Surveillance, Measurement, Judgment, and Reform: Indian Reserves in the British Columbia Interior and the Panoptic Mechanism

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the nature of the surveillance of Native peoples in the British Columbia interior in the early twentieth century. Drawing on Michel Foucault's use of the "panopticon" as an instrument of observation and normalization, Indian reserves are investigated as "laboratories of reform" that were isolated from the outside population while at the same time open to the light of inspection. While the federal government intended to measure and judge all aspects of Native peoples' lives to a degree unprecedented in Canadian history as part of its "civilizing" project, this study focuses primarily on economic activity. Every cent earned from wage labour, hunting and fishing, and the agricultural produce of each reserve was recorded in incredible detail and used to compare each group with its neighbours and to judge its relative level of "advancement". It is in economic activity, as well, where resistance during this period is particularly evident.

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Chapter 1

"Like so many small theatres": Liberalism, Capitalism, and Panopticism[1]

There is little doubt that the spread of computer technology and video equipment has facilitated an increase in the level of surveillance exercised over almost every aspect of people's lives in virtually every part of the world. Medical records, credit information, workplace productivity, travel data, even library use and grocery store purchases can be collected and combined with the aid of electronic technology. While the spread of this information has accelerated in the past few years, the project is rooted in techniques and strategies that began two centuries ago.

The ultimate purpose of this thesis is to investigate the nature of surveillance of Native peoples in Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century and to explore the motivations behind the Canadian government's decisions to divide Native nations into bands, restrict them to reserves, and engage in a level of observation and comparison unprecedented in Canadian history. Chapters three through five provide examples from the Kamloops and Okanagan Indian agencies in the British Columbia interior, while the second chapter provides context with a general study of Indian reserves in Canada. The first chapter is dedicated to working through ideas that serve as a foundation for the study in which the work of Michel Foucault and his use of Jeremy Bentham's "panopticon" is of primary importance.

The preliminary work for this thesis began with an investigation of textual material collected by the Department of Indian Affairs. It eventually became clear, however, that a framework other than those suggested by the simple

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[1] Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1979): 200.

domination/agency dichotomy or by linear progression models was necessary in order to effectively explore the myriad and variable relations of power that these documents suggested. The analysis suggested by Foucault, with his consideration of the multi-directional nature of power, seemed a particularly useful instrument with which to investigate the nature of the web of power relations in which Indian reserves were embedded. While Foucault seems never to have considered the attempt to normalize Native peoples, there are many parallels between reserves and the institutions of measurement, judgment, and reform that he did explore. Since the writings of Foucault serve as the threads that link the various aspects of this study, it is necessary to consider his perspective and orientation.

Establishing precise philosophical and political locations for Foucault are very slippery endeavors. Even on a specific topic such as the locus of power there is a considerable intellectual shift between his earlier and later works. In *Archaeology of Knowledge* he admits to a significant misjudgment made in *Birth of the Clinic.* Foucault had argued that in the late eighteenth century humanism replaced the king with an individual observed spectator. Later, he came to recognize the dispersion of the gaze and the diffuse and multi-directional nature of power. This revised notion would become a major component in *Discipline & Punish.*[2] Shifts such as this have caused some frustration and much misunderstanding on the part of commentators. Clifford Geertz illustrates the consternation by likening Foucault's work to an Escher drawing.[3] Many others seem to take comments uttered by Foucault in one essay or interview as his final word, which it rarely was.

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[2] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language,* trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972): 54.

[3] Clifford Geertz, "Stir Crazy," *New York Review of Books* (26 January 1978): 3. Geertz observes that the difficulty of Foucault's work stems not from a "desire to form an intellectual cult only the instructed can join, but from a powerful and genuine originality of thought."

Perhaps the most helpful way to look at Foucault is suggested by Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow who, echoing Gilles Deluze, remark that "Foucault should be seen not as a historian, but as a new kind of map-maker – maps made for use, not to mirror the terrain."[4] While Edward Said argues that "we shouldn't indulge ourselves in the practice of saving Foucault from himself in order to make self-interested use of him,"[5] it seems that this is exactly what Foucault wants. Refusing to be cornered in any "isms", Foucault says that he prefers to use the writers he likes rather than obediently accepting their instruction.[6] It is in character, then, that he should say in reference to *The History of Sexuality* that "it is not up to me to say how the book should be used."[7] In the introduction to *Archaeology of Knowledge* he is more adamant: "Do not ask who I am and do not ask me to remain the same: leave it to our bureaucrats and our police to see that our papers are in order."[8] It is exactly surveillance like this that is the primary subject of this thesis.

In 1975, Foucault commented that a comprehensive history of the practice of examining had not been written. While this remains accurate two decades later, Foucault's work taken collectively, and added to the body of comment it has inspired, is a significant step toward rectification of this deficiency. The reasons suggested for the growth of examining and surveillance since the late eighteenth century could provide material for an entire study in itself. For current purposes it is sufficient to say, albeit somewhat simplistically, that

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[4] Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982): 127-8.

[5] Edward Said, "Foucault and the Imagination of Power," *Foucault: A Critical Reader,* ed. David Couzens Hoy (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986): 151.

[6] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings, 1972-1977,* ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980): 53.

[7] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge:* 192.

[8] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*: 17.

commentators divide roughly into two camps. There are those who view modernity, rationalization, surveillance, and the development of capitalism as progressive and inherently democratic, and those who question these assumptions.

While Paul Rabinow may be correct in his contention that Foucault never explains with precision the relationship between the accumulation of capital and accumulation of power over individuals, Foucault is quite clear that each makes the other possible: "the economic changes of the eighteenth century made it necessary to ensure the circulation of effects of power through progressively finer channels, gaining access to individuals themselves, to their bodies, their gestures and all their daily actions."[9] According to Foucault, with the Enlightenment came the rhetoric of increased concern for individual and collective welfare concurrent with an increase in the ordering and classification of all realms of human existence. The Enlightenment discovered liberty but it also invented discipline in its modern mode.[10] Capitalism required "the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes." It also required that these bodies exhibit increased docility and greater availability. Further, it needed to optimize these resources without inciting rebellion.[11] Jürgen Habermas is perhaps the best known critic of Foucault's position on rationality, modernity, and the Enlightenment. Habermas contends that Foucault is locked in a rigid conservatism and is unable to see the essentially progressive character of rationality and modernity.[12]

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[9] Paul Rabinow, ed. *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984): 18; Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge:* 149-50. See also Foucault, *Discipline & Punish:* 221.

[10] Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*: 222.

[11] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality,* vol. 1, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1986): 141.

Christopher Dandeker, somewhat remarkably, suggests that Foucault does not view the imperatives of capitalism as creating the need for increased surveillance, but rather this intensification of surveillance is due to "the classificatory impulses of a constantly proliferating number of expert occupations." Dandeker claims that since the process of "bureaucratization" originates in military organizations, the temptation to view the process in terms of the exigencies of capitalism should be avoided.[13] In contrast, Foucault, like Marx, asserts that surveillance became a "decisive economic operator."[14] Dandeker claims that authority in liberal-capitalist societies derives from the lower reaches of the community and requires the "voluntary consent of the subordinate population."[15] This lack of recognition for the hegemonic reasons for consent in modern capitalist societies far exceeds even de Tocqueville's understanding of democracy. While admitting that control is exercised over subject populations it is also, Dandeker claims, exercised on their behalf.[16] This

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[12] See for example Jürgen Habermas, "Taking Aim at the Heart of the Present," *Foucault: A Critical Reader,* ed. David Couzens Hoy (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).

[13] Christopher Dandeker, *Surveillance, Power and Modernity: Bureaucracy and Discipline From 1700 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990): 145. Interestingly, in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (p.135), Dreyfus and Rabinow cite a passage from *Discipline & Punish* (p.221): "the massive projection of military methods into industrial organization was an example of the modeling of the division of labor following the model laid down by the schemata of power. But this schemata did not arise in the economic sectors and it was not restricted to it." The last sentence, though, does not seem to appear in the edition they cite. Regardless of the reason for this discrepancy, it is obvious that Foucault would not want to draw as clear a dichotomy between the economic and the political as Dandeker would like to assert.

[14] Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*: 175. The connection between Foucault and Marx is, again, a much debated issue. He is certainly, and characteristically, opposed to the initiative taken by some communist parties to dictate how Marx should be used. *Power/Knowledge:* 53.

[15] Dandeker, *Surveillance, Power and Modernity*: 43.

[16] Dandeker, *Surveillance, Power and Modernity*: 64; de Tocqueville stated that "A government retains its sway over a great number of citizens, far less by the voluntary and rational consent of the multitude, than by that instinctive, and to a certain extent involuntary agreement, which results from similarity of feelings and resemblances of opinion." Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* vol. 1 (New York: Colonial Press, 1900): 398. The concept of hegemony used throughout this thesis flows primarily from that expressed by Raymond Williams: "an inclusive social and cultural formation which indeed to be effective has to extend

"for their own good" approach embedded in humanitarian rhetorics of reform and progress is exactly what Foucault is critical of, and is attempting to bring into the light of public debate.[17] The class component of surveillance has, of course, been ignored or depreciated by liberal apologists for two centuries.

Late eighteenth century reformers in Britain and France believed that surveillance could only be positive. As Foucault affirms "they thought people would become virtuous by the simple fact of being observed." These individuals could not have realized the correspondence of economic interest and power that was unleashed with the development of print media.[18] Benedict Anderson notes that the "convergence of capitalism and print technology...set the stage for the modern nation."[19] By the late eighteenth century, old ideas of fraternity, power, and time had lost "their axiomatic grip on men's minds" under the weight of economic change and social and scientific developments.[20]

In 1778, Jeremy Bentham announced "a new mode of obtaining power of mind over mind, in a quantity hitherto without example: and that to a degree equally without example, secured by whoever chooses to have it so, against abuse." This method would see "Morals reformed–health preserved–industry invigorated–instruction diffused–public burthens lightened–Economy seated, as

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to and include, indeed to form an be formed from, this whole area of lived experience." Raymond Williams, "Selections from Marxism and Literature," *Culture/Power/History,* eds. Nicholas B. Dirks et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press): 598. Hegemony is an organic process that must constantly shift to compensate for changing historical conditions. It can never be complete because the lived conditions and experiences of those most adversely effected constantly contradict dominant understandings and weaken the binding forces of hegemony.

[17] Foucault described humanism as "the totality of discourse through which Western man is told: 'Even though you don't exercise power, you can still be a ruler.' " It is "everything in Western civilization that restricts *the desire for power:* it prohibits the desire for power and excludes the possibility of power being seized." Michel Foucault, *Language Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected and Essays and Interviews,* ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1977): 221-2. Emphasis in original.

[18] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*: 161-2.

[19] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* 1983 (London: Verso, 1994): 46.

[20] Anderson, *Imagined Communities:* 36.

it were, upon a rock–the gordian knot of the Poor-Laws not cut, but untied–all by a simple idea of Architecture!"[21] He called the idea "the panopticon". Clearly, it represented a significant alteration in the nature of observation, and concurrently in relations of power and modes of knowledge.

From this point forward, power would be exercised from "*within* the social body, rather than *from above* it," but it could not, and cannot, be exercised without the production and circulation of discourses of truth.[22] As Foucault argues: "We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth." Neither can power be exercised without the knowledges underlying and informing the discursive production of truth. Not only is knowledge necessary to the exercise of power, but it is "impossible for knowledge not to engender power."[23] The reconstitution of bodies as disciplinary objects, from tablets upon which to inscribe punishment to objects of manipulation, created and required new truths which in turn formed, and required the production of, new knowledges. Until this period, power was usually made evident through spectacle and contravention of order was met with a hierarchy of punishments descending in severity from a drawn-out and pain-filled public execution to banishment. Even the latter lower level non-corporal punishments were often preceded by some form of public display such as flogging or branding.[24]

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[21] Jeremy Bentham, "Panopticon; or, the Inspection-House &C," *The Works of Jeremy Bentham,* vol. iv, ed. John Bowring, 1838-1843 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962): 39.

[22] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge:* 38-9.

[23] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge:* 93, 52; Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge:* 182-3. Foucault distinguishes between "*connaissance"* and *"savoir",* both of which translate to "knowledge" in English. *"Connaissance"* he uses to refer to a particular body of knowledge "the relation of the subject to the object and the particular rules that govern it." *"Savoir"* is an underlying infrastructure which he refers to as "the conditions that are necessary in a particular period for this or that type of object to be given to *connaissance* and for this or that enunciation to be formulated." Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge:* 15 fn2. It is knowledge in the sense expressed by "*savoir*" that is used in the remainder of this thesis.

[24] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*: 32-3.

The idea of spectacle extended well beyond penal policy to other arenas of social difference. Foucault suggests that the "face of madness has haunted the imagination of Western man" since the fifteenth century.[25] But as Sander Gilman points out, the "madman" was already visible in medieval literature. Gilman notes further, that there was also a commonplace association between madness and blackness.[26] This association undoubtedly had perseverance. Shakespeare made a similar connection in the sixteenth century in the dialogue of Ferdinand, King of Navarre, in *Love's Labour's Lost*: "So it is, besieged with sable-coloured melancholy, I did commend the black oppressing humour to the most wholesome physic of thy health-giving air."[27]

Insanity as spectacle was well established by what Foucault refers to as the "classical age" (approximately 1650-1800):

> During the classical period, madness was shown, but on the other side of bars; if present, it was at a distance, under the eyes of reason that no longer felt any relation to it and that would not compromise itself by too close a resemblance. Madness had become a thing to look at.[28]

Over the course of the classical period, madness became not only a thing to look at, but to examine. The growing compulsion to examine was, in turn, integral to the creation of the panopticon. For Foucault, the panoptic mechanism brings into focus the control of bodies, space, power, and

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[25] Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason,* trans. R. Howard (New York: Random House, 1965): 15.

[26] Sander Gilman, *Seeing the Insane* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1982): 2-4. Although Gilman makes no comment, it should be noted that in all of his medieval examples, not only are the insane black, but they are also female.

[27] William Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost,* I.I, 227-229, G.R. Hibbard, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990): 106-7. The notion of "humours" or bile refers to the continuing acceptance of Aristotle's explanation for various temperaments. Black bile was associated with several disorders, including hysteria and melancholy.

[28] Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*: 70.

knowledge. He explains its development as a coalescence of technologies that had previously been applied to leper colonies and plague-stricken towns. In leper colonies people were stigmatized, and isolated in a "binary division between one set of people and another."[29] In contrast, he presents the plague-stricken town as:

> the enclosed, segmented space, observed at every point, in which the individuals are inserted in a fixed place, in which the slightest movements are supervised, in which all events are recorded, in which an uninterrupted work of writing links the centre and periphery, in which power is exercised without division, according to a continuous hierarchical figure, in which each individual is constantly located examined and distributed among the living beings, the sick and the dead – all this constitutes a compact model of the disciplinary mechanism.[30]

The panoptic mechanism combined the exclusion and stigmatism of the leper colony with the control of confusion and disorder associated with the plague. It was fundamentally a method of controlling bodies in space.

Until the work of the Annales school, the study of the importance of space, and its social, economic, and political linkages were not often considered by historians. Yet the construction of particular spaces has profound implications. Jean and John Comaroff have demonstrated the political importance of space in the spread of colonialism in Southern Africa.[31] Similarly, it is generally accepted that the perception of North America as "wilderness", and as unused by its original inhabitants, served as justification for its preemption by Europeans. The ordering of space in the missions of Southern Africa and the fur trade forts and

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[29] Foucault, *Discipline & Punish:* 198.

[30] Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*: 197.

[31] Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa,* Vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991): 200-206.

farms of North America is coincident with the similar institutional ordering in Enlightenment and Post-Enlightenment Europe.

Perhaps nowhere is space more clearly partitioned, than in the act of mapping. Foucault concludes that the map is an instrument of examination and so of power and knowledge.[32] As Anthony Giddens suggests, "the dynamism of modernity derives from the *separation of time and space* and their recombination in forms which permit the precise time-space "zoning" of social life."[33] With the introduction of the mechanical clock, time could be measured with increasing accuracy and its human use refined to the second. Like space, time was partitioned to increase productive efficiency. The panoptic mechanism for Bentham, but more so for Foucault, was the web that controlled individuals in time and space. Bodies could be specifically located in a space which was at once divided and kept open. They were enmeshed in a continuous system of surveillance which was simultaneously global and individualizing.[34]

For Bentham, the panopticon had appeal for its utilitarian possibilities and its efficiency. It represented the opposite of monarchical power maintained by spectacle. He believed its gaze was generalizable, self-regulating, and ensured democracy. As Bentham commented, "self devoted to the task of unremitting inspection, it would have been a reward to me, not a punishment to be as unremittingly inspected."[35] For Foucault, the panopticon is similarly an ensemble of mechanisms designed to generate a body of knowledge rather

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[32] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*: 74; Similarly, Benedict Anderson illustrates the power of the map in defining nationality. Such associations between mapping and imperialism, begun by Anderson, need to be explored and expanded in a full length study. Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* 170-178.

[33] Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990): 16-17.

[34] Foucault: *Power/Knowledge:* 146.

[35] Bentham, "Panopticon": 177.

than create a display.[36] But its primary function is to normalize individuals through increasingly rationalized means, not to democratize power relations. As Dreyfus and Rabinow suggest, its purpose for Foucault is to reform individuals as "meaningful subjects and docile objects."[37]

Clearly, "normal" is an historic and intentional construct. Dreyfus and Rabinow argue that, for Foucault, the panopticon measures behavior "between two poles, the good and the bad" where "there was a precise and gradated series of steps which could be identified", but this is somewhat misleading.[38] Their conception seems to imply a simple linear hierarchy of obedience. In contrast, Foucault referred to the process as effecting "distributions around the norm."[39] This conception implies a model with both horizontal and vertical depth. Not only can obedience be measured and plotted graphically on a line between good and bad, but obedience according to a specific economic and/or political station in life can be mapped. Obedience, or the "goodness" expected of a wealthy male textile manufacturer is completely different than for a female stockinger. The gaze of the panopticon is not neutral to social cleavages. Thomas Laqueur, for example, points to the "medical imperialism" at the heart of so called health reform of the early nineteenth century whose motivating force was to preserve "paternal relations between rich and poor."[40] In investigating workplace accidents, coroners were interested in immediate causes only, not in pursuing the possibility of management negligence.[41] As the

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[36] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge:* 71; Foucault, *Discipline & Punish:* 220.

[37] Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Michel Foucault:* xxiii.

[38] Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Michel Foucault:* 158.

[39] Foucault, *History of Sexuality,* vol 1: 144.

[40] Thomas W. Laqueur, "Bodies, Details and the Humanitarian Narrative," *The New Cultural History,* ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 190.

[41] Laqueur, *Bodies, Details*: 193.

panoptic system developed, both workers and employers could be observed, judged, and plotted, but never on the same axis between good and bad.

For Foucault, the panoptic structure individualizes and makes constantly visible "like so many small theatres" the space occupied by each person.[42] In this way it is the reverse of the dungeon or the early asylum. It does not simply segregate a particular segment of the population, but acts "with precision upon its individual subjects." Even its failures are transformed into successes. "Criminals come in handy" to facilitate capital accumulation, directly as in the case of prostitution, or indirectly as agents against labour disputes or political struggles.[43]

The individual is not repressed by the panoptic system but embedded in it.[44] It is virtually irrelevant who operates the machine, or what their motivation. At the same time, power is not centrally located. Foucault claims that "the diabolical aspect" of the conception is that no one is in total control. While not everyone occupies the same position, everyone is caught in the machine. Those who exercise power as much as those upon whom it is exercised are subjected to its ordering and normalizing effects.[45] As the system dislodges any particular nexus of power, it becomes self regulatory and renders force unnecessary. As Bentham put it, "Each comrade becomes a guardian."[46]

For Foucault, the operations of power inherent to the panopticon are most visible in particular disciplinary institutions, whether educational, penal, economic, military, or medical. Yet they are not limited to any institutional setting. While disciplinary establishments increased in number over the course

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[42] Foucault, *Discipline & Punish:* 200.

[43] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*: 40.

[44] Foucault, *Discipline & Punish:* 217.

[45] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge:* 156.

[46] Cited in Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Michel Foucault*: 192.

of the nineteenth century, their mechanisms of power had "a certain tendency to become de-institutionalized."[47] The Christian school of the nineteenth century had the ability to supervise and reform parents as well as their children. Similarly hospitals, jails, and factories had effects on, and attempted to normalize by observation, the social life of communities well beyond their physical structures. Even in the home, space and time became regulated in a disciplinary regimen.[48]

Foucault is adamant that the panopticon has grown to an all inclusive web of power relations that analysis of state apparatuses alone can not illuminate.[49] The extent and generalizabilty of panoptic mechanisms has caused some debate. Michael Walzer, for example, wants to align Foucault with liberal pluralists who perceive a decentered relation of power and so rob radical politics of an object.[50] Walzer agues that Foucault is not specific enough in delineating the differences between living in prison and in various types of carceral societies. Christopher Dandeker takes the argument further by criticizing Foucault for not drawing sufficient distinction between the disciplinary techniques of different institutions within capitalism: the military, the prison, and the capitalist enterprise.[51] Dandeker claims that it is difficult to point to concrete examples of total surveillance, except in literary "speculations" of such

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[47] Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*: 211.

[48] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge:* 149. The intrusion of "experts" into the home, and the transfer of scientific management, or Taylorism, from the factory to the household has become a well trodden path for Canadian historians of women and the family in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

[49] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge:* 72.

[50] Michael Walzer, "The Politics of Michael Foucault," *Foucault*: *A Critical Reader,* David Couzens Hoy, ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986): 54.

[51] Dandeker, *Surveillance, Power and Modernity:* 28.

potential. Similarly, Jürgen Habermas believes Foucault's relation of panopticism to the whole process of modernization is false.[52]

Yet it seems that all of these commentators, originating in rather different political orientations, miss (or choose to ignore) an important thrust in Foucault's analysis. Disciplinary techniques, in the capitalist business enterprise, the asylum, the prison, the hospital, the school, the military, and the society at large are not absolutely the same. But, the difference between a prison and external society as the loci for panoptic procedures and as forums for the exercise of power is simply a matter of degree or "concentration." Naturally, this notion makes those who envision liberal capitalism as free and democratic uncomfortable. It is not politically feasible or methodologically possible for these individuals to consider the possibility that many of the mechanisms of power that Foucault implies reside in the realm of the hegemonic and so can not be "concretely identified."

The de-centering of power is also disconcerting to those who would simply turn the social relations of production, and the relations of power and knowledge, upside down and leave the structures and associated knowledges fundamentally unchanged. To this, Benedict Anderson's point that the geographical stretch of the former Soviet Union was "strangely reminiscent of Czardom's" is instructive.[53] Referring in 1983 to the Soviet Union, China, and Poland, Bill White, Canadian trade union leader and former Communist Party of Canada member, commented "there's just no system devised where the worker wasn't at the bottom of the heap holding it up."[54] Transformation requires more profound change than simply hiring a new superintendent.

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[52] Translated and cited in Hoy, *Foucault:* 9.

[53] Anderson, *Imagined Communities:* 108.

[54] Howard White, *A Hard Man to Beat* (Vancouver: Pulp Press, 1983): 150.

Foucault is not alone in his understanding that contemporary surveillance and discipline are extensive and comprehensive. Stanley Cohen, for example, has noted the "seemingly inexorable process by which society keeps classifying, controlling, excluding more and more groups according to age, sex, race, behavior, moral status, ability or psychic state."[55] The possibilities of resistance to the web of power relations understood by Foucault will be discussed below. It should be noted, however, that any strategy of resistance to be effective would have to take into account the particular relations of power in a single society at a specific historical juncture.

As has been shown, for Foucault, the panopticon brings together power, bodies, time, and space. But additionally, it connects each of these components with knowledge. While Foucault is careful to say that the human sciences did not emerge from the specific discipline of the prison, the "carceral network" that developed at a particular historical juncture made the human sciences historically possible.[56] The panopticon facilitates the gathering of knowledge and the exercise of power through ever finer examination. It is not only a particularly efficient technique of control but it is also a laboratory for transformation. Individuals can be observed and experimented on and the results tabulated and compared with those for other individuals on a grid or in a table.

It was believed in the "classical age", and is widely (although incorrectly) accepted today, that such tables are neutral. Many continue to believe that an observer can see and understand the information contained from a position outside the grid that is not possible with other forms of textual information. As Martin Jay suggests "although such tables are necessarily linguistic, the names they arrange in spatial relations are assumed to be utterly without density of

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[55] Stanley Cohen, *Visions of Social Control* (London: Polity Press, 1985): 267.

[56] Foucault, *Discipline & Punish:* 305.

their own."[57] Not only is the density of the categories in a table potentially obscured, but the categories themselves are socially constructed and may have little meaning to the subject. As Thomas Laqueur has commented, the "humanitarian narrative" is characterized by "its reliance on detail as a sign of truth."[58] Similarly, the presentation of quantitative material retains the ability to either project truth claims or to mystify. While neither of these reactions is inherent to the data, the presentation of tables as supra-textual and their recorded observations as more "truthful" continues in the social sciences.

While examples of this phenomenon are widespread throughout many academic disciplines, the panoptic model is perhaps most clearly applied to anthropology, and its "participant observers". One of the best known practitioners who utilizes a tabular format in a particularly simplistic binary form is Claude Lévi-Strauss. While binarism is presented as a reflection of the structure of the human mind, it seems more clearly identifiable with a cosmology that is distinctly European and Christian. In examining the evaluation of black Africa by the West, Wole Soyinka noted that "negritude adopted the Manichean tradition of European thought and inflicted it on a culture which is most radically un-Manichean. It not only accepted the dialectical structure of European ideological confrontation but borrowed from the very components of its racist syllogism."[59] While the order represented in a binary table reflects the structure of the matrix, and perhaps the orientation of the author, its reflections of the deep structures of the human mind are far less evident.

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[57] Martin Jay, "In the Empire of the Gaze," *Foucault: A Critical Reader,* David Couzens Hoy, ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986): 187.

[58] Thomas W. Laqueur, "Bodies, Details": 177.

[59] Cited in Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977): 1.

Beyond the weaknesses of the analytic value of the binary model itself to examine the construction of truth, the oppositions provided by Lévi-Strauss are ambiguous. Some oppositions are polar, such as raw versus cooked, while others are marked by presence/absence as in satisfying versus non-satisfying. Not only is the merging of these different forms of opposition methodologically unsound, it is likely to produce confused results.[60] Even though the observer forms fundamentally incorrect assumptions from the information collected about a particular subject, relations of power are, however, not weakened. Lévi-Strauss retains the ability to examine his subjects and explain their aberrations.

Inexplicably, Dreyfus and Rabinow claim that the physical sciences lie outside the matrix of power in which the social sciences are enmeshed.[61] Similarly they comment that "a doctor can stand outside a patient and treat him objectively, but a practitioner of interpretive analysis has no such external position."[62] Further they claim that whereas "normalizing society has turned out to be a powerful and insidious form of domination," normal science is simply "an effective means of accumulating knowledge [although not truth] about the natural world."[63] None of these comments are cited with any work of Foucault. It seems unlikely he would have made a claim for the neutrality of physical science or medicine, certainly not in works after *The Birth of the Clinic.* Rather, as mentioned above, Foucault sees knowledge and power as inexorably linked. The demand to " 'Liberate scientific research from the demands of monopoly capitalism': maybe it's a good slogan, but it will never be more than a slogan."[64]

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[60] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked*, trans. John Weightman and Doreen Weightman (New York: Octagon Books, 1970).

[61] Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Michel Foucault:* 160.

[62] Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Michel Foucault:* 202.

[63] Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Michel Foucault:* 198.

[64] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge:* 52.

The socially constructed nature of scientific knowledge is gaining increasingly wide acceptance. While some, like Megan Vaughn, "stop short of a full scale constructionist approach," a scientific rationalist biomedical theory is clearly not free from cultural construction.[65] As Nancy Tomes argues "concepts of disease and preferred methods of treatment had both a medical and social rationale" that were "mutually compatible and reinforcing."[66] Gisela Bock notes that unequal social relations between men and women continue to be legitimized by explaining difference as the result of physiology. However, as Bock suggests, it is not anatomy that causes women or those defined as racially inferior to reap diminished social rewards, but culture as presented in biological value judgments.[67] Gender, Bock contends, should be used in a more comprehensive way to include not only those parts of life that have been already proven to be culturally constructed, but also those parts that are assumed to lie outside of the construction.[68] While the gaze of medical science occupies a particularly privileged position within the panopticon, this can be justified by invoking the authority of rationalism that created the panoptic mechanism in the first place.

If one accepts the growth and spreading of panoptic surveillance and power in the age of computers and video cameras, the possibility of resistance seems bleak. Clifford Geertz claims Foucault's analysis is "a kind of Whig history in reverse – a history, in spite of itself, of The Rise of Unfreedom."[69]

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[65] Megan Vaughn, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness,* (London: Polity Press, 1991): 6-7.

[66] Nancy Tomes, *A Generous Confidence, Thomas Story Kirkbride and the Art of Asylum-Keeping, 1840-1883* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984): xi.

[67] Gisela Bock, "Women's History and Gender History: Aspects of an International Debate," *Gender and History,* 1 (Spring, 1989): 13.

[68] Bock: *Women's History:* 15.

[69] Geertz, "Stir Crazy": 6.

Edward Said argues that Foucault conceives power as "irresistible and unopposable."[70] Christopher Dandeker said "Foucault's politics is one of pessimism and inaction."[71] It is, indeed, easy to view the panoptic net cast over society as debilitating to any attempt at opposition. Yet, resistance is not impossible simply because power is not isolated in the modern nation-state. In Foucault's later interviews and in *The History of Sexuality* there is a definite trend toward the acceptance of the possibility of resistance. In an interview with Paul Rabinow, Foucault commented "no matter how terrifying a given system may be, there always remain the possibilities of resistance, disobedience, and oppositional groupings."[72] For Foucault, there is no simple binary division between resistance and non-resistance.[73] This more ambivalent understanding of resistance and non-resistance and of agency and constraint has recently been applied to the studies of various cultural encounters.[74]

Foucault, though, never examines the importance of the return of the gaze, or what it means that the individuals in the "small theatres" may also be observing the performance on other stages. He does, however, see people continuously engaged in struggles that alter relations of power. David Hoy affirms that Foucault's critique is intended to "subvert and disrupt the growth of this [panoptic] malignancy."[75] Geertz says Foucault is "politically committed to a continuous guerrilla war against the various islands of the carceral

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[70] Said, "Foucault": 151.

[71] Dandeker, *Surveillance, Power:* 29.

[72] Rabinow, *Foucault Reader*: 245.

[73] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge:* 257.

[74] See for example Jean and John Comaroff, *Revelation and Revolution;* Elizabeth Furniss, "Resistance, Coercion, and Revitalization: The Shuswap Encounter with the Roman Catholic Missionaries, 1860-1900." *Ethnohistory* 42, 2 (Spring 1995): 233.

[75] Hoy, "Introduction," *Foucault*: 13.

archipelago."[76] To be sure, Foucault has no utopian program for global transformation. Rather it is localized struggle that he views as effective both historically and for the present. As Michael Walzer confirms, "Foucault's political theory is a 'tool kit' not for revolution but for local resistance."[77] Freedom lies in rebelling against the ways in which we are classified and categorized, not against any particular structures, but against the operation of the panoptic machine. Perhaps Jana Sawicki described Foucault best as "a pessimist committed to political activism."[78]

Panoptic Observation in Canada

With the above understanding of panoptic surveillance there seem few Canadian examples that illustrate the process more clearly than nineteenth and early twentieth century "Indian reserves". They were both isolated from the outside population and open to the light for inspection. The archipelago of reserves provided the framework for comparison and judgment as well as the laboratory for reform. While the program of individualizing each person's space was never entirely successful, small groups could be measured against both their neighbours and groups thousands of miles distant. The structure of the Department of Indian Affairs is unmistakably hierarchical, with observation and judgment occurring at each level. Residential schools removed children from their parents' influence with the hope that the reform of children would affect their parents. While it could be argued that an Indian reserve is not a prison, it is part of the web of panoptic surveillance and an instrument of power/knowledge that needs to be investigated with that understanding. First

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[76] Geertz, "Stir Crazy": 6.

[77] Walzer, "Politics": 55.

[78] Jana Sawicki, *Disciplining Foucault: Feminism, Power, and the Body* (New York: Routledge, 1991): 96.

though it is necessary to provide a context with a general investigation of Canadian institutions of observation and reform.

Investigations of late nineteenth and early twentieth century panoptic institutions in Canada endorse either the liberal view of modernity, rationalization, reform, and the development of capitalism as progressive, democratic, and inevitable, or they perceive new relations of production brought about by the growth of industrial capitalism as necessarily oppressive and socially selective. At one extreme are those in the latter camp who choose a particularly mechanistic interpretation in which the casualties of the spread of capitalism, those deemed unfit for participation in an economy based on wage labour, were relegated to hospitals, asylums, workhouses, or prisons.[79] Schools and testing were similarly "mechanism[s] for social control" and simply served to reproduce existing social relationships while children were prepared for participation in the new capitalist economic order.[80]

At the other end of the spectrum are those who believe capitalism and science, both beyond argument as rational and progressive, have together provided a growing prosperity. As S.E.D. Shortt argued in 1983, not only did the scholarly works on hospitals to that point at least "imply that the direction of hospital development was both relentlessly progressive and ultimately inevitable," but that the choice of specific topics reflects the "Whig assumptions" of their authors.[81] Their view is that hospitals had no other

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[79] Stormie Stewart, "The Elderly Poor in Rural Ontario: Inmates of the Wellington County House of Industry, 1877-1907." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* (1992): 218. Stewart does not share this view but discusses this and other perspectives.

[80] B. Anne Wood, *Idealism Transformed: The Making of a Progressive Educator* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985): 164. Educational testing refers here to all standardized testing, not solely that designed to measure I.Q. For a discussion on the debate surrounding I.Q. testing in Canada see: Dan Hawthorne, "The State and the Life Course: Intelligence Testing in British Columbia Public Schools, 1925-1960." Paper prepared for the 68th Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, Quebec City, June 1989.

[81] S.E.D. Shortt, "The Canadian Hospital in the Nineteenth Century: An Historiographic Lament," *Journal of Canadian Studies,* 18, No. 4 (Winter 1983-84): 4.

impetus than the felicitous harmony of "humanitarian benevolence and scientific discovery."[82] While it is admitted that the harmony of liberal capitalism and science has not yet produced a social panacea, given more time it will allow humanity to approach resolution of social dilemmas.[83]

Some of the advocates of Canadian "caring institutions" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries undoubtedly had benevolent motivations and a genuine desire to temper the most disruptive aspects of the introduction of industrial capitalism. Yet none of their creations can be seen as solely altruistic or progressive. As modern liberalism and capitalism developed concurrently and symbiotically, surveillance, measurement, regulation, and the reification of science as truth were decisive operators. In a Canadian context, evidence shows that motivations other than a specific illness, for example, caused confinement in hospitals of various sorts. Race, gender, and class were instrumental in determining admission to various institutions.

For most of the nineteenth century, hospitals were dedicated to raising the moral status of their patients in addition to the treatment of specific maladies. At British Columbia's Provincial Hospital for the Insane, it was most often the decision of family corroborated by "subjective observation and non-scientific judgments" of a physician that resulted in admission. Rarely was confinement the result of the independent discretion of a medical practitioner. Home medical care was considered superior to institutionalization throughout this period, but working class families, often relying on itinerant employment, were unlikely to possess the resources or the time necessary to provide care for their relatives at home.[84]

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[82] Shortt, "The Canadian Hospital": 11.

[83] James S. Frideres, "Institutional Structures and Economic Deprivation: Native People in Canada," *Racial Oppression in Canada,* B. Singh Bolaria and Peter S. Li, eds. (Toronto: Garmond Press, 1988): 89; Bill Warren, *Imperialism: Pioneer of Capitalism* (London: NLB, 1980): 11-12.

Middle class reformers, on the other hand, in addition to having the resources available to provide home care for family members or to send them on therapeutic vacations, saw no need for their own moral reclamation. As a result, their admittance to hospitals was rarely contemplated.[85] Over-representation of the working class in institutions paralleled the profusion of women incarcerated for perceived mental disorders, at least in eastern Canadian institutions. Particularly conspicuous was "neurasthenia" whose symptoms were so all-inclusive that few individuals could not be diagnosed with the ailment. Unsurprisingly, conceptions of morality were central in determining the presence of this affliction. As the brother of Alice H. said to her in 1910: "It is better that people should think you insane than that they should think you a bad immoral woman." Alice was incarcerated in an Ontario asylum for an "endless sarcasm of argument and wrangling."[86] Insanity in women was most often judged to be the result of their reproductive systems. Menses, menopause, pregnancy, and child birth were usually identified as the roots of psychological aberration. In this way the dominant belief in "the natural proclivity of women to insanity" could be biologically justified. This evidence could be fitted into, and used to reinforce, the existing framework of social and medical truths.[87]

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[84] Mary-Ellen Kelm, " "The only place likely to do her any good": The Admission of Women to British Columbia's Provincial Hospital for the Insane," *BC Studies,* 96 (Winter 1992-93): 71 and 86-89; Tomes, *A Generous Confidence:* 90.

[85] Shortt, *The Canadian Hospital*: 5-6.

[86] Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, "The First Mrs. Rochester: Wrongful Confinement, Social Redundancy, and Commitment to the Private Asylum, 1883-1923." *Historical Papers 1988 Communications Historiques*: 153, 164. At least one early twentieth century commentator noted that "neurasthenia" had become so popular a diagnosis that it was the "newest garbage can of medicine." Alphonse D. Rockwell cited in Warsh, "Mrs. Rochester": 153. Mary-Ellen Kelm found an under-representation of women admitted to British Columbia's Provincial Hospital for the Insane in the early twentieth century. She claims that women in B.C. were less likely to be committed by family members to the asylum as the result of social redundancy than "more established societies of the east." Mary-Ellen Kelm, "The Admission of Women": 68-9, 78-9.

[87] Kelm, "The Admission of Women": 82-5; Tomes, *A Generous Confidence:* 93.

Liberalism insisted on the possibility of individual reform and the potential for productive inclusion into the capitalist wage labour economy. By the early twentieth century, allopathic medicine had become a primary facilitator of this endeavor and the hospital in which it was incubated was transformed into an institution of professionalism and science.[88] Science became the bedrock of truth by which moral judgments were upheld. Concepts such as old age, insanity, illness, and intelligence were hardened into objective and measurable criteria by which incarceration and ordering were justified. Yet these institutions were not simply unyielding instruments of social control but were often used by inmates for their own purposes. They became temporary refuges in times of economic hardship, or places to escape either winter's cold or an abusive family situation.[89]

In the case of educational measurement and inspection in the developing Canadian state, Bruce Curtis affirms that

> To argue that educational inspectors worked for certain social objectives and that these activities had real social consequence is not to argue that everyone else in society was thereby neutralized, nor is it to argue that inspectors had a free hand. Unlike 'social control,' the concepts of conflict and struggle imply limits to the wills of social classes and groups.[90]

Curtis' understanding of the limitation of will provided by the gathering darkness of the hegemonic is instructive. He does not, however, seem willing enough to acknowledge the limitations placed on the will of "regulatory authorities." It is

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[88] Shortt, "The Canadian Hospital": 6-7. Nancy Tomes referred to her study of an American asylum traversing this time period as chronicling the "rise and fall of moral treatment as therapeutic paradigm." Tomes, "*Generous Confidence*: 18.

[89] See for example: Stewart, "The Elderly Poor": 17; Shortt, *The Canadian Hospital*: 8, 11.

[90] Bruce Curtis, *True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education, and State Formation in Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992): 11, 9.

argued here that all are subjected to the panoptic machine's ordering and normalizing effects. While inspectors judged, ordered, classified, and prescribed, they were in turn subjected to the reflection of their gaze. Information gathering was often manipulated, or categories challenged. The limitations of will are constantly in flux as the edges of the hegemonic become frayed or increasingly opaque. Inspectors and regulators must be seen as part of the panoptic web and subject to the frictions of the machine. While public perceptions are informed by "strategically placed individuals" they are never unilaterally created by them. The friction between the observers and the observed is always evident in the documents they jointly create, even if the documents are primarily numeric representations.

Peter Baskerville and Eric Sager have noted that while Canada's 1901 census served to construct a social reality of the work force, the process of the creation of the document was not that simply unidirectional. "Put simply, the work force was constructed by the document—and also helped construct it."[91] Sager has argued elsewhere that employment contracts for workers on sailing ships may not have existed at all if it were up to the sailors, but even these documents are not merely records of official understandings or the harmony only of the voices of the state and employer, but "are better understood as a record of multiple voices, as the product of a dialectic of power and resistance."[92] Clearly, negotiation and friction occur in every human encounter.

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[91] Peter Baskerville and Eric Sager. "Finding the Work Force in the 1901 Census of Canada," forthcoming in *Histoire Sociale / Social History* 55 (1995): 2. In a non-Canadian example, Douglas Hay has noted in reference to judicial statistics that "officially recorded crime must be the net result of both the behavior of those subject to the law and those controlling it." Douglas Hay, "War Dearth and Theft in the Eighteenth Century: The Record of the English Courts," *Past and Present* 95 (May 1982): 158.

[92] Eric Sager, "The Employment Contract as Panopticon: Crew Agreements in the British Merchant Marine." Paper presented to the Case Files Workshop, University of Toronto, April 1995: 14-15.

A Word About Methodology: Historians and Numeric Representations

Much of the primary material uncovered in the course of researching social or cultural negotiation and friction, including this thesis, contains numerical information. The key to gaining access to these documents is similar to that for records that contain only words. All players in the encounter described by the document must be heard, even if their voices seem obscured by the apparent rigidity of a table. A recent study of articles appearing in nine Canadian history journals between 1989 and 1992 concludes that almost half have a distinctly quantitative content, a proportion that has doubled in the last two decades.[93] Apparently Canadian scholars are beginning to feel more comfortable with quantitative representations. Yet to many students and practitioners of history such data are often the objects of fear, opprobrium, or lack of interest.

It can be argued that in an age where science continues to be reified as truth, numerical data—whether presented in the form of a table, graph, or chart—give a work an authority that may be unwarranted. But the careful consideration of the nature of the data, of the reasons for their compilation and the conditions of their collection and combination in a particular way can help expose friction and negotiating space where no other sources exist. This essay is written with the understanding that the perceived dichotomy between "quantitative" and "qualitative" history is a creation of historians, not of their sources. Certainly, expressions composed of numbers must be read with the same scrutiny as those created from words, but there is no reason to suppose that one has inherently more truth value or more humanity.

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[93] Kris Inwood, "The Promise and Problems of Quantitative Evidence in Canadian History," *Histoire Sociale / Social History*, XXVII, 53 (May 1994): 140-1.

Chapter 2

"a fine lot of fellows":

The Chroniclers of the Department of Indian Affairs[1]

Before investigating the specific contours of surveillance and response in the Kamloops and Okanagan Indian agencies in the following chapters, it is necessary to examine the nature of the surveillance of Native peoples in a more general manner. In this chapter, particular attention will be paid to the objectives, practices, and effectiveness of the federal government's Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) as the principal superintendent of Native peoples in Canada. In addition, the scholarly comment inspired by the encounter between the DIA and Native peoples will be discussed.

The variously named Department of Indian Affairs is the oldest governmental organization in Canada with records that date from the first quarter of the eighteenth century.[2] By the late nineteenth century the volume of this record began to increase dramatically as departmental correspondence doubled in the 1870s and 1880s and then re-doubled in the 1890s.[3] Since the

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[1] W. Dirkee-van-Schlakwyk, South African Ambassador, to G.F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Culture and Immigration, 26 July 1962, vol. 8588, f1/1-10-4, pt.5, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5964, British Columbia Archives and Records Service (BCARS). The ambassador made this comment in reference to DIA officials he visited in western Canada. This volume contains records generated between the Second World War and the 1960s and shows that the DIA kept official links with, and received visits from, South African officials with similar responsibilities in their country as the DIA in Canada throughout this period at least.

BCARS has divided up the records of the National Archives of Canada (NAC) RG 10 records into several Government Record, "GR", groups while maintaining NAC's volume numbers.

[2] R.J. Surtees, "The Changing Image of the Canadian Indian: An Historical Approach," *Approaches to Native History in Canada: Papers of a Conference held at the National Museum of Man, October, 1975,* ed. D.A. Muise (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977): 116; Bill Russell, "The White Man's Paper Burden: Aspects of Record Keeping in the Department of Indian Affairs 1860-1914," *Archivaria* 19 (1984-5): 53; Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Canada Year Book* (1921): 785. The generic moniker "DIA" is used throughout this essay for the sake of continuity, even though the organization has had a variety of names since its formal establishment in 1755.

oral transmission of history remains steadfastly devalued by many non-Native scholars, the DIA continues to be seen as the principal chronicler of all aspects of the encounter between Native and non-Native peoples.[4]

With the burgeoning liberal reform impetus of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the record keepers of the DIA believed their work had a moral as well as a legal value uncommon in other departments. This sentiment persisted at least into the 1930s when the registrar of the department commented:

> I wish to emphasize the fact that none of our papers can be classified as Indian legends or myths, but all of them bear the characteristics of historical monuments....They contain an almost continuous record of our Indian wards' progress...all this related chronologically by our Superintendents, Inspectors, Agents, Farmers and lastly by those worthy representatives of the Church.... I feel that it is incumbent on the Department to preserve from decay the remembrance of what these men have done for its wards and these records should be kept intact for historical purposes as an example to future generations.[5]

The functionaries of the DIA also had a romantic impetus for data collection. As D.C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs 1913-1932, said of western Canada: "dealing with a free new country with a people as yet unaware of civilization lent attractiveness to even the driest details of administration."[6] It was not romance, though, that focused the attention of the department on the West after 1870 but rather, as Scott admitted, the threat caused by "the half-breed disturbance of 1870 and

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[3] Russell, "Paper Burden": 59.

[4] Russell, "Paper Burden": 53-4.

[5] A.E. St. Louis cited in Russell, "Paper Burden": 52.

[6] Duncan Campbell Scott, "Indian Affairs, 1867-1912." *Canada and Its Provinces,* vol. 7, eds. A. Shortt and A.G. Doughty (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1914): 605-6.

afterwards." Always the righteous booster of DIA policy, Scott claimed that there was "small cause for rebellion," since the department operated with a "spirit of generosity" rather than "in a niggardly spirit as if the treaty stipulations were to be weighed with exactitude."[7] There may have been no intention to weigh treaty provisions with exactitude, but Native peoples were to be judged with precision.

By the turn of the century, the DIA's *Annual Reports* contained unprecedented detail and quantity of data on Native peoples. Included were the written reports of district "Indian Agents" in which field representatives presented their impressions on everything from the population and occupations of each band to their "characteristics and progress", the extent of their "temperance and morality" and, by 1914, the number who wore "civilized clothes". The *Annual Reports* also included the opinions of inspectors, medical officers, school principals, entomologists, timber cruisers, and the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. In addition to the written reports, "tabular statements" measured and compared by agency everything considered significant to the DIA: fourteen types of grains, roots, and fodder planted and harvested; the quantity of seventeen distinct types of livestock and poultry kept; eighteen varieties of agricultural instruments and vehicles; and nineteen classes of buildings. Also displayed were sources and values of income for each agency and a variety of other data. Both the quantity and detail of data in the *Annual Reports* peaked during the first and second decades of the twentieth century.[8] During this period at least, it was in some cases augmented by unpublished band and even individual level data.[9]

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[7] Scott, "Indian Affairs": 599-600. Scott claimed that the only breach of a treaty in Canada, by either signatory, was the rebellion of 1885.

[8] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report* (1895-1920). The first legal definition of "Indian" appeared in 1850, and was followed by the first federal legislation in 1868 that declared "Indians" to be "all persons of Indian blood" along with their children and wives who had an interest in "land belonging to or appropriated to the use of the various tribes, bands, or bodies of Indians in Canada." A "Band" was defined in 1876 as "Any tribe, band or body of Indians who own or are interested in a reserve or in Indian lands in common, of which the legal

The Business of Advancement

The administration of Indian Affairs was without doubt a multifaceted business well beyond the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but during this period it was a central financial issue. As John Lutz has noted, the DIA was second only to "Civil Government" in departmental expenditures when the period 1875 to 1910 is considered as a whole.[10] The overall expenditures on the surveillance of Native peoples during this period were staggering: more than double what was spent on either "Fisheries" or "Immigration" and more than one and a half times the budget of the "Mounted Police".[11] An examination of the way in which the DIA spent its allotted funds is equally intriguing.

In British Columbia, between the time it joined confederation and 1926, the total expenditure of the DIA was $10,800,300.37. Hidden in this total are a number of interesting details. Of the total expenditure, only 5.57% was spent on "relief". In no year did this amount exceed $1.50 per capita and before 1911 never more than $.50. The *Globe and Mail* argued that "it is cheaper to feed than to fight them [Native people] and as they will commit depredation if allowed

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title is vested in the Crown, or who share alike in the distribution of any annuities or interest moneys for which the Governor in Council is responsible." Canada, *Statutes of Canada,* (1868) c. 42, s.15; Canada, *Statutes*, (1876), c.18, s.3. The responsibilities and actions of agents will be discussed more fully in the chapters directly related to the Kamloops and Okanagan agencies, below.

[9] For an example of band level data collection see: "Kamloops Agency, Agricultural and Industrial Statistics, 1899-1919," vol. 1327, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1872, BCARS. For a discussion and example of data collection on individuals see John Lutz, "Superintending the Songhees: Naming, Knowledge and the State Surveillance of Aboriginal People, 1843-1913," Paper Presented to the 1993 CHA Meeting: 30-1, and figures 4 and 5. In 1920, W.E. Ditchburn, inspector of Indian agencies in British Columbia, recommended agents be supplied with a "census book" to record individual level data. W.E. Ditchburn to Secretary of the DIA, 23 September 1920, vol. 1324, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1871, BCARS.

[10] Lutz, "Superintending the Songhees": 15; Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Canada Yearbook*, 1910: 278-82. This does not include Militia and Defense or Public Works (including railways). Civil Government, though, consists mostly of wage expenditures including those of the senior officials of the DIA.

[11] Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Canada Yearbook*, 1910: 278-82.

to starve, the country's expenditure must keep pace with their necessities."[12] Their "necessities", though, apparently included more surveillance than material assistance. DIA salaries, not including traveling expenses or B.C.'s share of the wages of the "inside service" at Ottawa, accounted for 12.97%, or more than twice that spent on "relief".[13] It could be argued, then, that relief to Native people in B.C. was less than relief to DIA field officers. To be sure, additional funds were spent to cover medical and hospital expenses that almost equaled DIA salaries in the province. But, since Native peoples were "purposely left out" of the Health Act that protected other Canadians, the expenditures on health represent similar normalizing judgment, but inferior care.[14] Native people often had to travel great distances from their homes for care that could have been provided in neighbouring non-Native communities.[15]

It is evident that medical methods practiced by Native peoples were unable to adapt quickly enough to prevent massive deaths that accompanied their encounter with Europeans. But it is difficult to support the evidence of Indian agent W.M. Halliday who claimed that "The Indians, on the whole, were very cruel in their treatment both of their families and of other peoples with whom they came in contact" or that elders were "decidedly of the opinion that the greatest boon and the greatest blessing that had come to them was the advent of the white man."[16] Nor is it easy to be convinced by his assertion that his "researches into the old habits and customs of the Indians of the coast of British Columbia lead

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[12] *Globe and Mail,* 6 April 1881: 6.

[13] Canada, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons to Inquire into the Claims of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia, As Set Forth in Their Petition Submitted to Parliament in June 1926, *Report and Evidence* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1927): 50-1.

[14] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, vol. CXLIV (8 June 1920): col. 3275.

[15] George Manuel, "Manifesto for Survival," *Macleans,* 53 (May 1973): 53.

[16] W.M. Halliday, *Potlatch and Totem and the Recollections of an Indian Agent* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1935): 140.

me to believe that the latter knew practically nothing either of medicine or nursing."[17] Due to this, Halliday claimed, "For many years all Indian agents were obliged to be more or less amateur doctors."[18]

In support of Halliday, historian B.A. McKelvie claimed that when a child was injured at a fish canning plant in the "Kwakewlth" agency a shriek came from the plant and "almost upon the echo of that anguished cry there bursts from half a hundred dusky throats: 'Mr. Halliday! Get Mr. Halliday!' Like children in trouble calling for their parents a dozen men and women come running and screaming that plaintive call: 'Mr. Halliday! Mr. Halliday!'"[19] Halliday claimed not only that "an Indian is naturally tricky and cunning," but all who have worked among them were "quite struck" with "their lack of moral sensibility. They seem to utterly lack that fine feeling which we commonly call sentiment, and their ideas are very gross."[20] Yet, McKelvie imbued Halliday with "a tenderness that no woman could exceed."[21]

It seems little wonder, with early health care provided by "amateur doctors" like Halliday, that the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia (McKenna - McBride Commission) was forced to report in 1916 that there were "but few instances in which Indians have expressed satisfaction with the medical attendance, and very many cases in which complaint has been made."[22] While D.C. Scott claimed that the "Department is doing as well as can

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[17] Halliday, *Potlatch and Totem*: 220.

[18] Halliday, *Potlatch and Totem*: 222.

[19] B.A. McKelvie, Introduction to Halliday, *Potlatch and Totem*: viii-ix.

[20] Halliday, *Potlatch and Totem*: 146, 141.

[21] McKelvie, Introduction to Halliday, *Potlatch and Totem*: ix.

[22] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, *Confidential Report* (Victoria: Acme Press, 1916): 7. In 1929 the DIA employed twelve full-time physicians of whom four were also Indian agents. Canada, DIA, *Annual Reports*, 1929: 11-14.

be expected for the Indians,"[23] the Chief Medical Officer of the department, Dr. P.H. Bryce, did not agree.

Bryce referred to the efforts of the DIA and the federal government in respect to tuberculosis as "criminal disregard."[24] He noted that the city of Hamilton had been able to reduce the death rate from tuberculosis by 75% and that if similar attention had been paid to Native groups, population decreases could have been avoided. In 1919, $10,000 was placed at the disposal of the DIA to control tuberculosis among the 105,000 Native people divided among 300 bands across the country in addition to the $197,151 that was spent on health care that year. The city of Ottawa, with a similar size population, but in a far more concentrated area, spent $342,861 of which $33,365 was devoted solely to tuberculosis patients.[25] The Native rate of death from this disease dropped over the following decade, but it remained over five times that reported for non-Natives.[26] Health care provided for Native peoples, then, was separate, inferior, and inadequate. Native people with tuberculosis were often denied access to non-Native tuberculosis hospitals and could be forcibly confined to their reserves. It was not until 1992 that the legislation providing for "the detention and compulsory examination of those on reserves who were infected with infectious diseases" was withdrawn as *ultra vires* of the Indian Act and contrary to the Charter of Rights.[27]

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[23] Cited in Titley, *Narrow Vision*: 83.

[24] Peter Henderson Bryce, *The Story of a National Crime* (Ottawa: James Hope, 1922): 14.

[25] Bryce, *National Crime*: 11 and 13. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs *Annual Report,* 1919: 99-100. The total reported for Native health expenditures also included money spent on "relief" distributed in the Yukon and in Ontario and Quebec where there was no separate accounting given in the *Annual Reports.*

[26] Titley, *Narrow Vision*: 58.

[27] Canada, *Canada Gazette,* Part II, vol. 126, No. 4 (23 Jan 1992): 524.

While Brian Titley is correct in stating that there was an improvement in medical services (or at least more money was spent) with the more liberal appropriations of Mackenzie King's government in the 1920s, the increase does not approach that for education during the same period.[28] The year before King was elected, $54,703.97 was spent on "Medical and Hospitals" in British Columbia and within two years there was a 61% increase to $88,210.43. Expenditures for education increased 171% from $176,346.64 to $478,643.66. Over half of the total expenditure of the DIA in British Columbia from 1871 to 1926 was for education.[29]

As discussed in chapter 1, Michel Foucault noted that the nineteenth century European Christian school had the capacity to supervise the parents as well as to train docile children.[30] He noted, further, that psychiatrists sought to examine and treat child patients outside of parental control. As Jean-Martin Charcot stated in 1888, "The father is sometimes just as unbearable as the mother; it is best, then, to get rid of them both."[31] As the quintessential clinician, Charcot revered direct observation over the theoretical implications of his examinations. As Freud said "He was not a reflective man, not a thinker...he was, as he himself said, a *'visuel',* a man who sees."[32] It seems likely he would have envied the opportunity for clinical observation and treatment presented by the "Indian Residential School."

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[28] Titley, *Narrow Vision*: 57.

[29] Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*: 50-1.

[30] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*: 211. This strategy has been widely used across time and geography. As recently as the early 1990s, school children in South Korea were required to make regular inspections of their homes for goods manufactured outside the country. If any foreign made products were reported, their parents were disciplined. Rod Mickleburgh, "Korea finds good life comes with a price," *Globe and Mail,* 19 October 1995: 1.

[31] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*: 112 fn 3.

[32] Sigmund Freud, "Charcot," *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud,* vol. 3 (London: Hogarth Press, 1893-99): 12-13. Freud wrote this piece in 1893.

By 1920, Native attendance at one of Canada's 247 day schools, 58 boarding schools, or 16 industrial schools was compulsory.[33] But, by as early as the 1840s, it was recognized that the influence of parents who had regular access to the students of day schools had caused the DIA's "civilizing" endeavor to fail.[34] Frank Pedley, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs prior to D.C. Scott, believed "the removal of the pupils from the retrogressive influence of home life" was necessary and could only be provided by residential schools.[35] Where the pass law was enforced, Indian agents were instructed not to let parents off reserves without a permit and to limit visitation passes to four per year.[36] In 1920, Arthur Meighen, the federal minister responsible for Indian Affairs and soon to be prime minister, concurred: "The boarding school is the proper system of Indian education in Western Canada."[37]

Yet even with their removal from the reserve, the DIA feared that as soon as schooling was complete, ex-pupils "might lapse to the level of reserve life as soon as they came into contact with their parents."[38] In order to maintain the "de-Indianization" accomplished in the residential school the male graduate

> is assisted by a grant of cattle or horses, implements, and supervision from the agent or farming instructor. Marriages are arranged between former pupils, and the young wives are

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[33] Canada, DIA, *Annual Report,* 1920: 68-9.

[34] Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada.* revised ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991: 106. Miller cites the Bagot Commission Report.

[35] Cited in Titley, *Narrow Vision*: 76.

[36] F. Laurie Barron, "The Indian Pass System in the Canadian West, 1882-1935," *Prairie Forum*: 13-14. See also: Sarah Carter, "Controlling Indian Movement: The Pass System," *NeWest Review* (May 1985): 8.

[37] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, vol. CXLIV, 8 June 1920, col. 3277.

[38] Scott, "Indian Affairs": 615.

> given domestic articles as a dower. It is sought by this method to bridge over the dangerous period of renewed contact with the reserve.[39]

The fear was to some extent unfounded. The success of the schools as instruments of deconstruction, while never totally complete, was profound. George Manuel, who attended Kamloops Indian Residential School (KIRS) in the early 1930s, noted later that after "learning to see and hear only what the priests and brothers wanted you to see and hear, even the people we loved came to look ugly."[40] The effects of the schools' success at de-education are still being felt in Native communities across Western Canada, but in many institutions, any positive pedagogical effects were negligible. Manuel remembered that he could barely write his own name after two years at KIRS.[41] The motivation seems clear: to "de-Indianize" Native children, return them to reserves as moles of "civilization" and spread what they had unlearned amongst their fellows.

While the Christian school and hospital were in a position to supervise parents and to serve as a base from which to permit the observation of the communities in which they were located, this could never be as overt as in the case of the residential school. In the "Indian school" the church and state cooperated to inculcate, by whatever means necessary, liberalism, capitalism,

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[39] Scott, "Indian Affairs": 616.

[40] Manuel and Posluns, *Fourth World*: 67. Resistance to the treatment received at KIRS took on a variety of forms that included running away from the school and stealing food. J.F. Smith, "Journal", 17 February 1913, 25 August 1914, 28 Jan 1915, vol. 1325, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1871, BCARS; Harvey Jules. Interview with Joyce Dunn at Chase, British Columbia 1983. Jules was chief of the Adams Lake Band for thirty years until his death in August 1995. I extend thanks to Joyce Dunn for allowing me access to her taped interviews.

[41] Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood: George Manuel and the Making of the Modern Indian Movement* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1993): 32. It should be noted that in many cases, including that of Manuel, the residential school also served to radicalize a future generation of Native political leaders and taught basic skills that made negotiations with non-Native bureaucrats and politicians possible. While he "still hate[d] the Catholic religion" near the end of his life as a result of treatment he received at KIRS, Adams Lake chief Harvey Jules said "it was a good place to learn your three Rs." Harvey Jules, Interview with Joyce Dunn.

Christianity, and patriarchy into a population to whom these concepts had not entered the hegemonic and so were still open to argument. As Manuel has said the church and state followed

> parallel paths, the more they fed off one another and made each other strong. Looking back on it, it is easy to see that the whole structure of the church and the government as they relate to Indian people are almost identical. The greatest gift the Dominion of Canada made to the church was the control over education. The residential schools were the laboratory and the production line of the colonial system.[42]

From very early in the "civilizing" project, it was determined that it was not tax dollars pried loose by liberal notions of reform that should finance this "production line" or other mechanisms of "advancement" but the alienation of Native lands. Between 1818 and 1838 nine groups in eastern Canada surrendered over eleven million acres of land for future annuity payments, but there was no accountability even to the Governor for how moneys held in trust for Native groups would be spent. Not only was the revenue from the sale of lands of various groups lumped together, but often the income derived was less than the costs that the DIA charged against the sale for administration. In addition, any "surplus" funds could be used for further instruments of "civilization".[43]

In the twentieth century, not only was the cost of administration of reserve land to be charged against its sale, but all expenditures related to Native peoples were to come out of band funds where possible. Farming equipment, schools, churches, other capital expenditures and public works, medical care, relief, and the costs of administering the agency itself, including the salaries of

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[42] Manuel and Posluns, *Fourth World*: 63.

[43] L.F.S. Upton, "The Origins of Canadian Indian Policy," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 8, 4 (November 1973): 56.

farming instructors and the buildings used by agency personnel could be charged to the trust funds set up from the sale of land.[44] These uses of trust funds were contrary to the impression given to some Native groups at least "that there would be always a big pile of money just piling up and piling up and that was all theirs."[45] In addition, D.C. Scott argued in 1927 that the confirmation of reserves and the additional funds spent by the federal government in British Columbia "fairly compensated" Native peoples for the extinguishment of any pre-existing title in the same way that the treaties signed in other provinces did.[46] As a result, any further claim to land was unjustified. It is apparent then, that Native peoples were expected to pay for their own surveillance, measurement, judgment, and reform in an unprecedented way.

Observing Native People and Industrial Workers

One would think that with the increasing radicalization of organized labour by 1920, there were more serious threats to liberal capitalist hegemony than a population that included barely 100,000 Native people across the country. Yet in 1920 the total expenditure of the DIA was three times that of the Department of Labour.[47] In addition to the disparity in expenditure between these two federal departments, there are significant differences in the nature of their published reports. The Department of Labour's *Annual Report* and *Labour Gazette* included items that would be of primary interest to government and

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[44] Canada, DIA, *Annual Report,* 1907-08: xxxv; Noel Dyck, *What is the Indian 'Problem': Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration* (St. John's: Institute for Social and Economic Research, 1991): 84.

[45] Mary Thomas, Interview with Joyce Dunn, 1983.

[46] Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*: 10-14.

[47] Canada, Department of Finance, "Summary of Expenditure by Departments" *Report of the Auditor General.* Ottawa: King's Printer, 1920: b-5. The total expenditure for the DIA was $2,597,361 and for the Department of Labour it was $806,655. The long standing skewing of expenditures towards the observation of Native peoples will be discussed in reference to British Columbia below.

business, as the observers of labour, but also to workers. There were inquiries into conditions of work, wages, industrial disputes, and wholesale prices by region and occupational trade. While the choice of topics alone attests to the friction between capital and labour, the published information could be used to advance the interests of both parties. The *Labour Gazette* was distributed to both boards of trade and labour organizations without charge.[48]

The reports of Indian agents were also intended for both a departmental and a public readership. However, as the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs commented in 1894, agents were to disclose only that information "which it was desired the public should believe." Visitors were to be taken only to those agencies and reserves considered the most "advanced."[49] While the non-Native public was to receive a sanitized version of the results of DIA observation, Native peoples would have access to even less. In 1916, the McKenna - McBride Commission stated in their *Confidential Report* that "There seems to be a desire among the more intelligent of the Indians to understand the terms of the Indian Act, and it appears to the Commission that, were copies of the Act furnished to such Indians, the result might be beneficial."[50] Native peoples did not even have access to the central legal document affecting their lives.

As a result of the report of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons in 1927, Native groups were effectively denied access to the courts to pursue land claims. During the hearings, Andrew Paull, Secretary of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia, requested that "all proceedings of this Committee be reported in book form and that the Indians be supplied with that record." The chair responded that the committee decided to "have a certain

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[48] Canada, Department of Labour. *Report of the Department of Labour,* 1910: 216-17.

[49] Hayter Reed cited by Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993): 224-5.

[50] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Confidential Report*: 28.

number of copies printed. These are for the use of the members of the House of Commons and the Senate. It will be for the Committee, later, to decide whether the record can be used by others as well."[51]

Later, Paull and Peter Kelly, chairman of the Allied Tribes, complained that they were unable to locate a copy of *Papers Connected to the Indian Land Question, 1850 - 1875*, the collection of records most fundamental to the pursuit of their case. The committee and DIA witnesses had copies, and used them to refute Native testimony, but Allied Tribes representatives were denied access to the *Papers* except to read a short passage into the record.[52] Federal officials had previously corresponded to discuss the benefits of withholding information from the Allied Tribes and the committee became quite agitated when they discovered that Native representatives had viewed a 1910 memorandum from the Assistant Deputy Minister of Justice, E.L. Newcombe, to Wilfred Laurier in which the former gave his opinions on the validity of individual claims. The document, the committee argued, "was really confidential, although it is not so marked."[53]

While it seems unlikely that individual bands would have the same interest in comparing their carrot yields as workers' organizations might have in contrasting industrial dispute settlements, Native peoples were denied access

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[51] Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*: 2-3. In the end, 700 copies of the commission's report were printed in English and a further 300 in French. While there are records of copies being received by Indian agents, reform organizations, and the Canadian Manufacturers Association, it is not known if any Native person or group was issued a copy. See vol. 8064, f901/30-1-16, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5912, BCARS.

[52] Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*: 225-7. *Papers Connected* was not widely available until it was republished with the assistance of the British Columbia Archives and Records Service in 1985. British Columbia, *Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question. 1850-75,* Victoria: Richard Wolfenden, 1875. For an account of its history and significance see: Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991) especially pages 47-49, 102, and 107.

[53] Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples*: 102; Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*: 238.

to both general observational accounts and crucial legal documents.[54] It is not argued here that workers' representatives had anything close to unlimited access to information, or that they were able to wield the data they were able to acquire as powerfully as the owners of capital. Workers' organizations, however, presented an immediate threat that Native organizations did not and so these observed could not be as unilaterally restricted from the results of the observation. The optimization of labour and the mitigation of threat of rebellion were essential to capital accumulation. In contrast, it was believed that Native people were unfit to compete in their present state and so had to be isolated until their "Indianness" could be obliterated if their bodies were to be inserted even peripherally into the capitalist machinery of production. In the meantime they would be isolated on reserves and taught to farm. The extent to which Native people were instrumental to the development of many capitalist enterprises was not considered.[55]

Judging Economic Strategies

Policy makers and reform groups alike believed that neither aboriginal culture nor their economic strategies could survive the advance of a superior European civilization. The Aborigines' Protection Society, among other reform minded groups and individuals, promoted both the protection and "civilization"

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[54] As late as the 1970s crucial legal documents were withheld from Musquem band that resulted in a ten million dollar settlement against the federal government in a lawsuit initiated by chief Delbert Gruein on behalf of the band. Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples:* 221-2.

[55] In addition to their essential participation in the fur trade, Native people in British Columbia were vital, for example, to the initial development of the coal and gold mining, and fishing industries. Joseph W. McKay, "Recollections of a Chief Trader in the Hudson's Bay Company," Photostat (Fort Simpson, 1878), Add MSS 1917, f32: 10-11, BCARS; James Douglas to Archibald Barclay, 22 December 1850; Douglas to Barclay, 18 August 1852; Douglas to Barclay, 26 August 1852; "Letters to Hudson's Bay Company on Vancouver Island Colony 1850-55," BCARS; J.W. McKay to James Douglas, 9 September 1852, "Nanaimo Correspondence," BCARS; T.A. Rickard, "Indian Participation in the Gold Discoveries," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* 2 (1938): 5-8; J. Coffey et al. *Shuswap History: The First 100 Years of Contact* (Kamloops: Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, 1990): 19.

of North American Native peoples.[56] Indian reserves were designed to be incubators of civilization where Native peoples could be protected until sufficiently "civilized" and "advanced".[57] Guilt over the appropriation of Native lands seems to have led to a sense of paternal responsibility, but never to the consideration of independent development.[58]

The task and principal disagreements among scholars has concerned when the decline in culture and pre-contact economic strategies began. Some, like anthropologist Peter Carstens, claim that Native groups "lost control of their destiny" soon after the arrival of European newcomers.[59] More common, though, is the contention of Robin Fisher that "the Indians had been able to mold the fur trade to their benefit, but settlement was not malleable: it was unyielding and aggressive." Fisher adds that in British Columbia, "the process of establishing white domination was complete by the end of the 1880s" and refers to Native people in British Columbia as "irrelevant or a hindrance" to settlers and to settlement as "unyielding and aggressive...its demands on the Indians without compromise."[60]

James Frideres draws similar conclusions to Fisher, in the larger context of Canada as a whole, in both his assertion of domination and his implicit denial

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[56] See for example: John Leslie, "The Bagot Commission: Developing a Corporate Memory for the Indian Department," *Historical Papers* (1982): 33; John Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline Policy of Canada's Indian Policy," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology*, 6, 2 (1976): 15. It should be noted, though, that Canadian Native people were believed to be in a more advantageous position than any other Native any group in the British Empire. As Oxford's H. Merivale contended in 1828, they were "possessed of higher moral elevation than any other uncivilized race of mankind." As a result many reformers worked more zealously to help "elevate" indigenous groups in other areas. Upton, "The Origins": 53.

[57] Dyck, *What is the Indian 'Problem':* 81; Tobias, "Indian Reserves": 89.

[58] Upton, "The Origins": 54.

[59] Peter Carstens, *The Queens People: A Study of Hegemony, Coercion, and Accommodation among the Okanagan of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991): 53-4 and 29-31.

[60] Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890,* second ed. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992): 211 and xi.

of human agency. Frideres writes from a perspective that is particularly deterministic and mechanical in claiming that aboriginal people were mere victims to "the expansion and development of capitalism [that] immediately engulfed the native culture."[61] Similarly, Rene Warburton and Stephen Scott see the development of capitalism as the watershed that led to the "disastrous decline in the well being of Native peoples."[62] They claim further, that even during the fur trade aboriginal women "were in a large measure passive participants within a patriarchal system."[63]

It is important not to deny either the structural oppression inherent to capitalist relations of production or the negative consequences of the growing number of legislative restrictions arrayed against Native peoples. But in investigating inequity we must not dehumanize people further by ignoring the diverse methods by which they have expressed resistance to the dictates of politicians, administrators, and capitalists. Suggesting that all Native groups, or all women, responded to the development of capitalism or to the restrictions imposed by the incursion of settlers into Native territories in the same way is parallel to the tendency of administrators to reduce the hundreds of specific and varied Native cultures and economic strategies under the single moniker "Indian." There are, of course, those scholars who oppose this tendency.

The work of Robin Fisher was seminal in the 1970s in the measure of detail he uncovered concerning the Native/non-Native encounter in British Columbia. Yet it seems remarkable that after engaging in meticulous research, Fisher would then draw conclusions about the entire province based primarily

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[61] James Frideres, "Institutional Structures and Economic Deprivation: Native People in Canada," *Racial Oppression in Canada,* eds. B. Singh Bolaria and Peter S. Li (Toronto: Garmond Press, 1988): 97.

[62] Rene Warburton and Stephen Scott, "The Fur Trade and Early Capitalist Development in British Columbia," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies,* V, 1 (1985): 39.

[63] Warburton and Scott, "The Fur Trade": 37.

on coastal data. Rolf Knight comments, in contrast, that "the responses of aboriginal peoples to the changing opportunities and restrictions of colonial and industrial society in B.C. were varied and intricate."[64] Similarly, John Lutz claims that although Native peoples were most crucial to the capitalist economy in the early 1880s, "they continued to be vital to specific industries long after."[65] Lutz, though, at least in the works cited here, is most interested in the south coast region and only rarely considers the Interior, other than to recognize its distinctiveness.

James Burrows looks at the specific situation in the Interior, analyzing down to the band level. This approach clearly demonstrates the weaknesses in Fisher's more generalized work. Burrows agrees with Fisher that Native peoples were displaced economically and politically as European settlers arrived, but noted that "they remained an important part of the labour force in many sections of the province."[66] Burrows, unfortunately, seems to accept the Eurocentric and androcentric categorizations of economic activity provided by the DIA, which ignored economic activity that is beyond the understanding of the record keepers. In particular, the DIA devalued, if not ignored, the productive activity of women.

Lorraine Littlefield notes in regard to women, that although capitalism "increasingly marginalizes them by devaluing their role in society," women made a conscious decision to become wage labourers, even at the expense of previous economic activity.[67] Determining the productive contribution of women

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[64] Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Indian Labour in British Columbia, 1858-1930* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1978): 30.

[65] John Lutz, "After the Fur Trade: the Aboriginal Labouring Classes of British Columbia 1849-1890," Revised version of a paper presented to the 1992 CHA meeting in Charlottetown: 25.

[66] James Burrows, " 'A Much Needed Class of Labour': the Economy and Income of the Southern Interior Plateau Indians, 1897-1910," *BC Studies*, 71 (Autumn 1986): 28.

is particularly difficult, given the nature and bias of the principal primary sources. As Marjorie Mitchell and Anna Franklin confirm "what little information does appear about native women is gleaned almost entirely from male Indian informants." For this reason they conclude that it is necessary "when you don't know the language, [to] listen to the silence."[68]

While there will be more discussion concerning economic activity in the Kamloops and Okanagan agencies in the following chapters, a few general comments are in order here. While the ideal occupation for Native people was believed to be farming, many DIA officials recognized that Native people often chose to work for wages. As British Columbia's Indian Superintendent A.W. Vowell commented in 1901: "Most of the Indians of the superintendency have a fondness for the earning of money."[69] He added several years later that "many opportunities exist through which the industrious may earn good wages."[70] Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Frank Pedley said that even where agricultural opportunities existed some communities chose other ways of making a living.[71] Duncan Campbell Scott described Native people in British Columbia as "a valuable asset in the labour market" and that they were "constantly engaged in congenial employment."[72]

How "congenial" wage labour could be, at least to those performing it, is arguable. Nevertheless, the comments of Vowell, Pedley, and Scott, among

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[67] Lorraine Littlefield, "Native Women and Wage Labour in British Columbia in the 19th Century," Paper presented to the annual conference of the Pacific Northwest Labour History Association, Victoria, B.C., 1989: 13.

[68] Marjorie Mitchell and Anna Franklin, "When You Don't Know the Language, Listen to the Silence: An Historical Overview of Native Women in B.C.," in Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro, eds. *Not Just Pin Money* (Victoria: Comosun College, 1984): 28.

[69] Canada, DIA, *Annual Report,* 1901: 288.

[70] Canada, DIA, *Annual Report,* 1909:

[71] Canada, DIA, *Annual Report,* 1910: xxii; *Annual Report,* 1911:

[72] Scott, "Indian Affairs": 608-9.

many other senior DIA officials, support the quantitative evidence that Native people were involved in a range of economic activities during the first two decades of the twentieth century contrary to the "civilizing" efforts of the DIA, legislative attempts to restrict the activity, and the interpretation of many scholars.

Throughout this period, the DIA remained committed to a policy to "reclaim the Indians by attaching them to, and teaching them to draw their subsistence from the soil."[73] It was understood that "nothing can take the place of agriculture as a means for affecting the necessary transformation of habits, of which fixity of residence is the fundamental one required for civilization."[74] The form and extent of the agricultural endeavor was, however, critically restricted.

Native peoples in the agricultural areas of the Prairies were prevented from acquiring modern agricultural equipment, were not permitted to take part in training programs created for non-Native farmers, and were discouraged from participating in farm organizations or wheat pools.[75] In 1896, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs Hayter Reed argued it was too great a leap from pre-contact "barbarism" to advanced nineteenth century technology. Native farmers would have to evolve by first farming with the least efficient tools possible.[76] Reed went to great lengths in the attempt to find agricultural implements so antiquated that they were no longer manufactured.[77] Since the sale of produce was regulated by the DIA throughout the country, requests from Native farmers that it be sold to buy machinery were often rejected.[78] When

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[73] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual* Report, 1895: xviii.

[74] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual* Report, 1904: xxvi.

[75] Carter, *Lost Harvests*: 255.

[76] Carter, *Lost Harvests*: 212-13.

[77] Carter, *Lost Harvests:* 222.

[78] Miller, *Skyscrapers*: 201.

equipment was purchased, the particular band was not necessarily informed when the funds came from the proceeds of land sales.[79] While subsistence farming was never proven as a workable model, Native people were expected, as Sarah Carter has said, to "conform to the nostalgic ideal of the independent, self-sufficient yeoman" independent of market vagaries.[80]

That Native groups in this region could even hold production levels constant seems remarkable. Far from inadequate farmers, or indolent workers restricted further by cultural inferiority, these groups clearly integrated grain production into their patterns of economic activity. Even with all the constraints, the production of grains, by the DIA's reckoning, increased throughout the investigation period in Alberta and Saskatchewan both on a per capita and a harvest per acre basis, at least until 1917.

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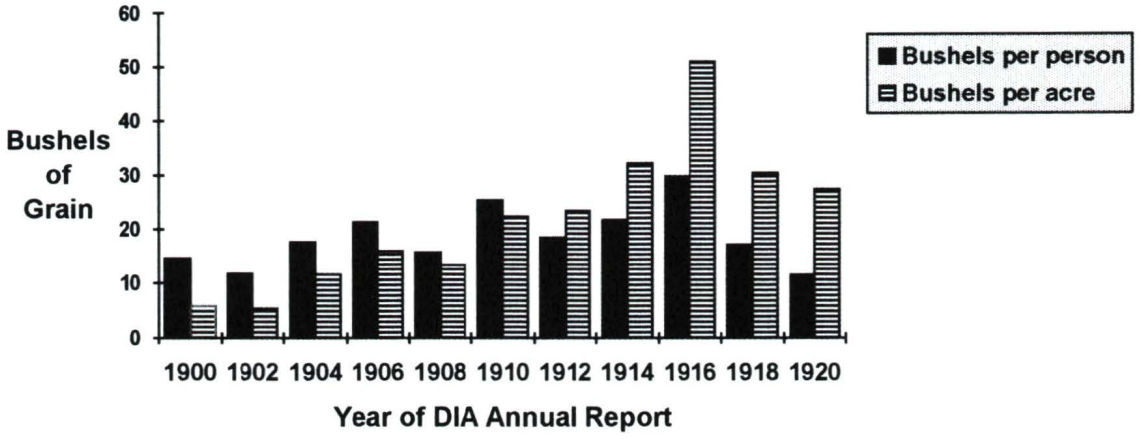
[79] Ronald Eric Ignace, "Kamloops Agency and the Indian Reserve Commission of 1912-1916," MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1979: 69.

[80] Carter, *Lost Harvests*: 213, 217.

Figure 1

Native Production of Grain in the NWT (Sask. and Alta.) in Bushels/Acre and Bushels/Person, 1900 - 1920[81]



While farming grew in importance to Native people in Canada as a source of income in the early twentieth century, it was never as universally significant as the department had originally hoped. Even with the economic categories constructed by the DIA, Native people resisted the universal reconstruction of their varied economies. Wage labour, hunting, and fishing remained crucial contributors until at least 1920, as shown in figure 2 below.

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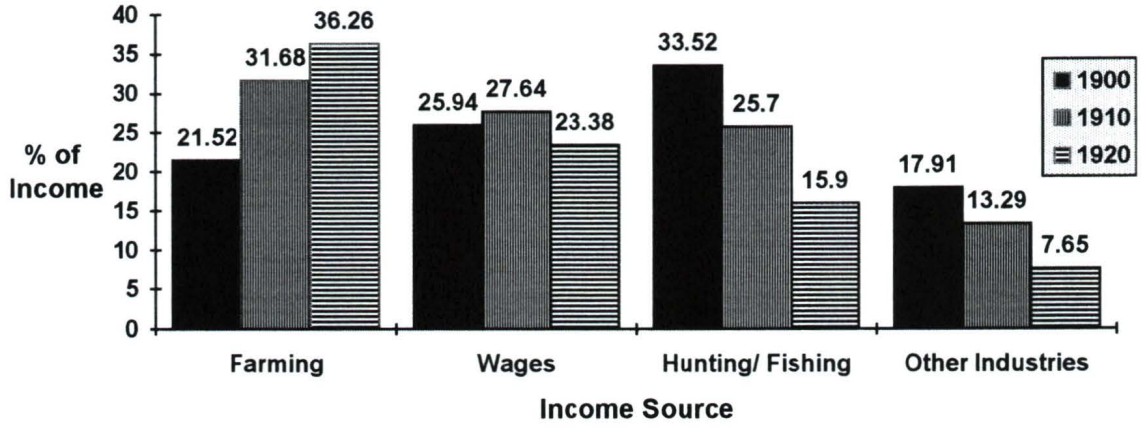
[81] Compiled from Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1900-1920.

Figure 2

Sources of Income of Native People in Canada, 1900, 1910, and 1920[82]



Ignoring both the benefits of a diverse economy and evidence of increased agricultural productivity despite inadequate lands and equipment, the DIA determined that the reason that farming did not become the sole source of income across the country was that aboriginal peoples were ill equipped by nature to farm. As E.L. Wetmore, chairman of the McKenna - McBride Commission in British Columbia, asked: "Taking into consideration what the Indians are by heredity, you would hardly expect them to do as good work as the white farmers?"[83] To this, James Evans, a settler in the British Columbia interior responded: "I have worked with Indians and have had them working with me, and the Indians are as good or better than white men when they are on a farm." Evans nevertheless stated that "I regard the Indian as a child" who could never attain the level of expertise of White settlers because "the whiteman is

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[82] Compiled from Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1900, 1910 and 1920.

[83] Canada. Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia. *Evidence* (Ottawa, 1916), Kamloops-Okanagan Agency, Meeting at Salmon Arm: 9.

better equipped as regards brain power."[84] While it was believed that Interior groups did not have the potential of white settlers, they were considered "more advanced" than many coastal groups who, because of minuscule reserves, were not able to farm in any meaningful way even if they had wanted to. The commission was forced to conclude in its confidential report that in the British Columbia interior "the Indians have, by their own exertions, developed into fairly good agriculturalists with very little help either financially or by way of education."[85]

The Panoptic Stage Reserved for "Indians" Alone

Native people in Canada continue to be enmeshed in disciplinary institutions to a disproportionate degree, but it is on Indian reserves where the panoptic web, the contradictory surveillance of the DIA, and the variety of resistance has been most evident across time.[86] These physical cells, reserved solely for legally defined "Indians", shrank in size and quality throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the result of several initiatives. Between 1896 and 1909, the DIA sold over three quarters of a million of the 5.36 million acres of land previously reserved.[87] In addition to the land sold, the department held 279,100 acres of "surrendered" but unsold reserve lands.[88]

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[84] Canada. Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Evidence*, Meeting at Salmon Arm: 10.

[85] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Confidential Report*: 9.

[86] For examples of the disproportionate number of Native people in prisons see Manitoba, Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, *The Justice System and Aboriginal People,* vol. 1 (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1991): 498 and "Behind Bars," *Vancouver Sun,* 20 July 1995: A4.

[87] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates,* 93 (1 December, 1909) col. 784; Canada Department of Indian Affairs *Annual Report,* 1897: 334-50. The total reserve acreage was compiled from the "Indian Land Statement" for the year ending June 1897 and then added to the acreage sold during the course of the year. Where the reserve area was given in square miles, a conversion of 640 acres to the square mile was used.

[88] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1910, Pt. II: 5. This is in addition to the 81,602.66 acres the DIA sold in the year ended March 1910.

Ten years later, the total remaining reserve land in Canada was 4,869,675 acres of which 2,143,708 acres was cleared but only 218,024 acres, or slightly more than two acres per individual were cultivated.[89] While the DIA sometimes exchanged Native land for other tracts, these were rarely of the same monetary value as those surrendered.

The work of the McKenna - McBride Commission in British Columbia beginning in 1913, struck to "settle all differences between the Governments of the Dominion and the Province respecting Indian lands and Indian affairs," provides a dramatic example. Considering its mandate, it is not surprising that from the beginning the commission was more concerned with settling differences between the two levels of government than with Native peoples in the province. As the commissioners were informed by the Committee of the Privy Council: "The Minister is of the opinion that it would be inadvisable to burden the Commission with the investigation of all matters that might be brought to their attention by Indians, many of which would be of slight importance not affecting the relation of the two Governments."[90] As has been said of consultations concerning Native land matters generally, "to keep matters simple the party most affected was left out of negotiations."[91]

The commission cut off 47,058.49 acres of reserve lands and added 87,291.17. While this seems like a net gain for Native peoples in British Columbia, the commission estimated the value of the cut-offs at $1,522,704 while it valued the additions at $444,838. The commission reported a total

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[89] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1920: 43. It should be noted that reserve land base varied drastically by province and agency. In British Columbia, the "Okanagan" Agency included 11.31 acres of cultivated land per person whereas the "Kwakewlth" Agency included less than .02 acres per person in 1916. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1916: 8-10, 65.

[90] PC 1401, 10 June 1913.

[91] George Manuel and Michael Posluns, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Don Mills: Collier-Macmillan Canada, 1974): 30.

reserve acreage in B.C. of 666,640.25 acres with an estimated value of $19,890,000.[92] In 1920, the DIA reported an increase in total reserve acreage to 729,258 but valued it at only $12,865,194.[93]

The growth and spread of non-Native settlement into Native territories affected not only the reserve land base, but economic patterns by restricting the ability to travel to and from vegetable, fish, and animal harvesting grounds. To the physical obstructions of ranches and fences was added legislation that restricted the legality of fishing, and hunting.[94] Native fishers in British Columbia, for example, were limited as to the types of nets that could be used. While this may not seem too remarkable on its own it must, as historian Ron Ignace has commented, be contrasted with commercial fish traps which "caught indiscriminate amounts of salmon."[95] At least one early twentieth century commentator observed the dumping of tens of thousands of dead salmon from commercial fish traps on the Fraser River because the "canneries could not begin to use them. What a fearful waste of good food! No one seemed to think anything of it. They were *only* salmon."[96]

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[92] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, *Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia,* vol. 1 (Victoria: Acme Press, 1916): 26.

[93] Canada, Department of Annual Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1920: 42-3, 48-9. It should be noted in addition that the purchasing power of the dollar dropped by almost half from 1916 to 1920, although it is unknown by exactly what standards the DIA valued land. F.H. Leacy, *Historical Atlas of Canada,* 2nd ed., "General Wholesale Price Index," series K34.

[94] See for example: Titley, *Narrow Vision*: 54; Tobias, "Protection": 136; Hugh Brody, *Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981): 94-99.

[95] Ignace, "Kamloops Agency": 18. For a defense of fish traps to prevent salmon from entering American waters see: R.E. Gosnell, *Year Book of British Columbia* (Victoria: Bureau of Provincial Information, 1903): 219-20. In 1888 Native fishers were limited to spears or driftnets and in 1895 they were excluded from fishing during closed seasons or in spawning areas. Order in Council, 26 November 1888, vol. 3828, f-60,926 GR 1751, Microfilm B 0318; S. Stewart to Secretary of the DIA, 17 March 1898, vol. 3908, f107,297-1, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0333, BCARS.

[96] Frances E. Herring, *Among the People of British Columbia Red, White, Yellow, and Brown* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903): 278. Emphasis in original. During at least one late

Not only were their methods restricted, but the legal status of Native fishing stations was questioned.[97] Further, the McKenna - McBride Commission discovered by 1916 that Native people in northern British Columbia were discriminated against in the issuance of "independent" fishing licenses by federal authorities and in the granting of "attached" licenses by cannery owners. The Commissioners believed that Native people "will in a few years be completely cut off in the North from the salmon fishing industry."[98] Those Native fishers that were issued attached licences were most often provided with inferior boats and equipment.[99] While a former fisheries officer at Shuswap Lake thought Native people should be compensated for the restrictions to their fishery, most believed fishing licences should be used to attract white settlement.[100] In an attempt to offset the immoderate attitudes and practices of fisheries representatives, the McKenna - McBride commissioners claimed that the federal government could not "be aware that under one of its Departments a policy has been designed and is being enforced which will exclude the Indians of northern British Columbia from the salmon fishing industry...the very men the canneries had to depend upon for fish in the beginning of the industry."[101]

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nineteenth century run, canning firms were not satisfied with their well above average salmon harvest and followed the fish up the Fraser into Interior lakes and returned their catch to the canneries by steamer. I.W. Powell to DIA, 19 September 1877, enclosed in Memorandum from J.D. McLean, 7 June 1898, vol. 3908, f107,297-1, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0333, BCARS.

[97] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Confidential Report*: 20.

[98] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Confidential Report*: 17. The discriminatory granting of fishing licences was recognized by at least one Indian agent over two decades prior to the McKenna - McBride investigations. W.H. Lomas, agent at Cowichan, to J. McNab, Inspector of Fisheries, 26 January 1892, vol. 3828, f-60,926, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0318, BCARS.

[99] "Minutes of Meeting of Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for British Columbia with representatives of the Dominion and Provincial fisheries officials in regard to fishing privileges of Indians in B.C.," 23 December 1915, vol. 3908 f107,297-2, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0333, BCARS.

[100] David S. Mitchell, "Story of the Fraser River's Great Sockeye Runs and Their Loss," Unpublished MSS, 1925, I/B/M69, BCARS; "Minutes of Meeting", 23 December 1915, vol. 3908 f107,297-2, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0333, BCARS.

Regardless of the apparent conciliatory tone taken by the commissioners in regard to fishing, the monetary value of reserve lands declined significantly as a result of their efforts. At the same time that reserves were depreciating in value and Native control of them was declining, increased pressure was applied for Native peoples to remain on these fragments of land and restrict economic activity to sedentary agriculture. While the most overtly coercive means used to detain Native peoples on reserves, the pass system, was recognized as a failure by the turn of the century, it was still used to monitor movement and keep track of Native activity until at least the 1930s.[102]

The DIA was not simply interested in increasing reserve agricultural production, nor in training Native peoples in medieval farming techniques, but in instilling a sense of individual ownership. As the Indian Superintendent for British Columbia stated: "The recognition and protection of individual property rights are the first and distinguishing principles of civilization."[103] While individual "location tickets" were suggested as early as 1830,[104] the policy became more aggressive by the 1880s. Since the economic and political structures of many Native cultures mitigated against such a move, it was resisted either by simply objecting to the agent or by giving up farming entirely.[105] Groups taking such action, like those who did not (or for want of land could not) pursue farming, were judged less advanced. As Edgar Dewdney, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, commented: "It is greatly to be regretted that any Indians should be so lacking in intelligence as not to

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[101] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Confidential Report*: 18.

[102] F. Laurie Barron, "The Indian Pass System": 8-9.

[103] Canada, DIA, *Annual Report*, 1880: 120. This is the comment of I.W. Powell, Indian Superintendent for British Columbia.

[104] Leslie, "The Bagot Commission": 43.

[105] Tobias, "Indian Reserves": 96; Carter, *Lost Harvests*: 196-7; Miller, *Skyscrapers*: 201.

recognize the advantages which must accrue to their people by the introduction of such a manifestly correct system among them."[106]

The McKenna - McBride Commission heard evidence that "the Indians in their present state, are as close to Socialism as it is possible to get,"[107] and argued in favour of individual ownership in opposition to "common Band ownership where the Chief is the practical dictator as to what land a man may use or cultivate."[108] The equation of socialism with dictatorship and capitalism with democracy is a common theme in modern liberal capitalist thought, but it is particularly ironic in this context. Native people were forcefully encouraged to abandon prior economic systems and patterns of land ownership and, if considered "advanced" enough, were compelled to participate in Canadian democratic structures.

Provisions to allow participation in the Canadian democracy have been embodied in the Indian Act since the 1850s. By these terms, a Native person "then ceases in all respects to be an Indian." D.C. Scott admitted, however, that only by assenting to "somewhat oppressive regulations" was this possible.[109] Indeed, as John Tobias asserts, the '"civilized' Indian would have to be more 'civilized' than the Euro-Canadian."[110] The process involved in proving sufficient "civilization" was so oppressive that in the 53 years between Confederation and

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[106] Canada, DIA, *Annual Report,* 1889: x.

[107] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Evidence*, Kamloops-Okanagan Agency, Meeting at Salmon Arm: 11-13.

[108] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Confidential Report*: 6.

[109] Scott, "Indian Affairs": 619. In 1857 "an Act to encourage the gradual civilization of the Indians in this Province and to amend the Laws respecting Indians," was passed by the Legislature for Upper Canada. The only slightly modified "an Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians and the better management of Indian Affairs," was passed by the Parliament of Canada in 1869. See: *Statutes of the Province of Canada,* 20 Vic. (1857), c.26; *Statutes of Canada* 32-33 Vic (1869), c.6.

[110] Tobias, "Protection": 16. Tobias notes that few white colonials would be able to meet the criteria of literacy, debt free status, and high moral character demanded of prospective Native enfranchisees.

1918, only 65 families, totaling 102 people, chose enfranchisement.[111] Distressed with the apparent failure of its policy, the DIA instigated more coercive legislation. For most of the period between 1920 and 1951, a provision was included in the Indian Act to allow unilateral enfranchisement by the Governor in Council of those reported sufficiently "advanced" by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, without concern for the desires of the enfranchisee.[112]

The contradiction apparent in disallowing democratic choice in the decision to participate in a democracy was evident. The Six Nations, the Allied Tribes, and others argued that if a Native person was advanced enough to be enfranchised then they must be advanced enough to be consulted about it.[113] This, however, was not the only contradiction in DIA policy. To become self-supporting, Native peoples were placed increasingly under the watchful eye and regulatory authority of the DIA. To permit assimilation into the liberal capitalist economy as small farmers, Native peoples had their land base eroded, their farming methods restricted, and their participation in the "free market" denied. In addition, the groups most successful in European style agriculture in British Columbia began farming and stock raising long before the DIA arrived on the scene.[114] Nevertheless, it was agricultural production that

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[111] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1920: 13.

[112] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1920: 13; Canada, *Statutes of Canada,* 10-11 Geo.V (1920) c.50; 12-13 Geo.V (1922) c.26; 23-24 Geo.V (1933) c.42. See also: John Tobias, "Indian Reserves in Western Canada: Indian Homesteads or Devices for Assimilation." *Approaches to Native History in Canada: Papers of a Conference held at the National Museum of Man, October, 1975.* D.A. Muise ed. (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977): 89.

[113] Cited in Titley, *Narrow Vision:* 49.

[114] In British Columbia the primary prerequisite for agriculture, land, was awarded as a result of Native economies that incorporated European-style agricultural pursuits during the fur trade. It was these groups, many of them in the Interior, that could demonstrate considerable land use by European standards, and so were left with larger fragments of land. Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics:* 33. James Douglas stated that in the southern interior, reserves were "necessarily laid out on a large scale, commensurate with the wants of these tribes; to

was most observed, measured, and compared as a measure of the level of advancement of a particular group. Regardless of what composite of activities merged to create the economy of a particular Native group, the DIA was determined that all would become farmers, even if sufficient land was not left under their control to make this possible.

The pressures to "de-Indianize" the Native population were not, however, limited to reserve agriculture. Native peoples found themselves in the wage labour workplace, hospitals designed especially for them, and perhaps worst of all, the "Indian Residential School." Similar inconsistencies between stated intentions of policy and a mode of implementation that disallowed any possibility of its ultimate success can be found in each of these institutions. The primary contradictions were, however, of a far more fundamental nature than the implementation of policy and more deeply embedded in liberal capitalist discourse. As Patrick Macklem has said in reference to the Canadian legal system, Native people are perceived as simultaneously different and the same:

> Native difference is denied where its acceptance would result in the questioning of the basic premises concerning the nature of property, contract, sovereignty or constitutional right. Native difference is acknowledged where its denial would achieve a similar result.[115]

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allow sufficient space & range for their cattle at all seasons." According to Douglas, land to be reserved for Native groups should include "every piece of ground to which they had acquired an equitable title through continuous occupation, tillage or other investment of their labour." Douglas to Powell, 14 October 1874, James Douglas Correspondence Outward, 1874, BCARS. Canada, Department of the Interior, "Annual Report," *Canada Sessional Papers,* 1875: 63. Reserve Commissioner G.M. Sproat explained that reserve land was allocated on the basis of "4 1/2 acres of arable land per male adult, 6 1/2 acres of good grazing land and 8 1/2 acres of second class grazing land per head of stock." "South Thompson Reserve," *Colonist,* 2 May 1878. Some in the B.C. interior could remember the chiefs leading band members into the fields before ever hearing of an Indian agent as late as the 1920s. Manuel, *Fourth World:* 40.

[115] Patrick Macklem, "First Nations, Self-Government and the Borders of the Canadian Legal Imagination." *McGill Law Journal*, 36 (2): 392.

This ambivalence extends well beyond the legal system to the meaning of "Indianness" itself, and its representation as stereotype.

Cultural theorist Homi Bhabha identifies the stereotype as a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is already known and what must be repeated and reinforced. It is not possible to conceive of the stereotype as offering a "secure point of identification." It is constantly in motion, forming and being formed. As Bhabha confirms, it is a "complex, ambivalent, contradictory mode of representation, as anxious as it is assertive."[116] The stereotype binds together knowledge and fantasy, as its representation is simultaneously desirable and repulsive, innocent and promiscuous. Further, it is the ambivalent nature of the stereotype that allows it to constantly shift to accommodate different historical situations, and permit the process to be repeated. The stereotype, then, resides simultaneously in the shadow of hegemonic certainty of racial inferiority, and yet is constantly drawn into the light of ideology to be reformed by the instruments of liberal progress.

In the case of Native people in Canada at least, the programming of the instruments of liberal progress mitigated against any possibility of their success. With a reduced land and resource base, Native peoples had little opportunity to provide for themselves in any way other than depending on social assistance as the twentieth century wore on. In the British Columbia interior the most profound aspects of this happened within a single lifetime. Yet even here, Native peoples were not successfully assimilated in the way that the advocates of the "civilizing" project had hoped. Resistance took on a variety of forms; most significantly, as George Manuel argued, "the simple fact that we have *survived* the past 150 years is a great victory."[117] Indeed, in 1991, 41% more people reported having aboriginal origins than in 1986, a clear indication of a growing

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[116] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994): 70.

[117] Manuel, "Manifesto": 28.

resistance in the face of a protracted struggle with a clearly more powerful adversary.[118]

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[118] Canada, Statistics Canada, *The Daily,* 30 March 1993: 70. The increase from 711,720 to 1,002,675 may perhaps be explained in part by the introduction of Bill C-31. As a result of this legislation, a 1990 parliamentary study found that 73,554 individuals had regained their status since 1985. But the census question asks respondents for Aboriginal ancestry and not exclusively legal status. At least some of these individuals, therefore, may have reported having "Aboriginal origins" in both censuses regardless of whether or not they were legal "Indians". Statistics Canada claims that the increase "is most likely due to heightened awareness of Aboriginal issues arising from the extensive public discussion of these matters [Native issues generally] leading up to the 1991 Census." Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Impacts of the 1985 Amendment to the Indian Act,* vol. 4 (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1990): 70. See also Olive Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1993): 332.

Chapter 3
"its all right if they are quiet"

With the general framework of panoptic observation in Canada presented in the previous chapters, the remainder of this study will focus more directly on the regions in the British Columbia interior that was known as the Kamloops and Okanagan Indian agencies. A case study approach has been selected with the conviction that the contours of the encounter between Native peoples and the relative newcomers to their territories are obscured by generalized approaches which necessarily reduce disparate material and ideological experiences and actions into a single homogenous "Indian". The reductionist effects of generalized approaches are similar to the homogenization of Native peoples prevalent in the social discourse of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While all Native peoples in Canada were subjected to the normalizing operation of the panoptic mechanism, the precise nature and result of the machine's friction was unique in each instance. No two groups, or even individuals, are engaged in the machine in exactly the same way. To operate effectively, the panoptic mechanism must be organic enough to apply power in a diversified and flexible manner to ensure the inculcation or maintenance of, in the Canadian context, liberal capitalist hegemony. A detailed examination of a particular segment in the web of power relations, the operation of the panoptic machine at a particular geographic location and specific historical juncture, is vital to assess both the normalizing effects of the mechanism and localized strategies of resistance.

The region included in the Kamloops and Okanagan Indian agencies in the period between 1897 and 1922 has been selected for several reasons. As Secwepemc commentators assert, this is before "Indian Affairs had really taken

hold of the Indians" in this area.[1] In the documents of this place and time, one can virtually see the hegemonic cloud descending. As mentioned in the previous chapter, however, the cloud was still far less opaque and control less complete than many writers contend. In addition to the growth of liberal ideas, capitalist industrial production, and increasingly concentrated surveillance by DIA officials, priests, and police in the region during the early part of the twentieth century, this period was witness to an onslaught of settlement, the First World War, and the investigations and report of the McKenna - McBride Commission.

The early twentieth century was a period of rapid non-Native expansion throughout British Columbia as population growth in the decade to 1911 exceeded the previous thirty years combined. Provincial revenue doubled between 1904 and 1906, and revenue from lands and forests increased fivefold in the five years after 1901. In the census district that included Kamloops, the population more than tripled between 1891 and 1921. In the Okanagan at the turn of the century, less than 7,500 acres were devoted to orchards. A mere seven years later 100,000 acres were engaged in fruit production.[2] As increasing pressure was applied to Native lands and resources in the British Columbia interior, Native people were able, during this period at least, to incorporate wage labour in the fields, orchards, forests, and factories into a pre-existing diversified array of economic strategies.

Agents and Agencies

Indian agencies were constructions of the DIA designed to facilitate administration, often with little recognition of Native groupings or their

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[1] Harvey Jules, interview with Joyce Dunn at Chase, British Columbia 1983. See also Manuel, *Fourth World*: 1 and 54.

[2] Canada, *Census of Canada, 1931*, Vol. 1 (Ottawa: Kings Printer, 1935): 350; *Canadian Annual Review,* 1908: 515-23; Martin Robin, *The Rush for Spoils: The Company Province 1871-1933* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972): 99.

territories. Agency boundaries shifted over time to allow more efficient surveillance of Native people and to reduce friction between them and their non-Native neighbours. The Kamloops and Okanagan agencies were supervised separately from their creation in 1881 until 1884 when they were joined under the stewardship of former Hudson's Bay Company chief trader at Kamloops, J.W. McKay. McKay, followed by Wentworth Wood, J.B. Leighton, and finally Archibald Irwin, was responsible for an area of approximately 24,000 square miles that included 334,000 acres of reserved lands.[3] The agencies remained joined until near the end of Irwin's tenure when there was a restructuring to "make three agents covering practically the same ground as was formerly supposed to be covered by Mr. Irwin."[4] The new Kamloops agency, under the supervision of John Freemont Smith from the beginning of 1912, was restricted to "the watersheds of the Thompson river, Shuswap lake and their immediate tributaries."[5] Two years later it was expanded to the south to include several reserves from the Lytton agency's Nicola region.[6] The population supervised by Irwin was 3,862 in 1910, and by Smith 1,411 in 1912, and 2,248 in 1914.[7] While examples are drawn from other portions of the Kamloops and Okanagan agencies, the majority of materials for this thesis come from the areas adjacent to the South Thompson River and the Shuswap Lakes from Kamloops to Salmon Arm and from the north shore of Kalamalka

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[3] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1899: 236.

[4] W.E. Ditchburn to James A. Teit, 6 August 1910, "British Columbia Superintendency, Inspector of Indian Agencies, 1910-1911, Letterbooks," vol. 1312, GR 2042, Microfilm B 1866, BCARS.

[5] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1912: 214.

[6] *The Kamloops Standard,* 20 February 1914; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1914, pt ii: 88. These bands were formerly included in the combined Kamloops-Okanagan agency.

[7] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Census Return," *Annual Report,* 1910, 1912, 1914.

(Long) Lake near Vernon. Primarily involved in the discussion are the Native people defined as the Kamloops, Adams Lake, Neskonlith and Little Shuswap Lake bands of the Secwepemc (Shuswap) First Nation and the Okanagan band of the Okanagan First Nation.

With the exception of one year near the middle of the period 1897 - 1922, the Kamloops region was overseen by two Indian agents: Archibald Irwin from 1897 to 1911 and John Freemont Smith from 1912 to 1922. While no claim will be made that DIA policy was personality driven, the differing style and perspectives of these two men had a very real effect on the application of policy and the nature of the observations relayed back to the department. Indian agents were not simply conduits of state power and faithful recorders of Native activity, but active participants in an ongoing encounter.

Both Irwin and Smith were married, educated, active in local politics, and had some degree of respect within the community, but there are few other similarities. Irwin was a white Liberal party supporter and ex-teacher from Ontario with little interest in the detail of administration or record keeping. Before becoming an Indian agent, he was forced to resign from schools at Cache Creek and Nicola for failing to provide the level of supervision expected by the parents of his students.[8] He was asked by supporters to run for the provincial legislature, but was unsuccessful on two occasions.[9] Irwin was involved in ranching and contracting and in the two years prior to his appointment as Indian agent he was mining recorder at Granite Creek.[10]

J.F. Smith was a black shoemaker-farmer-prospector and Conservative party activist. He was born in Fredricksted, St. Croix, formerly the Danish West

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[8] *Colonist*, 10 and 15 April 1877, 15 May 1880.

[9] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 24 June and 15 July 1886, and 28 June 1890. The name of this journal changed over time, but in all renditions the "Sentinel" portion of the name remained unchanged. "Kamloops Inland Sentinel" is used throughout this essay.

[10] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 14 September 1897, Supplement: 1.

Indies, and was educated in Copenhagen, Sweden, and at a Jesuit college in Liverpool.[11] After arriving at Kamloops in 1884, Smith opened a shoe store there and then another north of the city at Louis Creek.[12] He uncovered gold, silver, mica, and coal deposits, and even the sometimes adversarial Liberal-leaning *Kamloops Inland Sentinel* referred to him as "a well known and reliable prospector."[13] He served as postmaster at Louis Creek, was active in the Farmers' Institute, served as secretary of the Kamloops Board of Trade and was elected alderman.[14] He was highly involved in the Kamloops Central Conservative Association and was a correspondent in favour of his party to the local newspaper.[15] He was also active in the Moral Reform Association and the Children's Aid Society, and taught shoe making at the Kamloops Indian Residential School.[16] Smith was a tireless booster of economic development in the Kamloops area, particularly the North Thompson region, and met with Premier McBride to propose a route from the North Thompson to the Yellow Head pass to enable the shipment of supplies needed in the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railroad.[17] Smith resigned from most of his official

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[11] Harold Forsell, *Law Enforcement of Pioneer Days in South Central British Columbia,* (Kamloops: n.p., n.d.): 13-14. This contains what the author claims is a dictation to J.J. Morse signed by Smith in 1931 and is held in the Kamloops Museum and Archives (KMA); *Kamloops Inland Sentinel*, 9 October 1934: 1, 6.

[12] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 7 August 1884 and 16 March 1886.

[13] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 22 and 29 April 1886 and 14 January 1893; Mary Balf, "Mica Mining," n.d., Newspaper article binder, no. 171, KMA ; Forsell, *Law Enforcement:* 13-14; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Kamloops Record Book, Leases, Water Rights, Surrenders, Alluvial Deposits, 1893-1912": 2-10, vol. 1326, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1871, BCARS; *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 8 July 1893.

[14] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 12 October 1894; Ken Favorholdt and John Stewart "Adult Education for Farmers," *Kamloops Daily News,* 25 November 1988: S4; *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 14 February and 15 July 1902. In the early years the organization was known as the "Inland Board of Trade."

[15] Ballot, Kamloops Central Conservative Association, 1907, Whitfield Chase Papers, Accession #70-37-2, item 61, KMA; *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 7, 10, and 17 April 1896.

[16] Forsell, *Law Enforcement:* 14; *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 19 October 1897.

positions after his appointment as Indian agent, but became active again after his retirement. He was elected president of the Kamloops Agriculture Association at age 76 and did not retire as secretary of Board of Trade until he was 77. He was two weeks short of his 84th birthday when he died at his desk.[18]

There is no doubt that Smith knew Irwin. In addition to his holding the position of instructor at the Kamloops Indian Residential School while Irwin was Indian agent, they served together on the executive of the Kamloops District Rifle Association.[19] It seems unlikely, though, that there was much if any consultation between the two in their roles as Indian agents. The year that separated their terms, and the conditions under which Irwin left (discussed below) reduce the likelihood that any consultation took place.[20] The political differences between Irwin and Smith probably added to the distance between them, but the party affiliations of each undoubtedly influenced their appointment.

Irwin was appointed agent shortly after the elections of Wilfred Laurier as Prime Minister and Liberal Hewitt Bostock as M.P. at Kamloops. Some in the area supported Irwin's appointment saying he was "far above the average

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[17] See for example: *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 8 June 1894, 2-30 November 1894, 22 November 1895, 22 August - 17 December 1897 (one letter each week), December 1904: Supplement, 19 June 1908.

[18] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 18 March 1927, 14 February 1928, and 9 October 1934; *Vancouver Province,* 6 October 1934. The last two citations also include general biographies of Smith.

[19] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 19 October 1897 and 3 February 1903.

[20] After Irwin's dismissal in February 1911, the position was left vacant for several months until William Neild was officially appointed in August. Neild retired after less than six months. J.D. McLean to A. Irwin 10 February 1911, "Correspondence Relating to Elections in the Kamloops Agency, 1896-1912," vol. 3944, f121,698-54, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS . This letter contains a note, initialed by DIA clerk H.C. Ross, that states "Dismissed Feb 8, 1911, but this was not known until after Feb 10." J.D. McLean to K.C. MacDonald, Inspector of Indian Agencies, 26 July 1911, "British Columbia Superintendency, Inspector of Indian agencies, 1910-11," vol. 1311, GR 2042, Microfilm B 1866, BCARS.

British Columbian and in every way suited to fill the position of Indian Agent."[21] The *Sentinel* proclaimed that Irwin "is intimately acquainted with every part of the country covered by the Kamloops Agency, and he has a pretty thorough knowledge of the Indians."[22] Others, however, complained of the dismissal of Conservative officials and the appointment of Liberals like Irwin. An "ex-Liberal" charged that a "more unpopular and disreputable appointment could not be made. It is well-known that Mr. Irwin has no qualifications for the position."[23]

In a recent study devoted primarily to the administration of J.F. Smith, Trefor Smith referred to Irwin as "incompetent," and claimed that the agency suffered from his neglect.[24] Certainly there is evidence of Irwin's inability to oversee this vast territory. In the last few years of his tenure, Irwin was accused by chiefs of never coming to their reserves, and of being "good for whiteman, very bad for Indian."[25] He was charged by settlers with being "more interested in driving around with the Liberal candidate than in attending to his business as Indian agent."[26] Rev. John McDougall, sent by the DIA to investigate disturbances in the agency, and to determine reserve lands that could be alienated for settlement, found Irwin "altogether unfit".[27] Trefor Smith seems

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[21] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 29 October 1897: 7.

[22] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 14 September 1897, Supplement: 1.

[23] *Kamloops Standard,* 13 October 1897: 2. Conservative supporter W.F. Wood was originally replaced by Liberal J.B. Leighton and then by Irwin.

[24] Trefor Smith, "John Freemont Smith and Indian Administration in the Kamloops Agency, 1912-1923", Paper presented at the B.C. Studies Conference, Kelowna, 1994: 3.

[25] "Dr. McDougall's Notes on a Meeting with the Indians on Bonaparte Reserve", 12 October 1909, vol. 3750, f29858-10, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0305, BCARS; John McDougall, "General Report," 1909, vol. 4020, file 280,470-3, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0346, BCARS.

[26] R.C. Armstrong, J.P., to J.D. McLean, 21 February 1912, vol. 3945, f121,696-64, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS.

[27] John McDougall, "General Report," 1909; J. McDougall to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 25 January 1910, vol. 4020, file 280,470-3, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0346, BCARS. McDougall had previously advocated on behalf of Alberta Native groups in their attempt to attain independent control of the marketing of their agricultural produce. Rev.

accurate as well in his assessment that the DIA sought an administrative solution to the growing dissent of Native peoples.

Irwin's stewardship of the sprawling Kamloops-Okanagan agency coincided with growing federal-provincial tension over reversionary interest in reserve lands and the eventual refusal of the province to allot or confirm reserves. Naturally, this was met with increasing frustration by Interior Native groups. While Irwin's lack of administrative skill, or inclination, was offered as the reason for his dismissal, it was the vocalization of grievances by Secwepemc and Okanagan chiefs that shook the liberal humanitarian facade of the DIA.

What Native leaders challenged had implications far beyond a single government agency, but threatened to push back the hegemonic haze supported by, but not limited to, the church and state by exposing the contradictions endemic to their policies and supervision. Secwepemc and Okanagan challenges to liberal notions of protection and tutelage went beyond the realm of what was considered challengeable and were therefore treated as irrational. Irrespective of Irwin's level of competence, he was a scapegoat sacrificed to maintain the appearance of the inevitable progressiveness of liberal capitalism. That Irwin could remain in office for more than a decade before any "incompetence" would be seriously challenged by his superiors is an indication that his technical job performance was not the fundamental problem even to the DIA. As James Halbold Christie, advocate for Okanagan rights early in the century, commented, the underlying operating procedure of the DIA was "it's all right if they are quiet."[28] Irwin was not able to keep Interior groups quiet in the face of increasing restrictions to their lands and resources.

C.E. Somerset to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 10 July 1894, vol. 3917, f116,493, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0334, BCARS.

[28] J.H. Christie, "Okanagan Indians Non-Registered, The Reason Why, The Registration Act and Okanagan Indians," 15 August 1918, NWp/970.5/C555, BCARS. See also: Robert L. de Pfyffer, introduction to a reprint of this letter in *Okanagan History,* 54 (1990): 77-91. Christie will reenter this essay in the section on the Long Lake "surrender" in chapter 4.

J.F. Smith's appointment in 1912 does not seem to have provoked the same level of public debate as Irwin's had. However, when Chief Basile of the Bonaparte band said to Rev. John McDougall: "We do not want a British Columbia white man as our Agent. All our Indians say the same thing," it seems unlikely he anticipated the appointment of a British Columbia black man.[29] At the time of his appointment Smith had lived in the Kamloops area for over 26 years, several years longer than Irwin had at the beginning of his tenure. While Smith's blackness likely caused his exclusion from some circles of Kamloops society, he was far more involved in business and community affairs than Irwin was. Motivated by his convictions as a practicing Catholic and active moral reformer, Smith was more likely to energetically support the larger reform projects of the church and state, even when these were in conflict with perceived local interests. There is little doubt that Smith's phenotype significantly limited his access to power and prestige. In the organizations he participated in he was most often secretary, rarely president. It is probably true that a white man with similar energy, drive, and unwavering faith in dominant political and economic ideologies of his day would have risen more swiftly in the structures of power, but Smith's solution was to immerse himself in those structures, not to challenge them.

In 1896 Smith appealed to the people of Kamloops: "Let us like true Britishers (I will not say bury, because it never lived in this province) continue to close our eyes against race and creed prejudice, and look at the case in the light of fair play and simple justice."[30] Significantly, Smith made these comments in support of remedial legislation proposed by Charles Tupper's Conservatives in relation to federal funding of Catholic schools in the politically

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[29] Rev. John McDougall, "Minutes of meeting held with Indians of Bonaparte, Pavilion and Fountain reserves on the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th August, 1910," vol. 3750, f29858-11: 7, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0305, BCARS.

[30] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 7 April 1896.

divisive Manitoba schools question. Even though this issue was primarily responsible for the fall of Tupper's short lived administration later in the year, Smith's support of minority francophone Catholics was admissible within the prevalent social discourse, even if unpopular. Smith would not overtly contest the boundaries of the hegemonic understandings of racial hierarchy, even though to many his mere presence was inappropriate.

There is little doubt that Smith saw himself more closely aligned to white settlers than Native people in the Kamloops area. Archivist Mary Balf claimed that he referred to himself as "the first white man to explore the North Thompson — if by white you mean non-Indian."[31] Not everyone could, however, close their eyes to Smith's skin colour. When the commander of the local militia at Salmon Arm wanted to alienate a portion of the Adams Lake band's reserve on the shores of Shuswap Lake for a rifle range he wrote:

> I do not think that if it could be avoided, that nigger Smith be employed [to arrange a lease] as the officers of my regiment consider that white men should fill these official billets and decline to meet anything in the way of colour. We have none of any personal objection to Smith only he is in a position which makes intercourse with whites often necessary and when national defence is under consideration we would confer with men of our own race if possible. [32]

In 1917, J.G. Turriff complained in the House of Commons that "there has never been any very great good feeling between our Indians and our coloured people in Canada." The appointment of Smith, "a darkey", had resulted in "a great deal of dissatisfaction." Turriff then tried to defame Smith by claiming he

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[31] Mary Balf, "John Freemont Smith," n.d., Newspaper article binder, KMA; *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 19 February 1966: 3.

[32] T.J. Cummiskey to J.D. McLean, 27 March 1913, enclosing Lt. Col. Charles Flick to T.J. Cummiskey 21 March 1913, vol. 4048, f357,520, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0352, BCARS.

was illiterate and had to employ his daughter to write his correspondence.[33] Ten years later W.E. Ditchburn, Indian Commissioner for British Columbia, reported that Smith had been "A very good agent; a very respectable man," but there was "not the slightest doubt" that the Native people in the Kamloops agency preferred a "whiteman" as their agent.[34]

Within the social discourse that enveloped the interior of British Columbia at the turn of the century and beyond, race played a far more complicated and prominent role than simply the cause of friction between Native people and white settlers. In addition to Smith and his family, and at least one other black business owner, there were Japanese and Chinese nationals, and immigrants from south Asia who found work as miners, railway workers, merchants. Each was expected to fulfill a particular role reserved for their particular combination of race, class, and gender. When it was perceived that the interests of a white business owner, settler, or even worker were interfered with, the unchallengeable belief in the justness of white superiority assisted the grieving party. Ideas and material interests were inexorably linked and mutually reinforcing.

The perils of unfair competition from the "oriental menace" were articulated by Kamloops businesses like the Kamloops Steam Laundry, who employed only white women, and by workers' representatives alike. Ralph Smith, well known labour leader, Liberal M.P., and anti-Asian activist from Nanaimo, for example, had a son living in Kamloops and occasionally spoke there to promote his attempts to restrict immigration.[35] While some white

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[33] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates,* vol. CXXVI (1917): 654. Minister of the Interior W.J. Roche countered that the opposition to Smith was only from "a comparatively few Indians" and that he was "up to the average of any white man who has been our agent." Smith's daughter, Beatrice, remained in the employ of the DIA at least into the 1930s.

[34] Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*: 181.

[35] Patricia Roy, *A White Man's Province, British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants 1858-1914* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989): 243; *Kamloops Inland*

businessmen were happy to employ Chinese workers at reduced wages, others resented dealings between Chinese buyers and Native sellers of deer antlers, wood, or the use of land.[36] When J.F. Smith suggested the Kamloops band lease land to an Asian, as opposed to alienating it for the settlement of soldiers, H.T. Dennison, an adversary of Smith's on the Board of Trade wrote to his M.P.: "It would be a shame if this negro Agent is allowed to have Chinamen mixing with these Indians."[37] There were those who resented Smith's modest attainment of success in a world reserved for whites even though he behaved with the decorum considered appropriate to one in his comfortable economic position.[38] While Smith's economic, religious, and political undertakings could each easily provide enough material for an entire study on their own, it is the combination of all three in his duties as Indian agent that is the primary interest of this thesis.

The Duties of Archibald Irwin and John Freemont Smith

John Lutz has referred to Indian agents as at "one end of a continuum of the state's coercive power."[39] But the role of appointed chiefs, councilors, and band constables, or more appropriately "watchmen" as they were referred to on the reserves at the Shuswap Lakes and elsewhere, must be considered in the

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Sentinel, 4 March 1904 and 10 November 1908. The latter issue also contains an anti-Asian advertisement submitted by the local Liberal association. Ralph Smith's son worked for same company as J.F. Smith's son Clarence. *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 20 January 1903.

[36] C. Boyle to H. Bostock, 2 April 1899, vol. 6735, f420-3, GR 0934, BCARS; W.E. Ditchburn to W.E. Waugh and W.E. Ditchburn to A. Irwin, 21 July 1910, vol. 1312, GR 2042, Microfilm B 1866, BCARS.

[37] Henry Dennison to H.H. Stevens, 17 April 1919, enclosed in E.J. Ashton, Commissioner, Soldier Settlement Board, to D.C. Scott 20 May 1919, vol. 7535, f26154-1, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5827, BCARS. A hand written note in the corner of this letter states that Dennison wished to become Indian agent at Kamloops.

[38] It should be noted that even this modest attainment of success was unique. In his capacity of stipendary magistrate, for example, Smith was referred to as "the only member of a coloured race sitting in a white man's court." *Vancouver Province,* 6 October 1934.

[39] Lutz, "Superintending the Songhees": 33.

relationship.[40] These individuals, whether operating out of a desire for corporate well-being, a hunger for personal gain, or from being simply misled, were equally enmeshed as supervisors in the web of panoptic surveillance. Nor were Indian agents the only DIA employees to get directly involved in band affairs. In the Kamloops and Okanagan agencies, inspectors, superintendents, and more senior DIA officials and political leaders took a direct personal interest in reserve affairs. The stories of several of these classes of supervisors are woven into the examples below.

Since it was believed that Native people were in need of superintendence and reform, it could not be admitted that they should participate in the selection of their agent. When Okanagan chief Johnny Chilahitsa expressed his people's wish to select their agent, the proposal was claimed to be of "no use" and "not practical." Chilahitsa's dissatisfaction was determined to be the result of "a negro appointed Indian agent over the Indians in the Kamloops agency."[41] In the 1930s the chiefs of the bands at the Shuswap Lakes and Kamloops presented a united front in their choice for agent, and countered the earlier claims of Indian Commissioner Ditchburn that they would not be able to come to agreement and that their dissatisfaction stemmed from Smith being black:

> we selected a man who is well known to us, speaks our tongue and writes our writing, he is an honourable and trustworthy man of education, his name was forwarded to Ottawa, we were not granted the privilege of selection and so

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[40] Mary Thomas, "Crime and Punishment," *Kamloops Daily News,* 10 August 1991: B15; Letter signed by 200 Native people at Kamloops and "the Shuswap Group" to T.M. Daly, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 24 Mar 1895, vol. 3918, f116,659-1, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0334, BCARS; I.W. Powell to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 5 Mar 1887, vol. 7748, f 24154-12, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5870, BCARS . Neskonlith elder Mary Thomas claims that watchmen originally acted as community social workers looking for signs of domestic trouble and activity contrary to the group's well-being. Punishment was in the form of service to the community. It was only with the arrival of Europeans and the introduction of an array of crimes against the church that both this form of punishment, and the reasons for surveillance, were altered.

[41] Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence:* 180-1. The justness or even efficacy of having someone placed "over them" was, of course, not considered.

> our troubles continue under an Agent who knows not our ways, speaks not our tongue and cares less.
>
> We have never received fair treatment from the City of Kamloops since the days of J.F. Smith who was in most ways a good Agent.[42]

The only attention that seems to have been paid to this letter was to counter an additional claim that the appointment of agents had partisan political motivations.[43] Like workers, pupils, patients, and the inmates of asylums, prisons, and homes for the destitute, Native people were not sufficiently normalized to participate in the selection of their overseer.

Like the Native people they supervised, Indian agents were, in turn, observed by those more senior in the hierarchy. As mentioned above, however, Indian agents were not simply conduits of state power, but had considerable discretion in the performance of their duties. At Kamloops, this discretion was partly the result of distance and the myriad tasks agents were supposed to perform. Irwin and Smith, like other agents, were expected directly to supervise all affairs involving Native people in their agency including: judicial matters, distribution of band funds, all facets of agricultural production, all church run schools, health care, elections or appointments of chiefs and councilors, and differences with settlers. They were expected, as agents of "civilization", to regularly visit all reserves in their agency, to promote the subdivision of reserve lands, and to give attention "to the sanitary condition of the Indians villages and camps." Since the DIA determined that in British Columbia "nuptial unions [were] still in the most unsatisfactory conditions," agents were instructed to "as far as possible prevent the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes."[44] An agent

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[42] Francois Silpahan et al. to R.B. Bennett, 5 July 1932, vol. 7941, f32-154, GR 1751, Microfilm B 5909, BCARS.

[43] G.S. Pragnell, inspector of Indian agencies, to A.S. Williams, acting Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 26 August 1932, vol. 7941, f32-154, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5909, BCARS.

was expected to "familiarize himself with the special character and habits" of each Native person in the agency, but, as W.E. Ditchburn recommended, he "should not become too familiar with them or he would lose the dignity of his office."

Agents were expected to keep and submit monthly a travel diary, daily journal, general report, expense report, and schools reports. Each year they were to prepare a tabular statement of "agricultural and industrial statistics." They were to keep a record of all correspondence, cheques, and vouchers and to submit all letters to Ottawa, one subject per letter, in the proper form and only on stationery sanctioned previously by the DIA.[45]

A.J. Looy has referred to Indian agents as " the single most important instrument through which the government tried to realize its objectives and to implement its specific Indian policies," but admits their role was not always clear, and that instructions to them were purposely vague.[46] Beyond the nature of supervision to be undertaken and how information was to be reported, there was little advice given in regard to precisely how this activity should proceed. In other words, the DIA established the framework for surveillance but the agent had considerable leeway in the application of policy. Even in regard to the completion of tabular statements, the accounts that would seem to pose the greatest opportunity for mis-reporting, the DIA did not offer specific instruction.

In 1901, the department sent a circular to its agents complaining that "in certain agencies sums are set down as income which would be absolutely incommensurate to the support of the Indians of those agencies." While it is

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[44] "Instructions to Indian Agents," with J.D. McLean to A.W. Vowell, 7 March 1910, vol. 4048, f360,377, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0351, BCARS; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1910: xxix.

[45] "Instructions to Indian Agents," with J.D. McLean to A.W. Vowell, 7 March 1910, vol. 4048, f360,377, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0351, BCARS; Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*: 181.

[46] Looy, "The Indian Agent and His Role": 11, 87-8, and 180.

possible that tabular reports were more accurate after this admonition, as James Burrows has said, it seems just as likely that agents would begin to estimate income data upwards so that they could fulfill the request of their superiors that incomes must be "at least, enough to support the number of people in the band."[47] The following year British Columbia's Indian Superintendent A.W. Vowell reported that "as usual, in nearly every instance" the statistical statements "were more or less inaccurate." The next year, however, Vowell was pleased to report that these statements "in accordance with the desire of the department, were received in good time and were as nearly as possible in the required form."[48] The issue seems not to have been one of accuracy so much as balancing the books. Nearly a decade later a department circular was issued to tell agents that the column "total value of real and personal property" should indeed be the aggregate of those items.[49] There seems little other advice concerning how agents were supposed to count each fish pulled from a river or lake, each carrot pulled from the ground, or each dollar earned on every reserve under their jurisdiction. Burrows notes that the nature of statistics depended on the methods of the agent collecting them.[50] While the statistical data gathering of Irwin and Smith will be discussed below, the general nature of their observation and record keeping must be investigated first.

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[47] DIA, circular to all Indian agents, 28 May 1901, vol. 1327, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1872, BCARS; James Burrows, " 'A Much Needed Class of Labour' ": 30.

[48] Canada Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1902: 280 and *Annual Report,* 1903: 314.

[49] Secretary of the DIA to all agents, 5 June 1910, vol. 1327, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1872, BCARS.

[50] Burrows, " ' A Much Needed Class of Labour' ": 38.

Sharpening the Focus of the Normalizing Lens

J.G. Ramsden, a DIA inspector sent to investigate the Kamloops-Okanagan agency during Irwin's tenure, claimed that the agency was too large "even for a very capable and energetic man." The following year other investigations came to the same conclusion. It was decided that Irwin had been "compelled to leave a great many matters of importance to the several Chiefs and Merchants to settle."[51] In addition to the size of the agency, Rev. John McDougall found Irwin "physically incapable of accomplishing the necessary amount of travel required to give the oversight and protection, and instruction these Indian Bands require."[52] Even though his daily journal records many days spent at office work, Irwin admitted he kept no "books or accounts". In the section of his 1898 travel diary designed to record finances he kept his 1899 written notes. Department investigators found no minutes of meetings with bands, nor any "check on the many undertakings" of the agent.[53]

While this evidence is certainly sufficient to substantiate claims of incompetence, particularly through the eyes of those more senior in the DIA hierarchy, all of his observations should not be similarly dismissed by researchers. Irwin was one of the few who recognized the economic activity of women, and he did so in his first year as agent. In his first annual report he listed the variety of women's economic contribution that included gathering foodstuffs and producing clothing and crafts for sale in addition to wage labour.

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[51] J.G. Ramsden to J.D. McLean, 22 November 1909; unsigned letter to J.D. McLean, 23 September 1910, vol. 1311, GR 2042, Microfilm B 1866, BCARS.

[52] Rev. John McDougall, "General Report," vol. 4020, f280470-3, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0346, BCARS.

[53] J.G. Ramsden to J.D. McLean, 22 November 1909; unsigned letter to J.D. McLean, 23 September 1910, vol. 1311, GR 2042, Microfilm B 1866, BCARS; A. Irwin, Agent's Diary 1898-99, vol. 1325 a; A. Irwin, Agent's Journal, 1898, 29 September to 19 October, vol. 1325 b, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1871, BCARS. During the twenty days listed in the later citation, only three hours were recorded as spent at anything other than office work.

Later he came to recognize the contribution of women on the family farm.[54] It is true that Irwin judged the "astounding" progress of women within the confinement of a dominant discourse which identified women as "more domestic in her nature and habits" then men. Nevertheless, that he considered women's production at all, especially beyond the creation of crafts, is unique.[55] The categories assigned by the DIA to evaluate sources of income are clearly designed to measure the income of men as wage labourers, farmers, hunters and fishers. Even though women were engaged in each of these activities, they were mostly hidden to male department observers who gathered their data from male Native informants, an unfortunate parallel with many turn of the century ethnohistorical writings.[56]

In addition to these obstacles to women's economic activity reaching the official record, regulations designed specifically for Interior peoples were conceived either to restrict women's productive activity or to control their sexuality. On at least three occasions band regulations were approved, at least tacitly, by interior Native groups where only male adults were permitted to vote. G.M. Sproat had regulations passed in 1879 that included: "The women are not to work so much in the fields as has been the case hitherto, when the men were doing nothing. The women are to look more after the houses."[57] Kamloops-

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[54] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1898: 230; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report* 1909, pt i: 239.

[55] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1909, pt. i: 232.

[56] Brody, *Maps and Dreams:* 196; Mitchell and Franklin, "When You Don't Know the Language": 28-9; Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work*: 25. Even J.F. Smith admitted he did not always visit every reserve and, occasionally at least, relied on oral testimony of male informants regarding reserve conditions. It must be noted, though, that even when the agent went to a reserve it would have been impossible to personally quantify all income sources and production levels. A Native informant, likely a male chief or councilor, would have to have been consulted. J.F. Smith, "Agent's Journal", 25 May 1914, vol. 1325 e, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1871, BCARS.

[57] G.M. Sproat, Reserve Commissioner, "Rules and regulations framed by the Nekla-ka-a-muk Council sitting at Lytton British Columbia the 17th July 1879 for their own people," vol. 3696, f15,316, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0295, BCARS.

Okanagan agent J.W. McKay had rules passed that he claimed were "the result of the Indians' desire to maintain and improve morals of their women."[58] J.F. Smith was also concerned with morality and had rules ratified by Secwepemc leaders, and approved by the DIA, designed to alleviate "intemperance and profligacy" which made it an offence to live on a reserve in the agency "as man and wife without being legally married."[59]

There is little doubt that Smith paid far more attention to the mechanical aspects of his job than Irwin did. His sense of justice and personal moral code, based in his religious beliefs, necessitated the observance of the rule of law and the rule of his god as he understood it. While the contradictions inherent in the ideology of racial progression must have been apparent to him as a black man, he confronted these contradictions by attempting to become more white, or as Trefor Smith argues, more "respectable" to his peers.[60] His world view included the belief that "advancement" was morally necessary and measurable.[61] The energetic precision with which Smith engaged in his work as Indian agent certainly protected Native people in the Kamloops agency in their dealings with their non-Native neighbours and the DIA, at least within legally

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[58] I.W. Powell to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 5 March 1887, vol. 7748, f24154-12, GR 1751, Microfilm B 5870, BCARS.

[59] W.E. Ditchburn to J.F. Smith, 20 December 1917, vol. 1319, GR 2042, Microfilm B 1869; H. Graham to J.D. McLean, 6 November 1917, vol. 3696, f15,316, GR 1751, Microfilm B0295, BCARS. Smith's judicial activity included hearing cases of domestic disputes in which he either attempted to reconcile spouses or arranged support payments. See for example: Agent's Journal, 11 June 1913, vol. 1325 d; Agent's Journal 4 January and 10 March 1915, vol. 1325 f, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1871, BCARS.

[60] Trefor Smith, " 'A Very Respectable Man': John Freemont Smith and the Kamloops Agency, 1912-1923," M.A. Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1993.

[61] In a debate on the equality of "the mental capacity of the sexes" at the Young Men's Institute, Smith took the affirmative and based his arguments on phrenology. His opponent claimed that the phrenologist could not make a true test since it was the dimensions of the brain that determined intelligence not outward signs. The judge, Father Michels, ruled in favour of Smith's opponent claiming "the attainments of women are due to following the course laid out by man, not by invention or discovery of her own." The "truth" of scientific knowledge was not questioned, only which science possessed the greatest "truth" value. *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 25 April 1899.

defined limits. But his unwavering belief in the inevitability and justice of liberal capitalism served to sharpen the focus of the normalizing lens of the panoptic mechanism in this region.

That the DIA was able to take "hold of the Indians" in this area more securely in the 1920s without more concentrated and overt resistance, outside the parameters of what the discourse considered rational, was greatly assisted by the liberal tutelage of John Freemont Smith. As Rev. John McDougall reported during his general investigations of reserves in British Columbia on behalf of the DIA, if "not for this sublime faith in Ottawa [as a Christian government] and the patience this has engendered there would have been most serious trouble ore [over] this [land and resources] between the Indians and the whites, because of the overbearing impudence and outrageous conduct of the latter."[62] To be effective, the normalizing action of the panoptic mechanism had to constantly adapt to remain shielded by the rhetorics of liberalism, lest the project itself be brought into question. In the Kamloops and Okanagan Indian agencies this meant that the friction between Native people and their increasingly numerous non-Native neighbours had to be kept at a minimum. Agent Irwin could not meet the task in the face of growing Native vocalizations of dissatisfaction regarding land and resources. The normalizing mechanism had to adapt to these new conditions and in the process Irwin was replaced by someone more effective and the area for which he was responsible was reorganized into more manageable units.

Native people were led to believe that the government at Ottawa would resolve their fundamental grievances, particularly in regard to land and resources. They believed they would be able to maintain the economic strategies already embedded in their culture while adapting other activities to

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[62] John McDougall to Frank Oliver, 22 September 1910, vol. 4020, f280,470-2, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0346, BCARS.

secure a comfortable life. As George Manuel recognized, "these people were not wrong. They were betrayed."[63]

[63] Manuel and Poslins, *Fourth World:* 53.

Chapter 4

"that little spot"

Frank Oliver, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1906, stated that "if it becomes a question between the Indians and the whites, the interests of the whites will have to be provided for."[1] The question though, as contested between provincial and federal governments and between settlers and the federal representatives of the various reserve commissions, was how best to secure non-Native interests.

Already in the 1870s, Whitfield Chase, Alexander McBryan, D.G. Macpherson, and C.E. Williams, settlers at Shuswap, sent a petition to the provincial government complaining of a reserve allotment adjacent to their farms:

> The position of the reservations, they being on every side of us, will induce the passing to and fro constantly of trains of lawless savages, who will throw down our fences leaving them open, allowing animals to stray upon our crops and elsewhere; by their dogs our poultry will be exterminated and our pigs and young stock worried and destroyed. Our fruit and our gardens will be plundered almost under our eyes, and every implement and article of value must be under bolts or the eyes of its owner, or be forever lost.

They complained in addition that: "Not a horse can be ridden past, nor an animal moved, to or from our farms, without danger of being stampeded by the savages and their dogs, scores of which, starved an ravenous brutes, pertain to each and every lodge."[2] Reserve commissioners A. McKinlay and G.M. Sproat wrote in response:

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[1] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates,* 74 (1906): 950.

> Couched as their statement is in exaggerated language, and laying down principles which cannot be approved, it will tend to give the Canadian Government, who are the Trustees and Guardians of the Indians, a wrong impression of the sentiments of the white settlers in the Interior as regards the Indians.[3]

Contrary to the impression given by commissioners McKinlay and Sproat, the view of Chase and his neighbours was probably not isolated. It was views such as these gave the provincial government the political mandate to begin a series of refusals to allot land by 1886.[4] The extreme nature of their letter, though, and similar representations throughout the period under discussion, threatened to expose the less desirable elements of Canada's Indian policy as surely as they threatened to invite Native resistance.

A series of disputes regarding the reserves of the Okanagan band, and in particular their reserve at the north end of Long Lake near Vernon (now known as Kalamalka Lake), illustrate the complex friction that existed between interests that cannot be reduced to simply "Native" and "non-Native." These disputes were instrumental to the dismissal of Archibald Irwin as agent, threatened the benevolent facade of reserve policy, and took three quarters of a century to finally resolve.

The Long Lake "Surrender"

In November 1908, a document "surrendering" the Long Lake reserve to the DIA was signed by seventeen adult male members of the Okanagan band. Recently deposed chief Pierre Michel wrote to agent Irwin complaining about

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[2] Whitfield Chase, et al., Petition to the Provincial Parliament of British Columbia, 24 January 1878, Whitfield Chase file, item 2, vertical files, KMA; British Columbia, *Sessional Papers,* 1878: 451.

[3] A. McKinlay and G.M. Sproat, un-addressed copy, 9 January 1878, Whitfield Chase file, item 1, vertical files, KMA.

[4] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1886: lix.

the sale. When Irwin did not respond, Michel wrote to the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in Ottawa complaining that:

> When Mr. Irvin, [sic] the Agent demanded of me if I was going to sell that land or not I informed him that I could not sell it myself as most of the preple[sic] was against the selling of that land. Mr. Irvin, [sic] the Agent then told me that I could no longer be Chief, that Isaac Harris would be Chief in my place.[5]

Long-serving DIA clerk H.C. Ross recommended that "it would be best to pay no attention to this letter, and probably nothing further will be heard from the writer."[6]

Band members opposed to the sale asked J.H. Christie, who lived with a woman whose mother was Okanagan, to intervene on their behalf. Christie sent a list of statutory declarations signed by the band, along with correspondence from Rev. John McDougall, questioning the surrender to the DIA in Ottawa.[7] A. Bridgeman, a Vernon solicitor who had been questioning Secwepemc and Okanagan surrenders for several years, also wrote to Ottawa early in 1909 in regard to the sale and the appointment of Harris as chief.[8]

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[5] Pere Nequalla to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 7 December 1908, vol. 3944, f121698-54, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS. A postscript to this letter states "Interpreted by Johny Alec an educated Indian, fluent in both languages." It is not known who wrote it. Peter Carstens claims Michel signed his name Nequalla to attract attention. Whatever his motives the name was clearly meant to evoke the memory of Nkwala, Okanagan chief during the fur trade period. Michel was also referred to as Machell or Michelle. Carstens, *The Queen's People*: 120. The Long Lake reserve was one of ten pieces of land that the band retained.

[6] H.C. Ross to DIA Secretary, 20 January 1909, vol. 3944, f121698-54, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS.

[7] Robert L. de Pfyffer, introduction to J.H. Christie, "Okanagan Indian Non-Registered, The Reasons Why," *Okanagan History*, 54 (1990): 79; Christie, "Okanagan Indians," BCARS.

[8] A. Bridgeman to F. Pedley, 12 February 1909, vol. 3944, f121698-54, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS; A Bridgeman to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 9 April 1907, vol. 4035, f307,426, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0349, BCARS. Irwin claimed that the appointment of Harris was only temporary until the selection of a new chief, Baptiste Logan,

These letters created a flurry of correspondence and finally, in the fall, the department sent B.C. Indian Superintendent A.W. Vowell, followed by J.G. Ramsden, inspector of Indian agencies assigned to the department's secretary's branch in Ontario, and finally Rev. John McDougall of Kamloops to investigate.[9]

Ramsden referred to Christie's "manner and conduct" as "praiseworthy" and found that of the seventeen individuals listed on the surrender agreement, four swore that they had not even attended the meeting to discuss the sale, two claimed they did not know the nature of what they were signing, and one was under legal age. Others claimed that they had been given money or whiskey for signing by the prospective purchaser of the land, John Kennedy. It was claimed further that Isaac Harris, another signatory to the agreement whom Irwin had appointed temporary chief, was a "half-breed", not a member of the band, and not entitled to vote. In a referendum taken at the hearings, over seventy five percent of the voting members of the band requested Harris' removal from the band's reserves. Michel claimed that it was Harris' marriage to the "half-breed daughter of [local rancher Cornelius O'Keef[e]'s wife" and O'Keefe's "interest with the Agent" that allowed Harris to remain on the band's Reserve Three, even though a vote was never taken for his admission to the band. J.G. Ramsden included along with his report a statement from Kennedy and a letter from Kennedy's partner, T.J. Cummiskey.[10]

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could be ratified by the DIA. A. Irwin to A.W. Vowell, 8 March 1909, vol. 3944, f121698-54, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS.

[9] J.D. McLean to A.W. Vowell, 20 February 1909; A. Irwin to A.W. Vowell, 8 March 1909; A.W. Vowell to J.D. McLean, 10 Mar 1909; J.D. McLean to A. Bridgeman, 18 March 1909, vol. 3944, f121698-54, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS; de Pfyffer, introduction to J.H. Christie, "Okanagan Indians": 79-80; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1909, pt. II: 113. Vowell was sent, but his appointment was withdrawn before he arrived on the scene.

[10] J.G. Ramsden to J.D. McLean, 6 November 1909, vol 4014, f271,322-1 and 2, RG 10, National Archives of Canada; "Minutes of meeting on the Okanagan Reserve" enclosed in J.G. Ramsden to J.D. McLean, 22 November 1909, vol. 1311, GR 2042, Microfilm B 1866, BCARS; Pere Nequalla to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 7 December 1908, vol.

For his part, Harris claimed that Christie and Bridgeman had a grudge against him because as Special Provincial Constable Harris did "work which shows them up when they were trying to get a coal mine on Okanagan Lake when they did not have it staked...for the purpose of stealing the mine from another white man."[11] Harris also claimed that Michel could not have known what was in the letter he sent to Ottawa "as he can't read or write and he is a very stupid man." Harris admitted he was not born a band member but argued that he had lived on the reserve all his life and had bought his land from a former chief.[12]

Within a few months, Irwin presented a petition to the department requesting that Baptiste Logan, who replaced Harris as chief, be deposed for intemperance. The petition was signed by Harris but not by a majority of band members and the action was not supported by DIA officials in Ottawa.[13] By the end of 1911, however, T.J. Cummiskey, Kennedy's partner in the questionable surrender deal, had been appointed inspector of Indian agencies for the region that included the Kamloops and Okanagan agencies. Within a few months, Cummiskey by-passed new Okanagan agent J.R. Brown, deposed Chief Logan, dissolved the band council, and threatened to jail any who objected, claiming he

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3944, f121698-54, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS; de Pfyffer, introduction to J.H. Christie, "Okanagan Indians": 80-1.

[11] Isaac Harris to Frank Oliver, 30 November 1909, vol. 4046, f354,669-2, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0352, BCARS. The verity of Harris' contention in regard to Christie trying to "jump" this claim is not known, although the self interest evident in Harris' actions and the more altruistic behavior of Christie at least brings it into doubt. In addition, Christie's ability as a prospector was well known. When he discovered coal at Short's Creek, in the hills west of Okanagan Lake, the *Vernon News* commented that he "appears to be familiar with the mountains from the North Pole to California." *Vernon News*, 20 July 1905:1; see also Grace Worth, "James Halbold Christie, Lest We Forget," *Okanagan History,* 31 (1967): 157-72.

[12] Isaac Harris to Frank Oliver, 30 November 1909; J.G. Ramsden, Inspector, to J.D. McLean, 22 November 1909, vol. 4046 f354,669-2, GR 1751, Microfilm, BCARS. Harris complained further that he should be paid for the loss of land that was alienated for a railway right of way for which compensation went to the credit of the band.

[13] A. Irwin to J.D. McLean, 9 April 1910; H.C. Ross to Deputy Minister of the Interior, 19 April 1910, vol. 3944, f121698-54, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS.

had the support of Secwepemc chief Louie and Okanagan chief Chilahitsa in the action.[14]

Several members of the band claimed that Cummiskey had support for his land deal and for his internal political machinations from people living on their reserves who were not band members. Band councilor Louie Tonasket stated that "the half-breeds are his [Cummiskey's] friends. They are all helping him for to give Cummisky and Kennedy our reserve on Long Lake. Them and the Nigger Sambo are the people we have tried for years to get our Agents to put off our reserve." James Logan confirmed that "Nigger Sambo," a man of unknown lineage but apparently with a darker complexion than others living on the reserve, was acting as "policeman and spy. He is a brute. He will eat people up, and is a good friend to Cummiskey."[15] The band, with the assistance of Christie, wrote to Ottawa asking the Department to "kindly inform Mr. Cumisky [sic] that we don't want him to interfere with our Chief as he is a Good Chief to us and we don't want any other Chief here to interfere with us.... Cumisky [sic] is no good being under the influence of whiskey when he comes here."[16] Cummiskey countered "I cannot allow squaw men, immoral halfbreeds or other evil inclined whitemen to dictate a policy to me."[17]

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[14] J.H. Christie, "Indian Affairs in British Columbia," NWp/970.5/C554, BCARS; T.J. Cummiskey to J.D. McLean, 15 May 1912, vol. 3945, f121,696-64, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS. The article by Christie contains the testimony of several band members.

[15] J.H. Christie, "Indian Affairs in British Columbia." Clearly, there were more racial distinctions on this reserve than simply who was "Indian" and who was not. Tonasket is also referred to as Konasket in some documents.

[16] Chief Baptiste Logan and 21 other members of the Head of the Lake [Okanagan] band to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 15 May 1912, vol. 3945, f121,696-64, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS. The band members who were interviewed by Christie resented the interference by Chilahitza into their affairs. James Logan stated that Chilahitza "told us in our meeting with Cummiskey that he had been made King of all the reserves by the Government at Ottawa, and that we had to do and mind what he told us." band members also claimed that Michel, or Lame Pere as they referred to him, was involved "in the deal to sell the Long Lake reserve to Cummiskey and Kennedy" and that his dismissal by Irwin was supported by the band.

While Cummiskey was rebuked for not following proper procedure, within two weeks Logan's removal for intemperance was approved by the Governor General in Council and the charges against the inspector "were found not to be justified."[18] Logan was succeeded by a reinstated, and apparently reformed, Pierre Michel, who began sending minutes of band meetings directly to the inspector.[19] By manipulating internal divisions on the reserve, gaining the support of more conciliatory Okanagan leaders, and by installing people into positions of supervision who many band members claimed had no right on the reserve, Cummiskey succeeded in keeping resistance on the reserve contained, while Irwin lost his job trying.

The following year, the McKenna - McBride Commission arrived in the Okanagan agency and appointed Isaac Harris as interpreter. By the time commission members left the agency they had decided to convey Okanagan Reserve Three to Harris, who the majority of the band (at least the majority of those the DIA had determined competent to vote, i.e. males over twenty one years of age) said was not even a band member. As a further act of irony, the allotment of this reserve would not "prejudice or affect any right or interest"

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[17] T.J. Cummiskey to J.D. McLean, 11 October 1912, vol. 3945, f121,696-64, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS.

[18] J.D. McLean to T.J. Cummiskey, 10 June 1912; Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, 21 June 1912, vol. 3945, f121,696-64, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS; Canada, House of Commons, *Debates,* vol. CIX (1912-13) col. 4420. There are many examples of chiefs being unjustly removed from office with little evidence of any transgression other than the advice of the agent. When the removal from office of chief Francois Scotty of the Ashcroft band, as recommended by J.F. Smith, resulted in a petition for reinstatement signed by several Interior chiefs, provincial constables, and a justice of the peace, Smith asked that the dismissal be overturned. The DIA responded: "You might take a lesson from the present instance not to make a recommendation for deposal of either a chief or a councilor without also mentioning whatever there may be in his favour." The department said, though, that it would not consider Scotty's reappointment for at least a year. J.F. Smith to J.D. McLean 1 December 1916; Report of Privy Council, 28 December 1916; Petition to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 30 January 1917; J.F. Smith to J.D. McLean, 9 February 1917; J.D. McLean to J.F. Smith, 24 February 1917, vol. 7941, f32-154, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5909, BCARS.

[19] T.J. Cummiskey to J.D. McLean, 19 July 1912; Chief Pierre Michelle, 10 September 1912, vol. 3945, 121,696-64, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS. The minutes were sent over Michel's name but were written by Oblate Father, P. Conan.

which Harris had as a "member" of the Okanagan band "or any interest he now has or may hereafter acquire in any lands or other property or moneys of the Band." The commission also recommended cutting off the Long Lake reserve, but the band's problems did not end there.[20]

Major A. Megraw, appointed inspector to replace Cummiskey after the latter's death, leased 2,000 acres of reserve land to Dr. Henderson, an Armstrong veterinarian, without informing the band. When new chief Casto Louie found Henderson cultivating the land, he demanded the doctor discontinue tilling. Almost immediately Megraw wrote the chief to tell him "you have been deposed" and that he would find a chief that would take "orders from me and from no one else."[21] The band again went to J.H. Christie for help and Christie circulated their complaints in the Senate and House of Commons and they were read into the official record by opposition M.P. Frank Oliver.[22]

Commissioner J.A.J. McKenna found the lease "not for the benefit of the Indians" and it was canceled after Henderson's wheat was harvested. Another investigation ensued that included hearing complaints against Megraw raised by the Penticton band. This time the inquiry was directed by Indian Commissioner W.E. Ditchburn who, contrary to promises made by Deputy Superintendent General D.C. Scott, refused to provide a daily transcription of

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[20] J.G.H. Bergeron to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 20 November 1913, enclosing "Interm Report No. 16", GR 672, box 1, f21, BCARS; McKenna-McBride Commission, *Report:* 700-13; de Pfyffer, introduction to J.H. Christie, "Okanagan Indians": 82-4. The commissioners noted in their *Report* that Harris had built a $3000 house on the reserve, that its 160 acres were being utilized and that Harris was "a very reliable and progressive man." Inspector Cummiskey died as a result of strain induced internal bleeding sustained while pushing the baggage filled automobile of the McKenna - McBride Commission up the hills of the Okanagan agency.

[21] Casto Louie to W.J. Roche, 5 May 1916; Megraw to Casto Louie 5 July 1916, copies in J.H. Christie, *Correspondence Between J.H. Christie, Armstrong B.C. and Department of Indian Affairs,* (N.p: n.p., 20 April 1917): 1-2, NWp/970.5/C554c, BCARS. Louie's first name is also reported as Gaston, Gastan, and Gasto.

[22] J.H. Christie, "Okanagan Indians"; Canada, House of Commons, *Debates,* vol. CXXVII (1917): cols. 2341-44.

the proceedings. This misrepresentation coupled with Ditchburn's appointment of Isaac Harris as interpreter was too much for Christie. He withdrew from the inquiry and recommended that the band hire legal council, a move "strongly opposed" by Ditchburn.[23] In withdrawing Christie maintained that the Okanagan were

> Bulldosed, brow-beaten, scoffed at, jeered at, assaulted and robbed on all sides by a horde of intruding alien enemies pro-German to a man. A riot of misrule and every right seemingly ignored. American Indians American half-breeds of criminal record, seemingly receiving every aid and comfort from the Department officials, under whom God had so seemingly carelessly entrusted their welfare.[24]

When the department tried to compile a band census the following year, not surprisingly with the assistance of Harris, former chief Casto Louie and the 78 year old Louie Tonasket refused to participate. For their recalcitrance they were jailed by inspector Megraw. Christie published another article on behalf of the Okanagan and appealed for clemency for Louie and Tonasket. In addition, Christie claimed that Megraw knew about, and approved of, plans to have him killed for his advocacy on behalf of the Okanagan.[25]

While Louie and Tonasket were eventually released, and their case as well as that of Cummiskey's removal of Logan was presented in the House of Commons on several occasions, the issue that started the whole story of the

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[23] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates,* vol. CXXVII (1917) col. 1379; J.H. Christie, "Okanagan Indians." Upon arriving in Penticton for the hearings there, Christie found that Harris and Michel had been interviewing band members prior to the arrival of Ditchburn and that "an afternoon meeting between Harris and the chief had completely changed the status of affairs on the reserve." Christie found "the previously united majority of the band split in four different factions, the chief's previous warmest friends now his open enemies, whilst the chief's late bitterest enemies his closest friends." This confusion operated against the satisfactory resolution of the band's complaints. By the time Ditchburn arrived at the Head of the Lake Reserve the following week, Christie had come to believe he had done all that he could and withdrew from the hearings. J.H. Christie, "The Indian Inquiry," *Vernon News,* 8 August 1917: 8.

[24] J.H. Christie, "The Indian Inquiry," *Vernon News,* 8 August 1917: 8.

[25] J.H. Christie, "Okanagan Indians."

cut-off lands at Long Lake would take three generations to resolve. The surrender, set in motion by Irwin but likely initiated by businessman and future inspector T.J. Cummiskey, and then formally cut off by the McKenna - McBride Commission was declared illegal and the band was paid compensation after seven decades of struggle. Okanagan Reserve Three, however, continues to be referred to as the "Harris" reserve.[26]

The disputes over land and leadership involving the Okanagan band demonstrate several important points. While there were many complaints against Isaac Harris, when the way he dressed and acted was compared against others on the reserve, he was inevitably judged more advanced by those at all levels in the DIA hierarchy.[27] Occasionally men like this were even compared favourably against the "average whiteman," but this was only to illustrate how far they towered above other Native people. While "Indianness" had degrees, none would, or could, be judged on the same continuum between needing reform and being "normal" as even those whites deemed least fit. Levels of "normality", like those of obedience discussed in chapter one, were conceived of within a model that had horizontal as well as vertical depth. A simple linear representation of an individual's "normality" only serves to obfuscate a complex inter-relationship of race, gender, and class that determined relative "need of reform" or the extent of "normality". At the same

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[26] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates,* vol. CXXVII (1917) col. 2341; J.H. Christie, "Okanagan Indians": 87-91; Carstens, *Queen's People*: 121, 291. It should be noted that Christie seems to have been significantly radicalized by his experience and frustration with the various levels of the DIA hierarchy involved. While he seems never to have recommended stepping outside the law, his personal journey from a military commander and later Northwest Mounted Police officer sent to receive Sitting Bull into Canada in 1876 after the defeat of Custer at the Little Big Horn, and foreman of the Military Colonization Ranch between the Blackfoot reserves and Calgary was indeed a long one. Near the end of his life, a neighbour referred to Christie as "anxious to bring about socialism in Canada." By 1942 he was living in a packing shed, supported by the benevolence of his neighbours. He was finally buried in an unmarked grave. Worth, "James Halbold Christie": 158, 162, and 172. See also de Pfyffer, introduction to J.H. Christie, "Okanagan Indians": 77.

[27] For photographs of Isaac Harris and Baptiste Logan see: de Pfyffer, introduction to J.H. Christie, "Okanagan Indians": 80-1.

time, however, the model had to appear linear, the application of instruments of normalization had to seem even and democratic or the dressing that obscured the precise nature of liberal capitalism might be compromised.

While the interests of whites, even white workers and small holders, would be protected, they could not appear to be favoured at the merciless expense of Native people. Cummiskey was rebuked for not following procedure, but then his recommendations were executed. Megraw's illegal lease was terminated, but only after the lessee had harvested his crops. The machinations of Cummiskey and Megraw were clearly *ultra vires* of stated DIA policy, but they managed to limit extra-legal resistance, which was the underlying imperative. Irwin was dismissed, apparently for incompetence, but at the root of his incompetence was his position as a Liberal bureaucrat in a Conservative regime unable to contain either Native or non-Native opposition.

Ironically, though Irwin was finally dismissed, the McKenna - McBride Commission recommended the Long Lake reserve be cut off, approving Irwin's original assessment that the reserve was not needed by the band. While McKenna suggested that "no diminishment of existing reserves shall be made without the consent of the Indians," the irregularities of the surrender vote, confirmed by DIA inspectors, were ultimately ignored, except to dismiss agent Irwin.[28]

McKenna - McBride at Kamloops and Shuswap Lake

Throughout the hearings in the Kamloops and Okanagan Agencies, J.A.J. McKenna was most often the commissioner that appeared most understanding of Native concerns, but even his world view could not permit fractures in the liberal democratic discourse. McKenna believed that "a progressive Indian policy in British Columbia" could be achieved with the extinguishment of

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[28] J.A.J. McKenna to Robert Rogers, Minister of the Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 26 October 1912, GR 1967, microfiche, BCARS.

provincial reversionary interest.[29] As the commissioners were endeavoring to "settle all differences" between the two levels of government, however, the province would have to be appeased while overt Native resistance, manifested in the burgeoning land and title rights movement, would have to be suppressed.[30]

Evidence taken at Shuswap Lake indicates that it was restrictions to hunting and fishing and those imposed by the growth of settlement that were of most concern to the Native groups living there. According to Francois Silpahan of the Little Shuswap Lake band: "It is not on our reserve only that our hard feelings commence; it is for land outside the reserves. There the whitemen have stopped us. They stopped us from getting deer and birds, and stopped us fishing." He assured the commissioners that the band did "not intend to do anything but we asked the Government at Ottawa to help us with it."[31] Francois Pierrish of the Neskonlith band said: "we want to go out to hunt, and sometimes we want to go out to fish. We would like to be peaceable all through this Country so that we will come home allright."[32] Chief Antoine Tawhalst of the Adams Lake band confirmed: "My land is lots and the Government has confined me to a small spot and fixed my land so that I should dig in that little spot for my living." Tawhalst felt no animosity toward his non-Native neighbours though: "In regards to the white people who are living here, I feel alright to them, as they

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[29] J.A.J. McKenna to Robert Rogers, 26 October 1912, GR 1967, BCARS.

[30] Before the work of the commission began, McKenna wrote to Premier McBride and acknowledged the province's position that "the province's title to its lands is unburdened by any Indian title...as far as the present negotiations go, it is dropped." The principal issue of concern to Native peoples was, apparently without their knowledge, removed from the agenda. This letter, dated 29 July 1912, was read into evidence by D.C. Scott at the Special Joint Committee hearings in 1927. Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence:* 8-9.

[31] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence*: 43. The evidence given by the bands at Shuswap Lake was translated by Isaac Harris.

[32] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence*: 19.

have to work for their living the same as I do, and I am glad to have them as neighbours."[33]

Certainly the operation of the panoptic mechanism, working to control bodies in space, is evident. Native people were becoming increasingly restricted to their reserves, but there was not wide spread acknowledgment among them that this movement was inevitable. While the DIA and settlers to British Columbia were busy drawing up maps and subdividing land to illustrate ownership, Native people had not yet accepted the sort of spatial zoning fundamental to liberal capitalism whether on the factory floor or farmland grid. This is not to suggest that there was no recognition of areas of sovereignty clearly understood between Native groups, but rather that the individualization of land, the possessive component of human stewardship over it, and the necessity of drawing lines on pieces of paper to prove ownership were foreign. As Neskonlith elder Mary Thomas affirms, "we knew where our hunting grounds were, our fishing grounds, and we claimed that area and that was it."[34] Native people had come to understand the settlers' penchant to subdivide land, but they trusted the federal government to uphold Native notions of space, so that they would continue to have access to lands outside their "little spot."

By 1921, Native leaders at Shuswap Lake could get maps of their reserves simply by asking, but this information was not as automatically forthcoming as it was to white settlers. Little Shuswap Lake chief Tomma said of the band's reserves "Nobody told us how many acres but I know where the lines are." When asked how many acres were in the Neskonlith reserves, Francois Pierrish said "We know it pretty well, but we don't know how many acres."[35] It

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[33] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence*: 30.

[34] Mary Thomas, interview with Joyce Dunn at Chase, British Columbia, 1982.

[35] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence*: 47 and 20.

is unlikely that a white rancher would not know the dimensions of his land to the tenth of an acre and could produce survey records to prove it.

The workings of the McKenna - McBride Commission at Kamloops are illustrative of the enduring notions of uncultivated land as unused and unsubdivided land as not owned. In this instance, once again, differing perceptions of white interest are evident. The hearings at Kamloops also point to the possibility of a sanitization of the official record.

Kamloops Reserve One and Little Shuswap Lake Reserve Four

For several years before the McKenna - McBride Commission visited Kamloops, the city's board of trade argued that while "there was no wish to work any injustice to the Indians" the Native people living in a village across the Thompson River from Kamloops "would be better off if removed from near the city and would benefit largely from the proceeds of the sale of the lands." The single dissenting voice was that of the board's secretary, John Freemont Smith, who argued that the "Indians were here first and their rights must be considered first."[36] Regardless of Smith's objections, the board struck a committee to study the issue and the following month they presented a resolution "asking for the removal of the Indians" to Premier McBride. The resolution pointed out that not only was "the proximity of the reserve to the city inimical to the interests of the community, but it also gives opportunity for providing liquor to the Indians and thus furnishes great scope for crime, which has been so prevalent of late amongst the Indians." The board argued further, that while the reserve contained 32,000 acres only 200 acres were "under cultivation."[37] The connection between immoral Native people, unable to control their base instincts, and the unacceptable under-utilization of farm land was articulated.[38]

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[36] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 15 November 1907: 1.

[37] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 24 December 1907: 6.

By the time the McKenna - McBride commissioners arrived in Kamloops, Smith was Indian agent for the district and no longer secretary of the board of trade. When the board met to develop a position to present to the commission it was unremarkably similar to the 1907 resolution. Major J.M. Harper, however, denounced the plan as a "mere land grabbing scheme." Smith also attended the meeting and argued that "the Indians did not want money, and not comprehending its proper use, would just fritter it away and leave their children without resource."[39] The local newspaper was in opposition to the board of trade position as well, and claimed that uncultivated reserve land was not the primary cause of land shortages but rather it was the fault of land speculators who kept large tracts of land from use "to the detriment of local, provincial and national prosperity for the purposes of personal gain."[40]

Nevertheless, the board presented its case to the commissioners to have Kamloops Reserve One alienated in the "best interests" of both the band and the non-Native community. F.J. Fulton stated that "the Indians as the original inhabitatnts [sic] of this Province, are entitled to some consideration, still under modern conditions I don't think they should be allowed to hold back the

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[38] In addition to citing alcohol abuse as a reason to alienate land, liquor fines under the Indian act were a significant source of revenue. Rev. John McDougall pointed out that "it is a matter of financial profit to everybody 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 or any effort is put forth to catch and punish the man that sells the liquor to the Indian. From what I saw and heard from reliable testimony, it looks, at the present time, as if the liquor seller, police, constable and migistrate[sic] and Government are all in league to exploit the Indian who uses liquor. The whole system is an out-rage on common justice." John McDougall, "General Report": 3, vol. 4020, f280470-3, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0346, BCARS. A considerable portion of Smith's time was taken up with judicial activity concerning liquor and a constable was appointed to aid in bringing contraventions of the Indian Act's liquor provisions to trial. Smith's actions in the control of liquor were commended by inspector Megraw. See for example J.F. Smith, "Agents Journal", 29 January, 7 May, 13 August, 9 November and 19 December 1914; 22 January 4, 6 and 19 February, 8 March, 12 April, 21 May, 2 and 24 June, 2 July, 7, 8 and 18 August and 25 September 1915, vol. 1325, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1871, BCARS. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1916: 118.

[39] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 13 October 1913: 1 and 4.

[40] *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 24 October 1913: 4. Margaret Ormsby noted that Kamloops was advertised by speculators in 1911 as "the Los Angeles of Canada." Margaret Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Vancouver: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1958): 358-9.

development of the Province."[41] He claimed further that it was "beyond argument that Indians should not be allowed to touch liquor and that they did procure it when near towns and great mischief ensued." Commissioner McDowell argued that Native people were coming to Kamloops from out lying areas so naturally liquor convictions had risen. Commissioner Shaw pointed out that Native people were not getting liquor in town but rather "they usually have it peddled to them by low-class white men" who would travel to wherever they could make a sale.[42]

Interestingly the comments of Smith in regard to liquor differ between the official published transcript and the *Kamloops Inland Sentinel.* The official record quotes Smith: "In any cases that have been reported to me, the fares of such Indians [released from Kamloops jail] have been paid so that they may return to their own Reserves." The *Sentinel* cites him: "on release from jail here [Native people] were left to sink or swim and who in consequence fell repeatedly into the hands of the police."[43]

When asked if Native people should be confined to the reserve, F.J. Fulton said "Indians must go off their reserves in order to get work." Capt. T.H. Worsnop argued, however, that "the Indians should be compelled to cultivate their land as is the case in Ontario." According to the official published record he apparently later claimed he meant to say "encouraged." The *Sentinel* reports that "Capt. Worsnop observed that this method was usefully employed with the blacks in Natal. The Chairman, however, submitted that the cases were not parallel."[44] While there is an impulse to trust the accuracy of the official report

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[41] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence*: 3.

[42] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence:* 6-7.

[43] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence*: 5; *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 21 October 1913: 5.

[44] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence*: 7; *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 21 October 1913: 5

over that of a local newspaper, this should not be done too readily. While it is possible that the *Sentinel* purposely misrepresented the testimony for political reasons, it seems unlikely that it would test its credibility so unequivocally when people with local influence had heard the original testimony. It is more likely that the editors of the official record, well removed from the local scene, wanted to sanitize the testimony to present a kind face, while the commission went about alienating Native lands.

J.F. Smith claimed that all the land in Kamloops Reserve One was "necessary for the reasonable requirements of the Indians." They were unable to cultivate it though, because they could not get enough water. To this commissioner McDowell retorted: "well then, it they don't use it how can you say that it is necessary for their requirements?"[45] McDowell's logic was clear, if the band had survived without this land it was not necessary to them. Notions of "progress" or "advancement" that might be brought about by irrigating the land were not part of the syllogism. In reference to the Little Shuswap Lake band's reserves, Smith again had to explain about the water shortage that plagued both Native and non-Native farmers in the B.C. interior. He revealed, further, that land could have a value not directly agricultural. Smith refused to agree that the band's Reserve Four at Scotch Creek was "not reasonably required" because "from the proceeds of the sale of the timber they would be able to clear the land where their village is, so as to enable them to make homes and cultivate their land...the timber is worth more than the land."[46] Chairman E.L. Wetmore claimed "They don't seem to be able to handle the land they have, either that or they don't attempt to utilize them." As was often the case, the

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[45] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence*: 147. J.A. Shaw from Shuswap and D.A. McDowell from Victoria were the provincial representatives on the commission. The questioning of Smith took place in Victoria after the commissioners had been to Kamloops.

[46] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence:* 173.

commission missed the point, or the chairman was confused about which reserve they were discussing.[47]

On 29 November, only a few weeks after leaving Shuswap Lake, Wetmore resigned from the commission stating: "While I found the work monotonous and uninteresting, I cannot say that so far it has been strenuous." In the Kamloops agency, Wetmore confirmed that the commissioners and their entourage traveled mostly by "automobile over good roads" and "had all the time comfortable hotels to stop at." He was concerned, though, that in the next season the commission would be in the northern parts of the province where they would "have to take our outfit along and camp as such stopping places as are along the road are of such a character that I am advised that I would find it very unpleasant and running a great risk to stop at any of them."[48] Wetmore was clearly not likely to empathize with the concerns of Native people, particularly when his own comfort was in jeopardy.

The commission recommended that 3,498.53 acres, valued at $130,814.40 be cut off and that new reserves totaling 1,477 acres, and valued at $7,385 be allocated in the Kamloops agency.[49] Of the lands to be alienated, 2165 acres, valued at $77,375, was land of the Little Shuswap Lake band.[50] When the commission disbanded 30 June 1916 after three years of work, they had amassed total expenses of $317,797.68 including $159,255.76 in salaries and $62,490.92 in living expenses.[51] Fortunately for the bands at Kamloops

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[47] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence:* 171. For examples of Wetmore's confusion in the Kamloops agency see *Evidence:* 150, 155, and 174.

[48] British Columbia, Provincial Secretary, Correspondence in from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in British Columbia, GR 672, box 1, f27, BCARS.

[49] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence:* 177.

[50] British Columbia, Provincial Secretary, Correspondence in from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in British Columbia, GR 672, box 3, f6: 356, 383, and 339. Kamloops Reserve One was reduced by 383 acres.

and the Shuswap lakes, all of their reserves were in the railway belt and so eventually determined beyond the mandate of the commission to dispense with.[52] It was not until 1938, however, that the recommendations of the McKenna - McBride Commission, as amended by the Ditchburn - Clark Agreement of 1923 and the Scott - Cathcart Agreement of 1930 were eventually approved.[53]

World War One

With the entrance of Canada into World War One, the public presentation of Indian administration grew, as Ronald Haycock suggests, to "reflect the domestic patriotism for Canada, motherhood and the empire" along with the traditional aspects of tutelage.[54] Although they were specifically exempted from the Military Service Act, more than four thousand Native people in Canada, or more than 16% of the Native adult male population, enlisted.[55] When conscription was introduced, records of Native enlistments were compiled and it was found that, even though exempt, every Okanagan band member who could

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[51] Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1916: xxxvii; Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, CXLIV (1920): 788.

[52] McKenna recognized this in 1913, and was supported in his interpretation by fellow federal representative N.W. White. The two attempted to restrict the commission's activities, but were outnumbered when Wetmore sided with the provincial representatives. J.A.J. McKenna to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 31 January 1914, Blue Book 12, BCARS.

[53] British Columbia, Executive Council, "Schedule referred to in order-in-council 911 of 26 July 1923", GR 931, BCARS. See PC 1265, 19 July 1924, and B.C. O/C 911, 26 July 1923 for differing federal and provincial approval of the Ditchburn-Clark Agreement. See Order-in-Council 1036 of 29 July 1938 for final approval of the amendments.

[54] Ronald G. Haycock, *The Image of the Indian* (Waterloo, Ont.: Waterloo Lutheran University, 1971): 7.

[55] Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *The Canada Year Book* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1921): 789; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1919: 56. This represents the proportion of all Native males in Canada, including the Yukon and North West Territories, aged 16-65. Since these age parameters are well in excess of normal military age, the serving percentage of eligible men must have been considerably higher. Noel Dyck, citing secondary sources, claims that the actual proportion was one third of all Native men of military age. Dyck, *What is the Indian Problem:* 91.

have been conscripted had already volunteered.[56] In addition to disproportionately high levels of Native enlistment, reserve lands were expected to be in full production to aid the war effort. The *Kamloops Standard* reported that on the reserves near Shuswap Lake "The Indians are going about their work enthusiastically, realizing the need that exists for food to help the Allies carry the war to a successful conclusion."[57]

Even before the war had officially begun, militias in the area sought pieces of reserves at Kamloops and Salmon Arm for rifle ranges.[58] Later, as non-Native soldiers began to return from Europe, applications to expropriate reserve land near Kamloops were presented under the Soldier Settlement Act from as far away as New Brunswick.[59] Once again, Kamloops Reserve One was a primary target for reduction, this time in order to construct a "model town" for "invalided returned soldiers."[60] H.T. Dennison, secretary of the board of trade when it appeared before the McKenna - McBride commission, suggested predictably that Native people should be removed from "where they are now squatted so unpleasantly for all parties concerned." In anticipation of complaints regarding the desecration of a Native cemetery on the reserve, Dennison argued that the government could care for it "and with a small park around it, could even be made a point of attraction. This I beleive[sic] would please the

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[56] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1919: 20. This source refers to the Okanagan band as "the Head of the Lake band," probably because its primary reserve was located at the head of Okanagan Lake.

[57] *Kamloops Standard,* 9 April 1918: 1. For a general description of wartime reserve production see : Titley, *Narrow Vision:* 39-42.

[58] Col. E. Fisit, Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 25 January 1910; J.D. McLean to A. Irwin, 23 May 1910; T.J Cummiskey to J.D. McLean, 27 March 1913; Royal Commission on Indian Affairs to Secretary, DIA 19 September 1913; Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 4 November 1913, vol. 4048, f357,520, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0351, BCARS.

[59] E. A. McLean to Secretary, DIA, 6 October 1919, vol. 7535, f26154-1, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5827, BCARS.

[60] *Kamloops Telegram,* 16 July 1921.

Indians."[61] Inspector Megraw, recommended only that "care be taken to prevent a repetition of allowing them to crowd together again in a village."[62]

The Kamloops band could hardly have been pleased with Dennison's ingratiating proposal, or his feigned concern for their interests. As D.C. Scott noted: "These Indians are aware of the value of their reserve and will not part with it without proper compensation."[63] J.F. Smith was one of only two people to oppose the scheme to alienate the reserve as a soldier colony.[64] He did, however, recommend the Little Shuswap Lake band's Scotch Creek reserve, still in dispute after being cut-off by the McKenna-McBride Commission, as an "ideal piece of land on which to settle returned men."[65] His appraisal was endorsed by Brigadier General E. Hilliam who lived near the reserve and called it "the best place I know of for soldier settlement."[66]

While their lives and their land were threatened, military service by the Secwepemc and Okanagan did not guarantee that they would be treated equally to their non-Native comrades-at-arms when they returned home. Despite identical sacrifice, their relative worthiness and that of their relatives or

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[61] Henry Dennison to H.H. Stevens, 17 April 1919, enclosed in E.J. Ashton, Commissioner, Soldier Settlement Board to D.C. Scott, 20 May 1919, vol. 7535, f26154-1, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5827, BCARS.

[62] A. Megraw to D.C. Scott, 6 August 1919, vol. 7535, f26154-1, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5827, BCARS.

[63] D.C. Scott, Memorandum to A. Meighen, 15 November 1918, vol. 7535, f26154-1, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5827, BCARS.

[64] A.S. Fraser, for the Corporation of the City of Kamloops to Thomas Adams, Town Planning Adviser, Ottawa, 2 January 1921, vol. 7535, f26154-1, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5827, BCARS.

[65] J.F. Smith to D.C. Scott, 24 March 1919, vol. 7535, f26154-1, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5827, BCARS. Six months before writing this letter, Smith received notification that his last remaining son, Leo, had been killed while on active duty in France. It is possible that this had an effect on his support for this proposal. *Kamloops Inland Sentinel,* 17 and 20 September, and 8 October 1918.

[66] Brigadier General Edward Hilliam to F.C. Brown, 27 January 1920, vol. 7535, f26154-1, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5827, BCARS.

survivors continued to be judged on a plane reserved for "Indians." J.F. Smith recommended that the soldier's pension of private Abel Francois of the Adams Lake band, who was killed in a gas attack, be transferred to his father, "a worthy Indian."[67] Thomas Andrew's wife was not so fortunate. Smith determined that the "widow has not been behaving very well for some time."[68] On his recommendation the pension was kept "for safe keeping" by the federal government. Five years later, after Nellie Andrew gave the department a precise accounting of how it would be spent, some of the money was released to merchants on her behalf but not until 1925 did she receive the final disbursement of her husband's pension in cash: $14.20.[69]

Even more remarkable than the way the DIA treated the families of Secwepemc war casualties was the way they dealt with those soldiers who survived. George McLean joined the 172nd battalion, the same unit as John Smith's son, and left his children in the care of friends at the Head of the Lake Reserve on Okanagan Lake with instructions that they be sent to the Kamloops Indian Residential School as soon as there was room for them. Since KIRS regularly exceeded the number of pupils for which it received grant money and with its costs escalating as a result of the war, the school refused to accept further admissions. Inspector Megraw claimed "there seems rather more commercialism than altruism in the refusal to do so in this case."[70] Smith wrote

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[67] J.F. Smith to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, DIA, 1 May 1920, vol. 6784, f452-386, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5682, BCARS.

[68] J.F. Smith to J.D. McLean 3 February 1919, vol. 6781, f452-265, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5681, BCARS.

[69] J.F. Smith to J.D. McLean, 18 November 1922; J.D. McLean to J.F. Smith, 26 December 1922; L. Cumming, Notary, to DIA, 11 April 1923; W.C. Dallin, acting agent at Kamloops to J.D. McLean, 1 May 1923; H.F. Helmsing, agent at Kamloops to J.D. McLean, 8 November 1924; H.F. Helmsing to J.D. McLean, 4 June 1925, vol. 6781, f452-265, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5681, BCARS.

[70] A. Megraw to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, DIA, 13 December 1916, vol. 6773, f452-70, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5677, BCARS.

to the principal of the Kuper Island Industrial School near Victoria and asked that McLean's children be admitted there. Principal Lemmens agreed to "take the children of one who is doing his duty for his country. Their presence here will be a lesson to our children." The department, though, would have to make a special funding grant.[71]

By the end of 1917, McLean had been wounded twice although in the process he had "destroyed nineteen of the enemy" and captured fourteen more. He received the Distinguished Conduct Medal and was sent to a convalescent home at Qualicum Beach.[72] A year latter he was back in the Interior, working for the Douglas Lake Cattle Company. He had decided to put up a house and requested that the DIA send him any money remaining from that which was assigned from his military earnings to pay for his children's support. While the total amount held to McLean's credit was $775, the department secretary sent $200 to inspector Megraw and claimed there was "no means of knowing how much this man requires."[73] To determine the "most desirable disposition of the funds in hand", Megraw sought information from the manager of the Douglas Lake Cattle Company, McLean's employer, not the ex-soldier himself.[74] Soon, McLean requested more money, gave an accounting of how it would be spent, and asked that the balance be invested in a Victory Bond. The DIA sent a cheque and the bond to inspector Megraw and advised: "You should warn him

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[71] J.F. Smith to E. Lemmens, 9 Jan 1917; E. Lemmens to J.F. Smith, 11 Jan 1917, vol. 6773, f452-70, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5677, BCARS. It is not known if a special grant was offered to KIRS.

[72] A Megraw to J.D. McLean, 5 December 1917; J.D. McLean to A. Megraw, 30 December 1917, vol. 6773, f452-70, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5677, BCARS; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1919: 70.

[73] J.D. McLean to A. Megraw, 12 September 1918, vol. 6773, f452-70, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5677, BCARS.

[74] A. Megraw to J.D. McLean, 30 September 1918, vol. 6773, f452-70, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5677, BCARS.

[George McLean] to place it in safe keeping."[75] It is likely that the department based its decision to release the money on McLean's decision to volunteer to defend his county; his request that his children be sent to the residential school; his ability, despite his injuries, to hold a steady job at a large established company; his responsible accounting of how the money would be spent; and his patriotic request that the balance due to him be invested in a Victory Bond. But even after experiencing the horrors of World War One and fulfilling DIA criteria for "advancement" in every way possible, the department felt he might still retain some dangerous lingering "Indianness." A non-Native veteran in a similar situation, if this were possible, would be bestowed with hero status, or at least honoured for his service. George McLean was warned not to be careless.

Secwepemc and Okanagan veterans did have special dispensation to apply for land under the Soldier Settlement Act, but this was simply an accelerated location ticket scheme in which reserve land could be subdivided without the consent of the band.[76] Even to get a location ticket, though, a Native veteran had not simply to articulate, but to satisfactorily demonstrate, the "desire of making farming his life work."[77] When Alexander George applied to his Indian agent for a piece of land on the Kamloops reserve, John Smith advised the department that George "before enlisting was very unsteady and frivolous, practically worthless, as far as working on the land was concerned."[78]

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[75] G. McLean to A. Megraw, 20 October 1918; J.D. McLean to A. Megraw, 18 November 1918, vol. 6773, f452-70, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5677, BCARS.

[76] Titley, *Narrow Vision:* 44-47. When a Kamloops band veteran did apply for non-reserve land, the department was warned that the tract would initially become part of the reserve, but once any loans were repaid, it would be owned fee simple. Unsigned Memo to DIA Lands Clerk W.A. Orr, 2 October 1919, vol. 7528, f25,154-2, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5825, BCARS.

[77] J.D. McLean to J.F. Smith, 6 September 1919, vol. 7528 f25,154-2, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5825, BCARS.

[78] J.F. Smith to J.D. McLean, 14 July 1919, vol. 7528 f25,154-3, Pt. 1, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5825, BCARS.

On the basis of Smith's appraisal, without consideration of George's war record, the DIA ruled that the latter would have "to prove his ability to work faithfully."[79] The following year George applied formally to the DIA for land. In addition to his application for a loan, and Smith's confidential report, Mary George had to sign a declaration:

> I believe that my husband is sincere in his intention of making farming his life work, and that he is aware of the responsibility resting on those who would engage successfully in the farming business. I am willing to live on a farm, am in favour of my husband engaging in farming, and will co-operate with him, and assist him in every way possible.[80]

Clearly, if men were to be transformed into peasant farmers, women would be molded into their subordinate help-mates.

While this application was deferred as well, George was eventually assigned a location ticket, but during the following three years he was not always able to make payments on the department's loan. In 1923, Kamloops Indian agent W.C. Dallin reported that George had taken his own life. He had "been suffering from fits of depression since his return form over seas, same having become more frequent of late."[81] If the pressure to engage in agriculture and the DIA's supervision over this activity was intense for other reserve dwellers, it must have been vehement for those to whom the department loaned money and granted location tickets.

While the DIA considered the services it provided adequate compensation for the land and resources it alienated, Native people continued

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[79] J.D. McLean to J.F. Smith, 6 September 1919, vol. 7528 f25,154-3, Pt. 1, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5825, BCARS.

[80] DIA, "Preliminary Information Form for Indian Soldier Settlement," vol. 7528 f25,154-3, Pt. 1, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5825, BCARS.

[81] J.F. Smith to J.D. McLean 2 December 1921; W. Dallin to DIA Assistant Deputy and Secretary, 9 April 1923, vol. 7528 f25,154-3, Pt. 1, GR 1550, Microfilm B 5825, BCARS.

to pay dearly for the fragments of land that remained reserved for them. With the growing restrictions to economic activity as a result of a dwindling land base, the tightening of the regulatory fist, and the intensifying supervisory gaze, each of which was increasingly well protected within the discourse of liberalism, it is remarkable that the Native people residing in the Kamloops and Okanagan agencies survived to the 1920s let alone the rest of the century. The continued diversity of their economy must be seen as both an economic buffer and a primary manifestation of localized resistance to liberal capitalist hegemony.

Chapter 5

Economic Diversity and Record Keeping Heterogeneity

There is no doubt that the economies of Native peoples in the interior of British Columbia were significantly altered with the introduction of industrial capitalism and large scale farming. While forest companies initially provided opportunities for wage labour, their eventual closure caused unemployment in Native villages and nearby non-Native communities. Similarly, ranches and farms provided employment, but as some inevitably grew to dominate their respective sectors they proved unanswerable competition for small reserve farmers and their non-Native neighbours alike. Throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century, though, the worst effects of this concentration of capital were deferred in the Kamloops and Okanagan agencies. Every DIA supervisor of this area, from the 1870s through J.F. Smith, spoke of the diversity of the economic strategies of its first residents.[1]

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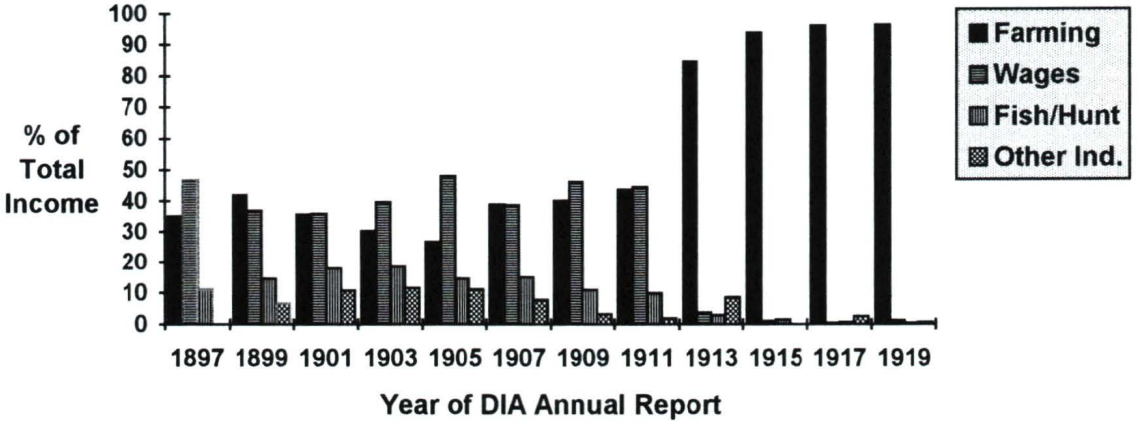
[1] See for example I.W. Powell in DIA, *Annual Report,* 1873:9; J. Lenihan in DIA, *Annual Report,* 1878: 50-1; H.P. Cornwall in DIA, *Annual Report,* 1883:47; W. Wood in DIA, *Annual Report,* 1894: 164; J.B. Leighton in DIA, *Annual Report,* 1897: 81 and 97; A. Irwin in DIA, *Annual Report,* 1900: 261-2 and 1902: 237, 241, 243, and 247; J.F. Smith in DIA, *Annual Report,* 1913: 213.

Figure 3

Sources of Income of Native People in the Kamloops and Okanagan Agencies, 1897-1920[2]



It can be seen from figure 3 that wage labour, as reported by Irwin in his tabular statements, remained at least as important as farming in the Kamloops and Okanagan agencies until after 1911. Its apparent failure then is almost certainly the result of Smith's modification of Irwin's record keeping and reporting techniques and not a dramatic shift in the economic strategies of the Secwepemc and Okanagan.

The final annual report for the combined Kamloops-Okanagan agency was written by Irwin and published as part of the DIA's *Annual Report* in 1910. The following year there is no written report for the Kamloops agency, but there is incomplete Kamloops data in the tabular statements portion of the report of unknown provenance. In 1912 Smith wrote his first annual report but the tabular statement data for both Kamloops and Okanagan is identical to 1911. Finally, in 1913, there are written reports and new tabular data for both agencies. The figures below illustrate the reported income shifts during the transition period in both agencies.

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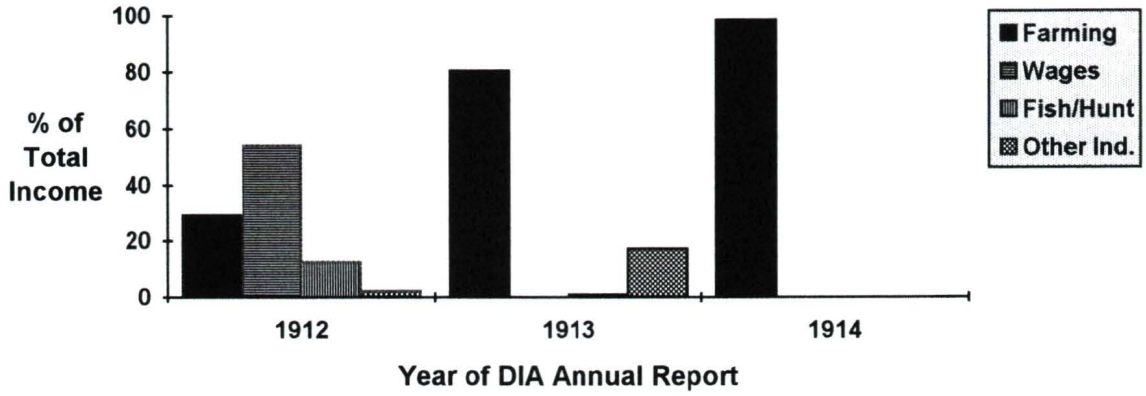
[2] The data for this chart was compiled from Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*[s], 1897-1919.

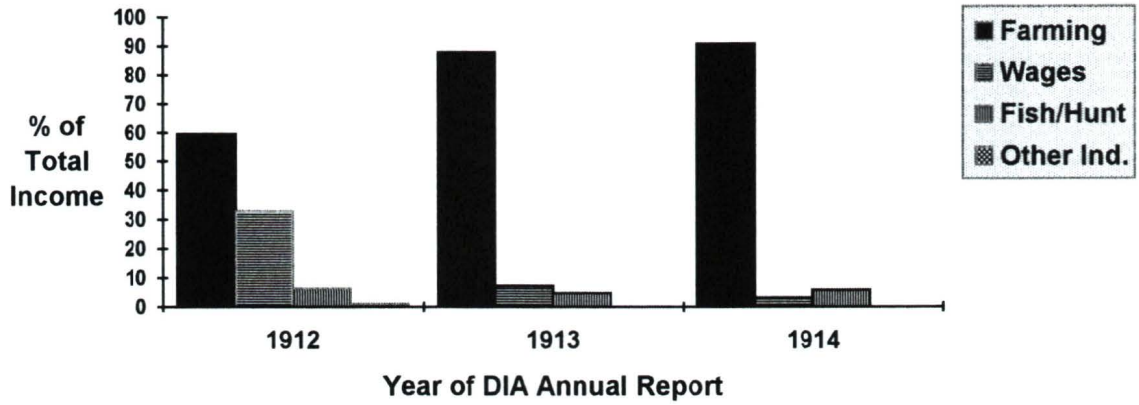
Figure 4

Sources of Income for Native People in the Kamloops and Okanagan Agencies, 1912-14[3]

Kamloops



Okanagan



In only one year after Smith began reporting the sources of income, 1916, is there any record in the tabular statements of wages earned in the Kamloops agency. There is a significant readjustment of sources of income in the Okanagan agency as well, as shown in figure 4, but considerably less than at Kamloops. The annual reports of Okanagan agent J.R. Brown regularly show

[3] The data for this chart was compiled from Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*[s], 1912-14. The "Farming" and "Fish/Hunt" categories include products consumed as well as sold.

income from wages but, as illustrated, this income fell off sharply. While the total income from wages was reported as $185,000 by Irwin for the combined Kamloops-Okanagan agency in 1910, the total reported by Brown and Smith amounted to only $3,700 by 1914. While it is possible that there was a sudden decline in opportunities for Native workers, other evidence suggests that accounting methods were a more important factor.

While income recorded for wage labour declined precipitously, both as percentage of total income and as an aggregate amount between 1910 and 1914, the value of income reported from agriculture almost doubled. There seem to have been some increases in production, notably of grains, but there were declines in other areas. A more detailed analysis of the values of farm products during this period would have to be done to establish their precise value, but on the surface at least there does not seem to be a significant enough increase in agricultural production to account for a doubling of reported income from this source as illustrated in figure 5.

Figure 5

Kamloops and Okanagan Agencies:
Livestock and Agricultural Production, 1910 and 1914[4]

	1910	1914
Horses	7,981	6,574
Cattle	4,108	4,164
Other Stock	1,598	595
Poultry	3,039	8,682
Grains Harvested, Bushels	74,757	133,789
Legumes Harvested, Bushels	5,540	964
Roots Harvested, Bushels	3,920	14,152
Fodder Harvested, Tons	0	15,918
Value of Agri-Production	$158,171	$301,483

[4] The data for this chart was compiled from Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*[s], 1910 and 1914. The data for 1911-13 is either missing or incomplete. The categories are compilations of several like products. For example "Horses" includes the DIA's categories of "Stallions", "Geldings and Mares", and "Foals" which are not consistent over time.

It is not only in sources of income where there are remarkable shifts, but also in the buildings and implements of the agencies. These shifts as well seem too extreme to be explained by rapid sales and purchases. Significantly, they give the impression of a movement away from hunting and fishing and toward sedentary agriculture.

Figure 6

Kamloops and Okanagan Agencies:
Sample of Material Goods[5]

	1910	1911-12	1913	1914
Council Houses	3	4	9	9
Ploughs	1,163	768	1,060	1,785
Harvesting Equip.	272	203	586	732
Nets	470	212	20	20
Traps	1,521	770	360	80
Guns	950	546	264	265

It could be argued that all of the above discrepancies are simply the result of the incompetence of Archibald Irwin and the precision of John Smith and Robert Brown, but only if one accepts the contention that a total of only $4,500 was earned from wage labour in the Kamloops agency during the entire period between 1913 and 1919. A more likely scenario is a combination of Irwin's lack of standardized accounting and Smith's personal predisposition toward farming as an occupation coupled with his desire to illustrate the "advancement" of his charges by demonstrating the ascendancy of sedentary agriculture. By illustrating the "progress" of the Native people under his supervision, Smith

[5] The data for this chart was compiled from Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*[s], 1910-14. "Ploughs" and "Harvesting Equipment" are compilations of more precise DIA categories. The data for 1911 and 1912 are identical in each category that is not left blank in the *Report*.

could satisfy his Christian duty and demonstrate his effectiveness as Indian agent at the same time. For Smith in particular, the mandates of liberal reform and the wishes of his superiors at the DIA would have provided formidable incentives.[6]

Farming and "Advancement" at Kamloops and the Shuswap Lakes

By the time period under discussion, Native people in the vicinity of Kamloops were acutely aware of the agricultural priorities of both settlers and DIA officials and they patiently tried to explain the nature of their economy using an agricultural metaphor: "The country of each tribe was just the same as a very large farm or ranch belonging to all the people of the tribe from which they gathered their food."[7] Within the prevalent social discourse, though, "farming" was narrowly understood as cultivating the soil and raising livestock on an individually owned plot. To consider the harvesting of animal, fish, and vegetable products from their natural environment as a type of farming was outside the limits of this interpretation and the explanation was ignored.

As in the rest of Canada, there were significant restrictions to the implementation of sedentary agriculture on reserves. Beyond the reduction in land base as a result of the McKenna - McBride Commission and the expropriations for railways, roads, and wharves, reserve land was not always suitable for farming. While this is particularly true of many coastal reserves,

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[6] In addition to Smith's active membership in various agricultural organizations and his tireless promotion of the North Thompson area as a destination for settlement as discussed in previous chapters, he arranged for Native agricultural exhibits at Kamloops and New Westminster. On one occasion, Smith recorded proudly but modestly in his journal that King George V was "pleased with Indian exhibits." J.F. Smith, Agent's Journal, 27 September and 3 October 1912, vol. 1325 c; J.F. Smith, Agent's Journal, 21 September 1915, vol. 1325 f, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1871, BCARS. Since the population of the Kamloops agency was three times that of the Okanagan agency by 1914, it had greater influence in the combined agency statistics.

[7] "Memorial to Sir Wilfred Laurier," rpt. in Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, *One People With One Mind, One Heart and One Spirit* (Kamloops: SNTC, 1989): 22.

even in the interior, where reserves were generally larger, there was usually not sufficient suitable farm land. In this regard the comments of the chief of the Bridge River Band, which retained over 9,600 acres for it's 99 members, are noteworthy: "Our reserve is large but it is rock.... A cow either slides on rocks or starves to death."[8] Regardless of its potential, the prescribed use of each space allotted to Native people was predetermined by the DIA. While this resulted in questionable agricultural possibilities on some reserves, the DIA could refuse to allow cultivation on others not set aside for farming. For example, when the Okanagan band at Trout Lake began cultivating a small piece of land that was set aside as a fishing station and camping spot, they were accused of "exceeding the privilege granted them" and required to remove the fences they had built.[9]

In addition to suitable land, water posed a particular problem in the Interior. Between spring floods and summer droughts crops were often delayed or lost.[10] To make matters worse, as the McKenna - McBride Commission discovered, the records of water entitlements for numerous reserves were either inadequate or non-existent.[11] Neither the Kamloops band nor any of the bands at Shuswap Lake had an adequate supply of water to irrigate lands that they were expected to farm or give up. This shortage could naturally cause considerable conflict on some reserves. As Adams Lake band members told the commissioners, they found themselves "fighting about the water all the time,

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[8] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1913: 236-7; "Dr. McDougall's Notes on a Meeting with the Indians on the Bonaparte Reserve", 12 October 1909, vol. 3750, f29858-10, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0305, BCARS.

[9] J.D. McLean to A. Irwin, 10 November 1910; J.D. McLean to K.C. Macdonald, 8 July 1911, vol. 1311, GR 2042, Microfilm B 1866, BCARS.

[10] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1889: 108, 1894: 164 and *Annual Report,* 1896: 89-90; Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence:* 25.

[11] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Confidential Report:* 11-12.

taking it from one another."[12] The situation in the agency was exacerbated by settlers, orchardists, and ranchers who diverted water to which Native farmers were entitled, sometimes with the complicity of its Indian agent.[13]

While lack of funds was often cited as the reason the DIA did not get involved in projects to improve irrigation, fiscal restraint was not the only impediment to increasing the water supply to reserve farmers. The department was not particularly helpful, for example, when the Neskonlith band wanted to cut timber to repair a dam and build a pipeline in 1910, even though inspector K.C. MacDonald recommended approval of the band's plan. DIA secretary J.D. McLean turned down the proposal claiming simply that "the Indians could not carry it out successfully."[14]

Regardless of the material restrictions to successful farming imposed by the DIA either tacitly or overtly, this activity continued to be used to judge the level of "advancement" of each band in the Kamloops and Okanagan agencies. From the very beginnings of the combined agency, agents were particularly disappointed with the Little Shuswap Lake band. Of the three bands at Shuswap Lake, the members of this band retained far greater land per capita than their Neskonlith or Adams Lake neighbours. The former's reserves contained 83.1 acres per person, while the Adams Lake and Neskonlith bands held tracts only marginally greater size than the 32.7 acre per capita provincial average at 37.3 acres and 35.2 acres respectively.[15] When the members of the

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[12] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence:* 22, 33, and 44.

[13] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1893: 232 and *Annual Report,* 1907: 262; Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence:* 63-66; Ignace, "Kamloops Agency and the Indian Reserve Commission ": 118, 129.

[14] K.C. MacDonald to J.D. McLean, 17 December 1910; J.D. McLean to K.C. MacDonald, 5 January 1911, vol. 4013, f271,080, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0345, BCARS. In the 1920s Native people built a nine mile irrigation ditch from Neskonlith Lake to Adams Lake. Dunn, *A Town Called Chase*: 200.

Little Shuswap Lake band chose not to take up farming as readily as the department felt they should, they were subjected to considerable opprobrium.

As early as 1891, agent J.W. McKay found the band "not so advanced as their neighbours" and determined that the "progress of this band is somewhat retarded by the conduct of its little chief Damien, who is more exercised in assuming and endeavoring to support the empty dignity of his chieftainhood, than in forwarding the interests of his band." McKay noted, however, that the band delivered large quantities of saw logs to Kamloops.[16] J.F. Smith reported that there was less cultivated land on their principal reserve than on any other in the agency: "I am constrained to class them as a lot of worthless lazy fellows who are making very little effort to cultivate their land."[17] As refusal to hunt signified Native indolence to fur traders, unwillingness to give up hunting and other economic endeavors and engage exclusively in farming indicated laziness to officials of the DIA.

Working for Wages

From soon after the DIA became the primary supervisor of Native people in British Columbia, department officials recognized, albeit unhappily, that the subjects of their observations were incorporating wage labour into flexible economic patterns. I.W. Powell noted that while the "river steamers all prefer Indian crews" and that wages for Native deckhands had tripled in the past few years, it was difficult to find workers who would remain on the job after the fishing season.[18] These workers were not interested only in the income wage

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[15] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, "Analysis of Evidence": 352 and 355-6, GR 672, box 3, f6, BCARS; Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Report:* 329, table c.

[16] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1891: 125 and 1892: 243.

[17] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1913: 213; J.F. Smith to J.D. McLean, 16 May 1912, vol. 3944, f121698-54, Microfilm B 0338, BCARS.

[18] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1881: 155.

labour provided, but in blending deckhanding into their economic matrix. Sixteen years after Powell's comments, Archibald Irwin confirmed the desirability of Native labour, but expressed a similar concern: "They may not remain as steadily at one occupation as some other class of labourers, but as cowboys, farm labourers and domestics they supply a much-needed class of labour, and satisfactorily too." These suggestions of the lack of reliability of Native workers were reiterated by non-Native witnesses to the McKenna - McBride Commission and have been accepted by some scholars simply as proof of the unsuitability of Native people as industrial workers.[19] This perspective ignores the dynamism of Native economies which, at least during this period in the Interior, accepted wage labour as an augmentation rather than a replacement of existing strategies.

In contrast to Smith's tabular statements, Native people in the Kamloops area continued to work for wages throughout the period of his tenure, although it is likely that a significant portion of these wages were earned on the farms and ranches of non-Natives. As mentioned previously, the Kamloops Board of Trade recognized that Native people had to leave their reserves to find work. The case of World War One veteran George McLean is an example of this situation.[20] Both Native and settler evidence presented to the McKenna - McBride Commission corroborates the contention that Native people in the agency worked for wages.[21]

J.F. Smith himself reported with concern that once graduates of the Kamloops Indian Residential School had

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[19] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1907: 225; Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence:* 18; Robin, *Rush for the Spoils:* 30.

[20] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence:* 7; J.D. McLean to A. Megraw, 12 September 1918 and A. Megraw to J.D. McLean, 30 September 1918, vol. 6773, f452-70, GR 1550, Microfilm, BCARS.

[21] Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Kamloops Agency, *Evidence:* 10, 21.

> regained their liberty to do as they like, they take readily to horseback riding, and the excitement attendant upon the cowboys' life seems the best calculated to give full force to their pent up wild nature, hence it is usually the first job they look for, and which is always easily got.[22]

By 1918, there was an even greater shortage of farm workers as a result of World War One. The Department of Indian Affairs wrote to R.J. Demarais, principal of KIRS, and to other Indian residential school principals, requesting that all boys, "fifteen years of age and older, be allowed out to assist the farmers in the district during the spring and summer," and that a list of all eligible boys be sent to Ottawa.[23] Rev. Demarais responded immediately but L.E. Lemmens of Kuper Island Residential School seemed to recognize the contradictions inherent to the proposal: "In my humble opinion I do not think it would be right to oblige the pupils of our schools to do what others who are employing their time in a much less useful way would not be obliged to do."[24] Not only were Native boys who did not attend a residential school exempt from this proposal, so were all non-Native youths. While it is not known if any of the boys whose names were sent to Ottawa by Demarais engaged in wage labour as a result of this proposal, that it was even presented demonstrates that there was a shortage of farm workers that could not be met by adults alone, whether Native or not.

In addition to farm work, Native people at Shuswap Lake also found employment with the American owned Adams River Lumber Company (ARL).

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[22] Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1913: 397.

[23] Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to all Principals of Indian Residential Schools, 19 February 1918, vol. 3966, f150,000-26, GR 1751, Microfilm B 0341, BCARS. The department requested that all wages be paid to the principals who would then turn them over to the boys and send a receipt to Ottawa. Even this labour was to be accounted for and recorded by the DIA.

[24] L.E. Lemmens to J.D. McLean, 15 March 1918, vol. 3966, f150,000-26, Microfilm B 0341, BCARS.

This company was awarded forty seven square miles (30,800 acres) of land as timber reserves and constructed a $300,000 saw-mill in 1908.[25] In addition to building and supplying power to the townsite of Chase, by 1910 the company employed 1,100 people in its saw mill and logging operations. Its mill was considered the largest in the Interior and the third largest in the province with a capacity of 219,000 FBM (foot board measure) per month. During the two decades of its operation, the company removed one billion FBM of prime timber from the Shuswap watershed.[26]

Secwepemc elder Bill Arnouse remembered working on river log drives in the 1920s that were often led by fellow Secwepemc, Charley Francois.[27] Driving logs down the river and freeing the inevitable log jams by hand was dangerous work and resulted in numerous deaths. In recognition, the *Chase Tribune* referred to the river driver as "some picture of heroic manhood."[28] In addition to the danger of the work, Smith noted that their were several cases of smallpox on the Adams Lake band's reserves which were contracted while working in the company's camps.[29]

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[25] *Canadian Annual Review*, 1908: 520. Native people in this area had engaged in logging activities at least since the 1880s when they rafted logs from the Shuswap Lakes to sell at Kamloops. By the 1890s, timber inspector T.S. Higginson went with Kamloops-Okanagan Indian agent Wentworth Wood "to Shuswap Lake [to] lay off some timber land for your lambs." When these "lambs" stretched the boundaries of the agreement concerning the temporary timber reserves Higginson was less patronizing: " we will have to put an end to their trickery. I am determined, if I have to make a trip every two weeks along Shuswap Lake, that I will prevent them from cutting a stick." T.S. Higginson, Crown Timber Agent, to W.F. Wood, 29 August 1894; T.S. Higginson to W.F. Wood 2 December 1894, vol. 1328, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1872, BCARS.

[26] C. Heather Allen, "Lumber and Salmon: A History of the Adams River Lumber Company," *Canadian Wildlife Review*, vol. viii, no. 10 (Summer 1989): 22. This is a publication of the British Columbia Ministry of the Environment; Dunn, *A Town Called Chase:* 92-3.

[27] Cited in Jim Cooperman, "The History of Adams Lake," *Shuswap Chronicles,* vol. 2, 2nd. ed. (1990): 13.

[28] *Chase Tribune,* 28 June 1912.

[29] J.F. Smith to W.E. Ditchburn, 20 March 1920, vol. 1323, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1871, BCARS. Smith argued that workers who contracted the disease should be isolated on their reserve rather than incurring the expense of sending them to hospital.

In addition to providing direct employment, the Adams River Lumber Company leased land and booming facilities from the Little Shuswap Lake band, and provided a ready local market for reserve farm production. As Adams Lake chief Harvey Jules commented, when the Adams River Lumber Company was operating "everybody had something to do."[30] Not everything that resulted from the company's operation was to the economic benefit of Native people though.

From 1908 to 1922, the Adams River Logging Company operated a splash dam at the mouth of Adams Lake so that water could be stored at spring freshet levels and used to flash float logs down the river. As David Mitchell, a fisheries officer at the time, reported: "Six days a week a great flood was let loose from a dam above, to sweep out saw logs, and it swept out everything else" including spawning salmon and their eggs. The rest of the time the dam's gates remained closed and during seasonally low water levels in early spring, those eggs that survived the scouring of the river bed by logs, were left exposed and were destroyed by frost. As a result, salmon had little if any chance of reproducing effectively.[31]

The salmon from the Lower Adams River run and those of adjacent Scotch Creek and the Little River were "the only streams where a fair supply of breeding fish arrived" after the blockage of the Fraser River by the combined effects of rock dumped by railway construction crews and a land slide that blocked the river at Hell's Gate in 1913. When the fish returned to the rivers near Shuswap Lake they were "so exhausted, that many were brought back dead with a flood, quite hard, having died without ripening to spawn." At Skwa-am bay on Adams Lake Mitchell found only one dead sockeye that year "where,

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[30] J.F. Smith, Agent's Journal, 23 September 1912, vol. 1325 c; Letter of Agreement, 9 July 1910, vol. 1326: 112, GR 2043, Microfilm B 1871, BCARS; Harvey Jules, Interview with Joyce Dunn at Chase B.C, 1983.

[31] Mitchell, "A Story of the Fraser": 34.

after former big runs, the bar of dead spawned out salmon used to go a wagon-load to every five feet."[32] The salmon that spawned in the thirty mile stretch of gravel above Adams Lake were totally eliminated by the combined effects of the Fraser River blockage and the splash dam. It was not until 1922, when the dam was no longer used, that the lower Adams River run was allowed to begin to rebuild to its former level. Few if any salmon, however, spawned in Adams Lake or its tributaries until fisheries officials destroyed the dam in 1947 and even then only a few fish spawned in the upper Adams area. Many believe that had it not been devastated by ARL's operations, the upper Adams run would by now equal the internationally renowned lower run. The loss of this resource must have been at least as devastating to Native people at Shuswap Lake as the closing of the Adams River Logging Company's mill in 1925. [33]

Fishing and Hunting

Until 1913 at least, as can be seen from figure 3, and supported by the written reports of agents Irwin and Smith, the people of the Kamloops and Okanagan agencies continued to earn a considerable portion of their income from fishing and hunting.[34] Even when regulations were enacted to restrict this activity, it continued. As a F.J. Deanne, former M.P. and settler at Louis Creek complained, not only were native fish traps "depleting the waters of salmon," but "no one appears capable of regulating the Indians in their hunting

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[32] Mitchell, "A Story of the Fraser": 10 and 32-3. Mitchell claimed that the blockage was caused primarily by rock from the Hell's Gate railway tunnel being dumped into the river and that the problem was only exacerbated by the slide.

[33] David Mitchell, "A Story of the Fraser": 33-4; International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission, *Salute to the Sockeye* (New Westminster, 1958): 4-12; Allen, "Lumber and Salmon": 24.

[34] Hunting and fishing accounted for at least ten percent of income reported though 1911. There is less evidence available from which to determine the reasons for the reported decline in these activities after this period then there is for wage labour, but it seems likely that changes reporting techniques were similarly responsible. Value received from hunting and fishing would have been far more difficult for an agent to quantify and more easily ignored.

proclivities."[35] Another settler recommended that specific hunting grounds be established for each Native group to avoid possible conflict, but Indian Superintendent A.W. Vowell warned that this might give "the Indians the impression that they possess vested rights in their hunting grounds which may be protected by law."[36]

When two hunters of the Kamloops band were charged under provincial legislation, Chief Louie and other band members jammed the courtroom. Their lawyer argued that the "Indians do not slaughter the game needlessly, but only as a rule for providing food for themselves. The chief offenders are the so called sportsmen who kill for 'pleasure' It is a local Game Protection League that put the law in motion against these two poor Indians."[37] This sentiment was supported by Rev. John McDougall who said in his report to the DIA that it "would seem that these laws are administered in the interest of big Canneries and Rod and Game clubs of the cities and towns and the natives, who owned the country, and whose natural food was and is, fish and game are now robbed of their rights in same."[38]

Native people also got directly involved in the resistance to fish and game restrictions. Chiefs at Lillooet demanded compensation in the wake of tougher regulations and warned "as long as no compensation is made we shall hunt in

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[35] F.J. Deanne to Clifford Sifton, 14 August 1903, vol. 6735, f420-3, GR 934, Microfilm B 1861, BCARS. David Mitchell argued that Native fishers were not depleting the resource, unlike the insatiable canneries that he believed should have been closed down well before 1925. Native fishers took only those fish they could dry during the day "I have gone to their barricades at all times, unexpectedly, and in the middle of the night, and found that it was so." Mitchell, "A Story of the Fraser": 10 and 49.

[36] A.W. Vowell to J.D. McLean, 28 April 1899, vol. 6735, f420-3, GR 934, Microfilm B 1861, BCARS.

[37] J.D. Swanson to DSGIA 3 April 1908, vol. 6735, f420-3, GR 934, Microfilm B 1861, BCARS.

[38] Extract of report from John McDougall, n.d. 1909, vol. 6735, f420-3, GR 934, Microfilm B 1861, BCARS.

the future the same as we did in the past."[39] Interior chiefs presented a petition to Wilfred Laurier when he visited their territories demanding they be allowed to fish and hunt to support their families. Chief Louie of Kamloops and the chiefs from Bonaparte and Nicola traveled to Ottawa to press for recognition of their rights to hunt and fish.[40]

Provincial authorities were anxious to enforce their game laws but often complained of DIA recalcitrance. Copies of the regulations were sent to all Indian agents but "with possibly one or two exceptions, when they get them they do not take the trouble to inform the Indians of their contents."[41] Joe Sangary, who was imprisoned for possessing goat meat, wrote to J.F. Smith in an attempt to explain the importance of hunting: "We can't see why we should be dreprived [sic] of our guns as it is our only means to get our living." Smith recognized the significance of this income source and intervened to have the rifles belonging to Sangary's hunting party returned.[42] As in the case with land, provincial authorities were particularly unsympathetic to Native economic needs while federal officials tried to keep friction to a minimum as they acquiesced to the general wishes of the non-Native electorate. That Native fishers and hunters risked, and continue to risk, imprisonment to engage in these particular strategies is indicative of their importance and illustrative of an ongoing

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[39] Father Victor Rohr, Tyhee Jimmy and the chiefs of Lillooet to agent Bell, 18 September 1905, vol. 6735, f420-3, GR 934, Microfilm B 1861, BCARS.

[40] W. Laurier to F. Pedley, 20 April 1908 and F. Pedley Memo to File, June 1908, vol. 6735, f420-3, GR 934, Microfilm B 1861, BCARS.

[41] A. Bryan Williams, Provincial Game Warden to J.G.H. Bergeron, Secretary of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, 15 August 1914, vol. 6735, f420-3, GR 934, Microfilm B 1861, BCARS.

[42] Joe Sangary to J.F. Smith 16 December 1915; J.F. Smith to Harry Taylor, Chief Provincial Constable, 22 December 1915; J.D. McLean to J.F. Smith, 11 January 1915; J.P. McLeod to Secretary DIA, 18 January 1916, vol. 6735, f420-3, GR 934, Microfilm B 1861, BCARS.

opposition to the monolithic imposition of unsuitable economic strategies and inappropriate legislation.

Even if one examines only the textual documentation related to economic activity, resistance to the normalizing project in the British Columbia interior is evident. Regardless of increasingly severe restrictions, Native groups are described hunting, fishing, working for wages, and farming on communally held plots throughout the period under discussion, although rarely in a positive light. The statistical data, structured though it was to satisfy official purposes, provide parallel evidence of economic resistance throughout the tenure of agent Archibald Irwin.

The numeric data forwarded by John Freemont Smith, in contrast, seem to directly contradict his written reports. This fracture in the record would likely be missed both by contemporaries of Smith and future researchers if the tabular statements were ignored. These data demonstrate the role the Indian agent had in choosing which economic activity pursued by Native people was allowed to reach the official record and a broader audience, even if this audience consisted primarily of those more senior in the hierarchy of the DIA. With a few strokes of the pen, Irwin's hunters, fishers, and wage labourers became Smith's farmers. Whether this apparent transformation was positive or negative for Native people in the final analysis, whether their presentation by Smith as farmers allowed them to retain a larger land base for example, is a subject in need of further study.

Chapter 6
Concluding Remarks

Whether one measures the concentration of the normalizing project by dollars spent, restrictive legislation adopted, the quantity of the layers of institutional assistance provided, or the degree to which its apparent justness was embedded in the hegemonic, it would be difficult to find an example where the focus of the panoptic lens was sharper than on Indian reserves in early twentieth century British Columbia. Being an Indian meant existence in a cell within a cell. While non-Natives could be embedded in disciplinary mechanisms as industrial workers, students, soldiers, inmates, or patients, Native people similarly confined were subjected to an increased normalizing constraint as a result of their "Indianness."

On Indian reserves, even the most normalized was believed in need of further reform. Isaac Harris was rewarded with his own reserve and permitted some degree of authority, but it is highly unlikely he would, or could, have been considered for a position further up in the DIA hierarchy such as Indian agent. Still, the notion of "Indian" had considerable depth below the pinnacle reached by men like Harris. The panoptic mechanism, therefore, necessarily functioned differentially. While Harris could only rise to a certain level in the hierarchy of surveillance, Casto Louie and Tonasket were jailed for refusing to willingly cooperate. Even with the imposing convergence of the vast array of disciplinary elements inherent and unique to liberal capitalism, the normalizing project was, however, never completely successful in obliterating "Indianness".

While Foucault does not extend his argument far enough to fully consider the importance of the multi-directional nature of observation and so is open to accusations of obscuring some forms of opposition, his "toolkit" for resistance is nevertheless uniquely helpful. "For more than 4,000 years", Kamloops band

member Linda Jules wrote a few years ago, the "Secwepemc, have governed, managed and defended the territory within the Shuswap Nation."[1] Although this defence did not end in armed struggle, in which many Secwepemc would almost certainly have paid a fatal price, their refusal to be classified and categorized within the parameters determined by the DIA is the type of localized resistance against the normalizing operation of the panoptic machine that Foucault advocates as the most effective. The Little Shuswap Lake band for example, described as "lazy fellows" by J.F. Smith and scorned by most other agents, has recently built a five million dollar hotel on the shore of Little Shuswap Lake. Their refusal to conform to the economic strategies that determined advancement to their supervisors at the DIA, has resulted in marked economic well-being. The resistance to categorization has never been uniform but has adapted to challenge the changing truths of liberal capitalism as they were applied at different historical junctures in specific circumstances as understood by each group.

Certainly it is remarkable that Native people in British Columbia have survived the past 150 years, but it is even more striking that Native groups have never given up their agitation for compensation for loss of lands and resources, even after almost a quarter century of being essentially restricted from legal recourse. There is no consensus of how best to proceed in this regard, even amongst groups in the Interior. But there is no reason that unanimity should be expected. While the monolithic homogenized "Indian" lingers still in the social discourse of the late twentieth century, albeit with somewhat different characteristics, the actual responses to changing conditions, continue to vary.

There is concern among some Native groups that the land claims process advocated by the federal and provincial governments may, among other negative possibilities, serve to harden borders between the economic territories

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[1] Linda Jules, *Kamloops Daily News,* 10 November 1990: S24.

of various groups where buffer zones existed previously.[2] Some, like those involved in the action at Gustafsen Lake, advocate direct confrontation. Others choose political negotiation or redress through the court system. Each though, is rebelling against the categories to which their predecessors were assigned more than a century ago. The panoptic mechanism is not neutral to this varied activity, and new attempts have been made to submerge the justness of redress for alienated land and resources within the hegemonic understanding of liberalism and democracy. The new battle cry is "one law for all British Columbians" as if this were a condition of liberal capitalism, or even a possibility within it.

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[2] The argument that economic buffer zones existed between the Secwepemc and their neighbours to mitigate against potential conflict was presented by officers of the Kamloops band, during a discussion with them at the band's Kamloops offices (formerly the Kamloops Indian Residential School building) in August 1995.

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