the priest excepted."
 "And you wish me to write to the great chiefs that that is your will?"
 Another of the firebrands supported the motion. It was not difficult to establish who the Communards were.⁵⁷

A month later he reported that "Moise [Cinq Coeur, chief of the Head of Lake band,] himself had let escape the desire to retake the land occupied by Girouard and Hottens [Houghton]." He also noted "a state of malaise, of discontent" prevailing the district from Penticton to Spallumcheen.⁵⁸ The next year the Spallumcheen band was demanding all the land between Spallumcheen and that occupied by the Vernon brothers.⁵⁹ Baudre was especially concerned about the influence of Chilliheetsa, the chief from Nicola Lake, who reportedly met in Osoyoos with Moise of the Head of Lake, Andre of Spallumcheen, and chiefs from Colville, the Kootenays and the Similkameen.⁶⁰

Father Grandidier, the most astute observer of Indian politics in the 1870s, reported regularly on the land issue from Kamloops and the Okanagan. Powell had requested that Grandidier write a letter to a coastal newspaper to help inform public opinion and buttress the Superintendent in his negotiations with the Provincial Government on the land issue, which the priest agreed to do.⁶¹ Grandidier was beginning to become really alarmed. He reported the chiefs Nskautlin, Petit Louis and Moise Cinq Coeur planning to unite in a war to retake their lands. Grandidier had informants in the Indian community who reported on an emerging confederacy involving the chiefs of Adams Lake, Nskautlin and others and a proposed grand meeting of the Shuswaps, Okanagans and Similkameens in the spring of 1875. Okanagans and others were allegedly buying ammunition in American territory so as not to excite suspicions.⁶²

Throughout 1876 Grandidier's letters were full of Indian plans, of meetings between Shuswap, Okanagan and other Indians, of Indian threats on individual white settlers. In September he

reported a "plot to put all to fire and blood" on the part of the Okanagans and the Similkameens who "since the visit of Powell three years ago have wanted to rise up . . . and wipe out all settlers, beginning at the Mission and extending to the Shuswap."⁶³ Apparently the Okanagan chiefs were prepared for an immediate war in September 1876 but the chiefs of war from south of the International Boundary, Koulpatshineren and Sasamptken, wanted to wait until the spring. Grandidier reported being mistrusted by the Indians who also threatened to kill Antoine Gregoire, one of the priest's informants. Grandidier pleaded for secrecy and prudence because "the least suspicion [would] cost several lives and hasten the revolt."⁶⁴

Because the Superintendent had visited the Indians, he became the recipient of petitions and letters from Indians who were aggrieved. Chilliheetsa, the Okanagan chief from the Nicola, wrote repeatedly to Powell, through J. Clapperton, a Justice of the Peace, who sympathized entirely with the Indians but had no jurisdiction.⁶⁵ Father Grandidier wrote to Lenihan on behalf of the Shuswap, complaining of Indians being blocked from using Crown lands as pasturage because of extensive pastoral leases given to Thaddeus Harper of Kamloops, a transaction "so unjust and detrimental to the rights of the Indians [that it would] certainly . . . excite the Indians to the verge of madness."⁶⁶

Part of the frustration of the Indians regarded the delay in achieving a reasonable land settlement. As the months passed the two governments did nothing to guarantee Indian rights and new and established settlers continued to pre-empt land, often confiscating Indian improvements. John Ash, the Provincial Secretary and Acting Premier, was bellicose and narrow-minded, stating that the Government did not anticipate an Indian war and was not afraid of one; if the Indians were to fight they would be driven out of the province to Queen Charlotte's Island or elsewhere.⁶⁷ The Provincial Government took a strictly legalistic view of their responsibilities, which frustrated Dominion Government attempts to provide the Indians any satisfaction. David Laird, in a Department of the Interior memorandum adopted by the Privy Council, quoted a letter from

John Ash stating: "all that is reasonable and just to demand of the Provincial Government is, that the 13th Section of the Terms of Union should be faithfully observed."⁶⁸ Viewed in the light of the past provincial policy Laird felt that

the insertion of a clause guaranteeing to the aborigines of British Columbia the continuance by the Dominion Government of the liberal policy heretofore pursued by the Local Government [was] little short of a mockery of their claims.⁶⁹

Laird decided to increase pressure on the Provincial Government by referring the case to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Earl of Carnarvon, for intervention.

Carnarvon declined to become directly involved in the federal-provincial dispute pending notification of the Province's position, which was forthcoming in a report prepared by Walkem, the Attorney-General, and adopted by the British Columbia government. Walkem repeated the provincial position that British Columbia was encouraging natives to become civilized by mingling with white settlers. He claimed that permission for Indians to pre-empt had been discontinued only because it interfered with the Dominion policy of concentrating Indians on reserves, which was absolutely false. Walkem suggested adopting the recommendation of William Duncan of Metlakatla, which rejected a fixed formula for determining the size of Indian reserves in favour of adopting a flexible scale suited to the needs of particular bands. Duncan envisaged each government providing an Agent to report on Indian needs and recommended concentrating Indian tribes by language groups on centralized reserves to which outlying bands could be relocated, making them more accessible to educators and missionaries.⁷⁰

When the issue was referred to Carnarvon, Powell informed the Okanagan Indians through Clapperton in the Nicola of the initiative. Despite their land being under increasing pressure from settlers, the Okanagan people decided to wait until Carnarvon's decision was known before taking any action. That decision was delayed until Lord Dufferin visited British Columbia in 1876 to arbitrate the railway dispute and to investigate the Indian land question. He travelled to Kamloops specifically to meet with the disaffected interior tribes.

Dufferin interviewed Grandidier on 10 September 1876, at which time the missionary took strong exception to the provincial proposal of concentrating Indians of the interior on reserves rather than leaving them in their traditional villages and warned that enforcing such a plan would lead inevitably to war.⁷¹ Dufferin heard the Indian complaints but was not in a position to make any changes. The Okanagan and Similkameen Indians again boycotted the meetings. However, perhaps because of Carnarvon's involvement, the two governments agreed to provide a prompt and final settlement of the long-pending controversy. A three-man commission was established with power to visit each Indian nation, make full enquiry and "fix and determine for each nation, separately, the number, extent and locality of the Reserve or Reserves to be allowed to it."⁷² Several elements underlie the decision of the Provincial Government to accept a compromise: the proposal was based partially on the Provincial Government's own position paper; the Imperial Government threatened to intervene; and the Canadian Government threatened to disallow the 1875 Land Act because it conflicted with Indian land rights.⁷³

Commissioners were appointed. Archibald McKinlay and A. C. Anderson, both former Hudson's Bay Company employees with much experience with interior Indians, were named the Dominion and Provincial representatives respectively. G. M. Sproat, a businessman and an incisive observer of Indian life, was named Joint Commissioner.⁷⁴ The Indian Reserve Commission (IRC) began work late in 1876 and planned to proceed to the southern interior in May 1877, but it was delayed because of political disagreement.⁷⁵ As a result of renewed concern expressed by Peter O'Reilly, Stipendary Magistrate, and Cornelius O'Keefe, an Okanagan rancher who feared for the lives and property of himself and his neighbours, the IRC was finally ordered to proceed to Kamloops to begin dealing with the Indians of the southern interior.⁷⁶ The Commissioners reached Kamloops on 20 June, pitched camp on the Indian Reserve, and began making enquiries.

The Commissioners found the Indian villages at Kamloops and elsewhere in the vicinity nearly deserted, the inhabitants

apparently attending a huge gathering at the head of Okanagan Lake between the Nicola, Shuswap, Okanagan, Similkameen Indians and representatives from the Couer d'Alene and Pend d'Orielle people. Gradually the extent of Indian discontent became apparent. Meetings with local officials and receipt of a letter from two Justices of the Peace, John A. Mara and John Teit,⁷⁷ convinced the Commissioners that peace was very tenuous. In a telegram to the Minister of the Interior, Sproat and Anderson were explicit:

Indian situation very grave from Kamloops to American frontier. General dissatisfaction -- outbreak possible. Indians attempting to confederate. American Indian representatives present at the meeting. Some British Columbian Indians reported to have joined outbreak across the line Very prudent action necessary to avoid bloodshed. We think, after deliberation and consultation that at least 100 mounted police should be secretly sent to Kamloops via Tete Jaune Cache at once. People here quite helpless -- any action on their part might precipitate crisis⁷⁸

R. W. Scott, the Acting Minister of the Interior, responded that it was impossible to send troops but that the Indians should be assured that the two governments were working to remove the causes of irritation and counselled to avoid rash action.⁷⁹

Sproat and his fellow Commissioners had reason to be concerned. In the succeeding weeks and months, hostilities continued between Chief Joseph and his Nez Perce Indians, the Spokane Indians and the United States Army. Messages from the resisting Indians continually arrived in British Columbia asking for assistance or reciprocal aid. It was later confirmed that a number of young men from the Penticton band had responded to these appeals and had travelled to Washington to join Joseph, although they returned without seeing action. News of Indian successes was received with great excitement and the Commissioners and Grandidier knew that only a spark was needed to cause a conflagration and much bloodshed. Numerous letters from the Commissioners and others express the "dangerous feeling abroad."⁸⁰ The Commissioners were told by Chilliheetsa that the young men at the Head of Lake meeting were eager to fight, but the older men such as he and Moise Cinq Coeur had advocated caution.⁸¹

The Commissioners used the utmost patience in dealing with the Indians whom they met in the interior, encouraging them to speak freely and at length about their concerns, their requirements and their aspirations. They rode around the reserves and personally examined vacant land suitable for agricultural or pastoral purposes. They took a census of persons and livestock, assessed the reserve land in terms of acreage of arable soil, accessibility of water and winter and summer grazing capacity, and then made their decisions. They explained to the Indians that they would not turn the country topsy-turvy by confiscating the legally acquired property of white settlers but would attempt to satisfy Indian demands. The Indians were pleased to learn that the Commissioners had the authority to assign vacant Crown land to them.

The Commissioners' first task was to break up the nascent confederacy which threatened any settlement. A band up the North Thompson was identified by Grandidier as the band most likely to settle with the Commission, so they proceeded upriver and assigned a reserve that was three thousand acres in extent and included access to summer grazing, a coal deposit and several fishing stations. The Indians expressed "general satisfaction". Having detached one band from the confederacy, the Commissioners returned to Kamloops to consider the requirements of the bands under Chief Petit Louis and other Shuswap chiefs. The IRC dealt with the various Shuswap bands liberally enough and proceeded to the Okanagan with the hope that they had detached the Shuswap nation from the confederacy.⁸²

At Spallumcheen the Commissioners found Chief Andre particularly "extravagant" in his demands, wanting the lands of two settlers in the area. Young band members refused to work as horse guards for the Commission or in the harvest for white settlers.⁸³ The Commissioners eventually succeeded in dividing the chief from numerous younger band members with the offer of a reservation of nearly 10,000 acres. After adjustments, including the securing of a graveyard and another fine tract of approximately 2000 acres toward the Salmon River, the Spallumcheen Indians, including the Chief, accepted the

settlement.⁸⁴

The reserve at the head of the lake presented the Commissioners with the most difficulty because of the overlapping and conflicting claims of Indians and white settlers. The Indians initially demanded that the lands granted by Cox should be reinstated, but this demand was refused by the Commissioners because the larger reserve had already been disallowed by the Government and much of the land alienated. The Commissioners' opinions regarding the Cox reserves were based on misinformation: they thought that the Cox reserves had been given in error and assumed that what Cox had written about the Shuswap reserves applied also to the Okanagan reserves. Cox had neither visited the Shuswap reserves nor staked their land personally, but had given the Shuswap chiefs papers to post, and he admitted the probability that the lands allowed by him had been greatly augmented.⁸⁵ But Cox had visited the the Head of Lake reserve personally and had left a sketch map showing the boundaries in unmistakable detail. Moreover, the Okanagan reserves were made under explicit instructions of Governor Douglas. Acting under these misconceptions, the Commissioners' response to the Indians, who repeatedly requested the Cox reserve boundaries, was that they must not rest their arguments upon Cox's acts but must take the reserves of Haynes as their basis, to which other lands might be added.

Indian claims focussed on the lands at the head of the lake where Indian requirements conflicted directly with the claims of O'Keefe and Greenhow, two settlers who held a partnership in cattle and a store. Sproat wrote:

[T]he difficulty has its origin in the attempt of two white settlers here -- there are only two -- to get between them 2560 acres of the best agricultural land in the neighbourhood of the head of the lake, much of it contiguous to the Indian Reserve and being land which the Indians hoped to get if their reserves should be extended.⁸⁶

Sproat and his fellow Commissioners examined the land claims of O'Keefe and Greenhow closely and came to the conclusion that a great deal of the land claimed by those gentlemen was held illegally for one or more of the following reasons: no settler could pre-empt land which was an Indian settlement; no

individual could hold more than one pre-emption at a time; a settler's first pre-emption claim was cancelled, with forfeiture of improvements, upon taking a second pre-emption; purchased land was required to be contiguous to the original pre-emption; the shape of claims was required to be rectangular; and a pre-emptor must maintain a continuous, personal, bona fide residence upon his pre-emption. These two settlers had acquired multiple pre-emptions, in discontinuous plots of irregular shape and they had not maintained residence on them, so the Commission proclaimed certain portions of them vacant Crown land and assigned them to the Indians as reserve lands. They thoroughly documented their case with evidence from neighbours, government officials, priests and Indians, should trouble arise, which it did. O'Keefe protested the action vigorously, aroused the legislature on his behalf, initiated legal action and, threatening force, refused for at least three years to allow the Indians access to the land. Despite numerous complaints from Chilliheetsa and Chief Basil to Sproat, the issue was not settled for a number of years, although the Indians eventually took possession of most of the disputed land.⁸⁷

The new reserve at the head of the lake was substantially larger than that which Haynes had assigned. It included the two Haynes reserves and added the intervening land, formerly claimed by Greenhow. It also took in a strip across the head of the lake and down the east side including acreage claimed by O'Keefe. As well the reserve included extensive pastoral lands to the north and east of the old reserves. A number of isolated, outlying reserves were assigned to the Head of Lake band because resident families were unwilling to relinquish their rights to these "Indian settlements" or to remove their households to the main reserve. These small reserves were very unpopular with the white settlers, especially the one at the foot of Long Lake which conflicted with land claims by the Vernon brothers. Finally, the Commissioners granted a 24,724 acre commonage to be used by whites and Indians, land not suitable for settlement but ideal for winter grazing purposes. The Commissioners stipulated that, in case it was found to be beyond their competence to grant this commonage, the land would

be considered strictly an Indian reserve. In total, exclusive of the Commonage, the Head of Lake reserve was comprised of 25,539 acres, of which about 1200 acres or 19.1 acres per male adult, were arable.⁸⁸ Grassland, about half of it good pasturage, was given on the basis of 24 acres per head of livestock then possessed by the band. The Indians concurred with the award.

The Commissioners moved on to the Mission with Sproat and McKinlay travelling down the east side to lay off fishing stations. A band of Indians camped on the west side, opposite the Mission, requested a reserve, but the Commissioners declined to allot them land in that vicinity despite the fact that they had improvements in the form of cultivated fields and homes. They left the question of a reserve for the west side in abeyance because the Indians desired land claimed and improved by J. F. Allison. Although he noted that Indians might be within their rights to make "settlements" anywhere on unoccupied land, Sproat was sympathetic to Allison:

A few Indians, by making settlements, such as no white man could make, on Crown land, just outside a white man's land may share the advantages of the summer and winter ranges on which his business depends and they may eat up the grass with their stock or use his bulls, and he has no means of redress. In making his homestead the white settlers did not probably contemplate having to buy large areas of pastoral Crown lands. . . . [H]e could not purchase land on which were these "Indian settlements".⁸⁹

The Commissioners also hoped to concentrate a number of the neighbouring bands, including part of the west side Indians, on the Penticton reserve, a scheme that they apparently gave up only after visiting the Inkamp band. They concurred with the missionaries in the belief that those Indians were part of the Head of Lake or Penticton bands and that on one of those reserves they could find ample land.⁹⁰

Before settling with the Penticton people the Commissioners travelled to Osoyoos to meet those Indians, assess their requirements and take representation from whites. The Commissioners found that the Indians had successfully cultivated portions of their reserve and made other improvements but their lands were too limited in extent. In order to increase the

reserve in pasturage the Commissioners needed to incorporate the lowland along the river which was under application to purchase by the partners J. C. Haynes and W. Lowe, two cattle ranchers and government officials who already owned land in the neighbourhood. Haynes was interviewed and professed himself willing to abandon his application to purchase those sections required by the Commissioners if the purchase had not been finalized. The band was then assigned the lowlands on the east side of the Okanagan River leaving the whole west bank to the applicants Haynes and Lowe.⁹¹

Back at Penticton, the IRC assigned a total of 48,344 acres, which included a 1000 acre woodlot on the east side of the river, a small flat near Nicholas' Prairie, and

a liberal tract for grazing purposes, comprised between the Riviere aux Maron and Trout River defined by good natural boundaries, viz. the lakes [and Okanagan River] on the one side, the Similkameen Ridge in the rear The remainder of the tract of grazing land lying north of Trout River towards Trepanier River is left open for the common grazing of the Indians and the whites living in the neighbourhood.⁹²

The Commission completed its field work in the Okanagan in late November and in the ensuing months wrote various reports and filed Minutes of Decision regarding their season's work. In their correspondence the principles upon which they assigned land were enunciated and defended. Sproat wrote on 29 January 1878 that the Commissioners assigned for the Shuswap and Okanagan Indians "about 18 1/2 acres of arable land per male adult and about 24 acres of grassland for each animal now possessed by the Indians."⁹³ These figures are approximately correct for the Okanagan Indians if commonages are excluded, which of course were not reserved for Indians alone and in fact were used in subsequent years overwhelmingly by white ranchers. Compared to the amount of land that a white settler could acquire, this was hardly extravagant. The IRC attempted to allow land enough for the Indian herds to increase moderately, as they knew they would in the immediate future, but the basis was always on stock actually possessed. The Commissioners were impressed with the Indians' progress which in some cases appears to have been not much different from that of their white

neighbours. Some individuals had fenced and partly cultivated farms of seventy to one hundred acres, some had over one hundred head of stock, mostly horses. The Penticton band averaged thirty-four and the Osoyoos and Head of Lake bands averaged over twelve head of livestock per adult male. Most of this stock had been acquired in the decade prior to the Commissioners' presence.⁹⁴

None of the Commissioners appears to have favoured the idea of recognizing Indian title, which might then need to be extinguished. McKinlay was no believer in the "vested rights of the Indians to the soil" and took every opportunity to "combat such notions", although the Indians "frequently alluded to them."⁹⁵ Sproat did not pursue the question of aboriginal title either, although he had queried the Minister of the Interior on the topic in 1876.⁹⁶ David Mills, the new Minister of the Interior, wrote to him before he reached the Okanagan saying that, while the British Columbia government had assumed that the Indians had no rights to the soil to extinguish, this policy was wholly at variance with that which had been pursued by the Crown in dealing with the aboriginal population of the continent. Sproat chose not to consider this an amended instruction⁹⁷ and attempted to gain a settlement without recognition of that claim.⁹⁸ The Commission wanted to make a settlement agreeable not only to the Indians, but also to the settlers and through them, the Provincial Government. Thus, whenever Indians made statements about having owned all the land before the coming of the whites, or to the Cox reserves, the Commissioners urged them to look to the future, not the past.

With minor exceptions Okanagan Indians accepted the Indian Reserve Commission awards, apparently believing that the reserves were adequate for their immediate and future needs. The Chief of the Head of Lake band, Basil, wrote to G. M. Sproat when he could not get O'Keefe to leave the land:

When you gave us the map of our reserves, when we agreed about the land with the Indian commission three years ago, we felt it was binding. It was less than our fathers had, less [than] we were asking but we agreed and were satisfied.⁹⁹

The Commission had, in fact, provided for only some of the

Indians' future needs. Some of the Indians still did not farm or raise stock but were expected to change their habits in the near future. As late as 1876 the missionaries claimed that Charles' Band at the Mission had not grown so much as a potato and the 1881 census reveals that a good percentage of the Indian people relied, at least partially, on traditional means of making a livelihood. For the time being the Indians, like the whites, used Crown land for summer pasturage and thus had the use of more land than the official acreage would indicate. Sproat anticipated, as had James Douglas, that if the Indians began to press on the reserve land they would spill out from the reserve, pre-empt or purchase land and establish themselves as independent ranchers. The Indians may also have regarded that as a viable option.

The IRC was disbanded after it left the Okanagan. G. M. Sproat, the former Joint Commissioner, became sole Commissioner in 1878 and until he resigned in 1880 he travelled throughout the southern interior carefully studying Indian requirements and adjusting Indian reserves, including those in the Similkameen and Nicola.¹⁰⁰ Sproat accepted the appointment as sole Commissioner only after he had the assurance that the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works would interfere only in extreme cases and that all other awards would be considered final.¹⁰¹ Despite some misgivings, Sproat thought he had a working relationship with the Provincial Government. In 1879 he reported: "My decisions are made on the spot unless I choose to hold them over and they are not subject to the approval of the CCLW and as a consequence there is no referee."¹⁰² Unfortunately Sproat had very poor relations with the Provincial Government.

Sproat functioned almost continuously in a hostile political environment. The Provincial Government attacked the Commission from the time of its inception fearing that the power of decision had been taken from their hands.¹⁰³ Sproat resigned in 1881 and was replaced by Peter O'Reilly, a man acceptable to Trutch, Powell and Walkem and a man of extensive experience as a County Court Judge and land owner.¹⁰⁴ O'Reilly served as Indian Reserve Commissioner until his

retirement in 1898, when he was replaced by Arthur Vowell.

When the IRC allotted reserves in the District of Yale its members assumed, as did the Indians, that their awards of land were final. Unfortunately the Provincial Government had to issue patents for the land before the transfer became final and it refused to confirm the reserves assigned by the IRC in the Okanagan until O'Reilly had visited the reserves and made adjustments.¹⁰⁵ Sproat's difficulties in persuading the Provincial Government to co-operate came from a variety of sources. One was the omnipresent Joseph Trutch, who wrote:

Mr. Sproat, acting as uncontrolled and absolute agent of the two governments, has been led into mistakes of the most positive character which have occasioned much dissatisfaction amongst the white population of the districts he visited and material wrong to individuals in many instances¹⁰⁶

Sproat himself recognized the dissatisfaction of white settlers to some of his awards and understood the reasons for lack of government action. On various occasions he addressed the problem:

Public opinion here is clearly that the commissioners have been too liberal. This is not founded on any knowledge of what has been done It is simply a matter of race prejudice [by men] who imagine that they know about Indians because they have employed them or seen them much, or had friendly condescending talks to them.¹⁰⁷

The attitude of the settlers toward Indians and the direct impact these attitudes had on government actions were apparent to the Commissioner who wrote about

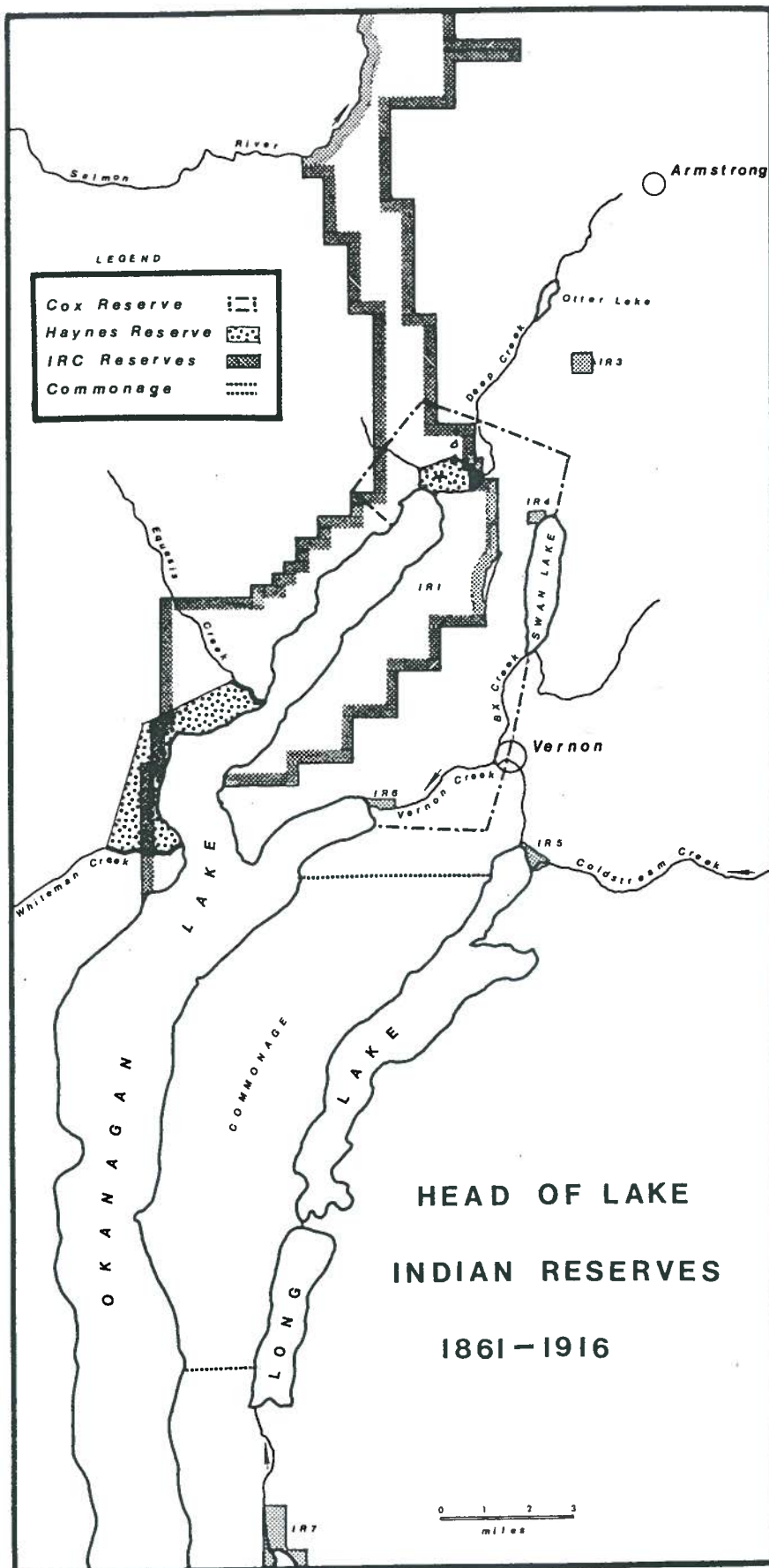
the pressure which, under our system of government can be brought to bear on representatives by settlers who have votes. The weak side of popular government can be seen in a young province like this, in its nakedness. Would a member or minister, himself a settler, disregard the angry and prejudicial messages from his neighbours merely for the sake of Indians! The Indians would go to the wall.¹⁰⁸

Forbes George Vernon, the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works in the Elliott administration, would not support Sproat because he had to face re-election in the Okanagan.¹⁰⁹ Some MPs were just as vociferous regarding Indian lands as their provincial counterparts. Probably many members of the Legislative Assembly

agreed with F. J. Barnard, the MP for the district of Yale and a large Okanagan landowner, who told the House of Commons that the Reserve Commissioner "seemed to think that all he had to do was give the Indians whatever land they fancied."¹¹⁰

In the years following the initial awarding of reserves by the Indian Reserve Commission, numerous unsettled matters required adjudication, the most important of which regarded the status of the commonages. The Provincial Government never accepted the IRC awards of commonages as desirable or legitimate. In response to a request for land for the Mission Indians, now on the west side, William Smithe, the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, wrote to Powell, denouncing the head of the lake commonage as an "immense area of land lying in a wild, waste condition, without any attempt being made to improve it by cultivation or otherwise" and he considered it "an almost criminal wrong . . . [to] withdraw from settlement so large a tract of fertile land."¹⁴² Superintendent Powell responded by accusing him of being deliberately deceptive in describing the commonage as "fertile land" as the Commissioners had assigned it for pastoral purposes because it was not "fitted for settlement."¹¹² Smithe "would never sanction any further allotment of land" but he suggested a trade of land, with the Head of Lake reserve being reduced, and an equal acreage being allotted on the west side.¹¹³ O'Reilly, the Indian Reserve Commissioner, then suggested that the commonages in Nicola and Okanagan be abandoned by the Indians in exchange for adjustments at Osoyoos, Keremeos, and the west side and Provincial Government approval of the remainder of the reserves.¹¹⁴ Exasperated with the delay in having the reserves finalized and concerned about the disputed nature of the claim to the commonages and the fact that the lands on the west side were being rapidly taken up by settlers, Powell agreed with this procedure.

When Forbes George Vernon replaced Smithe he wrote a memorandum to the Executive Council in August 1888 in which he reviewed the history of the commonages, declared the land in excess of the needs of Indians, denied the authority of Sproat, and recommended that the commonages be thrown open to sale and



HEAD OF LAKE
INDIAN RESERVES
1861-1916

settlement.¹¹⁵ This memorandum was approved by the Dominion Privy Council in October 1888 while O'Reilly was in the Okanagan,¹¹⁶ but Vernon had not found it necessary to wait for Dominion approval to throw the lands open for settlement. J. W. MacKay reported four pre-emptions on the Penticton Commonage by 15 December 1887 and O'Reilly found ten pre-emptions when he visited in October 1888.

Peter O'Reilly found the grass ranges both on and off the reserves badly overgrazed, which he blamed on the Indians' wild horses. Despite this evidence of the need for pasturage he cut 45,000 acres off the commonages at Penticton and the Head of Lake plus further commonage land at Douglas Lake. In return for this he allotted two west side reserves totalling 3238 acres. Indians were informed rather than consulted about the changes and thereby "disabused" of any notions that they might hold respecting ownership. O'Reilly's report was approved by the Privy Council in January 1889.¹¹⁷

The Nicola Commonage held considerable acreage that was well watered and could have grown hard root crops, but the area's status as a commonage for pastoral purposes precluded its use for horticulture. In 1888, the Spahomin (Okanagan) band requested that 9,800 acres, more than half of the commonage, be added to the reserve and allotted to individuals, for which the band was prepared to relinquish their rights to the remaining commonage lands.¹¹⁸ In October 1889 O'Reilly visited the Nicola and cut off the Commonage of 18,553 acres, in return assigning to Spahomin Indians a plot of 2,480 acres of timber and mountain land.¹¹⁹ This reduction left the Okanagan band in the Nicola with approximately 30,000 acres to support 600 head of livestock and 160 people. The allotment was immediately challenged by the Okanagan chief at Nicola, Johnny Chilliheetsa, on the basis that the Indians had been promised a tract of prairie land well adapted for pasture and agricultural purposes, that more than thirty of the band had no land and that O'Reilly had, without consulting more than a handful of people, exchanged mountain land for the Commonage. He maintained that "if the land called the Commonage is taken from us we have no resources for our increased stock and we have no land for growing grain

and vegetables for ourselves."¹²⁰ Later correspondence indicates that O'Reilly had not consulted the chief of the band nor any significant number of the Indians and that his award did not meet the requirements of the Indians.¹²¹

The elimination of the commonages in the Okanagan was but one adjustment made to the IRC allotments. Land disputes affected nearly every band, and poisoned relations between Indians and the white community. Problems arose in the Eagle Pass reserve of the Spallumcheen band¹²² in the Similkameen¹²³ and with the lands of the Inkamip band. An examination of the latter case is sufficient to gain an appreciation of the type of problem faced by the Indians as they attempted to establish themselves as farmers and stockmen.

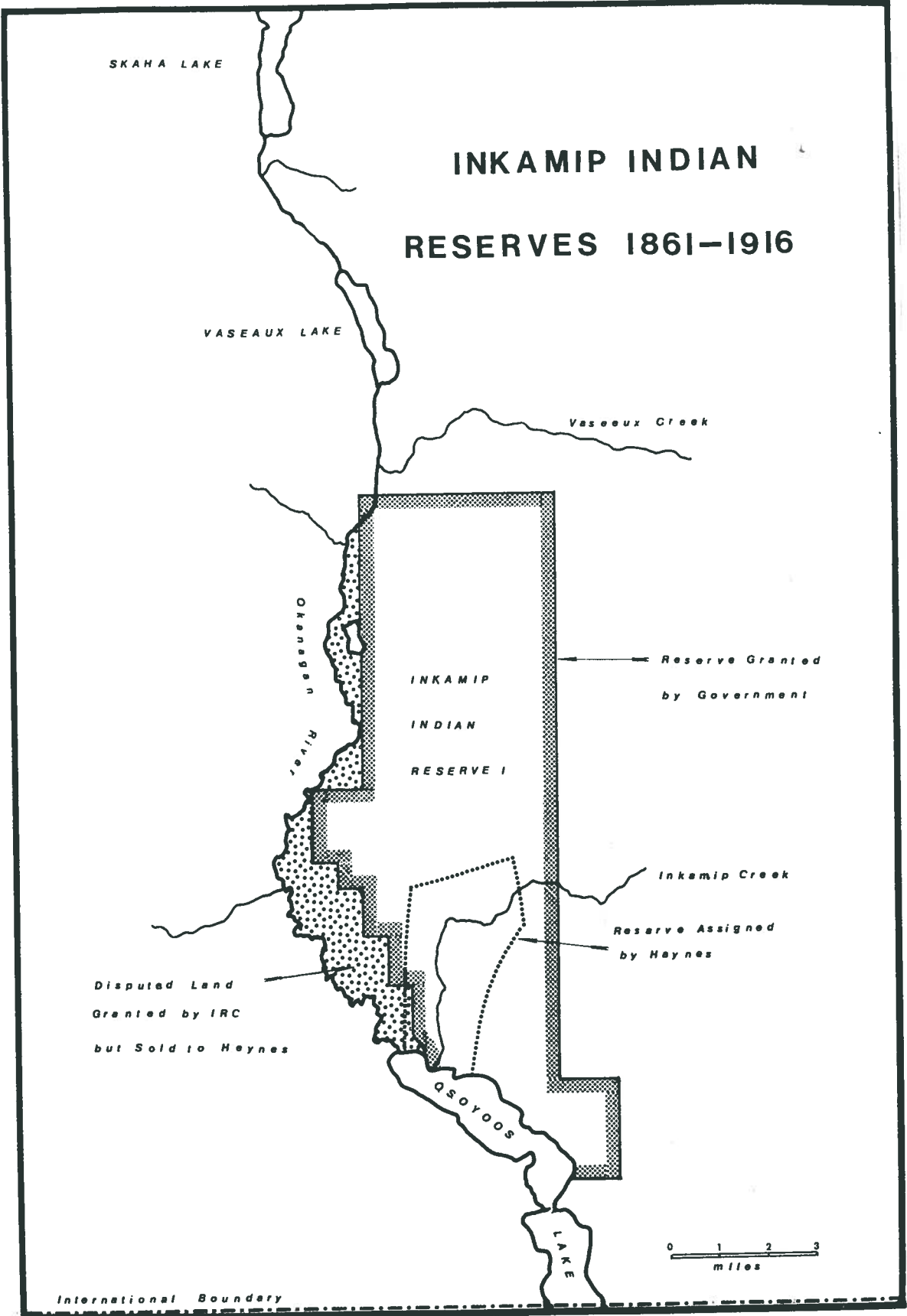
At Osoyoos the Inkamip Indians lost the lowland which had been assigned to them by the IRC, rendering the remaining portions of their reserve significantly less valuable. The Inkamip band had first secured a reservation from Cox in 1861, although no good description of that reserve has survived. In 1871, acting under the authority of Governor Musgrave, the reserve was again officially marked off by the stipendary magistrate, J. C. Haynes. Unfortunately no description of that reserve was recorded either, although Haynes indicated that his successor, W. H. Lowe, could personally point out the boundaries to a surveyor. The reservation, as later described by Lowe, included a small frontage on the eastern side of Osoyoos Lake and extended up a small valley for a distance of about 2 1/2 miles taking in about 500 yards on both sides of Inkamip Creek.¹²⁴ The reservation was not gazetted until 3 February 1877 and only then because difficulty had developed when two white settlers, James McConnell and Joseph MacCauley, had attempted to pre-empt Indian land.

The two local government officials, Haynes and Lowe, endeavoured in the early 1870s to establish a large stock ranch in the immediate vicinity of the reserve and were thus in direct competition with the band. They had begun acquiring land in 1869 when Haynes pre-empted 160 acres about a half mile north of Osoyoos Lake while Lowe took 160 acres about eight miles further north. The next year Haynes increased his holdings with a

pre-emption purchase of 480 acres, immediately contiguous to his original pre-emption including land on both sides of the Okanagan River.¹²⁵ In 1875 Haynes and Lowe each applied to purchase about one thousand acres of land which included all the valley land on both sides of the Okanagan River for a distance of ten and one half miles between their two pre-emptions. As well Haynes claimed Lot 101 and three Sapper's grants acquired from ex-sappers R. Moore, T. Robertson and J. Normansell.¹²⁶ The two men, had they been successful, would have held a virtual monopoly on lowland and water over an extensive area adjacent to the Indian reservation. The sale of land was held in abeyance because the shape of the lots, when surveyed, did not conform to the 1875 Land Act, that is, in an effort to acquire a narrow strip of land on both sides of the river Haynes had instructed the surveyor to lay out the plots in an irregular fashion. A resurvey was required and the land had not yet been alienated when the IRC arrived at Osoyoos to enquire into the needs of the Indians.

The Commissioners who interviewed the Indians at Inkamip found the reserve allotted by Haynes in 1871 "very restricted" and decided to enlarge the reserve by allotting all vacant Crown lands east of Okanagan River in Townships 50 and 51 as well as a section east of Osoyoos Lake, an action which provided a greatly enlarged reserve and included all of the bottomland on the east side of the river, land which comprised part of the area coveted by Haynes and Lowe. Subsequently, a note was attached to the Minute of Decision stating that the decision would perhaps have to be altered during the next season because the Indians had expressed a strong desire for more frontage. The Minute of Decision reached the office of the CCLW in May 1878 and by a blunder, the clerk preparing the document incorrectly copied townships L and L1 as Townships 5 and 6.

Before the erroneous Minute of Decision had been filed, the Commissioners received letters from both Haynes and Lowe claiming that injury would result to their interests if they were kept from the benchland on the east side, such land being necessary to run the stock during high water. They advocated roughly the boundaries of the former reserve with the eastern



slope to be left as a commonage or failing that, for permission to purchase about one thousand acres of benchland for their own purposes.¹²⁷ The CCLW requested that Sproat revisit the vicinity, which he did in October 1878, issuing a new Minute of Decision on 9 October 1878. The Indians claimed that Haynes had himself taken land within the Cox (1861) reserve at the head of Osoyoos Lake and they wished to have it returned. Sproat decided to let his original decision stand and the corrected Minute of Decision was sent to the Provincial Government. Sproat wrote to Haynes informing him of his decision and enclosing a copy of his Minute of Decision.¹²⁸

Despite the receipt of the Minute of Decision, the Government advertised the disputed acreage, which included virtually all of the bottomland of the Indian reserve, for sale by auction on 15 January 1879.¹²⁹ This notice escaped the attention of the IRC, the settlers, and, of course, the Indians. The public auction was unsuccessful, there being no person willing to pay the upset price of one dollar per acre, and the land was withdrawn from auction but was sold on 6 February 1879 to J. C. Haynes. In all, Haynes purchased and received crown grants for 4,245 acres of the Osoyoos Indian reserve.¹³⁰ A much chagrined Sproat claimed that Haynes was not an innocent purchaser but had received distinct notice of the IRC decision.¹³¹ Once the land was alienated the Provincial Government refused to cancel the patent. It was informed of the hardship on the Inkamip band by Agent MacKay who wrote:

They have no marsh lands, and as they are working hard to improve their condition, and their livestock are increasing, the loss of their meadow lands is a serious one . . . and a decided injury to their progress and well being.¹³²

The government was asked to compromise. Chief Gregoire suggested that a strip three miles long on the east side of the river, an area of about six hundred acres, be assigned to the Indians but this was refused. In Smithe's mind, Haynes had received his Crown Grant in a regular manner and the Commissioners had "deliberately intended to take all from him, without thought of compensation." Any fault lay with the Commissioners who had submitted the erroneous Minute of

Decision.¹³³ The Department of Indian Affairs then suggested that the money received by the Government could be used to compensate the Indians, but this, too, was rejected. O'Reilly was able to do nothing for the reason that no suitable vacant land existed to substitute for that taken from the Indians and no money was available as compensation.

The Inkamip Indians did not abandon their claim. In future years they spoke to every Indian Agent about their lost hope of gaining redress. In 1914 when the McKenna-McBride Commissioners visited the band, the Chief, Baptiste Cheanut, addressed them, praying that they "would fix it pretty quick". By this time, however, the land had passed through the Haynes estate, had been sold by Tom Ellis to the South Okanagan Land Company, and official knowledge of the incident was incorrect.¹³⁴

The evidence seems to lead to only one conclusion: the Inkamip Indians were cheated out of land which had been assigned to them by the IRC and Commissioner Sproat by an unholy combination of a dishonest and grasping landowner and government official, J. C. Haynes, acting with a Government which condoned the illegal sale and afterwards steadfastly refused to amend their action. It will be recalled that Haynes had previously cut back the Head of Lake Reserve to the advantage of F. G. Vernon and his brother. The favour was returned. While one man dominated the main trench of the Okanagan, nearby, the Indians with thirty-four adult males were restricted to a dry, rocky and sandy area with little access to water.

Robin Fisher has claimed that none of the lands assigned by the IRC or Sproat were granted by the Government by the time of Sproat's resignation in 1880.¹³⁵ This statement is true, but misleading. From a list of Reserves of the Okanagan tribe issued by the Indian Agent in 1892, it is apparent that, with the significant exceptions discussed above, the basis of these reservations was the IRC or Sproat awards.¹³⁶ The Head of Lake (N'Kam-ap-lix) band was granted Reserve # 1 of 25,538 acres at the head of the lake and six separate minor reservations in Priest Valley, Otter Lake, Prairie, Swan Lake, Long Lake and Duck Lake totalling 958 acres. Mission or west side Indians

were granted two reserves on the west side, Reserves #9 and #10 of 800 and 2,438 acres respectively.¹³⁷ The Penticton Indians had acquired their main reservation extending from Trout Creek to Marron Creek, 48,344 acres in extent, as well as two small reservations to the east which were used for gathering wood. The Inkamp Band had a reservation to the east of the Okanagan River minus the bottomland which they were unable to regain from Haynes. The Douglas Lake Band claimed a reserve extending around the foot of Douglas Lake, 23,047 acres in extent, as well as 320 acres at Spahomin Creek and other land, details of which had not reached the Kamloops office when the list was compiled. The Similkameen Indians held various lands in the Similkameen including the 5,100 acre ChuChuWayha Reserve at Hedley, the 585 acre Upper Ashnola and 4,153 acre Lower Ashnola reservations, the 429 acre Alexis Reserve below the mouth of the Ashnola and the 3,800 acre Nahumchun reserve, allotted to various families and extending roughly from Keremeos to the customs house near the International Boundary. These reservations were basically, though not precisely, those laid out by the IRC and confirmed by O'Reilly. They were to remain substantially unchanged for thirty-five years.

With Indian reserves delineated, at least temporarily, the country was thrown open to settlement. The Okanagan survey was complete by 1879 and the land sold by auction. The Land Act was amended in 1879, but the changes were minor. The price of pre-empted land remained at \$1.00 per acre throughout the decade, although terms of payment varied slightly. Pre-emptors were still required to produce evidence that they fulfilled the residence and improvement requirements of the Act. Surveyed land sold at auction had an upset price of \$1.00 per acre, and immediate payment was demanded. The upset price for auctioned land increased to \$2.50 per acre in 1884 although land already applied for was exempted. Inferior land, not suitable for cultivation or lumbering, retained the \$1.00 minimum price. Settlers could acquire land under basically the same terms that they had in the 1870s. Many Okanagan ranchers benefitted from the provision that land already applied for could be obtained at the previous price. For example, Thomas Greenhow obtained 3,460

acres and Forbes G. Vernon took 4,379 acres at the bargain price.¹³⁸

The extensive agricultural development by newcomers with capital, especially after 1904, increased pressure on land significantly. Developers and agriculturalists began to cast covetous eyes at the relatively undeveloped Indian reservations which at once "blocked progress"¹³⁹ and were a potential source of great wealth to the individual who acquired them. Still, Okanagan Indians' land was relatively untouched from the time it was finally assigned by O'Reilly until the twentieth century. As land pressure from speculators and farmers alike became greater, pressure was once again felt by the Indians and their trustee, the Dominion Government, to give up some of the land.

One way in which this pressure was felt was in the continual demand by the Province that it be able to exercise its "reversionary interest" in Indian land.¹⁴⁰ From 1875 it had claimed a reversionary right which was accepted by the Dominion Government. The Province of British Columbia claimed that they had "given" the land to Indians for their beneficial use only and that the Dominion could not sell or lease lands to non-Indians because disposal was evidence that the lands were excessive to Indian needs. Pressure was put on Indians to give up land so that it would revert to the Province and would be available for purchase by white settlers. The reversionary rights principle had some importance in the Okanagan with the selling of the Long Lake reserve by the Province to John Kennedy on 8 February 1909.¹⁴¹ The Indians were persuaded by extra-legal means by the Inspector of Indian Agencies, T. Cummisky, to declare the land excessive to their needs and the land was consequently sold.¹⁴² Because the reserve was not large, and part of the purchase money was returned to the Indians the issue may seem unimportant but it is indicative of the type of pressure that unscrupulous persons covetous of Indian land could bring to bear.

Public sentiment in British Columbia regarding excessive acreage and reversionary interest was reflected by Premier Richard McBride who wrote:

We still maintain that the reversionary interest . . . is the property of the Province. It may be well, in this connection, to refer to the large excess acreage held on account of Indian reserves in British Columbia, and to the necessity; in view of the rapid increase in white population, of having an immediate readjustment of all reserves, so that the excess acreage may be released to the province.¹⁴³

One area inevitably singled out by observers as possessing reserves of excessive size was the Okanagan, partially because the reserves were much larger than those west of the Cascades but also because of the considerable pressure on the land from prospective settlers.

The Department of Indian Affairs decided to appoint a special Commissioner, John McDougall, D.D. of Alberta, a man of extensive experience among the Indians of the Stoney Indian Reserve near Calgary, Alberta, to examine the reserves in the Railway Belt and south of it and to report on each reserve.¹⁴⁴ McDougall arrived in Kamloops on 4 February 1909 and travelled to the Okanagan, examining reservations as he proceeded. After reviewing the various legitimate complaints of the Indians, McDougall advised recognizing and securing the extinguishment of Indian title to the lands of British Columbia, and allowing Indians to take up, in fee simple, from forty to six hundred and forty acres of land outside reserves. McDougall wanted to place the Indians on the same plane as white people. In accordance with his instructions, McDougall examined the land with the view to its highest value usage, that of fruit and vegetable farming and identified land suitable for commercial horticulture which had become valuable and thus was a potential property to be cut off. For example, at the Head of Lake Reserve he thought that all land south of one mile from the Head of Lake on the west side was suitable for small fruit farms and could be sold "for the benefit of the Indian people."¹⁴⁵ McDougall made it clear that he was not personally recommending its sale under any conditions but viewed the problem from the perspective demanded by his instructions. McDougall's report was never acted upon, but may have been instrumental in convincing the officials of the DIA that there was excess acreage available.

McDougall did not consider the land requirements of the stockraising operations of the Indians. What he recommended would have eliminated vast sections of land used for hay and grain production and severely hampered those operations. McDougall was blinded by the high value of land and the possibilities inherent in fruit culture. Perhaps he should have listened to three Indians from the Inkamip band who four years later addressed another Commission:

The whites consider our reserve large, but considering the quality of most of the land it barely suffices for us, and we must look to our future. The land all around us is being taken up by whites and the time will come when we will be confined entirely to our reserve which will then be too small with outside sources of pasturage cut off. We depend principally on stock raising and we incline more and more to this industry. We see nothing in the raising of fruit for our white neighbours cannot sell the fruit they grow and yearly their crops rot on the ground. They tell us 'raise fruit' but we say 'No, we will raise stock. We can always sell cattle.' Then they call us lazy because we do not do what they do.¹⁴⁶

Three entangled issues continued to plague Dominion-Provincial relations and fuel Indian concern. The first issue, that of aboriginal rights, had the Dominion authorities initially siding with the Indians who demanded a reference to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a submission which required the permission of the Provincial Government. Second, Indians claimed reserves for those Indians who were without land and enlarged reserves in cases where existing ones were too small. At the same time, the Provincial Government felt many reserves were excessively large. The third question regarded reversionary rights of the Province, which placed a provincial claim on Indian land and severely hampered the Federal Government in its administration of the lands.

Okanagan Indians had probably always assumed ownership of aboriginal rights and in fact, had had their hunting and fishing rights explicitly confirmed by G. M. Sproat in 1877. They had asserted their claim to ownership of their tribal lands in the early 1870s by expressing a desire to eliminate whites from the Valley, by force if necessary. After the IRC supposedly settled the reserves question Okanagan Indians concurred with their land

assignment and did not recognize a threat to their aboriginal rights until 1903 when Shuswap, Okanagan and other tribes began to organize owing to increased public and official pressure for their lands and restrictions being imposed on their hunting and fishing activities. In 1906 the interior tribes joined with the Cowichan Indians in sending a delegation of three chiefs to England to interview King Edward, Chief Basil of the Shuswap tribe being one delegate. The organization of interior tribes met regularly from 1909 with James Teit acting as their secretary.¹⁴⁷ In 1909 a petition from Nishga Indians was sent to London asking that the aboriginal rights question be referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the Nishgas presented a Statement of Facts and Claims to the federal Department of Justice in 1910. While the interior Indians did support the Nishgas briefly, the two groups had very different perspectives on the aboriginal rights issue.¹⁴⁸

In August 1910 Sir Wilfrid Laurier met representatives of several interior tribes in Kamloops and assured them that their claims to aboriginal title would be submitted to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In May 1910 the chief civil law officers of Canada and British Columbia met and prepared ten questions for submission to the Supreme Court preliminary to sending them to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. However, when Richard McBride saw the questions, particularly those dealing with aboriginal title, he refused to allow them to be tested in court, reiterating the Province's stand that the Indians had no claim.

On 15 March 1912 interior tribes, assembled at Kamloops, sent a communication to the new Prime Minister, Robert Borden, again requesting that their case for aboriginal title be referred to the Privy Council. The Borden government decided that direct negotiations with the Provincial Government on all three issues, with a view to obtaining a comprehensive settlement, would be more fruitful than allowing a reference to the Privy Council on one issue as demanded by the Indians. It therefore appointed Dr. J. A. J. McKenna, of the Department of Indian Affairs, as special Commissioner "to investigate claims put forth by and on behalf of the Indians of British Columbia,

as to lands and rights, and all questions at issue between the Dominion and Provincial Governments and the Indians in respect thereto, and to represent the Government of Canada in negotiating with the Government of British Columbia a settlement of such questions."¹⁴⁹

After conferring with provincial authorities on the subject of aboriginal title McKenna wrote to Premier McBride on 29 July 1912 stating that he understood the McBride position "that the province's title to its lands was unburdened by any Indian title and that [the British Columbia] government would not be a party, directly or indirectly, to a reference to the Courts" McKenna agreed with the seriousness of raising the question, concluding that "as far as the present negotiations go, it is dropped."¹⁵⁰ McKenna undoubtedly gave his personal approval to the provincial position because he publicly addressed chiefs and delegates representing interior tribes of British Columbia at Spence's Bridge in the following terms:

McKenna . . . traced the history of various countries, where a strong race had supplanted a weaker and the latter had been forced to accept the terms of the former. The same thing had happened here in British Columbia and the Indians must accept the inevitable. Progress and development could not be stopped.¹⁵¹

For the first time a representative of the Government of Canada had informed the Indians of British Columbia that they must consider themselves conquered peoples and denied their right to assert their claim to their lands, a point immediately disputed by the Friends of the Indians of British Columbia, a group of British Columbia residents led by its spokesman, A. E. O'Meara.¹⁵² McKenna ignored the aboriginal title question and suggested to the Provincial Government that a Royal Commission be set up to settle the two remaining problems of the reversionary interest of the Province and reserve acreage, a proposal amenable to Premier McBride. The McKenna-McBride agreement was drawn up and signed on 24 September 1912, providing for a "final adjustment of all matters relating to Indian Affairs in the Province of British Columbia." The Commission was empowered, with the consent of the Indians, to

reduce the acreage of reserves which it considered excessive and to set aside land for Indians where an insufficient quantity was reserved. The agreement envisaged the subdivision and sale of lands unnecessary to the Indians with the proceeds of the sale being divided between the Province and the Dominion, the latter being bound to use the proceeds for the benefit of the Indians of British Columbia.¹⁵³ McKenna justified the terms of the Commission by claiming that the two goals of extinguishing the Province's reversionary interest and adjusting the size of the reserves, with the consent of the Indians, would allow the DIA to pursue a progressive policy with regard to the Indians, that is, it would free the DIA to deal with Indian land as they saw fit.¹⁵⁴ The Dominion Government, by authorizing the signing of the McKenna-McBride Agreement, adopted the Provincial Government policy of ignoring aboriginal rights. As the Minister of Justice advised his government:

The Agreement of 24 September, 1912 was a departure from the policy of the late [Laurier] government. It . . . envisaged a final adjustment of all matters [which was] . . . a denial of aboriginal title . . . If the Government is not going to uphold the claim, . . . [t]he Indians will be helpless.¹⁵⁵

The McKenna-McBride Commission conducted field work in the Okanagan Agency during October 1913 after which they interviewed Agent Brown and Isaac Harris, an Okanagan Indian who served as an interpreter. The Indians were explicitly and repeatedly assured that no land would be cut off from their reserves. Given the mood of the public and the Provincial Government, the Indians were uneasy and pleaded that their land not be cut off. For instance, Francois Timoykin of Penticton addressed the Commissioners eloquently:

The Indians used to get their living from their land and from God Almighty . . . [J]ust like their fathers they got their living off the land -- it is not because the whiteman has come that we make our living -- we had been living before the whiteman came, and now you ask us how we got along. We get along from the land -- it is our mother and father -- we got our living just like milk from the land, therefore we have no land to sell -- it would be just like selling our bodies. We cannot sell our land until the Man who made the land comes back . . . Our feelings are sorrowful. The whiteman has sent men here quite a few times to count how much stuff we raise, and how much stuff we

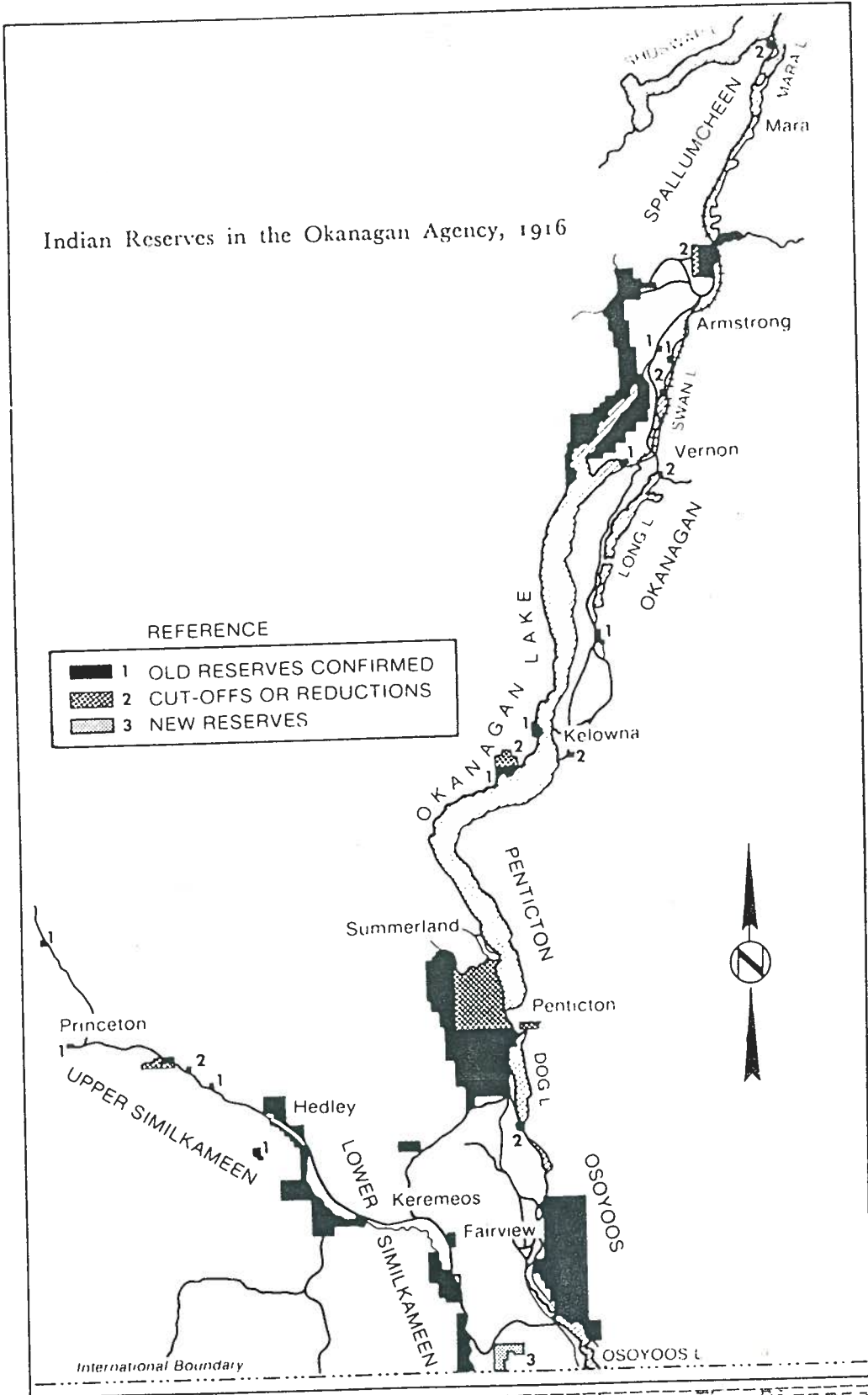
have. We got our living from the land and that is all. We got our living from our land and our land is getting dry because the whiteman has taken the water and the land will not produce the living we used to get. I guess the King who made the law for us a long time ago intends to make this law again now.¹⁵⁶

The Penticton chief summed up his session by saying, "[W]e would not like to have this land cut-off. We have no land to spare on this reserve."¹⁵⁷

The Indians regularly requested more land. The Inkamip, writing through James Teit, complained of the land taken by Haynes and asked for land at least of equal acreage to that lost.¹⁵⁸ Chief Chilliheetsa wrote claiming that the Queen had promised them more land when they needed it. They did not want land cut off but more land because "we people of Douglas Lake, Spahomin, have not enough land for our horses and cattle." He complained of previous cut-offs for railway purposes and, despite promises to the contrary, of no money being paid for the lost land.¹⁵⁹ In the Similkameen, Indians meeting with the Commissioners at William Terbasket's house requested an extensive block of rangeland, perhaps sixteen square miles. Ashnola John requested land outside the reserve which had always been used by Indians for hunting and stock grazing. In all, nine applications for additional land were received in the Okanagan-Similkameen.¹⁶⁰

Despite evidence of progress and population pressure, the Royal Commission recommended considerable cut-offs of Okanagan Indian land. They recommended that the Spallumcheen band lose 1,630 acres in a strip along the western boundary of the reservation and the Mara Lake reserve of 201 acres. They recommended that the Head of Lake band lose the Swan Lake, Long Lake and Mission Creek reserves of 68, 128 and 55 acres respectively, apparently because they were little used; the Westbank band lose 1,764 acres of reserve #9 leaving them a mere 674 acres; and that the Penticton band lose 14,060 acres, that is, nearly 1/3 of their reserve, including 564.55 acres of land given to the Dominion Experimental Station. The Inkamip people lost the Dog Lake fishing station. The Upper Similkameen Reserve was cut back by 560 acres with the elimination of the

Indian Reserves in the Okanagan Agency, 1916



Source: Robert F. Carr, *Land, Man and the Law: The Disposal of Crown Lands in British Columbia, 1871-1913* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1974), p. 236. Printed with the permission of UBC Press.

reserves at Wolf Creek and Ilt-coola, reserves #3 and #7 respectively. One grazing reserve of 2,600 acres was added although land exceeding 100,000 acres had been requested for grazing purposes. All other reserves were confirmed to the Indians. In total in the Okanagan Agency, 18,536.8 acres were identified to be cut-off and 2,600 acres were added, for a net reduction of 15,936.8 acres. Twenty-four separate reserves were confirmed, totalling 127,391.41 acres which, with the additional reserve, left the total area in Okanagan reserves at 129,991.41 acres.¹⁶¹

The two levels of government were very pleased with their handiwork. A provincially-appointed Commissioner wrote to D. C. Scott, Deputy Secretary General of Indian Affairs (DSGIA), claiming that the report would relieve the Colonial Office of responsibility for native tribes; remove the reversionary interest issue which had been a thorn in the side of the Dominion and Provincial governments for forty years; provide Indians with additional lands and a sum of money to improve their holdings; yield the Province a sum sufficient to justify the ceding of new lands and the appointment of the Commission; and offer great politico-social advantages to the Indians by removing them from proximity to cities.¹⁶² The Indians could not gain access to the findings as they had "had an opportunity to appear before the commission . . . and it might postpone the final settlement indefinitely."¹⁶³

The McKenna-McBride Commission required acceptance by the two governments before implementation but it had not been considered by the Provincial Government before an election was held and Premier Harlan Brewster assumed office.¹⁶⁴ Although Brewster was reminded that both governments had agreed to give the report their favourable consideration, he "stood by his right to withhold approval."¹⁶⁵ By December 1918 John Oliver was Premier and Dufferin Pattullo the Minister of Lands and both expressed a desire to adopt the report if a few objectionable features were removed.¹⁶⁶ Pattullo was concerned that Indians would not give the required consent to cut-off reserves and was not anxious to proceed to allot new reserves if there was no assurance that the Dominion could cut off lands.¹⁶⁷

Duncan C. Scott admitted that Indian consent was required, and the DIA was responsible for obtaining surrenders but he assured Pattullo that if the Indians,

through some influence or prejudice, refuse to give the necessary consent . . . we shall provide . . . in our legislation . . . that all reductions and cut offs should be effected without the consent of the Indians.¹⁶⁸

He justified this by claiming that it was to the Indians' real benefit. Finally, in May 1920, Pattullo urged a complete review of the Commission's report.¹⁶⁹

The Department of Indian Affairs appointed W. E. Ditchburn, Chief Inspector of Indian Agencies in British Columbia, as its representative in the review and Major Clarke was appointed on behalf of the Province. J. A. Teit was to assist Ditchburn as he was acceptable to the Indians. The Department felt Teit's presence would assure the Indians that their "requests had been placed urgently and emphatically before the provincial authorities" and in the event that these requests were unsuccessful, the Department could not "fairly be held responsible although the Indians would no doubt be dissatisfied."¹⁷⁰ The committee scrutinized the report and made numerous minor changes, none of which appear to have affected the Okanagan.¹⁷¹ Finally, after assuring himself that Ditchburn had obtained the best deal possible from the Provincial Government, Scott was prepared to confirm the report without further reference to the Indians.¹⁷² Ditchburn advised Scott to lay a statement before the Indians showing how far the Government was prepared to go and giving them the understanding that they must take it or leave it. His rationale was that "this will cut the ground from under their feet and place us in a good position before the Imperial authorities if the case is ever put to them."¹⁷³ Scott asked his Minister to lay the memorandum before the Privy Council to become the basis of an Order in Council.

By 1924 nothing had been finalized regarding the McKenna-McBride Commission as amended by the Ditchburn-Clarke review. Attention of Indians and the Dominion Government alike was focussed on the larger issue of aboriginal title. That issue

was dragged through committee hearings and the press and eventually was disposed of by the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons in 1927. With the bilateral resolution of the aboriginal title question, the way lay open for a Dominion-Provincial settlement of the Indian reserve question. The two governments again met, this time with Scott and Ditchburn representing the Dominion Government and H. Cathcart, Superintendent of Lands, and O. C. Bass, Deputy Attorney General, representing the Province. They aimed at a comprehensive settlement not only of reserves but of the return of the railway belt lands and the Peace River block lands to the control and ownership of the Provincial Government. These negotiations were conducted with a tone of co-operation evident throughout the proceedings. A Memorandum of Agreement by the four officials was signed on 12 March 1929.¹⁷⁴ The Agreement provided that any new reserves had to be purchased by the Dominion for Indians at a nominal price with the Province retaining a reversionary interest in those newly purchased reserves. On all other reserves, those confirmed by the governments, the Province relinquished reversionary right except in the case of the extinction of a band.

After sixty years of conflict Indian reserves had finally been established in British Columbia by agreement between the two governments. The problem, of course, was that the agreement came without the consent of the Indian people. Okanagan Indians and others in the province considered the Dominion Government's action in legalizing those adjustments as just one more example of government hostility. Throughout the 1920s delegations of the interior Indians, often led by Chief Johnny Chilliheetsa, travelled to Victoria, Ottawa and London to fight against reserve diminishment and for aboriginal rights. There was, in one of the DIA official's words, "considerable disquietude amongst the interior Indians."¹⁷⁵ It was apparent to the Indians that in land dealings and other matters the Department of Indian Affairs had its own agenda and that the Department presented but another obstacle to the Indians in obtaining justice. It was not until the 1980s, one hundred years after the reserves had been granted, that the Okanagan Indians finally

achieved a settlement, through negotiation with all three parties, giving them essentially the reserves that the IRC had granted in 1877.

The question of aboriginal title was fought concurrently with the McKenna-McBride hearings and the succeeding Dominion-Provincial negotiations over reserve sizes. The cynicism of the Dominion Government in proposing a final solution to the land question by ignoring aboriginal title and concentrating only on reserve size and reversionary interest galvanized the Indians into action. The Order in Council of 27 November 1912 approving the McKenna-McBride agreement was barely issued when the Nishga petition arrived in Ottawa. A number of groups applied pressure on the government to deal with aboriginal rights. Canon Norman Tucker and others of the Indian Affairs Committee of the Social Service Council of Canada (SSCC), based in Toronto, were particularly active in supporting the Nishga position.¹⁷⁶ The Indian Rights Association, an organization representing coastal Indians with Reverend C. M. Tate as Secretary-General, was an interested party. Reverend A. E. O'Meara, legal counsel and driving spirit of The Friends of the Indians of British Columbia, was active even before the McKenna-McBride agreement was signed and from 1912 carried on voluminous correspondence with various government officials, applying pressure to recognize the aboriginal title of the Indians. He warned:

if the Government of Canada should now approve of the arrangement regarding reserves which has been made, without first decisively dealing with the fundamental matter of the claims of the Indians, the situation will thereby be further aggravated The only remedy other than a judicial determination of the rights of the Indians . . . is that a bargain should now be made with the Indians.¹⁷⁷

As a result of this pressure, and already having committed themselves to the Provincial Government through the McKenna-McBride agreement, the Dominion approved a memorandum of the DSGIA of 11 March 1914 which provided for a referral of the aboriginal title question to the Exchequer Court of Canada with right of appeal to the Privy Council under certain conditions. The Indians had to agree beforehand that if they won a favourable decision they would surrender that title "in

accordance with past usage of the Crown in satisfying the Indian claim to unsurrendered territories."¹⁷⁸ They also had to agree to accept the findings of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in British Columbia as approved by the two governments as a full allotment of reserve lands to be administered on their behalf and agree further that the granting of those reserves would satisfy all claims against the Province and that they would look solely to the Dominion for other considerations. Finally, they were required to submit to being represented by counsel nominated and paid by the Dominion. In recommending the policy to the Prime Minister, the SGIA, W. J. Roche, justified the policy: it was not objectionable to the Government of British Columbia (indeed it was not); it protected the Dominion against extravagant claims such as those made by the Nishga petition; and it removed the influence of "interested persons" or "agitators" such as A. E. O'Meara.¹⁷⁹

The Order in Council of 20 June 1914 was immediately set upon by the Nishga Indians and their supporters. Dr. Tucker of the SSCC and McTavish of the Society of Friends of the Indians issued an explanatory statement advising British Columbia Indians not to accept the proposed terms.¹⁸⁰ However, despite advice from the Nishgas to be completely non-cooperative with the McKenna-McBride Commission until the question of title was dealt with satisfactorily, the interior Indians decided to co-operate with the Commission.¹⁸¹ The interior Indians, in co-operation with the Indian Rights Association (IRA), preferred to deal with the aboriginal title question separately. British Columbia Indians were in two camps. The IRA objected to the Nishga petition, claiming that the other tribes preferred the petition originally presented on behalf of the Cowichan tribe.¹⁸² However, at an organizational meeting of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia held at Spence's Bridge at the end of February 1915, British Columbia Indians appeared to close ranks, with the coastal and interior tribes deciding to support the Nishga claim for aboriginal title. The interior Indians intimated however, that they still preferred a negotiated settlement rather than reference to the Privy Council.¹⁸³

While opposition to the Royal Commission became intense

elsewhere in the province, the interior Indians remained pragmatic. James Teit reported working with Bird, the lawyer of the IRA, in

drawing up a resolution to put before the various tribes for discussion by them . . . to be signed by the chiefs so that the Order in Council [could] be acquiesced with and the question of title be referred to the Courts without delay.¹⁸⁴

The Indians at the coast rejected the resolution prepared by Bird and Teit because they did not want to sign away their rights beforehand nor agree to the findings of the Commission before the same were known.

While the interior Indians objected to being forced to accept the findings of the Royal Commission without knowing them, they were willing to either negotiate with the Government over aboriginal rights or to go to court and accept compensation on the same level as previously granted Indian tribes. They wanted a settlement, and wrote:

[We are] against the statement that we are content or [have] indicated to the commissioners that we were satisfied with anything short of obtaining a decision on the merits of our claim to the unsurrendered lands of British Columbia.¹⁸⁵

To set the Government's mind at rest regarding the extent of their demands, they placed them on paper. As Teit explained to the Commissioners:

I believe in the event of the Indians winning their case in court that the Interior Indians at least have no intention of trying to hold up the government in any way. . . . [T]hey do not want any money compensation in extinguishment of their title, nor annuities of any kind. They simply want an adequate supply of agricultural and grazing land (with good water supply in the dry Belt) and a guarantee of certain special privileges in hunting, fishing and trapping.¹⁸⁶

They also requested assistance in education, health and public works projects. This was not an extravagant claim.

At this point the Department decided it was better to make Teit a friend than an enemy.¹⁸⁷ They decided to attempt to separate Teit from O'Meara, who the Department regarded as a self-serving demagogue and considered employing Teit to help obtain Indians' signatures on the consent form asking that the

title question be sent to court.¹⁸⁸ At a meeting on 17 March 1916 at Spence's Bridge a letter was sent from the interior Indian chiefs asking that the issue of the reserves be held over until the aboriginal title question was judicially determined. The chiefs and Teit then travelled to Ottawa at the end of April 1916.¹⁸⁹ On 9 May 1916 they presented to Borden a "Memorial of Interior Tribes of British Columbia," reiterating their stand.¹⁹⁰ It was becoming apparent that a major split was developing in Indian ranks with interior Indians wanting a sufficiency of land, a confirmation of hunting and fishing rights, and some assistance with education and health, and the Nishgas and O'Meara determined to obtain Indian title to the lands of the province.²³⁸

As Indian and white resistance to the unfair policy strengthened and especially after the Nishgas attempted to go over their heads, the Dominion Government moved to strengthen their hands vis-a-vis the Indians. After the war, they obtained a legal opinion from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council stating that the Nishga petition must proceed through Canadian courts and could proceed to the Privy Council only if there was a legal invasion of rights and only on the advice of the Canadian Government. This placed the power directly in the hands of the Dominion Government. Assured that there would be no direct appeal over their heads they expressed willingness to submit the aboriginal rights issue to Canadian courts.¹⁹²

The Conservative government urgently needed a settlement of Indian land claims in the post-war era for two major reasons: their desire to obtain Indian lands for soldier re-settlement purposes and to conform to an international fishing treaty which denied Indian rights to the subsistence fishery.¹⁹³ The Federal Government introduced Bills 13 and 14 in 1920, hoping to obtain a quick resolution. Bill 13 provided for the passage of the McKenna-McBride report without negotiations with Indians and without the necessity of obtaining their consent. Bill 14 gave unlimited autocratic power to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to destroy the very existence of tribes by enfranchising its members or its spokesmen, those regarded as agitators. Indian spokesmen

considered the latter legislation the crowning injustice of all, claiming that the legislation was ultra vires of the Parliament of Canada.²⁴⁹ They claimed it was

fundamentally unjust to lay violent hands on the Indian tribe, break its status and divide up its lands by compulsory methods [and that it was] an unjust attempt to tear us down by a government posing as our guardian and taking advantage of our weakness.¹⁹⁵

As a result of Bills 13 and 14 Indians began to see that the

real position of the Government of Canada [was] not that of a guardian protecting [their] rights, but of an interested party owning great tracts of land in British Columbia and controlling the vast fisheries of that Coast and because of these interests seeking to take away [their] rights.¹⁹⁶

British Columbia and interior Indians would get no satisfaction from the Dominion Government. The subject was debated at length in the House of Commons in 1925. A Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons held hearings in 1927 and 1928 at which spokesmen for the interior Indians appeared. But all action appears to have been of little consequence. Indian grievances were deflected by concentrating on the role of agitators. Departmental officials were effective in confusing the issue by discussing how well Indians had been treated and how much money had been spent on their behalf which, judged according to the education and health expenditures on Okanagan Indians, was very nearly zero. The Joint Committee concluded that the claim of aboriginal rights in British Columbia had not been proved.

The resolution of the aboriginal rights issue, no matter how unsatisfactorily, cleared the way for a comprehensive agreement between the two levels of government, based upon a Memorandum of Agreement signed by Scott and Ditchburn for the Dominion and Cathcart and Bass for the Province. The agreement was formalized in legislation by the two governments in 1930.¹⁹⁷ Reserves were added, cut off and confirmed without the consent of Indians. The aboriginal land issue was ignored. Indians were, and remain to this day, dissatisfied with the resolution.

The two racial groups in the Okanagan had access to

resources under entirely different legal regimes. With the government denial of aboriginal rights and the refusal to allow them to pre-empt land, Indians were confined to the resources on the reserves, except where they and whites could use Crown land freely. White settlers had access to land on relatively attractive terms, provided that they were bona fide settlers and they obtained land, in fee simple, in quantities ranging from 320 acres to over 20,000 acres per head of household. The land regime applicable to Indians was entirely different and certainly less secure. Under Governor Douglas, Indian reserves had been laid out to include those portions of Indian territory on which Indians did not wish to share resources. Indians retained the right, explicitly, to use land outside of their reserve and to individually secure land in fee simple on the same basis as white settlers. The reserves were merely additional protection for Indians, special-advantage zones designed to safeguard established Indian interests. Over time, this concept of the reserves changed. Under Trutch the reserves changed to places of confinement for Indians, that is, Indians were refused the right to use resources off the reserve, to pre-empt land or exercise their aboriginal right to hunt and fish. Worse, the reserve lost its inviolable character when the Province claimed a reversionary interest in the land, a claim accepted by the Federal Government in 1875. Reversionary interest provided the Province with a lever to lay claim to portions of the reserve if the Indian population decreased or if Indians didn't put the land to "beneficial use". Beneficial use was an elastic concept used to lay claim to Indian land if it was not used for appropriate purposes, as defined by the public or government. Land which had a high value for horticultural purposes was not considered to be used beneficially if Indians used it for livestock production. Indians also gradually lost control over the use of their land when the DIA began to advise on economic matters and then to regulate and dictate resource use. The DIA assumed the right to determine such things as which trees could be cut down by Indians to be sold commercially, to whom and at what price land could be leased, which Indians had a right to reserve land, and even which lands were

in excess of Indian needs. The nature of the reserves changed dramatically to the detriment of the Indians.

It was not merely the nature of the reserves that changed, but also their size -- indeed the very existence of the reserves was tenuous. The original Cox reserves were assigned on the basis of Indian requirements under the full authority of the colonial government, but future governments were quick to deny the validity of those reserves. Haynes, who personally had a direct conflict of interest, cut them back drastically in 1865 and it was only under threat of war that the IRC was sent into the field to attempt an accommodation with Indians. The Provincial Government then made a mockery of those awards by flagrantly siding with settlers even in the face of serious improprieties, by refusing to accept commonages and by gazetting reserves only after O'Reilly had re-examined and in some cases altered them. Even after the reserves had been gazetted the two governments co-operated in the spoliation of the reserves. The McKenna-McBride agreement and the resulting Royal Commission made recommendations for dramatic reductions to Okanagan reserves and the Department of Indian Affairs was quite willing, despite repeated, explicit promises to the contrary, to return the lands to the Provincial Government over Indian protests. From the time Douglas left office the reserves have been under consistent attack, being changed fundamentally in nature, and reduced quite dramatically in size and value.

On a number of questions regarding the Indian claim to aboriginal title this study sheds considerable light. Clearly, Okanagan Indians had a well delineated territory and they exerted ownership rights over the resources of their land through an identifiable management regime. They gave permission to settlers to enter their territory but apparently considered that a conditional right. The Indians who approached Father Baudre requesting that the white settlers leave the Valley were expressing distinct ideas of ownership. Provincial Government claims that ideas of ownership were created in the Indian mind by the provocative statements of Lord Dufferin are clearly wrong. The Indians in the Okanagan approached Baudre well before Dufferin arrived in British Columbia. Dufferin's speech

reflected Indian concerns, it did not create them.

The IRC awards appear to have been a turning point in Okanagan Indian claims for aboriginal title. They accepted the awards, as they had accepted the previous Cox awards, in good faith and merely wanted the government to honour the bargain. On occasion, as circumstances changed, bands such as the Westbank Indians and Similkameen Indians, requested more land but those were relatively minor requests. The land component of the aboriginal rights issue was settled as far as they were concerned, a point which clearly distinguished them from Indians elsewhere in the province. That does not mean that they abandoned a claim for their aboriginal title. The land settlement was partial compensation but they had certain other, very reasonable, requirements such as assistance with education and health and rights to hunt and fish on Crown land. As has been their history, the Okanagan Indians have been moderate in their claims, eager to compromise, and willing to share the resources of their territory. What they have had to deal with, however, has been continual duplicity on the part of government. The imposed land regime has denied Indians access to the resources of the land on an equitable basis and has prescribed an uncompetitive position for Indians. Expropriation of Indian land by whites is the fundamental fact in Okanagan history. Landless persons, or persons with only enough land to engage in subsistence agricultural production, the Indians acquired a social role of providing labour on a seasonal and casual basis for their neighbours and competitors in agriculture. Ownership of expropriated Indian resources, plus the availability of cheap Indian labour, were associated features of the imposed regime.

Chapter V: THE ECONOMIC SECTORS

Chapter III examined the nature of the external institutions which influenced the Indian community. Chapter IV demonstrated that on the critical issue of access to the land base, these external sectors combined to displace the Indian from predominant access to this resource. Now it is necessary to look more precisely at the economic sectors derived from the land resource to see how terms of access affected the development of industries as they were performed by Indians and whites.

The hunting, fishing and gathering industry comprised the traditional economy of the Okanagan people. At the beginning of this study it was a viable industry but by World War I it had been abandoned by virtually all Indian people. Still, for many decades after white settlement began the industry provided a subsistence for large numbers of Indian people. The second industry established in the Okanagan was the mining industry which increased in importance until World War I. Mining had virtually no Okanagan Indian participants although it affected them indirectly because it initiated white settlers to the Okanagan and sustained large numbers of whites and Chinese over the years. The two agricultural sectors were pursued by both racial communities and it is instructive to juxtapose the two groups as they engaged in stockraising and horticulture. In the competition between whites and Indians in the agricultural industries, access to resources of land and water were critical elements.

A. THE HUNTING, FISHING AND GATHERING ECONOMY

The hunting, fishing and gathering economy was the sole means of livelihood for the Okanagan people prior to their contact with Europeans and it was to remain an activity exclusive to those people. A complex economy including many subsectors, it supported from five hundred to one thousand persons in the section of the Okanagan extending from the international boundary to the Fraser River watershed.¹ Okanagan Indians had developed the technologies and the social relations of production necessary to efficiently exploit the natural floral and faunal resources of their territory but with the arrival of European influences came gradual changes. Conditions under which the economy operated were altered by external pressures emanating from various sources. The traditional lifestyle of the Indians was gradually swept away and the Indians' place in the economic order was fundamentally altered.

The traditional economy included within it the primary activities of gathering, fishing and hunting as well as secondary activities such as manufacturing and trading. Exploitation of the resources was dependent upon the seasonal and geographical availability of a wide variety of floral and faunal species, but only enough species will be examined here to indicate the range of products available by place and season.

Roots were a major component of the diet of the Okanagan people and of these, bitterroot or spitlum, "the king of all roots in Okanagan-Colville cosmology",² was the first harvested and the most important economically. Bitterroot was harvested in April, bitterroot month, near Inkameep and in May further north, depending upon lateness of the season and exposure to the sun in particular locations. A number of recorded spitlum digging sites are found on benchland in the Ponderosa Pine-Bunchgrass habitat. The roots required little processing. They were skinned and placed in tule sacks to dry and were then stored above ground for use as an important winter food and item of trade. Women and children were often forced to

establish task specific camps for a few days at root digging grounds since most of those areas were not close enough to winter villages to allow them to return to camp daily.³

A variety of other species of plants were exploited for their roots. An Indian potato (Spring Beauty), about the size of an apricot stone, was harvested in early June and stored in pits in the ground for summer use.⁴ Women who dug this root established a base camp in which they remained for a few days. This plant was found in the Shingle Creek area and in the Similkameen, in "wet places among the poplars."⁵

Harvest of the Indian potato was followed by that of wild carrots (desert parsley) in July.⁶ The root was a good one, up to eight inches long,⁷ and had a pleasant, biting taste like celery leaves. The root occurred throughout the Okanagan in benchland areas. Processing was done by drying, with or without cooking, followed by stringing together for hanging.

Another very popular root was the wild onion, which grew over a wide range of territory. The root was dug from April to June, depending on the elevation, and was eaten raw or pit cooked. G. M. Dawson of the Canadian Geological Survey, writing in June from the Coldwater summit above the four thousand foot elevation, supplies a good description of a root digging camp:

The women [are] now busily engaged gathering the wild onion which will soon burst into flower. They wander about in the woods with basket on back and crutch-like stick in hand, with which the plants are uprooted, and then tossed over the shoulder [into a basket]. On arriving at Indian camp this morning, find the family in a rather large wigwam with large central opening, composed of poles and rush mats. Their property of various kinds being in trees around out of reach of dogs etc. On one tree many bundles of the onions, very neat and clean looking, and some strings or wreathes (sic) of the same which were cured. These looked quite black, and more like seaweed than anything else and had been steamed in holes in the ground with hot stones. After this they are dried and so kept for future use. The process is said to render them quite sweet.⁸

The root of the spring Sunflower (*Balsamorhiza Sagittata*) was also eaten, although this may not have been a favourite root because details of its cooking have been forgotten. The plant was also used for its seeds and its young shoots, which were dug out and eaten before they turned green.⁹ Dawson, speaking of the Shuswap Indians to the north, noted that

Indians eat the root of the Balsamorhiza, roasting it in the same manner that the root of the lily is roasted in holes in the ground. These holes, old crater-like depressions [are] common on hills where Balsamorhiza grows.¹⁰

Indians also favoured the tiger lily root, dug in the north Okanagan in September after the plants had flowered. The root was eaten raw, or after being boiled or pit-cooked and then dried in cakes, it was stored for winter use. Indians deliberately burned over areas at high elevations to get better crops of tiger lilies which were abundant two years after a fire.¹¹

The preceding discussion indicates something of the variety of roots used¹² and the timetable imposed upon the Indian root diggers. Roots were ready to dig at specific places, frequently widely distributed, and at specific times, although it is true that in the case of a conflict between digging one or another root the Indians could delay digging certain roots which had wide distribution and obtain them later at a higher elevation. The season in which the Indians travelled to root digging grounds extended from mid-April to as late as September. Dawson, writing from the Nicola area, noted: "Several camps of Indians up here at present, the women being engaged in digging roots."¹³ "Before we left camp this morning, a number of Indian women passed on way out to dig roots, each with basket on back and a digging stick."¹⁴ These root-gathering and processing camps scattered throughout the Okanagan territory would be occupied only as long as required to produce the particular product. Then they would break up, each family going its separate way, sometimes to another large camp, sometimes to gather roots alone. Depending on the proximity of the patches and the number of roots exploited, a family might move between six and ten times per year.

Berrying was another important activity for the Okanagan and other plateau people. Berries grew in wild profusion throughout the region, ripening in different months and the Indian people sometimes travelled very long distances to harvest them. Berries were picked mainly by women and children, although some informants claim that berrying was a family

occupation engaged in by men as well as women.¹⁵ The Indians picked into coiled cedar root baskets tied to the waist and then packed the berries into larger coiled baskets carried on the back by a tumpline. Berries were then spread on rocks or tule mats in a single layer to dry in the sun for about a week, although sometimes they were partially cooked and made into cakes, then dried and stored for winter use.¹⁶ Processing was generally conducted at the berrying site.

The most important berry for the Okanagan people was the Saskatoon or Service Berry (*Amalanchier Alnifolia* Nutt), of which the Indians recognized eight varieties, distinguished by habitat, growth form, leaves, bark, ripening time, appearance, taste and storage capability. Specific locations for favoured varieties were in the Round Lake area near Vernon and the White Lake area south of Penticton. A good mountain variety grew at high elevations.¹⁷ Saskaatoons were available over different habitat zones from June through September, although June was named after the Saskatoon berry.¹⁸ Saskatoon berries were eaten alone or mixed with bitterroot or other bulbs, meat, lichen or salmon eggs and were, as well, items of trade.

Chokecherries were another significant berry, available in large quantities in the north Okanagan, near Vernon and "Cherryville", in mid-August. July was called Chokecherry Month in the north Okanagan but the picking season may have been later. They were eaten fresh, dried like raisins or mashed and formed into thin cakes and then dried.

A variety of other berries, including Mountain Blueberries and Grouseberries, grew at high elevations and were picked in late summer. Two varieties of wild strawberries, one found at low and one at high elevations, matured in May and June respectively. Raspberries ripened from June through September and Black Raspberries from May to July. Oregon Grape and Kinnikinnic berries were both eaten raw or dried. Soapberries, Wild Gooseberries and Currants were popular species found along creeks and on the fringes of talus slopes in July and August.

Clearly berrying involved travel to more distant locations than did root digging. Maggie Stalkia from Penticton, a reliable informant, claims that her berrying took her to

Steven's Pass, Vernon, the Tulameen, areas in Washington on the west side of Omak Lake, north of Nespelem and another area just north of Republic.¹⁹ Often these trips were to high elevations. Frequently, but not necessarily, berrying was combined with hunting or fishing. Chokecherry time, for example, was known as the time when spring salmon came up the Okanagan River to spawn, and labour was divided by gender on such an occasion.²⁰ Berrying was conducted from May through September during which time quantities sufficient to last for the other seven months of the year had to be harvested, processed and stored.

Fishing, the third component of the traditional economy, may not have been as significant to the Okanagan economy as it was to that of the surrounding tribes. Native people to the north, the tribes of the Shuswap, Thompson and Lillooet, occupied land on the Fraser River system with its immense fishery and the southern tribes, the Colville and others, had significant fisheries on the Columbia. Only in the extreme south and north of Okanagan territory on the upper reaches of these two river systems did the Okanagan people encounter anadromous fish and these were never available, apparently, in quantities approaching those obtainable elsewhere. The Okanagans were known therefore as hunters rather than as fishermen. As early as 1827 Archibald McDonald reported on their means of livelihood:

The Chinpoos of the North River, the Schimilicumeachs [Similkameens] and the Okanagans of both sides of the Great Lake are the tribes that resort most to the chase, the two latter are what may be called inland tribes, being not quite so contiguous to the salmon fishery, however even they are become dependent on that resource now and after collecting what berries and little fishes they can, they either remove to the Kettle Falls on the Columbia or the lower part of the Thompson's River. But often they are reduced to roots, preparations from pipe moss and such like to keep body and life together.²¹

McDonald's observations may have considerable merit but they are biased and incomplete. He obviously has little appreciation of the role of root crops in the economy, regarding them and moss as starvation foods. That he is mistaken is evidenced by the fact that the Okanagan Indians to this day use root crops such as bitterroot and onions as a favoured part of their diet and

have retained knowledge of their traditional preparation. Regarding the fishing habits of the Okanagan, he is undoubtedly equally mistaken as he had little personal experience with the Okanagan Indians at times when they assembled to fish.²² While the archeological record seems to support McDonald's opinion that fishing was of minor importance,²³ ethnographical evidence clearly shows that anadromous fish were taken by use of weir, fish trap and fish net, none of which would necessarily appear in the archaeological record. Fishing, therefore, may have been relatively more important than these traditional sources indicate.

The Okanagan people had access to a wide variety of fish locally, available to them at different times and at specific places. One informant lists sockeye salmon as the principal fish species followed by steelhead trout, whitefish, squawfish, suckers and char.²⁴ Another added to the list, naming three types of kickanee (also called kokanee, kickeney or landlock salmon), chub salmon, ling cod, freshwater cod and two or three species of mountain trout running from one half pound to six or seven pounds in weight.²⁵

In April two varieties of suckers were caught in the Okanagan River at Osoyoos and Okanagan Falls²⁶ and in Eneas Creek.²⁷ Fishing was conducted for one or two weeks, often by older men and women, to supply the needs of the bands until the arrival of salmon or until the summer fishery. In May and June rainbow trout were available in various creeks running into Okanagan Lake. Armstrong relates taking large trout with a gaff hook as they ascended Shingle Creek when the water was high and spring fishing with hook and line in the Okanagan River below the falls.²⁸ The creeks flowing into Swan Lake and from Swan Lake to Okanagan Lake appear to have supported a major spring fishery. W. G. Cox noted in June 1861 that most "Indians [had] ascend[ed] the lake for the object of fishing"²⁹ and Thomas Ellis, on a visit to the head of the lake with J. C. Haynes in May 1865, recorded in his diary: "There are a lot of fish to be had there now, at a very fair price. The Indians catch a great quantity of them every day."³⁰ This fishery is documented in Cox's 1861 map of the Head of Lake Reserve which labels the

mouth of Vernon Creek as a fishery and indicates two camps which are probably associated with that activity, one of four lodges and another, at the mouth of the creek, of nine lodges.³¹ The Kamloops and Okanagan Indians also visited various high elevation lakes such as Fish Lake, Face Lake, Trout Lake, Hihium Lake for the summer fishery.³²

The major fishery for anadromous fish began in late June and continued until August. This fishery is well documented in the ethnographic literature by virtually all respondents who fished as young people. For example, Maggie Stalkia records catching salmon in July: "Oroville, Okanagan Falls, Testilinden and McIntyre -- these were camping spots but people fished all along the river."³³ Oroville was the site of a large encampment of fishermen, from Similkameen, Colville, Vernon and Merritt.³⁴ Father Baudre recorded Indians from the Nicola, Colville, the Kootenays, Soyoos, and the Similkameen meeting at Osoyoos Lake for fishing.³⁵ The Okanagan River fishery ended in August although it was followed by an October run in the Similkameen of a large species of salmon (silver salmon or steelhead trout), apparently four feet long, captured just above Oroville, at the falls.³⁶

Anadromous fish also ascended to the headwaters of the Fraser system, thereby entering Okanagan territory in the north via the Salmon and the Spallumcheen Rivers.³⁷ The fishery in the north tended to be later than that on the Columbia. Surviving records of the Hudson's Bay Company's Thompson's River post indicate the arrival of the first salmon every year. The first fresh salmon were usually available at Kamloops during the first week of September but are known to have arrived as early as 9 August (1822) or as late as 8 October (1850). These fish reached the Spallumcheen about one week after their arrival in Kamloops, that is, usually in the second week in September.³⁸ An eyewitness, A. L. Fortune, reminiscing about the early days, wrote:

In October '66 we found Cohastilaka, wife and old friend with his wife camped near river, on the Spallumcheen Prairie. They belonged to the Okanagan. They told us many Indians were catching salmon upriver. . . . [Going upriver] we passed several Indian camps where much salmon was being dried.³⁹

Fortune recorded no Indians fishing above Shuswap Falls in Mabel Lake and noted, when he returned eight days later, that the Indians were still encamped.

The Okanagan may not have relied solely on their own territorial waters for fish. Archibald McDonald claimed that they took salmon at Kettle Falls and on the Thompson.⁴⁰ McDonald would have seen Okanagan people at Kettle Falls himself and his "derouine runners" from Kamloops would have reported their presence on the Thompson. David Chance acknowledges that Kettle Falls attracted peoples from surrounding territory and that August was a month of open distribution of salmon, under the authority of the salmon chief.⁴¹ Shuttleworth records fishing on the Fraser in July and August.⁴² Presumably such distant ventures, which entailed transport of a bulk commodity, were feasible only after the introduction of the horse.

The major local fish species available to the Okanagan Indians in the fall was the freshwater kickanee, found in September and October at the mouth of, or ascending, virtually all of the small creeks in the Okanagan Valley.⁴³ Indians could obtain these fish at any number of creeks but a few spots were favourites, perhaps because of the productivity of the streams, availability of good camping spots, or proximity to the winter village. Mission Creek and Deep Creek supported particularly attractive fisheries. Father Jayol recorded Indians gathering at the Mission on 11 September 1865 "in large numbers"⁴⁴ and Stalkia and Armstrong recall travelling for kickanee to the Mission and Deep Creek sites and sometimes to Trout Creek or Trepanier Creek near Peachland.⁴⁵

For a full six months, from mid-October to mid-April, local fish were not at all plentiful. A small number of whitefish spawned along the shores and creeks of the lakes in late October but did not offer a major resource. Indians ice-fished in the winter months, for bullheads and ling cod,⁴⁶ through holes cut in the ice by the use of deer horn wedges. Returns were large enough to add variety to the diet, but too small to provide a major source of food.⁴⁷

The fishing season can be seen as having two major divisions, a summer fishery and a fall fishery. Individuals

conducted the summer differently from the fall fishery in terms of location, species of fish taken, technology and purpose. The summer fishery, whether in Vernon Creek in May and June or later in higher elevation lakes, was for local fish, for rainbow trout which ran in the early summer or for the variety of fish which could be caught with trap or by hook and line when not spawning. The catch was in quantities sufficient to supply the immediate food requirements of the people as they engaged in other activities but was not sufficient to obtain a storable surplus. Nor was the season suitable for processing fish. It was not warm enough in May and June for drying and the season was too distant from the winter consumption months. These fish were eaten fresh, probably in conjunction with freshly gathered roots and berries. Dawson describes a Shuswap Indian camp engaged in the summer fishery, similar no doubt to an Okanagan camp such as Cox would have observed in 1861.

They appear to be living now chiefly on a small species of whitefish which they catch in abundance with hook and line in the lake; together with a few potatoes from their gardens. I saw a pot full of the fish, cooking over the fire, which arrived at the proper stage, was removed and the fish taken out and spread on a piece of cedar bark. The various members of the family group then squatting around the bark, proceeded, quite unabashed by the presence of strangers, to eat the fish. This they did without condiment or accompaniment (sic) of any kind. . . .48

Summer fishing camps were small, probably comprised of fewer than twenty families, and located close to a fishing resource and, if possible, close to root-gathering or berrying locations. The camp was temporary and might be moved as different root digging grounds were exploited. From these summer base camps special-purpose task forces would leave for a few days to exploit distant floral or faunal resources. Because the technology used in this fishery was hook, line and trap, it could be considered a labour-intensive type of fishery, requiring that the men spend considerable time on the lake or attending traps. Because fish processing was not a function of these camps, women were free to engage in root digging and processing activities.

The fall fishery was very different because it provided a storable surplus at the time of year when it could be processed

efficiently and just before the season when fresh supplies were not available. An examination of the conduct of this fishery, with its technological requirements, ceremonial functions, authority structures, division of labour and distribution system reveals a great deal about the conduct of the industry and the Indian economy.

Indians from numerous bands assembled at sites along the major rivers or later at major kickanee spawning creeks and exploited the salmon resource as the fish travelled to, or were on, their spawning grounds. The anadromous fishery was the occasion of large assemblages of Indians and included much dancing, gambling, courtship, intertribal sporting competitions and storytelling.⁴⁹ Small special purpose task forces emanated from this camp for purposes of berrying, root digging and trading.

There was a rigid division of labour at the fall fishery site, with a considerable number of taboos on women. Women cooked and processed fish⁵⁰ but could have nothing to do with fish traps and were not allowed in the water, especially during their "monthly sickness". Women were allowed to use a dip net only if they were not having their menstrual period and if they were away from the main fishery.

The arrival of the anadromous salmon was celebrated in June with the first salmon ceremony. Peoples from different tribes assembled at riverside sites from Oroville to Okanagan Falls or on the Shuswap to prepare for the arrival by establishing camps, building weirs and traps, building and repairing nets, building processing frameworks and storage devices. A "headman" who was best versed in this work, regardless of the village from which he came or whether he was chief, directed the building of the weirs and traps. Building the necessary structures required expertise and considerable manpower. The work was a community effort; "all the men helped build the trap [although] only a couple [were required] to take care of it."⁵¹

Upon the arrival of the fish, all who were associated with that weir attended the first salmon ceremony. The headman took the first fish out of the trap with a dip net and gave it to the

women to cook. The fish was then ceremoniously cut up and distributed evenly, each person receiving a morsel. The bones were then returned to the river. When the ceremony was complete the fishery proper began. The headman divided the catch with everyone getting an equal share.⁵²

Processing the fish, largely women's work, required time more than physical strength. The fish were split in half and placed on racks to dry, sometimes under mats to protect them from the sun. Upon completion of this process they were placed in storage bags of tule or bark construction and placed in either elevated or subterranean storage compounds.

Fishing was a major sub-sector of the traditional economy. While the Okanagan people may not have been as dependent on fishing as their neighbours to the north and south, the activity appears to have been at least as important in their economy as hunting. Some families may have engaged primarily in fishing in conjunction with gathering and have traded with hunting families.

The fourth component of the hunting, fishing and gathering sector was the hunting sub-sector, on which the Okanagan people were generally more dependent than their neighbours, although some Shuswap and Lake bands were primarily hunters. The relative importance of hunting may explain the territorial expansion of the hunting territory of the Okanagan people in the last two centuries. Their territory held within it numerous game animals already mentioned.

Elk and caribou were apparently available to the Okanagan hunters in significant numbers at one time. Dawson, in 1888, observed many elk horns scattered over the hills east of Stump Lake and, on questioning an Indian informant, was told that they had formerly been very abundant.⁵³ However, Teit estimates the elk were already scarce by 1850 and nearly extinct by 1890.⁵⁴ Caribou were said to have been found east of Okanagan Lake and in the Similkameen mountains but had been hunted to extinction sometime during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁵⁵ Undoubtedly the introduction of the horse and firearms hastened this process.

Sheep were hunted in the south Okanagan and Similkameen,

especially in the Ashnola. Indian hunters sought rams in late summer or early fall when they were fat, often catching them in their lairs on hot days.⁵⁶ In the fall and winter sheep were hunted by driving them to a position where the animals were forced to jump from a cliff, to land in deep snow. While entrapped in the snow their throats were slit and their carcasses dragged down to be cached, frozen, in the snow. Teit recorded such a sheep hunt early in the nineteenth century⁵⁷ and Robinson reports being part of such a hunt in the Ashnola as a young boy.⁵⁸ Sheep hunts were often conducted with visitors from surrounding bands participating and sharing the kill.⁵⁹

The specialized task of bear hunting employed a variety of methods. Probably the most striking occurred when a single Indian engaged a grizzly armed with a cross of bone, which was jammed in the bear's mouth, and with a knife, which was repeatedly thrust into the bear's body just below the armpit.⁶⁰ Susan Allison described the procedure:

Turnisco [a Similkameen Indian] gained his name as a hunter from the courageous way he hunted and attacked grizzly bears. He would go out quite alone, armed only with his knife and follow them up until they stood at bay. Then, without waiting for them to charge, he would rush on them and plunge his knife into them while they were hugging him.⁶¹

Other, less spectacular methods, involved killing bear when they were hibernating. This method was apparently quite safe in December and January but more dangerous in February when the bears were more alert.⁶² Occasionally hibernating animals were smoked out.⁶³ Bears were also taken, at least amongst the southern Okanagan, by the use of deadfall traps,⁶⁴ and dogs were trained to attack grizzly bears or to keep them at bay until hunters arrived. Hunters were very circumspect when hunting for grizzlies which had good eyesight and were wary. Black bear, however, could be approached closely and shot with a bow and arrow.⁶⁵

The black bear was the only bear eaten and was considered "the best food in the old days."⁶⁶ It was fat and the tallow was stored in inverted intestines and cooked.⁶⁷ Upon killing a black bear the hunter sang a special song, which was sung again by the people when cutting and drying the meat.⁶⁸

By far the most important large animal exploited by the Okanagan Indians was the deer, of which two species, the white-tail and the mule deer, were important. Hunting was conducted on an individual basis whenever meat was scarce⁶⁹ and on a group basis at specific times of the year. Individual hunting excursions were usually day trips from the camp. The hunter would ride or walk out, hunt all day and return, tired and hungry. One such Okanagan Indian chanced upon Dawson in June 1877:

An old Indian passing on the trail came into camp with his horse all hung over, like a butcher's shop with the various parts of a large deer. To this imposing display of fresh meat, he riding on top, formed an impressive apex, and imposed upon us to the extent of a dollar [for] a hind leg.⁷⁰

Indians hunted deer with bows and arrows or later, rifles. They occasionally used calls, imitating fawns or adult deer to attract the opposite sex.⁷¹ They frequently dug pits beside well-travelled trails or salt licks and shot the deer as they approached.⁷² Hunters often employed six or seven foot deer fences along well-used trails or migration routes. The fence had periodic openings which required the deer to jump over a log, at which point it was caught in a snare attached to a spring tree. This type of hunting, called sqiaus, was conducted at high elevations in Beaverdell and the Kettle River in October by Indians from as far away as the Columbia.⁷³

A favoured means of individual hunting was through the use of native dogs, a species now extinct but described as a small dog with short hair. Dogs were taken to a mountain top by the hunter or, if particularly well trained, might ascend the mountain themselves from whence they drove the deer down to the water. Here they kept the animal at bay until the hunter arrived. Should the deer take to the water it was easy prey for a hunter in a canoe. This type of hunting was done in September when the deer were fat and was known as skuxsgaxam. Hunting dogs were highly prized and valuable in trade. The best hunters owned two dogs which were killed when their master died.⁷⁴

Another type of hunting, also practised in September and October, was a group hunt for deer. Teit, the anthropologist, ethnographer and spokesman for interior Indians, claims that,

aside from the incessant individual hunting, most bands had four great hunts per year. First, a spring hunt (March) for deer or sheep, of short duration and not far from camp; second, a late fall hunt (September and October) for deer, sheep, elk and bear with parties going great distances and staying perhaps two months; third, a midwinter hunt (December) for deer; and fourth, a late winter hunt (February) for sheep.⁷⁵ Regarding deer, virtually all informants agree that the late fall hunt was the significant hunting time, when deer were fat and were forming up in herds and descending from their summer range and before they entered their rutting season. This was also the most important time to obtain storable food supplies, before the winter months when fresh food was scarce. Probably most individuals participated in the fall hunt after the fishing season.⁷⁶

In conducting the group hunt a large party of men, women and children would assemble in a half-moon formation in an area frequented by deer and would drive the deer before them. Sometimes the deer would be driven into narrow places where a few good hunters waited to shoot them. On other occasions they would be driven toward deer nets in which they became entangled when attempting to climb through. The deer would be shot in the nets. These nets were made of Indian hemp with a mesh having holes about one foot square. This type of hunting, conducted along Shingle Creek and elsewhere, was known as spinpina.⁷⁷

Group hunting was always under the authority of a head huntsman, not necessarily the chief, but one who had demonstrated proficiency. "The best hunter was the people's leader. He supervised hunting and the distribution of meat."⁷⁸ When group hunting, all participants divided the meat equally.⁷⁹ The hunter always received certain special parts like the heart and he always kept the skins. These could be processed or traded, thus contributing to his individual wealth. The deer brains, used in tanning, were not divided but were given to each in turn. The product of the individual hunt, held at times other than September and October, was apparently kept by the family of the individual hunter.⁸⁰

Deer were a critically important resource to the Okanagan Indians and the fall hunt was subject to numerous strictly

observed rituals and taboos. The sexual division of labour was nearly complete. Women did not usually hunt deer, participating only occasionally as drivers. They were also forbidden to eat certain organs and to contaminate game by stepping over the bones. Women were often kept away from the hunter's house. Part of the pre-hunt ritual of hunters included sexual continence and cleansing of the body by the use of sweathouse, cold baths, induced vomiting and vigorous rubbing of the skin with fir boughs.⁸¹ For no other game animal except the bear were these ceremonies observed, but then, no other animal product was as important as a storable commodity.

Women processed most of the product of the hunt by cutting the meat into thin strips and drying it with or without the assistance of smoke. Dried meat was then packed in bark or woven tule sacks for storage. Women combined meat processing with gathering activities while the men were hunting.

Aside from deer and other big game, a variety of smaller animals were taken for meat and pelts.⁸² Beaver were apparently trapped in the fall and early winter by the Okanagan-Similkameen Indians. Records are very incomplete but those which survive and which identify Okanagan or Similkameen Indians bringing beaver pelts to Kamloops indicate that they were brought in before the fall deer hunt, September 20 to November 10, or after it. Marten were apparently hunted in midwinter with skins being taken to the Kamloops post from 16 January to 11 May.⁸³ Other small mammals were taken during the summer. The Siffleur Marmot was hunted in July in the mountains west of Princeton by small groups who combined a few days of root digging with a hunt for marmots among talus slopes and rock piles.⁸⁴ Groundhogs were taken in July in lowland regions; Indians smoked them out or shot them with bow and arrow as they sunned themselves on rocky ledges. These mammals, taken in mid-summer and mid-winter, were a supplementary fresh meat source at a time when the major diet was fish or dried fish and venison.

The Okanagans also hunted a variety of birds, the grouse undoubtedly being the most important. Three species were hunted: the Willow Grouse; the Blue Grouse, which was sought at

elevations of the Tamarack or Western Larch; and the Franklin Grouse or Fool Hen, found in montane regions. Geese and ducks were taken during moulting season and their eggs were collected at all large nesting resorts.⁸⁵

Two further aspects of the hunting, fishing and gathering economy -- the manufacturing sector and the trading sector, need examination because they were also integral components of the traditional economy. Secondary manufacturing of commodities had a central role in the economy, providing the capital resources to make efficient the procurement, transport and storage of food. One such commodity was Indian hemp, available throughout the Okanagan-Colville territory. Indian hemp was harvested in October; the stems were skinned, split and dried and then rolled on the thigh with open palm to make a twisted, spliced rope. This remarkable fibre made strong twine or hemp rope, as strong as modern hemp rope. Indians used it in the construction of fishing lines, dip nets, traps, weirs, drying scaffolding, storage sheds, deer nets, snares, tumplines and tule mats, as well as in clothing and mocassins. Another commodity of importance was the tule reed. Located along the edges of lakes throughout the Okanagan territory, tules were gathered after they turned brown in November, dried and sewed into large mats. They served a variety of functions: for making teepees; drying berries, meat or fish; for food storage bags; and as a platform from which to eat. These mats were light, waterproof and could be rolled for transport or cached for future use.⁸⁶ Birch bark for construction of canoes, baskets and storage containers was available in stands of birch two or three miles from Lake Okanagan up the creekbeds in the northern end of the valley, from the Peachland, Westbank, Whiteman Creek and Vernon areas, as well as from near Lumby. These strips of bark were cut in early summer and were important articles of manufacture.⁸⁷

In order to conduct their economic activities the Okanagan Indians manufactured a variety of implements, tools and structures. Weirs, traps and drying scaffolding as well as tule mats and hemp nets have been mentioned with respect to fishing. Hunting required bows and arrows, rope snares, nets, stone blade knives for cutting meat into strips and drying scaffolding.

Gathering required baskets for picking roots and berries, wood or metal root diggers, tule mats on which to dry products and stone-lined fire pits.

Storage of dried food, of course, was a crucial and integral part of the winter village system because food had to be stored to suffice for six months. Dried meat, berries, roots and fish were stored in talus slides or in stone-lined pits near to the resource procurement sites.⁸⁸ Elevated storage was provided at the winter camp, often with more than one family sharing a storage shed which was usually situated behind their homes. Storage sheds could be ten feet long, six feet wide and six or seven feet high. Four poles were tied horizontally between four tree trunks and a pole floor constructed on this framework. Then, a framework for a shed-like roof was constructed and the whole shed covered with tule mats. A ring of cactus around poles prevented entrance by mice while a log ladder provided access to the owners. Inside this shed goods were stored in tule mat bags, in birch bark or cottonwood bark baskets or in bags constructed from creepers.⁸⁹

Another secondary industry critical to the operation of the traditional economy was trading. Prior to the Indians obtaining horses, transport of bulky commodities was conducted on the lakes and Okanagan River by means of tule or pole rafts and canoes. The canoe preferred by the interior plateau tribes was the "sturgeon nosed" vessel described by Dawson as "one of the P. Monticola bark, of the peculiar shape I have no where seen but in BC. Extremely fast and seaworthy to an extraordinary degree."⁹⁰ After the advent of iron tools, probably after 1811, dugout canoes became common.⁹¹ Transport was also provided by manpower, packers often employing tumplines to support the load.⁹² Dogs were infrequently or never used as beasts of burden or draft animals. The advent of horses about 1750 revolutionized transport. Bulky commodities could now be transported overland for long distances, meaning that the Indians no longer were restricted to living in the immediate proximity of the lake. Horse transportation required pack saddles, saddle blankets, parfleches, appichimons, bridles and pack cords, items which were manufactured from dressed skins,

horsehair and Indian hemp. Transportation of storable commodities by horse allowed the Okanagans to effectively exploit a larger territory through direct hunting-gathering activities and through trading excursions.

Trade was an integral part of their economic system. Trade occurred between families, between bands of Okanagan Indians and interregionally, with Indian tribes bordering their territory. As the primary producing unit, the family could not possibly engage in all activities necessary to procure the whole range of vegetal, fish and meat resources as well as non-food economic goods when they became available; it had to specialize and trade. Even though a family could claim a share of fish taken from the trap at Okanagan Falls with only periodic attendance, those who remained at the site of the fishery would have had to be compensated and trade was necessary to balance out holdings of various critical storable goods. Some of this intra-tribal trade may also have been a result of particular items being available in certain micro-climates which gave easier access to one band's task force than another. For example, tree creepers used in storage bag construction were "found around Oroville and traded up to Penticton."⁹³

The Okanagan people conducted extensive interregional trade with the Shuswap and Thompson to the north and with the Colville Indians and others to the south. Walters reports on the Inkamip:

The Inkamip, the most southerly Northern Okanagan band, occupied territory directly north of and contiguous to Sinkaietl territory. Their trade relations are predominately to the north. They go up the Okanagan River beyond Lake Okanagan, about 2 miles from Enderby to trade for salmon with the Shuswap, for they are enemies. The Inkamip go in August, taking about 4 days on horses. Since the white traders came, the Shuswap have planted potatoes for which the Inkamip also trade. . . . The Inkamip go to the north of the Kamloops [Thompson] to trade with the Thompson every August. They go from Lake Osoyoos to the Similkameen River, up the river on the east side by Princeton to the head of the river and cross to the Kamloops [Thompson] River. They take raw hemp, gathered in Similkameen country, tied in hanks about 3 inches thick and 10 hands to a bunch, tanned deerskins and dried huckleberries and bring back only salmon. . . . [They also] dig camas at Kettle Falls and trade for fish there. They never go to Blackfoot country but trade for skins with the Colville. They never trade with the Kutenai or Lillooet.⁹⁴

Other informants have identified these same trade patterns. Teit claims that the trade route to Shuswap country at Enderby was important before the advent of the horse but that the shorter overland route to the Nicola, Thompson and Shuswap country later superceded it. Being lightly rolling grassland, the Nicola route was ideal for horse transport, and led more directly to Thompson than Shuswap territory.⁹⁵ The Thompson fishery in August became a mecca for Okanagan as well as other southern tribes.⁹⁶ Walters reports that the Sinkaietk, too, sent regular trading parties to the Thompson to trade bitter-root, hemp, blankets and robes to the Thompson men for salmon.⁹⁷ Similkameen informants recall taking Saskatoon berries, Chokecherries and deer hides to Merritt to trade for salmon with the main medium of exchange being Indian hemp.⁹⁸ Okanagans from Oroville report trading Indian hemp, buckskin and "anything in food" for coiled baskets from the north and woven bags from the south.⁹⁹

Trade with Colville and other southern points was also significant. Teit claims that Colville and Okanagan Falls were the two great trading centers. From the Columbia came marine shells, horse accoutrements, horses, salmon, basketry, stone implements and woven robes.¹⁰⁰ From Colville came a variety of products, chiefly salmon but also camas roots. Colville was a great trade emporium where goods from the Kutenais, the Black-foot or the Nez Perce could be obtained. These items included buffalo skins, horse accoutrements and coiled basketry. The Colville apparently did little transporting of goods, leaving that to tribes like the Okanagan. David Chance records that Okanagan and other tribes regularly assembled there. For example, he reports that in 1830-1831 Okanagan Indians traded at Fort Colville in the months of August, September, December, January and March, although he does not distinguish between the southern Okanagan (Sinkaietk) and the northern Okanagan.¹⁰¹

Trade appears to have been an important sub-sector of the economy, an activity engaged in regularly, especially during the month of August but also during the winter months. The Okanagans probably performed the trade function to a greater degree than their neighbours because their country was more

suited to horse raising and horse travel than that of the surrounding tribes. Teit claims that the Okanagan were the chief traders of the plateau people, often travelling well beyond their own territory.¹⁰² The extent of their participation is indicated by the fact that "the language of trade was Okanagan" at Thompson's River post, well inside Shuswap territory.¹⁰³

The problems imposed upon hunter-gatherer economies and the development of alternative strategies to deal with these environmentally imposed problems has been the subject of recent study. Lewis Binford has examined characteristics of hunter-gatherer societies on a world-wide basis and has developed a theoretical framework which explains the resource procurement strategy of hunter-gatherers in different environments.¹⁰⁴ Binford claims that there are two basic strategies which may be employed by hunter-gatherers: the foraging and logistically organized resource procurement strategies.

A foraging strategy is usually found in equatorial or arctic regions, areas where floral and faunal distribution is relatively even and the hunter-gatherers range over an undifferentiated landscape. Foragers generally range out from a residential base to which they return every evening. They search for food on an encounter basis employing a "mapping-on" strategy. This resource procurement strategy has distinctive characteristics: they have regular daily food activities, the foraging radius is limited to a half-day journey from their camp, they may engage in frequent residential changes as resources are exhausted in one area after another, they do not process or store food for use at a later time, and they rely on low-bulk inputs. While this strategy is certainly not applicable to the Okanagan, it does serve to highlight the features of the alternative strategy, a strategy which Binford labels the "logistically organized procurement strategy".

The logistically organized procurement strategy is employed in response to two problems which are not encountered by foragers, the problems of spatial and temporal incongruity of resource distribution. If critical resources are found a considerable distance from each other they may not be accessible

to foragers.¹⁰⁵ Under conditions of spatial incongruity a change in residence will not solve the problem because a move toward one critical resource may increase the distance to another. If resources are available only seasonally, and especially if their seasonal availability corresponds closely with other critical resources so that the group cannot shift from consumption of one resource to another, the foraging strategy is inadequate. Seasonal availability implies storage of food from seasons of abundance to seasons of non-availability. As the discussion of climate and habitat have demonstrated, foragers could not survive in the interior plateau.

Instead of mapping onto resources through residential moves and adjustments in group size, logistically organized collectors procure resources through specifically organized task groups which are deployed near to critical resources at specific times of the year. This strategy has its own set of characteristics including a semi-permanent winter village site that serves as a central storage depot, logistically organized food or economic resource procurement parties, field camps established near to critical resources, field processing of large quantities of food, the temporary storage of bulky processed foods and the transport of processed foods to the consumer's residential camp. This subsistence strategy appears appropriate to making a living on the interior plateau and from ethnographic evidence it is apparent that the model accurately describes the strategy employed by the Okanagan Indians.

Binford's focus on the strategy employed by hunter-gatherers in their economy is useful because he shifts attention from specific components of a system to the "dynamics of a living system of the past."¹⁰⁶ For example, if an archaeologist examined a hunting or other task specific site without an understanding of how that site functioned within the economic system, his conclusions would be, at best, partial and static and he would have difficulty giving meaning to the archaeological record. Once the system is comprehended, sites can be examined on the basis of how they were integrated into the system.

The winter village system implied a particular annual cycle for Okanagan Indians. Winter villages were located on the valley floor at locations which provided access to water and fuel, gave protection from severe weather, had good drainage and were close to good winter hunting and fishing areas. The major Okanagan winter sites north of the 49th parallel were at Inkamip, Penticton, N'Kamaplix (Head of Lake) and Spallumcheen although smaller villages existed at the Mission and elsewhere. Winter villages were comprised of numerous lodges, sometimes permanent, semi-subterranean, "kekuli" lodges, plus other buildings such as storage sheds and menstrual huts.

The village began dispersing in March or April. Winter villages broke up casually, with families leaving one by one. Perhaps they were going to fish at the Vernon Creek area or for suckers below Oroville or to dig bitterroot along Trout Creek. They would take their "tule mats off the house, roll them up and store them in a big shady tree until next winter or take them to their summer homes."¹⁰⁷ Packing all of their belongings on horses and either walking or riding, they would proceed to the resource procurement site. If at a major resource area, the summer camp would be composed indiscriminately of people from many bands and from neighbouring tribes and would be larger than the winter village. If at a camp where resources could be harvested quickly, by a small group, the camp may have been comprised of just one family.

The harvest of bitterroot month probably determined the base camp's location in April. While women gathered and processed the root crop and gathered greens, men began the spring fishery and hunted. Probably in May the spring fishery site determined the location of the camp for most families, with women travelling on two or three day camping ventures to specific root procurement areas for wild onions or Indian potatoes. Men fished and hunted, expanding their attention to egg collection activities and to hunting for geese and ducks, which were moulting. June saw the beginning of the anadromous fishing and berrying season. Many families assembled at least temporarily at the fishing sites to help in capital construction, take part in the first salmon ceremony and

socialize. Women began processing fish as well as gathering berries and roots. Men, those not fishing, helped with berrying and hunted for a variety of small game, groundhogs, rabbits and marmots. The anadromous fishery continued in August and early September while task force groups engaged in trading, hunting sheep, gathering Chokecherries and Indian hemp. In September the Indians shifted attention to kickanee and later, in September and October, focussed on the fall deer hunt, with supplementary hunting for grouse and beaver. In groups of three or four families the people headed for favourite hunting grounds. Men hunted while women processed meat, berried for Huckleberries and Blueberries, and dug roots like Tiger Lilies or other late maturing roots available at high elevations. Some families engaged in the fishery at the Spallumcheen or Similkameen Rivers or in the kickanee lake fishery. November was the month of setting up the winter village, transporting food from caches, gathering tules and, of course, hunting. December through March were considered winter months. Hunting was conducted singly, or in pairs, by men who tracked down deer in the snow. Bear were hunted and occasional group sheep hunts took place in the Similkameen. This was the best season for fur bearing animals because of the prime condition of their pelts. Beaver were hunted in late fall and early winter. Marten were sought throughout the winter, often by groups of men living away from the winter camp for two months. The winter months were undoubtedly important months for home manufacture of clothing, horse accoutrements, snowshoes and baskets, for winter dance ceremonies and for storytelling, education and cultural transmission activities.

Various aspects of the social relations of production are worthy of consideration. The primary production unit, the family, was only able to function as part of a larger unit, the band, a group of individuals numbering from fifty to two hundred persons. Families specialized to some extent, with family heads developing skills in hunting, fishing or trapping. A family of fishermen would have a different annual cycle from that of a hunting family. Some families were constantly on the move living in the hills,¹⁰⁸ while others moved less frequently,

perhaps just from winter to summer camp. Virtually all families assembled for the first-product ceremonies, and to construct and live in their winter village. Families living in a village like Penticton, which was apparently occupied on a year-round basis, would have a very different annual round than those at the Head of Lake, a winter site.

Direction of economic activity was diffused in the Okanagan economy. Certain group activities such as root digging, berrying, or conducting the anadromous fishery and fall hunt fell to individuals who had demonstrated ability. Usually the village headman summoned families to root digging or berrying grounds when the crop was mature by announcing the time and place of the first-product ceremony. This mechanism ensured that time was not wasted by individual groups having to determine independently the appropriate harvest time and it guaranteed equality of access to the resource. The anadromous fishery and the fall hunt also featured a headman. Others followed their leadership for the practical reason that returns from a hunting or fishing enterprise would be maximized under the direction of the acknowledged expert or of one who possessed spirit power. These headmen directed the capital construction projects, the deployment of labour, the first product ceremony signalling the beginning of the procurement activity and the distribution of the catch; in short, they appear to have had total economic and ceremonial jurisdiction regarding the exploitation of that particular resource for the season. Because individual families were free to associate with alternative headmen, the position had to be socially validated and was held only as long as the individual was deemed the most appropriate leader. On the other hand, some of the economic activities were conducted in small groups, perhaps by a hunter and his family on a hunting-gathering expedition or by a family engaged in ice fishing or spring fishing with hook and line. These groups operated independently, sometimes for extended periods of time. In fact, probably at all times there were small task force groups operating beyond the ken of headmen.

The distribution of food products differed according to the product being harvested and the manner of its acquisition.

During the anadromous fishery the head weir builder distributed the catch at the end of each day to each family according to its size, attendance at the fishery not being necessary to claim a share of the catch. Attendance at the labour-intensive capital construction stage and the following first product ceremony likely was sufficient to ensure access to the resource. Similarly the product of the highly productive fall deer and winter sheep hunt was distributed equally with minor exceptions. While root and berry production was conducted under the supervision of a headman and was conducted in groups, the product of the harvest was owned by individual families. Presumably a large family with greater needs could gather and process larger amounts of vegetal products than a smaller group, and equal access to the resource was sufficient to ensure equitable distribution.

The difference in treatment of the various products appears to have been based upon the capital intensiveness of the activity.¹⁰⁹ Group hunting and fish trapping were activities with little requirement of extensive labour input. Once in place, a fish trap or deer net required little attendance or maintenance. The ethnographic record is not clear about whether independently acquired resources, say fish caught with a hook and line in the summer fishery, were subject to communal distribution as well. Root digging and berry picking on the other hand required minimal capital and extensive labour and in these activities one was not expected to share one's returns with others. Thus, two distributive principles operated at the time of procurement: communal sharing and private ownership. Apparently the resource passed into family ownership, in particular into the hands of the women, at the time of procurement. Nobody in a group, however, was allowed to starve and there were further mechanisms for redistribution. Shuttleworth claims that during the winter ceremonial celebration Indians met to "take stock", at which time the chief enquired of "everyone how much [food] he had and those who had nothing were given supplies of food by those who had plenty."¹¹⁰ The chiefs, frequently given food by villagers, also distributed foodstuffs. One informant claimed that her father, a chief, in

fact did not actually go out hunting and fishing, but directed others, who gave him fish and meat, making him wealthy.¹¹¹ Others stated that, while chiefs did not appropriate goods, if the chief (or anyone else) asked an Indian for something he would give it to him.¹¹² An important consideration in choosing one's winter home site was proximity to the chief's residence because it was known that he would help out in times of need. Chiefs acquired status from their redistributive function.¹¹³

Property and territorial rights also affected the distributive system by regulating access to resources. Tribes had an acknowledged right to territories which included within them root and berry gathering sites as well as fisheries and hunting grounds. Membership in a village and band, through residence and acceptance of chiefly authority, determined an individual's right of use.¹¹⁴ An individual who married into another band had to decide to which band he and his wife wished to belong. They could not simultaneously belong to both, although a decision was not irreversible.¹¹⁵ However, these property rights were not exclusive. "Tribal territory could be used by anyone, for example, if some visitors from another tribe came to a fish trap, they would be given fish too. There were no [exclusive] Indian property rights."¹¹⁶ However, local jurisdiction was recognized. If an Okanagan hunted in Shuswap territory "he was under the jurisdiction of the Shuswap chief."¹¹⁷ Open but regulated access to resources was undoubtedly a necessity throughout the interior plateau. Resources were not secure. A dry year might seriously harm root and berry production, the anadromous fish run might not materialize, the deer population might be at a low point in a biological cycle or elk might be eliminated. Access to resources in neighbouring tribal territories was a reciprocal right which gave additional security in survival.¹¹⁸

While there was a communal distribution system, individuals and families did own private property. Women owned food resources and were free to trade or dispose of them as they saw fit, subject to voluntary sharing with the chief or less fortunate families. Goods such as cedar root, birch bark or

Indian hemp became private property once the labour had been expended to acquire them. Manufactured goods, homes, implements, tools or weapons, dogs, clothing or traps were individually acquired and owned. It appears that wealth could not be acquired on the basis of exclusive access to a critical storable resource, which could be obtained in abundance only during brief seasons of the year. Alternatively, if the product was primarily the result of individual or family labour it was owned privately.

The above discussion indicates that the traditional economy was a rational economic system. Resources were exploited, labour directed and capital and technological requirements met to perform a variety of economic activities. Social relations were developed which improved productivity, ensured the production of a wide range of products, distributed production in a somewhat equitable manner and maximized the security of the participants in the economy. The traditional economy was not productive enough, however, to provide a regular surplus. The major storable products were food items and food shortages appear to have been a common experience among the Okanagan people, certainly in the 1850s. They certainly had little permanent capital investment except in the form of winter homes and hand tools with which to generate increased production. In common with other traditional societies, the Okanagan Indians consumed nearly their entire annual production.

Once the Okanagan people came into contact with the white man, the traditional economy changed substantially and disappeared within three or four decades.

* * * * *

The hunting, fishing and gathering sector faced pressure and competition from a number of sources in the post-contact period. New technologies were introduced; new industries were established which employed different resources, had different manpower and capital requirements and different social relations of production; and new management regimes were imposed upon Indians governing the exploitation of resources. The hunting, fishing and gathering sector was to face change from within and pressure from without which resulted in its virtual disappearance in the time period under study. Remnants of the industry were to survive, but the industry was to operate on such a reduced scale and in such a truncated fashion that it would no longer have a major influence on the lives of Indian people.

The introduction of a new technology, a biological factor, or a new market does not necessarily affect an economy seriously because systems of production are flexible and can accommodate change without changing their fundamental form. However, systems of production are not infinitely elastic either. Certain kinds of change are significant enough to alter the basic nature of the economy, either in the technical sense or with regard to the social relations of production. For example, the introduction of the capitalistic economy through the fur trade post at Thompson's River apparently persuaded Okanagan trappers to exert exclusive rights to beaver, a scarce commodity in their territory, much to the chagrin of their neighbours. Exclusive rights to resources would seriously undermine the shared resource concept on which the security of the plateau people depended.

The major changes which preceded the arrival of the first white men were the acquisition of the horse and the effect of disease in the form of virulent epidemics which ravaged the Indian population. By 1860 the Okanagan Indians had been subject to European-induced influences for a period of not less than eighty years. The adoption of a new technology such as the horse had far-reaching consequences. Ownership of horses provided the impetus behind the Okanagan entry into the Nicola grasslands and other contiguous areas and allowed the Okanagans

to become significant traders. Annual residence changes were also affected as it is known that Chief Nicola maintained winter and summer residences in quite widely separated areas, the Head of Lake and the Nicola, using horse transport to move his household relatively easily. Horse transport may also have contributed to Penticton becoming a year-round village site. Transport of persons to distant sites for a few days of resource procurement and the efficient transport of the bulky storable goods may have made year-round occupation by many people feasible.

Horse ownership may also have initiated a change in the role of chiefs as distributors of goods. In the hunting-gathering economy, part of the chief's role was to assist the poor, give presents to his people and act as a provider. It was logical for a good provider to distribute perishable goods when they were required, before they spoiled or before the winter village dispersed. The economy had few surpluses other than stored food and thus accumulation of wealth was impractical. Chiefs apparently did not possess great wealth; in fact nowhere on the plateau was chieftainship based on wealth.¹²⁰ Yet in the post-contact period on the interior plateau a correlation between chieftainship and wealth in horses is apparent. Chief Sasapkin was described thus: "He was rich. He had lots of wild horses."¹²¹ Nanusesqun of central Nicola, a Thompson, at his death reputedly owned one thousand horses.¹²² Kamiakin, a Yakima chieftain, possessed thousands of horses.¹²³ One of the imperatives of horse raising is the establishment of a foundation herd, a capital stock which forms the basis of future wealth or security. Without a foundation herd one simply cannot become a stockman. Those Indians who engaged in horse and later cattle ranching embraced a set of social relations unknown in the hunter-gatherer economy. Accumulation rather than distribution would become the hallmark of the great chief. Horse raising not only introduced a technology which affected the technical aspects of production but also implied changed social relations of production incompatible with the hunter-gatherer society.

Another industry which established itself was the horti-

cultural sub-sector. The raising of vegetable crops was introduced to the Shuswap Indians by the Hudson's Bay Company and the Okanagans may have planted some potatoes prior to 1858. The entry of the missionaries into the Okanagan accelerated the introduction of vegetable crops so that by 1865 the Indians had well established gardens. By 1875 they harvested wheat, oats, corn, potatoes, peas and several other vegetables.¹²⁴ Planting of vegetable crops had various effects. It made the land more productive, with a small piece of bottomland being capable of yielding great quantities of vegetable products, thus increasing Indian security. Horticulture greatly increased the resources produced in one spot, encouraging the permanent settlement of Indians near to that resource and introducing a sedentary lifestyle to a formerly nomadic people. The introduction of this sector provides an excellent example of the Indians accepting a new mode of production. Under the urging of the priest and some whites the Indians began cultivating their land in 1865. They initially wanted to farm communally and to have production regulated by the chief. This would have made considerable sense according to their accustomed mode of production as gardening was similar to an anadromous fishing venture, that is, planting was a labour intensive activity, but maintenance of the gardens and harvesting did not require the attendance of all. The chief would oversee the harvesting and distribution of the product, perhaps taking a goodly share for himself to perform his redistributive function. However, the priest thought that each should cultivate individually. He felt that the chief would take too much for himself, that he would be partial and give produce to people who had done nothing.¹²⁵ Obviously, the priest had absolutely no appreciation of the Okanagan hunter-gatherer mode of production. The Indians followed the advice of the priest and gardened individually, thereby embracing the European social relations of production and losing the opportunity to apply their own management regime to agriculture.

The communal distribution system associated with the hunter-gatherer economy did not survive the era of white settlement intact. How could an individual horde his horses or

cattle and expect a hunter to share the product of his activity with him? Why should fish be distributed equally when potatoes were not? If one could not rely on a chieftain's redistributive function, why should he be given material or labour support?

Michael Asch, in an article advocating the use of the mode of production concept in discussing hunter-gatherer economies, states that a change in the mode of production required three factors: conscious knowledge of an alternative method of material reproduction with a clear concept of alternate relations of production; productive forces sufficient to sustain the new relations of production; and political power to mobilize collective action to ensure the realization of a particular transformation.¹²⁶ Clearly, all of these factors were present to affect the traditional economy of the Okanagan. Changes in the mode of production were significant enough to alter the traditional economy in an irreversible way.

Through contact with other sectors the hunting, fishing, gathering economy suffered multiple blows. Horticulture, an obvious alternative to gathering roots and berries, nearly, but not entirely, replaced the gathering activity. Even today Indian people devote some time to picking huckleberries and other wild fruit, preferring the taste to that of domestically grown products, and many still go on occasional root gathering ventures. Other factors began to mitigate against extensive gathering as early as 1870. Exclusive ownership rights enforced by fences kept Indians away from many of their old haunts. Overgrazing by the cattle of Indians and whites may have decimated wild root production, although this is not fully documented. Different routines enforced different timetables and individuals found conflicts with other activities. Family members hired out as wage labourers, destroying the group task nature of berrying and digging. By 1880 the pattern of life was no longer the same.

The hunting sub-sector of the hunting-gathering economy was subject to pressure from before the arrival of settlers and continued to be further restricted. The near elimination of elk by the 1850s, undoubtedly related to the Indian acquisition of horses and firearms, seriously affected the economic viability

of the region, dependent as it was on storable food resources obtainable in the fall. Other species such as beaver met a similar fate. The Thompson's River Post Journal of 1826-1827 recorded the decline vividly, indicating that three of the best hunters had been out fifteen days and brought in only ten skins between them whereas one hunter had brought in ninety beaver himself in 1823-1824.¹²⁷ Archibald Macdonald claimed in 1827:

The Beaver is, I believe, the most common animal in the district and alas he is rare enough considering the extent of the country. A person can walk for days together without seeing the smallest quadruped, the little brown squirrel excepted.¹²⁸

By the 1850s virtually no beaver were being brought in from Okanagan territory as numerous entries in the Thompson's River journal reveal.¹²⁹ Small mammals of all kinds became very scarce in the district. This small game had been used as a supplementary meat source, as fresh meat in a long season of eating dried food, and its elimination may have been serious.

The introduction of cattle and horses in large numbers on to Okanagan ranges gave the deer competition for food. Deer are browsers and eat various plants such as kinnikinnic which domestic ungulates do not, but they also depend upon grasses, vines and other plants upon which cattle graze. Deer populations may have been reduced significantly by the competition.

More significant than scarcity of game, however, were the government regulations which limited the Indian hunters' access to the resource. The right to hunt and fish has always been considered an aboriginal right by native Indians. These people never signed a treaty extinguishing that right but similarly they have never had minimum rights spelled out in a document to which they can refer for protection. Indians elsewhere in British Columbia who had signed treaties had some protection in the courts, at least after a 1915 judgement of the Supreme Court of British Columbia in the case of Fitzgerald vs. Edward Jim. The effect was that treaty Indians could hunt at any season on their reserves, although not over unoccupied Crown land, a significant difference.¹³⁰ However, non-treaty Indians such as the Okanagans had no such minimal protections.

Little survives in writing of the agreements G. W. Cox and J. C. Haynes, the two colonial government officials involved in assigning reserves, made with Okanagan Indians regarding their hunting and fishing rights. The right to hunt and fish over the Okanagan territory must have been promised, unless it was so basic that neither side felt it necessary to make it explicit. However, by 1878 Indians were expressing their anxiety over hunting rights. In response to their concerns G. M. Sproat, of the Indian Reserve Commission (IRC), could only state that:

it is not the practice of the Crown to place any obstacles in the way of its subjects, whether Indians or non-Indians, as regards hunting on Crown lands, but this tacit permission of the Crown does not extend to lands which have been acquired by individuals or corporations . . . nor to districts in which the legislature may have made regulations in the common interest of Indians and non-Indians to prevent the killing of game at improper seasons.¹³¹

In the 1890s the Okanagan Indians were continually harassed by local law enforcement officers for taking too many deer. For example, in 1895 W. F. Cameron, a Vernon merchant acting on behalf of the Gun Club, brought six Indians before Price Ellison, Stipendary Magistrate, alleging that he had seen at least twenty deer hanging up on the reserve, the Indians "being engaged in drying the meat and manufacturing buckskin from the hides"¹³² which contravened a law which stated that Indians could only kill what they required for their immediate use. Cameron may have been trying to eliminate the competition as it is known that he kept a major boarding house in Vernon supplied with game, although he may have taken his one or two at a time.¹³³ On another occasion Indians in Vernon brought in a number of deer, one Indian having four, for which the magistrate severely reprimanded them.¹³⁴ These "regulations for the common interest of Indians and non-Indians" seriously affected those wishing to pursue a livelihood by hunting, as the regulations treated the two groups as equals, and denied any prior right to Indian people. Once the Provincial Government decided to regulate hunting, Indians lost the ability to hunt for a significant part of their livelihood. The provincial Game Act became progressively more restrictive, in 1896 preventing Indians from selling deer and applying the closed season to

Indians.¹³⁵ In 1911 the Act for the Protection of Certain Animals and Birds or Game Protection Act imposed strict regulations, a closed season on hunting, and it limited Indians to three deer in one season. An amendment to the Act in 1913 recognized the separate status of Indians to this degree:

The Game Warden may give permits to Indians to kill deer for food for their own use and such permits shall state the number of deer that may be killed and the length of time that the person receiving the permit will be allowed to keep deer in his possession.¹³⁶

It also exempted Indians from gun license requirements. The extent of the Provincial Game Warden's authority and the manner of enforcement soon became clear through a circular letter sent to Indian Agents in British Columbia. It read:

I do not intend to grant any permit to any Indian except under the recommendation of the Indian Agent. . . . In considering such applications I would require to know . . . the age of the Indian, number in his family and other information which would be of assistance to me in deciding whether he is entitled to such a permit or not. . . . [Y]oung Indians who are capable of obtaining work are certainly not entitled to them, it is for the more older [sic] class of Indians who have been in the habit of hunting all their lives and feel more severely the enforcement of the present game laws. . . . [P]articularly draw attention of the Indians to the fact that an abuse of the privileges connected with such permits would simply result in all such permits being cancelled.¹³⁷

Elsewhere the Provincial Game Warden required to know whether the individual was a "sober and industrious man."¹³⁸ In a submission to the 1912-1916 Royal Commission on Indian Affairs he further elaborated regarding fall hunting:

[A]ny Indian who can get out to hunt deer can at this time of the year catch all the trout he can possibly use, also the salmon are just beginning to run and in many places there is work for Indians haying and harvesting and giving Indians permits to hunt deer at this time of year simply encourages them to do nothing else.¹³⁹

The attitude of the Provincial Game Warden was that the Indians hunted only on sufferance of his office and that permits were issued on the basis of humanity, not as a right. Haying and harvesting were considered to be endeavours more appropriate to an industrious people. He was echoing a feeling widespread among whites who usually hunted for recreation, that an Indian who hunted was not industrious. For example, Lenihan, the

Assistant Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, in 1877 wrote that after the harvest the Okanagan Indians "wander[ed] about in old fashion fishing and hunting and in the habit of laziness."¹⁴⁰

Indians were not adverse to expressing grievances. In testimony to the McKenna-McBride Commission, many of the Okanagan people voiced their objections. Sam Pierre of the Head of Lake proclaimed:

It is quite true that you said I am chief of these mountains of the Province. I want [to be able to take] everything that I eat, anything that I used to eat a long time ago -- I don't want to go to jail on account of it.¹⁴¹

Sub-chief Tomat at Tsintekteptum Indian Reserve (Westbank) complained that:

Indians have had bad feelings toward the white men for stopping them from getting deer and game from the mountains. If the government would let the Indians hunt and fish as in the old days they would have no further grievance."¹⁴²

In the Similkameen, Chief John Ashnola's testimony was reported:

The government has made a law prohibiting the Indians from getting the deer and birds and fish when they wanted them for food. He always saw an armed policeman about the place looking after the game. He asked that the Indians be permitted to kill marten and all other fur bearing animals as in the old days -- to kill for the sale of the pelts as well as for food.¹⁴³

No relief was in sight for Okanagan Indian hunters. They continued to be harassed, prosecuted and jailed if they hunted out of season without permits, which were given only to compliant individuals. Indians complained further in meetings with the Department of Indian Affairs in 1923 as they would complain for years, all to no avail:

We claim the right to hunt for food at any time that we need it. I mean any time in season. There are certain times of the year when the deer are not fit to eat, and Indians do not want them, that goes without saying. . . . We press for that [hunting right] as one of the conditions necessary to extinguish our aboriginal title.¹⁴⁴

The fishing sub-sector of the traditional economy was also threatened from a number of sources. Throughout the period under study, fishing remained a significant element in the livelihood of the Indian people.¹⁴⁵ The manner in which the

Indians conducted the fishery involved moving their families, horses and household goods to the fishing grounds, and they therefore needed pasturage, road access and firewood as well as access to the water. They did not use the sites on a year-round basis but access under suitable conditions at the appropriate season was critical. As settlement progressed, many of the fishing sites fell within white farms and the two land uses conflicted. The conflict was well advanced when the IRC arrived in the Okanagan to adjust Indian reserves. G. M. Sproat wrote:

I have had Indians kneeling to me with lamentations and praying that if the Queen could not give them soil, she would give them stones or rocks in the old loved localities now possessed or at least occupied by white men. The British Columbian Indian thinks . . . as much of a particular rock from which his family has caught fish from time immemorial as an Englishman thinks of his home that has come to him from his forefathers 146

In attempting to adjudicate conflicting claims, the IRC did not wish to recognize the fishing sites because assignment of reserves might check white settlement, fishing rights might conflict with irrigation rights, and the provincial commissioner felt that "the Indians did not really require these small fish, having plenty of salmon and using now, largely, the common food of civilized men."¹⁴⁷ A compromise settlement was reached with the Indians, who gave up claim to all fishing places that fell within alienated lands in exchange for "a few of the many places on unoccupied Crown land which they had asked for."¹⁴⁸ They were granted fishing reserves at Eagle River, Otter Lake, Kalamalka Lake, Swan Lake, Okanagan Lake (at Priests' Valley or Vernon), the Mission, Okanagan Falls and Clapperton Creek.¹⁴⁹ Peter O'Reilly replaced Sproat as Indian Reserve Commissioner and continued his policy. He wrote:

it was understood by the Indians that they had fishing rights in all the 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.¹⁵⁰

The Indians were to discover, however, that despite repeated promises, the IRC did not have authority to reserve fisheries or water.

Commissioner Sproat had noted that Indian methods of

fishing were contrary to existing law and had requested that A. C. Anderson, Fisheries Inspector and former Indian Reserve Commissioner, apply for an amendment in their interests. This observation was ominous because Okanagan and British Columbia Indians were to face a series of legislative restrictions on their fishing rights in the years to come. Federal legislation designed specifically to protect Indian rights was introduced by Order in Council on 26 November 1888 and read, in part:

fishing without leases or licences is prohibited in BC waters except by Indians fishing for food but not for sale, barter or traffic by any means other than drift nets or spearing.¹⁵¹

This legislation may appear reasonable because Indians were exempted from having to purchase licences and observe the closed season, but the exemptions were conditional and were later used to deny Indian rights.

In 1890 the Department of Justice decided that the IRC had no authority over fisheries and in 1891 Charles Tupper, the Minister of Fisheries, sent Edgar Dewdney, the Minister of the Interior, a strongly worded letter ordering him to

tell O'Reilly to refrain from issuing fishing privileges. He has no authority. Indians are dealt with liberally. Indians are bound to comply with fisheries laws and regulations.¹⁵²

The Minister of the Interior meekly surrendered in this jurisdictional dispute, ordering Vankoughnet, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, to obey. Vankoughnet, in turn, informed Superintendent A. W. Vowell and Commissioner O'Rielly of the decision with the words: Fishing "is a privilege, not a right, . . . an act of grace. . . [which can be] withdrawn if abused."¹⁵³ The Fisheries Department officers were ordered to enforce the law and at the Coast they began to cut the nets of Indians fishing illegally and to prosecute them in the courts.¹⁵⁴

In the Okanagan the Indians began to be hampered as they conducted their fishery, even on fishing sites previously confirmed to them. In 1892 the Indian Agent banned traps on creek mouths on two days each week.¹⁵⁵ Charles Tupper, in a letter to John Mara, MP, published in the Vernon News, ruled that fish traps could not be used to obstruct streams.¹⁵⁶ The

Indian Agent then declared that Indians had no right to obstruct Vernon Creek.¹⁵⁷ The following year Constable Montieth ordered Indians to remove their traps during their spring fishery¹⁵⁸ and Constable Norris enforced the ban on fish traps and salmon spearing at the anadromous fishery on the Shuswap and Salmon Rivers.¹⁵⁹ The days of the traditional fishery were near an end.

New "Fisheries Regulations for the Province of British Columbia" were passed in 1894, rescinding previous Acts and amendments and providing that:

1a. 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

4. No salmon shall be taken in any of the waters of British Columbia from the 15th day of September to the 25th day of September, both days inclusive nor from the 31st day of October to the last day of February following, both days inclusive

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.¹⁶⁰

As well as these restrictions a closed season was imposed for salmon, trout and whitefish for October and November (Section 25); restrictions were placed on methods of catching brook or speckled trout, allowing only angling with a hook and line (Section 27); and fishing by means of spear and torch was prohibited.

These new fisheries regulations would seriously affect the Indian fishery. Firstly, it was only with the permission of the Inspector of Fisheries that Indians could fish for food in the closed season and, although occasionally old men with no other means of support were given exemptions on humanitarian grounds, Indians could not count on receiving an exemption. The Fisheries Department claimed that Indians had been "led to the belief that they are a privileged race quite above the law and regulations as regards fisheries matters" and that the result of special treatment would be "jealousy and trouble with whites and annoyance and difficulties for the department." The Department

ordered Indians to "obey the law or have privileges taken away."¹⁶¹ Fisheries officials claimed it was "only the lazy and worthless who wished to be allowed to continue their destructive poaching."¹⁶²

A second feature of the regulations was that Indians could not sell, barter or traffic in their catch. The right to traffic in fish was a traditional right and as a commodity of trade it was important to the hunter-gatherer economy. As well, this restriction against selling even during the open season, applied only to Indians; any other nationality could and did sell fish that they had caught in excess of their needs.¹⁶³

Indians were forbidden from using the efficient means of catching fish such as weirs, traps, torches and spears, restrictions which may have made sense to a sports fisherman but to an Indian wishing to use an efficient means of making a livelihood it was akin to telling a farmer he must not use draft animals for ploughing. With permission, the Indians could use a dip net but not other means. The Okanagan Indian Agent explained the problems that this would present:

The . . . Nicola, Spallumcheen and Eagle Rivers at the time of the salmon run are too shallow to admit of the use of the dip net. Consequently to provide themselves with food the Indians have to construct weirs or have recourse to spears, both of which are at present illegal. . . . The spear is at once the most primitive and the most effectual means available to them and can be employed where other methods cannot.¹⁶⁴

Another restriction concerned catching fish on their spawning grounds. From the Indian perspective this location made considerable sense. Fish were easily obtainable then, were taken after the adult had spawned and would soon die anyway and when the fish had less oil content and were therefore more suitable for processing by drying.¹⁶⁵ These spawning fish were not used by whites and this regulation seemed merely vindictive.

The closed season was presumably drawn up to protect fish, but it was an example of an inappropriate law. First, the September closure eliminated the kickanee fishery and the principal Thompson-Shuswap salmon fishery when salmon were in peak condition, because the closure coincided with these

fisheries almost completely. The October–November fishery closure eliminated the steelhead fishery on the Shuswap and the silver salmon fishery on the Similkameen. Thus, the closed season prohibited fishing for certain species and left the other species, which arrived in June, July and August, completely unprotected, if indeed they needed protection.¹⁶⁶

The Okanagan Indian agent noted that the regulations "would be a great hardship and might result in actual want were they enforced."¹⁶⁷ But enforced they would be, after the initial furore over the legislation had died away. In 1915 Royal Commissioner McDowall reported "so many representations" from Indians regarding their fishing rights. The testimony of Indians such as Chief Pierre Michel of the Head of Lake is on record:

We were told by the policeman that we must not use a spear to catch the fish -- we cannot catch them by the naked hand and I don't think there is one of my people . . . went to the [Salmon River] to get any salmon this year. They were all afraid . . . of going to gaol.¹⁶⁸

Sam Pierre supported the chief: "[W]e can't go fishing with a weir or a trap. The game warden told me, if you don't stop it, I will put you in gaol."¹⁶⁹

At the turn of the century, the Okanagan, Thompson and Suswap attempted, with limited success, to secure access to a number of small lakes, customary sites which had not been reserved for their use and were therefore vulnerable to confiscation by white settlers. For example, a site at Fish Lake, south of Kamloops, was requested by the Shuswap and Okanagan chiefs in 1903 because it was a traditional fishery. Indian Agent McKay had marked out a plot for them about 1887 on which Indians had cabins, corrals and other improvements, but the land had been possessed by a squatter in what amounted to a confiscation. In making the request for a fishing reserve the Indian Agent noted:

It has always been a favourite camping ground of Indians judging from the evidence still extant and from statements of Indians. The IRC should allot them a small reserve. Formerly the Indians had the run of that part of the country to themselves. Latterly a wagon road has been built to the Lake and it has become a great fishing resort for the people of Kamloops.¹⁷⁰

The Department of Indian Affairs confronted the Department of the Interior, which wrote that "there [was] enough land for the Indians without interfering with the Department in this connection"¹⁷¹ and agreed only to continue temporarily to grant Indians the "privilege" to use the lake. However, when the Department of the Interior learned that Indians had made improvements it ordered them to "remove the fence and cease cultivating" or lose the privilege.¹⁷² The Department of Indian Affairs supervised the tearing down of the fences.

The Indian hunting, fishing and gathering sector faced many challenges in the seventy years following the appearance of the first settlers. The technologies, resource use, seasonal work requirements and social relations of production of the new industries differed from and conflicted with those prevalent in the hunting, fishing and gathering economy. Indian participants in the traditional economy were attracted to new sectors, particularly to stockraising or horticulture, for reasons of improved standard of living and security. But many remained very dependent upon the hunting, fishing, gathering economy not only because they were unable to establish themselves in other sectors but also because they enjoyed the customary foods and the lifestyle which that economy offered.

Those who chose to remain in the hunting, fishing and gathering economy suffered a variety of obstacles. With regard to gathering, overgrazing diminished the resource base upon which the industry depended, fences affected Indian mobility, and private ownership of land reduced accessibility. The hunting and fishing resource base may have been diminished somewhat by over-use but not significantly. The most significant developments impinging on the industry were government-induced. Government departments unilaterally denied aboriginal rights to the fish and game resources, assumed management rights over the resources, and applied rigid regulations. While they did make exceptions for Indians to soften the hardship, these exceptions were inevitably accompanied by a series of restrictions on when and how they might fish and hunt to the point where Indians were largely excluded from the industry. Indians who engaged in the

traditional economy to procure a livelihood were placed on the same basis as white people who used fish and game for recreational purposes. Denying aboriginal rights deliberately closed the traditional economy to the original resource users.

B. THE MINING INDUSTRY

Mining was an industry which remained exclusive to the immigrant white population in the Okanagan. Gold was the commodity responsible for the first surge of Californian immigration and was important to later immigrants from Great Britain, France, Canada, China and elsewhere. Mining also sustained those immigrants when they arrived, providing many with their sole means of livelihood and others with a small, supplemental cash income to purchase necessities from outside the region. With minor exceptions, the Indian people of the Okanagan did not participate in mining, probably because Okanagan mines were marginal and the Indians had more productive, alternative employment during the mining season. Mining was indirectly important to Indians because it attracted and sustained white settlers who were to increase in numbers and dominate the Indians economically and politically.

The Colony of British Columbia has been aptly described by Walter Sage, Margaret Ormsby and others as a gold colony, reflecting the primacy of mineral production in its economic life. Both before and after confederation gold, and later silver and copper production, supported significant employment directly or indirectly. Placer gold mining production, initially the only method of production, reached a peak of nearly \$4,000,000 annually in 1863 and thereafter declined quite steadily to a mere \$34,000 in 1914.¹ While returns to placer mining declined over the decades, lode mining became important after the 1885 completion of the transcontinental railway. Total value of gold produced in the province rose from \$713,700 in 1885 to \$5,432,000 in 1910, by which time placer gold comprised a mere 8.8 percent of the total production. Of gold produced from lode, a smelting process recovered 86.5 percent, usually from copper ores with the remainder produced by stamp milling.² Gold production, therefore, depended to some extent on copper production. From 1900 to 1914 the Boundary Country, immediately adjacent to the Okanagan, was the premier copper-producing area of Canada. Production of copper increased

from 5.7 million pounds in 1900 to 40.2 million pounds in 1910, equalling about 87 percent of British Columbia's total production and over half of total Canadian production.³ Mineral production quite obviously fuelled the British Columbia economy.

In the Okanagan the actual output of gold and other minerals was slight in comparison to regions such as the Cariboo, Slocan or Boundary districts. The Okanagan and Similkameen regions produced only about 2 percent of the total provincial gold output from 1874 to 1945.⁴ Still, in the first decade after the colony was founded, virtually any white or Chinese person entering the Okanagan was connected, directly or indirectly, to that activity. After lode mining was introduced employment in mines and mills became significant, especially in the South Okanagan. Mining provided the impetus for the introduction of other features of economic and political life such as white settlement, stockraising, the establishment of government control and the provision of improved transport facilities from coastal British Columbia. Mineral wealth was the primary export commodity from this and other regions and in this sense was the mother of other industries.

Placer mining went through two distinct phases in the Okanagan, each phase displaying distinctive characteristics. The initial phase, dominated by California-based miners, was centered around Rock Creek and the Similkameen and lasted only from 1860 until 1863. The exodus of most miners to camps outside of the region left a few individuals who, from 1863 to about 1895, maintained marginal mining operations, often in conjunction with subsistence agriculture. The gold rush to Granite Creek in 1885 was a belated rush, similar to those of the 1860s and, like them, lasting about three seasons. A few dredging operations continued to extract placer gold in the 1890s but placer mining nearly ceased except for a few prospectors who lived in hope of finding another good claim.

Gold rush activity in British Columbia was an integral part of the larger gold mining advance in the Pacific Northwest.⁵ Beginning in 1849 in California, miners developed camp after camp, gradually extending their activity to the north

and east, discovering gold in the Fort Colville district in 1855 and in British territory north of the 49th parallel later that same year. The initial phase of the mining industry must be regarded as an extension of the American mining frontier, using Californian personnel and technology and with social relations of production modified only somewhat by the political authorities in British Columbia.

Access to the Pacific Northwest, especially to the interior plateau, was not easy for miners. Those who rushed to Fort Colville in 1855 faced considerable hardships because of inadequate transport and the consequent scarcity of provisions and because of Indian hostility to the possession of their country. War between the United States army and the interior Indians consumed the frontier from 1855 until General Wright defeated a combined Indian force near Spokane in August 1858. Peace was established and finally, in March 1859, Governor Steven's treaties were ratified by Congress.⁶ During the Indian wars the frontier was closed to immigrants except for miners who were expected to provide for their own protection in the face of depredation from Indians. But the Indians south of the border were only able to hinder, not halt, the mining advance.

From Fort Colville prospectors ranged north in search of good diggings. In the fall of 1855 James Taylor of Olympia organized a party which travelled through the Okanagan to the Thompson River, where they discovered gold.⁷ In the spring of 1856 Angus MacDonald reported to Douglas that gold had been discovered in British territory.⁸ Undoubtedly the war raging in Washington Territory discouraged most prospecting ventures, but in the summer of 1857 a number of metis and French-Canadian miners from the Colville region travelled through the Okanagan to the vicinity of Kamloops where "they found several rich bars on which they went to work, continuing operations with much success until forced to leave for want of provisions on the approach of cold weather."⁹ Success in the Thompson River country contiguous to the Okanagan initiated a mass emigration from California and Puget Sound in the summer of 1858. Over the winter of 1857-1858 word of the new diggings had spread through

the Pacific Northwest, where conditions were ripe for an exodus.¹⁰ Because of the Indian wars the most convenient approach to the Thompson-Fraser was by water via Victoria, and it was therefore to the lower Fraser River that the mass movement of miners flowed in the summer of 1858 before ebbing back to its California source. By the winter of 1858-1859 most of the over twenty thousand miners in British Columbia had returned to California, discouraged by limited diggings, the high cost of provisions, inadequate transport facilities and high water in July.

The interior route to the Thompson country was difficult but remained open in 1858. At least four expeditions of miners pushed through the Okanagan-Similkameen from Fort Colville to the new diggings that summer.¹¹ These groups travelled as armed columns under quasi-military discipline for their protection, reflecting the conditions under which they had been living, either under a state of seige in the Colville area or fighting their way through the hostile Yakima country to the border. The Indian war was approaching its dramatic conclusion in July of 1858 and all Indians were considered hostile. These parties met resistance from Indians on the trip northward. For example, the David McLoughlin party, 160 men strong, left Walla Walla in July and were ambushed in southern Okanagan territory where four or five men were killed and others wounded. Indians harassed other expeditions to some degree, with the Pearson-led group suffering numerous misfortunes and the Joel Palmer wagon train driving through largely unhampered. The best documented expedition is that of Major Mortimer Robertson which left The Dalles in late July. A participant, H. F. Reinhart, has left his detailed reminiscences of the trip and they give an insight into the dangers or assumed dangers of the journey.¹²

About two hundred and forty-two men with seven hundred head of horses and mules formed six companies according to individual preference. All were well armed in anticipation of conflict with Indians; in fact one man was killed and several horses stolen in southern Okanagan territory. One group of miners hived off from Robinson's train to travel via the Similkameen and bragged that they "were not afraid of Indians

and would travel where they wished to for all the Indians in British America."¹³ In a series of struggles that party lost eight men to the Similkameen Indians. The Robinson party displayed active hostility to the Okanagan Indians in British territory. At Penticton they plundered the winter village, shot dogs, stole supplies of nuts and dried berries and dumped what remained of the fifty to one hundred bushels into the lake. Later a rearguard ambushed a party of unarmed Indians who had crossed the lake to salvage what was left at a campsite the expedition had just left, killing perhaps ten or twelve and wounding as many in a wanton slaughter. The Indians retaliated by killing one packer caught alone between companies and by stealing horses whenever possible. When the company arrived at Kamloops they were severely reprimanded by Chief Nicolas who threatened them with annihilation should they persist in such action. The entrance of the miners to the Okanagan was not auspicious.

While numerous miners such as Reinhart were discouraged by the conditions in the newly established Colony of British Columbia and returned to their former diggings, many stayed and in small prospecting parties sought out other streams and rivers. From 1859 to 1861, before the large Cariboo rush and the major discoveries on the Nez Perce Indian reserve of Washington Territory, the first rush to the southern Okanagan occurred. Men working on the United States Boundary Commission discovered gold on the Similkameen. Letters dated 8 October 1859 and 10 October 1859 from Camp Si-mil-ka-meen and Camp Osoyoos respectively, reprinted with an editorial in The Dalles Journal of 24 October 1859,¹⁴ confirmed the existence of a rich placer but warned that it appeared to be localized. Regardless, early in 1860 large numbers of men assembled at The Dalles, Walla Walla and Puget Sound for the trek to the Similkameen. Heavy shipments of goods were made with up to 120 pack animals leaving The Dalles on a single day.¹⁵ As early as May 1860 G. W. Cox, a government official stationed at Kamloops, wrote to the Colonial Secretary with the comment that the Similkameen mines were "reported a failure."¹⁶ During July miners from the Similkameen reached Hope for provisions

while miners from the lower Fraser penetrated the Cascade Mountains and returned for supplies.¹⁷ Lieutenant Charles W. Wilson, Secretary of the British Boundary Commission engaged in the survey of the forty-ninth parallel, observed on the Similkameen on 26 August 1860:

Near our camp were some miners at work who had come since I passed up [two weeks earlier], they were making about 1 a day washing out gold in pans. This, however, is barely enough to pay a man in this country where provisions sell at such enormous prices, so they intend moving on to Rock Creek. I should say there are about 150 miners on the lower Similkameen. Some of them who work in companies profit but the greater proportion are unfortunate, the gold is very fine and difficult to collect.¹⁸

On the upper Similkameen, J. F. Allison found diggings which paid him ten dollars per day¹⁹ and wrote that miners were rushing in to what he considered "a tolerable good mining country."²⁰ Between seventy-five and one hundred men wintered in the Similkameen that year despite the isolation and scarcity of provision.²¹

The Similkameen mines never developed as substantial diggings. Some who had mined there in the early summer of 1860 went on a prospecting tour under the leadership of Captain S. D. Pierce to the Clearwater, a tributary of the Snake River and there discovered the first of the famous Nez Perce mines.²² A more substantial gold mining region, one which rose to the status of a mining camp, was located just east of the main Okanagan Valley, on Rock Creek, a tributary of the Kettle River. In the summer of 1860 an observer described Rock Creek as comprised "of twelve log houses, with others building as well as two saloons, one butcher's shop, one hotel and five stores."²³ Charles Wilson's description was essentially the same but he added that the town contained "350 inhabitants, miners, gamblers, Jews, Pikes, Yankees, loafers and hoc genus omne."²⁴ G. W. Cox arrived on 1 September 1860 and made numerous reports from there over the next 2 years. By March Cox had issued 69 Free Miner's Certificates. In April, 1861 his census reported a population of 123 souls at Rock Creek, comprising a mere 7 British subjects and only 2 persons under 21 years of age, the latter probably being the children of Eli

Lequime.²⁵ Of this population 75 were steady miners, earning an average \$7.00 per day.²⁶ Rock Creek contained 93 miners on 17 July 1861 but discouragement set in quickly thereafter.²⁷ Cox reported on 10 July that the mines were not prospering as anticipated, that the season was advancing and there had still been no significant immigration. High water had destroyed dams and sluices, and traders were endangered. By August Cox announced a state of bankruptcy with miners and labourers leaving every day for the Cariboo or Nez Perce country.²⁸ The last company of California miners left on 10 November 1861.²⁹

Prospecting and mining were extended from the Rock Creek base to other areas of the Okanagan basin and the Columbia. Boundary Creek, a sister camp just east of Rock Creek, had a population of seventy-three miners on 10 July 1861 with desertion occurring in the fall of 1861.³⁰ A prospecting party left Rock Creek for the Riviere L'Anse au Sable and reported positively:

We are quite satisfied with the richness of these mines and shall as soon as feasible dispose of our claims on Rock Creek and leave for that section of the country where a miner can grow his potatoes and other vegetables, besides keep a cow. We had you some gold taken from Wm. Pion's claim.³¹

On his next visit to L'Anse au Sable, Cox found twenty-three miners and recorded their claims.³² All of the creeks flowing into the Okanagan Lake were prospected in the early 1860s, as was Cherry Creek, a tributary of the Spallumcheen which could be approached via the Coldstream Valley.

Descriptions of miners engaged in production in Rock Creek and surrounding camps come from a variety of sources. Mining operations involved diversion and transport of water. A flume built at Boundary Creek to divert water from a number of creek bed claims was described thus:

[A] very fine flume has been constructed [which] . . . extends for 2600 feet. By this means the water is confined to a narrow limit and thus carried off thereby affording great facilities for the easy and proper working of the various claims over which it passes.³³

Rock Creek had six ditches bringing water to sixteen sluices in April 1861 and in July four ditches serviced twenty-five

sluices.³⁴

Flumes for conducting water to sluices were used jointly but were not necessarily owned jointly. An interesting insight into flume ownership is given by Allison, writing from the Fraser River immediately before his venture to the Similkameen:

I hope to do tolerably well mining and selling water. We have to pay the Government five dollars per month for the ditch right if we use the water ourselves and if we sell water we have to allow the Government the net proceeds of one day in every month.³⁵

Miners in Rock Creek and surrounding camps worked in groups rather than individually, for reasons of efficiency and perhaps safety. Wilson wrote: "sluicing . . . is carried on thus. Generally a party of five or six men work together and take up a claim, that is a portion of ground measured 300 feet up the stream and 50 feet on either side."³⁶ The typical operation, then, appeared to be a jointly owned and operated sluice with the men pooling their individual 50 foot claims and sharing the profits. At Rock Creek and Boundary Creek an average of 3.7 miners worked each operation³⁷ but the occasional individual miner, working perhaps with a rocker, undoubtedly brought this average down. This number is significantly lower than the 11.4 employed per sluice in 1864 at Wild Horse Creek.³⁸ At least one claim in Rock Creek was not a partnership but was operated by an individual employing four hired labourers.³⁹ Labourers earned \$4.00 per day.

Miners earned good money at the Okanagan diggings. Allison anticipated making ten dollars a day at the Similkameen mines and, because he stayed on, may have done so. Once operations began in Rock Creek, Cox reported average yields of \$7.00 per day⁴⁰ and good claims yielded from \$10.00 to \$18.00 per man day.⁴¹ Details of one operation show that over the period April 15th to June 15th, 1861, the claims of Rufus Henry paid \$7.00 per man per day. This was a better than average claim, workable for six months of the year, "much better than California for men without capital."⁴²

Of course living expenses were the other variable in considering whether a digging was profitable, a fact recognized by Douglas with his efforts to improve transportation

facilities. Provisions being a constant concern, the day supplies arrived was memorable.⁴³ Wilson recorded:

This day was a great one for Rock Creek, as some wagons arrived from the Dalles, the first that had ever come up, their previous supplies having been packed by mule, and a long weary journey they had of it, two months on the way, a great portion of which had never been travelled over by wagons before.⁴⁴

Allison claimed that freights were fifteen cents per pound from Hope to Similkameen after the Dewdney Trail was built but provisions in the area often could not be purchased at any price. Prices were recorded at various times, a sampling of which will indicate the general retail price of provisions:

TABLE 5

PRICE OF PROVISIONS
at Similkameen and Rock Creek.
1860 - 1861

Provisions	Similkameen	Similkameen	Rock Creek
	Nov. 1860	Jan. 1861	Jan. 1861
	\$/lb.	\$/lb.	\$/lb.
Flour	.26	.33	.20
Bacon	.50		.50
Sugar	1.00	.30	.40
Potatoes	.12		
Coffee		.50	.50
Tea			1.20
Beans			.30
Rice			.40

Source: PABC, BC, Colonial Correspondence, Cox Papers, F 37571, enclosure in Cox to Young, 16 January 1861.

The cost of provisions certainly was much higher at mining camps than at major centres on ocean routes from San Francisco and it is largely because of these cost differences that miners laid over for the winter in a community such as Colville, Victoria or a community in the Puget Sound area.

The Okanagan mining camps of Rock Creek, Boundary Creek, Vermillion Forks, Riviere de l'Anse au Sable and Cherry Creek existed for only one or two seasons before being deserted by miners in search of better diggings. This process occurred regularly elsewhere in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest. The process of settlement abandonment is one deserving of further study because the reasons why such

abandonment occurred, given the return which miners had received for their labour, are not obvious. It seems inconsistent that a mining community would make substantial capital investments in the form of river diversions, wing dams, flumes, sluices, tunnels, as well as log or frame homes, stores and saloons and then willingly vacate these premises to travel to another site and begin again. Similarly, it seems implausible that miners who described their diggings as "better than California" and who were deemed to be "actively and cheerfully engaged at their labours"⁴⁵ in the summer of 1861 should have deserted Rock Creek and Boundary Creek within a few months.

The simple explanation usually given refers to the adventuresome nature of the miners and the desiratum of being the first into a gold digging, but there may have been other factors. The abandonment of Rock Creek offers some clues as to the dynamics of settlement abandonment which could be tested elsewhere. One feature of the Okanagan camps was that the goldfields were repeatedly called "poor man's diggings", attracting a class of miners not financially able to search more than superficially. "We have the novice and the poor man who, if he cannot at once make a raise, leaves and gives the place an indifferent reputation, hence its depopulated condition."⁴⁶ Almost all of the operations were creekbed operations which returned moderately well with little capital investment but were quickly worked out. The next stage of mining, bench (or dry or hill) diggings, were more elaborate ventures because of the cost of constructing flumes to bring the water to an altitude perhaps thirty feet above the river and because of the cost of tunnelling and drifting. Some of those, worked day and night, returned 3 to 4.10s, but on these claims much time, labour and money had been expended. The miners at Rock Creek had hoped to engage in more extensive bench diggings during high water in the spring of 1862, but apparently few were attempted. Cox made a telling comment, that bench diggings were a "branch of mining that has been neglected within the colony, and without which [the miners] believe[d] capitalists [would] not remain in the colony."⁴⁷ Bench diggings, which had the potential of being longer term ventures, thereby ensuring a continuing existence

for the camp, probably did not give returns adequate to repay the expense of development. In consequence, the camps relied for a season or two on sandbar or creekside placer diggings, which were quickly exhausted, and when bench diggings showed only a fair return for the expense involved in operation, miners moved to richer ground.

Another aspect of community abandonment relates to the service personnel such as the retail storekeepers and grog shop operators who supplied the camps. Work had to be profitable enough to allow miners to patronize these service people, or the storekeepers had to extend credit. Extending credit at a mining camp was a risky business, but without credit the camp might fold before it began. Over the winter of 1860 to 1861 storekeepers in Rock Creek and Boundary Creek advanced miners approximately sixteen thousand dollars worth of provisions with the expectation that they could be paid with the proceeds of the following season.⁴⁸ As the season advanced and the returns to the miners failed to pay living expenses and repay past debts, some of the miners most heavily burdened escaped by "flying to Nez Perce country."⁴⁹ Traders, once burned, refused further credit to men who could not produce cash and without provisions the men could not work their mining claims. A general collapse ensued.⁵⁰ The role of credit in these mining camps seems to be a critical factor. Credit allowed breathing space during which a camp could become established, but at the same time it burdened the population with debt that could be repaid only from mining profits. Bankruptcy of merchants signalled a mining camp's precipitous death.

A striking feature of the Okanagan gold fields was the early appearance and active role of the colonial authorities. The American miners, in the town of Rock Creek, had followed their California practice of governing by holding a camp meeting, electing officials and passing rules which were intended to have the force of law.⁵¹ The only eyewitness description of the camp-law institutions is by Charles Wilson:

The miners here have behaved very well, there has been no fighting since the place started, which considering the style of men and that no English civil authority of any kind has been amongst them is rather surprising. They make their own rules at meetings en masse and

generally stick to them; they will not allow any Chinaman to dig for gold and resolutely refuse to pay any taxes until the colony gives them a regular set of officers. Of course all their stores are brought across the boundary without paying toll and I do not envy the unfortunate custom's officer their task of collecting it.⁵²

Undoubtedly the mining camp meetings passed regulations regarding claims: their size, representation on them, and procedures for "laying over" claims. The Colonial Government was not prepared to allow the exercise of an authority other than its own and took steps to assert control immediately.

In September 1860, Governor Douglas himself, in the company of various of his officials, visited Rock Creek to meet the miners, exert the authority of the Colonial Government and examine the country with a view to establishing communication with the Fraser.⁵³ W. G. Cox, an Assistant Gold Commissioner, represented the government upon Douglas' return to Victoria. The colonial authorities imposed their own regulations regarding size of mining claims and procedures for obtaining and retaining claims. The Gold Commissioner was to administer gold laws, settle mining disputes and exercise the authority and jurisdiction of a Justice of the Peace. The Gold Commissioners recorded all claims and water rights and registered free miners. Alluvial claims were 25 feet in length (along a stream) and varied in width according to the channel, running from mid-channel to the high water mark. Quartz claims were 100 feet along the lode. Groups of free miners could hold up to a claim and a half per member. Failure to work a claim for three days, unless because of illness or with Gold Commissioner approval or during a general "laid over" period, resulted in forfeiture. Upon petition by 101 free miners, a Mining Board of from 6 to 12 members could be created to enact bylaws subject to the approval of the Governor regulating claim sizes, water privileges and the filing, holding and forfeiture of claims.

California miners were used to having free access to any gold or other minerals they might find, but unimpeded access to resources was not allowed in British territory. As early as 28 December 1857 Douglas had imposed a license fee of ten shillings per month on individuals desiring to prospect and mine in

British territory, although admittedly few of these fees were collected in the interior. In 1859 gold field administration was reorganized along Australian lines with a miner being required to obtain a Free Miner's Certificate at an annual cost of \$5.00.⁵⁴ Miners were not assessed a royalty on production but the gold export tax probably amounted to the same thing. If miners spent their gold in British territory they paid an indirect tax in the form of the customs duties since most goods were imported, and if they sent it out of the country for purposes of refining or savings they were subject to a gold export tax. However, because the camps were so near to the border it is doubtful if the gold export tax was collected from Similkameen, Okanagan or Columbia miners.

Miners did not accept the establishment of British authority wholeheartedly especially regarding the collection of import duties. Cox detected a "serious feeling of hostility toward the government . . . [and a] universal determination to assist the smugglers."⁵⁵ This hostility towards revenue collection and perhaps fear that the tax was contributing to the demise of the camps appeared enough to cause the colonial officials to reassess their position because, in September 1861, Cox was instructed to

continue to remit, as a means of encouragement and relief for the mining population, the tolls specified in clauses B and C and the fine of 3% leviable under clause 3rd of the Southern Boundary Act, on all goods exclusively intended for consumption at Rock Creek and the Columbia River mines. . . .⁵⁶

The colonial officials soon established their presence in a variety of other ways. Douglas began a number of road building initiatives to connect the Okanagan and Similkameen mines with Fort Hope as a means of lowering transport costs, regularizing communication and making British authority effective on that frontier.⁵⁷ As early as May 1860 he authorized a sum of 1430 to be expended in opening the road, in a contract that was let to Edgar Dewdney.⁵⁸ In this connection Douglas wrote to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works (CCLW) in August 1860 affirming the importance of the Similkameen district and urging him to push the road with vigour and to avoid late payments. He added:

I have urged [Peter] O'Rielly to throw large supplies of clothing and provisions into that area. . . otherwise we'll lose to the Americans. . . O'Rielly will pick an open townsite, clear of the mountains and snow as a depot for the Similkameen District.⁵⁹

This road was completed in the summer of 1860 and was continuously upgraded and made more direct over the next few years by Edgar Dewdney, J. F. Allison and others.⁶⁰ J. F. Allison was engaged to drive a trail from Princeton (Vermillion Forks) to Okanagan Lake opposite the Mission and to open roads from Princeton to Rock Creek and Princeton to Kamloops.⁶¹ As a result of this flurry of activity a road was constructed from Hope to the interior which was supposed to be passable by loaded wagons part of the year and certainly was open to courier service throughout the year.

As well as energetically pursuing road building to the Similkameen and in the interior, the government actively sponsored exploratory prospecting trips in an attempt to open new gold fields. Allison initially entered the Similkameen "at the head of a party of men [sent] to prospect the country, the Government paying the expenses."⁶² The exploratory tour of Mission Creek was undoubtedly conducted under government auspices, given the lengthy and detailed report submitted to the government on its return to Rock Creek.⁶³ Douglas engaged miners to undertake an exploratory expedition to the Columbia River mines in September 1861, although before this venture was attempted Cox met with both the Lake Indians and the miners in an attempt to ensure that the penetration would be peaceful and orderly.⁶⁴

The response of the colonial authorities to the entrance of American miners was direct and immediate. Governor Douglas personally exerted governmental authority and remained intimately involved in affairs of the region, demanding detailed reports and scrupulously directing his officers in their duties. Douglas provided a broad range of government services, in transportation, civil and criminal justice, laying out of townsites and reserves, giving encouragement to miners and collecting customs duties. The British presence was efficient and pervasive, probably because Douglas feared that the area

would fall to the Americans if British authority was anything but comprehensive.

The impact of the gold rush on Indian people was not as dramatic as might be expected, considering the expectations aroused by the plunder and murder committed by the Robinson party. While relations between miners and Indians in the Okanagan never reached such a low point again, numerous instances demonstrate that neither miners nor Indians felt secure. During a fracas between whites and Indians on the Pend d'Oreille River in March 1861, United States troops had been brought out. Hearing this, the Indians at Boundary Creek

withdrew their women and children from amongst the miners on that creek. . . . This caused a sudden panic. . . with the miners. . . [P]rovisions [were] hurriedly packed up and carried to a central position, every house was forsaken, and each man was armed to the teeth, councils of war were held, guards 'told off' and a Fort was at once commenced on an eminence overlooking the town, in fact preparations were made sufficiently extensive to defy a regiment of soldiers in place of a few emaciated Indians with their squaws.⁶⁵

Upon receiving Cox's assurances the miners abandoned their fort and returned to work but Cox noted the mutual fear with which the miners and Indians regarded each other. On another occasion a young Indian murdered a miner in Rock Creek and after the inquest the miners proceeded with the apprehended Indian to the American side of the border, on Osoyoos Lake, where they extracted a confession and concluded with a lynching.⁶⁶ Other problems between the Indians and whites included occasional thefts and a conflict over land at the Head of Lake where miners wanted to work a creek in close proximity to a large Indian village.

That relations did not break down between the the miners and Indians was largely due to the forbearance of the Indians⁶⁷ and their willingness to submit disputes to the British authorities. Chief Nicolas' restrained response to the massacre of Okanagan people in 1859, when he noted that it was "the duty of . . . Queen Victoria to see justice done to her subjects,"⁶⁸ is a case in point. So is the letter from Chief Silhitzza [Chilliheetsa] to Governor Douglas on the occasion of the lynching mentioned above. Chilliheetsa requested Douglas'

"kind-hearted intervention" and suggested that violence might occur unless Douglas gave Cox instructions on the subject "of the manner in which justice was delivered."⁶⁹ Evidence also suggests that the Okanagan Indian people were willing to permit the miners entrance to their country for the purpose of extracting resources. John F. Allison reported warm relations with the Indians in the Similkameen⁷⁰ and he expected to get seed potatoes from Indians who had expressed friendship.⁷¹ A group of Rock Creek miners who prospected in the Okanagan wrote: "The Indians treated us most hospitably, lending us canoes and horses free of charge."⁷²

The miners were willing to leave the management of Indian matters to the authorities after it had been demonstrated to them that the Indians accepted the authority of the British officials and were protected by law. No verbatim record of Douglas' speech to the miners of Rock Creek exists, but Cox records his own discussion with the Rock Creek miners on their way to the Columbia. After warning the miners against inciting the Indians to violence and urging them to treat the Indians fairly because it was well known that "all Indians' troubles originate with the white man", Cox stated categorically that "the Indians will receive in this Colony the same redress for wrongs as the white man."⁷³ Cox sometimes despaired of establishing good relations between miners and Indians. He wrote: "As for endeavouring to enlist the goodwill of the American or Irish toward the Indian I believe it to be a fallacy."⁷⁴ Still, once their security was ensured and they realized that their access to resources was unimpeded by Indians, the miners were not antagonistic to the Indian people.

Few Okanagan Indians became directly involved in gold mining during the initial rush or later, although they recognized the value of gold. Indians were reported working the Lower Similkameen sand bars, along with United States soldiers, in 1859,⁷⁵ but there are virtually no other references to Okanagan Indian miners. One reason may be the marginal returns available to miners unfamiliar with the California mining technology. They also undoubtedly found the environment around these camps distinctly uncomfortable, in view of the California

miners' attitudes toward Indians, the lynching that occurred, and an action taken by Cox to actually remove them from the town of Boundary Creek. However, the Okanagan people were affected in an indirect fashion. Indians served as packers and guides for the miners and they occasionally rented or sold them horses and canoes. On at least one occasion a group of Indians drove cattle into the Similkameen over the Dewdney Trail to supply the miners.⁷⁶ As the miners relied on outside provisions the Indians may have found a market for game animals or fish, but in view of the record of famine among Indians in the 1850s, they likely did not command large food surpluses.

Two or three seasons of intense activity, primarily at Rock Creek, Boundary Creek and Riviere l'Anse au Sable, had concluded the first stage of Okanagan placer mining. Following the departure of the main body of miners, placer mining continued for twenty years, albeit at a low level of production, at all of the previous mining areas. Mining developed in a manner different from the initial gold rush but the impact was to be considerable nonetheless.

Rock Creek was abandoned in the fall of 1861 although it may never have been completely deserted because the Chinese entered the camp and likely stayed consistently for the next two decades.⁷⁷ In 1871 W. H. Lowe, employed as Assistant Gold Commissioner, reported forty Chinese and fifteen whites wintering at Rock Creek.⁷⁸ The 1875 Report of the Minister of Mines 1875 listed eleven miners there, nine of whom were Chinese making \$2.50 per day with annual production of six thousand dollars. Dawson visited the mines in 1877 and reported creekbed mines yielding perhaps one dollar per day and some miners working on the benches.⁷⁹ In 1881 the Chinese were still working the creek; the census enumerator found thirty-five Chinese miners and one Chinese storekeeper in the Osoyoos division, presumably all at Rock Creek. The Chinese may have deserted the diggings shortly thereafter because the Canadian Pacific Railway construction provided better alternative employment, but 1886 saw a new beginning and considerable exploration work around Rock Creek. Table 6 indicates the amount of gold mining activity in the next twelve years.

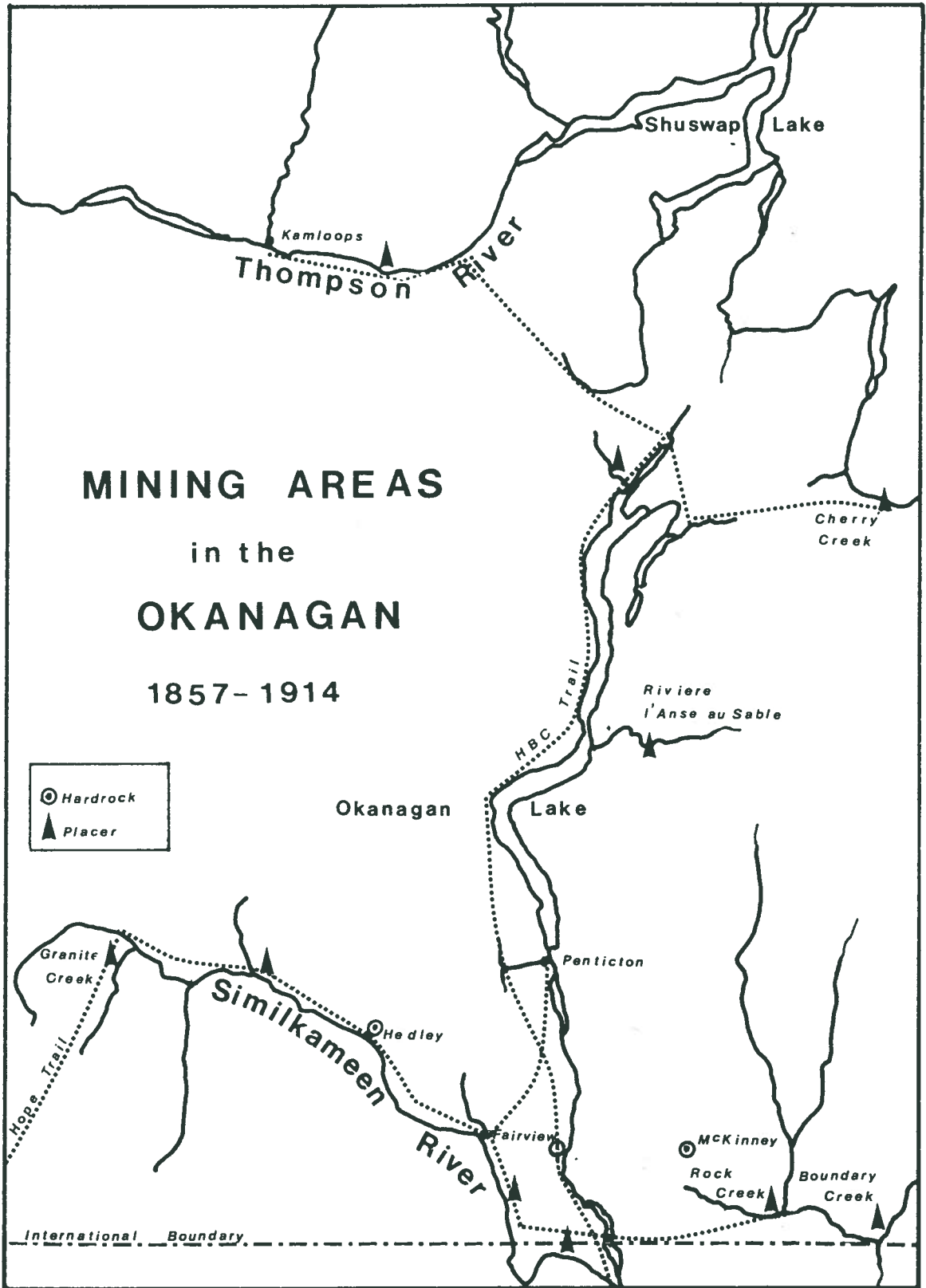


TABLE 6

MINING ACTIVITY AT ROCK CREEK, 1888-1899

Year	Companies Producing	Companies Prospecting	Miners		\$ Value of Production
			White	Chinese	
1888	0	6	40	6	
1889	0	25	56	20	3500
1890	6	19	25	15	13000
1891	7	8	20	30	7500
1892	6	1	11	13	5600
1893	9	2	14	10	4500
1894	15	3	15	24	7000
1895	10	6	12	29	8500
1896	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·
1897	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	8800
1898	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	7632
1899	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	3600

Source: British Columbia, Parliament, Sessional Papers, 1888-1899, Report of the Minister of Mines, passim.

A flurry of exploration work occurred in the late 1880s, then limited production occurred. Exploration was largely in quartz veins, with as many as seventy locations being tested in 1892, but production continued to come from placer mines. The equipment used was mainly the sluice on creek or bench diggings. Miners sank at least twenty-five tunnels and shafts searching for bedrock with its overlying zone of pay dirt. A hydraulic mining company that began work in 1889, employing six whites and twenty Chinese, appears to have continued operation until 1895 or beyond.

The 1895 Report of the Minister of Mines briefly describes the type of activity in Rock Creek:

[There were] a number of companies endeavouring to bottom the creek, but so far without success, the water proving more than could be managed with wooden pumps. The First Chance Placer Mining Co., which took out \$3700 last season, has a shaft 34' deep, 1100 feet of flume, a water wheel with power to work an 8" pump and do hoisting. The Laura Hydraulic Mining Company property at the mouth of the creek is being worked by a few Chinamen [who have] realized \$200. A few men are at work further up the creek and are making good wages.⁸⁰

Thus Rock Creek mines appeared to have enjoyed a lengthy life after the initial rush of 1860-1861, employing perhaps 40 men annually for 7 or 8 months of the year, generally from mid-March until sometime in October,⁸¹ and producing approximately

\$7,000 per annum. Averaged, this indicates a return of only \$175 per year per man, shared between labourers and owner-operators. Chinese labourers received only \$1.50 to \$2.00 per day and whites \$3.00, without board. Assuming some return to entrepreneurship and capital these diggings were marginal operations.

The Mission Creek mines also functioned seasonally after the initial rush in 1861. A considerable number of references to miners appear in the missionary letters of the early 1860s, particularly from Father Jayol. As the total white population comprised only twelve French-Canadians, six French males and one French female, the scale of mining obviously was not extensive.⁸² By the spring of 1865 everyone was speaking of leaving, disgusted with poor returns and a particularly harsh winter. The year 1865 saw Wm. Pion away for a year at Cherry Creek, and Ledoux, Calmels and others leaving for the Cariboo or Canada.⁸³ It appears that mining in Mission Creek nearly or completely ceased for a few years. However, activity resumed in 1876. C. A. Vernon reported twelve miners, in at least three companies,⁸⁴ working Mission Creek, taking gold to a total value of four thousand dollars. Vernon reported:

[T]he McDougall claim has averaged \$4 a day to the hand even working in the most primitive manner, by packing the pay dirt (cement) from their claim to the creek and washing out the gold with rockers.⁸⁵

When Dawson visited the mines in 1877 he noted that mining was being conducted on the lowest bench or river flat. He described the pay dirt as a cement or "gravel consolidated by calcareous matter" which rested upon bedrock or slate material, in reality the "dark coloured bed of the Tertiary formation."⁸⁶ Overlaid by eight feet of useless gravel, the gold-bearing gravel was about three feet thick, and that had to be wheeled about twenty yards to the river where it was washed in two lengths of boxes or sluices. The mines were virtually abandoned from 1881 to 1886 when the Mission Creek Hydraulic Company attempted to prospect their claim thoroughly. The next year, apparently encouraged by preliminary work but unable to break up the cement in which the ore was imbedded, they determined to bring in a

"hydraulic giant, with iron pipes."⁸⁷ This plan was probably not executed because the next summer, 1887, saw only "a few Chinese with one or two whites, making a bare existence."⁸⁸ As Table 7 indicates, during the next few years from two to ten miners reportedly engaged in desultory mining but they seldom took out more than one thousand dollars per year.

TABLE 7

MINING ACTIVITY AT MISSION CREEK,
1888-1894

Year	Claims Worked	Miners		\$ Value of Production
		Whites	Chinese	
1888	4	4	8	2000
1889	3	3	7	1000
1890	"virtually abandoned"
1891
1892	2	2	0	800
1893	2	0	2	200
1894	2	9	0	1200

Source: British Columbia, Parliament, Sessional Papers, 1888-1895, Report of the Minister of Mines, passim.

The Cherry Creek district enjoyed sporadic interest as well, and it was more profitable than Mission Creek. Cox had examined it in 1862 and on his advice a small group of miners had prospected. Contradictory reports circulated about activity on the creek,⁸⁹ and the government sent Constable William Young to investigate. He found twelve men on the creek, half of whom were traders while others were in the vicinity on prospecting trips. His report noted that newspaper accounts had been grossly exaggerated and that no claim was paying even one half an ounce per day.⁹⁰ Despite Young's unenthusiastic report, Governor Douglas sent Captain Charles Houghton on two exploratory trips in 1864.⁹¹ On the second trip Houghton travelled with four experienced miners who prospected Cherry Creek and environs by sinking holes in bars, and washing gravel from banks and benches, but without success.⁹² Wm. Pion spent at least one year at the Cherry Creek mines in 1865 and, since he is credited with the discovery of the area, was presumably there regularly from 1863 to 1865.⁹³ Little is known of gold mining activity on Cherry Creek from 1865 to 1876 when the Cherry Creek mines were reported to have been newly developed,

employing twenty men at work on benches fifty or sixty feet above the creek level.⁹⁴ In 1877 Vernon reported on the Christian and Schneider bench claims, which were yielding an ounce a day per man and on those of Vincent Duteau and Messrs. Busy and Thorpe. Dawson visited the same year and reported a few white miners and a number of Chinese at work on the creek.⁹⁵ Little is reported for the next eight years except for 1881 when eight claims were reported being worked by ten whites and fifteen Chinese. From 1886 until 1895, considerable detail is to be found in the Ministry of Mines reports, which is summarized in Table 8. After this date mining continued at a very low level. In 1901, for example, one white miner and a few Chinese eked out an existence.⁹⁶

TABLE 8

MINING ACTIVITY AT CHERRY CREEK,
1886-1895

Year	Claims Producing	Prospecting	Miners		\$ Value of Production
			Whites	Chinese	
1886	7	2	5	30	5000
1887	9	3	9	30	5000
1888	6	4	9	40	7000
1889	14	9	9	30	4000
1890	8	2	4	14	2500
1891	8	2	2	15	2500
1892	2	4	8	8	1800
1893	2	0	7	12	4000
1894	3	0	13	0	3200
1895	1	0	0	10	2500

Source: British Columbia, Parliament, Sessional Papers, 1886-1895, Report of the Minister of Mines, passim.

The mines on Cherry Creek in the twenty years from 1875 to 1895 appear to have paid about four thousand dollars per year to an average of twenty-five miners, although this number ranged from a high of forty-nine in 1888 to ten in 1895. Most of the claims were creek claims, and generally six to eight sluices operated per year. However, at least one shaft operated in the 1886 to 1895 period and up to seven tunnels functioned at one time. One tunnel deserves mention. In hopes of striking the river channel from the tertiary period, the Cherry Creek Mining Company (John Merritt, foreman) began a tunnel in 1885 which they lengthened every year through 1901. It extended eleven

hundred feet by 1890 and fifteen hundred by 1892 but did not bottom the channel.⁹⁷ In 1893 the company received an infusion of English capital to begin a new tunnel but, as the mines are seldom mentioned after that year, it apparently had little success.

Placer mining in the Similkameen and the surrounding areas of the Tulameen and its tributaries has a more vivid history. The Similkameen River had been prospected and mined as early as 1859 and thereafter Chinese miners worked it on a regular basis.⁹⁸ When Dawson visited in 1877, he found a few Chinese miners working the gravel of the lowest terrace flat.⁹⁹ In 1885 the discovery of placer gold on Granite Creek transformed the Upper Similkameen into a gold rush region and initiated the brief placer mining development similar in some respects to the initial rush to Rock Creek. Granite Creek, a tributary of the Tulameen River, was exceedingly rich for about four miles,

being very narrow with little fall to it; it was more like a ground sluice in the mountains than anything else, and as the diggings were shallow, the cream of the pay was soon taken.¹⁰⁰

For their brief histories, the towns of Granite City and Tulameen were supported by paying claims on Granite Creek as well as on the Tulameen River, Collins Gulch, Slate Creek and Bear Creek.¹⁰¹

TABLE 9

MINING ACTIVITY IN THE TULAMEEN REGION,
1885-1894

Year	Companies Producing	Companies Prospecting	Miners		\$ Value of Production
			Whites	Chinese	
1885	127	80	503	195	\$117,500
1886	121	106	493	295	203,000
1887	94	5	102	325	128,000
1888	49	6	65	170	105,000
1889	42	2	57	107	35,800
1890	37	6	39	79	23,450
1891	32	6	58	68	21,000
1892	36	11	53	73	21,000
1893	14	12	75	70	11,805
1894	24	15	154	67	41,650

Source: British Columbia, Parliament, Sessional Papers, 1885-1894, Report of the Minister of Mines, passim.

Gold production at Granite Creek and surrounding creeks is summarized in Table 9. Granite Creek, by far the most productive, yielded \$193,000 worth of gold in its best season, 1886. Platinum, found with gold in this region, had first been considered a nuisance, with thousands of ounces being discarded, but within a few years it fetched four dollars per ounce and was much sought after. Within five years gold production had dropped to only \$6,000 and by 1894 was worth a mere \$2,700. Other nearby creeks had similar records.

Hydraulic mining, sometimes employing considerable capital, began to dominate mining activity in the Granite Creek area in the late 1890s.¹⁰² In order to wash the benches, elaborate ditches and flumes of up to two miles in length were required to provide water to the the hydraulic equipment. Gold Commissioner Tunstall reported four companies preparing to mine their leaseholds on a large scale in 1898. The greater number of miners, mostly Chinese, were working for wages for hydraulic companies.

Chinese actively participated in the Granite Creek mines from the beginning. Given their accumulated expertise in placer mining and their knowledge of the Tulameen area, they were in a favourable position to exploit these diggings. The Canadian Pacific Railway's completion released hundreds of former miners, and they rushed to the area. By November 1885, 150 to 200 Chinese lived in Granite City alongside 400 to 500 white men.¹⁰³ Chinese miners were reportedly the most successful and Chinese traders "were doing the greater part of the business"¹⁰⁴ in the town. By December 1886 Chinese miners wintering at Granite City outnumbered whites 150 to 100.¹⁰⁵ They dominated on Granite Creek, Boulder Creek and the Tulameen and Similkameen Rivers.¹⁰⁶ Not until 1894 did their numbers fall below those of the whites and by this time diggings without the application of capital were no longer profitable.

Because of the active involvement of Chinese miners in the industry from 1863 until the 1890s, including the Granite Creek site, and because so little is known of the miners, white or Chinese, a few observations should be made. Chinese miners were

the subject of numerous complaints by government officers who consistently reported that it was impossible to tell how much gold the Chinese extracted because of their secrecy and aversion to taxes.¹⁰⁷ The government did not consider the Chinese the most desirable colonists and adjusted their tariffs to fall most heavily on articles consumed by them, like rice.¹⁰⁸ There was, however, little legal discrimination against Chinese; they engaged in litigation to protect their property, in one case even winning a suit against a Justice of the Peace.¹⁰⁹ Many felt that, because they seldom prospected or opened up new areas but were content to rework abandoned diggings, the Chinese did nothing to develop the country.¹¹⁰ It is true that the Chinese often remained in a camp after it had been forsaken by white miners, but this was undoubtedly a rational economic decision. By combining subsistence agriculture with placer mining, they could live well. This point was made by Tunstall:

The Chinese on the Similkameen River have obtained from \$1.00 to \$1.50 per day and some earn a smaller amount They, however, manage to lead a comfortable existence with the additional assistance of their gardens, which produce all the vegetables they require.¹¹¹

Another observer, one very familiar with the Chinese, wrote from the Fraser River area:

The Chinese have it all their own way; the white miner seems to have set his face against this part of the country, or rather than take chances of four dollar diggings he will hunt until he nearly starves searching for better, not so with the Chinaman, if he gets a claim that will pay fair wages he sticks to it and if it pays better, so much for luck, anyway it is better than running all over the country after an uncertainty. Many persons suppose that a Chinaman can afford to work for less wages because his style of living is so much cheaper but let me tell those persons that John is as fond of good living as they are. When I go to a Chinese cabin I can tell nearly at a glance if the claim pays by the number of oyster, lobster and sardine cans, also China wine, Hennessy brandy bottles lying around their domicile.¹¹²

Little is known of the working and living arrangements of the Chinese, which is why the 1881 census is such a valuable document.¹¹³ In 1881 thirty-six Chinese males resided in Rock Creek and sixteen in Cherry Creek. The average age of these men

was just under forty years, with about half of the men being in their forties. All Chinese at Cherry Creek were single. All but three at Rock Creek were single, these three being married to Indian women. The fifty-two miners lived in thirteen different residences, for an average per residence of four men, but the number per residence ranged from nine to one. Only the storekeeper lived alone. The living arrangements probably reflected the working arrangements, that is, these parties were partners in mining operations.

While Chinese miners dominated these marginal placer operations, some whites participated. The 1881 census for the Osoyoos subdistrict of Yale district lists only two miners, both of whom were single and living with other single men.¹¹⁴ The Nicola and Okanagan subdistrict of Yale census district lists twelve white miners, five of whom were living at the Mission, but all of whom may have been employed at Cherry Creek, given that the Minister of Mines claimed that Mission Creek was virtually abandoned and the Cherry Creek area held ten white miners. Their average age was forty-four and only one was married, although a second lived common-law with an Indian woman. They lived in ten separate residences, often boarding with another man or family, an option not open to young Chinese males. They were mostly English although Irish, German, French and French-Canadian nationalities were represented. Most were transient, as with two exceptions there is no other record of these men. Working in marginal mining areas, these men likely owned little but their labour. None are listed as property owners. They probably hired out as agricultural workers in periods when that work was available, especially in June and July, the summer high water season.

Closely related to the above was another group, listed in the census as farmers but who farmed only on a part time basis. These men retained an interest in mining and periodically tried their hand at prospecting or seasonal mining. They farmed to support their families, but frequently had no cash crop with which to earn money to purchase outside commodities. Some hired out as packers, guides or labourers but others turned to trapping or mining. William Pion and Louis Christian certainly

lived this way in the 1860s, and there is strong evidence that Peter Bissette, George Leblanc, Vincent Duteau, Charles Christian, John McDougall and others engaged in joint production in the 1870s.

The individuals mentioned were all from the Mission or Cherry Creek and nearly all were French-Canadian, many of them related. These two communities were in reality two components of an economic system. Individuals moved back and forth freely between the two communities to engage in farming or mining, to marry, live with relatives, spend the winter or take up land. They were serviced by the Catholic priests from the Mission. The Mission was a farming area superior to the Cherry Creek region and frequently, before the 1890s, French-Canadian miners would leave their wives at the Mission, perhaps to tend a garden, while they worked in the mines. Dawson observed one such family in 1877:

Saw two half breed women on the trail today. One middle-aged and about 3/4 Indian, the other pretty fair and younger. Both with gay coloured handkerchiefs round their heads. The younger woman with three children, the eldest perhaps 3 years old, riding a little horse tied securely to the saddle. The younger ones, one sitting behind the mother and the other in front, on the same horse. Both women riding straddle. The one with children going to her husband at Cherry Creek. 115

The Chinese, white transients and subsistence farmers each conducted mining with a different production mode. Yet, nearly all exhibited similar characteristics in their use of capital. A few people who had access to capital and could have financed deep diggings such as operated in the Cariboo did attempt exploratory work, but apparently the results were not sufficient to warrant continued capital outlay. The miners relied on the technology appropriate to their means including flumes, wing dams, sluices and perhaps waterwheel driven pumps, all of it built by themselves in a period of a few weeks. Only briefly at Rock Creek and in the latter stages of the Granite Creek-Tulameen diggings were large hydraulic or dredging operations attempted, and these experiments were shortlived.

From the late 1860s to the 1890s, the placer gold production of the Okanagan, while not dramatic, remained

important to the local economy. Gold mining areas provided a limited but important market for the produce of the adjacent agricultural districts. Along with subsistence agriculture, mining was an important component of the joint production mode.

Rich placer mines were quickly depleted, after which miners inevitably focussed their search on the source of placer gold, which was usually held in quartz formations. In the Okanagan, as elsewhere in the Pacific Northwest, quartz (or hardrock) lode mining developed later than placer mining. The mode of production was also significantly different than placer mining because lode mining introduced entrepreneurs tied to outside capital and a wage labour economy. Quartz mining initially promised to employ large numbers of men for long periods, with a corresponding effect on community development.

The Okanagan's first lode mine centered on a silver deposit at Cherry Creek. The silver deposit's discoverer is unknown¹¹⁶ but George Landvoight, a well known British Columbia merchant who had lived in Hope and Rock Creek, first applied for a mineral claim.¹¹⁷ The government agreed to set up a government reserve of one square mile for two years while exploratory work proceeded, at which time the company was required to select a leasehold of one quarter square mile.¹¹⁸ The lease, when signed, included one half a square mile for ninety-nine years at a rental of one dollar per acre plus a two percent production royalty.¹¹⁹ The company had a capital stock of \$150,000, or 3,000 shares at \$50 each. George Dietz was the secretary and shareholders included V. Kopp and George Landvoight, local mining men; Luc Girouard, who managed the property; and numerous other prominent British Columbians.¹²⁰

In 1867 the Cherry Creek Silver Mining Company extracted about seven hundred pounds of exceedingly rich ore from one pocket and about two tons of ore from a second outcrop and shipped it to San Francisco to be smelted. The company spent up to twenty thousand dollars on further exploratory work without success.¹²¹ Lode mining on Cherry Creek did not even prove as durable as placer mining.

A quartz mine was developed eastward from Cherry Creek during the next decade. Donald McIntyre and a partner erected a

mill in 1889¹²² and constructed a two and one half mile ditch in 1890.¹²³ When visited by the provincial mineralogist in 1901, the camp was deserted although extensive offices and houses remained in good condition. So did the mill, consisting of a "Blake crusher, Chilean mill, amalgamating plates and concentrating machinery contained in a log building and driven by a Pelton waterwheel fed from a ditch."¹²⁴

Beginning in the 1890s numerous other mining excitements occurred in the Vernon district. In fact, mining stories, rumours of claims and exploratory work were the talk of the Valley in this period. Everyone appears to have been engaged in mining speculation. In 1895, 126 locations were recorded in the Vernon district,¹²⁵ and in the following year, 215. Thereafter, three companies with capital stock of \$1,000,000, \$500,000 and \$400,000, respectively, sank shafts and carried on other development work in the area.¹²⁶ However, with the exception of the Cherry Creek deposit, the ore found in the northern part of the Valley was not rich enough to support viable mines.

Quartz mining in the south Okanagan before the turn of the century was more significant and presaged the development of the Boundary country which boomed with the arrival of railroads at the turn of the century. Two important mining camps developed in the Osoyoos mining division: Camp McKinney and Fairview. Camp McKinney was first reported in 1888 as a "well constructed little mining town", thought destined to be "one of the richest mining camps ever known in this province."¹²⁷ The dominant mine at Camp McKinney was the Cariboo Gold Mining and Milling Company, owned by Spokane interests until 1898 when it was purchased by a Toronto firm capitalized at \$1,250,000.¹²⁸ The company refrained from placing milling machinery on the ground until adequate transportation facilities were constructed in the form of a wagon road from Penticton. Great quantities of ore lay on the dumps, ready for processing, by 1893 when the company erected a ten stamp mill, which it enlarged to twenty stamps in October 1898.¹²⁹ As indicated in Table 10, production from this mill was consistent for a number of years. The camp included other less productive mines as well, each described in

considerable detail in Minister of Mines reports in the late 1890s. Exploratory shafts were sunk at the Eureka, Fonteroy, Minnie-ha-ha, Alice and Emma, Maple Leaf, Victoria, Old England and Anarchist mines. Prospecting was intense with 303 claims being recorded in the district. By 1897, two mines, the Minnie-ha-ha and Victoria, had good log bunk houses, an eating house and an assay office and each employed over a dozen men. The mines were furnished with "a double cylinder hoist, steam pump and drills."¹³⁰ The Sailor group of mines became active in 1899 upon acquisition of mining engines, pumps, hoists and drills. In 1899 the Waterloo mine built a five stamp mill to process the ore from their mine but it worked only periodically. By 1902 Camp McKinney consisted of "five or six hotels, three or four general stores, drug store, butcher shop, church, school etc., a telephone office with connection to Greenwood, besides a number of private houses and the buildings of the Cariboo mine, the nucleus of the place."¹³¹ By 1904 the Minister of Mines no longer reported returns from the Camp McKinney mines indicating that they were exhausted after a fifteen year existence.

TABLE 10

MINING PRODUCTION STATISTICS,
CAMP MCKINNEY

Year	Employment Mine & Mill	Value. Gold Production \$	Value. Concen- trate Product. \$	Value. Total Mill \$	Total Osoyoos Division \$
1895	30	104,861.50	7,000	111,861	111,861
1896	25	116,243.00	14,980	131,223	131,220
1897	30	.	.	.	133,480
1898	50-60	132,000.00	20,800	152,000	356,480
1899	50	124,410.00	22,000	146,410	229,028
1900	.	.	.	160,831	.
1901	60	.	.	137,024	.
1902	.	.	.	131,324	.

Source: British Columbia, Parliament, Sessional Papers, 1895-1902, Reports of the Minister of Mines, passim.

Camp Fairview, the second quartz mining community in the south Okanagan, began with extremely high hopes but none of its mines developed into a significant producer. The first claims were located at "Okanagan" camp in 1888¹³² and a number were "bonded for good figures"¹³³ the following year. By 1892

English, American and Canadian investors became interested; a number of claims sold at prices ranging from \$3,000 to \$25,000. The experience of the first mine developed, that of the Strathyre Mining Company Ltd., was repeated by others in the years following. The Strathyre Mining Company operated under a Dominion charter with original capital stock of \$125,000, increased to \$500,000 in 1893. This English syndicate's directors included such Canadian notables as Sir Charles Tupper and T. G. Shaughnessy. The company acquired various mining properties -- the Rattler, the Brown Bear, the Wide West, The Wynn M and the Ontarioan. They expended \$112,000 on their mine, mill, dwelling houses, and on road construction and began milling in 1892. By 1893 the company had ceased operations and leased its mill to the owners of the Morning Star claims. This experience was repeated by the Smuggler Mining Co. which did development work in 1895, 1896 and 1897 before constructing a twenty stamp mill in 1898 and closing operations in 1899. The Tinhorn mine erected its mill in 1897 and closed it the same year because of disappointing results, an inadequate supply of water and a mill that was not frostproof.¹³⁴ Other mines such as the Joe Dandy, Stemwinder and Morning Star leased the mills of the defunct companies to crush samples of their ore, thereby avoiding extensive capital costs. The Stemwinder remained in fitful operation until 1909 when it closed permanently. Assessment work continued on this and other mines for a few years but the camp never recovered. The Fairview camp had a short career, largely because the gold content of the ore was not sufficient to sustain operations.

What was to prove the most successful lode mine in the South Okanagan region was staked in 1898 by two prospectors on Nickel Plate Mountain, in the Similkameen Valley.¹³⁵ The prospectors' interests were purchased by Marcus Daly, a prominent American mining developer, for \$60,000 although Daly later spent \$191,000 purchasing other nearby claims. Under the name Daly Reduction Company, the firm built tramways and a forty stamp reduction mill which began operation in 1904. Upon Daly's death the company was sold to a New York syndicate which formed the Hedley Gold Mining Company to operate the mine and mill.

Over the years this company conducted further exploratory work and found and developed new ore bodies. The mine and mill operated continuously until 1920 and fitfully until 1930 when it was sold to local concerns. From 1904 to 1930 over 300,000 tons of ore were mined for a yield of 65,000 ounces of gold valued at over \$13,000,000. The mine paid handsome dividends, especially in the 1904 to 1916 era. The camp atop the mountain was complete with bunkhouses, cookhouse and dining room as well as mine buildings such as blacksmith shop, machine shop and warehouse. The Hedley townsite in the Similkameen Valley below was the site of the mill. The Nickel Plate and adjacent mineral claims formed the basis of one of the most successful mines in the southern interior of the province.¹³⁶

The mine, mill and town of Hedley provided a steady market for cattle and agricultural produce from the Similkameen and Okanagan Valleys. In the construction stages, before the Vancouver, Victoria and Eastern (VV and E) Railway was built through the Similkameen Valley from Oroville, Washington, the construction materials and mill equipment were shipped via Penticton from whence they were hauled over rough roads for thirty-five miles to Hedley. Penticton became a major shipping point connecting the CPR boats on Okanagan Lake with Hedley and other mining camps in the south Okanagan.

Lode mining obviously involved an entirely different mode of production than placer mining. Prospectors with little capital staked the original mineral claims, but they usually did not have the means to develop a property. The flurry of activity to sink shafts and crush samples of the ore for assessment purposes was really an effort to attract capitalists to one's claim. In Fairview virtually none of the original claimholders developed their properties. They made from twenty-five dollars to three thousand dollars selling their claims to groups who could mine and mill the ore. The mine owners invariably hailed from England, the United States or eastern Canada and their representatives, often armed with civil engineering degrees, came to manage the operations. These few outsiders lived a very different life from the miners; their accommodation was splendid by comparison. In Fairview the

company representatives lived in the "Blue House", overlooking the mill with a grand vista of the Okanagan Valley. In Hedley the company representatives lived in a series of well designed, commodious homes on a terrace overlooking the town and mill. The lives of these people were distinct from those of the mine/mill workers.

A distinguishing feature of quartz mining was that the workers were nearly all wage-earners. They worked underground with air-compressor-driven drills, picks and dynamite. They loaded cars with ore in one of the stopes and pushed it to the shafts, where buckets raised the ore to the surface. Men working in the mill sorted ore, repaired machinery and engaged in a myriad of other duties in the mill environment. These men were almost all single; they lived in company bunkhouses and received about three dollars per day in wages. Family life was tenuous in towns like Fairview or Hedley. The school in Fairview, not established until 1898, serviced the children of a very few families, mostly merchants. The social life of the community revolved around the saloons and the Bucket of Blood Hotel, although touring artists such as Pauline Johnson occasionally performed in the town.

The foregoing discussion might suggest that the mining industry was not of very great or lasting importance in the Okanagan. The original rush to Rock Creek and small surrounding camps was shortlived and was conducted largely by Americans whose transient presence was insignificant. Those miners who remained from the 1860s to the 1890s engaged in distinctly marginal concerns. With the exception of the Hedley operation lode mining was not very successful either, employing a few dozen men for a few seasons at places like Camp McKinney and Fairview. This view, however, would underestimate the impact of the mining sector on the economy of the Okanagan.

The initial gold rush introduced many potential settlers to the area and some of them remained as ranchers or as farmers engaged in a joint mode of production. Gold mining was responsible for the introduction of government services to the area, as the colonial authorities quickly assumed control, built roads, and established a pervasive presence. The mining sector

complemented the agricultural sector nicely, providing a limited but important local market for agricultural produce and a source of income for subsistence farmers. The mining industry, limited as it was, provided an outlet without which agriculture, and therefore white settlement, may not have survived. As for the Indians, mining affected them only indirectly, largely by providing a means of support to their white competitors.

C. STOCKRAISING

The stockraising industry became a major component of the Okanagan's economic activity in the latter part of the nineteenth century, among both the white and Indian populations. The two groups conducted stockraising differently for a variety of reasons: the land tenure regimes under which they operated, their respective social requirements and preferences, and the nature of the markets that they faced. Over time, due to factors such as transportation, population, and market changes, the industry evolved and the two groups adapted quite differently. Indians were disadvantaged in the competition with white stockraisers, but they remained as marginal producers after the whites had substantially abandoned the industry.

The acquisition of horses initiated stockraising by the Okanagan Indians. As the Okanagan people's traditional economy depended upon mobility and transport and as their territory was ideally suited to horse transport, the Okanagan people eagerly adopted the new technology. The exact date of acquisition is open to debate, but Indian informants are consistent in their claims that Okanagan Indians possessed considerable stock in both horses and cattle before the arrival of whites.¹ Teit claimed that the plateau Indians probably obtained horses early in the eighteenth century and that the Okanagan people obtained theirs from their southern neighbours, the Sanpoil, Columbian and Colville Indians.² The Shuswaps and Thompsons, to the north of Okanagan territory, must have possessed horses for some time before Simon Fraser's arrival because he mentions seeing horses and horse signs many times.³ J. F. Allison reported on the Similkameen Indians in 1860: "They have plenty of horses and all are good riders."⁴

It is doubtful, however, if the Okanagan Indians developed very large herds of horses prior to the advent of white settlement because of two limiting factors. The Okanagan Indians used horses for food during years of scarcity. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) records for the Thompson's River Post indicate that the Okanagan Indians were often short of food.

The HBC expressed concern for the security of their own stock, as shown in the Thompson's River Journal entry:

We fear the large numbers of Okanagans with nothing to eat. They have been impertinent to our horse keepers. Today we moved the horses to a more sequestered area Nicolas warns us to watch out for our horses [when travelling] amongst the Okanagans -- they are starving."⁵

Similar reports of starvation occur in 1849, 1852, 1855 and 1859, indicating that the decade immediately prior to white settlement may have been a particularly lean time and those who held large herds, particularly if they were chiefs who drew prestige from a redistribution function, would have used these herds for the benefit of their people.

A second reason why Indian herds may not have increased to a large extent is suggested by the periodic reports of winter losses from Hudson's Bay Company posts in the interior. For example, in 1842 MacDonald reported to Simpson from Fort Colville that most of their horses had died during the previous winter because of severe conditions.⁶ In 1847 J. L. Lewes reported that destruction among company horses at Fort Colville was nearly complete, with only thirteen emaciated head surviving after losses of three hundred head.⁷ In 1849 George Simpson, Jr. reported from Thompson's River the loss of 250 of a band of 400 horses, with the survivors being left in a wretched state.⁸ Yet, by the 1850s Hudson's Bay post journals reported Company bands doing well, perhaps because by this time they were putting up considerable quantities of hay for winter feeding. Did the Indian bands suffer periodic losses of the same order?

David Chance suggests that in the interior plateau the Indians suffered a severe horse depopulation every four or five years⁹ but his evidence is taken mostly from the Colville area, and from among Indians who were not of the "horse culture complex." If any horses were to survive they would surely have been those with good winter grazing and the Penticton and head of the lake areas provided incomparable grazing lands. Nor were these lands likely to have been overgrazed like the land surrounding the Hudson's Bay Company forts because the Company kept its horses close to the fort, in sequestered areas, under

close supervision, while the Indians allowed theirs to roam extensively. Still, the Company did put up hay, which the Indians did not, and in the years immediately following the severe Company losses the Indians were reported to be starving, indicating that their herds, too, may have suffered grievously. Reinhart wrote in 1859 that many of the Indians' horses

had died and some had been eaten by the Indians a few years ago when the winter was so long and severe that they had eaten up their provisions and fish laid up and many Indians had died by famine. The Hudson[s] Bay Company had to drive in a lot of ponies for them to eat and live on for if the Indians had all starved [there would have been] no fur trade.¹⁰

There is evidence from Buckland, who obtained much of his information from oldtimers in the district, that Chilliheetsa and the Hudson's Bay Company both provided food for the Indians in 1859-1860. He noted the distribution of food by

chief Chilahichan [Chilliheetsa], who had gathered up a band of one hundred and fifty horses which he drove from camp to camp throughout his country, leaving a few at each rancherie . . . to be slaughtered for food.¹¹

Indians' horses probably suffered considerable losses through being butchered for food and through winter-kill, factors serious enough to limit their bands of horses to a relatively small size. As well, throughout the fur trade era and after, horses found a ready market and surplus horses were likely sold. Despite these limiting factors most Okanagan Indians undoubtedly possessed horses throughout the fur trade period.

While Indians were unquestionably the Okanagan's first stockraisers, they were joined by the HBC which used large numbers of horses to transport bales of furs from Fort Alexandria on the Fraser River north of Kamloops to Fort Okanagan at the junction of the Okanagan River and the Columbia. The size of the Hudson's Bay Company herds grew over the decades. In the 1820s the Thompson's River reported an inventory of about one hundred horses and one-year-olds.¹² In the late 1840s frequent references to brood mares suggest that the post had become a horse ranch. In 1849 the herd stood at

400 horses, mares and colts and although this figure shrunk to 150 due to severe winter kills, it increased again thereafter.¹³

The pre-settlement livestock industry also included herds of cattle which were introduced into the interior plateau through the agency of the Hudson's Bay Company which played an active role in the development of the industry in Oregon. Cattle were initially introduced into the Pacific Northwest by fur traders, beginning with the importation by the Northwest Company of two bulls and two heifers in 1814.¹⁴ A great impetus was given to the industry in the period of Hudson's Bay Company domination when Governor George Simpson implemented austerity measures that encouraged local self-sufficiency in foodstuffs. Forts Vancouver, Langley and Colville and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company's farms at Nisqually and Cowlitz were all chosen with an eye to their agricultural advantages.¹⁵ The first herds in the interior were probably those sent to Fort Colville from Fort Vancouver in 1833.⁶ In December 1834 the London Committee authorized the expenditure of 3000 for the purchase of cattle, an indication that they expected cattle raising to become a more important industry.¹⁷ Under Chief Factor John McLoughlin's careful husbandry, HBC herds increased dramatically throughout the 1830s and 1840s. By 1836 they numbered twelve hundred head of cattle as well as extensive flocks of sheep. Hudson's Bay Company operations were characterized by careful herding, haymaking, crop rotation, manuring of pastures, selective breeding and other scientific farming techniques.¹⁸

By the early 1840s the HBC no longer dominated the cattle industry and methods employed by other stockmen, and the Company itself, had changed considerably. The first important development was the importation of Spanish Longhorn cattle in 1837 by the Willamette Cattle Company and others.¹⁹ The second was the arrival of the overland immigrants, accompanied by their cattle, from the eastern United States. The number of these "native" cattle, derived from English and Dutch stock, was sufficient to dominate the established herds and were a welcome addition, sought after by all who had attempted to milk animals

derived from Longhorns. By 1860, western Oregon counted an estimated 100,000 cattle,²⁰ animals which became progenitors of the great herds which stocked the interior ranches of Oregon, British Columbia and Montana.

The Hudson's Bay Company introduced cattle to New Caledonia sometime in the 1830s.²¹ When Simpson examined the interior herds in 1841, there were 196 head at Colville and 35 head of "very fine cattle" at Fort Okanagan.²² The attempt to raise cattle and efforts at gardening in New Caledonia signified attempts to reduce costs and to make the establishments less dependent upon the natives for food supplies. The use of the "derouine" system to obtain salmon from places such as the Fraser River and Alexandria had exposed small numbers of Company employees to various forms of abuse from surrounding Indians.²³ Cattle and pigs made the establishments more independent of natives' provisions. That livestock contributed to an improvement in the fare of the men is illustrated by the fact that when the industry was not vigorously pursued a serious increase in desertion and mutiny among company servants resulted.²⁴

Although the importation in 1846 was clearly not the first movement of cattle into the interior, as claimed by Ormsby,²⁵ a general dispersal of livestock from Cowlitz and Nisqually to the interior occurred at that time.²⁶ In the spring of 1846 Fort Okanagan acquired a herd of twenty-two cattle, although all but one perished the following winter.²⁷ Peter Skene Ogden indicated the reason for the importation when he wrote in 1847:

We commenced last year sending forty head of cattle as a depot to Thompson's River and intend this year to send more, the object we have in view that whenever the transport commences by the new route a stock of provisions will be ready to meet all demands.²⁸

By 1849 the inventory of stock at Thompson's River included 140 head of cattle exclusive of calves of the season, this after suffering severe winter losses.²⁹ By 1852 Chief Trader Paul Fraser was able to report: "[Our] band of brood mares and cattle are doing well and increase fast."³⁰

The operation of Thompson's River under the management of

Paul Fraser resembled that of a cattle and horse ranch rather than a fur trading establishment. Activities which consumed the time of the men included growing hay and potatoes, ploughing, seeding and harvesting, hauling and threshing, moving animals from one pasture to another, branding horses and cattle, castrating calves, pigs and horses, making and furnishing a milk house, hauling wheat, flour and other goods between Kamloops and Colville or Alexandria, building stables and killing oxen. By the late 1850s Indians were being employed to a considerable extent as herders, drovers, packers and agricultural labourers. In the spring and summer of 1859 the Company slaughtered eight head every ten days, probably selling the meat to gold miners.³¹

Interior Indians participated in cattle ranching to a limited extent. Nez Perce and Spokane Indians travelled to Sacramento in 1844 to trade for cattle which they imported into the interior. Oregon's trans-Cascade Indians eagerly adopted herding. By 1850 Indians around Walla Walla had virtually abandoned the fur trade, becoming dealers in horses and cattle, often exchanging horses for cattle with arriving immigrants.³² Small cattle herds were found among virtually all interior bands, including the Kutenai, Kalispel, Spokane, Flathead and Okanagan Indians.³³ By 1854 the Flathead owned one thousand American cattle; one Yakima chief, Ka-mi-akin, owned large numbers of cattle³⁴ and the Okanagan chief Nicola had "a good many head of cattle."³⁵

The effect of the cattle and horse ranching operations of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Okanagan Indians can be inferred. Certainly, large numbers of horses and cattle were periodically driven through Okanagan territory and temporarily kept on Okanagan ranges to restore their vitality on the trail. If the Okanagan Indians did not already know, they must have learned to recognize the importance of grazing land and in particular the economic value of winter grazing areas. They frequently visited Thompson's River Post and were familiar with seasonal use of pasturage, putting up hay, branding and castration techniques, and the necessity of sequestering cattle in some manner. The HBC's cattle operations were labour

intensive, much different from the open range livestock-caring methods of the Hispanic tradition.

Little detail is known of the Indians' ranching operations. They undoubtedly left their stock to forage for themselves, to survive as best they could on the abundant bunchgrass. Stockraising as performed by the Indians may have resembled wild horse chasing and cattle hunting rather than the cattle raising operations of the HBC. The provision of hay as winter food may be considered an acid test for determining the type of livestock operation in place because it implied winter care of the animals and application of considerable labour to that object. No evidence indicates that Indian ranchers devoted time to making hay, which had to be harvested during the summer fishing and berrying season. The demands of the hunting, fishing and gathering economy nearly precluded haymaking.

The Indians preferred horse raising to cattle raising with good reason; the horse was a much more versatile animal, suitable for riding, packing or eating. The Hudson's Bay Company constantly demanded horses for purchase or hire, and later during the gold rush and settlement era horses found a ready market. As well, horses were more likely to survive a winter which required an animal to paw through a crust of snow to uncover dried grasses beneath. Experience with livestock raising using their methods and marketing taught the Indians the wisdom of concentrating on horses rather than cattle.

The next major event affecting the livestock industry was the extended gold rush on North America's west coast, beginning in 1849 in California and extending to the Okanagan-Similkameen, the Thompson River and beyond in the 1850s and the 1860s. Miners in isolated camps needed provisions which generally had to be packed in by horse or mule train or, in the case of cattle, driven to market. Reinhart claims that the price of horses ranged from \$100 to \$250 in Kamloops in 1858.³⁶ Of course, some cattle and horses were supplied locally and the Okanagan Indians and Hudson's Bay Company realized windfall profits. As least some Indians attempted to supply this demand from outside as one reference indicates that Indians drove a small herd of cattle from Hope to the

Similkameen in 1860.³⁷ But the deficiency of livestock in the southern interior of the new colony of British Columbia encouraged the cattlemen of Oregon, with established herds of cattle, to supply the colony's requirements.

A number of factors explain the large scale movement of cattle from Oregon. A surplus of cattle developed in the established, coastal regions as the Oregon ranching economy evolved from a range to a ranching type of operation. Established herds produced a steady supply of two year old cattle for market. The development of markets for cattle in the newly developed mining regions of British Columbia, Montana and Idaho and the availability of pasturage in the trans-Cascade region en route to the markets were other factors. As early as 1858 herds began moving northward from the Willamette, Rogue, Umpqua and Columbia river valleys, either overland or by boat, to The Dalles and hence to Colville, the Similkameen, the Fraser or elsewhere.³⁸ Joel Palmer drove herds to Kamloops in 1858 and 1859, following the Hudson's Bay brigade trail, which had been abandoned for nearly a decade.³⁹ G. W. Cox, the Gold Commissioner and customs official stationed at Rock Creek, reported in November 1860 the presence of three hundred head of cattle at the "Traverse" waiting for spring to cross the boundary.⁴⁰ Five months later he reported 180 cattle having passed with 80 more due through the next day and a large herd of 800 owned by John J. Jeffries approaching. By April, 1,000 head had passed on to the Fraser and 400 were waiting at the border to start for the Okanagan mines when required.⁴¹

Once the Oregon cattlemen discovered that they could winter cattle on the interior Oregon ranges with little or no supervision or expense and drive them to various mining camps as the shifting demands required, the cattlemen changed their methods. The well-known names of the Oregon cattle drovers appeared in the early sixties: John J. Jeffries, Ben Snipes, F. M. Thorpe and William Murphy all wintered in the Yakima area first in 1861,⁴² setting a pattern for the industry. Western Oregon provided a steady flow of two-year-old cattle to the trans-Cascade ranges, supplying as many as forty-six thousand head to the interior in 1862 alone.⁴³ The intermontane

regions of Oregon were used as feeder and holding ranges, which for the next two decades supplied the needs of various mining camps. The traffic into or through the Okanagan was a small part of a much larger industry established to the south. The reminiscences of A. J. Splawn indicate clearly that after his initial years of driving cattle to mining camps in British Columbia, he was engaged in driving herds to the camps of Montana and Idaho. The effect of these cattle driven to the mining camps of British Columbia was minimal as far as the Okanagan was concerned as none of these large American drovers established themselves in the Okanagan.

Stockraising among white settlers in the Okanagan began slowly. The first substantial herds were recorded at the Mission where Auguste Calmels and his partner, Chapius, Johnny McDougall, William Pion, Joseph Christian, the Mission Fathers, G. W. Simpson and others established herds in the first few years of residency. The Calmels-Chapius herd comprised over 300 head by 1864 and others may have been nearly as large. Thomas Ellis and J. C. Haynes purchased cattle in 1865 while searching for appropriate land in the south Okanagan to begin cattle raising operations. In the north Okanagan Charles Houghton and the Vernon brothers acquired land in 1864 and undoubtedly began to stock it soon after that. When J. C. Haynes cut off land from the Penticton and the Head of Lake Indian Reserves he provided suitable land for the ranch headquarters of Ellis and the Vernons respectively and his encroachment on the Inkamip Reserve provided land for his own ranch headquarters. Throughout the 1860s other cattlemen took up land. Cornelius O'Keefe, Thomas Greenhow and Thomas Wood purchased land at the head of the lake and E. J. Tronson, F. J. Barnard and Luc Girourd took land in the Preist's Valley area in the late 1860s. Roderick McLean and A. Brown ranched in the Keremeos area. By the end of the decade many of those who were to become successful ranchers had made their initial pre-emptions in favourable locations. A small group of perhaps fifteen stockmen eventually formed an oligopoly which dominated the industry.

Early entry into the industry appears to have been the most significant factor in the future success of the stock-

raisers, more important than ethnicity. Because access to water and winter grazing was critical to the stockraising operation and because both were in such short supply, the number of successful stockraisers was necessarily limited, and those who arrived first and located on the choice land were at a great advantage. If one considers a stockman's real and personal property as the criterion for success, then in 1879 Okanagan stockmen would have been ranked in the order shown in Table 11. Clearly the most successful stockmen were not ethnically homogeneous although the English and Anglo-Irish comprised the largest group. The second tier of stockmen, ranked by taxable property, was just as polygot. Entrance to the industry some time in the 1860s rather than national background appears to have been the critical factor in success.

TABLE 11

REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY OF OKANAGAN STOCKMEN, 1879			
Name	Property Value	Nationality	Date of Initial Land Purchase
1. E. Lequime	\$20,000	(French)	1861
2. T. Ellis	15,000 (est.)	(Anglo-Irish)	1867
3. J. C. Haynes	15,000 (est.)	(Anglo-Irish)	1869
4. T. Greenhow	13,000	(English)	1868
5. C. O'Keefe	12,000	(Canadian)	1868
6. F. Barnard	11,600	(Canadian)	1873
7. Vernon bros.	11,500 each	(Anglo-Irish)	1865
8. J. F. Allison	10,000	(Anglo-American)	1861
9. C. Houghton	9,000	(Anglo-Irish)	1862
10. J. Christian	8,600	(French-Canadian)	1861
11. L. Christian	8,000	(French-Canadian)	?
12. F. Richter	8,000	(Austrian)	1871

Source: PABC, BC, Department of Finance, Surveyor of Taxes, Vernon Assessment District, "Okanagan Assessment Roll, 1879, microfilm, B 526. See also A. J. Hiebert, "District of Okanagan Assessment Roll, 1879," OHS 41 (1977) : 97-99; and Pre-emption Records, Yale District.

Another factor in the success of these particular ranchers may have been their access to family wealth or financial support. The Anglo-Irish stockmen almost certainly received capital from their families on a first time or continuing basis, although they may have used much of their income for living expenses. Houghton and the Vernons were called remittance men by one contemporary observer and Houghton appears to have been a profligate.⁴⁴ It is known from Ellis' 1865 diary that he and

his partner McFarland arrived with money sufficient to support themselves without immediately finding work and to consider buying a small herd of cattle shortly after their arrival. Ellis had enough capital to lend another Englishman money for a cattle transaction and still be able to obtain money from his bank in New Westminster.⁴⁵ It is not known whether Haynes received money from his family, but from the moment he arrived in the Okanagan, his family connections, education and ability provided him with government employment as Constable, Assistant Collector of Customs, Gold Commissioner and Stipendary Magistrate. A steady income from his civil service positions and his political connections were great advantages in cattle and land acquisitions. Others from the group of successful stockraisers arrived with some money. O'Keefe and Greenhow, and possibly Wood, each brought a small herd of cattle, which was likely the extent of their capital.⁴⁶ The brothers Christian from Quebec arrived with some capital, enough to purchase cattle, travel back and forth to Quebec and engage a lawyer in a land dispute. They were seemingly of tradesman background because a missionary described one Christian disparagingly as "dentiste". On the other hand, Allison's letters home reveal a man expected to support his parents rather than receiving support from them. Eli Lequime was a victim of debt defaulting in Rock Creek and frequently noted that he had come to the Okanagan with one dollar.

What is striking about the stockraisers is their other activities. Most stockraisers, especially if they were married, engaged in joint production with another activity. Allison engaged in mining ventures, his wife ran a store and he marketed his own and other ranchers' cattle in the Lower Mainland. O'Keefe and Greenhow, or their wives, ran a store at their ranch and operated a grist mill. Eli Lequime and his wife operated a farm, a packtrain annually from Hope, and a store which had some characteristics of a tavern. Frederick Brent, Barrington Price, the Vernons, the Postills and perhaps others ran mills which were time consuming but probably profitable ventures. Haynes and Lowe and Charles Vernon held government positions and H. D. Shuttleworth was desirous of such a position, undoubtedly for

the income it would provide. Other stockmen such as E. J. Tronson and the Postills farmed their land extensively. F. S. Barnard, an absentee owner, had outside business interests as he was the owner of the BX Stage Company. Certain ranchers held government positions as Members of Parliament (C. Houghton, F. S. Barnard), Members of the Colonial Legislative Council or Provincial Legislative Assembly (J. C. Haynes, F. G. Vernon, Preston Bennett) or Justices of the Peace. While providing little or no direct income these positions provided social and economic benefits to the group.⁴⁷ Dawson described one of the more leisure-oriented of these stockmen, a man who was inclined to public office rather than another vocation:

Mr. [Charles] Vernon has a fine large farm here, very prettily situated, with a little flour mill and other improvements. He and his brother have been here about 12 years and his brother now being Minister of Public Works in Victoria, he lives here quite alone in a cottage, something after the style of a "Cacorna" house, half the time cooking and doing all the necessary duties for himself, acting as J. P. and Gold Commissioner for the district, receiving his weekly budget of papers and periodicals from all parts of the world. He is an Englishman and an ex-officer in some regiment and his father owns a fine Mansion somewhere in Ireland I think and ships him out a miscellaneous assortment of things supposed to be suitable for life in the Colonies from time to time. He says he is as a cook good at "fancy fixings" but somehow does not take an interest in ordinary cooking such as boiling potatoes etc. As to the fancy fixings, I can speak as he made me a very excellent cake at the time of my visit.⁴⁸

As Dawson's description of Vernon and the above comments about stockraisers' activities indicate, the duties of stockraiser were not onerous. Most of these men appear to have gone about their public duties or worked at other businesses, whether it be running a store, farming or serving the government, with little concern or effort expended on stock-raising. Many men lived alone with their vegetable gardens and private interests and allowed their cattle to reproduce and largely care for themselves.

Among the largest landowners in the Okanagan was a group of English and Anglo-Irish stockmen. These men dominated the economic, social and political life of the Valley. They monopolized the positions as colonial or provincial civil

servants, Justices of the Peace and political representatives. They were drawn from the professional and landholding middle and upper classes in England and Ireland, Anglican in religion, attuned to the importance of access to political power and innately aware of the relationship between land ownership and social class. Their affinity for public service and political influence assured their success. The influence of this British-dominated landholding oligopoly was far-reaching in terms both of what they did and what they failed to do. If they wished to build a church, form a co-operative flour mill, construct a branch line of the railway, form an integrated cattle company for producing and retailing livestock or elect one of their representatives in Victoria or Ottawa, it was accomplished. They formed an elite group unchallenged in social position and economic and political power until after the turn of the century.

The marketing of livestock was essential to the success of the industry and an important factor in the evolution of the methods of production. Cattle and horses were the primary export commodity of the Okanagan in the pre-railway period, due largely to the means of transport and distance from large markets. Cattle sold virtually anywhere in the Pacific Northwest. In the 1860s Cariboo goldfields constituted the primary market, although the Big Bend and Cherry Creek mines may have absorbed some cattle.⁴⁹ Various early ranchers marketed their stock in the Cariboo in the 1860s. The Thompson's River Post Journal records Wm. Pion travelling through Kamloops from the Okanagan to sell horses at Lillooet in 1862.⁵⁰ These could easily have been the horses of Indians, given Pion's marriage connections with the Okanagan band, although he might as well have brought them in from the United States or found them surplus in the Okanagan. In the late 1860s the Company journal documents the sale by T. Ellis of bands of cattle to Thaddeus Harper and Phillip Uren of the Thompson River region, both of whom probably remarketed them in the Cariboo.⁵¹ Another established Okanagan rancher, Joseph Christian, drove cattle through Kamloops in 1869.⁵² These cattlemen competed with cattle being driven in from the United States by men such

as J. J. Jeffries, Ben Snipes, A. J. Splawn and F. M. Thorpe.⁵³ Another prospective Okanagan stockraiser, Wm. Smithson, took a herd through Kamloops but the Journal specified that he had purchased them in Yakima.⁵⁴ The final reference to Okanagan ranchers in the 1860s refers to August Calmels, one of the earliest Mission settlers as having brought sheep from the Mission through Kamloops in 1868 and again in 1869.⁵⁵ After the late 1860s the demand for beef in the Cariboo diminished to the point where Cariboo herds could meet the demand and Okanagan stockmen had to look elsewhere for markets.

Another market for Okanagan cattlemen was local: heifers could be sold in the Okanagan to settlers just beginning their livestock operations. The establishment of foundation herds by Indian and white settlers alike would have absorbed many hundreds of heifers throughout the 1860s and early 1870s. Evidence of this type of activity is seen in the arrival of Charles Houghton at Kamloops in 1867 to buy cattle from the Hudson's Bay Company.⁵⁶ Just as the market in the Cariboo declined, this local demand would have taken every available female animal. Of course the price would have to be no higher than the price of cattle in Oregon, plus the costs of driving the animals, including wages, potential losses and duties. No evidence indicates that the cost of foundation herds in the Okanagan was based upon inflated prices current at the mines. Ranchers simply had to travel to Oregon themselves, as O'Keefe, Greenhow and Wood did, or to hire someone to drive their cattle from Oregon, as G. W. Simpson did, or to bargain with a drover for a herd. Ellis' diary records the purchase of several heifers from a drover who had no money to pay customs tolls.⁵⁷ He then examined other herds but refused to purchase, explaining that "there was no such thing as buying from them as they asked a very large price but I did not care as I intend to go down shortly to Oregon myself."⁵⁸ Greenhow's account book for July 1867 indicates that he purchased 63 head of cattle in the Corvales area at an average cost of \$18.00, which included some calves. These were part of a foundation herd of 110 head of cattle and 82 calves which Greenhow owned at the end of 1868.⁵⁹

Okanagan ranchers had never relied completely upon the goldfields, even in the 1860s. Those closer to the coastal market, such as the partners Allison and Hayes, marketed their cattle in New Westminster. Susan Moir married John Allison in 1865 and her reminiscences detail their cattle marketing. Allison and Hayes had a herd of five hundred cattle, many of them Durham Shorthorns, which they marketed regularly during the summer and fall by taking them in small herds over the Hope Trail, to ship downriver aboard the Reliance.⁶⁰ As the Cariboo market declined, the coastal market assumed greater importance as a destination for Okanagan cattle.

The decade of the 1870s was a period of declining prices, reflecting the trend in the Pacific Northwest where prices were very depressed between 1872 and 1880. Cattle reportedly sold for as low as ten dollars per head at Walla Walla in 1874.⁶¹ The British Colonist in 1876 quoted Haynes as saying that prices prevailing in the interior were twelve dollars per head for cows with calves, seventeen dollars for steers of three years and over, twelve dollars for two-year-olds and six dollars for yearlings.⁶² Markets did not improve until the influence of the railway was felt in 1882.

Marketing statistics for the mission ranch probably reflect general market conditions in the pre-railway era. The mission ranch could not get twenty-five dollars per head in 1873, a price which Grandider considered was a fraction of their former value.⁶³ By 1876 the price was twenty dollars although Eli Lequime sold a herd of two hundred, three to five-year-olds for twenty-two dollars per head.⁶⁴ In 1880 Father Richard claimed that his herd was worth an average of fourteen dollars, young and old, large and small, or about twenty dollars per head if they retained their price received over the previous two years.⁶⁵ Later in 1880 Allison purchased two hundred head in the Mission Valley for five thousand dollars or twenty dollars per head.⁶⁶ The going price was still only twenty dollars for four-year-olds and sixteen to eighteen dollars for three-year-olds.⁶⁷

Marketing methods in the 1870s are also mentioned in the missionary letters. Aside from the few cattle that the mission

was able to trade or sell to other mission farms and local people, they and their neighbours frequently sold to J. F. Allison, who marketed cattle in Victoria and New Westminster. Allison purchased thirteen head from the mission in 1874, 1875 and 1876 but none in 1877 or 1878.⁶⁸ In 1879 and again in 1880 Allison took "some large cattle", probably about sixteen head, for four hundred and three hundred dollars respectively. In 1880 Allison purchased two hundred head of cattle in the Mission Valley for the Victoria market. Allison thus sold his own and small numbers of his neighbours' cattle to coastal British Columbia. Allison always bought on credit, paying his clients when he sold the cattle, which was often some months after taking delivery.

Further insight into marketing interior cattle comes from a set of incomplete data on cattle arrivals in New Westminster. In 1875 the Mainland Guardian began reporting the arrival of small bands of cattle in the Fraser Valley. In 1878 a summary of the year's shipments was published which listed many Okanagan-Similkameen stockmen. More research may indicate the extent to which these figures are representative of the 1870s.

TABLE 12

LIVESTOCK ARRIVALS AT NEW WESTMINSTER BY STEAMER, 1878

Rancher	District	Cattle/ Head	No. of Trips
W. J. Roper	Kamloops	85	1
H. Murray	Kamloops	82	2
W. Woodward	Nicola	98	2
J. Douglas	Nicola	53	1
L. Campbell	Kamloops	62	2
C. Beak	Nicola	154	4
J. F. Allison	Similkameen	181	4
L. Guichon	Nicola	71	1
T. Ellis	Okanagan	190	3
P. Houghton	Okanagan	78	1
J. B. Greaves	Cache Creek	123	2
C. A. Vernon	Okanagan	128	2
R. Cawston	Similkameen	100	1
M. Barcelo	Okanagan	26	1
A. Lundbom	Nicola	51	1
F. Richter	Similkameen	72	1
J. Gilmore	Nicola	62	1
J. Moore	Nicola	37	1
P. Fraser	Nicola	? sheep	1
J. Martley	Lillooet	230 sheep	1
J. B. Greaves	Cache Creek	426 sheep	1

Source: Gregory E. G. Thomas, "The British Columbia Ranching Frontier: 1858-1896" (MA thesis, UBC, 1976), p. 97.

Table 12 illustrates that seven Okanagan-Similkameen ranchers including Charles Houghton and the Vernons, from the northern end, sent a total of 846 cattle to New Westminster in 1878. The cattle were sent in drives of 45 to 100 head per shipment with as many as four drives per season made by Allison. Assuming that these animals were three and four-year-old animals and the price was \$18 per head, the ranchers would have realized from this source an average of nearly \$2,000 per rancher, ranging from \$3,420 to Tom Ellis to \$468 to Manuel Barcelo. The ranchers who sold an average of \$2,000 of cattle made enough to support themselves and possibly improve their herds.

It is not known how the statistics from the Mainland Guardian were collected but the approximate size of the herds from which some of the sales were made is known. The 1878 sales listed here represent 18.1%, 13% and 12.8% respectively of the 1879 herds of Allison, Houghton and Vernon. In any year a rancher with an established herd would hope, ideally, to market 25 to 35% of his herd by selling three and four-year-old steers and heifers. That these ranchers were selling approximately one-half that number may be interpreted in one of two ways. Either they were retaining the heifers to increase herd size during periods of depressed price or these figures do not represent their total sales, whether because the figures for this market are incomplete or because they sold in another market. Ranchers probably were increasing their herd size by retaining heifers because they were anticipating a turn-around in markets as a result of imminent railway construction, and the ranges of the major stockmen were not yet considered to be overstocked in 1878, although they were approaching maximum utilization.

Evidence indicates that ranchers sold in other markets although the following example of United States sales may have been an isolated event. In 1876 Thaddeus Harper relieved the Okanagan of numerous surplus cattle. Starting with 800 head of his own cattle in Kamloops, Harper determined to trail his herd to the railhead in Billings, Montana and ship them to Chicago.

As he passed through the Okanagan he picked up 428 head at Cornelius O'Keefe's ranch which may have included cattle from various Priest Valley ranchers. Harper eventually trailed his cattle to California where he disposed of them profitably.⁶⁹

Enough information exists regarding disposal of Okanagan cattle in the pre-railway era to make some general observations. Okanagan cattlemen were not established early enough to market many animals in the northern mining regions although Ellis and others had sold there. In the 1870s cattle appear to have been sold mainly to the New Westminster and Victoria markets via the Princeton to Hope route although the Harpers' cattle drive in 1876 and perhaps other similar drives to the United States took some pressure off the range. Probably only about fifteen percent of Okanagan herds were marketed per year as ranchers increased herd size in anticipation of improved markets. Herds probably increased until the winter of 1879-1880 when there was a severe winter-kill among most herds around the lake. The winter-kill would have removed the pressure on the range and reduced the number of marketable cattle. Allison's unusually large purchase of two hundred head of cattle in 1880 was undoubtedly based on his need to fill established orders which he had previously been able to provide from his own herd. Smaller ranches like the Mission farm relied on neighbours like Allison to market for them. Many cattlemen marketed their own cattle and had established connections and annual contracts with coastal butchers.

The stockraising sector had become the dominant economic sector in the Okanagan prior to the arrival of the railway and was to expand and diversify in the post-railway era. The railway, of course, opened the interior to new markets, new sources of immigration, capital and forms of agriculture to which adjustments were necessary. The livestock industry, the most firmly established branch of agriculture, responded quickly with changing land ownership patterns, new capital investment and new cattle raising techniques.

The railway brought significant new markets for interior cattle during the railway construction stage and it provided an efficient means of transport for cattle to the burgeoning new

coastal markets. The significance of the growing provincial market to the Okanagan and interior ranching community is evident in the statistics presented in Table 13. The population of British Columbia increased eightfold between 1881 and 1911: that is, it doubled every decade for three decades. The number of cattle produced in the province increased by sixty percent from 1881 to 1891 and then, having reached capacity at over 100,000 head, stabilized at roughly that level. It would appear that the provincial population provided, after 1881, a market adequate to the needs of the cattle industry, and quickly increased beyond the industry's supply capability. The Okanagan produced approximately twenty percent of the province's cattle in 1881 and 1891, and probably continued to do so until about 1903, when many ranchers turned to commercial agriculture and the cattle operations were pushed to higher elevations and more isolated sections of the region.

TABLE 13

POPULATION AND LIVESTOCK IN BRITISH COLUMBIA,
1881-1911

<u>Year</u>	<u>White Population</u>	<u>Percent Increase</u>	<u>Cattle in Province</u>	<u>Cattle in Okanagan-Similkameen</u>
1881	49,459	. . .	67,254	15,000 (est.)
1891	98,173	98.5	106,784	21,834
1901	178,657	82	99,040	. . .
1911	390,775	119.7	108,508	. . .

Source: Canada, Department of Agriculture, Census of Canada, 1880-81, vol. 3 (Ottawa, Maclean, Roger, 1883); Fourth Volume of the Census of 1891, 1890-91, Census of Canada D (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1894); Fourth Census of Canada 1901, vol. 2, Natural Products (Ottawa: Dawson, 1904); Fifth Census of Canada 1911, Agriculture, vol. 4 (Ottawa, Tache, 1914).

The immediate impact of railway construction was felt as early as the spring of 1881 when cattle buyer Thaddeus Harper, who held a contract to supply beef to the Onderdonk crews, and J. B. Greaves, acting on behalf of a partnership of himself and five Victoria businessmen in attempting to corner the cattle market, began competing for the purchase of Okanagan cattle. A year later Greaves attempted to purchase 3,000 to 3,500 head in the Okanagan to "give our Compy. control of the market for this

season."⁷⁰ His agent, Brock McQueen, is alleged to have bought 400 head of cattle at the Mission at between \$17.00 and \$20.00 per head in 1882,⁷¹ but the price was likely not that low. Father Richard stated that the going price was \$22.50 for three-year-old steers but that Greaves had taken 2,500 cattle from the Okanagan and 1,000 head from the Kamloops district at \$20.00 per head.⁷² Prices increased in 1881, exciting ranchers at the potential.⁷³ These huge cattle sales to Greaves, Harper and others allowed Okanagan ranchers to sell most of the three, four and five-year-old steers which had accumulated in their herds, as well as many spayed heifers and older cows. The United States also exerted strong demand at this time, as ranchers in neighbouring Washington State attempted to rebuild their foundation herds after the disastrous winter of 1880-1881.⁷⁴ American buyers reportedly offered \$40.00 per animal suitable for breeding stock.⁷⁵ Undoubtedly it was in response to these prices that J. C. Haynes sold a large herd to Willis Clark of Yakima.⁷⁶

The newly opened prairie region east of the Rockies provided additional demands for Okanagan livestock as foundation herds. Various reports survive of cattle and horse shipments to the Northwest Territories.⁷⁷ John Allison drove a herd of 1,200 Okanagan-Similkameen cattle to the Northwest in the spring of 1881.⁷⁸ By 1885, however, the Alberta cattle industry was mature and becoming competitive with British Columbia producers.

The British Columbia livestock industry may have been slow to supply the spring beef trade. Thomas observed that a shipment of one hundred head of spring beef entered the province from Alberta in 1889,⁷⁹ but this was a year in which marketable three-year-olds were in short supply in British Columbia, due to winter losses in 1886-1887. In 1892 Richard Cawston, manager of the BC Cattle Company, claimed that the province absorbed from seven to eight thousand head of cattle from the Northwest Territories for the winter and spring markets.⁸⁰ The precise market situation is unclear, however. The Coldstream Ranch reportedly sent spring beef to Alberta in 1893, 1896 and 1901.⁸¹ It would appear that such shipments may have been to correct temporary regional imbalances in

production resulting from winter losses or other causes. Okanagan farmers did sell beef for the spring trade, although perhaps not in quantities sufficient to satisfy the coastal market. Undoubtedly, after 1892 Alberta beef entered the coastal market in increasing numbers because of their lower costs and because of the physical inability of the provincial industry to expand to meet demand.

During the railway construction stage the Northwest Territories also provided a market for British Columbia horses. A large number of Okanagan horses, mostly cayuses, passed through United States customs en route to the Northwest Territories before the trans-continental railroad was complete. C. D. Bash, the US Collector of Customs at Oroville, reported that

great herds of range horses were driven down from British Columbia, to be driven over what was then the Colville Reserve, through Spokane Falls to Alberta passing out of the U. S. again at Bonner's Ferry, Idaho. They were driven from Okanagan River to near Omak Lake, thence to the Columbia River.⁸²

The movement to rid the ranges of relatively low value cayuses was apparently quite widespread. Various Okanagan ranchers including Eli Lequime, Frank Richter, Alf Postill and the Mission Ranch, reportedly shipped their surplus horses to the prairies.⁸³

The coastal region provided the major outlet for Okanagan beef until about 1895 when the Kootenay and Boundary markets became significant. Southern ranchers such as Richter, Cawston, Ellis and Allison drove their cattle over the Hope Trail during the July to November season to meet the rail line at Hope, continuing the pattern developed in the 1860s and 1870s.⁸⁴ Most ranchers had long established, stable business connections with beef retailers in New Westminster and Victoria. Until 1892, R. L. Cawston, T. Ellis and others sold beef to Van Volkenburgh's BC Meat Market.⁸⁵ With the establishment of the BC Cattle Company⁸⁶ in which Ellis and Cawston were major shareholders, the marketing of considerable South Okanagan beef belonging to those men and others took place through a single integrated company. J. B. Greaves of the Douglas Lake Cattle

Company also bought Okanagan cattle constantly, marketing through New Westminster as well as Victoria.⁸⁷ Through the 1890s Greaves annually purchased and re-sold approximately one thousand head of Okanagan cattle:

Every June he travelled there on horseback with about twenty riders, three horses each and a chuckwagon. He would purchase up to 1000 or more [sic] head of cattle and bring them to Douglas Lake then or later in the year.⁸⁸

The other market for Okanagan cattle, which developed after 1885, opened in response to railway building and the mining activity first in the Slocan, then at Rossland and Trail and finally in the Boundary region. The first indication that Okanagan ranchers serviced the region came in a letter from Thomas Ellis to the government in July 1885 on behalf of settlers of Grand Prairie, Kettle River and Osoyoos, requesting a refund for work undertaken to re-open the trail to the Kootenays.⁸⁹ South Okanagan and Similkameen ranchers such as Ellis, Richter, Haynes and Cawston especially benefitted from this market.⁹⁰ For example, during the late 1880s and the 1890s Frank Richter's sons drove herds of approximately 100 head as far as Robson once a month during the summer, and finished the season with a full drive of 250 head. After 1900 these extensive drives became unnecessary because the railhead reached Midway, within a very few days driving from Keremeos.⁹¹ North Okanagan ranchers also supplied the Kootenay market with cattle after the building of the branch line to Okanagan Landing. For example, Postill, Knox, and the Coldstream Ranch sold numerous carloads of cattle there in 1895 and 1896.⁹² This Kootenay and Boundary market for Okanagan beef should not be underestimated, because from 1895 to 1919 the Kootenay, Slocan and Boundary districts provided a burgeoning market close to the Okanagan. The Okanagan region itself also absorbed some of its own beef, although this market was limited. Okanagan ranchers sold to Granite Creek⁹³ and the mining camps of Camp McKinney, Fairview and Hedley as they briefly flourished and supported sizeable populations.

After 1891, Okanagan and other interior cattle producers were spared competition from the United States by the strong

enforcement of Canada's quarantine regulations. The protection appeared to be absolute. Thomas Ellis noted:

the placing of the 90 day quarantine on beef cattle from the States meant practical exclusion from our markets as no shipper could afford to feed the stock for so long a period.⁹⁴

By 1897, when the quarantine regulations were lifted,⁹⁵ the Boundary mining boom had developed and the provincial population had expanded to the point where it was beyond the supply capacity of the domestic industry. Demand appears to have been adequate and growing throughout the era.

The Okanagan livestock industry did face changes in demand and was forced to respond to those pressures. One change induced by the railway was the opportunity of providing beef on a year-round basis now that the transportation technology permitted it. Ranchers in the South Okanagan, dependent still upon mountainous trails, retained their traditional July to November marketing pattern. But coastal cattle dealers and retailers required a year-round supply of beef, as did an integrated company such as the BC Cattle Company. It was probably in an effort to correct this seasonal imbalance that Thomas Ellis purchased the Joseph Christian ranch in the Mission Valley in 1890 and trailed cattle to it that December for winter feeding on large haystacks of timothy hay.⁹⁶ The BC Cattle Company also attempted to purchase spring beef from ranchers further north and nearer the railhead. As an example, in the spring of 1893 the Vernon News reported:

The largest shipment of cattle made from [Vernon] for some time was that from the Aberdeen ranch sent out by Friday's train. There were 108 head of cattle which had been driven in from the Mission the day before and they were the first consignment of a 300 head lot which were sold some time ago to the British Columbia Cattle Company to be delivered at New Westminster.⁹⁷

Farmers in the North Okanagan, Spallumcheen and even the Mission Valley, in an effort to maximize return on their highly priced irrigated bottomland, turned to growing fodder crops and stall-feeding for the spring beef market. The probate records for the Harland estate give an insight into the operation of the Fortune-Harland partnership in 1890.⁹⁸ On 24 February 1890

A. L. Fortune sold 42 steers, his whole marketable stock, to E. B. Madill at \$50.00 each. He also sold 163 hogs to Madill and a Victoria butcher for \$1810.26. This ranch was quite obviously producing specifically for the spring beef trade, receiving nearly twice the price that the Douglas Lake Cattle Company was paying for local steers in the summer of 1892.⁹⁹ Other evidence of the shift to spring beef includes newspaper references to prizes for the best stall-fed steers.¹⁰⁰ Alf Postill wrote in 1895 that he and others were about to change to feeding spring beef:

I am of the opinion that the Durham would prove valuable for winter stall feeding, which must very soon be the principal means of turning stock to profitable account and this would be the case sooner if the stockraisers were acquainted with building and use of the silo. A practical lesson by someone qualified to give it would be of great value to this community, as clover gives an abundant second crop and from an experiment tried last summer ensilage corn grows luxuriantly.¹⁰¹

Structural changes occurring in the industry posed a second problem for Okanagan and other interior ranchers. The railway era saw the consolidation of the landholdings of cattlemen in the Okanagan and elsewhere in the interior and the formation of heavily capitalized large scale cattle companies such as the Western Canada Ranching Company of Kamloops, the Douglas Lake Cattle Company of the Nicola and the BC Cattle Company based in the South Okanagan-Similkameen. The major livestock producers acquired extensive landholdings throughout the interior as well as in coastal retail outlets; these integrated companies emerged as major actors in beef production and marketing. Through them most Okanagan cattle found their way to market. The provincial beef trade in the 1890s began to resemble an oligopolistic industry with marketing dominated by "a few wealthy companies or syndicates."¹⁰² Against the major livestock dealers and these ranching syndicates that had a foot in the retail business, the small rancher and the independent retail butcher at the coast were at a disadvantage.

Various interior ranchers endeavoured to break this oligopoly control to increase their return. At least two attempts were made in the Kamloops region to establish formal

marketing arrangements with coastal retailers but these schemes apparently failed, possibly over the issue of year-round supply.¹⁰³ Alf Postill of Okanagan Mission also tried to establish his own retail outlet in New Westminster to meet the competition and to break the market hold of the large retailers. In 1892 he announced the opening of his outlet and the shipment of a carload of cattle.¹⁰⁴ As would be expected, this new entry into the retail business initiated a price war. The Vernon News reported:

[V]ery lively times in New Westminster in the butchering line with meat . . . down there so low in price that Christmas roasts may be had for almost a song. The war was brought on by the ranchers starting a shop to meet the high rates of the butcher's combine The Postill brothers [intend to] send a large amount of their stock to their shop in New Westminster.¹⁰⁵

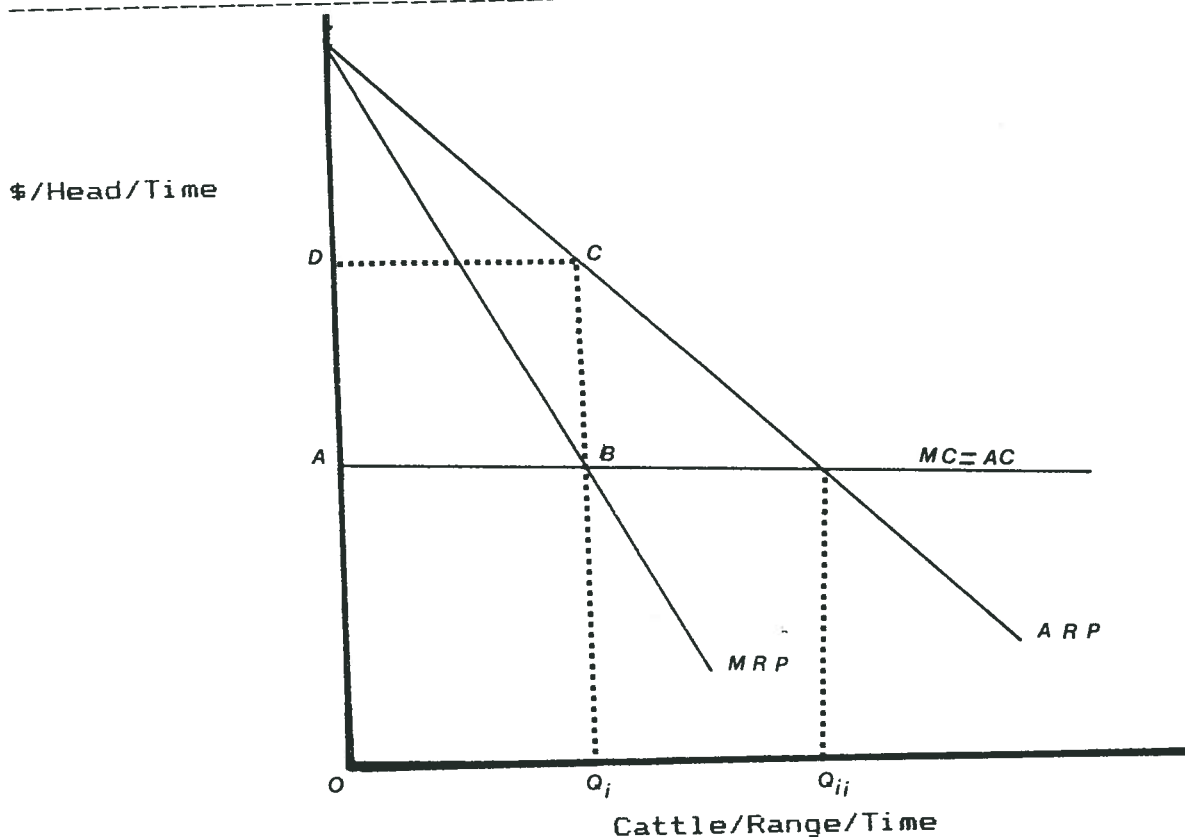
The Postills likely did not survive very long since their competition had large resources while they were medium-sized ranchers.

The twenty years after the railroad arrived in British Columbia had been excellent years for the marketing of cattle. The railroad construction contractors had taken considerable production and the expanding markets at the coast and in the mining camps adjacent to the Okanagan had absorbed all of the cattle which Okanagan farmers had to sell. Despite enjoying a provincial market of adequate size, independent cattlemen in the 1890s nonetheless faced serious economic pressures. Domination by the large cattle producing and retailing concerns led to diminished returns to the Okanagan ranchers. This was also a time of rising costs for the industry and at the turn of the century many cattlemen faced economic problems.

The operation of livestock ranches in British Columbia has not previously been examined thoroughly in the pre-railway and post-railway eras. Insight into the stockraising operations of the Okanagan can be provided by employing an economic model which compares characteristics of the cattle industry under different land tenure regimes.

FIGURE 2

QUANTITIES OF RANGE CATTLE GRAZED
UNDER CONDITIONS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY OWNERSHIP
AND COMMON RESOURCE USAGE



Source: Rodgers Taylor Dennen, "From Common to Private Property: The Enclosure of the Open Range" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1975), p. 14.

Considerable economic theory has developed regarding the characteristics of an industry based upon a common, or free resource such as Crown-owned grazing lands or deep-sea fishing.¹⁰⁶ Resource use under a common property regime is unrestricted. A valuable resource in fixed supply may be exploited by applying units of variable factors (labour, capital) to it. As variable inputs are added, the law of diminishing returns operates: average and marginal productivity of the resource declines. Resource use is different from what it would be under private ownership. Under conditions of private ownership, if an entrepreneur owned the resource and

wished to maximize his return over time, he would only add variable factors as long as his marginal revenue product (MRP) exceeded his marginal costs (MC) or until $MRP=MC$. Under a common property regime, however, the entrepreneur cannot count on maximizing return over a long time period and he will therefore add variable factors as long as the value of his average revenue product (ARP) exceeds his MC. The fixed resource will therefore be used much more intensively than under private ownership. Instead of husbanding a resource to maximize economic return over time, as a private property owner would, the entrepreneur in the common property regime exploits the resource as long as there is any positive marginal value.

Applying this economic model to the range cattle industry, the grasslands are a fixed resource to which cattlemen applied the variable factor, cattle. Figure 2 illustrates the use of the grassland resource under the private property and common property regimes.¹⁰⁷ In the private property regime where entry to the range is restricted, the rancher who owns the range will operate at Q_i or will apply OQ_i cattle to the range per year. This is where $MC=MRP$ and where returns are maximized. Total annual returns are represented by rectangle OQ_iCD while costs of production, including return to entrepreneurship, appear as OQ_iBA . The residual, rectangle $ABCD$, is the economic rent which accrues to the owner of the grassland resource. Figure 2 also illustrates the response of the industry under the common property regime. In this case, if cattlemen attempt to maximize return over a span of years by restricting the size of their herds, it is probable that other cattlemen or sheepmen will invade the range in this or subsequent years to exploit the resource. Consequently, individual cattlemen will apply cattle to the range as long as they recover their average costs of production. Cattle in the amount OQ_{ij} are applied to the range to the point where ARP equals average cost.

Two polar models have been presented, each with distinctive characteristics. Under the private property system the grassland resource is husbanded to allow maximum returns over the years. A restricted number of cattlemen apply a

limited number of cattle to the land and each animal, with sufficient food, gains weight fairly rapidly and enters the winter in a healthy state. Sufficient grass remains in sections of the range to permit winter grazing and therefore winter losses of stock will be minimal. Under private ownership the entrepreneur will also tend to apply other factors besides range cattle to the fixed resource to use it more efficiently. If the rancher can be assured, through his property rights, of gaining the benefit of costs which he incurs, he will tend to apply capital to his operation in the form of wells or water catch-basins to improve his range, to build haystacks in strategic locations to help his cattle survive the winter, or perhaps to import purebred bulls to upgrade his herd and maximize his return.

The other polar case is the common resource model. In this case cattle are applied by large numbers of cattlemen, which leads to overgrazing and the resultant destruction of winter grazing, light cattle and large winter losses. Lack of secure land tenure makes an entrepreneur reluctant to undertake investment projects which will enhance the productivity of inputs. A water system or haystacks would probably attract more animals of other cattlemen and deprive his cattle of further rangeland. Improved bulls would benefit the herds of others more than his own, as his cattle constitute only a small fraction of the animals on the range. Theoretically, under the common resource regime the resource is mismanaged to a considerable degree, the land is "mined" or exploited rapidly by overgrazing and such a large number of cattlemen enter the industry that profits are dissipated. With no regulation or management, there is no possibility of conserving the resource on which they are all dependent.

Okanagan cattlemen owned little of the land they used because they could not afford to pay one dollar per acre for rangeland. Early ranchers typically owned less than one thousand acres and exploited further thousands of acres of the public domain freely, as a common resource. It was possible, however, for cattlemen using Crown land to assert property rights to that grassland and treat the resource as if it were

privately owned. If a limited number of cattlemen with fairly extensive herds occupied a range and limited entry to the range and even limited their own herds, they would have been able to prevent the dissipation of economic rent by diminishing returns and thereby would have captured higher incomes represented by rectangle ABCD in Figure 2. The industry would have returned to the private property solution which featured higher incomes and an income stream which extended into the future rather than rapid exploitation or overgrazing. The critical problem in reaching the private ownership management solution, in the absence of private ownership, was in developing methods of controlling access to the range and enforcing these restrictions on access.

A variety of techniques to gain property rights over unowned land were developed in the Okanagan and elsewhere in the West. One was to gain control of water. Lake access and running streams were scarce in the region and ownership of a relatively small proportion of total land, if chosen wisely, would have conferred right-of-occupancy to lands lying back of the watercourse, for without access to water a potential entrant to the range would have been unable to graze his cattle.

Another technique of limiting access to a range was for an individual to claim and somehow enforce his "moral right" to a range merely because of his prior occupation. W. W. Spinks, an observer intimate with the Okanagan cattleman, discussed the technique by relating a story about J. C. Haynes. Haynes, known locally as Judge Haynes, came upon a man about to build a cabin and begin a ranching operation on land over which Haynes' cattle ranged. He instructed the man to leave immediately. When the individual apologized saying that he did not know it was Haynes' land, that gentleman, who was the embodiment of the Queen's authority, replied, "Well, the land isn't exactly mine but I have a strong moral right to it." Spinks then noted that "all the cattlemen had the same idea. What land they didn't own they had a strong moral right to. A newcomer had no rights."¹⁰⁸

Political favouritism assisted Haynes, and perhaps others, to prevent competition on the range. Two individuals, James McConnell and Joseph McCauley, attempted to pre-empt land on the

Inkamip Indian reserve which had been laid out by Haynes himself but had never been surveyed or officially announced in the government Gazette. Haynes immediately wrote to Forbes Vernon, the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, who gazetted the Indian Reserve, excluding the two intending settlers who had pre-empted land which was legally available. Part of Haynes' reasoning for exclusion of the settlers was that

it is obvious to the residents here, the object of the above named parties is to oblige stockowners [himself] on whose winter range they have driven stock, to buy them "out" 109

To assess the political favouritism one must compare this case to one the following year when the Indian Reserve Commission enlarged the Inkamip Indian Reserve considerably to include land applied for by Haynes, but still Crown land. Before it was gazetted as Indian land the land was advertised in error and Haynes was allowed to purchase it and no amount of threatening or pleading would persuade either the government or Haynes to turn the land back to the Indians. In each case the land had technically not been an Indian reserve, as it had not been gazetted, but it had been identified as such by an authorized agent of the government. It is apparent therefore that Haynes was able to have it both ways. When it suited Haynes to exclude new entrants, the Indian Reserve was proclaimed immediately on application to his friend and fellow stockraiser. When it suited Haynes to exclude Indians from the land that he had grown accustomed to using as winter range, the government sold him the land despite the Indians' right to it. Political favouritism allowed Haynes to successfully assert his claim to the land, either by exclusion of others or by being allowed to retain land which he had acquired under dubious circumstances.

If, by means of the above techniques or others, stockmen could assert property rights to land that they didn't own and limit access to the range, the industry might take on characteristics of a private ownership regime. Considerable insight into the mode of operation of stockraisers can be gained if it can be determined which land-use regime was in place in

different regions of the Okanagan. As a means of assessing which regime was existent, it is necessary to determine the exact placement of cattle on Okanagan ranges. Distribution of livestock, both cattle and horses, is possible through the use of the 1879 Assessment Roll which lists individual holdings of livestock and provides a legal description of each cattleman's land.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately the Assessment Roll for 1879 does not include the settlers in the South Okanagan and Similkameen, so specific details of the sort available for the northern end of the Valley are lacking. For Indian livestock holdings, a complete population and livestock census was taken in 1877 by the Indian Reserve Commission.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, holdings are listed by band only and not for individuals. Table 14 gives livestock holdings by band.

TABLE 14

LIVESTOCK HOLDINGS OF OKANAGAN INDIAN BANDS
1877 and 1879

Band	1877.....		1879 estimate	
	Horses	Cattle	Horses	Cattle
Spallumcheen	68	14	82	17
Head of Lake	585	190	708	230
Mission			273	34
Penticton	612	476	740	576
Osoyoos	<u>382</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>462</u>	<u>69</u>
TOTAL	1647	737	2265	926

Source: PAC, RG 10, vol. 3611, file 3756-12. Sproat to SGIA, 17 August 1877; RG 10, vol 13612, file 3756-16. Second Condensed Report by the Joint Commission appointed by the Governments of Canada and British Columbia, December 1877.

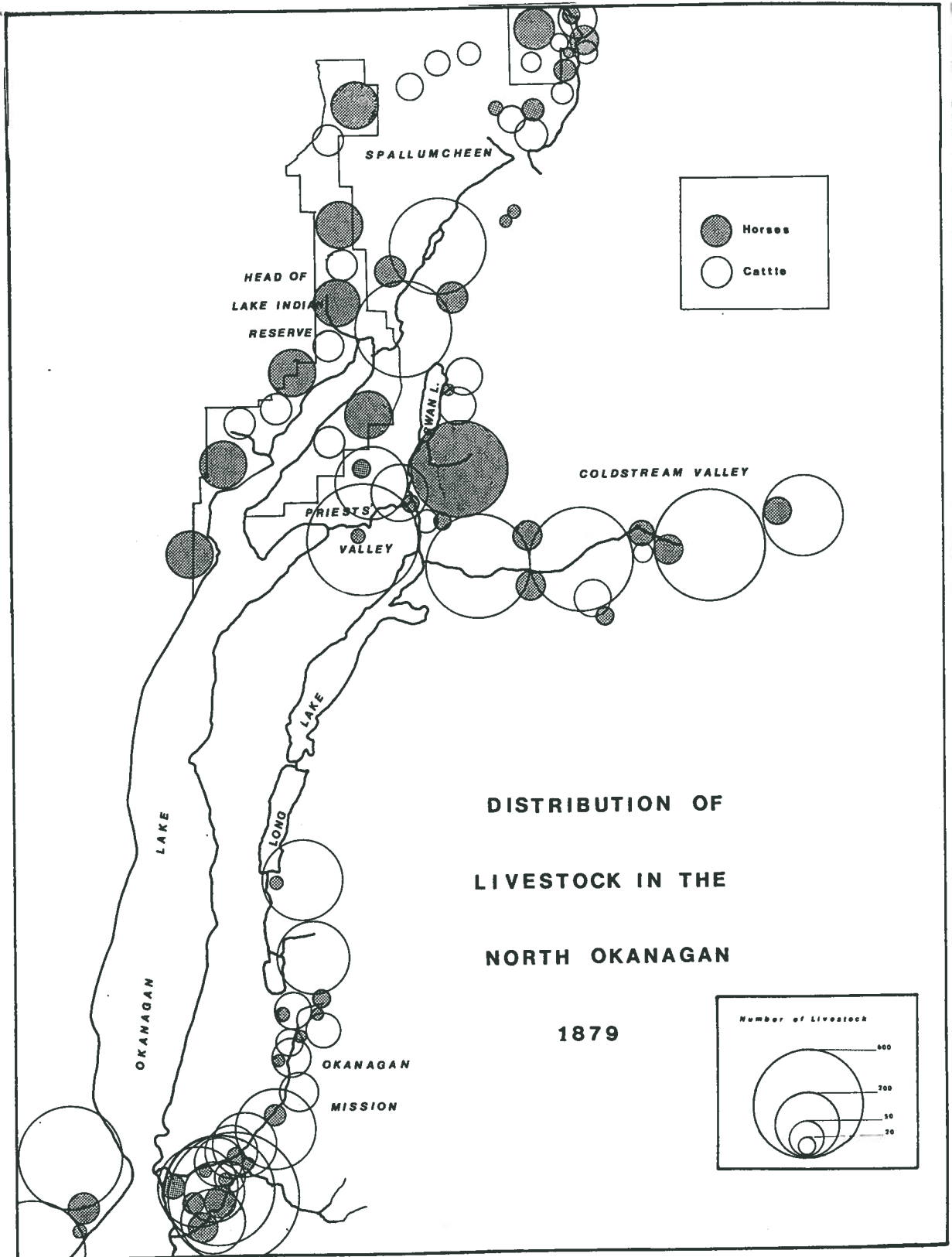
An effective way of indicating where livestock were located and over what areas they ranged is to calculate the acreage required to support a head of livestock, then to locate each ranch in the Okanagan district and place a circle representing the area that each rancher's herd would have required for grazing. Estimates on how much land was required to support a head of livestock vary widely.¹¹² In 1877 the IRC assigned Okanagan Indians land in the Okanagan area on the basis of twenty-four acres per head but noted that they made

some allowance for expansion of herds. After reviewing the evidence and despairing of obtaining a commonly accepted figure, Sproat wrote:

The question was answered variously by twenty-three gentlemen, all of whom were experienced stock farmers in the interior. The maximum estimate was ten times the minimum and the maximum was by a gentleman whom all would acknowledge to be a competent judge of that part of the country of which he had experience. The minimum estimate seems to have originated in the condition inserted many years ago in government leases of pasture lands.¹¹³

In 1920 the Provincial Grazing Commissioner claimed that fifteen acres per head were sufficient in the Okanagan.¹¹⁴ For the purposes of this study it is assumed that fifteen acres per head was sufficient.¹¹⁵

The accompanying map includes circles representing the acreage used by the herds of individual stockraisers from the Spallumcheen to the Okanagan Mission area. The map showing the area over which certain herds ranged is very instructive; the striking feature regards the concentration of cattle in different localities, represented by the size and extent of overlapping circles. A small number of cattle appear in the Spallumcheen area, few enough to affirm that commercial cattle ranching was not yet practised in the area, with the possible exception of Thomas Lambly and the purebred Durham Shorthorn breeder, James Steele. At the head of the lake and northern Mission Valley, ranches tended to be geographically separated from one another to the degree that one stockraiser's herds did not infringe on the range of another. Cattlemen held local monopolies on the use of grazing land, that is, they had been able to exclude others from using lands bordering their property. Although not shown on the map, T. Ellis and the partnership of J. C. Haynes and W. H. Lowe also held monopolies in their respective areas in the south Okanagan. The circles on the map overlap extensively at the Okanagan Mission. Cattle of various ranchers intermingled, numerous small herds pressed on the resource and overgrazing occurred. As ranchers were not able to exclude others from the Crown grazing lands, it is obvious that a common property regime was in effect.



The map also attempts to indicate where Indian livestock were located. Indians owned more horses than cattle and, indeed, owned most of the horses in the Valley. In Penticton, however, Indian-owned cattle were nearly as numerous as Indian-owned horses. As individual ownership cannot be determined, and as it is known that numerous individuals owned substantial herds, the Indian herds have been divided up and dispersed over the respective reserves.

The map identifies two areas of white settlement with different land regimes. In areas such as the head of the lake where ranchers excluded others from the range, the range could be treated as private land; where they couldn't, such as at the Mission, they had to use the land in common. Indians could not assert property rights to their reserve lands. The model predicts numerous differences between the operation of stock-raising under the two regimes. Ranchers operating under the private property regime would limit the number of stock on their land, conserve winter grazing and consequently, suffer few winter kills, make capital improvements and spend resources on breed improvement. Ranchers who could privatize Crown-owned land would operate viable businesses. On the other hand, ranchers operating under a common-resource regime would suffer from overgrazing, more severe winter kills, a lack of capital investment and few attempts at breed improvement. These operations would be small, marginal concerns because of the regime under which they worked.

There is evidence of distinct differences in the operation of the stock ranches in the different districts in the pre-railway era. Where cattlemen had a monopoly there was little evidence of overgrazing. After passing through the Haynes and Ellis ranches and up the east side of Okanagan Lake through the Allison-Hayes range and onto the head of the lake in 1877, Dawson stated: "On the whole . . . [there is] much good feed for cattle and horses through this country and as far as appearances showing yet very little grazed over."¹¹⁶ In other areas of the Okanagan, especially in the Mission and Keremeos areas, the ranges had been severely overstocked. In these regions the cattle of numerous ranchers crowded together and

unavoidably mingled on the Crown land where they ranged. Bishop Sillitoe, on his trip through the Mission Valley in 1881 noted in his diary the severe overgrazing in that area.¹¹⁷ Later comments regarding noxious weeds in the annual Agriculture Reports were especially prevalent around the Mission where overgrazing had occurred previously. A complaint by Alf Postill illustrates the problem:

The pasturage is not so good as in former years. The country having been overstocked, the original grass has in many places disappeared. Bunch-grass and rye-grass are the principal grasses, and where they have been eaten out an early maturing grass, known as June-grass has taken possession of the ground. This affords good feed for stock until about the 1st of July when the cattle move on to higher ground, where the bunch-grass is still to be found in good quantities.¹¹⁸

Those cattlemen who had been able to assert property rights to Crown land successfully took the lead in introducing improved breeds, putting up hay, ungrading pastureland and in fact converting to a ranch cattle rather than a range cattle industry. It is well known that Ellis put up considerable hay, his huge haystack, "Ellis' nestegg" being a landmark in the area, and that he escaped the severe winter of 1879-1880 unscathed.¹¹⁹ Allison introduced eight Durham Shorthorns to his herd as early as 1865¹²⁰ and imported a purebred Shorthorn bull in 1872 after an initial attempt had failed.¹²¹ Susan Allison's reminiscences record attempts to care for animals in the winter. References are scattered throughout her diary of putting up hay, either from natural meadows or from oat hay, employing Indians and a neighbour, Johnny McDougall, and of the use of cattle sheds to protect their cattle against the winter.¹²² Susan Allison drew a comparison between these methods and those of the large rancher, Lequime, across the lake in the Mission area, where cattle mainly grazed in common:

We fortunately had lots of sheds and shelter for the cattle. That counted as much as extra feed but Eli, who had little or no shelter for his cattle, on one or two excessively cold nights had men on horseback armed with whips driving them round and round his corral. We only lost about fifty head that winter despite the cold.¹²³

The priests at the Mission occasionally had reason to

comment on the practices of their neighbours, such as J. Christian, who let his cattle run freely,¹²⁴ or others who put up no hay and allowed their cattle to perish in severe winters. The winter of 1864-1865 marked the first year of major losses in the Mission Valley. Following upon a poor harvest in 1864, the winter was prolonged, with snow falling from November to March,¹²⁵ and the temperature turned bitterly cold in late winter. The Mission lost five cattle, four horses and all of its pigs but was relatively fortunate.¹²⁶ Every morning their neighbours went out with hired Indians, armed with shovels and small boards, to push aside snow so that the cattle could eat or so they might cut grass to bring back for other animals. By 10 March 1865, Auguste Calmels and his partner had lost more than three hundred head. Johnny McDougall and William Pion, followed by other settlers, drove their cattle across the lake on the ice to feed on horsetails, but to no avail. McDougall lost nearly all his cattle, as did the other settlers. Nearly all settlers were reported contemplating leaving the Mission Valley, disgusted with a country that devoured its inhabitants (horned ones at least).¹²⁷ The next winter the cattle losses were minimal because the cattle were not as numerous and the grasses had not been eaten out.¹²⁸ However, again in the spring of 1867 the stockraisers in the Okanagan, Indian and white alike, suffered severe winter losses. Reports reaching the Mission in April told that all the cows, horses and sheep from high up had been killed.¹²⁹ One can infer that many settlers in this district were not in the practice of driving their livestock down to winter pasturage but were allowing the animals to roam over Crown land in all seasons. By May 1867 the extent of the winter losses amongst Indian cattle was apparent. The Indians of the Head of Lake were "running here and there looking for something to keep them from dying of hunger and were finding numerous cows dead and rotting."¹³⁰ Richard also reported from Kamloops that "the Indians of St. Pierre and Paul and of St. Craine have lost all of their horses, 100 head."¹³¹ Indians of course had no legal right to hold land individually on their reserves and could exert no private property rights. Their cattle and horses roamed over the reserve and adjacent

Crown land unhindered by fences or improvements of any kind. Indians had no choice but to adopt the common resource management regime.¹³²

The Mission farm itself appears to have been exceptional in the common resource use district. The Mission records for the 1860s and 1870s show significant advances being made in animal husbandry. The missionaries learned the value of seasonal pasturage, extending their acreage to nearly eight hundred acres, fencing it and saving it for winter pasturage, apparently letting their animals roam during the summer. They planted peas and maize as forage crops and harvested enough timothy hay to support their livestock through severe winters. They constructed cattle sheds for their animals' protection and neither in 1867-1868 nor in 1879-1880 did they suffer severe losses. Despite a harsh winter which made them "tremble for the animals,"¹³³ they were able to round up all of their livestock and they had adequate forage to last the winter.¹³⁴ The Mission appears to have been unique in that it chose a private-ownership management solution in a district which was characterized by common resource management practices. Perhaps it was able to do so because its land was on the edge of the Mission settlement and benefitted from the considerable grazing to the south of them.

Economic theory regarding resource-use regimes is useful in determining some aspects of the modes of production of Okanagan stockraisers. Two distinct resource-use regimes have been identified for the Okanagan: the common resource-use regime in force at the Mission, and on the Indian reserves; and the private ownership regime in other areas. Nearly all of the Okanagan's successful stockmen were in locations which allowed them to assert property rights.

The railway entering the Okanagan and providing new markets for livestock induced a number of changes in the operation of the industry, especially in the degree of private ownership of ranch land. It has been demonstrated that many Okanagan cattlemen acted nearly as private owners in the pre-railway era, in terms of grassland protection, breed improvement and care of livestock. After the railway entered

the area, these and other ranchers became actual private owners and the industry changed further. Beginning about 1881 Okanagan cattlemen faced excellent market prospects and the sale of their swollen herds allowed many to become well-off financially, providing them with an opportunity to adjust the mix of land, labour and capital employed in their production of livestock. First they adjusted their land holdings.

Various cattlemen had acquired relatively large holdings in the 1870s, many ranches comprising about one thousand acres. This land was all bottomland, suitable for monopolizing access to water, for use as winter feeding grounds and for the growing of cereal or field crops. The home ranches were secured by the early 1870s and ranching operators exploited the surrounding Crown land at a rate of approximately ten acres of Crown land for every acre privately owned. The low price of cattle which prevailed through the 1870s meant that settlers did not have the money to purchase any secondary land on the benches and slopes, nor would its purchase have been a wise economic decision as the marginal revenue product was not enough to justify paying one dollar per acre. After examining the stock business and interviewing perhaps most of the interior settlers, G. M. Sproat, wrote:

A few of the settlers who have money have, even at the upset price of \$1 per acre, been adding to their holdings by purchasing winter ranges or sheltered places with good herbage for young stock, but nobody will buy a tract of the ordinary summer range at \$1.00 per acre in the present prospects of the cattle market. The remedy in the opinion of some is to lower the price of government land so as to induce settlers to buy it, who thus would have an interest in preserving the grass but others say that the effect of this lowering of price would be to throw too much of the pasture lands into the hands of the richer settlers and to spoil the business of the poorer settlers by cutting off pasturage, especially winter pasturage, which they now use but might be unable to purchase. 135

On 12 July 1879, all unreserved surveyed land in the Osoyoos District had been thrown open to pre-emption and purchase. Yet for three more years the ranchers did not purchase large quantities of land. Not until 1882, when the first large cattle sales had been made and settlers began pouring into the Okanagan in numbers which the ranchers could

not ignore did they move to purchase lands.¹³⁶ Ranchers could not assume that these lands would continue to be available; they were forced to purchase large quantities of second class land for the going price, or risk losing access to it. The increased revenue-producing capability of the land combined with the threat of losing access to it prompted the ranchers' decision to purchase.

The major Okanagan ranches increased in size from approximately one thousand acres to over eight thousand acres in the 1880s. Most land was purchased at a rate of a few hundred acres per year, indicating that ranchers were using current cash flow from cattle sales rather than family or borrowed money to purchase benchland immediately contiguous to their properties. The process of purchasing second class land began in the north earlier than the south, reflecting the fact that pressure from prospective settlers was more intense. Speculation does not appear to have been a dominant motive as the cattlemen continued their operations in modified form. Most refused to sell their ranches for many years, and virtually all refused to subdivide their holdings into smaller plots.

Ranchers employed considerable strategy to gain critical lands. They did not purchase all of the benchland or uplands required for their operations, but merely land which might fall to others. Part of the ranchers' strategy of consolidating their lands was to take a strip in a solid block through which other ranchers could not penetrate, giving them effective control of all land back of their property. Four ranchers in the Mission Valley effectively employed such a strategy; Tom Wood, the Postills, Joseph Christian and Eli Lequime between them took a strip of land about one mile wide by eighteen miles along the benchland, effectively excluding others from access to summer grazing in the mountains. Realizing they had been outflanked, their neighbours sent two petitions to the Legislative Assembly to have a public road built through the private cordon.¹³⁷ The same strategy was employed by F. S. Barnard, who applied to purchase a strip of land one mile wide and eight miles long running from Deep Creek to Shuswap Lake.¹³⁸ On 28 December 1883 a petition of fifty-nine

settlers opposed that sale.¹³⁹ The settlers argued that the land sale comprised "most of the land now vacant in this neighbourhood that would be available for settlement" and consequently would seriously retard settlement. Nothing apparently was done regarding these petitions. Barnard had learned his lesson from a good teacher. He had been surprised in May 1883 by Thomas Greenhow's purchase of a solid quarter mile strip between the Barnard range and Swan Lake, a move which effectively excluded Barnard from the lake and gave Greenhow and his partner, O'Keefe, a near monopoly on all sides of Swan Lake.

Another technique employed by ranchers was to gain access to the Commonage set aside by Sproat in 1877. F. G. Vernon and the O'Keefe-Greenhow partnership, for example, purchased land contiguous to this summer grazing land and between them monopolized the northern boundary of the Commonage although because of the public road they may not have been able to exclude others.

Enlargement and consolidation occurred largely by the purchase of Crown land, although successful neighbours absorbed some small marginal ranches. This process of consolidation continued a trend established in the 1870s but intensified in the 1880s and 1890s as Crown land available to purchase became scarce and as diminished access to Crown grazing land, overgrazing and problems of inadequate scale of production squeezed marginal ranchers. In the 1870s Thomas Greenhow had bought out Tom Wood, who moved to Mission Valley; Cornelius O'Keefe had bought Charles Houghton's 715 acres, giving him a presence in Priest's Valley. In the 1880s Eli Lequime absorbed the ranches of August Gillard, Cyprian Lawrence and others and acquired numerous sections of Crown land. Many of the early partnerships reverted to single proprietorships; partners were bought out by F. G. Vernon, J. C. Haynes and Thomas Ellis. A rationalization took place in Keremeos. Small farmers such as H. Shuttleworth, Francois Suprennant and F. Mendosa sold and apparently left the district.¹⁴⁰ Richter sold his holdings in Keremeos to Cawston who then added to his acreage by purchasing Crown land before forming a partnership with Ellis in the BC Cattle Company. Richter then purchased land from Otto Schwarz

and Henry Nicolson and added extensive Crown acreage in the Richter Pass area. Richter later purchased the Ingram ranch near Midway, the Krueger place in Osoyoos, the Nicolson ranch in Rock Creek and the Francois Suprennant ranch in Keremeos.¹⁴¹ The greatest land consolidation event occurred in the early 1890s; Thomas Ellis bought the Mission Valley ranch of Joe Christian, then purchased the J. C. Haynes ranch from the Haynes estate and formed a partnership with R. L. Cawston and Captain John Irving of Victoria in the BC Cattle Company. Ellis became the Okanagan's largest landowner, owning virtually all of the bottomland in the Okanagan from Penticton to the International Boundary.

The owners of private ranches now moved to increase the productivity of the newly acquired, expensive factor of production. Probably the most important means of protecting the resource was to limit the number of livestock on a range to prevent overgrazing. Immediately after they had purchased their land, cattlemen began eliminating or vastly reducing their herds of wild horses and cattle.¹⁴² For example, the Haynes ranch was running a mere thirteen hundred head on twenty thousand acres of land in July 1894, whereas in the 1870s it had run as many as three thousand head.¹⁴³ Reduction of the Haynes herd may have been planned as a deliberate strategy to protect the grasslands or it may have been involuntary, a result of two winter kills which in turn resulted from not protecting the grassland resource.

The total number of cattle in the Okanagan did not, however, diminish significantly in the 1880s and early 1890s. By 1895 the total number of cattle was listed as 18,526¹⁴⁴ which should be considered a minimum because it depended upon voluntary returns to a questionnaire and because it did not include Indian livestock. The figure must have been about 20,000 head, about the same number owned in 1879. A redistribution of cattle had taken place with significant numbers of stall-fed cattle being raised in the Spallumcheen. With nearly 20% of the cattle now in a district that previously had not been a cattle producer, the number of cattle in overstocked districts had probably diminished somewhat.

Ranchers also changed their production techniques to adjust to the new circumstances. Hay production for winter feeding of spring beef or as insurance against a severe winter became general, even in areas where overgrazing had not occurred and winter ranges were conserved. Ranchers put up hay by hiring men directly, by contracting out haymaking, or by purchasing hay on the market. O'Keefe put up 500 tons to winter 1,000 cattle in 1891¹⁴⁵ and the B X Ranch produced 225 tons in 1893.¹⁴⁶ The active hay market in the Vernon area in the 1890s indicates that many farmers may have specialized in hay production which they sold to ranchers before or during the winter.¹⁴⁷ At the end of 1894 the Haynes ranch, which produced from 250 to 400 tons of hay per year, showed an inventory of 532 tons of hay worth \$2457.25.¹⁴⁸ Hay was also made extensively in the Keremeos area which helped the district escape the severe winter of 1894 with cattle losses of only eight percent.¹⁴⁹

As well as using hay to supplement or substitute for winter ranges, the cattlemen took steps to clearly delineate and conserve their seasonal pastures. The annual cycle at the Cawston ranch illustrates the technique. As soon as winter feeding was over, cattle were driven to a range on which grass appeared early, at Kilpoola, near Osoyoos. In May they were moved to a more extensive range near Princeton where they worked their way to higher elevations as the season progressed. During June and July tons of hay were cut on the bottomlands near Keremeos and marketable cattle were driven to Hope. In October a fall roundup was conducted as cattle were driven from the higher elevations. They were then moved to their winter range where they remained until winter feeding began, perhaps in January.¹⁵⁰ The Haynes ranch operated in a similar fashion, wintering cattle on "the lush grazing lands on the open ranges along the Kettle River."¹⁵¹ The O'Keefe cattle ranch,¹⁵² the Postill ranch,¹⁵³ and the Coldstream Ranch,¹⁵⁴ also clearly delineated between seasonal pastures. Ranchers no longer merely turned out cattle to graze indiscriminately on pastureland but rather, carefully husbanded the resource.

Breed improvement was another feature of rapid change in the era of deeded-land ranches. From as early as the 1870s

ranchers such as Allison and Ellis had maintained Durham Shorthorn breeding stock, but they were exceptional. James Steele of Salmon River imported purebred Shorthorn breeding stock into the region in 1880 but did not initially succeed in persuading Okanagan ranchers that purebred bulls were an advantage. However, after the Okanagan ranchers acquired ownership of their land and were excluded from the free use of vast areas of Crown land they quickly realized the value of improved breeding.

The first agricultural exhibition in the Okanagan, held at Vernon in 1891, featured prizes for the best of various breeds of livestock, an indication that purebred stock was valued and being promoted. The prize list of the first exhibition for Durham cattle included J. T. Steele, F. S. Barnard, F. G. Vernon, and C. O'Keefe; for Polled Angus, A. Postill, E. J. Tronson and Vernon. Prizewinners for various breeds of horses were Barnard, D. Graham, O'Keefe, Tronson and Postill. The two winners for Berkshire hogs were Vernon and Barnard. For sheep the prize winners were P. Ellison and Vernon.¹⁵⁵ The Vernon News faithfully recorded the changeover. For example, Vernon is reported to have imported a carload of registered Herefords and Polled Angus bulls on 28 May 1891, O'Keefe and Greenhow purchased six Durham Shorthorn bulls from Steele on 24 March 1892 and the Postills imported Galloways and Polled Angus on 14 April 1892. The Okanagan cattlemen also upgraded their other livestock. Okanagan breeders purchased purebred sheep throughout the 1890s. Registered Southdown stock was purchased by O'Keefe¹⁵⁶ and Ellison¹⁵⁷ and other ranchers purchased Cotswald, Shropshire and Oxford stock.¹⁵⁸ The major landowners were serious about upgrading their herds but the changeover was not universal; small marginal ranchers in the Mission Valley reportedly did "not seem to appreciate well-bred stock . . . as much as the up-country farmers" did.¹⁵⁹ Ranchers in the Trout Creek area similarly complained of scrub cattle and horses and the raising of swine and poultry with "no system."¹⁶⁰ Unlike the established ranchers, these operators were slow to adopt good stock probably because their cattle were still turned out to graze on lands used in common.

Many ranchers conducted capital building projects which protected and increased the productivity of their new, expensive land. Small scale irrigation projects had been a feature of farming in the head of the lake and Mission Valley areas since the early 1870s, when settlers such as Girouard, Gowans, Laurence, Simpson, Duteau, Whelan, Lequime, Ortolan and the Mission Fathers had recorded water rights and developed ditches, either individually or communally, to allow them to grow crops on the bottomland.¹⁶¹ These irrigation projects provided water for garden plots and domestic orchards and were generally not associated with the cattle industry. Once the ranchers began to increase the productivity of their land in hay production or forage crops, they attempted more extensive systems. Alfred Postill established an irrigation system on hayland in 1891.¹⁶² Frederick Brent completed nine miles of ditch the same year.¹⁶³ Price Ellison constructed a nine mile irrigation ditch in 1892.¹⁶⁴ In fact, if responses to a government questionnaire are to be a guide, irrigation of cereal and forage crops was widespread by 1891 at the Mission and common in the Priest's Valley area but was not conducted elsewhere in the region.

Fencing was another capital project which required considerable effort on the part of ranchers in the post-railway era. The Russell fence was the favoured type of construction, replacing the zig-zag rail fence which had been common until about 1890.¹⁶⁵ Carloads of wire were imported to the Valley to allow construction of the Russell fence.¹⁶⁶ In their enthusiasm to keep intruders from their land, ranchers occasionally attempted to fence off public roads, perhaps to prevent cattle from being trailed through their property. An example of a conflict over road access occurred in 1885 when Price Ellison fenced off the road to Long Lake and only pulled down his fence after being served with a court order.¹⁶⁷ Attempts by C. O'Keefe and E. H. Wood to fence their land also caused access problems.¹⁶⁸

Machinery constituted the other capital expenditure made in the immediate post railway era although it was purchased mainly for the wheat growing or farming function of some of the

ranches. The cattle ranch itself needed little such capital equipment. An inventory of the Haynes Ranch in 1894 reveals items such as horse harness, three wagons, one buggy, two Derrick forks with ropes and blocks, twenty-four pitch forks, two Brantford movers, two hay rakes, one disc harrow, one sleigh plus an assortment of hand tools. The total value of implements on this ranch, which had supported up to 3,000 head, was a mere \$590. The ranch operation apparently needed implements to cut and stack hay and little else.¹⁶⁹

The other way in which ranch operations changed was in the hiring of labour. Haymaking operations in particular required the use of considerable labour or the contracting out of hay-making operations. Fenced ranges required maintenance and highly priced animals required care lest they be lost or killed. Cattle had to be moved from one pasture to another to prevent overgrazing. From all reports in the 1890s the labour supply was adequate. One reporter noted:

Labour was plentiful last summer; white labour is about the only kind employed [at the Mission], from \$20 to \$35 per month, with board being paid. Indians are employed as hop-pickers, and get \$1.00 per basket. When Chinese are engaged as cooks they receive from \$25 to \$35 per month.¹⁷⁰

Wages in the Vernon area equalled \$200 to \$500 per annum, or \$35 to \$40 per month. During a period of intense activity, such as during branding, wages were \$2 per day with board for a man with a horse.

Various ranch records illustrate how ranches used labour. Between January and July 1890, Fortune hired six different white labourers for varying periods of time at a rate of \$25 to \$30 per month, with his wage bill averaging \$50 per month (or about two men employed per month.) He also hired four different Indians at a rate of \$20 per month for wages of \$129.37 or about one half a labourer per month. During May, June and July he paid Indian women \$28.37 to cut, plant, hoe and weed potatoes.¹⁷¹ At certain seasons of the year the Haynes ranch hired as many as seven or eight men at wages of \$30 per month to feed and gather cattle. It is difficult to calculate the amount of Indian labour employed because the ranch paid Indians by

orders on storekeepers, which appear in their accounts as orders for "bearer" or "Indian" and do not specify individuals. These orders are, however, for small amounts of money, usually under \$10, and are heavily concentrated in June during haying season. The ranch put up about 300 tons of hay at three locations, Myers Flat, Rock Creek and the Osoyoos meadows. Indians were paid throughout the year by orders at stores in Fairview, Osoyoos and Oroville, indicating that they not only hayed but also supervised cattle or engaged in other activities.¹⁷²

The ranching sector as conducted by whites underwent extensive changes in the post-railway era. The cost incurred for the privatization of extensive rangeland changed the production function of the ranching community. Land was no longer virtually free and efficiency required that inputs be adjusted to maintain profitability. Cattlemen wishing to maximize profit naturally applied greater inputs of capital and labour to make the new scarce and expensive input more productive. Aside from breed improvement, most of the capital was used to employ labour to construct fences, build haystacks and generate other improvements.

Production costs increased dramatically under the new private-ownership regime. Provided that cattle prices were maintained these high costs were manageable. The beef market fluctuated, however. After 1897, when the quarantine regulations were lifted, American as well as Albertan sources increasingly competed with the domestic industry. Marketing arrangements favoured those integrated companies which marketed their own beef or acted as intermediaries for the shipment of Okanagan beef. Production of cattle became less profitable after about 1900 because of the cost spiral and low returns.

Farmers looking for a means of using their land more intensively turned first to cereal crops and then to horticulture. Perceived or actual alternative uses of land, for fruit and vegetable production, pushed land prices to the point where ranchers were virtually forced to decide whether to sell their acreage to a developer, thus realizing a sum which they could never obtain by ranching, or to use the land differently themselves by specializing in horticulture and to that purpose

applying greater quantities of capital and labour. The first generation ranchers, men who entered the Okanagan in the 1860s, were becoming old men by the turn of the century. Some resisted the pressure to sell, subdivide or shift to horticulture, but their time was over. In 1904 A. B. Knox, at Mission Valley, "sold his cattle to Tom Ellis, for Pat Burns of Calgary."¹⁷³ In 1905 the Stepney Ranch out of Enderby advertised "to sell a large portion of livestock and farm implements to devote more attention to fruit growing on a large scale."¹⁷⁴ The cattle industry had been the primary industry, but by 1908 it had nearly disappeared from a central place in the economic life of the Okanagan.

The Indian sub-sector of the livestock industry was conducted somewhat differently than that of the white sub-sector, which is to be expected given the varying traditions, modes of production, access to land and decision-making structures of the two communities. Indian livestock production deserves more detailed analysis than is possible with present data, but some statistics are available.¹⁷⁵ Stockraising traditions of the Okanagan Indians have been noted earlier, in particular their emphasis on horses, their habit of engaging in an open range method of production whereby livestock was left to roam, and their inclination to a joint mode of production whereby they engaged in hunting, fishing and farming along with stock-raising. Livestock production had assumed considerable importance in the Indian economy by the time of the Indian Reserve Commission's census in 1877; livestock formed a major medium of exchange for Indians who traded for vegetable products and imported provisions from the missionaries and from local traders such as Lequime, Krueger and O'Keefe.¹⁷⁶ With a combined population of 703 persons, Okanagan Indians¹⁷⁷ owned 1,653 horses or 2.4 horses per capita. They also owned 737 head of cattle or roughly 1 per capita. Including both horses and cattle, they owned 3.4 head of livestock per capita. The reserves had been made sufficiently large by the IRC to allow cattle population to expand, and over the next 15 years their herds increased in size considerably. In 1892 Indian livestock holdings stood at 3,236 head (2,300 horses and 936 cattle) for

an increase of 35 percent. By this time, however, their stock had reached the limit of their range, a condition worsened by the termination of access to the extensive commonages in Penticton and Vernon. Henceforth the number of livestock declined. By 1916, 661 persons owned 1481 horses and 1505 cattle for a total of 2,986 head, or 4.5 head per capita. Clearly, the Indians had little capability of expanding their herds without access to land. As early as 1892 Indians at the Head of Lake had asked for an enlarged reserve, but the request was firmly denied by F. G. Vernon.¹⁷⁸ Land available to their stock was restricted as settlers took up all available land around their reserves. The Provincial Government's decision to throw open for pre-emption the land to the west of the Head of Lake reserve in 1892 intensified land pressure. This land was quickly taken by white settlers, which prevented Indians from using it and the Crown land behind it for pasturage.¹⁷⁹

Two interesting adjustments took place in Indian ranching operations between 1877 and 1913. In 1877 horses constituted sixty-nine percent of Indian livestock, a figure which increased to seventy-one percent in 1892 only to decline to fifty percent in 1913. By comparison, of total livestock held by whites in the Okanagan in 1895, ten percent were horses, five percent sheep, twenty-one percent hogs and sixty-three percent cattle. Only in the twentieth century, and only in the South Okanagan, did Indians begin to focus on cattle more extensively. In 1913 the ratio of cattle to horses on the Spallumcheen and Head of Lake reserves was 1:3 and 1:2.4 respectively, virtually unchanged from the ratios of 1877 and 1892. The Indians of the south had apparently embraced cattle raising because the ratios were 1:.84 in Penticton, 1:.31 in Osoyoos and 1:.38 in the Similkameen. Of Indian livestock in Osoyoos and the Similkameen in 1913, seventy-three percent were cattle. In the part of the Okanagan where ranching was still the predominant activity, Indians, like their white neighbours, had become cattlemen.

Indian livestock owners faced a different market for their product than did their white neighbours, at least until the turn of the century, because Indians had concentrated on horses. The market for horses, particularly the native horse, or cayuse, had

its own characteristics. Before transportation improved with the building of the railroad, steamboats and wagon roads, the agile and tough cayuses were unquestionably an important commodity used nearly universally for packing and extensively for riding. The market for cayuses depended on the amount of local economic activity, in exploration and survey parties, in mining activities, and in transport of commodities from the interior to the coast. In the 1890s the market for Indian horses appears to have collapsed. White ranchers reduced their holdings of native horses dramatically, generally by sales to the Northwest Territories. Periodically there was a brisk market for cayuses, such as when the Kootenay boom occurred and hundreds of pack horses were required,¹⁸⁰ but generally after 1885, cayuses were worth very little. In 1896 one report indicated that the cayuse would bring from \$1.75 to \$11.00 per head.¹⁸¹ Even the maximum price was only one-third that of a three-year-old steer. Indians, however, were not as quick to divest of their herds of "wild horses", partially because they continued to act as packers and guides themselves and hence to rely on the pack horse. Cultural preference must also have played a role in the decision. Ownership of a large herd of horses gave status to the owner, even if the herd was composed of "wild horses" which were nearly worthless in sale.

The white community viewed wild horses very differently from the Indian community, and pressure mounted in the interior to exclude wild horses from the range. Wild horses competed with cattle for rangeland, stole mares from the fields of farmers, bred indiscriminately with graded horses and were a general "nuisance". As well, they looked "scrubby". Frequent references in newspapers and comments in agricultural reports exerted substantial pressure on the government to eliminate the "menace". Early in 1895 the Provincial Government responded with an Act which encouraged the extermination of the wild horse.¹⁸² Most "wild horses" were in fact Indian horses, raised in the open range method. One wonders what the reaction of ranchers would have been if Indians had decided to shoot all of the whites' cattle on the range when prices were low. The extermination program reduced Indian livestock holdings,

hastened their shift to cattle ranching and reduced competition for feed on Crown ranges.¹⁸³

The legal regime under which Indians held land also was responsible for their slowness to adapt to the new ranching techniques, which white ranchers embraced. Both the Dominion and Provincial (or Colonial) Governments periodically felt compelled to assign a commissioner to change the amount and quality of land available to Indians, without consulting with, or gaining the agreement of, the Indians. As well as the insecurity of tenure that this practice created, Indians faced legal encumbrance upon their title in the form of the province's reversionary interest which stipulated that if land could be shown not to be used "beneficially" or in a manner approved by provincial agents, it could be taken from the Indians.¹⁸⁴ Besides this disability, reserve land was assigned to the Department of Indian Affairs as trustees of the various Indians, not to Indians themselves. Land use and ownership could be, and in many cases was, determined by the Indian Agent with no Indian input or perhaps only with the consent of a client chieftain. Indians could not cut timber, rent out the land, or make other basic decisions without Agency permission. Individual Indians had no rights to specific reserve land, in the form of allotments, until after reserve boundaries were established as late as 1890. In the nineties many Indians applied to the Agent for location tickets which did specify land to be used privately, but these location tickets provided little security. Band politics made tenure very insecure; a new chief and his clique could cancel the location permit of an undisciplined band member¹⁸⁵ or, as in the case of the Douglas Lake reserve, he could appropriate large amounts of land to his own use at the expense of band members.¹⁸⁶ Under the land tenure regime imposed upon Indians, they could exercise few if any of the prerogatives of private property ownership. Could an Indian decide to clear land? To enclose his field with a fence? To expel the chief's horses from his pasture? To rent out the land to a person of his choosing? To allow miners access to a creek on the reserve? All of these questions were at one time or another answered in the negative because of departmental

regulations or the arbitrary decision of a chief or Indian Agent.

The effect of insecure land tenure was similar to that of Crown land being used as a common resource. It would not be improved unless private ownership was confirmed. No person was willing to improve property if the improvements could be confiscated. The Indians' inability to maintain property rights, which continued throughout the period under study, had a dramatic influence on Indian development. For example, the Indian cayuse or wild horse problem can be traced directly to the land tenure problem. Breed improvement is nearly impossible if property rights cannot be maintained. Indians did not favour poorly-bred horses; in fact, they were keen judges of horseflesh and valued well-bred horses highly. For example, Johnny Chilliheetsa, who had secured private property rights to the "big pasture", prided himself in his pure-bred breeding stock. Similkameen Indians such as the Narcisse, Nakumpcheen and Alexis families tended to occupy the whole of a series of smaller reserves and were thus able to assert property rights without much challenge. These Indians led the way in shifting from horses to cattle; they had the ability to manage the resources on their reserves.

What is true regarding breed improvement also held true for other capital projects. What incentive was there for Indians to construct irrigation systems to carry water to root crops if they could not hold property rights over water in the form of a water record? Or if water could be diverted from the source stream above their intake. These problems faced the Inkamip, Penticton and Westbank bands.

The fact is that Indians held their land and consequently their water rights under a different legal regime than did the white settlers. Under the guise of protecting the Indians from themselves and from settlers, governments robbed them of the right to determine their own economic future. The frequently expressed observation that Indian land was left in a wild and unproductive state was probably true.¹⁸⁷ But this condition did not result from any innate characteristic of the Indian people. The legal regime under which they held land offers a

sufficient explanation.

The Indian and white communities lived under different land tenure regimes and consequently stockraisers in those two communities operated in differing fashions. The Indian stockraisers, like their white competitors in the Mission, were unable to bring significant amounts of land under private control. Because they could not exert private property rights, it was not a rational economic decision to engage in capital investment, breed improvement or winter care of stock. The differing land tenure regimes were not the sole cause of Indian (or Mission) farmers' lack of profitability. There were certainly other factors. Cultural preferences such as an inclination toward horse rather than cattle raising, unfamiliarity with the marketing of cattle for cash instead of bartering, a group-work orientation and a desire to maintain their traditional annual routines, may have had some impact on their modes of production. As well, disabilities such as lack of access to political power, to legal recourse through the courts and to education and health care may all have had some impact on the stockraising industry as practised by the Indians. Regardless of these possibilities, the respective land tenure regimes remains the single most important factor in explaining the differing stockraising methods of Indians and whites.

D. FARMING

Indians and whites both participated in the horticulture and mixed farming sectors of the Okanagan economy, but each group engaged in the activities in their own fashion and responded to new opportunity differently. White settlers, where possible, developed commercial farms while Indians tended to concentrate largely on production for subsistence. There were identifiable reasons for these developments; reasons as diverse as differing land tenure regimes, access to capital, and cultural preferences. A study of the development of the farming sector offers an opportunity to compare the manner in which the two groups engaged in the industry.

The horticultural industry began before the settlement era when Hudson's Bay Company personnel in the interior attempted agricultural production. In September 1826 Archibald McDonald reported from Thompson's River that the potatoes would have been good had they been hoed and that he had experimented and harvested "a few quarts of barley." He later left six kegs of potatoes at Fort Okanagan and six at Kamloops with instructions to his assistant at Fort Okanagan that his first priority over the summer should be collecting salmon, the second, tending the garden.¹ Generally no employees spent the summer at the Thompson's River Post, which meant that any wheat or potatoes were in poor condition on the brigade's return.²

In the 1840s Chief Trader Donald Manson suggested that a man be left at Thompson's River Post over the summer to take care of the gardens, so to increase the quantity of provisions grown and reduce the annual expenses for salmon.³ Pressure for a more varied and abundant diet to prevent mutiny appeared in 1846.⁴

Other company forts in the interior were much more advanced in horticulture than Kamloops. In 1847 A. C. Anderson reported from Fort Alexandria that his farm annually supplied nearly 9,000 pounds of wheat-flour in excess of Alexandria's requirements. Anderson claimed that he produced over 40 bushels of wheat per acre for the company, "enough to gladden the heart of an Essex agriculturalist."⁵ Horticulture was important at

Fort Colville, which from the 1820s, grew enough potatoes, cabbages, turnips, peas, onions, Indian corn, barley, wheat and melons to support the post.⁶ Colville was still the great agricultural producer in 1847, producing 1,900 bushels of wheat, 900 bushels of potatoes, 90 bushels of oats, 56 bushels of Indian corn and 24 bushels of peas.⁷

Only in the 1850s did Fort Kamloops achieve success in farming, and that success came slowly. In the spring of 1848, John Tod at Thompson's River reported that "farming is about to be added to our occupations here but it is doubtful if I shall succeed to the extent required."⁸ In the fall of 1850 four men spent five days harvesting potatoes. In 1851 Paul Fraser planted 80 bushels of wheat only to find the crop destroyed by cattle and grasshoppers, the men left in charge having done no work all summer. Fraser reported that the disappointing wheat crop that year was due "to the want of fit persons who understood tilling the ground."⁹ Potatoes, on the other hand, yielded 400 kegs in 1851.¹⁰ The next spring the Thompson's River establishment was criticized by A. C. Anderson:

At present too much dependence is placed upon the Colville farm. The desultory and misdirected attempts at agriculture in the unproductive soil of Thompson's River will continue, as hitherto, to disappoint the promoter.¹¹

Anderson went on to recommend the head of Okanagan Lake as a suitable place to grow produce for Thompson's River, as he envisaged that the Kamloops post would become the nucleus of future operations in the interior and should be more self-sufficient.¹² In 1852 a renewed effort was made at establishing wheat fields. Five kegs of wheat and barley were planted and a new field of six acres, nine miles from the fort, was ploughed and sowed to wheat. Fifty kegs of potatoes were planted as well as onions, carrots, melons. By 1854 six hundred kegs of potatoes were harvested. However, after threshing and fanning the wheat crop, it only amounted to a disappointing 155 kegs. Of the fourteen kegs of winter wheat sowed in 1854, not a grain came up. The following spring the company planted fifty-four kegs of potatoes and some Indian corn, employing a company servant and two Indians to do the required hoeing and

other summer work.¹³ By 1860 the HBC posts in the interior had become, in terms of the time company servants spent on various activities, commercial farming and ranching operations. Much of their produce would have been sold to Indians and miners. These posts were significant poles of influence through which the agricultural sector was introduced to the interior.

Perhaps the reason the Okanagan and Shuswap people were slower than the Indians around Fort Colville¹⁴ to adopt horticulture as a means of livelihood was because the Company's demonstration had not made a positive impression upon them. Okanagan Indians appear to have been even less involved in vegetable growing than the Shuswap because the Inkamip travelled regularly, during August, to Enderby where they traded with the Shuswap for salmon and potatoes.¹⁵ Still, by 1861 the Okanagan Indians had begun to plant patches of potatoes to supplement their vegetable diet. The Cox map of 1861 clearly shows a few garden patches at the head of Okanagan Lake.¹⁶ These gardens should not be overestimated in importance. A Spallumcheen Indian garden was described by A. L. Fortune, who arrived in 1867, as "one little patch of potatoes, 5 or 6 yards square."¹⁷ The returns to horticulture were poor and the opportunity cost, the time lost in more productive activities -- root digging, berrying, fishing, hunting and trading -- was great. Only in the white settlement era did agriculture become a significant industry.

The early settlers to the Okanagan Valley were mostly agriculturalists, many engaging in a combination of horticulture and stockraising activities. Settlers trickled into the Okanagan through the 1860s and 1870s and, by the time railway-induced changes began to be felt, had taken much of the good land in the Okanagan, using it for either farming or stock-raising or a combination of both. The years 1879 to 1881 provide a convenient time to assess the pre-railway agricultural economy of the area because they immediately preceded the effects of the railway. The 1879 Okanagan Assessment Roll, covering the region from the Mission to Enderby, gives detailed information about individuals, including occupation, number of livestock owned, and landholding information.¹⁸ Sixty-nine

taxpayers are listed by occupation. A breakdown of occupations lists fifty-six farmers, one dairyman, five stockraisers, three blacksmiths, three carpenters, one of whom had fifty head of cattle, and one priest who was exempt from tax but claimed a substantial farm and cattle ranch running two hundred head of cattle. Agriculture was the dominant sector among the white population in the Okanagan with ninety-three percent of the taxpayers either claiming to be agriculturalists, that is, farmers or stockraisers. Totalling the various listed occupations for the whole Okanagan listed in the 1881 census, one obtains the following results: dairymen, farmers, farmers' sons over fifteen years, 94; stockmen, 25; miners, 66; labourers, 15; carpenters, 4; blacksmiths, 2; storekeepers, 3; priests, 2; cooks, 2; and one each of teacher, government agent, miller, hatter, whip sawyer and butcher.¹⁹ These classifications can be misleading because many of these individuals worked in various sectors. Eli Lequime, for example, is listed here as a farmer but he was also the largest storekeeper in the Okanagan and is known to have been a tavern keeper, postmaster and large stockraiser. However, for aggregative purposes these classifications are acceptable. Of 219 white and Chinese adult males in the community 119 (or 55 percent) were engaged in farming or stockraising. This figure seems very low compared to calculations based on previous documents. The mining industry employed 66 individuals but was dominated by single white and Chinese miners. Only 77 persons were supported from mining while agriculturalists and their dependents and farm labourers numbered 229 (or 68 percent of the population).

Very quickly after settlement began and, as the productivity of the activity became apparent, the Okanagan Indians adopted horticulture. As early as 1866, on the advice of missionaries and settlers who were related by marriage, the Indians on the Head of Lake Reserve were planting gardens.²⁰ By 1871 Baudre reported substantial progress; all of the Indians wanted to take up horticulture as well as stockraising but they could not procure the necessary agricultural tools. Despite a lack of implements, the Head of Lake Indians cultivated nearly three hundred acres and the Penticton people about forty acres.

The Mission Indians were slower to begin agriculture, not having "planted so much as a potato" by 1874.²¹ However, they moved to the west side of Okanagan Lake that year and within ten years had, as well as their livestock, one thousand acres fenced and cultivated in wheat, corn, potatoes, pumpkins and melons.²²

The 1881 Canada Census provides an overview of Okanagan Indian population and occupations. The total Indian population, exclusive of Indian women living with non-Indian males and exclusive of the Douglas Lake band, was 627. The Indian population equalled more than twice the number of whites although it had decreased since 1877. There were 103 Indians in the Spallumcheen band, 194 in the Head of Lake band, 60 at the Mission, 113 at Penticton, 114 in the Similkameen and 43 at Osoyoos, although at the latter place perhaps 20 additional persons living at the International Boundary chose to be counted as Americans.²³ The census also records the head of household's occupation; this information reveals an Indian society in transition to agriculture. Table 15 summarizes the census results.

TABLE 15

OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS,
OKANAGAN INDIANS, 1881*

<u>Band</u>	<u>Traditional</u>	<u>Trad./ Agric.</u>	<u>Trad./ Labour</u>	<u>Agri- culture</u>	<u>Labour</u>
Head of Lake	4	5	2	8	2
Mission	1		2	2	
Penticton				22	
Osoyoos				7	2
Similkameen				6	3
TOTAL	5	5	4	45	7

Source: PABC, Canada, Department of Agriculture, 1881 Census, British Columbia, District 189 Yale, Subdistrict C, Nicola-Okanagan, microfilm, pp. 1-26.

*The enumerator's occupational categories of hunting, fishing or gathering are listed as "traditional"; "labour" includes activities such as packing or guiding; "agriculture" includes farming and farm labour. Occupational information is not available for the Spallumcheen band.

Only five of sixty-six family heads were listed as making a living solely from the traditional sector, although fourteen families combined traditional activities with agriculture or

labouring activities. Seventy-five percent of Indian families were involved in agriculture, either completely or in part. Significantly the northern bands of the Head of Lake and Mission appear to have retained a connection with their traditional economy to a greater degree than those from Penticton, Osoyoos and the Similkameen. This more rapid adoption of agriculture may have been because the Penticton band had occupied their village on a year-round basis prior to the settlement era and were thus more sedentary than those Indians at the head of the lake, or because the Vernon area was a more productive region in natural flora and fauna. One can read too much into this census information. Many Penticton Indians listed as farmers are known to have fished, especially in the anadromous salmon and kickanee fisheries, until well after the turn of the century²⁴ and were thus partially involved in fishing as an occupation. However, these people apparently derived their income mainly from agriculture.

Indians were restricted in agriculture to the use of Indian reserve lands which prevented them from becoming large landowners individually. It was not until the reserves were officially assigned in the 1890s that location tickets were issued. Before that individual Indians had very little security of tenure.

Data on the white population in the pre-railway era is abundant enough to determine the identities and occupations of Okanagan residents. Access to the second factor of production, land, is of critical importance in a discussion of agriculture and the land legislation is discussed separately in this study. However, a brief examination of actual land ownership in 1879 is appropriate at this point. The 1876 Okanagan Road and Tax List²⁵ shows that twenty-three of the sixty-six white residents were landless, perhaps because they were recent arrivals or because they had not, or could not, fulfill the requirements of the land acts. At least two had their records cancelled during the year, perhaps on the day, that the tax was collected. A total of 16,665 acres had been alienated for an average holding of 379 acres. The 1879 Assessment Roll listed sixty-nine white residents of the Okanagan District, fifty-four

of whom were landowners. Of the fifteen non-owners, virtually all would eventually take land and some were already livestock owners. The majority of landowners owned 320 acres, the amount which they were allowed to pre-empt, that is, forty-seven of the settlers owned 400 acres or less. Only those classified as stockraisers owned substantially more land than their basic pre-emption.

Capital, the third factor of production can also be determined by examining the 1879 Assessment Roll and other documents. The Assessment Roll includes two categories of capital -- real and personal property. Each needs closer examination.

The total value of real property in the 1879 document includes the value of raw land, at one dollar per acre, plus the value of fixed improvements. Improvements of one dollar per acre were required within four years of pre-emption in order to "prove up" a claim and obtain a Certificate of Improvement. To establish values of certain improvements and to assess types of agricultural operations, two settlers whose names appear on the Assessment Roll of 1879, Jonathon B. Moore and Philip Girod, are examined in some detail. Moore pre-empted 320 acres in the Mission Valley on 7 September 1876.²⁶ He obtained his Certificate of Improvement on 15 September 1879 just one month before the tax notices were transmitted by post.²⁷ The improvements listed on his Certificate were witnessed by knowledgeable local landowners. The improvements were:

	<u>VALUE</u>
One house, 14 x 16	\$ 200.00
One barn, 50 x 30	300.00
Four miles fencing	250.00
One and one quarter mile ditch	150.00
One granary	150.00
One smokehouse	150.00
Thirty acres cultivated	150.00
	<u>\$1200.00</u>

Moore's tax assessment in 1879 was \$1600 for real property, which is approximately the total of his improvements, \$1200, plus raw land worth \$320.

The second individual, Philip Girod, took land in the Spallumcheen on 20 January 1877.²⁸ Girod obtained his

Certificate of Improvement in September 1879, almost exactly when the assessment was taken.²⁹ His improvements were:

		<u>VALUE (est.)</u>
One dwelling house (log)	16 x 24	\$ 150.00
One stable (log)	19 x 27	50.00
One granary (log)	24 x 40	230.00
Two granaries (1 log)	16 x 24	150.00
A shed, cabin and pig pens		50.00
Two miles of fencing		300.00
		<u>\$ 930.00</u>

Values are not provided on Girod's Certificate of Improvement but his total assessment was \$1250, indicating that improvements totalled about \$930.

The total value of real property owned by agriculturalists resident in the Okanagan District was \$85,450. Farmers and stockraisers owned a total of 19,862 acres, worth as raw land \$19,862.³⁰ Hence, improvements in the district in 1879 amounted to \$66,228. These improvements were owned by 52 individual settlers for an average fixed improvement of \$1,274 over and above cost of land. Of course, these improvements were unevenly distributed. Improvements made by Eli Lequime, the "King" of the Mission Valley, which included his store, equalled \$5,680. The Vernon brothers owned \$2,965 each, which included a grist mill while the \$2,034 and \$3,034 owned by the partners Greenhow and O'Keefe respectively, reflected their partnership in a store. Alf Postill and Frederick Brent owned \$2,020 and \$2180 of improvements, which included a sawmill for the former and grist mill for the latter. Others such as Houghton, Fortune, Tronson and Wichers had nearly as much. At the other end of the scale, many had a minimum of improvements, less than the \$800 needed to "prove up" a half section of land. Thirteen individuals had \$680 or less, a value which would represent merely a house, a barn and a small patch ploughed and fenced.

The category entitled "Value of Personal Property" provides an insight into another type of capital, that of a non-fixed or moveable character including livestock, standing and stored crops, implements and household furnishings. The amount of this type of capital depended upon the level of inventories of goods and the value of the items. Again it is instructive to deal with J. B. Moore and Philip Girod. Moore

owned fifty head of cattle, twenty-five pigs and six head of horses, the latter probably used for draft and riding purposes. The value of his cattle in 1879 can be determined from the missionary letters at \$550-\$700, depending upon whether he had sold his three-year-olds at the time of the census.³¹ The price of horses was highly variable, depending on the quality, but a good pair of draft animals was worth \$150 so Moore's six horses may have been worth approximately \$350. Since local pigs were not from good varieties and since the market in 1879 was poor,³² pigs would have had a value of \$4 or \$5 per head. Moore's twenty-five hogs may have been worth \$100 to \$125. Contents of the granary were worth no more than \$100 as he was too far from a market to be a commercial grain grower; his grain comprised merely enough wheat and oats for household consumption and feed-grain. Added together, Moore's livestock and crops were worth from \$1,050 to \$1,325.

Moore's implements or furnishings were mostly homemade and had little market value. Transportation costs to the interior precluded the importation of anything but the utmost necessities.³³ There would have been harness, much of it homemade, a plough, mostly homemade, and a few hand implements. Moore's operation was not elaborate. His equipment and machines were worth \$50 to \$100. Moore's total moveable capital can be placed at about \$1,100. The tax assessor in 1879 valued Moore's "personal property" at \$1,000, which probably indicates that prices had fallen even more than estimated in 1879.

Philip Girod owned no livestock except for 6 draft horses, probably valued together at \$350 to \$400. His Certificate of Improvement shows that, aside from his house and stable, he owned three granaries, two the size of his house and one more than double that size. Girod obviously specialized in grain production and his two miles of fencing enclosed his cultivated land which did not exceed 80 acres.³⁴ Girod owned about 1600 square feet of storage space for his grain or, if his granaries were full to 8 feet, 12,800 cubic feet, room for about 10,000 bushels. Girod undoubtedly grew wheat for sale to Kamloops and oats for farm purposes. His assessment for personal property indicates that his standing and stored crop was worth from \$600

to \$650, the value in Kamloops minus transportation costs.

The total value of agriculturalists' personal property in the Okanagan district was \$138,040, divided between 63 individuals. Thus the average value of personal property equalled \$2,191. This amount is misleading, including as it does stockraisers as well as farmers. The Okanagan district's 13 stockmen owned personal property worth \$93,500, mostly in stock, or an average of \$7,192.³⁵ Separating the stockraisers from the total "agriculturalists," the farmers' personal property can be calculated; 44 persons³⁶ classified as farmers in 1879 owned personal property worth \$44,540, for an average of \$989. This figure includes a number of recent arrivals who owned only \$500 of personal property each. Probably J. B. Moore and Philip Girod are good representatives of the farming class, having been in the area three and two years respectively. Farmers typically did not own a great deal of capital, and what they did own, in real estate improvements and stored grain or livestock, was mainly the product of a few years of labour and capital accumulation.

Among white farmers at least two types of farming operations, exemplified by the operations of Girod and Moore in the Spallumcheen and Mission respectively, can be identified. The agricultural operations in the Spallumcheen reflected the marketing opportunities available to farmers with access to the Spallumcheen River. Steamboat transportation, available first in the 1860s, made the Spallumcheen an attractive agricultural area. The Hudson's Bay Company records show that Moses Lumby sold oats, carrots and other produce to the Company in 1867³⁷ and those for 1875-1878 reveal considerable evidence of commerce between the Spallumcheen and Kamloops. A. L. Fortune, Luc Girouard, Herman Wichers, Frank Young and Donald Graham sold grain to the Company to pay their accounts, the goods and grain being transported by the steamers Marten and Spallumcheen. The Company supplied the sacks and bought Graham's wheat at Spallumcheen Landing for thirty-four dollars a ton. On one occasion, 3,124 pounds of wheat and oats were delivered by Graham.³⁸ The Fortune grist mill in Kamloops was perhaps the main destination for Spallumcheen wheat.

Spallumcheen commercial grain farms were labour-intensive operations and farmers adapted to those requirements. Philip Girod employed and lived with an agricultural labourer, A. B. Knox. In fact, the vast majority of farm labourers or landless farmers resided in the Spallumcheen, although farms were no bigger there than elsewhere in the Okanagan. The census identifies a number of instances where two or more independent land-owning farmers lived together.³⁹ These included farms run jointly by brothers (Schubert, Steele, Lambly, Bennett) and others where it is uncertain whether they operated their farms jointly or merely lived together (Harland and Powell; Hebert, Seydel and Wichers). Probably typical of the type of arrangement that joint owners made was that of B. F. Young and Martin Furstineau, as related by Young:

[W]e rode out to his ranch just across the road from where I now live, and there I saw one of the finest fields of wheat I ever saw in my life. The up-shot of it was I paid his debts and he gave me a half interest in his ranch. John Ussher . . . drew up the agreement between us.⁴⁰

Young was an ideal partner as he was young, had ranching experience, enjoyed a steady job and possessed a little capital to support the agricultural operations. Joint proprietorship was a reasonable answer to a situation in which abundant land was available at reasonable cost, where labour requirements were intensive both for capital building and production purposes, where family or wage labour was scarce and where markets were limited. Many Spallumcheen farmers turned to joint proprietorship for these reasons.

The census information indicates clearly that Okanagan Indians offered ample labour for hire. Most Indians listed farming or labouring as their occupation. Of the 627 Indian population, 427 or 68% were adults and thus capable of providing labour to nearby farms. Numerous sources indicate that they provided a ready and valued labour force. Two early pioneers in the Spallumcheen district recorded hiring Indians as labourers repeatedly. Donald Graham wrote of an Indian from Blacktown (Head of Lake) named Abel who owned and was particularly adept at driving oxen.⁴¹ A. L. Fortune depended on Big Louis for

clearing, ploughing, planting and harvesting. He describes his Indian neighbours as

very helpful to the whites in their seeding, harvesting, threshing with horses on threshing floors, and after that by horse power threshing machines, and then came the steampower and still the good Indians were useful. Now they are indispensable, in vegetable, fruit and hop gathering, also wood cutting, and hauling and [they make] the best of saw log drivers down the river.⁴²

Fortune also trained Indians to man his boat, to cut grain with a cradle and to rake and bind the sheaves, although he admitted great difficulty in "trying to get these natives to work singly or when a big salmon run took place."⁴³ The Mission records also occasionally mention Indians at the harvest, either at the Mission or elsewhere. For example, Father Baudre wrote that the Indians of the Head of Lake were working individually at farms spread out over a stretch of four or five miles.⁴⁴ A substantial Indian population could and did act as a source of labour during the few weeks of the year when labour was in great demand.

The Mission district farms operated with an entirely different mode of production than those in the Spallumcheen. The Kamloops, Cariboo or coastal markets for agricultural products were nearly inaccessible to them because of excessive transportation costs. Not until 1875 was a road linking the Mission and Kamloops constructed and even then transportation costs for marketing cereals and horticultural products were nearly prohibitive from the Mission, although some Mission farmers occasionally marketed wheat and hams there. The scale of cultivation was small, almost always limited to what could be harvested by the farmer, his wife (often Indian) and his family. Mission Valley farms hired little labour and were generally operated by single proprietorship. Of the five jointly operated farms in the area, four were father and son operations and one was the missionary farm, an exceptional joint-production case. Mission Valley farmers, like J. B. Moore, appear to have combined subsistence agriculture with small-scale, open-range livestock production and some other means of obtaining an income, perhaps by placer mining,

trapping, haying or casual labour. The Mission Valley farms were marginal operations where owners, rather than hiring labour, were forced to work off the farm. There were exceptions to this marginal existence within this area characterized by common use of Crown land. Eli Lequime and Fred Brent appear to have developed successful operations on the basis of joint production, the former combining farming with storekeeping, ranching and the operation of a pack train, the latter operating a farm and the only grist mill between Keremeos and the head of the lake.

One feature of farming that was common throughout the Valley was hog production. In 1879 there were 650 hogs raised in the Valley, production being shared by 27 farmers for an average of 24 hogs per hog raiser. This number undoubtedly understates the hog population because most Certificates of Improvement in the 1883 era include a hog pen or pig sty. One farmer, Donald Graham, recalled:

We all raised pigs. They increased in numbers fast, so that bacon of our own salting and smoking we had in abundance. But even here nature seemed to be against us. We had lots of trouble with our pigs. It was our custom to let them loose in the woods to fend for themselves during the summer months. But bears were numerous and they seemed to appreciate fresh pork very much. One by one our pigs were disappearing . . . dispatched by the same method.⁴⁵

The quality of hogs was not improved by the importation of purebred breeder sows or hogs. Native hogs were known as "razorbacks", which resembled greyhound dogs in appearance and in the speed with which they could run.⁴⁶ It appears that most farmers took a fairly relaxed attitude toward their hogs and that the industry was complementary to grain growing. After harvesting, farmers turned their hogs loose in fields to glean what they could from the stubble. However, large hog raisers such as E. J. Tronson, V. Duteau or G. Whelan would not have let their hogs roam, to be dispatched by bears. In their operations hogs had to be fed and tended on a daily basis from birth to slaughter. Slaughtering, butchering, smoking and marketing of hams would have occupied the farmer and his family for a number of weeks in early winter. Feeding grain to pigs provided an

indirect means of marketing grain at times when markets for grain in the Mission Valley were poor.

The missionary letters make some references to marketing hams. In January 1878, the missionaries had 1,800 pounds of ham and bacon in the smokehouse, which they sold.⁴⁷ In August 1881 Father Richard wrote that he again expected to realize \$150 from the sale of 900 pounds of bacon and ham.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the letters do not specify where they marketed their hams, although Hope and local mining camps were the likely destinations. Hams were costly to export because they had to be taken by packtrain. Still, empty or lightly loaded packtrains travelled frequently during the summer to Hope, and Kamloops was within a few days travel.

Okanagan Indian agriculturalists' mode of production was very similar to that of the Mission farmers. Like them, the Indians could not exert private property rights to Crown land and were forced to operate under a common resource land tenure regime in livestock production. They were therefore marginal livestock producers, specializing in low-value cayuses raised by the open-range method. Indians traded or rented horses to meet their requirements. Initially they bartered horses for cattle, grain or vegetables but by the mid-seventies they had become self-sufficient in those products and demanded cash.⁴⁹ Similarly, by 1879 when Indians worked for white neighbours, they were no longer willing to accept farm produce but demanded cash wages, usually \$1.50 per day.⁵⁰

The Indians nearly all engaged in joint production. Indian women engaged in subsistence agriculture, growing a great variety of crops. Women often hired out, usually in small groups, to tend the gardens of neighbours, that is, they would work for a few days in planting, hoeing and harvesting potatoes for white farmers.⁵¹ Indian men also hired out to white farmers and ranchers, usually as casual labourers in the roundup and haying seasons. They provided an abundant local labour force highly skilled at horsemanship. These periods of employment they worked into their annual routine, for example, by working before the spring fishery and again before the major fall fishing and hunting seasons. Thus Indian farmers combined

subsistence gardening, small-scale livestock production by the open-range method, traditional hunting, fishing and gathering, and some other activity to obtain their cash requirements. When Indians at Okanagan Mission hired a white carpenter to build a fence around their cemetery, they paid him with "some provisions, some horses and a little money."⁵² This probably illustrates well their sources of income and means of livelihood.

The coming of the railway opened the interior to new markets, new sources of immigration, capital and forms of agriculture. As a result, the industry was to expand and diversify and to become much more commercially oriented. The railway immediately improved the Okanagan farmers' prospects, especially after the branch line reached Okanagan Landing in 1891 and the CPR lake boats connected lakeside communities with the railhead. Agricultural development occurred at a different pace in different parts of the Okanagan in response to these changes in transportation. Mainline railway construction camps provided a market for agricultural products and those near enough to the construction activity, especially those in the Spallumcheen, were in an ideal position to fill the need. Reminiscences of various farmers indicate that they had good markets for wheat and root crops.

After 1885 the market for Okanagan agricultural produce was largely oriented to the mainline railroad, reached from the steamboat landing at the wharves of A. L. Fortune and the Lambly brothers. Goods were shipped on the mainline to Revelstoke, then down the Arrow Lakes to Nelson, Rossland or Trail or to the Slocan and towns such as Sandon. The railway also made international markets available. For example, the flour milling industry based in Enderby marketed flour at the coast and in the Orient;⁵³ the hops produced at the Coldstream Ranch found markets in England;⁵⁴ and the orchard industry sold its product to the prairies. Obviously, the railway provided a necessary factor in the production of commercial crops.

Mining developments in 1885-1887 in Granite Creek and the Tulameen area and other southern camps, provided temporary markets, although they were some distance away. In 1885 Alf

Postill wrote to J. A. Mara asking that the cattle trail from the west side to Princeton be upgraded to a sleigh and wagon road,⁵⁵ an objective accomplished that year. The Cargill and Company wharf and warehouse were built in 1886 at the Lambly Ranch near the present site of Peachland. E. C. Cargill was a Spallumcheen company, so goods were shipped over a considerable distance. In 1888 the Lequimes are known to have shipped two tons of flour to Penticton aboard the inaugural voyage of the Okanagan, to be taken by packtrain to Rock Creek.⁵⁶ In the early 1890s the mining regions of Camp McKinney, Fairview, Hedley and the Boundary mining camps provided an excellent market. Prices were high at Fairview⁵⁷ and firms like T. W. Fletcher of Armstrong took advantage of the market.⁵⁸ In the late 1890s the Boundary country began to open and markets for agricultural produce expanded dramatically. Many Okanagan retail merchants moved to these mining towns or established branch offices and retained suppliers in the north.

The horticultural industry, like others, depended on suitable land, labour and capital to be productive. The Okanagan had thousands of acres of bottom and benchland suitable for growing cereal or field crops or higher-value products such as fruit, hops or tobacco, but the ranching oligopoly held virtually all good land. Immigrants who poured into the area in the eighties had to take land missed by the stockraisers. From about 1888 the government office was only able to say that "they knew of no land open for pre-emption in the district."⁵⁹ New-comers had to choose between purchasing decidedly marginal land, purchasing from an established owner, becoming landless labourers or leaving the area in disappointment.

Examples of land pre-emptions occurring in marginal agricultural areas are provided by two districts opened to settlers in 1893. The opening of the Commonage near Vernon and of Trinity Valley, far up the Coldstream toward Enderby, were auspicious events for prospective settlers. The local newspaper extolled the virtues of the areas and settlers, buoyed with visions of produce like that seen at the Vernon agricultural fair, faced their tasks optimistically. One such settler claimed:

At present the few actual settlers who are here are making the wilderness howl with assault of axe and mattock. Having passed the winter in our new paradise I am but voicing the general opinion in saying that Trinity Valley is second to none and will make a name in the near future.⁶⁰

Of the eighteen pre-emptions taken in Trinity Valley by 1894, only one received a Certificate of Improvement and of the sixty-five taken in the Commonage that year only eleven eventually received Certificates.⁶¹ Receipt of that document was, in itself, a poor measure of success because of the eleven "successful" Commonage pre-emptors, nearly all eventually gave up in discouragement and the land reverted to sheep range. Clearly, the experience of the vast majority of Commonage and Trinity Valley pre-emptors was not a happy one. In the 1890s settlement occurred in other areas unsuitable for climatic or other reasons. The back valleys of the Okanagan are full of abandoned homesteads and orchards, each representing shattered dreams and wasted years.

Many settlers came to the Okanagan with the second option in mind, to purchase a small acreage from the subdivided lands of one of the original ranchers and to engage in intensive agriculture. A limited number of subdivisions which persons with capital could acquire became available in the early nineties. One of the first was that of Lord Aberdeen, who decided after purchasing the 10,000 acre ranch of Forbes G. Vernon (Coldstream Ranch) to subdivide a portion of it and sell small lots to settlers wishing to become fruit farmers. In 1891 a number of the marginal ranches in the Mission Valley became available. The real estate promoter, G. G. Mackay,⁶² acquired the ranches of T. Ellis (J. Christian ranch), D. Nicolson and A. Lefevre, about 2,000 acres in total, and advertised 10 to 40 acre lots for sale at sixty dollars per acre.⁶³ The Fred Brent ranch was subdivided in 1891 and advertised at prices ranging from five dollars per acre for pastureland to forty dollars per acre for farming land.⁶⁴ Both subdivisions were supplied with rudimentary irrigation. It is not known what prices were actually paid for these lands, but the press reported the results of another sale, that of the Smithson

estate.⁶⁵ Seventeen small plots of about ten acres were sold at from sixteen to seventy-five dollars per acre. Land prices were high because not enough land was available to meet the demand generated by the railway. Large ranchers who refused to sell or subdivide were regularly denounced in the pages of the Vernon News as "land monopolists" who were hindering the progress of the Valley.⁶⁶

Regarding prospective settlers Charles Mair, a new resident of Kelowna, wrote:

They must have plenty of money. This is no country for a man without means. Bottom lands sell at \$60.00 per acre and mountain (range) land in proportion. On the other hand a family can not only live but make money easily on 20 acres of good bottom or benchland here.⁶⁷

While Mair was correct about prices of land, he was entirely too optimistic regarding the potential return on investment. In 1893, when a severe depression had visited the West, cattle and grain could not be sold,⁶⁸ the initial experiments with fruit production proved a failure and property values in the Okanagan plummeted.⁶⁹ The subdivisions of the early 1890s, then, were precursors of further land developments which occurred after 1903, but in themselves they did not basically alter the Okanagan's agricultural base.

Many of the individuals who took up land in the eighties and nineties were young, single Englishmen, described by Charles Mair, prominent Canadian nationalist, as "English bloods spending their money and dressing like cowboys."⁷⁰ Some, like young Norman Noel, quickly became disenchanted and withdrew. Noel later wrote:

I soon began to harbour doubts about that thousand a year which was to come out of my orchard. It was impossible not to be struck by the obvious, shall I say, lack of riches everywhere. I met man after man, some of whom had been fifteen or twenty years in the country, but never a one of them had done much more than keep his head above water.⁷¹

Noel sold his land and went back to England, but he recognized that others were trapped:

They [had] expended their capital on land and house and horses and it [was] too late to draw back, so they remain[ed], hoping that some day things might turn out⁷²

Large numbers of others stayed on, perhaps living on remittances from England, often displaying little interest in mundane matters. Charles Holliday, one of the English settlers in the North Okanagan, wrote rather jocularly:

[T]hey built themselves little bungalows, planted fruit trees and then proceeded to enjoy life with tennis, shooting and fishing, and all the social frivolities of Vernon, mistakenly imagining they could carry on thus indefinitely and that fruit trees took care of themselves. Some of them had private incomes and managed all right. Others waded in and worked like good ones, and eventually most of them took hold and became real, working fruitgrowers.⁷³

Different areas of the Okanagan attracted immigrants from different sources. When Lord Aberdeen subdivided his ranch he did not attempt to sell the lots locally, nor did he offer terms and he was successful in attracting settlers of the "right sort" from Scotland. The Mission, with its marginal farms for sale, attracted young British investors like Bert Crichton and George Rose.

The British immigrants were part of that flood of young men who fled late-Victorian England for opportunity denied them at home. They were often well educated and well connected and would use limited family wealth as a means of further developing the community. A thorough study of the population in the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century is at present not feasible but there is considerable evidence that the community took on a distinctly British character.

Capital began to play a greater role in the Okanagan economy following the arrival of the railway. The railway mainline itself, with its branch line to Okanagan Landing and the lake steamboats, was the most significant capital investment in the area. It in turn attracted large amounts of capital in townsite development, hotel, retail store and housing construction and mining equipment. This capitalization also occurred in agriculture with the construction of flour mills, the development of irrigation projects, the adoption of modern farm equipment and, as has been discussed, the creation of large ranching corporations.

The Rashdale and Lawes roller mill, built at Enderby in

1886, represented one of the first major capital investments. Renamed the Columbia Flouring Mills Company, this mill changed hands in 1888 when R. P. Rithet and Company of Victoria purchased and expanded it and again in 1894 when it was resold and expanded. It continued to operate until 1917. The Enderby firm was not the only commercial flour mill. After an initial attempt to form a co-operative mill in Vernon in 1894, a second and this time successful attempt was made in 1896. This mill operated profitably for only a few years and its affairs were finally concluded in 1908.⁷⁴ Other forms of equipment were designed to process agricultural products for market. Lord Aberdeen constructed drying kilns for hops and a jam factory to provide an outlet for small fruits.⁷⁵ Other developments such as abattoirs, meat packing plants, and fruit packing houses appeared as essential extensions of an agricultural sector which was becoming oriented to the export market.

Capital for land assembly and subdivision and for the development of irrigation systems was also essential to the new commercial agriculture. Lord Aberdeen provides the best early example of how necessary new capital investment had become. Aberdeen bought the McDougall ranch at the Mission and then in 1891 purchased the F. G. Vernon ranch in the Coldstream for \$49,000.00. He immediately began making capital improvements, employing an army of workers to convert what was largely pastureland to a commercial farm. At Guisachan, Aberdeen's property in Kelowna, two hundred acres of fruit trees were laid out in 1891. In the following year he had hops planted and drying kilns built for curing the crop for export. The experiment at Guisachan eventually proved to be a failure as the low lying land was unsuitable for either fruit or hops, and the operation was converted to dairying. However, the Coldstream Ranch, where orchards and hops were introduced and acreage added year by year, proved a great success, supplying export markets in England. Aberdeen later decided to enlarge the acreage devoted to fruit production through irrigation and subdivision and he therefore constructed an elaborate irrigation system which involved miles of flume and pipe. Such large scale irrigation entailed considerable expense.

The years 1893 and 1895 are suitable years to take stock of railway-induced changes. The Spallumcheen continued to be the Okanagan's most densely settled area. In 1895, 186 settlers who owned an average of 279 acres filed returns to a provincial Department of Agriculture questionnaire.⁷⁶ They cultivated 8,124 acres, or 44 acres per farmer. Sixty percent of this land (4,918 acres) was in cereal or root crops, mainly potatoes, and fifteen percent (1,193 acres) was in hay or clover. Wheat plus crops suitable for sale or for cattle and pig feed were the basic agricultural products. The area produced 1,133 tons of wheat (mainly spring wheat), 464 tons of oats and 63 tons of barley. A mere 215 boxes of apples are recorded and the area lagged far behind the Mission and Vernon districts in planted area.

Agriculture in the Okanagan-White Valley district is more difficult to assess because response to the questionnaire was poor.⁷⁷ The 49 settlers who reported owned an average of 989 acres per settler, a figure reflecting the number of large ranches remaining in the area. Only 11 percent of the owned land was cultivated, while 39 percent was in pasture. Fifty percent of cultivated land was in wheat, 7 percent was in oats and 19 percent in hay. The region grew 756 tons of wheat, 347 tons of oats and other cereals, 272 tons of root crops and 75 boxes of apples. The area was nearly as oriented toward wheat production as the Spallumcheen.

Okanagan Mission returns showed 181 settlers owning 92,800 acres, which equalled 512 acres per settler. A mere 6 percent of owned land was cultivated, of which 33 percent was in wheat, 30 percent in hay, 10 percent in other grain or forage crops and 2 percent in root crops. The Mission claimed 12,400 fruit trees planted. These trees were already producing 500 boxes of apples and 1,000 boxes of other fruits, including pears, plums, prunes, cherries and others. The Mission Valley claimed a much smaller percentage of cultivated land, and wheat comprised a smaller percentage of the crop than was the case further north. Wheat grown commercially was exported by steamer to the head of the lake, thence by wagon or sleigh or, after 1891, by railway to Enderby. The loading points on Okanagan Lake were at the

Wood-Postill Landing, near the present Okanagan Centre and the landing and warehouse of A. B. Knox, which at one point in 1888 had 120 tons of wheat in storage intended for Enderby.⁷⁸ It is not known from which landing Fred Brent sent his wheat.

The small number of settlers on the west side sent 19 returns to the questionnaire. They owned an average of 370 acres, just one pre-emption claim per settler. They cultivated a mere 9 acres per settler, all of it in hay, although many had a few fruit trees in their gardens. In addition 7 settlers at Trout Creek engaged primarily in cattle ranching.⁷⁹

From Penticton south, including Osoyoos, Keremeos and the Similkameen to Princeton, 57 settlers owned 1,325 acres but cultivated only 16 acres per settler, 80 percent of which was in hay. Cereal crops were grown only to the extent that they supported the ranching operation and may have been used extensively for green feed. A few hundred fruit trees were planted; the apple production of 667 boxes rivalled that of the Mission, signalling that apples and soft fruit could be produced in the South Okanagan.

The Indian community also produced considerable agricultural produce but figures for 1893 and 1895 are not available. In 1888 when P. O'Rielly granted the Westbank reserves #9 and #10 (Tsin-sti-tep-tum), he noted that Charles's band of 34 people had 82 horses and 30 cattle, with 300 acres enclosed and 50 acres under cultivation.⁸⁰ The entire Okanagan Agency had 1,294 acres cultivated in 1890 and Indians owned 93 ploughs, 41 harrows, 22 wagons, 3 fanning mills, 7 mowing machines and various other implements. They produced 1,693 bushels (about 43 tons) of wheat, 691 tons of hay, 801 bushels of oats, 9,740 bushels of potatoes, 852 bushels of corn, 605 bushels of peas, 243 bushels of onions and 258 bushels of beans. The quantities produced do not appear to be large enough to have provided more than enough food for subsistence purposes for the Indian population. Extensive wheat production was probably limited to the Head of Lake reserve where Indians had brought about 1,000 acres into production by 1893. In 1895 the Okanagan Indians threshed a total of 400 tons of grain, mostly wheat.⁸¹ No root crops were grown to support winter feeding

of beef.

The general character of Okanagan agriculture can be clearly drawn from the statistics published in 1895. The livestock industry was supported by extensive root crop production only in the north end of the Valley where hogs and spring beef were produced for market. Wheat predominated in the Spallumcheen, with sixty percent of cultivated land in that crop, but it became progressively less important the further one went south. Penticton produced wheat on only ten percent of its cultivated land. Hay shows a reverse importance being the dominant crop in the south. The fledgling apple and soft fruit industry had been established at the Mission and in the southern regions. The only other specialty crop mentioned was hops, of which thirty-five acres were planted at the Mission and twenty-seven acres at the Coldstream with a yield of thirty and twenty-five tons respectively. As a whole the Okanagan's agricultural production appears to have changed less by 1895 in response to the railway than might have been expected. Certainly wheat production was important, but it had already been so prior to the building of the branch line to Okanagan Landing. The large cattle ranches remained intact; that industry was dominant and commercial agriculture was largely undeveloped.

George Rose and Cornelius O'Keefe provide good examples of two types of farmers in the 1890s. An educated Scot, George Rose farmed in partnership with his brother, Hugh, on a small acreage in the Mission Valley. He had also pre-empted a 320 acre farm on the west side of the lake. Rose had no agricultural experience but was eager to learn about recent advances in agriculture. He frequently took advice from knowledgeable neighbours including the manager at Guisachan, visited adjacent farms to examine their operations, and received assistance from experts sponsored by the provincial department of agriculture. He attended lectures given by visiting professors of agriculture and was a founding member of the Agriculture and Trade Association (ATA) which sponsored meetings to hear papers and discuss topics such as tobacco growing, the economics of hop growing and the necessity of co-operation in marketing. Following the advice he received, Rose replaced

older varieties of trees with approved species, including cherries such as Windsor, Marduke and Queen Hortense and apples such as Golden Russett. He washed his trees with the recommended tobacco solution to control pests and diligently searched for tree borers.

The economic activities on the mixed farm were endless. Rose and his brother employed and boarded one or two men regularly and each man often worked independently on a different task. Rose had a 1 1/2 acre "old orchard" which needed pruning and washing and a younger orchard in which he planted, in 1894, a total of 29 cherry, 19 apple, 8 plum and 6 pear trees. Buoyed by discussions at an ATA meeting and the apparent successful experiment at Guisachan, he planted hops. This undertaking required extensive capital in the form of poles which were erected beside each of the plants and which had to be cut in Dry Valley some distance away. Rose's oat field yielded 7 tons, or 75 sacks, one year. His haystack on a recently purchased Kelowna lot measured 18' x 30' x 11', and on his home place he cut hay which went to the loft above the barn. Rose began potato production in 1894 and built a roothouse from the logs of an old pigpen for storage of the crop until its sale. He harvested 77 sacks in 1894 but the number was probably larger in 1895 when he had a roothouse and hired four "klootches" for the harvest. As well, there were endless building and maintenance chores. He built a calf house, erected a great deal of Russell fencing to replace the zigzag fence and he spent a considerable amount of time maintaining a jointly-owned irrigation ditch.

Over the 1893 to 1895 period Rose's cash crops consisted of a variety of produce. He marketed small berries in Kelowna, occasionally to a merchant. On a July day Rose would pick twenty quarts of raspberries in the morning and take them to the lake at Kelowna for sale. Raspberries fetched twenty cents a quart. He also sold strawberries and gooseberries in season and experimented with small quantities of jam made from raspberries, strawberries and greengages, sending samples to the Vernon merchant, W. J. Cameron. Another cash product, eggs, averaged around thirty cents per dozen. Rose was not very successful with poultry; his highest monthly yield was 276 eggs, but

production was irregular and was reduced to 1 or 2 eggs a day in 1895. He also traded or sold small amounts of oats to the liveryman or his neighbours. Finally, through the Kelowna Shippers' Union which arranged to sell a carload of vegetables to Sandon, he disposed of some sacks of beans and of "picked over spuds" from his roothouse.

The Rose journal reveals an economy with marketing structures in their infancy, the initial attempts at co-operative potato marketing being the only positive sign. Barter and exchange of services were common. Aside from vegetables, commodities were marketed individually in a local market and in very small quantities for what they could command. The farthest market Rose could penetrate was Vernon and he sold mainly in preserves there. Rose produced enough for subsistence as well as a small surplus for trade or sale. He readily enlarged production of any crop if market circumstances warranted, including hops, potatoes and hay.

Cornelius O'Keefe, one of the Okanagan's largest ranchers, was one who changed to a more intensive type of agriculture.⁸³ It is not known how much wheat O'Keefe produced for sale prior to 1887 although he had a grist mill on his ranch before that time and may have produced considerable wheat and flour for sale to the railway construction crews. In 1887, Columbia Flouring Mills' first year of operation, he shipped grain to Enderby, paying \$623.45 in advance shipping charges to transport his flour to the railhead and to Kamloops on the steamer Red Star. O'Keefe purchased his major harvesting equipment in 1887 from Nicolles and Renauf in Victoria, including a Brantford steel binder, a J. C. Wismer seed drill with sixteen shoes, and a Minnestoa Chief thresher with a twelve horsepower engine at a total cost of \$2,225.00. O'Keefe continued to upgrade his equipment, for example, introducing in 1898 the district's first thresher with a fan and pipe discharge.⁸⁴ In 1888 Michael Hagan, a reporter for the Victoria Colonist, described the operation of O'Keefe and Greenhow :

Notwithstanding their immense fields each year adds to their fencing. Mr. O'Keefe is breaking ground convenient to the [Swan] Lake and adjoining the Spallumcheen and Okanagan

Railway survey. The length of the furrow being plowed is about a mile and a half, the land looks of a dark clay colour and is evidently rich soil. . . . Their large bands of stock roam over thousands of acres of pasture lands. They cultivate grain in many fields. Upon their ranches are seen the latest in agricultural implements, steam threshers etc. and they have also an excellent grist mill.⁸⁵

The Vernon News featured his operation in the summer of 1891. On 9 July he had just finished cutting 300 acres of fall wheat and was starting at once to cut 350 acres of spring wheat. His 2 binders, an Osborne and a Brantford, were in continual motion. As well, he was cutting 100 acres of wheat for hay and on his fields toward the Okanagan Landing he cut 300 acres of hay for cattle feed. He also harvested 50 acres in oats.⁸⁶ That year his wheat production averaged slightly over 1 ton per acre, about average for the district.⁸⁷ O'Keefe's threshing crew numbered 16 in the fall of 1893 and increased thereafter.

O'Keefe was a major livestock producer running at least 1,000 head in 1890, but he turned to wheat production when it became profitable and, in an effort to produce an even higher value crop, planted a fruit orchard.⁸⁸ The result of his orchard experiment was less than happy, however. Referring to O'Keefe and Ellison a provincial horticulturalist reported:

They set out a few trees just to see how they would do and when the trees were in the ground they seemed to think that was all that was required, paying no attention to pruning or mulching.⁸⁹

The individuals whose operations have been examined are representatives of two important groups in Okanagan society in the 1890s -- the large established landowner who was accused of hindering the Valley's progress by refusing to subdivide, and the young English "man of means" who was to be his replacement. The former had markets for his products, lived in a large house and was master of all he surveyed. The latter could sell few of his products and had difficulty surviving. Only after the turn of the century did George Rose and his kind come into their own.

The first decade of the twentieth century was the decade of the most dramatic changes in the agricultural economy of the

Okanagan. At the turn of the century wheat production was thriving and fruit growing was in its infancy; by 1910 the former was much reduced and the latter much increased in importance. The decline of wheat culture and development of orcharding is told elsewhere,⁸⁹ but some salient features should be observed. The Okanagan's first historian, Margaret Ormsby, notes that the wheat growing industry of the North Okanagan had expanded to meet the demand of railway contractors in the early 1880s and by 1884 the area had gained the title "wheat fields of British Columbia". This wheat found a market at one or other of the Okanagan flour mills. The Columbia Flouring Mill annually converted about 90,000 bushels of wheat into flour, far more than was produced in the Okanagan, and at its peak shipped over 13,000 tons of flour to its markets at the coast and in the Orient. Ormsby claims that about 680 carloads of wheat passed through the Calgary Grain Inspectorate into British Columbia in the 1905-1906 season, most of it going to the Columbia Flouring Mill.⁹⁰ Reasons for the failure of the grist mills to remain competitive are suggested by Graham and others. Insufficient wheat was grown in the Okanagan to keep the mills in operation for more than a couple of months and the local wheat was too soft to be used alone. Higher freight rates than those borne by American competitors, higher grain producing costs and the building of larger capacity mills on the prairies and the United States may have contributed to the failure of the Okanagan flour mills.

The failure of grist milling, however, was not the cause of the failure of wheat growing. Costs of production of grain were undoubtedly higher on Okanagan farms than on those of their competitors. A thorough study is needed of the economics of wheat production, both here and in competitive areas on the prairies and in the United States, to establish more precisely when and why wheat production became unprofitable in the Okanagan. Such a study would surely cite, as reasons for the decline, the high cost of land in the Okanagan, the relatively small scale of production in an era of mechanization, high transportation costs, falling prices due to increased competition and perhaps climatic factors. The Okanagan did not have a

comparative advantage in the production of wheat after prairie wheat growing became established. It appeared, however, that the Okanagan could compete in the fruit industry.

Fruit production in the Okanagan began relatively slowly. Orchards had existed as subsistence ventures in the gardens of early ranchers; the gardens and orchards of Luc Girouard, the Mission Fathers, A. B. Knox,⁹¹ Thomas Ellis, Francis Richter, George Whelan and Alf Postill were well known and frequently complimented by visitors to the Okanagan. It had been established, perhaps as early as 1865, that fruit would thrive in certain areas of the region.

The initial attempts at commercial orchards in the early 1890s had been ambitious ventures on the part of a few individuals. Lord Aberdeen laid out 200 acres of fruit trees at Guisachan and at his Coldstream property. The Aberdeens hired an Ontario nurseman, G. W. Henry, to supervise the planting of one hundred acres of their Coldstream ranch.⁹² Many established ranchers who desired higher valued products from their ranches planted orchards in the early 1890s. Following Aberdeen's example, the Barnard ranch hired a horticulturalist from the Niagara peninsula, Isaac Haun, to manage its orchard, which expanded steadily from 1892 to 1895.⁹³ Not all of these ventures succeeded however. Those of Price Ellison and Cornelius O'Keefe failed. Owners eventually discovered that orchards in the Spallumcheen were too far north and thus subject to winter injury. At the Mission the water table was too high and the trees were pulled out after a few years.¹³⁶ While some orchards survived, lack of success in marketing fruit coupled with poor business conditions after 1893, account for fruit growing's slow start.⁹⁵

More than a decade passed before more subdivisions based on intensive agriculture were attempted. In summarizing the developments of the 1890s T. W. Stirling, himself an orchardist and land developer, wrote in 1909:

The first orchards planted for commercial purposes at Kelowna . . . were planted 18 years ago. There was some planting also during the next year or two . . . [T]he few orchards of this period [totalled] . . . less than 150 acres . . . After this there was very little planting done until about six years ago.⁹⁶

The development of new lands for subdivision required the vision and enthusiasm of a newcomer to the Okanagan, J. M. Robinson.⁹⁷ First in Peachland in 1899, then in Summerland in 1902 and finally in Naramata in 1907, Robinson and his partners bought established ranches, provided irrigation systems, and subdivided the land into plots which they sold to English immigrants or prairie residents fleeing the rigors of winter. Two factors were critical to Robinson's success: the cost of land and the availability of buyers for that land. Robinson entered the Valley at a time when ranchers were facing increased competition from Alberta producers and, since the elimination of the quarantine, from American producers. Profitability strained and land prices rising, many ranchers were now ready to sell at reasonable prices. Robinson was personally aware of dozens of English men of means who had tried farming on the prairies, and were discouraged with the climate, lack of social amenities and the work regime imposed by prairie agriculture. Through Baptist church channels he found many others willing to try fruit farming.⁹⁸ Robinson knew his market and was successful.

Robinson's success, coupled with improved prospects of raising capital, led to a rush of similar ventures. In 1904 the South Okanagan Land Company purchased the huge Ellis ranch which included virtually all the bottomland from the foot of Okanagan Lake to the International Boundary. It subdivided 4,000 acres around the Penticton townsite and sold large blocks of land elsewhere to companies which developed townsites or subdivisions at Okanagan Falls, Kaleden and Vaseaux Lake. Further subdivisions occurred in 1904 in the Kelowna area where the Okanagan Fruit and Land Company purchased the 4,000 acre A. B. Knox ranch, subdivided and quickly sold their land. Also in 1904 the Kelowna Land and Orchard Company (KLO) purchased nearly 7,000 acres south and east of Kelowna. In the Vernon area the Coldstream Estate Company began advertising the sale of 5,000 acres of its land in 1906. This was followed by large purchases and development by the Central Okanagan Land and Orchard Company in 1906, the Ideal Fruitlands Company in 1906, the Kelowna Land Company in 1908 and the Okanagan Development and Orchard Company in 1908. The Land and Agricultural Company of

Canada (L and A Company) bought 14,600 acres north of Vernon from O'Keefe, Greenhow and others in 1907 and subdivided, farming a portion of the land through a subsidiary. Other large companies such as the Scottish Canadian Fruit and Land Company and the Vernon Orchards Company purchased land from the L and A Company to operate orchards of approximately 200 acres each. As well, numerous smaller subdivisions were developed throughout the Valley in the years immediately preceding World War I.

David Dendy has examined the sources of capital in the land development stage, beginning with J. M. Robinson's projects in the 1903 to 1912 era, and concludes that the large amounts of capital needed for land development and irrigation came mainly through the personal or family connections of promoters.⁹⁹ The type of immigrant who came to the Okanagan was thus particularly important, because they brought access to capital with them.

The newly arrived immigrants were mainly from Britain; even those persons who arrived from the prairies were predominately British. T. L. Gillespie wrote of the orchardists on the KLO benches in 1911: "Most of the ranchers were young bachelors from England, Ireland and Scotland belonging to the public school class." Gillespie went on to describe such features as a monocled colonel and a clubhouse with its piano and the latest numbers of Punch awaiting "young English suckers."¹⁰⁰ These men were to place an indelible stamp on the Okanagan landscape. They had the financial capability to purchase expensive land, wait for it to become productive and operate it as gentlemen farmers. Virtually hundreds of these immigrants established themselves in the Okanagan on small acreages, nearly all of them hoping to gain their living through fruit production.

Dendy documents many of the problems faced by the land development companies: the sudden marketing of thousands of acres of land; the difficulties of building and maintaining extensive irrigation systems and the consequent insolvency of numerous companies; the financial stringency which began in 1912 and seriously retarded land sales; and the resulting problems of servicing large debts without income from sales. Some land

development companies went bankrupt and others nearly so. But the result of land development activity in the 1903 to 1913 period really cannot be measured by company balance sheets. Extensive property development projects had provided the basis for fruit farming, destined to be the dominant Okanagan industry.

Between 1903 and 1912 large stock ranching gave way to ten-acre plots of irrigated land, and orcharding became the Okanagan's dominant activity. A survey taken in 1921-1925 provides a general view of the industry. Fruit production claimed about 1400 individual plots of land, mostly 6 to 12 acres in size and predominantly owner-operated. Nearly 1,200 individual farmers and their families were involved in the industry by 1925. The average capital invested on the farms equalled \$14,500, eighty-eight percent of which had been spent to purchase land and trees.¹⁰¹

The fruit industry was conducted primarily on the basis of household production. Small units of production, reliant upon household labour, dominated the economy. Harvesting generated considerable seasonal demand for agricultural labour but it was generally not possible to employ agricultural labourers steadily. Casual labour, frequently that of Indian men, women and children, or household child labour was the basis of the labour force during the harvest. Casual labour was difficult to obtain because no commitments were made to these employees other than short-term, piece-work contracts. Keeping family members on the job may have been relatively simple, but keeping Indians at work when the salmon were running or when they chose not to show up for work was a continual problem. From the Indian casual labourer's perspective, however, if there was a conflict, the relative benefits of engaging in short-term casual wage-labour had to be weighed against the benefits and pleasures of participation in a community fishing venture.

By 1913 some of the long-term problems that were to beset the farming community, such as providing irrigation, marketing their product, adapting to new technology and adopting marketable varieties of fruit had appeared, but they would be faced mainly after the war. It is sufficient to note that by the end

of the first decade of the new century, the intensive agriculture sector had displaced the cattle ranching and wheat growing sub-sectors that had dominated from the early days of white settlement.

The process of changing from extensive to intensive agriculture, whereby the range cattle industry engages in a temporary use of frontier land until more intensive agriculture is feasible, has been observed throughout North America.¹⁰² This development is associated with railway construction, increased land values and increased immigration. The railway initiated considerable change to the agricultural sector, although the full impact was not felt for thirty years. At first it benefitted the established industries, cattle ranching and wheat growing, by providing an initial market and then by opening new markets at the coast and in the Northwest. It provided the impetus for cattle ranchers to purchase their ranges and thereby created a temporary obstacle to the further development of intensive agriculture. The railway itself was a capital investment which raised the price of land by raising the marginal revenue product of land. Still, the railway had introduced the essential elements for the change to new forms of agriculture. As well as opening new markets for local produce, the railroad opened the area to competition from other regions, and markets which had formerly belonged to Okanagan ranchers were no longer assured. For example, as the prairies became competitive in producing cattle and wheat, prices declined relative to costs and the Okanagan producers found that they could not compete.

The intensive agriculture industry was not established quickly or easily. Initial attempts at agriculture were frequently ill-fated because of inadequate knowledge, poor site selection, poor variety selection or lack of facilities for marketing. Marginal lands were purchased which proved unsuitable for intensive agriculture in this period of experimentation. The establishment of intensive agriculture awaited favourable circumstances: cattle and wheat production lost their profitability relative to the return from selling ranches to land developers; the first generation cattle rancher

retired after forty years in the industry; and investment funds became available in quantities sufficient to allow major capital undertakings in the form of irrigation projects. The railway was a necessary but not a sufficient factor in the growth of the intensive agriculture industry.

Metropolitan influence on agriculture is a factor which followed the railway closely. The most obvious example of metropolitan influence is provided by Lord Aberdeen, who arrived in Vernon on the first train and dramatically affected the area. He purchased land, invested in irrigation systems and buildings, changed the function of the land to commercial agriculture, engaged expert managers, tapped new markets in England for his products, subdivided his land and sold small plots to his countrymen. Aberdeen demonstrated the technical possibility of engaging in commercial agriculture. Aberdeen's example was well received and was followed by individuals like F. S. Barnard and George Rose, although without great success, because unfortunately, Aberdeen had demonstrated the technical, not the economic feasibility of commercial agriculture. Metropolitan influence, even with an aggressive, wealthy and public-minded individual like Aberdeen acting locally, was not enough to force an immediate conversion, although his influence must have assisted the process.

Few Okanagan Indians participated in the conversion to intensive commercial agriculture, although the changes affected them and their lands. The increasing attractiveness of reserve lands to white farmers and speculators due to a general rise in land values led both levels of government to regard "unproductive" Indian lands as eligible to be cut off. Both levels of government, including the Indians' trustee, the DIA, participated in the dismemberment of the reserves against the wishes of the Indian people. Okanagan Indians lost major sections of their reserves, including lands which had value in sale for commercial farming purposes. The cut offs not only took Indian land suitable for intensive agriculture from reserves but it demonstrated once again the insecurity of Indian tenure. Outright loss was only one aspect of this general insecurity. Lack of enjoyment of private property rights by individuals on

reserves, due to interference by the DIA or because of local band politics, almost precluded investment in capital projects. Orchards, requiring five to seven years of nurturing before commercial production could be expected, were the last type of investment that people with insecure tenure would attempt.

The conversion to fruit farming also required a guarantee of access to water because without that security orcharding was not feasible. The history of Indian difficulties gaining security of access to water is complex but a brief survey is sufficient to convey the extent of the problem. When the IRC and later Commissioners Sproat and O'Reilly assigned land to the Okanagan Indians they included, in their Minutes of Decision, assignments of water without which the land was nearly worthless.¹⁰³ Sproat engaged in voluminous correspondence with the Provincial Government pleading that these water records be recognized but he was ignored; his authority was neither confirmed nor denied. His successor, O'Reilly, similarly assigned water with reserves, considering it "indispensable that a reserve should be well supplied with wood and water."¹⁰⁴ However, the Provincial Government took a strong stand against Indians having any special rights to water in 1884, denying that the commissioners had any authority to issue water records.¹⁰⁵ The Chief Commissioner invited Indians to make regular applications under the Water Act and receive water records on a priority basis the same as white settlers. Superintendent Powell then made application for the large number of water records given by the IRC but these were not approved. In 1888 the Provincial Government passed an amendment to the Water Act dealing with the recording of water on Indian reserves.¹⁰⁶ The amendment denied Indians the right to hold water records because they were not holders of land individually, in fee simple, but provided a mechanism whereby Indians could apply to have their records granted by Order in Council.¹⁰⁷ All records granted prior to 1888 were thus invalid unless recorded again with appropriate recording agents. Agent J. W. MacKay took his responsibilities seriously and recorded land within the railway belt in the Dominion Land office in New Westminster on 25 September 1888.¹⁰⁸ For lands

outside the railway belt, that is, most of the Okanagan, a list of water record applications was submitted to the Land Office on 14 June 1889.¹⁰⁹ Notices of these applications appeared in the BC Gazette in 1889.¹¹⁰ Not until 1897 were the water privileges applied for in 1889 finally granted.¹¹¹

The 1889 notices were later claimed to be meaningless by the Provincial Government in a submission to the Board of Investigation adjudicating water rights. The DIA had assumed that publication in the BC Gazette was sufficient to formalize Indian records but the Province claimed that those were applications only and they had never been granted by Order in Council. The Board of Investigation had to ignore Indian water records granted prior to 1897 as it was forced to adjudicate using official priority records only. Dufferin Pattullo, the Minister of Lands, promised that Indians would be treated equally to whites¹¹² and that only the consent of the Minister of Lands was required to secure their rights, but the Indians still only managed to obtain water records dating from 1897, a full twenty years after they had first been granted by the IRC and long enough to give priority to many white settlers' records.

Further difficulties were placed in the way of Indians in the years to follow. As late as June 1925, W. E. Ditchburn, Indian Commissioner for British Columbia, wrote:

It is impossible for us to obtain justice for the Indians so long as we are bound by the provisions of the British Columbia Water Act, for the British Columbia Government will not give any consideration to Indian claims for water except they are in full conformity with the provisions of that Act, to which provisions there has always been a string attached, in the way of having Orders-in-Council passed, or as is now the case, the consent of the minister. Old allotments made by the Indian Reserve Commissioners have been ignored entirely.¹¹³

Two examples of many from the Okanagan illustrate the problems that Indians faced in obtaining security of access to water. Paul Terrabasket attempted, in 1911, to obtain a water record to irrigate land which he and his father before him had cultivated for decades. Terrabasket had 50 acres under cultivation, including a fine orchard on Reserve #6, Lower Similkameen, but he had no water record. His 1911 application

was refused. Instead, the Board of Investigation confirmed the water record held by the Similkameen Fruitlands Company, successor to the title of land and water record once owned by Manuel Barcelo, a pioneer rancher. The Similkameen Fruitlands Company's title was conditional upon them putting the water to beneficial use by 1916, which they failed to do. Five years after the expiry of this term the company applied for and secured an extension until November 1922. When the company finally began to use Barcello's ditch, after decades of non-use, it attempted to prevent Terrabasket from using water which he had used all of his life and upon which his orchard depended. It obtained a restraining order from the Supreme Court, which Terrabasket ignored to save his crops, whereupon he was committed to jail. Terrabasket lost his historic rights to water in an obvious miscarriage of justice.¹¹⁴

In a second case, Antoine Pierre of Penticton cultivated and irrigated a small orchard and crops from Trout Creek which passed by his house. He held a water record on Trout Creek for one hundred inches of water but the Municipality of Summerland blocked and diverted the creek above his intake leaving none for him, and consequently his trees withered and died. The municipality built dams upstream for storage and he could have piped water over four miles from this source but only at great personal expense, more than his orchard would bear. Pierre was unable to obtain redress.¹¹⁵

Difficulties in obtaining records and insecurity of tenure were difficult enough to discourage not only Paul Terrabasket and Antoine Pierre but anyone else considering developing an orchard which was dependent upon a secure water supply.¹¹⁶ Yet, insecurity of tenure of land and water were not the only factors preventing Indians from becoming commercial farmers. Intensive agriculture in the dry belt required large-scale irrigation projects with a large capital outlay. To develop these projects or to buy improved land was expensive. Few second-generation white farmers established themselves as orchardists, leaving the field to "men of means" from outside the Valley. Certainly Indians who operated largely on a subsistence basis could not raise large amounts of capital.

Other factors which discouraged Indians were the readily apparent marketing difficulties faced by their white neighbours, an unfamiliarity with the export market, and a conflict between harvesting fruit and traditional activities especially during September and October.

Factors which did not affect the Indians' unwillingness to engage in intensive agriculture were an unfamiliarity with agriculture and a lack of flexibility or desire to improve their security or incomes. Okanagan Indians had been food gatherers and they moved easily into horticulture and even became commercial wheat farmers when the opportunity arose. They were keenly aware of the productive capabilities inherent in horticulture and they had no cultural barriers to the adoption of farming. Throughout their history Okanagan people proved themselves able to apply new technology, adopt new methods of production and produce new goods. One must look primarily to resource tenure insecurity and legal disabilities rather than cultural preferences or "laziness" to explain the fact that they did not engage in commercial agriculture.

Okanagan Indian people abandoned wheat production, as their white neighbours did, and fell back on small-scale livestock operations, subsistence agriculture, seasonal hunting and fishing and casual labour for their livelihood. They managed, through great effort, to maintain a reasonable existence, to live in comfortable homes of their own construction, to eat well and to buy a few necessities. But they were doomed to poverty, to providing unskilled labour for their more advantaged neighbours.

Retaining a focus on the two major racial groups while examining the history of agriculture provides a basis to compare the conditions under which the two groups operated and to enquire into the reasons for disparities between the two communities. This examination makes apparent that the major factors determining the economic performance of the two groups were the differences in amount of resources, land and water, which they were able to own and the conditions of their tenure. One cannot help but grieve for what might have been in the agricultural sector, the Okanagan's dominant industry.

Chapter VI: CONCLUSION

This study has focussed on the two major cultural groups in the Okanagan, the Indian and white communities. Throughout the paper the two groups have been juxtaposed to examine their respective experiences with external agents and to observe their attempts to earn a livelihood in various industries. Clearly, the experiences of the two groups are different. Though neighbours, they lived in different political, judicial, educational, economic and religious environments. At the end of the period under study the two communities were as separate and distinct as they had been in the beginning, in fact, the social distance between the two cultures had widened. In essence, there are two histories of the Okanagan within this study: one of the white and one of the Indian community. Each can be summarized briefly.

Whites initially entered the Valley as miners and that industry remained nearly exclusive to non-Indians, the whites and Chinese. The industry underwent three distinct metamorphoses as it changed from one mode of production to another. The initial gold rush of 1858 to 1862 was characterized by high-grading of placer deposits; the employment of a young, mobile, racially heterogeneous and almost exclusively male work force; a nearly complete dependency on high-cost outside sources of provisions; a technology simple enough that it could generally be constructed on the spot by the use of axe and whipsaw; and a set of regulations set by camp meetings as modified by the British colonial authorities. The nearly complete dependency on outside supplies made provision of transportation facilities necessary and the colonial government made a concerted effort to provide them. The second mining method exploited less rich placer resources in conjunction with subsistence agriculture. Technology may have been simple, as in the case of the McDougall family operation, or somewhat more capital intensive, as with the hydraulic operations at Rock Creek or the extensive tunnelling at Cherry Creek. The mining population was nearly independent of the coast or the United States for supplies and transport facilities were therefore not a necessary factor for

production. The third distinct mining method involved the hard rock mines located mainly in the South Okanagan at Camp McKinny, Fairview and Hedley, as well as in the adjacent Boundary and Columbia regions. These capital intensive ventures used heavy mining, transport and milling equipment in fairly large-scale developments which relied on rail transport for shipment of equipment from eastern North America. Mining involved exploiting ore found in quartz deposits that was released by the use of extensive capital and large numbers of miners who worked as wage labourers. Only when quartz mining began in the South Okanagan and Boundary did the mining sector provide a significant commercial market for Okanagan agricultural products.

Two distinct methods developed in the livestock industry: the open range and ranch operations. White ranchers at the Mission and to a lesser extent at Keremeos were unable, for a variety of reasons, to assert property rights to Crown lands despite a land regime which allowed it. Elsewhere, livestock operations were based upon privately owned land or land to which private property rights could be asserted. These different operations were characterized by different capital, land, and labour requirements. They operated on different scales, and had different profitability levels. As the structure of the industry changed after the railway era, the owners of the two types of operations responded differently. The marginal producers of the Mission sold their lands or were absorbed, while the large landowners enlarged and consolidated their holdings and diversified their operations. Thus cattle ranching moved from a less capitalized, more communal enterprise, to a more capitalized, private land-owning industry dominated by a few oligopolistic actors. Despite this consolidation, the ranching industry gave way to commercial agriculture at the turn of the century.

The horticultural industry originated concurrently with the early mining ventures. Indeed, subsistence agriculture, combined with small-scale mining, marginal stockraising and other activities, characterized most farming ventures in the pre-railway era, especially in the Mission Valley. Commercial

agriculture awaited access to significant external markets, a condition provided by the construction of the mainline CPR. Commercial agriculture took hold first in the Spallumcheen, connected by steamer to the railroad, then at the head of the lake and the Mission Valley, and finally at many points along the lake. The railway and the associated lake boats were necessary but not sufficient factors in causing the widespread conversion to commercial horticulture. Fruit farming remained experimental until the profitability of stockraising passed, until large amounts of capital became available for land assembly and irrigation projects and until willing, moneyed buyers from England or the Northwest were attracted to the region. Only after the turn of the century were these conditions fulfilled.

The increasing importance of capital appears as a significant factor in the development of the Okanagan economy. Initially, locally constructed flumes, pumps, and sluice boxes supplied the placer mining industry's capital requirements almost entirely. The mining industry had little need of outside capital until the late 1880s when the hardrock mines opened in the South Okanagan. Agriculture in both its horticultural and livestock branches did not require or use extensive capital in the pre-railway era. Most farmers cleared land and built fences, barns, granaries and irrigation works with their own labour, or in co-operation with neighbours. Successful livestock producers began operations with some capital, enough to invest in a small foundation herd, but there is little evidence that success required access to extensive outside capital. Those receiving remittances, such as Houghton and the Vernons, appear to have used much of it for consumption purposes. Certainly, some of the successful ranchers like Greenhow, O'Keefe, Lequime and Wood had the time to build their herds by natural increase before they paid for their land and decided to diversify. They accumulated capital by increasing the value of their herds through the free use of public lands. Prior to the appearance of the railway none of the dominant industries required much capital. Thus, except for the Provincial Government's road building and maintenance programs

little outside capital flowed into the Okanagan.

Railway building projects of the eighties and nineties represented the major infusion of capital into the economy of the interior. The CPR mainline was extended and complemented by the building of the Shuswap and Okanagan Railway, made possible by the initiative and capital of local ranchers and coastal businessmen and the financial assistance of both the Provincial and Dominion Governments. Shortly thereafter CPR boats began competing with locally owned lake boats, extending the area serviced by rail to the foot of Okanagan Lake. Extensive road building projects from Penticton to Fairview, McKinney and Hedley extended the transportation infrastructure even further. The infusion of transportation capital lured considerable amounts of other capital into the Valley in its wake.

In the post-railway era, outside capital loomed large in the mining and agricultural sectors. The hardrock mines in the South Okanagan could not have been developed without the railway infrastructure and extensive investment in the industry itself. Hardrock mining depended on drilling equipment, hoists, stamp mills for crushing the ore, and concentrating equipment. Capital for these ventures was raised by joint stock companies located locally, in Eastern Canada, England and the United States. Financiers and specialized mining and mechanical engineers organized these complex mining operations and the mines employed hundreds of wage labourers, both skilled and unskilled, in their mine and mill operations. Except in the service industries and in prospecting, mining left little room for self-employed individuals or small operators. Prospectors, of course, lived with the dream of making a fortune by locating a mine and selling it to a large company.

In agriculture, too, capital became more important. Beginning with the railway construction era, the livestock industry restructured with a few large concerns such as the BC Cattle Company, the Douglas Lake Cattle Company and the Western Canada Ranching Company achieving dominance. Possessing large landholdings they integrated vertically by purchasing retail outlets at major coastal urban centres. The emergence of these integrated companies changed the nature of the industry. The

dominant position of a few large ranchers placed all other participants in the sector in a subordinate position. Ranchers who attempted to market independently were crushed, and independents soon became dependent upon one or another of the oligopoly. By 1905 a combination of declining product prices and rising land prices and operating costs forced the medium-sized ranchers out of business. Some turned to the production of specialty products, such as spring beef, or they provided inputs, such as hay or labour, for the large producers like the Douglas Lake Cattle Company. The livestock industry in the 1890s was characterized by the increased importance of capital and the progressive elimination of small, independent ranchers who were forced to provide wage or contract labour.

In the horticultural branch capital also began to play a significant role in the local economy. As late as 1890 most farmers operated farms which had been built by their own labour. With the entry of the railway a flood of English "bloods" with access to family money entered the Valley to buy up some of the early ranches at enhanced prices. Lord Aberdeen bought at Coldstream and at the Mission and immediately employed a small army of men to remake the ranches from cattle operations into diversified commercial operations. He engaged in extensive irrigation projects and subdivided part of the Coldstream Estate, attracting British investors with considerable capital to buy the expensive land and bring it into production. The Barclay family acquired land near Trout Creek to ranch and to train young British gentlemen in ranching skills. Others such as the Rose brothers bought land in the Mission and experimented with various crops. After 1903, vast amounts of capital were expended to purchase large acreages and to build extensive irrigation systems. The subdivided lands sold at high prices because of the initial high cost of land, the expense of servicing the land, and because there were high expectations for the industry and a steady flow of willing buyers. The influx of persons with capital raised the price of farmland throughout the Valley to the point where only men of means could acquire it. These small capitalists moved to the Okanagan and provided a whole new class of independent commercial farmers, densely

settled on acreages of five to fifty acres.

The agriculture and mining sectors in the Okanagan, like other industries in the western world, faced a restructuring at the turn of the century which gave considerable importance to capital. To the degree that this capital was raised outside of the region, control of the economy passed from local small-scale operators to moneyed groups in England, Eastern Canada, the United States and the coast. In mining and ranching more and more people were reduced to wage or contract labour, although commercial farming attracted men of means who moved to the Okanagan to live on their investment and form a large middle class.

The importance of capital facilitated the economic dominance of the area by metropolitan interests. Supplementing this economic control was the political power of the upper class English exercised by virtue of their dominance in Victoria. Immigrants of the "right sort" had been attracted to British Columbia since the colony was established as a direct result of Imperial Government policy. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton had written to Douglas:

I consider it of great importance to the general social welfare and dignity of the colony that gentlemen should be encouraged to come from this Kingdom, not as mere adventurers seeking employment, but in the hope of obtaining professional occupations for which they are calculated, such for instance, as stipendiary magistrates, or Gold Commissioners.¹

Educated English or Anglo-Irish gentlemen nearly monopolized the positions as civil servants. Once in the colony these individuals could count on a degree of assistance from the government in the form of road building contracts and military grants of land. The most outstanding example of this favouritism was the establishment of a land regime which eliminated Indians as competitors for land and allowed individuals with access to some capital to obtain a virtual monopoly on vast acreages of Crown land by virtue of their ownership of a small amount of strategically-placed land. In Ireland the position of the landed families depended upon the continued dispossession of Irish Catholics. The dispossession

of the illiterate Catholic Indians and their relegation to the periphery the Anglo-Irish saw as a completely necessary and natural accomplishment. F. G. Vernon was stating a fact, not making a criticism, when he confided in G. M. Sproat that Provincial Government policy had always been based on the assumption that Indians had no rights to land.

The governments of British Columbia and Canada provided a stable socio-political environment for community building. The judicial system was regarded as being fair and above politics. The educational system was permissive, providing a rudimentary education in government schools for those who could not afford a private education. Government public works were sufficient to allow a steady economic growth of the region by developing access to inaccessible areas. Government enacted regulations to protect fish and game for recreational sportsmen when those resources appeared endangered. Government was broadly responsive to the needs of the white community and within this stable environment a modern society emerged. Newly established urban communities became centres of education, business and culture. The society of the Okanagan was integrated into the larger society of British Columbia, Canada and the Empire and like those areas was characterized by improved communications, marketing ties with external markets, and rapid economic change.

Indian society developed differently from that of the white settler. Indians, the sole occupants of the Okanagan until 1811, formed a majority of the population of the region until about 1885 and remained an important minority thereafter. They participated in virtually every economic sector, provided most of the labour, consumed much of the goods, and incidentally paid much of the indirect taxes throughout most of the period under study.

The traditional hunting, fishing and gathering economy of the Okanagan Indians depended upon a particular floral and faunal resource base that they traditionally exploited by using an appropriate technology and the labour of virtually all adult members of the tribe. Modes of productions and distribution varied, depending upon the resource being exploited with at least two modes of production being apparent: the communal and

the family production systems. Storable staple faunal products such as salmon and venison, which were available seasonally and required considerable capital construction for production and processing, were produced under the direction of a headman and were distributed communally. Production of goods such as berries and roots, which was more labour intensive in the gathering and processing stages, was also regulated by the village headman, but the products remained in the hands of those who contributed the labour. Even with this private ownership mode of production the chief regulated access to resources and performed a redistribution function which assured an equitable distribution. As the situation demanded Indians turned to livestock production and subsistence farming activities which they co-ordinated with their traditional activities, and they engaged in wage labour on a seasonal basis. As they embraced other industries they hunted and gathered only in those seasons and for those products which were most productive.

The Indians' traditional economy competed with other industries for resources and labour. In the 1870s, cattle grazing destroyed the Indians root gathering grounds and fences reduced Indian mobility. The growing urban population regarded the products on which the traditional Indian economy depended as recreational resources. In the 1890s, in response to pressure from the growing European community, compliant governments moved to impose restrictions on Indian hunting and fishing. Closed seasons, prohibitions on the use of traditional technology and other legal restrictions gradually eliminated the availability of the resources. Sports hunters competed with Indian hunters for game, while commercial fishermen and obstructions on the Columbia reduced the availability of anadromous fish. The traditional sector therefore progressively lessened in importance.

Resource availability and legal restrictions on participants in the sector were only part of the reasons for the decline of the sector. Wage labour and subsistence agriculture drew various Indian people from the traditional means of obtaining a livelihood. As Indian people engaged in different sectors they adopted different social relations of production

incompatible with the traditional modes of production. In the 1870s and 1880s changed residence patterns, industrial labouring activities and the teachings of missionaries who disliked the nomadic native lifestyle contributed to the reduced importance of the Indians' traditional economy. In the hunting and gathering economy's demise one can detect the effects of virtually every other sector.

Indians had participated in the livestock industry for three or four generations before being joined by white immigrants. When white settlers began to ranch the government imposed a new land-holding regime based on the concept of private property. Indian reserves were reduced and the laws altered to deny them access to land outside the reserves while allowing white settlers unlimited rights to purchase strategic lands. Because the total land on each of the major reserves was about what was required for one viable stock ranch, it was soon impossible for Indians to compete with white ranchers unless one Indian denied all others in the band access to land. At best, Indians had enough land to be marginal stockraisers. As well they were unable to attain property rights which would have allowed them to make efficient use of their limited resources, for example, by stall-feeding cattle. The holdings were suitable only for subsistence agriculture, which they practised with considerable success and which raised their standard of living by eliminating famine. As well as farming their limited land, the Indians worked as wage-earning cowhands, haying and harvesting labourers, and as packers, guides, teamsters and herders. They usually worked on the basis of casual labour and invariably at wage rates lower than those paid to whites for similar employment. Denied the use of sufficient land and unable to own land privately, Indians became poorly paid labourers serving their more powerful white neighbours.

Legislation which denied Indians equal access to resources was only one aspect of their problem. Excluded from the franchise, they also lacked political power. Political pressure exerted by white settlers caused Provincial Governments periodically to demand a reduction of Indian reserves, to deny them land already granted, to insist on reversionary rights, and

to deny them use of commonages. Without political rights Indians became second class citizens, wards of the state who legislators could treat with impunity or, to satisfy their more bigotted constituents, with hostility. They influenced only the distant Department of Indian Affairs, which was but one department of the Dominion Government. It could not necessarily hold its own against other federal departments such as fisheries or justice and certainly could not make progress against a determined and entrenched Provincial Government. In addition, the DIA acted contrary to Indian needs; it ignored Indian demands and local officials flagrantly abused their authority.

The experience of the Indians with governments was almost completely negative. Virtually the only whites in the political sector who treated Okanagan Indians with consideration were G. W. Cox (1860-1861), who acted on behalf of Douglas but whose decisions were reversed within five years; G. M. Sproat (1877-1881) and fellow members of the Indian Reserve Commission, whose decisions were reduced and evaded on a substantial scale; and Indian Agent J. W. MacKay (1884-1891), who understood and genuinely attempted to assist Indians. Virtually all other officials were corrupt, incompetent, hostile or indifferent. The experience of Indian people with politicians was quite consistently unfavourable, probably because politicians were not responsible to them through the franchise.

The evidence is equally damning regarding the judicial system. Indians were denied access to the protection of the courts and were left at the mercy of village councils dominated by priests or their clients -- church-appointed chiefs, captains and constables. In village courts arbitrary decisions based on church precept and chiefly whim were commonplace. No appeal was allowed. Indians could not obtain protection for their property or lives in civil or criminal courts because cases were not brought to trial or, if they were, Indian testimony was not sufficient to convict offenders. While denied effective access to the courts as plaintiffs, Indians nevertheless faced these courts as defendants whenever their actions affected white people. Worse, they found themselves charged under laws created specifically for natives. The system of enforcement employed

payment to police and informers based upon convictions. The system was abused by informers, police and the courts throughout the period under study and apparently long after.

By 1916 most Indian people could be classed as impoverished, illiterate, diseased and frequently landless. Whites attributed this poverty and evidence of despair to personal or cultural failings of the Indians themselves, describing them as lazy, ignorant, shiftless and unprogressive. It is apparent, however, that the condition was a result, not the cause, of Indian problems. Okanagan Indians descended into poverty relative to their white neighbours because they were discriminated against at every turn, by the courts, politicians and missionaries, the educational system, and the land tenure system.

What can be said about the nature of society which developed in the Okanagan in the years 1860 to 1920? Some of the questions which other authors have posed with regard to the Latin American experience can be addressed at this stage. Was government a neutral force, broadly representative of the population, which provided a set of rules by which an orderly, harmonious society developed on the basis of fairness and equality of opportunity? What was the nature of the justice system, of the land regime, of the educational system that gave shape to the developing community? How close do the modernization and dependency theorists come to explaining Okanagan development?

Modernization theorists have tended to identify two ideal types of communities and to focus on how one, the traditional society, was transformed to the other, the modern society. Modernization theorists also identify a process by which societies modernize; they move to higher levels of economic innovation, to commercialization and the cash economy, all of which increase social differentiation, leading to greater interdependence, a more equitable distribution of a rising national income, the spread of liberal-democratic institutions and social harmony. Modernization theory provides a reasonable explanation for the development within white society in the Okanagan. But one can only claim that Okanagan society

developed as modernization theorists suggest by ignoring the existence and condition of the Indian people. On several counts the modernization model clearly does not provide a good explanation for events in the Okanagan. Characterizing the traditional native society as irrational, inflexible, custom-bound or socially and politically static is fundamentally erroneous. Indians acted in a rational economic fashion, using technology and a set of social relations of production to exploit and process local resources efficiently, trade for those products not available locally, and adapt to periodic shortages and the introduction of new technologies. Far from being custom-bound or even committed to the hunting, fishing and gathering economy, Indians moved quickly to stockraising, subsistence agriculture or wage labour when it was in their best interest to do so. Indians showed considerable willingness and ability to participate in economic innovation, where possible, by purchasing improved breeds of livestock, by using the latest agricultural equipment and in a variety of other ways. This stands in even sharper relief when it is remembered that they were severely restricted by a discriminatory land regime, uncertain tenure, lack of political power, lack of protection from the courts and regulatory attacks on their traditional industry.

Historians of the dependency school focus on the world capitalist structure dominated by a metropolitan centre that controls the development of the peripheral areas and progressively impoverishes their population. The dependency school predicts the employment of indigenous peoples to produce raw materials for transfer to the metropolitan centre at unattractive terms of trade. In the Okanagan, in the formative years, two products were produced which were in demand in the outside world -- gold and cattle. What little gold was produced in the Okanagan entered circulation as currency and used neither capital nor marketing structures by which it could be bound to the metropolitan centre. Cattle were marketed within the province, the industry being conducted by independents until after 1890 and then increasingly by large ranchers. Only in the 1890s and in the twentieth century, when capital became more

significant, does metropolitan economic influence become important. By this time the Indians had already been dispossessed and dominated by white settlers. While direct metropolitan economic influence, marketing structures and capital flows may not have been instrumental in influencing Okanagan society, nevertheless another form of metropolitan influence, political power and an imposed legislative and judicial framework, strongly affected the directions that society took.

If the decline in the relative position of the Indian cannot be attributed to Indian cultural characteristics, to their inability or unwillingness to adapt to changed circumstances and if metropolitan economic influence came too late to explain the progressive deterioration of their position, what factors can be identified as causal agents? It is clear that the political and social system established by whites structured relationships to the constant disadvantage of Indian people. White settler-dominated Provincial and Dominion Governments imposed a legal regime and an institutional framework for the economy which relegated Indians to inferior positions in the economy. There was an underlying assumption of those in political power in the Okanagan and in British Columbia that Indians should be landless, should be available as casual labourers and should be allowed to shift for themselves as best they could in a properly restricted environment.³

Denying Indians land, preventing them from providing competition and ensuring the creation of a pool of cheap casual labour for the seasonal requirements of agriculture was profitable. Economic self-interest buttressed the racist attitudes that the politically powerful stockraisers carried from Ireland or elsewhere. It is necessary to appreciate this often unspoken but solidly entrenched racism in order to understand the development of Okanagan society.

Though others in authority, the missionaries, did not have the same values as the Anglo-Irish or English and often disagreed with them strenuously, they too contributed to the poor competitive position of the Indians by their attempt to create a theocratic state. Missionaries had no aspirations for

Indians to acquire large landholdings and, in fact, termed anything more than the amount necessary to engage in subsistence agriculture as extravagant. They tried to remain in authority, working through the chiefs to create a submissive, docile, dependent population isolated from the evils of the material world. While their motives may have been sincere, they helped make Indians dependent upon external authority and created a state within a state from which Indians had no means of exit.

The two communities which developed side by side in the Okanagan remained separate and distinct, in fact, the gap that existed between them widened perceptibly over the sixty years of close contact. From the beginning Indians' and whites' residence patterns were explicitly racial in nature. Throughout the period the missionaries and Indian agents attempted to restrict white access to Indian reserves by refusing whites other than themselves access to Indians on reserve lands. Royal Commissions cut off reserve lands, especially the small outlying reserves, forcing the relocation of Indian occupants and their consolidation at a few locations such as at the Head of Lake Reserve. Indians found themselves increasingly confined in smaller, less productive areas and were progressively denied access to off-reserve resources and opportunity.

Indians were also relegated to less important and poorly paid labouring functions. Whereas Indians had been valued helpmates to Spallumcheen farmers in the 1860s, by the 1890s the same farmer who was so positive about the value of Indian labour was hiring mostly white labour.⁴ Indians were hired only on a casual basis and were consistently paid about two-thirds the wages of their white counterparts. In the South Okanagan, where Haynes and Ellis nearly monopolized employment, Indians were paid by drafts on a local store rather than by cash.⁵

Sexual relations between the two communities best demonstrates the increasing social distance between the two cultural groups. In the 1860s, due partially to the sexual imbalance in the population, most of the married white males had chosen Indian wives. Many others, perhaps most others, men such as J. C. Haynes, C. O'Keefe, J. F. Allison and C. F. Houghton, had Indian concubines of a more or less permanent nature. While

these concubines were obviously sexually exploited and many were eventually rejected by their common-law husbands, it cannot be denied that Indian-white relations exhibited a degree of intimacy. But by the turn of the century Indian wives or concubines were no longer socially acceptable. White males who lived with Indian women were spoken of disparagingly as "squawmen" and Indian women as "klootchmen". The two communities were nearly completely segregated.

Explanations for why Okanagan society became more racist over time can be attempted. Although the political and social elite assumed a paternalistic manner with Indians, they were demonstrably racist from the beginning as is reflected in the legislation they passed. The bulk of the settlers who came to the Okanagan in the 1860s and took cheap land were from a different class than the elite. Most Okanagan residents in the pre-railway era were poor farmers whose standard of living, stock of tools and amusements did not differ markedly from their Indian fathers-in-law. However, in the post-railway era the Okanagan attracted a class of settler with capital whose accustomed standard of living was considerably higher than the Indians or the poor whites whom he displaced. The changing sexual balance in the community, the overwhelming immigration which swamped the Indians numerically, the increasing segregation brought on by urban living, and the widening gap in terms of income, education and health drew the two communities apart. Even the dictatorial DIA may have increased racist sentiment by demonstrating to the white community that the Indians were wards, second class citizens, who could not make decisions for themselves and with whom one could communicate only through an agency of government. Indians were not racist or exclusionist. They shared their country, shared their women and repeatedly spoke of brotherhood and mutual advancement. But the white community, drawn increasingly from the imperial metropolitan centre, was not interested in such concepts. The new immigrants drew a distinct colour line which was the basis for most of the discriminatory acts observed in this study.

The primary focus of this study has been on the significance of the dispossession of the land of the Indians and

the progressive deterioration of the economic and social position of Indian people relative to their white neighbours. This theme has been discussed by other historians of British Columbia, most notably by Robin Fisher. His findings are extended in a number of respects, partially because it covers the period after 1890, but also because it focusses closely on a specific community. The questions of cut-off lands and of aboriginal land claims are primarily concerns of the twentieth century as is the study of the economic progress of Indians and whites in various industries in the pre-World War I era.

Fisher's finding of massive cultural change in the settlement era is generally corroborated, but in the Okanagan at least, it is not clear that this change was unwelcome. Admittedly, Indians did face violence at the hands of miners, confiscation of land by settlers and considerable duplicity on the part of governments. But in the face of this, Indian leadership acted with moderation and responsibility and apparently appreciated and embraced the imported institutions. Indians valued the missionaries and submitted to a strict priest-sponsored village discipline; they wished to be judged "according to the laws"; they wanted their children to receive formal education, although not in a residential school; and they quickly adopted new products and agricultural techniques. Their problem was gaining access to the whiteman's institutions on an equitable basis. Fisher's concern that the diminishment of the Indian land base was destructive of their culture must be seen in the light of this evidence. Indian culture, based as it was upon a traditional economy and social organization, was inevitably assailed by Indians' desire to take advantage of new opportunity as well as by forced change. The real question was not whether their culture would suffer change but what direction that change would take. Indian access to resources would determine whether Indians became impoverished, marginal farmers and poorly paid casual labourers or independent and successful stockraisers, farmers and businessmen. Indians recognized what their options were; they repeatedly asked for more land so that they would not be impoverished.

In attempting to determine Indian economic and social

adaptation to developments in the adjacent white community, Indians have been observed as closely as possible. Indians themselves did not generate extensive written records but they were observed by various whites: missionaries, Indian commissioners, Indian agents, ethnographers, ranchers, surveyors and census-takers. By examining them from these various perspectives a multi-dimensional view of their activities has been possible. Individual family work-histories such as Rolf Knight provided in his study Indians at Work have regrettably not been possible except in isolated cases such as those of Paul Terrabasket and Antoine Pierre. Still, this study has approached a community of Indian people more closely than others have attempted. Following the lead of Arthur J. Ray, who limited his study of Indian adaptation to the fur trade, Indians have been treated as rational economic actors. The real economic disabilities which they faced explain their poor economic performance.

The theme of white settlement and Indian dispossession and marginalization has been examined within the framework of a comprehensive local history. Obviously, the distinguishing characteristic of the study is that Indians occupy a significant place, reflecting their numerical and economic importance during the settlement era. A second feature is the breadth and depth of the study. Numerous aspects of local history such as metropolitan influence, the judicial system, and the mining, stockraising and farming sectors have been subjected to a detailed analysis, more thorough than was necessary to develop the theme of Indian dispossession. Topics have been examined such as the relationship between political power and land ownership; the mining and agricultural industries; religious and civil authority; land tenure regimes and economic performance; and transportation, immigration and economic development. Local studies which attempt to integrate numerous aspects of community development are not yet a conspicuous feature of Canadian historiography. Comprehensive local studies, of which this is an example, are necessary to clarify the larger Canadian experience. It is a contribution to the re-writing of Canadian economic and social history.

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

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³R. Cole Harris, "Of Poverty and Helplessness in Petite-Nation," Canadian Historical Review (CHR) vol. 52, no. 1 (March 1971) : 23-50.

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⁸Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA), B97/a/1, Kamloops Journal, 1822-1823 (hereafter TRJ, 1822-1823), 25 February 1823 entry.

⁹The factor 3.3 is arrived at by using the population profile given by McDonald in 1827.

¹⁰HBCA, B97/c/1, 1827, Archibald McDonald, Kamloops Report, 1827.

¹¹Mission de la Congregation des OMI 47 (September 1874) : 334-335; Oblates of Marie Immaculate, Records of the Oblate Mission of British Columbia, Selected from the Oblate Historical Archives, St. Peter's Province, Holy Rosary Scholastic (hereafter OMI), microfilm, PAC, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 11 April 1875 and December 1877 with enclosure "Recensement fait en 1877."

¹²PABC, GR 492, box 2, file 53, Report to Provincial Secretary, G. M. Sproat and A. McKinlay, 6 February 1878; PAC, RG 10, vol. 3612, file 3756-16 and vol. 3817, file 88891, "Order calling for detailed information respecting Indian Reserves in BC."

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¹⁴Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for British Columbia, Report, vol. 3, "Okanagan Agency", pp. 696-723.

¹⁵A complete study of the effect of diseases on the Okanagan population must be conducted but there is no doubt that they suffered a substantial depopulation. See Thompson's River Post Journal, 1826-1827, Archibald McDonald, 15 February 1827 entry; HBCA, D 5/22, fos. 146-147, George Simpson Jr. to George Simpson, 19 April 1848; Ibid., D 5/21, fos. 559-560, Tod to Simpson, 21 March 1848.

¹⁶See for example, HBCA, D 5/7, 1842, fos. 346-348, Manson to Simpson, 6 December 1841.

17Ibid., D 5/21, 1848, fos. 559-560, Tod to Simpson, 21 March 1848.

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24The fur trade sector has not been considered in this study. The reasons for not including the fur trade are that it falls outside of the period under study, 1858-1912, because it was not a significant Okanagan industry, and because it is not necessary to an understanding of the developing Okanagan economy. For a discussion of fur trade transportation see Mary Cullen, "Inland Transportation in the Columbia Department: Outfitting New Caledonia, 1821-1858," paper presented at the Third North American Fur Trade Conference, Winnipeg, Man., 5 May 1978."

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27George H. Morkill, "The Shuswap and Okanagan Railway Company," OHS 3 (1929): 10-12; "Shuswap and Okanagan Railway," OHS 4 (1930): 15-17.

28A. A. Allison-McCairmid, Letters and Reflections from the Life and Times of John Fall Allison (hereafter Allison letters), (Princeton, BC: Allison-McDairmid, 1977), 6 October 1860.

29PABC, BC, Colonial Correspondence, Cox Papers (hereafter Cox Papers), F 375-19, Return of the Pre-empted Lands recorded with William George Cox, Esq., Magistrate, Rock Creek, in Cox to Young, 14 April 1861. They included four parcels of land, each 160 acres in extent near to the town of Rock Creek.

30Father Richard, OMI, located 160 acres on 28 November 1860 and he was followed by two settlers, Cyprian Laurence on 15 December 1860 and Gideon Pion who wrote to take 160 acres by pre-emption and an additional 240 acres by purchase. As well, Cox himself and Constable J. C. Haynes took 160 acres on speculation.

31PABC, GR 857, Rock Creek Land Records.

32PABC, GR 234, Cox to Colonial Secretary, 24 August 1862.

33Colonial Secretary, 1863-1864, Young to Haynes, 12 December 1863.

34OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 1 January 1865.

35PABC, Guide to British Columbia, 1877-1878.

36Census 1881.

37Census Canada 1941.

38PABC, British Columbia Lands Branch, Correspondence Outward, 1872-1918 (hereafter Lands Correspondence), GR 1440, 486/85, Lambly to Smithe, 13 February 1885.

39C. W. Holliday, The Valley of Youth (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1948), p. 168.

40See R. D. Kerr, "Priest's Valley Early Days," OHS 6 (1935) : 278-284; Mrs. William (Marie Houghton) Brent, "Priest's Valley School," OHS 17 (1953) : 112-114; PABC, Lands Correspondence, I206/85, F. G. Vernon to Gore, 16 May 1885.

41Holliday, pp. 173-179.

42Ibid., pp. 217-223.

43Ibid., pp. 181-182.

MISSIONARIES

1They were not the first priests to proselytize the Okanagan Indians. Fathers Nobili and Demers had both visited the Okanagan briefly but had not established any permanent presence. See a biographical letter regarding John Nobili in OMI, reel 705, pp. 1368-1375, P. S. de Smet, Western Missions and Missionaries in the United States.

2Margaret Whitehead, The Cariboo Mission. A History of the Oblates (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1981).

3Other Oblates in the party were Eugene Casimer Chirouse, George Blanchet, Pascal Ricard and Celestin Vernay.

4Gaston Carriere, "The Yakima War: The Oblates Falsely Accused," Vie Oblate - Oblate Life (June 1975) : 147-173 and (December 1975) : 261-294.

5Whitehead, p. 20.

6Ibid.

7Ibid., p. 22.

8OMI, reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 15 October 1859.

9PABC, Cox Papers, F375-19, "Return of Pre-empted Land Recorded with William George Cox, Esq., Magistrate, Rock Creek," enclosure in Cox to Young, 14 April 1861. Other pre-emptors were Cyprian Laurence, J. C. Haynes and Gideon Pion.

10OMI, reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 30 November 1860.

11A minot is an old measure of 39 litres or 8.58 gallons. As a bushel equals 8 gallons, a minot is only slightly larger than a bushel.

12OMI, reel, 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 15 April 1860.

13Georgina Maisonneville, "Reverend Father Pierre Richard, OMI, 1826-1907," OHS 13 (1949) : 83-89.

14OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 1 January 1865.

15OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 24 August 1874 and reprinted in Mission de la Congregation des OMI 47 (September 1874) : 334-335.

16OMI, reel 709, d'Herbomez to Pandosy, 11 October 1868.

17Ibid., Richard to d'Herbomez, 15 November 1880.

18Ibid., Pandosy to d'Herbomez, 5 August 1868.

19Whitehead, p. 12.

20See, for example, OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 10 December 1865.

21Ibid., 11 September 1865; 10 March 1865; and reel 705, Chiappini to d'Herbomez, 3 November 1881.

22OMI, reel 706, Gendre to d'Herbomez, January 1868.

23Archives Deschatelets, HKP, 5282 H53Z148, Durieu to d'Herbomez, 1 June 1869.

24Baudre made a trip to Hope as early as 20 June 1869. Richard left for his second trip of the year as late as mid-September in 1865.

25OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 27 December 1866. See also 10 December 1865 and 19 February 1866.

26OMI, reel 706, Gendre to d'Herbomez, 5 December 1868.

27Ibid., Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 19 November 1874 and January 1875.

28OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 27 April 1865. See also 2 June 1865.

29For example, see Buckland, Ogopogo's Vigil, p. 27.

30Archives Deschatelets, HPK, 5102 B86C2.

31OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 11 August 1876 and reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 10 August 1878.

32OMI, reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez, December 1860.

33For one of many examples see OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 20 October 1876.

34OMI, reel 712, Bishop E. N. Bunoz, "Catholic Action and the Durieu System, 1941."

35For example, OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 28 June 1873, 26 September 1873 and 28 December 1873.

36Ibid., Gendre to d'Herbomez, 25 March 1867.

37Ibid., 17 February 1874 and 27 February 1875.

38Bunoz, "Catholic Action."

39OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 29 December 1871.

40OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 10 December 1865.

41OMI, reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 31 March 1879.

42For example, OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 24 August 1874 and 24 January 1876.

43OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 10 September 1876. See also reel 508, McGuckin to d'Herbomez, 10 November 1873.

44OMI, reel 706, Gendre to d'Herbomez, 14 October 1867.

45Ibid., 31 December 1866 and 26 May 1867.

46OMI, reel 705, Chiappini to d'Herbomez, 28 March 1882.

47Ibid., Baudre to d'Herbomez, 29 December 1871.

48Bunoz, "Catholic Action," p. 4.

49OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 18 April 1866 and reel 706, Gendre to d'Herbomez, February 1867.

50OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 28 January 1875.

51Whitehead, p. 12.

52Margaret Whitehead, Now You are My Brother: Missionaries in British Columbia, Sound Heritage Series 34 (Victoria: Provincial Archives of BC (PABC), 1981), p. 36.

53OMI, reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez, 26 May 1867.

54OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 28 January 1875.

55Ibid., February 1874.

56OMI, reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez, 27 August 1877 and 5 November 1877.

57OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 24 January 1876.

58OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 3 October 1874.

59OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 24 January 1876.

60OMI, reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez, 1 December 1874.

61OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 19 February 1866.

62Ibid., 18 April 1866.

63OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 9 December 1872.

64Ibid., 24 January 1876.

65Ibid., 20 October 1876, 28 October 1876.

66Teit, "Salish Ethnographic Notes."

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

1Ormsby, British Columbia, p. 151.

2Colonial Secretary, 1861-1862, Young to Cox, 27 September 1861.

3Ibid.

4PABC, GR 252, vol. 5, series of letters, Lowe to Bushby, 1871 and 1872.

5Edgar Dewdney: SGIA 1888-1892, Minister of the Interior 1891-1892; Hewitt Bostock: Liberal leader in the Senate 1914-1928; Martin Burrell: Minister of Agriculture 1911-1917, Minister of Customs and Inland Revenue 1919-1920. Canadian Directory of Parliament, 1867-1967, ed. J. K. Johnson (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada (PAC), 1968).

6Hilda Cochrane, "Charles A. Vernon and Forbes G. Vernon," OHS 31 (1967) : 152-154.

7Myrna Debeck, "Price Ellison," OHS 12 (1948) : 48-58; and Ormsby, British Columbia, p. 386.

8Thomas, pp. 102-107.

9Robert E. Cail, Land, Man and the Law: The Disposal of Crown Lands in British Columbia, 1871-1913 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1974), pp. 19-35.

10Statutes of the Province of BC, no. 2, 1872.

11Vernon News, 6 November 1891.

- 12Denison Papers, Mair to Denison, 27 May 1893.
- 13PABC, BC, Lands Department, Letters Inward (hereafter Lands Department), 1883-1885, GR 1055, file 1697, Thomas Ellis to CCLW. See also file 1249/85, Tronson to CCLW.
- 14PAC, RG 10, vol. 3670, file 10,769, Sproat to SGIA, 26 November 1878; Sproat to Vankoughnet, 9 April 1879.
- 15Teit, pp. 262-263.
- 16Ibid., p. 263.
- 17The Sinkaieth or Southern Okanagan of Washington, ed. L. Spier, ~~Contributions from the Laboratory of Anthropology 2, General Series in Anthropology 6~~ (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing, 1938), p. 95.
- 18Teit, p. 262.
- 19Spier, p. 84.
- 20TRJ, 1822-1823, 25 February 1823 entry.
- 21Ibid., 10 August 1822 entry.
- 22Kamloops Museum, Thompson's River Journal, 1850-1852, Paul Fraser, Chief Trader (hereafter TRJ, 1850-1852), 28 December 1851 entry.
- 23OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 10 December 1865.
- 24PAC, RG 10, vol. 3673, file 11,356, Vernon to Lenihan, 14 January 1879; see also OMI, reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 31 March 1879.
- 25Ibid., vol. 4073, file 439,052, part 1, Alexander Chilliheetsa to Earle, 19 November 1921.
- 26Ibid., vol. 3944, file 121,698-54.
- 27Ibid., McLean to Vowell, 28 December 1909; McLean to MacDonald, 31 March 1911.
- 28Ibid., file 121,698-53, Pedley to Vowell, 9 May 1905.
- 29Ibid., file 121,698-54, McLean to Gahan, 28 May 1910.
- 30Vernon News, 28 February 1895, 20 August and 3 September 1896, 2 December 1897, 24 February, 14 and 21 April 1898.
- 31PAC, RG 10, vol 3944, file 12,698-54, Secretary of DIA to Vowell, 2 September 1909.
- 32Ibid., Petition from Shuswap, BC, to SGIA, 1904.
- 33Ibid., Irwin to Vowell, 13 December 1909.
- 34Ibid., Irwin to SGIA, 1 April 1910.
- 35Ibid., H. C. Ross to Deputy Minister of DIA, 19 April 1910; Secretary to Irwin, 4 May 1909.
- 36Ibid., McLean to Irwin, 10 February 1911.
- 37PABC, Correspondence Between J. H. Christie, Armstrong, BC and the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, in past twelve months (Armstrong, n.p., n.d.), (hereafter Christie correspondence), Christie to Roche, SGIA, 10 October 1916.
- 38Ibid., 24 August 1916.
- 39See charges laid by Bands in Ibid., pp. 24-29. A thorough examination of the political chicanery of Agents in manipulating chiefs and village councils is impossible at present because various files are still unavailable from the PAC.

40PABC, Christie, James Halbold, "Commentary on Order-in-Council," pp. 1-23; Penticton Museum, British Columbia Provincial Police, Correspondence Files (hereafter BCPP), no. 49, F. J. C. Ball letter, ca. 1919, microfilm; and PAC, RG 10, vol. 4073, file 439,052, part 1, Ball to Chilliheetsa, 21 January 1926; and Ibid., vol. 3944, file 121,698-54, McLean to MacDonald, 31 March 1911.

41See, for example, PAC, RG 10, vol. 4073, file 439,052, part 1, McLean to McIntyre, 2 March 1926, and Chilliheetsa to Scott, 5 December 1923.

42Ibid., vol. 3664, file 9916, Alex Campbell, Report on Indian Affairs in BC.

43Ibid., vol. 3669, file 10,696.

44Ibid., vol. 4020, file 280,470-3, p. 12.

45Ibid., vol. 3626, file 5680, Order in Council, 28 May 1910.

46Ibid., vol. 3822, file 59335-1, Scott to McKenna, 1 December 1916.

47Christie, p. 26; Sixteenth charge formulated, passed upon and approved at a meeting at Black Town, 28 December 1916.

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

1Cox Papers, F 374, Cox to Young, 23 October 1860.

2Ibid., GR 234, Cox to Young, 4 July 1861; PABC, Colonial Correspondence, GR 857, Sheriff's Book, Rock Creek (hereafter Sheriff's Book).

3Sheriff's Book.

4See Reuben Ware, "Silhitza's Position to Governor James Douglas, OHS 42 (1978) : 53-59 with references; Sheriff's Book; Cox Papers, F 376/, Cox to Young, 4 July 1861; and F 376/6, Cox to Young, 17 July 1861.

5Ware, p. 56.

6Reinhart, p. 147.

7For Haynes' various appointments see Colonial Secretary, 1861-1862, Young to Haynes, 20 February 1862; 1863-1864, Birch to Haynes, 13 June 1864. Haynes' duties as a JP were outlined explicitly in letters from the Colonial Secretary, Birch to Haynes, 30 June 1864, 9 July 1864; 1864-1866, Birch to Haynes, 29 October 1864, 20 July 1866; 1867-1870, Hankin to Haynes, 28 July 1870.

8PABC, GR 252, vol. 5, series of letters, Lowe to Bushby, 1871 and 1872.

9David R. Williams, The Man for a New Country (Sidney: Gray's, 1977).

10Lands Branch, 1872-1918, file 2728/85, F. G. Vernon, C. Hozier, R. L. Anderson to CCLW, 26 October 1885.

11Ibid., file 3104/85, Dewdney to CCLW, 28 November 1885.

12Ibid., file 3223/85, Dewdney to CCLW, 17 December 1885.

13Ibid., file 3105/85, Dewdney to CCLW, 5 December 1885; PABC, GR 55, vol. 2, Thomas Wood, JP, to Hussy, three letters March-April 1892.

14OMI, reel 706, Gendre to d'Herbomez, 19 June 1867.

- 15Ibid., reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez, 1 December 1874.
- 16Vernon News, 2 June 1904.
- 17PAC, RG 10, vol. 3780, file 39675, part 1, Orders in Council, 12 March 1888 and 11 December 1890.
- 18Ibid., file 39675-1, part 1, Ditchburn to Secretary, DIA, 6 January 1911.
- 19Vernon News, 24 May 1900.
- 20PABC, BC, Provincial Police (hereafter Provincial Police), GR 56, vol. 9, file 14, Aston to Dinsmore, Fairview, 2 July 1911.
- 21Penticton Herald, 19 November 1910.
- 22Provincial Police, GR 56, vol. 9, file 13, Bunbury to Aston, Greenwood, 29 November 1910.
- 23Williams, p. 109.
- 24Ibid., p. 22.
- 25Provincial Police, GR 429, Box 1, file 12, Fulton to Attorney-General, 22 June 1892.
- 26PABC, GR 252, vol. 5, Lowe to Bushby, 29 August 1871 and 14 November 1871.
- 27OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 24 December 1876.
- 28Ibid., Gendre to d'Herbomez, 5 December 1868.
- 29Ibid., reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez, 27 May 1876.
- 30Fortune, pp. 8-9.
- 31Provincial Police, GR 429, Box 6, file 3, Morris to F. G. Vernon, 3 November 1900.
- 32Provincial Police, GR 429, Box 7, file 1, 1795/01.
- 33Vernon News, 24 May 1900, 3 December 1903.
- 34Provincial Police, GR 56, vol. 9, file 13, Bunbury to Aston, Greenwood, 29 November 1910.
- 35Ibid., Bunbury to Hussey, 6 December 1910.
- 36Ibid., file 14, Aston to Chief Constable Dinsmore, Fairview, 2 July 1911.
- 37Provincial Police, GR 429, Box 17, file 1, 3826/06, Vowell to Attorney-General.
- 38OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, November 1867.
- 39Ibid., Gendre to d'Herbomez, 6 April 1867.
- 40Ibid., Gendre to d'Herbomez, 26 May 1867.
- 41Ibid., 26 May 1867.
- 42Ibid., 19 June 1867.
- 43Ibid., Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 17 December 1874.
- 44Ibid., reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez, 21 August 1867.
- 45Houghton knew that no English law had been broken and so he attempted to have the youth convicted in the much stricter Indian court which had expressed an opinion against woman stealing.

- 46OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 9 April 1873.
- 47Ibid., reel 708, McGuckin to d'Herbomez, 10 November 1873.
- 48PABC, Begbie Papers, Correspondence Outward (hereafter Begbie Papers), Begbie to Colonial Secretary, 23 January 1867.
- 49Begbie Papers, Memorandum, 10 October 1873, cited in Williams, p. 107.
- 50OMI, reel 708, McGuckin to d'Herbomez, 10 November 1873.
- 51Ibid, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 17 February 1874.
- 52Ibid., reel 708, McGuckin to d'Herbomez, 10 November 1873.
- 53PAC, RG 10, vol. 3604, file 2521, Drake to Powell, 11 November 1873.
- 54Ibid., file 2685, Powell to Meredith, 25 May 1874.
- 55OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 16 June 1876. After receiving the submission from Grandidier, Begbie sent a package entitled "Indian Chieftain Magisterial Jurisdictional Documents" to Ottawa via Colonel Littleton urging authorities to give jurisdiction to chiefs over matters internal to the bands. Begbie Papers, Begbie to Powell, 11 September 1876; OMI, reel 709, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 10 September 1876.
- 56Ibid., 29 September 1876.
- 57PAC, RG 10, vol. 3604, file 2521, Drake to Powell, 11 November 1873.
- 58PAC, RG 10, vol. 3617, file 4606, Powell to Department of Interior, 20 February 1875, with enclosures.
- 59Ibid.
- 60See, for example, Victoria Daily Colonist, 21 September 1870, 25 April 1874, 14 July 1874.
- 61See Mainland Guardian, 25 January 1873.
- 62Provincial Police, GR 429, Box 2, file 5, F. B. Gregory to Attorney-General, 7 May 1892.
- 63Father Emile M. Buno, "Lettre au Annals," Missions de la Congregation des Oblats de Marie Immaculee 31 (1893): 129.
- 64Williams, p. 117.
- 65For a further discussion of Begbie's attitudes toward Indians see PAC, RG 10, vol. 3657, file 9193, Sproat to SGIA, 9 January 1878.
- 66Colonial Secretary, 1864-1866, Ball to Sanders, 26 September 1866.
- 67OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 28 December 1874; also 14 November 1873.
- 68See, for example, Colonial Secretary, 1864-1866, Ball to Sanders, 26 September 1866.
- 69PAC, RG 10, vol. 3780, file 39675-1, part 1, John Smith, Indian Agent, to Constable Hilliber, Merritt, 24 April 1920.
- 70Ibid., file 39675, part 1, Orders in Council, 12 March 1888 and 11 December 1890.

71Ibid., file 39675-1, part 1, Agent Thomas Dease to Secretary, DIA, 12 November 1912.

72Ibid., Letter of appointment as Dominion constable, McLean to Rycherman, 27 November 1912.

73Ibid., Agent Loring to Secretary, DIA, 7 November 1912; Agent Perry to Secretary, DIA, 12 November 1912; McLean to Bowser, Attorney-General of BC, 29 November 1912; Attorney-General to McLean, 18 December 1912.

74Ibid., part 2, IRA to Roche, Minister of Interior, January 1913 and Roche to Tate, 24 December 1913.

75Ibid., part 1, Frank McGowan to Minister of Justice, 6 October 1898.

76PAC, RG 10, vol. 4020, file 280, fos. 470-473.

77PAC, RG 10, vol. 3780, file 39675-1, part 1, Pragnell to SGIA, 31 July 1933.

78Ibid., C. C. Perry to DIA, 15 August 1933.

EDUCATION

1Haynes Papers, Young to Haynes, 12 December 1863.

2OMI, reel 705, d'Herbomez to Buchman, 14 February 1865 and reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 27 April 1865.

3Three were children of McDougall, one of Lequime and one of Laurence. See also OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 19 December 1865.

4Ibid., 19 December 1865.

5David Dendy, "Schools at Okanagan Mission Before 1885," OHS 41 (1977) : 38-43; see also OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 3 November 1865.

6OMI, reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 18 March 1866.

7Ibid., reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 19 December 1865.

8Ibid., 27 December 1866.

9Ibid., reel 706, Gendre to d'Herbomez, 25 November 1867, 7 April 1868, 25 May 1868.

10Ibid., reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 3 June 1868.

11Ibid., reel 706, Gendre to d'Herbomez, 7 April 1868 and January 1868.

12Ibid., 12 November 1868; Richard to d'Herbomez, 3 November 1865.

13Ibid., Gendre to d'Herbomez, Fall 1867, November 1868, 12 November 1868, January 1868.

14Ibid., 12 November 1868.

15Ibid., reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 3 June 1868.

16Dendy, "Schools"; F. M. Buckland, "Okanagan School," OHS 17 (1953) : 95-97. See also Okanagan Mission Public School Minutes and Account Book, 1875-1909 (UBC Library, Howay Reid Collection); PABC, Correspondence of the Superintendent of Education and School Inspector's Diary, 1872-1877; and F. Henry Johnson, John Jessop: Gold Seeker and Educator (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1971).

- 17OMI, reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez, 25 June 1874.
- 18Cited in Dendy, "School", p. 42.
- 19OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 20 October 1876.
- 20Ibid., reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, file 6985-90 and 13 March 1882.
- 21Ibid., 13 March 1882.
- 22F. H. Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1964), pp. 44-45, 56.
- 23Brent, "Priest's Valley School," pp. 112-114.
- 24H. D. Pritchard and Clarence Fulton, "Story of the Vernon Schools," OHS 15 (1951) : 137-143.
- 25Hester White, "Governessess," OHS 23 (1959) : 47.
- 26Vernon News, 16 July 1896.
- 27Mair Papers, Mair to Denison, 5 December 1892.
- 28Vernon News, 16 July 1896.
- 29Ibid., 20 October 1892, 24 November 1892, 8 December 1892, 6 January 1893, 6 April 1893, 20 April 1893, 13 July 1893, 10 August 1893, 4 January 1894, 9 August 1894.
- 30Pupil registers and other Okanagan College materials are in the personal files of Duane Thomson.
- 31Hugh F. Mackie, "Private Schools in the Okanagan Valley," OHS 12 (1948) : 160-165. For an excellent study of private schooling in the Okanagan see Jean Barman, "The World that British Settlers Made: Class, Ethnicity, and Private Education in the Okanagan Valley," in British Columbia: Historical Readings, eds., W. Peter Ward and Robert A. J. McDonald (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981), pp. 600-626.
- 32Jessica Frances Harding, "Chesterfield School, Kelowna, BC," OHS 39 (1975) : 115-118.
- 33Mackie, p. 161.
- 34PABC, University School, Victoria, BC, "School list, Xmas, 1910" and "School list, Xmas 1911".
- 35See Barman, "Private Education," pp. 600-626.
- 36For a series of letters on this issue see PAC, RG 10, vol 3656, file 9059, especially Powell to SGIA, 15 April 1914.
- 37Grant Willis, "Second Lower Similkameen School," OHS 37 (1973) : 117-119.
- 38PAC, RG 10, vol. 3965, file 150,000-13, series of letters.
- 39OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 17 July 1876; Caron to d'Herbomez, September 1880.
- 40PAC, RG 10, vol. 3698, file 15,924, Sproat to SGIA, 3 September 1879.
- 41Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1880, p. 210.
- 42PAC, RG 10, vol. 3752, file 30614, Report on Schools, MacKay to Powell, 22 August 1886.
- 43Ibid., Lejeune to MacKay, 12 September 1886.

- 44 For correspondence see PAC, RG 10, vol. 3799, file 48,432-1.
- 45 Ibid., vol. 3753, file 30614, MacKay to Powell, 22 August 1886.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Fisher, Contact and Conflict, p. 124.
- 49 Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1896-1897, p. 288.
- 50 PAC, RG 10, vol. 3799, file 48,432-1, Vankoughnet to Dewdney, 18 June 1890.
- 51 Ibid., vol. 3964, file 149,874, "Kamloops School Attendance."
- 52 Ibid., vol. 3799, file 48,432-1, MacKay to Vowell, 14 January 1892; see also vol. 3694, file 14676, Bishop Sillitoe to Homer, MP, February 1885.
- 53 Ibid., vol. 3964, file 149,874, Morrow to Vowell, 16 December 1904.
- 54 Ibid., Schedule Showing Status of Pupils Discharged from Industrial Schools to 30 June 1897.
- 55 Ibid., vol. 3964, file 149,874, "Report of Inspection," W. J. Chisholm, Inspector of Indian Agencies.
- 56 Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1899-1900, p. xxix.
- 57 PAC, RG 10, vol. 3964, file 149,874; see also Carion to d'Herbomez, 13 September 1893.
- 58 Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1909-1910, p. 500.
- 59 PAC, RG 10, vol. 3656, file 9059, McDougall Report.
- 60 Ibid., vol. 4043, file 343,016, McDougall to McLean, 1910.
- 61 Ibid., Megraw to McLean, 4 April 1914. See also file 427,011, 4 March 1914.
- 62 The government grant to residential schools was \$130 per pupil per annum while the DIA paid \$12 per pupil to support missionary schools in the Northwest and a similar amount to the Penticton school board.
- 63 D. J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton and Canadian Indian Administration, 1896-1905," Prairie Forum 2 (1977) : 128.
- 64 Canada, House of Commons, Debates, 1904, col. 6946-56, 10 July 1904; quoted in Jean Barman, "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1918," paper presented at BC Studies Conference, Vancouver, BC, 6 February 1984, p. 35.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 J. J. Kennedy, "Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White Rites for the Indians of the Old Northwest," (MA thesis, Carleton University, 1970).
- 67 Jean Friesen, "Commentary on Jean Barman's 'All Hallows School' and Ken Coates' 'Betwixt and Between'," BC Studies Conference, Vancouver, BC, 6 February 1984, p. 2.

68For example see PAC, RG 10, vol. 3821, file 59,335, part 4A, Minutes of Meeting of Allied Tribes of BC, 7-9 August 1923; Ibid., vol. 3957, file 140,754-2. P. H. Byrne, MA, MD., The Story of a National Crime: An Appeal for Justice for the Indians of Canada; and Ibid., file 140,754-3, Hill to Wodehouse, 7 February 1928.

ACCESS TO LAND

1Douglas Sanders, "Native Claims in Canada: A Review of Law and Policy," paper presented, 1 February 1975; "Native People in Areas of Internal National Expansion: Indians and Inuit in Canada," paper presented to International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, Copenhagen, Denmark, 1973.

2David H. Chance, "Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colville District," Northwest Anthropological Research Notes, Memoir 2 (1973): 99.

3HBCA, D5/33, (1852)1, fos 448-450, Anderson to Simpson, 22 April 1852.

4Buckland, Ogopogo's Vigil, p. 29.

5PABC, Pre-emption Records, Osoyoos, August 1860-June 1861.

6Cox Papers, Young to Cox, 27 September 1861.

7Cail, p. 13.

8Cox Papers, Cox to Moody, 12 February 1861. BC Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question 1850-1875 (Victoria: Wolfenden, 1875) (hereafter Indian Land Question), p. 21.

9Indian Land Question, p. 19, Douglas to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 25 March 1861.

10Ibid., p. 16, Douglas to Lytton, 14 March 1859.

11Ibid., p. 18, Carnarvon to Douglas, 11 April 1859.

12See Colonial Secretary to CCLW, 5 March 1861 and 11 May 1861, in which he requested that his instructions be carried out to the letter.

13Indian Land Question, p. 21, Moody to Cox, 6 March 1861.

14Cox Papers, F 375, Cox to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 17 June 1861.

15It has been described by contemporary correspondents, Haynes, Sproat and Turnbull, as a Cox reserve and the Indians claimed it under his authority.

16BC, Columbia River Exploration, 1865 (New Westminster: Government Printing Office, 1866) (hereafter Turnbull's Journal), pp. 33-34.

17Cail, p. 302.

18Indian Land Question, p. 28, Young to CCLW, 11 May 1863.

19Turnbull's Journal, 17 January 1866; Indian Land Question, p. 35; see also Cox Papers, F 375, Cox to Douglas, 4 July 1861.

20Based on Cox's map the Head of Lake reserve comprised 42 square miles or nearly 27,000 acres. Excluding the mountainous tract would have left perhaps 8000 acres of cultivable soil within the reserve, including the 1000 acres described by Cox as "rich and tillable", presumably those lands laying immediately on the banks of various creeks. At Penticton all of the land

between the foot of Okanagan Lake and Dog Lake would have comprised nearly ten sections or six thousand acres of which perhaps three thousand acres were cultivable.

21Douglas to Powell, 14 October 1874, cited in Cail, p. 302.

22A ten square mile (6,400 acres) reservation was approximately the same size as a number of ranches such as the B X Ranch, which were soon to develop in the Okanagan, but it was smaller than the O'Keefe, Greenhow and Vernon ranches. The ten square mile reserve at Penticton was dwarfed by the Ellis ranch which eventually comprised nearly 40,000 acres.

23Indian Land Question, pp. 24-25, Young to Moody, 18 June and 2 July 1862.

24Haynes Papers, F 741, Haynes to CSO, 7 April 1865.

25PABC, Add MSS, Thomas Ellis Papers, Diary (hereafter Ellis Diary), 14 and 25 May 1865 entries.

26Haynes Papers, F 741, Haynes to CSO, 27 May 1865.

27Ibid., 22 July 1865; See also Colonial Secretary, 1864-1866, Good to Haynes, 10 August 1865.

28Turnbull's Journal, 15 and 26 November entries. See also Indian Land Question, pp. 35-36, Turnbull's Report, 17 January 1866. A copy was made available to the IRC who examined the area in 1877 and prepared a new map based on it. See copy in PAC, RG 10, vol. 3612, file 3756-13.

29Haynes to CSO, 28 November 1865 in Indian Land Question, p. 35.

30PAC, RG 10, vol. 3612, file 3756-13.

31Ibid., file 3756-22, Sproat to SGIA, 3 October 1877.

32OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 10 December 1865.

33PAC, RG 10, vol. 3659, file 9500, Journal of the IRC, 18 September 1877 entry.

34Ibid.

35PAC, RG 10, vol 3612, file 3756-18, Sproat to SGIA, 28 October 1878.

36Indian Land Question, p. 29, Nind to CSO, 17 July 1865; see also Fisher, Contact and Conflict p. 162.

37Douglas to Powell, 14 October 1874, cited in Cail, pp. 302-303.

38Fisher, p. 171.

39OMI, reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez, 26 June 1874.

40Cail, pp. 19-35.

41PAC, RG 10, vol. 3612, file 3756-18, Sproat to SGIA, 26 October 1878.

42OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 6 June 1876.

43Ibid., 3 August 1876.

44Ibid., reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez, 26 May 1874.

45Cited in Cail, p. 310.

46For a full discussion see Robin Fisher, "Joseph Trutch and Indian Land Policy," BC Studies 12 (Winter 1971-1972) : 3-33.

47PABC, O'Reilly Papers, Laird to Trutch, 8 July 1874.

48Indian Land Question, pp. 116-117, Powell to Lieutenant Governor, 21 June 1873 enclosing Order in Council, 21 March 1873.

49In 1871 Reverend Good from Lytton had warned of impending trouble in the Nicola between Chilliheetsa and settlers who were attempting to encroach on Okanagan reserves assigned by O'Reilly. See PABC, GR 252, vol. 5, fo. 152, John Boyd to Bushby. See also Indian Land Question, pp. 86-91 and passim.

50OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 20 June 1871.

51References to telegrams appear frequently in government correspondence. See Indian Land Question, pp. 123, 127.

52PAC, RG 10, 80-1/51, vol. 10, file 217/58, Powell's Report on his trip to the Interior of British Columbia, 27 July 1874.

53Ibid.

54OMI, reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez, 25 June 1874.

55Ibid., reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 17 February 1874.

56My emphasis. Ibid., 24 August 1877.

57Ibid., 27 August 1874.

58Ibid., 30 September 1874.

59Ibid., 28 January 1875.

60Ibid., 30 September 1874.

61Ibid., reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 17 July 1874. Grandidier agreed and the letter subsequently appeared in the Victoria Standard, 24 September 1874 and was reprinted in Indian Land Question, pp. 145-148.

62OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, January 1875.

63Ibid., 9 September 1876.

64OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 9 September 1876.

65PAC, RG 10, vol. 3638, file 7346, Clapperton to Powell, 5 and 30 March 1875, 15 May 1875, 8 January 1876 (with Chilliheetsa's statement enclosed); also Clapperton to Lenihan, 3 and 25 April 1876, 24 August 1876, 23 December 1876.

66Ibid., vol. 3625, file 5225, Lenihan to Laird, 5 August 1875 with enclosure, Grandidier to Lenihan, 18 July 1875.

67Ibid., vol. 1001, Ash to Lenihan, 12 October 1874.

68Provincial Secretary to Lenihan, 12 October 1874, Indian Land Question, p. 148.

69Department of Interior Memorandum, 2 November 1874, Indian Land Question, pp. 151-155.

70See Duncan to Walkem, Victoria, 6 July 1875, Indian Land Question, Appendix D.

71OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez. Bishop d'Herbomez was extremely critical of Duncan's plan and its backers in government and characterized it as one prepared by someone "blindly ignorant of the Indian character" and supported by gentlemen of the country who, although they had lived in the interior for twenty years, did so "without having had any relations with the Indians whom they cordially detest [and]

think they may build on their long experience to express such absurdities on their account." See PAC, RG 10, vol. 3627, file 6176.

72 Indian Land Question, pp. 161-163, "Memorandum of Department of the Interior," 5 November 1875.

73 Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, #89, A 1877.

74 For a good description of the Commission's work in the Sproat era see Robin Fisher, "An Exercise in Futility: The Joint Commission on Indian Land in British Columbia, 1875-1880," OHS 41 (1977) : 8-22.

75 PAC, RG 10, vol. 3597, file 1353, McKinlay and Sproat to the Provincial Secretary, 19 April 1877; vol. 3641, file 7567, Elliott to McKinley, 12 May 1877, Elliott to Minister of Interior, 20 January 1877, Meredith to Elliott, 4 February 1877, Meredith to Elliott, telegram, 23 February 1877..

76 Ibid., vol. 3649, file 8299, Anderson to McKinlay and Sproat with enclosure, 16 May 1877; Anderson to SGIA, 4 June 1877; vol. 3650, file 8497, Sproat to SGIA, 30 June 1877.

77 Ibid., vol. 3651, file 8540, Mara and Teit to Indian Commissioners, Kamloops, 13 July 1877.

78 Ibid., Anderson and Sproat to Minister of Interior, Kamloops, 13 July 1877.

79 Ibid., Scott to Anderson and Sproat.

80 See, for example, Ibid., vol. 3649, file 8299, Anderson to SGIA, 20 July 1877; vol. 3653, file 8599-5, Sproat to SGIA, 20 July 1877; Vol. 3651, file 8540, Sproat and Anderson to Scott, 23 July 1877; file 8540, Anderson and Scott to SGIA, 24 July 1877.

81 Ibid., Anderson to Meredith, 21 July 1877.

82 Ibid., 80-1/51, vol. 11, file 19,451, and vol. 3659, file 9500, Journal of the Proceedings of the Commission for the Settlement of the Indian Reserves in the Province of British Columbia, continued from vol. 1 remaining in the office of the Indian Department in Victoria (hereafter IRC Journal), 8 September 1877 entry.

83 Ibid., vol. 3653, file 8702, Sproat to Minister of the Interior, 27 August 1877.

84 IRC Journal, entry for 8 September 1877.

85 Ibid., RG 10, vol. 3612, file 3756-13, G. M. Sproat, Rough Statement as to Indian and White Claims at Head of Okanagan Lake, enclosure, Cox to Nind, 16 July 1865.

86 Ibid., Sproat to SGIA, 13 September 1877. For discussion of the O'Keefe-Greenhow case see BC, Sessional Papers, 42 Vic. 1879, Return of Correspondence -- O'Keefe Land Claim, pp. 715-728; PAC, RG 10, vol. 3612, file 3756-13, notes, correspondence and map; vol. 3641, file 7571, correspondence; vol. 3706, file 18,632, Sproat to VanKoughnut, 30 January 1880; Acc 80-1/51, file 1860-79; and Acc 80-1/81, vol. 12.

87 BC, Sessional Papers, 1885, Return on Indian Reserves (hereafter Return on Indian Reserves, 1885), Powell to CCLW, 9 December 1884; PAC, RG 10, vol. 3612, file 3756-16, Sproat to SGIA, 29 January 1878.

88 Ibid., vol. 3612, file 3756-16, Sproat to SGIA, 29 January 1878.

89 Ibid., vol. 3612, file 3756-16, Second Condensed Report of Indian Reserve Commission, 1 December 1871.

90QMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 3 December 1877; PABC, GR 494, Box 2, file 53, "Indian Reserve Commissioners . . . General Report," 1 January 1878, p. 48; and also Return on Indian Reserves, 1885, pp. xxiii-xxv.

91IRC Journal, 16 November 1877 entry. See also PABC, GR 495, file 1, Sproat and Anderson to McKinley, 10 November 1877 and Sproat Memorandum, 13 November 1877.

92IRC Journal, 24 November 1877 entry.

93PAC, RG 10, vol. 3612, file 3756-16, Sproat to SGIA, 29 January 1878.

94Ibid., vol. 3706, file 78632, G. M. Sproat, Memorandum on Indian Reserves in the District of Yale, 1878 (hereafter Memorandum on Indian Reserves), p. 7.

95PABC, F 52, C16.1, McKinley to Elliott, 8 March 1878.

96PAC, RG 10, vol. 3632, file 7131, Sproat to Laird, 30 September 1876.

97PABC, F 52, C16.1, Sproat to Lieutenant-Governor, 2 September 1877.

98PAC, RG 10, vol. 3612, file 3756-18, Sproat to SGIA, 26 October 1878.

99Ibid., vol. 3641, file 75710, Chilliheetsa to Sproat, 5 October 1879; Chief Basil (William) to Sproat, 11 April 1879; and Basil to Sproat, 12 March 1880.

100Ibid., file 7567, Sproat to SGIA, 15 October 1877; IRC to SGIA, 7 April 1877; vol. 3657, file 9193, Sproat to SGIA, 9 January 1878.

101Ibid., vol. 3641, file 7567, Richards to Scott, 19 April 1878.

102Ibid., vol. 3711, file 197739, Sproat to SGIA, 29 August 1879.

103Ibid., vol. 3611, file 3756, Mills Memorandum, 2 March 1878.

104For more information on O'Reilly see Fisher, pp. 199-206.

105PAC, RG 10, vol. 3612, file 3756-21, SGIA to Powell, 8 January 1880; SGIA to Powell, 27 November 1883 and Smithe to O'Reilly, 5 June 1884.

106Ibid., vol. 3711, file 19581, Trutch to Sir John A. Macdonald, 19 May 1860.

107Ibid., vol. 3657, file 9193, Sproat to SGIA, 9 January 1878.

108Ibid., vol. 3641, file 7567, Sproat to SGIA, 13 October 1877.

109Ibid., vol. 3670, file 10,769, Sproat to SGIA, 26 November 1878.

110Canada, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates, 9(1880): 1633.

111Return on Indian Reserves, Smithe to Powell, 24 November 1884.

112PAC, RG 10, vol. 3704, file 17867, Powell to Smithe, 9 December 1884; Powell to SGIA, 9 March 1885.

113Ibid., O'Reilly to Powell, 10 May 1886.

114Ibid., Vankoughnet to Sir John A. Macdonald, 20 May 1887 and Powell to CCLW, 9 January 1888.

115Ibid., F. G. Vernon to Powell, 28 January 1888; "Copy of a Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Executive Council, approved by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the 30th day of August 1888."

116Ibid., Report of the Committee of the Honourable, the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor-General, 27 October 1888.

117Ibid., Vankoughnet to O'Reilly, 15 January 1899.

118Ibid., vol. 3579, file 663, MacKay to Powell, 27 February 1888.

119Ibid., vol. 3704, file 17867, O'Reilly to SGIA, telegram, 19 October 1889 and O'Reilly to SGIA, 5 December 1888 and 26 November 1889.

120Ibid., Chilliheetsa et al to Dewdney, 25 October 1889.

121Ibid., O'Reilly to SGIA, 30 November 1889 and MacKay to Vankoughnet, 30 December 1889.

122See series of letters in Ibid., vol. 3641, file 7571; vol. 3780, file 39675-1, part 1; vol. 3641, file 757, Vankoughnet to O'Reilly, 9 December 1891; vol. 3750, file 29858-2; vol. 3963, file 147,713-5, Ashdown Green to Vowell, 23 May 1907; file 29858-10, Nicholas to Indian Department, 28 August 1908; vol. 3780, file 38675-1, part 1, Brown to Secretary DIA, 15 July 1911.

123See Return on Indian Reserves, 1885, O'Reilly to CCLW, 6 October 1884; MacKay to Powell, 12 September 1884; O'Reilly to CCLW, 29 November 1885; Smithe to O'Reilly, 3 December 1884.

124BC, Sessional Papers, 1877, "Correspondence Regarding Application of McConnell and McCaulay," Haynes to Attorney-General, 8 December 1876, pp. 525-528.

125Lots 26 and 27, Group 1, Osoyoos Division of Yale District (ODYD).

126Lots 102, 106, 108, Group 1, ODYD.

127PAC, RG 10, vol. 3641, file 7571, Haynes to Sproat, 28 November 1877; Lowe to CCLW, 8 January 1878.

128Ibid., vol. 3684, file 12836, Sproat to Haynes, 9 October 1878.

129BC, Government Gazette, 17 December 1878.

130PAC, RG 10, vol. 3684, file 12,836, Memorandum on Osoyoos Reserve, 1879.

131Ibid., Sproat to SGIA, 9 April 1879.

132Return on Indian Reserves, 1885, MacKay to SGIA, 8 September 1884.

133Ibid., CCLW to SGIA, 4 December 1884.

134PAC, RG 10, 80-1/51, vol. 8, file 662, Teit to Chairman of Royal Commission, 6 June 1914; vol. 7, file 524 D, Brown to Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, 20 September 1914 with enclosure MacDonalld to Brown, 17 November 1910; Baptiste Cheanut to Royal Commissioners, 13 July 1914.

135Fisher, "Exercise in Futility," p. 91; Cail, p. 215.

136PAC, RG 10, vol. 3683, file 12669, Kamloops-Okanagan Indian Agency, "List of Reserves," 30 April 1892.

137In error the list did not include the small fishing station granted on Mission Creek.

138Cail, pp. 33-38.

139See, for example, a letter from a Westbank settler, Talbot Smith. PAC, RG 10, 80-1/51, vol. 6, file 524B, Smith to McKenna, 15 August 1913.

140See a series of letters in PAC, RG 10, vol. 3837, file 68,872 and vol. 3750, file 29, 858-11.

141See BC, Sessional Papers, 1910, p. H 49.

142PAC, RG 10, 80-1/51, vol. 12, "Schedule of Lands Sold of which the Provincial Government has Disposed of Their Reversionary Interest."

143BC, Sessional Papers, 1912, p. N2, British Columbia Mission to Borden, 6 November 1912.

144PAC, RG 10, vol. 4020, file 280, 420-2, McLean to McDougall, 19 January 1901.

145Ibid., file 280,420-2, McDougall, Interim Report re Vernon Indian Reserve.

146PAC, RG 10, 80-1/51, vol. 6, file 524 B, Baptiste Cheanut, Narcisse Baptiste and Manuel Louis to the Indian Reserve Commissioners, August 1913.

147PABC, F 5 APS, Teit to Senate Committee, 16 June 1920; PAC, RG 10, vol. 3821, file 59335, part 4, Teit to Brewster, 31 May 1917.

148Ibid. The organization of the interior tribes represented Thompson, Shuswap, Okanagan, Kootenay, Lake, Chilicotin, Carrier, Tahtlan, Kusha and others. Coastal Indians were represented by the Indian Rights Association (IRA) and the Nishgas represented northern tribes.

149See Canada, Parliament, Senate, Journals, 16th Parliament, 1st Session, 1926-1927, "Appendix to the Journals of the Senate. Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons," p. 8.

150Ibid., p. 9.

151PAC, RG 10, 80-1/51, vol. 8, file 662, Memorial of the Conference of Friends of the Indians of British Columbia to His Royal Highness, the Governor-General of Canada in Council, 4 November 1912 (hereafter Memorial of Conference of Friends of Indians), p. 7.

152Ibid.

153The McKenna-McBride Agreement, 24 September 1912, is reproduced in Cail, pp. 304-305.

154PAC, RG 10, vol. 3821, file 59,335, part 4.

155Ibid., vol. 3822, file 59,335-2, Doherty to Roche, 17 December 1913.

156PAC, RG10, 80-1/51, Ledger 14, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Transcript of Evidence (hereafter Royal Commission evidence), Evidence of Francois Timoykim.

157Ibid., Evidence of Chief Edward.

158Ibid., 80-1/51, vol. 6, file 524B, Baptiste Cheanut and others to the Indian Reserve Commissioners, August 1913.

159Ibid., Chillihetsa to Mr. Shaw and Associates, 23 October 1913.

160Ibid., vol. 7, file 524D.

161Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for British Columbia
3 : 696-723.

162PAC, RG 10, vol. 3822, file 59,335-1, Macdowell to Scott, 9 May 1916.

163Ibid., file 59,335-2, Scott to Roche, 7 October 1915.

164Ibid., file 59,335-1, Bowser to Roche, 17 April 1916.

165Ibid., Brewster to Roche, 1 March 1917.

166Ibid., Ditchburn to Scott, 9 January 1919.

167Ibid., Pattullo to Meighen, 17 December 1918.

168Ibid., Scott to Pattullo, 7 January 1919.

169For a series of letters see Ibid., vol. 3820, file 59,335, part 3, Pattullo to Meighen, 1 November 1919; Meighen to Pattullo, 1 December 1919; Pattullo to Meighen, 19 December 1919; Ditchburn to Scott, 1 November 1919, Pattullo to Meighen, 21 April 1920.

170Ibid., Scott to Lougheed Memorandum, 1920, and Scott to Ditchburn, 6 April 1923.

171Ibid., Ditchburn to Scott, 23 February 1923.

172Ibid., Scott to Ditchburn, 2 March 1923.

173Ibid., Ditchburn to Scott, 27 April 1923.

174Ibid., vol. 4093, file 600,198.

175Ibid., vol. 3820, file 59,335, part 3, Pragnall to Scott.

176Ibid., vol. 3822, file 59,335-2, Tucker to Borden, 22 March 1913. Resolution of the Indian Affairs Committee of the SSCC, 23 October 1913 and 23 January 1914 and others.

177Memorial of the Conference of Friends of the Indians.

178Ibid., 80-1/51, vol. 11, PC 751, Certified Copy of the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Royal Highness, the Governor-General on 20 June 1914.

179Ibid., vol. 3022, file 59,335-2, Roche to Borden, 13 March 1914 and Bowser to McKenna, 2 September 1914.

180Ibid. See also letters by Pidgeon, Farmer and Moore. This statement was described by D. C. Scott, DSGIA, as "dangerous, inaccurate and inflammatory."

181Ibid., 80-1/51, vol. 8, file 662, Teit to Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, 27 January 1916 and vol. 3822, file 59,335-2, Deasy to Scott, 11 September 1914.

182Ibid., Clark to O'Meara, 29 October 1914.

183PABC, F 5, AP 5, Statement for Special Committee, House of Commons, prepared by the Delegation of Allied Tribes of British Columbia.

184PAC, RG 10, vol. 3822, file 59,335-2, White to Roche, 17 September 1915.

185Ibid., 80-1/51, vol. 8, file 662.

186Ibid., Teit to Royal Commission on Indian Affairs of BC, 27 January 1916.

187Ibid., vol. 3822, file 59,335-2, McKenna to Scott, 5 February 1916 and Scott to McKenna, 10 February 1916.

188Ibid., 14 March 1916.

189Ibid., 29 April 1916.

190Ibid., Memorial of Interior Tribes of British Columbia to Borden, 9 May 1916.

191Ibid., Report of interview with Honourable Dr. Roche prepared by delegates and approved by the Minister, 9 May 1916.

192Ibid., Almeric Fitzroy to Messrs. Smith, Fox and Sedgewick, 16 December 1918.

193Ibid., vol. 3821, file 59,335, part 4, DSGIA to Meighen, 17 March 1919; see also Scott to Carmichael, 10 December 1918.

194PABC, F 5, AP 5, Address to the Special Committee of the House of Commons Considering Bill 14, 27 April 1920.

195Ibid.

196Ibid., "A Half Century of Injustice Towards the Indians of British Columbia," prepared by the delegation of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia.

197PAC, RG 10, vol. 4093, file 600,198, Memorandum of Agreement signed by Scott, Ditchburn, Cathcart and Bass, 22 March 1929 and Order in Council, Victoria, 23 September 1930.

198PAC, RG 10, vol. 3656, file 9064, Sproat to SGIA, 3 October 1877.

THE HUNTING, FISHING AND GATHERING ECONOMY

¹This population estimate is based upon censuses taken by John McLeod in his Kamloops Report for 1823, Archibald McDonald in his Report of 1827, Father Baudre in his censuses in 1874, 1875 and 1877, Sproat in his census of 1877, The Canada Census of 1881 and the McKenna-McBride census of 1914.

²Nancy J. Turner, Randy Bouchard, Dorothy I. D. Kennedy, Ethnobotany of the Okanagan-Colville Indians of British Columbia and Washington (hereafter Ethnobotany), Occasional Papers of the British Columbia Provincial Museum 21 (Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1980), p. 116.

³University of Washington Libraries, University Archives, Melville Jacob Collection, Norman Lerman, "Okanagan (Salish) Ethnology," field notes and unpublished manuscript, 1952-1954, microfilm and photocopy in British Columbia Indian Language Project files, Victoria. This ethnographic record is invaluable but sections are jumbled and pages missing. Reference will be made to Lerman and to the respondent in the first reference but only to the respondent in subsequent citations. See Gideon Eneas, Wichy Allison, Maggie Stalkia and Manuel Louis in Lerman (hereafter Eneas, Wichy Allison, Stalkia and Louis).

⁴Stalkia; Ethnobotany, p. 113; Dawson Diary 1890, 19 June 1890 entry.

⁵Eneas.

⁶Stalkia; Ethnobotany, p. 69.

⁷Eneas.

8McGill University, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, G. M. Dawson Papers, Diary, 1877 (hereafter Dawson Diary 1877), 3 June 1877 entry.

9Ethnobotany, pp. 80-81.

10McGill University, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, G. M. Dawson Papers, Diary, 1889 (hereafter Dawson Diary 1889), 7 August 1889 entry and Dawson Diary 1894, 19 June 1894 entry.

11Ethnobotany, p. 47.

12There were numerous other roots of lesser importance as food to the Okanagan people. Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy itemize each of these and give details of their use. They include the False Solomon's Seal, dug at Osoyoos by people from as far away as Inchelium in Washington, the Yellowbell, the Yellow Dog-tooth Violet, Avalanche Lily, Mariposa Lily and various varieties of Cinquefoil which grew well in both the Richter Pass area and between Merritt and Princeton.

13These may or may not have been Okanagan. Dawson Diary 1890, 4 July 1890 entry.

14Ibid., 5 July 1890 entry.

15Shuttleworth in Lerman (hereafter Shuttleworth) and Harry Robinson interview with Duane Thomson, Summer 1983 (hereafter Robinson interview).

16G. M. Dawson, "Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 2 (1891): 21.

17For a more complete description see Ethnobotany, pp. 120-123.

18Eneas.

19Maggie Stalkia interview with Duane Thomson, Summer 1983 (hereafter Stalkia interview).

20Ethnobotany, pp. 127-128.

21Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), B97/c/1, 1827, Archibald McDonald, Kamloops Report, 1827.

22McDonald had travelled through Okanagan territory only in January 1826, March 1826, 1 September 1826 and March 1827 before he wrote this description. See Jean Murraray Cole, Exile in the Wilderness: The Life of Chief Factor Archibald McDonald, 1790-1853 (Don Mills, Ont.: Burns and MacEachern, 1979), pp. 113-143.

23Garland F. Graebert, "Okanagan Archeology: 1966-67," Syesis 7 (1974): 69.

24Johnniwell in Lerman (hereafter Johnniwell).

25Shuttleworth. Another informant, Willie Armstrong, identified the three kickanee. The first (Buck pkakas) was a small (6" - 7") shore spawner available for a long period, sometimes until mid-December. The second was larger (8" - 10") and was obtained when it spawned in creeks usually about the first week in October. The third (Na klachlia) was the largest (16" - 20") available in creeks later than the other creek spawner. Willy Armstrong interview with Duane Thomson, 28 June 1985 (hereafter Armstrong interview, 1985).

26Louis.

27Willie Armstrong interview with Duane Thomson, Summer 1983 (hereafter Armstrong interview, 1983).

28Ibid.

29Cox Papers, GR 234, Cox to Hamley, 13 June 1861.

30Ellis Diary, 17 January 1865 - 30 October 1865, 20 May 1865 entry. see also Shuttleworth and OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 27 April 1865 and 2 June 1865.

31Cox Papers, F 376/1, Cox to Young, 4 July 1861, enclosure, sketch map, 30 June 1861.

32Dawson Diary 1888, 2 July 1888 entry; Dawson Diary 1890, 19 June 1890 and 21 June 1890 entries. See also HBCA, B/97/973, Kamloops Journal, 1846, A. C. Anderson Journal.

33Stalkia. See also Eneas; Johnniwell.

34Louis.

35OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 7 September 1873; 30 September 1874.

36Stalkia and Johnniwell.

37Shuttleworth; Dawson Diary 1894, 1 September 1894 entry.

38OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 18 August 1877 and 9 October 1872.

39PABC, MSS, A. L. Fortune Papers, F1 F77, Report on BC Natives, 1910 (hereafter Fortune Papers).

40HBCA, B97/C/1, Kamloops Report, 1827.

41Chance, p.18.

42Shuttleworth, p. 10.

43Ibid.; Dawson Diary 1877, 6 August 1877 entry, 6 September 1877 entry; Dawson Diary 1890, 16 September 1890 entry.

44OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 11 September 1865.

45Stalkia interview.

46The Sinkaieth or Southern Okanagan of Washington, ed. L. Spier, Contributions from the Laboratory of Anthropology 2, General Series in Anthropology 6 (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing, 1938), p. 19.

47Johnniwell.

48Dawson Diary 1877, 28 July 1877 entry.

49Teit, pp. 260-261.

50Shuttleworth.

51Eneas.

52See Eneas; Johnniwell; Shuttleworth.

53Dawson Diary 1888, 15 August 1888 entry.

54Teit, p. 242.

55Dawson Diary 1888, 15 August 1888 entry. See also Eneas.

56Teit, p. 243.

57Ibid., pp. 243-244.

58Robinson interview.

- 59OMI, reel 706, Gendre to d'Herbomez, 31 December 1866.
- 60Antoine Eli in Lerman (hereafter Eli). See also Eneas and Teit, p. 246.
- 61Susan Allison, A Pioneer Gentlewoman in British Columbia: The Recollections of Susan Allison, ed. Margaret A. Ormsby (Vancouver: OBC Press, 1976), (hereafter Pioneer Gentlewoman), p. 27.
- 62Eneas.
- 63Johnniwell; Ed Pierre in Lerman (hereafter Pierre).
- 64Eneas; Spier, p. 23.
- 65Eneas; Spier, pp. 22-23; Teit, p. 246.
- 66Stalkia.
- 67Eneas.
- 68Stalkia; Eneas; Spier, p. 23.
- 69Armstrong interview, 1983.
- 70Dawson Diary 1877, 30 June 1877 entry.
- 71Eneas; Shuttleworth; Johnniwell.
- 72Eneas.
- 73Ibid.; Teit, p. 246.
- 74See Johnniwell; Eneas; Louis; Dawson Diary 1888, 1 September 1888 and 3 September 1888 entries; Teit, p. 245.
- 75Teit, p. 243.
- 76Eneas and party travelled regularly to the Kettle River to the east; Harry Robinson of the Similkameen hunted with two or three families in the mountains west of Princeton while others hunted the Thompson plateau.
- 77Eneas; Johnniwell; Teit, p. 245.
- 78Eneas.
- 79There is some ambiguity in the ethnographic record as to whether the division included all band members or members of a hunting group. See Shuttleworth, Johnniwell, Eli, Eneas and Pierre.
- 80Eli.
- 81Eneas; Johnniwell; Pierre.
- 82Animals such as rabbits, ground squirrels, wolves, foxes, porcupine, beaver, marten and fisher were taken by bow and arrow, snare, deadfall trap and later steel traps.
- 83Kamloops Museum, Journal of Occurrences at Thompson's River, 1826-1827, Archibald McDonald (hereafter TRJ, 1826-1827), 16 January 1827 and 10 March 1827 entries. See also TRJ, 1850-1855, 3 February 1855, 11 February 1855, 26 April 1855 and 11 May 1855 entries.
- 84HBCA, B/97/a/3, A. C. Andersons's Journal, 1846.
- 85Teit, p. 246.
- 86Ethnobotany, pp. 36-37; Eneas; Shuttleworth.
- 87Ethnobotany, pp. 89-90.
- 88Pioneer Gentlewoman, p. 150; Graebert, p. 9; Eli.

- 89Eneas; Eli.
- 90Dawson Diary 1877, 4 August 1877 entry. See also Teit, p. 248; Louis; Johnniwell; Pierre.
- 91Teit, p. 248.
- 92Ibid., p. 249.
- 93Eneas.
- 94Spier, p. 77.
- 95Teit, pp. 250-255.
- 96TRJ, 1826-1827, 20 December 1826 entry.
- 97Spier, p. 77.
- 98Wichy Allison.
- 99Johnniwell.
- 100Teit, p. 254.
- 101Chance, p. 19.
- 102Teit, p. 255.
- 103TRJ, 1826-1827, 20 December 1826 entry.
- 104Lewis R. Binford, "Willow Smoke and Dog's Tails, Hunter-Gatherer Settlement Systems and Archeological Site Formation," American Antiquity (1980) : 4-20.
- 105Leon L. Leeds, William S. Dancey and Jerry V. Jermann, "Archaeological Testing at 79 Prehistoric Habitation Sites in the Chief Joseph Reserve Area: Subsistence Strategy and Site Distribution," [Draft report submitted to United States Army Corps of Engineers, Seattle District], Chief Joseph Dam Cultural Resources Survey Reports, vol. 3 (hereafter Chief Joseph Dam Report), (Seattle: University of Washington, 1981), p. 86.
- 106Binford, p. 5.
- 107Eneas.
- 108Spier, p. 87. Gideon Eneas' family from Penticton was one such family that travelled most of the time. Armstrong interview, 1985.
- 109They may also have distinguished between migratory and resilient game or between animal and vegetal products.
- 110Shuttleworth.
- 111Sophie Day in Lerman (hereafter Day).
- 112Johnniwell.
- 113Teit, p. 163; Spier, p. 95.
- 114Graebert, p. 11.
- 115OMI, reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez.
- 116Gregory in Lerman (hereafter Gregory).
- 117Louis.
- 118Chance, p. 99; Eneas; Spier, pp. 74-75.
- 119Chance, p. 99.
- 120Ibid., p. 20.

121Day.

122Teit, p. 260.

123PABC, Marie Brent, "Historical Events in the Lives of the Chiefs, as I Remember Them: The Memories of Marie Houghton Brent," p. 8.

124OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 28 January 1875.

125Ibid., reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 19 February 1866.

126Michael I. Asch, "The Ecological-Evolutionary Model and the Concept of Mode of Production, Two Approaches to Material Reproduction," in Challenging Anthropology: A Critical Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology, eds. D. H. Turner and G. A. Smith (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), p. 92.

127TRJ, 1826-1827, 9 September 1826 entry.

128Kamloops Report, 1827.

129See, for example, TRJ, 1850-1855, 9 December 1854 entry, "three Okanagan Indians, four skins"; 29 December 1854 entry, "arrived Okanagan chief who traded 20 marten"; 3 February 1855 entry, "Nickius [Nicola] arrived . . . as usual without furs"; 9 April 1855 entry, "a number of Indians arrived, principally Okanagan . . . with no furs".

130PAC, RG 10, 80-1/50, vol. 1, file 516.

131Ibid., vol. 3667, file 10,343, Sproat to SIA, 15 August 1878.

132Vernon News, 20 June 1895.

133Holliday, p. 174.

134Vernon News, 8 July 1895.

135Ibid., 5 March 1896.

136PAC, RG 10, 80-1/51, vol. 1, file 516.

137Ibid., Circular letter from Provincial Game Warden's Office, Vancouver, BC, 28 April 1914.

138Ibid., Williams to Lemmens, 15 January 1914.

139Ibid., 80-1/50, vol. 1, file 516, Provincial Game Warden to Royal Commission of Indian Affairs, 24 July 1915.

140PAC, RG 10, vol. 3656, file 9040. For a local example of the treatment of an application by Wichy Allison see BCPP, Robertson to Constable Spall (Keremeos), Penticton, 27 February 1928 and Robertson to NCO I/C Boundary District, 5 March 1925.

141PAC, RG 10, 80-1/51, Ledger 14, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Okanagan Agency, Transcript of Evidence. See also the testimony of Chief Pierre Michel.

142Ibid.

143PAC, RG 10, 80-1/50, vol. 1, file 516. Only Indians in northern BC could hunt for pelts and only with permission of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council.

144PABC, Transcript of Minutes of a conference of D. C. Scott and W. E. Ditchburn with the Executive Committee of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia, 7 - 9 August 1923.

145See Vernon News, 29 October 1891, 21 April and 28 July 1892, 23 November 1893, 21 October 1897 and 15 March 1900.

- 146PAC, RG 10, vol. 3612, file 3756-18, Sproat to SGIA, 26³⁷⁹
October 1878.
- 147Ibid., vol. 3657, file 9361, Sproat to SGIA, 4 February
1878.
- 148Ibid.
- 149Ibid., vol. 3908, file 107,297-1, Irwin to McLean,
Secretary DIA, 18 January 1898.
- 150Ibid., vol. 3818, file 57837, Powell to SGIA, 28 August
1882; see also vol. 3908, file 107,297-1, Harry Guillod to J. D.
McLean, Secretary DIA, 21 January 1898.
- 151Ibid., vol. 3828, file 60,926.
- 152Ibid., Tupper to Dewdney, 24 August 1891.
- 153Ibid., Vankoughnet to Vowell, 10 September 1891.
- 154Ibid., Tilton to Vankoughnet, 16 September 1891.
- 155Vernon News, 5 May 1892.
- 156Ibid., 2 June 1892.
- 157Ibid.
- 158Ibid., 11 May 1893.
- 159Ibid., 14 September 1893.
- 160PAC, RG 10, vol. 3908, file 107,297-1, Canada Gazette,
3 March 1894.
- 161Ibid., vol. 3828, file 60,926, Tupper to Dewdney, 24
August 1891.
- 162Ibid., McNab to Tilton, 26 September 1891.
- 163Ibid., vol. 3908, file 107,297-1, Loman to Vowell, 9
October 1897; vol. 3828, file 60,926, Lomas to Moffat, n.d.;
There is, however, evidence of Okanagans selling fish to the
white community. See Vernon News, 4 April 1901.
- 164Ibid., A. Irwin, Indian Agent, Kamloops-Okanagan Indian
Agency, to McLean, 18 January 1898.
- 165Ibid., vol. 3828, file 60,926, Loman to Vowell, 9
October 1897.
- 166Vernon News, 23 June 1892.
- 167PAC, RG 10, vol. 3908, file 107,297-1, A. Irwin to
McLean, 18 January 1898.
- 168Ibid., 80-1/51, vol. 5, Ledger 18, Minutes of Meeting
of the Commission on Indian Affairs in the Province of British
Columbia at Okanagan Indian Reserve No. 1, 4 October 1913.
- 169Ibid.
- 170Ibid., vol. 3748, file 29,858-2, Irwin to Vowell, 8 May
1903.
- 171Ibid., file 29,858-3, Assistant Secretary DIA to
Vowell, 28 October 1904.
- 172Ibid., vol. 3750, file 29,858-11, Assistant-Secretary
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THE MINING INDUSTRY

¹Stuart S. Holland, Placer Gold Production of British Columbia, British Columbia Department of Mines, Bulletin 28 (Victoria: Province of BC, 1980), p. 9.

²Canada, Commission of Conservation, 1911. Lands, Fisheries and Game. Minerals (Ottawa: Mortimer, 1911), p. 408.

³Ibid., p. 411.

⁴Holland, Gold, p. 11.

⁵For example, W. J. Trimble, The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1901) and H. H. Bancroft, British Columbia, 1791-1887, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, vol. 32 (San Francisco: n.p., 1887).

⁶For a general account of the 1853-1858 warfare see Mary W. Avery, History and Government of the State of Washington (Seattle: University of Washington, 1961), pp. 167-177.

⁷Victoria Gazette, 10 July 1858.

⁸W. C. Hazlitt, British Columbia and Vancouver Island, cited by Trimble, p. 25.

⁹Henry De Groot, British Columbia: Its Condition and Prospects, Soil, Climate, and Mineral Resources, Considered, cited by Trimble, p. 25.

¹⁰Trimble, pp. 25-27.

¹¹Ibid., p. 35. See also H. H. Bancroft, History of the Pacific States, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, vol. 27 (San Francisco: n.p., 1887), pp. 367-369; Victoria Gazette, 21 July 1858 and Leslie M. Scott, "The Pioneer Stimulus of Gold," Oregon Historical Quarterly (hereafter OHQ) 18 (1917) : 153.

¹²Reinhart, pp. 108-161.

¹³Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁴Editorial and extracted letters appear in Journal of the Royal Geographical Society (1861) : 255-256.

¹⁵Daily Bulletin (San Francisco), 18 February 1860.

¹⁶Cox Papers, F 374/2, Cox to Colonial Secretary's Office (hereafter CSO), 1 May 1860.

¹⁷Allison letters, 8 July 1860 and 4 August 1860.

¹⁸Charles Wilson, Mapping the Frontier between British Columbia and Washington, ed. G. F. G. Stanley (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970), p. 124.

¹⁹Allison, 2 September 1860.

²⁰Allison, 4 August 1860.

²¹Cox Papers, F 375/5, Cox to Young, 16 February 1861.

²²Trimble, pp. 65-66.

²³D. C. Thorne to Editor, British Colonist, 14 August 1860.

²⁴Wilson, p. 125.

²⁵Cox Papers, F 375/19, Census Return, Rock Creek, 13 April 1861.

²⁶Ibid., F 375/24, Cox to Young, 27 April 1861.

- 27 Ibid., GR 234, F 376/6, Cox to Young, 17 July 1861.
- 28 Ibid., 2 August 1861.
- 29 Ibid., 3 September 1861; 10 October 1861.
- 30 Ibid., F 375/5, Cox to Young, 16 February 1861; F 375/24, Cox to Young, 27 April 1861; GR 234, Cox to Young, 10 July 1861; GR 234, Cox to Colonial Secretary, 14 August 1861.
- 31 Ibid., F 375/8, Cox to Young, 1 March 1861, enclosure; F 375/1, Cox to Young, 16 January 1861; F 375/5, 16 February 1861.
- 32 Ibid., F 376/1, Cox to Young, 4 July 1861; Father Jayol reported a community of eighteen males presumably engaged in mining. OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 1 January 1865.
- 33 Cox Papers, GR 234, Cox to CSO, 14 August 1861.
- 34 Ibid., F 375/1, Cox to Young, 16 January 1861.
- 35 Allison, 26 June 1859.
- 36 Wilson, p. 127.
- 37 Cox Papers, F 375/24, Cox to Young, 27 April 1861.
- 38 Haynes Papers, F 740/11, Haynes to CSO, 30 August 1864.
- 39 Cox Papers, F 376/6, Cox to Young, 17 July 1861, enclosure, "Record of Rufus W. Henry of Work on Rock Creek Claim."
- 40 Ibid., Cox to Young, 27 April 1861 and 16 January 1861.
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- 42 Ibid.
- 43 For example, Ibid., F 375/5, Cox to Young, 16 February 1861.
- 44 Wilson, pp. 126-127.
- 45 Cox Papers, GR 234, Cox to CSO, 14 August 1861.
- 46 Ibid. See also Cox to Hamley, 13 June 1861.
- 47 Ibid., Cox to Young, 3 September 1861 and Cox to Hamley, 13 June 1861.
- 48 Ibid., F 375/9, Cox to Young, 3 March 1861.
- 49 Ibid., GR 234, Cox to Young, 10 July 1861.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 David R. Williams, "The Administration of Criminal and Civil Justice in the Mining Camps and Frontier Communities of British Columbia: Frontier Justice or Reasonable Unorthodoxy?" Personal files of Duane Thomson, Kelowna, BC. Also see G. H. Shinn, Mining Camps: A Study in American Frontier Government (New York: Knopf, 1948), p. 27; and Trimble.
- 52 Wilson, p. 126.
- 53 For a description of this meeting see "The Rock Creek Rebellion," in Percy Goderrath, Mother Earth's Treasure Vaults (Victoria: Colonist Printing, 1905), pp. 47-48.
- 54 Williams, p. 11
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58BC, Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward, January 1858 - September 1860 (hereafter Colonial Secretary, 1858-1860), Douglas to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works (CCLW), 19 May 1860.

59Ibid., 15 August 1860.

60Allison, 6 October 1860. See also PABC, BC, Colonial Secretary, Correspondence Outward to Lands and Works, September 1860 - December 1863 (hereafter Colonial Secretary 1860-1863), Young to CCLW, 24 April 1861, 6 May 1861, 27 August 1861; Young to Captain Grant, 10 September 1861; Douglas to CCLW, 26 November 1860.

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62Allison, 8 July 1860.

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67Ibid., F 375/17, Cox to Good, 30 March 1861.

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80BC, Parliament, Sessional Papers, "Report of the Minister of Mines" (hereafter Minister of Mines), 59 Vic., 1895, p. 706.

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- 83Ibid., 19 February 1866.
- 84Minister of Mines, 1876, pp. 423-424.
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- 88Ibid., 1888, p. 317.
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- 92See Margaret Ormsby, "Captain Houghton's Exploratory Trip, 1864," OHS 13 (1949): 38-44.
- 93OMI, reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 10 December 1865; and Haynes Papers, Haynes to Colonial Secretary, 30 November 1863, enclosure, Young's Report.
- 94Minister of Mines, 1876, pp. 423-424.
- 95Ibid., 1877, p. 404; Dawson, Reports of Explorations, p. 141.
- 96Minister of Mines, 1902, p. 402.
- 97Ibid., 1890, p. 378; 1892, p. 543.
- 98Ibid., 1885-1886, p. 492; 1887, p. 278.
- 99Dawson, Reports of Explorations, p. 156.
- 100Henry Nicolson, "Early Days in Similkameen," OHS 5 (1931): 14.
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- 102Ibid., 1895, pp. 707-709; and 1887, p. 278; 1889, p. 293; 1890, p. 230; 1891, p. 576; 1892, p. 545.
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- 107See, for example, Ibid., 1879, pp. 240-241.
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- 111Ibid., 1889, p. 318.
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- 120 These include W. H. Sutton, Clement F. Cornwall, James Robinson, W. J. Saunders, J. C. Wirth, Hugh Nelson, Wm. H. Dell, Donald Chisholm and F. D. Morrison.
- 121 See Charles D. Simms, "Claudet's Report on the Silver Mine at Cherry Creek," OHS 17 (1953) : 103.
- 122 Minister of Mines, 1889, p. 292.
- 123 Ibid., 1890, p. 378; 1891, p. 576.
- 124 Ibid., 1901, p. 1127.
- 125 Ibid., 1896, p. 706.
- 126 Morning Glory Mining Co., Vernon; Camp Hewitt Mining and Development Co., Peachland; and Silver Star Mining Co., Vernon. See Minister of Mines, 1896, p. 579; 1897, pp. 608-609; 1898, pp. 1129-1130; 1899, pp. 746-749.
- 127 Minister of Mines, 1888, p. 317.
- 128 Ibid., 1898, p. 1116.
- 129 A stamp mill involved the use of heavy metal stamps which crushed ore to a powder.
- 130 Minister of Mines, 1898, p. 1117.
- 131 Ibid., 1902, p. 1149.
- 132 Ibid., 1889, p. 292.
- 133 Ibid., 1890, p. 378.
- 134 Ibid., 1897, p. 602.
- 135 Ibid., pp. 599-601.
- 136 Harry D. Barnes, "The Nickel Plate Mine, 1898-1932," British Columbia Historical Quarterly (BCHQ), vol. 14, no. 3 (July 1950) : 125-140.

STOCKRAISING

- 1 Louis.
- 2 Teit, p. 249. See also American Philosophical Library, Boaz Collection, microfilm, PABC, reel A246, no. 61, James Teit, "Teit to Boaz," 4 July 1909.
- 3 Simon Fraser, The Letters and Journals of Simon Fraser, 1806-1808, ed. W. Kaye Lamb (Toronto: Macmillan, 1960), pp. 63-64, 70-71, passim.
- 4 Allison, 4 August 1860.

5TRJ, 1822-1823, 9 February 1823 entry.

6HBCA, D5/77, fos. 57-59, MacDonald to Simpson, 23 April 1842.

7Ibid., D5/19, fos. 491-494, Lewes to Simpson, 15 April 1847.

8Ibid., D5/25, fos. 13-14, Simpson to Simpson, 3 April 1849.

9Chance, p. 70.

10Reinhart, p. 145.

11Buckland, p. 31.

12TRJ, 1822-1823, 1 March 1823 entry; TRJ, 1826-1827, 9 September 1826 entry; HBCA, B239/aa/10, Inventory of Stock at Thompson's River, 1829.

13Ibid., D5/25, fos. 13-14, Simpson to Simpson, 3 April 1849.

14J. Orin Oliphant, On the Cattle Ranges of the Oregon Country (Seattle: University of Washington, 1968), p. 6. See also C. S. Kingston, "The Introduction of Cattle into the Pacific Northwest," Washington Historical Quarterly (hereafter WHQ) 14 (July 1953) : 163-185.

15Thomas claims that "[l]ivestock raising and other agricultural pursuits were encouraged at newly constructed Fort Vancouver; at the mouth of the Columbia, Fort Walla Walla, Fort Colville, Fort Okanagan; near the mouth of the Okanagan River near the upper Columbia region, Fort Boise and Fort Hall." See Thomas, p. 210.

16A. G. Harvey, Douglas of the Fir: A Biography of David Douglas, Botanist (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947).

17Thomas, p. 3.

18For a good statement of progress under the HBC see Oliphant, pp. 10-16. See also Michael Leon Olson, "The Beginnings of Agriculture in Western Oregon and Western Washington" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1970).

19Olson, p. 132; Oliphant, p. 28.

20Olson, p. 119. Oregon cattle were considered greatly superior to Texan or Spanish stock. Baillie-Grohman wrote: "the general public voice declares the Oregon and Utah breed to be far superior to Texas cattle." William A. Baillie-Grohman, "Cattle Ranches in the Far West," Fortnightly Review 28 (October 1880) : 447.

21The first known reference to cattle is in John MacLean, Notes of a Twenty-five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory, 2 vol. (London: R. Bentley, 1849), in which the author states that a few cattle were introduced to New Caledonia in 1830. Archibald McDonald, reporting on David Douglas' travels noted that in 1833 Douglas "landed at [Fort] Okanagan whence he proceeded with the cattle party to Thompson's River, Alexandria and Upper Caledonia." See A. G. Harvey, "David Douglas in British Columbia," BCHQ 4 (1940) : 228-229. A. C. Anderson in his "History of the Northwest Coast," TS, noted that when he was appointed to Fraser's Lake in 1837 he had a few cows and there is also a reference to an unmanageable bull being shot in 1837 in New Caledonia by the halfbreed McBean in A. G. Morice, The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia (Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1904). There were cattle at Thompson's River post in 1841 as P. S. Ogden reported taking an employee from Stuart Lake to Kamloops "with the intention of returning him from

Thompson's River with livestock." See HBCA, D5/6, fos. 162-163, McDonald to Simpson, 20 June 1841.

22Oliphant, p. 32.

23See, for example, HBCA, D5/7, 1842, fos. 346-8, Manson to Simpson, 6 December 1841.

24Ibid., D5/6, fos. 173-174, Ogden to Simpson, 23 July 1841; D5/6, fos. 162-163, Macdonald to Simpson, 20 June 1841; D5/7, fos. 35-36, Manson to Simpson, 27 February 1842; D5/16, fos. 466-468, Fox to Simpson, 20 March 1846; D5/19, fos. 366-372, Ogden to Simpson, 15 March 1847.

25Margaret Ormsby, "History of Agriculture," Scientific Agriculture 20 (September 1939) : 62.

26HBCA, D5/21, fo. 200, Manson to Simpson, 8 February 1848.

27Ibid., D5/19, fos. 491-494, Lewes to Simpson, 15 April 1847.

28Ibid., fos. 366-372, Ogden to Simpson, 15 March 1847.

29Ibid., D5/25, fos. 120-123, Anderson to Simpson, 17 April 1849.

30Ibid., D5/33, fos. 384-385, Fraser to Simpson, 1 April 1852.

31Kamloops Museum, Fort Kamloops Journal, William Manson, January 1859 - November 1862 (hereafter Manson), vols. 1 and 2.

32Chance, p. 109.

33Ibid., pp. 109-110.

34A. J. Splawn, Ka-mi-akin, The Last Hero of the Yakimas (Portland: Kilham, 1917), pp. 281-285.

35Brent, p. 108.

36Reinhart, p. 38.

37OMI, reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez, December 1860.

38Oliphant, p. 46.

39Stanley S. Spaid, "The Later Life and Activities of General Joel Palmer," OHQ 55 (December 1954) : 313-315 and Oregon Statesman, 28 January 1860.

40Cox Papers, F 374/4, Cox to Young, 23 October 1860 and F374/6, 20 November 1860.

41Ibid., F375/24, Cox to Young, 27 April 1861.

42Oliphant, pp. 98-103.

43Olson, p. 119.

44Splawn, pp. 149-150.

45Ellis Diary.

46PABC, Add MSS, Donald Graham, "The Okanagan: Remiscences of Donald Graham," p. 4.

47PABC, BC, Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, 46 Vic. 1883, "Return of Justices of the Peace," pp. 410-412 and Ibid., 52 Vic., pp. 361-365.

48McGill University Archives, Blue Cardboard Box, Bundle 4, G. M. Dawson to M. M. Dawson, Kamloops, 22 July 1877.

49Kamloops Museum, Kamloops Journal, Charles Moffat, Chief Trader, January 1867 - July 1870 (hereafter Moffat), "Charles Lawson coming from Big Bend to purchase cattle," pp. 124-125.

50Manson, vol. 2, p. 145.

51Ibid., pp. 114, 134.

52Ibid., p. 134.

53Manson, vol. 1, p. 110; vol. 2, pp. 28, 69, 77, 137, 147.

54Moffat, p. 114.

55Ibid., pp. 73, 135.

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57Ellis Diary, 30 April 1865 entry.

58Ibid., 9 June 1865 entry.

59Vernon Museum, Greenhow Journal, one page.

60Pioneer Gentlewoman, passim.

61Oliphant, p. 113.

62British Colonist, 19 August 1876.

63OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 17 February 1874, 5 April 1874; reel 508, McGuckin to d'Herbomez, August 1874; reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 16 January 1874.

64Ibid., 18 August 1875, 11 August 1876, 28 August 1876.

65 OMI, reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 8 March 1880.

66Ibid., 12 June 1880.

67Ibid., 10 May 1881, 13 August 1881.

68OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 30 March 1874, 23 July 1877, 11 March 1878; reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 10 August 1878.

69British Colonist, 20 April 1876, 5 February 1878 and F. W. Laign, "Some Pioneers of the Cattle Industry," BCHQ 6 (1942) : 270-271.

70Nina G. Woolliams, Cattle Ranch: The Story of the Douglas Lake Cattle Company (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1979), pp. 40-50; Thomas, p. 112; OMI, reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 1 June 1881 and 13 August 1881.

71Ibid.

72OMI, reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 6 July 1882 and 13 March 1882.

73Inland Sentinel (Kamloops), 19 May 1881, 27 October 1881, 23 March 1882.

74Ibid., 3 August 1882; Splawn, p. 275.

75Inland Sentinel, 3 January 1884.

76K. Lacey, "Customs Business at Osoyoos Prior to 1900," OHS 22 (1958) : 30-38.

77Mainland Guardian, 17 January 1890.

78Inland Sentinel, 19 May 1881. Strangely, Okanagan Mission records do not mention him purchasing cattle for that purpose, contrary to their usual habit of reporting such events.

79Thomas, p. 237, footnote 24.

80Inland Guardian, 31 March 1892.

81Vernon News, 23 March 1893 and 6 May 1901.

82Inland Sentinel, 24 April 1884, 27 May 1884; Thomas, pp. 134-135.

83Buckland, p. 65; see also OMI, reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 1 January 1882; PABC, BC, Parliament, Sessional Papers, Report of the Minister of Agriculture (hereafter Minister of Agriculture), 1892, p. 741.

84See Minister of Agriculture, 1893; 1894, p. 730.

85Verna Cawston, "Pioneers of the Similkameen: Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Cawston," OHS 13 (1949) : 112; Thomas, p. 923.

86BC, Government Gazette, 1890, p. 923.

87Woolliams, p. 58.

88Ibid., p. 79; See also Inland Sentinel, 7 February 1884, 14 May 1891, 9 May 1895, 19 April 1896.

89PABC, BC, Lands Branch Correspondence (hereafter Lands Branch), 1872-1918, GR 1440, file 1697/85, Ellis to CCLW, 8 July 1885.

90Mary Ann Cawston, "Our Wedding Trip from Ontario to BC in 1885," OHS 13 (1949) : 118.

91Kathleen S. Dewdney, "Cattle Drives over the Dewdney Trail," OHS 22 (1958) : 42-46; "Francis Xavier Richter," OHS 25 (1961) : 78-90; Verna B. Cawston, "Pioneers of the Similkameen: Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Cawston," OHS 13 (1949) : 109-116.

92See Vernon News, 24 October 1895, 28 November 1895, 26 December 1895, 16 April 1896.

93Lands Branch, file 3112/85, Mara to CCLW, 1 December 1885 with enclosure, Postill to Mara, 16 November 1885; Dewdney, Report on Public Works, file 3122/85, 28 November 1885.

94Vernon News, 3 December 1895.

95Ibid., 21 and 28 January 1897.

96A. W. Gray, "Arthur Booth Knox -- Pioneer Rancher," OHS 28 (1964) : 77.

97Vernon News, 23 March 1893. This particular sale was disastrous for the Coldstream Ranch because of the 108 head shipped only 40 were accepted by the BC Cattle Company as being "first class fat beef steers" and the supplier took a large loss and faced further difficulties in filling the contract. PABC, Lord Aberdeen Papers Relating to British Columbia, Kelly to Jamieson, Coldstream Ranch, 30 March 1893.

98PABC, Probate Records, Henry Harland Probate, GR 1304, 1220 (hereafter Harland Probate).

99Ibid., 21 July 1892.

100Ibid., 27 February 1902.

101Minister of Agriculture, 1895, p. 850.

102Inland Sentinel, 24 September 1892, 25 January 1895, 18 February 1895; see also Thomas, pp. 140-145.

103Inland Sentinel, 24 September 1892, 8 February 1895, 12 April 1895; see also Thomas, p. 168.

104Vernon News, 10 November 1892.

105Ibid., 15 December 1892.

106For an application to the cattle industry see Rodgers Taylor Dennen, "From Common to Private Property: The Enclosure of the Open Range" (PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 1975).

107This model assumes a perfectly elastic supply curve of the other variable factors such as capital labour and entrepreneurship although dropping this assumption does not significantly change the predictions of the model.

108William Ward Spinks, Tales of the British Columbia Frontier (Toronto: Ryerson, 1933), p. 96.

109PABC, BC, Sessional Papers, 40 Vic. 1877, "Correspondence re Application of McConnell and McCaulay," pp. 525-528.

110Not all individuals can be located precisely from information provided on the Assessment Roll or in the land records. Legal descriptions are provided for forty-two agriculturalists and pre-emption record numbers for another six, allowing positive identification. Problems arise with individuals such as Louis Christian who pre-empted land in the Coldstream Valley in 1877 but had it cancelled within two weeks, took land nearby in 1879, only to have it cancelled and finally took land in the same area in 1880 and abandoned it in 1883. Of course in no instance was this land sufficient to support his six hundred head of cattle and forty horses. He may not have even owned land when the assessment was done. William Lacerte had sold his land (Lot 137) to Donald Nicolson and would pre-empt land just south of Lot 122 in 1880 but was landless when the assessment was taken. Others such as Lambly, Lyons, Lawson, Vance, Andrews, had not yet, but would soon, register their claims to land. Another, Silas Hays, owned no land in this district but rather in the Princeton area. He wintered his cattle in partnership with Allison, a local landowner, on the west side of Okanagan Lake opposite the Mission.

111Because the Indians were increasing their herds rapidly in this era a ten percent annual increase has been applied to those quantities to arrive at the estimated 1879 livestock holdings. The Mission band's livestock were not recorded until 1883; therefore a ten percent annual deflation is calculated for that band's livestock.

112See, for example, PABC, BC, GR 252, vol. 5, Pearse to Bushby.

113G. M. Sproat, Memorandum on Indian Reserves in the District of Yale (Victoria: Colonist Steam Presses, 1878).

114PAC, RG 10, vol. 4073, file 439,052, pt. 1, Ditchburn to Secretary, DIA, 13 May 1920.

115Assuming that a head of cattle requires 15 acres and the scale of the map is 1 cm = .9375 miles, the formula for determining the radius of each circle is

$$R = \frac{15}{640 \times 3.14 \times .9375^2} \times \# \text{ cattle or horses}$$

or $R = .0085 \times \# \text{ cattle or horses.}$

116Dawson Diary, 8 September 1877 entry. Reports from Vernon, the West Side, Rock Creek and even the Keremeos area reported "excellent bunchgrass pasture for stock." For example, see Minister of Agriculture, 1894, pp. 1606, 1616; 1895, pp. 847, 855.

117A. W. Sillitoe, Pioneer Church Work in British Columbia: A Memoir of Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, ed. Herbert H. Gowen (London: Mowbray and Co. Ltd., 1899).

118Minister of Agriculture, 1895, p. 851.

119Pioneer Gentlewoman, p. 54.

120Ibid., p. 23.

121Haynes acted contrary to the manner predicted by this model. He had raised thoroughbred horses but when he and Lowe bought cattle it was common stock, in the belief that "a steer was a steer." See Pioneer Gentlewoman, p. 31.

122Ibid., pp. 40, 45, 46.

123Ibid., p. 46.

124OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 3 March 1874.

125Ibid., reel 707, Jayol to d'Herbomez, 1 January 1865.

126Ibid., 1 January 1865, 10 March 1865, 25 March 1865, 27 April 1865.

127Ibid., 27 April 1865.

128Ibid., 10 December 1865, 19 February 1866.

129Ibid., reel 706, Gendre to d'Herbomez, 6 April 1867.

130Ibid., 5 May 1867.

131Ibid., reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 14 April 1867.

132For a further discussion of Indian tenure see pages 165-166 of this study.

133OMI, reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 24 October 1879, 24 February 1880.

134Ibid., 20 February 1880.

135G. M. Sproat, Memorandum on Indian Reserves in the District of Yale (Victoria: Colonist Steam Presses, 1878), pp. 6-7.

136See, for example, Lands Branch, GR 1440, F. G. Vernon to Lands Department, 7 June 1883. "There are a large number of settlers resident in the Okanagan and more coming in."

137Sessional Papers, 51 Vic. 1887, "Petition -- Settlers of Okanagan," p. 305; Ibid., 53 Vic. 1889, "Petition of Settlers of Mission Creek," p. 185.

138Lands Branch, GR 1440, file 2097/83, F. S. Barnard to CCLW, 1 November 1883.

139Ibid., Petition to Smithe, CCLW, Spallumcheen, 28 December 1883.

140PABC, GR 1055, file 2543, Shuttleworth to CCLW, 1885.

141Dewdney, "Richter," pp. 78-101.

142See, for example, Minister of Agriculture, 1893, pp. 731, 735, 740.

143PABC, Probate Records, Haynes probate, GR 1304, 1888/1241, (hereafter Haynes Probate), file 3.

144Minister of Agriculture, 1895, pp. 1048-1049.

145Vernon News, 1 October 1891.

146Ibid., 31 August 1893.

147See, for example, Ibid., 1 October 1891, 7 and 21 July 1892, 18 August 1892, 27 July 1893, 31 August 1893, 16 August 1894, 7 December 1894, 11 July 1895.

148Haynes Probate, file 3.

149Minister of Agriculture, 1894, p. 1608.

- 150Verna Cawston, pp. 109-116.
- 151Dewdney, "Cattle Drive," pp. 42-46.
- 152Vernon News, 21 January 1892, 12 January 1893, 5 September 1895, 17 November 1895.
- 153Harry D. Barnes, "Reminiscences of the Okanagan and the Boundary District, 1891-1900," OHS 13 (1949) : 93-108.
- 154Vernon News, 2 April 1896, 22 January 1899, 16 March 1899.
- 155Ibid., 15 October 1891, 13 October 1892, 11 October 1894.
- 156Ibid., 8 September 1892.
- 157Ibid., 21 September 1893, 12 October 1893, 24 October 1895.
- 158Ibid., 7 October 1897, 20 September 1900, 4 June 1903.
- 159Minister of Agriculture, 1891, p. 743.
- 160Ibid., 1895, p. A26.
- 161See Lands Branch, GR 1440, file 3106/85, Whelan to CCLW, 20 November 1885; GR 1054, file 3, Girouard to Bushby, 29 November 1871; GR 252, vol. 5, fo. 314, Laurence to Teague, 15 August 1873; GR 256, vol. 1, file 1, Gowans to Bushby, 28 May 1872; GR 252, vol. 5, Simpson to CCLW, 18 September 1872; GR 252, vol. 5, fo. 245, Duteau to Bushby, 22 May 1872; OMI, reel 709, Pandosy to d'Herbomez, 14 July 1878.
- 162Minister of Agriculture, 1891, p. 741.
- 163Ibid., p. 742.
- 164Ibid., 1903, p. 31.
- 165The B X Ranch, the Coldstream Ranch, Cornelius O'Keefe, Frank Bouvette and Price Ellison were all reported building miles of fence in the early 1890s. See Vernon News, 28 January 1892, 10, 17 and 24 March 1892, 18 January 1894, 26 March 1896.
- 166Ibid., 1 and 14 April 1892.
- 167Lands Branch, File 3223/85, Dewdney to CCLW, 17 December 1885. See also files 3104/85 and 2728/85.
- 168Vernon News, 24 March 1892.
- 169Haynes Probate, file 3.
- 170Minister of Agriculture, 1894, p. 1614.
- 171Harland Probate.
- 172Haynes Probate, file 3.
- 173Vernon News, May 1904.
- 174Ibid., 9 November 1905.
- 175Population and livestock censuses exist for Okanagan and other Indian groups for 1877 and are available in PABC, GR 492, Box 2, file 53, Report to Provincial Secretary, G. M. Sproat and A. McKinlay, 6 February 1878; PAC, RG 10, vol. 3612, file 3756-16; PAC, RG 10, vol. 3817, file 88891, "Order calling for detailed information respecting Indian reserves in BC,"; Minister of Agriculture, 1891, pp. 813-814; Ibid., 1893, pp. 883-884; Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for British Columbia, Report, vol. 3, "Okanagan Agency, pp. 696-723. As well various Indian Agent reports and other scattered information is available.

176OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 29 December 1871.

177For the present purpose the Spallumcheen, Head of Lake, Pentiction and Osoyoos Indians are counted as Okanagan but not the Douglas Lake or Similkameen Indians.

178Vernon News, 14 January 1892.

179Ibid., 30 June 1892, 21 July 1892, 3 October 1892.

180Ibid., 1 May 1902.

181Ibid., 30 January 1896.

182Ibid., 21 February 1895.

183Indians were allowed to lease fewer acres of grazing land if their herd comprised many horses. See PAC, RG 10, vol. 4073, file 439,052, pt. 1, Commissioner of Grazing to Melmsing, 30 March 1926.

184The concept of the reversionary interest of the province in Indian land was first made explicit in "A Report of the Government of British Columbia on the Subject of Indian Reserves," prepared by Attorney-General Walkem and approved by BC Order in Council 1071, 18 August 1875 and accepted by Order of the Governor-General on 10 November 1875.

185Isaac Harris, in testimony to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for British Columbia, dealt with this problem extensively. He said: "If a man is on the same side as the chief and councillors, he will get the pull and the others will be held back Every Indian claims a certain portion of your land. He comes along and knocks your fences down and you cannot say a word. I myself have done lots of work, all to no purpose I want security of tenure." On another occasion he complained of DIA policies: "I wanted to build a house but was on the wrong side of politics so I could not get permission to cut trees. After a few years I received it and applied to the Department. They cut my request in half. The trees were inside my own field and I was not able to do it." PAC, RG 10, 80-1/51, Ledger 14, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Okanagan Agency, Transcript of Evidence.

186PAC, RG 10, vol. 4073, file 439,052, pt. 1, Grimmett and Parker to Scott, DSGIA, 29 January 1920.

187See, for example, Minister of Agriculture, 1894, p. 1606.

FARMING

1TRJ, 1826-1827, September 1826 and 19 April 1827 series of entries.

2Ibid., 9 September 1826, 8 November 1826, 17 April 1827 series of entries.

3Ibid., D5/7, fos. 35-36, Manson to Simpson, 27 February 1842.

4Ibid., D5/16, 1848(1), fos. 466-468, Tod to Simpson, 20 March 1846.

5Ibid., D5/19, fos. 287-290, Anderson to Simpson, 25 February 1847.

6HBCA, B97/a/2, 1826-1827, appendix, McDonald to McLoughlin, 22 August 1826.

7HBCA, D5/19, fos. 491-494, Lewes to Simpson, 15 April 1847.

8Ibid., D5/21, fos. 559-560, Tod to Simpson, 21 March 1848.

9Ibid., D5/30, 1851(1), fos. 523-524, Fraser to Simpson, 1 April 1851. See also D5/26, 1849(3), Douglas to Simpson, 1849.

10TRJ, 1850-1852, 24 October 1851.

11HBCA, D5/33, 1852(1), fos. 448-450, Anderson to Simpson, 22 April 1852.

12Ibid.

13TRJ, 1850-1852 and 1854-1855, passim.

14Chance, pp. 110-116.

15See Walters in Spier, p. 77.

16See Cox map in Duane Thomson, "Opportunity Lost: A History of Okanagan Indian Reserves in the Colonial Period," OHS 42 (1978) : 44.

17PAC, RG 10, 80-1/51, Ledger 14, Fortune testimony to Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, transcript of evidence.

18PABC, BC, Department of Finance, Surveyor of Taxes, Vernon Assessment District, "Okanagan Assessment Roll, 1879," microfilm, reel B 526.

19Census 1881.

20OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 1871.

21Ibid., 28 October 1874 and 28 January 1875.

22PAC, RG 10, vol. 3704, file 17867, McKay to SGIA, 23 January 1885; Howse to Powell, 1883; McKay to Powell, 24 October 1884.

23Census 1881.

24Maggie Stalkia interview.

25PABC, BC, Department of Finance, Surveyor of Taxes, Vernon Assessment District, "Okanagan Road and Tax List, 1876," microfilm, reel B 526.

26Pre-emption Record 69. His land was later surveyed as Lot 129, Group I and was situated at the Mission. He received a water record on 23 February 1877 for 200 inches of water for irrigation purposes. Moore was an American of Scottish descent, aged forty and married to an Indian woman by whom he had one daughter.

27PABC, Certificates of Improvement, Yale District, no. 69, J. B. Moore.

28Pre-emption Record 67. The 320 acres were later surveyed as SE 1/4, S 31 and SW 1/4, S 32 Tp 4 and lay approximately midway between Enderby and the Head of Lake. Girod was thirty years of age, a naturalized Canadian who had recently immigrated from France. He was unmarried but provided room and board for an employee, A. B. Knox.

29PABC, Certificates of Improvement, Yale District, no. 67, Philip Girod.

30This figure is adjusted from \$19,222 because two plots of 320 acres each are listed as having zero value, an apparent error by the assessor.

31In May 1879 Father Richard estimated that his cattle herd of 230 cattle was worth \$3220 or \$14 per animal, young, old, large and small. See OMI, reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 8 March 1880.

32Ibid., January 1879.

33The Mission farm, for example, which was a considerably larger operation than Moore's, did not own a stove or mowing machine by 1881.

34Two miles is enough to enclose 160 acres if it is all in one block or 80 acres if they are in two separate blocks.

35To obtain a working definition of stockraiser it is assumed that if an individual was identified as such on either the 1879 Assessment Roll or the 1881 Census and owned at least one hundred head of livestock or if they weren't classified as stockraisers but owned over five hundred head of cattle they should properly be considered stockraisers. This definition excluded individuals such as James Steele of Spallumcheen who had purebred Shorthorns but had only twenty in his herd in 1879 and persons like William Donaldson, Alex Vance, Amos de Lorier and William Lacerte, who were classified as stockraisers on at least one document but owned less than sixty head and in two cases, had no livestock in 1879.

36This figure excludes two men living with their brothers, a widow and two others who are classified as owning no property.

37Moffat, p. 55.

38Kamloops Museum, Hudson's Bay Company Accounts and Letters, 1875-1878, passim.

39Census, 1881.

40B. F. Young, "Early Days in British Columbia," OHS 5 (1931): 17.

41Graham, "The Okanagan," p. 4.

42Fortune, "Report on BC Natives," 1910.

43Ibid.

44OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 18 August 1877 and 14 August 1877.

45Graham, "The Okanagan," p. 5.

46Vernon News, 29 September 1892.

47OMI, reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, January 1878.

48Ibid., 10 August 1881.

49Ibid., reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 29 December 1871; reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 10 August 1878.

50OMI, reel 705, Baudre to d'Herbomez, 29 December 1871 and reel 709, Richard to d'Herbomez, 10 August 1878.

51Harland Probate.

52OMI, reel 706, Grandidier to d'Herbomez, 20 September 1873.

53Margaret Ormsby, "A Study of the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia" (MA thesis, UBC, 1931),

54Vernon News, 30 November 1893, 15 October 1894, 27 December 1894, 24 January 1895.

55Lands Branch, GR 1440, file 3112/85, Postill to Mara, 16 November 1885 and Mara to CCLW, 1 December 1885.

56British Colonist, 12 August 1888.

57Vernon News, 20 August 1891.

- 58Ibid., Special Illustrated Edition, July 1904.
- 59Ibid., 19 May 1892.
- 60Ibid., 10 April 1894.
- 61PABC, Lands Branch, Pre-emption Records, District of Yale.
- 62MacKay, a Scottish businessman who had moved to Vancouver in 1888, was president of the Oriental Traders Co. Ltd. and president of the Okanagan Land and Development Company. See British Columbia Gazette, 30 October 1890. In the latter company he was in association with a syndicate which included F. S. Barnard and F. C. Innes and other prominent Vancouver business leaders. See Vernon News, 3 January 1891; the Daily Province (Vancouver), 24 July 1927; Kelowna Courier, 14 May 1936 and 25 March 1967.
- 63Vernon News, 9 July 1891.
- 64Ibid.
- 65Ibid., 3 December 1891.
- 66Ibid., 10 September 1891, 10 December 1891, 10 September 1894.
- 67PAC, George Taylor Denison Papers, MG29, E29, vol. 7-8 (hereafter Denison Papers), Mair to Denison, 6 October 1892.
- 68Ibid., 26 January 1894, 8 January 1896.
- 69Ibid., 4 January 1896.
- 70Denison Papers, Mair to Denison, 6 October 1892.
- 71Norman P. R. Noel, Blanket-stiff, or a Wanderer in Canada, 1911 (London: n.p., 1912), p. 53.
- 72Ibid.
- 73C. W. Holliday, The Valley of Youth (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1948), p. 190.
- 74Ormsby, "Okanagan Valley," pp. 59-77; A. L. Fortune, Diary, MS; PABC, A. L. Fortune, "Account of Life Written for the British Columbia Historical Association", TS; Donald Graham, "The Rise and Fall of Grist Milling in the Okanagan Valley," OHS 4 (1930) : 13; Donald Graham, Journal.
- 75Vernon News, 31 March 1892, 16 June 1892, 27 October 1893, 16 March 1894,
- 76Minister of Agriculture, 1893 and 1895.
- 77Whereas 193 settlers responded in 1893, only 49 did so in 1895 the year when general statistics are most complete.
- 78British Colonist, 12 August 1888.
- 79Vernon News, 4 June 1891.
- 80Reports are available for the Kamloops-Okanagan Agency in 1891 and 1893. Minister of Agriculture, 1891, pp. 813-814; 1893, pp. 883-885. They are available for the Okanagan portion of the Agency in 1890. Vernon News, 16 July 1891.
- 81Vernon News, 12 May 1892, 14 November 1895. See also RG 10, vol. 3753, file 30624, Kamloops-Okanagan Indian Agency, Monthly Report, December 1895, Wentworth J. Wood Agent.
- 82Kelowna Museum, Daily Journal of George Rose, 1891-1893.
- 83Land records reveal that O'Keefe owned over 7,000 acres of land by 1890 and that his partner, Greenhow, owned nearly

9,000 acres. He refused to sell or subdivide any major portion of his holdings until 1904 when he sold three thousand acres through the Vernon-Okanagan Land Company. See Vernon News, Special Illustrated Edition, July 1904. His operation is referred to frequently in the Vernon News and certain ranch records are available, including his cancelled cheques from 1893 to 1899 and an invoice book recording his major purchases, 1887-1889.

84Ibid., 8 September 1898.

85British Colonist, 6 and 11 August 1888.

86Vernon News, 9 July 1891.

87Ibid., 1 October 1891, 10 December 1891.

88Ibid., 16 June 1892.

89Minister of Agriculture, 1895, p. 1176.

90Ormsby, "Okanagan Valley," p. 72.

91Vernon News, 11 June 1891.

92Ibid., 7 January 1892, 11 February 1892, 31 March 1892, 21 April 1892.

93Ibid., 12 May 1892, 23 February 1893, 31 August 1893, 19 April 1894, 3 January 1895.

94Ormsby, "Okanagan Valley," p. 99.

95Ormsby, British Columbia, pp. 312-313.

96Cited in David Dendy, "One Huge Orchard: Okanagan Land Development Companies Before the Great War" (BA graduating essay, University of Victoria, 1976).

97Dendy. See also PABC, J. M. Robinson Papers.

98See, for example, a letter of advice from Phil Maynard to an English acquaintance. Phil Maynard, "Letter to a Prospective Fruit Rancher: to Sir Harald Hewett from Phil Maynard, 1911," OHS 48 (1984) : 8-10.

99The best study of the Okanagan orcharding industry is David Dendy, "Orchard".

100PABC, Add MSS, 1695, T. L. Gillespie, "History of the KLO Benches."

101L. deW. Mallory, "A Short Summary of the Tree Fruits Survey," cited in Ormsby, "Okanagan Valley," p. 117.

102See J. W. Thompson, A History of Livestock Raising in the United States, Agricultural History Series 5 (Washington, DC: US Department of Agriculture, 1942).

103For IRC comments on irrigation see PAC, RG 10, vol. 3633, file 6425-3, British Columbia, IRC. Report on Irrigation, 1878 by Edward Mohun, 23 pp.; for irrigation records see RG 10, vol. 3579, file 663.

104PAC, RG 10, vol. 4010, file 259,190, P. O'Reilly letter, 4 March 1871; and RG 10, 74-75/59, vol. 4, file 30-10, Report of P. O'Reilly, IRC, on Reserves 9 and 10, Okanagan Band, 10 December 1888.

105Ibid., 80-1/50, vol. 2, file 9753, p. 2. CCLW to Superintendent of Indian Affairs. 5 December 1884. Quoted in Memorandum for Deputy Minister, 19 April 1909.

106Amendment to Land Act of BC, 1884, 25 April 1888. See RG 10, Acc 80-1/51, vol. 10, file 9755, pt. 1.

107PAC, RG 10, vol. 4010, file 259,190, Ditchburn to Oliver, "Indian Water Question," 15 March 1909, p. 20.

108Ibid., vol. 3661, file 9755-1, Ditchburn to Scott, 12 February 1930.

109Ibid., vol. 3660, file 9155-1; 80-1/51, vol. 1, file 515 and vol. 11, file 9755, pt. 2; and vol. 3683, file 12669, list of water records and maps.

110BC Gazette, vol. 29, no. 18 (2 May 1889) : 271-272 and vol. 29, no. 25 (20 June 1889) : 384-385. See also PAC, RG 10, vol. 3683, file 12,669.

111See Kamloops and Okanagan Indian Agency, List of Water Privileges submitted for record and copies of water records. PAC, RG 10, vol. 3683, file 12,669. See also Ibid., 80-151, vol. 11, file 9755, pt. 2, Bray to Deputy Minister, 19 April 1890. For water records granted with a priority of 1897 see PAC, RG 10, vol. 3660, file 9155-1, typescript, 10 pp. and vol. 3579, file 663.

112PAC, RG 10, p. 74-5/59, vol. 4, file 30-10.

113Ibid., vol. 3661, file 9755-7, Ditchburn to Scott, 23 June 1925.

114Ibid., file 9755-6, Ditchburn to Patullo, 28 August 1923.

115Ibid., 80-1/51, vol. 2, "Report Re: Indian Water Rights, 1914."

116Ibid., pp. 125-137; Extracts from Precip Report: Okanagan Agency.

CONCLUSION

1Margaret Ormsby, "Some Irish Figures in Colonial Days," BCHQ vol. 14, no. 1 and 2 (1950) : 63.

2Other Anglo-Irish figures of significance in the Okanagan but not of long-standing residence were W. G. Cox, Peter O'Reilly and A. Vowell. Irish premiers were McCreight, Elliott and Walkem.

3See W. Peter Ward, "Class and Race in the Social Structure of British Columbia, 1870-1939," pp. 581-599, in British Columbia: Historical Readings, eds. W. Peter Ward and Robert A. J. McDonald (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981).

4Harland Probate.

5Haynes Probate.

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 40 Vic. 1877. "Report of Select Committee on McConnell's Claim." pp. xxix-xlix.

 41 Vic. 1878. pp. 20-21.

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 40 Vic. 1877. "Correspondence with Reference to the Application of James McConnel and Joseph McCauley to pre-empt certain land at Osoyoos." pp. 525-528.

 50 Vic. 1886. "Mr. Farwell's Report on the Proposed Shuswap and Okanagan Railway." pp. 483-487.

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