

## NOTES

### Chapter One

- 1 S.H. Blake to Frank Oliver, 27 January 1907, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Record Group 10 (RG 10), vol. 4023, file 289,032-1.
- 2 Blake to Oliver, 27 January 1907, LAC, RG10, vol. 4023, file 289,032-1 and Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1906. The department's *Annual Reports* were published individually and also appeared in Canada's *Sessional Papers* in the following year. The generic moniker "DIA" is used throughout this work for the sake of continuity, even though the organization has had a variety of names since its formal establishment as the Indian Department by the British imperial government in 1755.
- 3 Blake to Oliver, February 6, 1907, LAC, RG 10 vol. 4023, file 289,032-1. Oliver was also Minister of the Interior.
- 4 On this point, see Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History," 4.
- 5 Adams, *Tortured People*, 5-7 and Means, "The Same Old Song," 26 and 135.
- 6 Alfred, *Wasáse*, 22.
- 7 See for example Adams, *Tortured People*, 5-7.
- 8 As Alfred put it "we are each facing modernity's attempt to conquer our souls." Alfred, *Wasáse*: 38.
- 9 See for example Bedford and Irving, *The Tragedy of Progress*, 57-63 and 98.
- 10 Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Michel Foucault*, 127-8.
- 11 Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 53.
- 12 Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 192.
- 13 Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 17.
- 14 Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic*, 107-123 and Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 48-49.
- 15 Foucault, "The Order of Discourse," in *Untying the Text*, 56 and Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 219.
- 16 On this point see Poster, *Foucault, Marxism and History*, 130.
- 17 Foucault, *Archeology of Knowledge*, 218.
- 18 On this point related to Indigenous people, see Vizenor, *Fugitive Poses*, 50-51.
- 19 Bentham, "Panopticon; or, the Inspection-House &c," 39-41. Emphasis in original.
- 20 Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 197-200.
- 21 Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 201.
- 22 Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 39 and Bentham, cited in Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism*, 192.
- 23 Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 205.
- 24 Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 156-158 and Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 217.
- 25 Bentham, "Panopticon," 177; Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 71 and Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 220.
- 26 Dreyfus and Rabinow, *Michel Foucault*, xxiii.
- 27 Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 102.
- 28 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: 93-5. See also Foucault's comments in Rabinow, "Space, Knowledge, and Power," 245.
- 29 Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 257.
- 30 Foucault and Deleuze, "Intellectuals and Power," 216. Foucault has been often criticized for various aspects of this neglect or oversight, but see Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" 288-89 for her comments on this precise point.
- 31 See for example Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, 29.

- 32 Stadfeld, "Manifestations of Power," 46. Former Sk'emtsin (Neskonlith) Secwepemc Chief George Manuel commented that despite the myriad of factors mitigating against it "the simple fact that we have *survived* the past 150 years is a great victory." Manuel "Manifesto for Survival," 28. Nakoda (Stoney) Chief John Snow states that even after a century in which his people were "bullied and defrauded, our customs were ridiculed... [w]e have survived, but survival itself is not enough. A people must also grow and flourish." Snow, *These Mountains*, 152.
- 33 Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies," 1506.
- 34 Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 141.
- 35 On this point see for example Etherington, *Theories of Imperialism*, 2-4.
- 36 The shift is generally attributed to Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, whose ground-breaking observation in the 1950s, that while informal means were the preferred methods of British imperialism, the full force of direct intervention was applied when necessary to protect British interests, is appropriate in the Canadian context as well. Gallagher and Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," 13, 1.
- 37 Dirks, "Introduction: Colonialism and Culture," 3. See also Cooper and Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony," 1-56.
- 38 Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 14-16.
- 39 Dirks, "Introduction," 2-4.
- 40 On these points see Cooper and Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony," especially 17 and 24 and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 5.
- 41 Dyck, *What is the Indian 'Problem'*, 30.
- 42 Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 101.
- 43 Here I am referring to physical space as opposed to what might be better described as colonization of the mind and the internalization of particular images presented by colonialism which will be discussed below.
- 44 Frideres, *Native Peoples in Canada*, 3-15.
- 45 For Treaty 7, see Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council et al., *The True Spirit*, 110-145.
- 46 Malcolmsen, "Politics and the State in the Nineteenth Century," 22 n25.
- 47 For an example of the argument that depicts railway building as primarily a business enterprise see for example den Otter, "Nationalism and the Pacific Scandal," 339.
- 48 Conaty, "Economic Models and Blackfoot Ideology," 405.
- 49 Pedley to S.H. Blake, 19 April 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4024, file 289,032-2.
- 50 Holt, *The Problem of Freedom*, xix and 6.
- 51 Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*, 60.
- 52 McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework, 623 and 627-28. For a discussion of the contradictions evident in Canada's policy of liberalism, especially in relation to the application of law in the nineteenth century see Harring, *White Man's Law*.
- 53 See the development of these goals in Locke, "The Second Treatise of Government."
- 54 Mehta, "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion," 59-61.
- 55 Mill, "Civilization," section 1.
- 56 Arblaster, *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism*, 15. See also Macpherson, *Political Theory* and McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework," 623-4.
- 57 See for example, Holt, *The Problem of Freedom*, 5.
- 58 J.S. Mill, "Civilization," section 2.
- 59 Scott, "Indian Affairs, 1867-1912," 618.

- 60 Scott, "Indian Affairs," 618.
- 61 Boldt and Long, "Tribal Conditions and European-Western political Ideologies," 541.
- 62 Alfred, *Wasáse*, 112.
- 63 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, May 8, 1914: 3482.
- 64 McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework," 624-62.
- 65 McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework," 638, 644.
- 66 Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 194-209 and Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 17-23.
- 67 From the discussion in Taylor, *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition,"* 72-3.
- 68 The distinction that needs to be made in regard to Indigenous people is, though, that they were subjected to surveillance for their entire lives with no possibility that parole or cure might relieve them. John Lutz, "Relating to the Country," 23.
- 69 Baskerville and Sager, *Unwilling Idlers*, 196. See also Curtis, *The Politics of Population*, 309-316.
- 70 Reserve land was routinely, though not always successfully, sought by non-Indigenous neighbours, speculators, and government officials among others.
- 71 For an allied perspective see Vizenor, *Fugitive Poses*, 51.
- 72 Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire*, 20.
- 73 Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism*, 16. As elaborated above, the discussion in this paragraph particularly and the notion of surveillance generally is inspired by Foucault's discussion of panopticism in *Discipline & Punish* and elsewhere.
- 74 Dirks, "Introduction: Colonialism and Culture," 3. See also Bhabha, "The Other Question," 83.
- 75 Dirks, "Introduction: Colonialism and Culture," 3 and Adams, *Tortured People*, 21. This opposition is clearly linked to the civilized/barbarous dichotomy of liberal thought presented above.
- 76 For examples of the fluid nature of the colonial relationship and the mutual construction and reforming of the colonizer and colonized in another situation see Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*. See also Dirks, "Introduction: Colonialism and Culture," 7.
- 77 See, for example, Vizenor, *Manifest Manners*, 14-44.
- 78 From the discussion in Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 10. See also Dyck, *What is the Indian 'Problem,'* 74.
- 79 Bhabha, "The Other Question," 83 and Dyck, *What is the Indian 'Problem,'* 29-30.
- 80 Stoler "Making Empire Respectable," 634-35.
- 81 See for example, "What is the Indian 'Problem,'" 24.
- 82 Vizenor, *Fugitive Poses*, 15-16. Vizenor notes further that: "The simulations of the *indian*, as the absence of natives, are the documents of discoveries, cultural studies, and surveillance."
- 83 Said, *Orientalism*, 5-6.
- 84 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 8 June 1920: 3279.
- 85 W.H. Bleeker, Foreign Member of the R. Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Cape Town to Governor of British Columbia, 15 September 1873, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3605, file 2813. "W.H. Bleeker."
- 86 On this point see Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 35, 41; Fanon, *Black Skins, White Masks*, 7 and Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 45.

- 87 Razack, "When Place Becomes Race," 1-4.
- 88 Slattery, "Aboriginal Sovereignty and Imperial Claims," 197-198.
- 89 Leacock, *Canada, the Foundations of its Future*, 19.
- 90 See, for example, the discussion in Walker, "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing, 1972-1982," 346. Walker made the point in the 1980s that the issue of earlier negative depictions of Indigenous peoples was resolved in Canadian historiography by simply removing them from the story.
- 91 Phillips, "The National Policy Revisited," 8-9.
- 92 Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, 1-2.
- 93 This paragraph follows the discussion in McKay, "A Modest Prospectus," 620-623.
- 94 See the discussion in de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, 20-1.
- 95 McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 15.
- 96 Backhouse, *Colour-Coded*, 14.
- 97 Backhouse, *Colour-Coded*, 281.
- 98 Razack, *Race, Space, and the Law*, 19.
- 99 Backhouse, *Colour-Coded*, 9 and McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 7.
- 100 McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 15.
- 101 See Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," 1486.
- 102 Cooper and Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony," 18.
- 103 Manuel, "Manifesto for Survival," 50.
- 104 Alfred, "Deconstructing the British Columbia Treaty Process" (paper prepared for the Assembly of First Nations, August 2000), <<http://www.delgamuukw.org/research/bctreatyprocess.pdf>> (30 October 2006).
- 105 Day and Sadik, "The BC Land Question," 29.
- 106 The term "Blackfoot" will be used when discussing the Kainai, Piikani, and Siksika collectively throughout this work.
- 107 The Kamloops and Okanagan agencies were administered jointly from 1884 to 1910, but from their creation in 1881 until 1884 and again from 1910 until the 1960s, when another major restructuring took place, they were separated. The shifting agency boundaries never necessarily included all members of any First Nation.
- 108 Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*, 34. Jacobs also argues that imperialism is weakest and most opposable at the local level. Alfred pushes the potential for local activism further when he suggests that, "[a]ll of the world's big problems are in reality very small and local problems...So, confronting huge forces like colonialism is a personal and, in some ways, a mundane process." Alfred, *Wasáse*, 25.

## Chapter Two

- 1 Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 37.
- 2 Flanagan, *First Nations? Second Thoughts*, 6. For an allied and more detailed expression of this view see Cairns, *Citizens Plus*.
- 3 Brody, *Maps and Dreams*, 15-16.
- 4 For an exploration of traders' perceptions of the Okanagan and other peoples of the Columbia Plateau see Vibert, *Traders' Tales*.
- 5 Henday's arrival in Blackfoot territory in 1754 was likely preceded by French traders. Also, the Peigan likely had contact with the Spanish to the south. Palmer with Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, 11.
- 6 Coffey et al. *Shuswap History*, 7.

- 7 Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan," 22.
- 8 Carter, *Aboriginal Peoples*, 24. Clark Wissler stated that they were on the plains long before 1492 but Dempsey says they probably remained north of the Bow River for generations before moving south. Clark Wissler, *Indians of the United States*, 85 and Dempsey, "The Blackfoot Nation," 290.
- 9 Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 5.
- 10 Milloy, *The Plains Cree*, 31-37.
- 11 Milloy, *The Plains Cree*, 36, 84-99, 118 and Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 35-36.
- 12 Treaty 7 Management Corporation, "Tsuu T'ina Nation," *Treaty 7 Nations*, <<http://www.treaty7.org/Article.asp?ArticleID=36>> (31 March 2008). Sarah Carter says that the Tsuu T'ina may have been present as early as 1500. Carter, *Aboriginal Peoples*, 24.
- 13 I have reserved the name "Nakoda" to refer to the Stoney people. I use "Nakota" when speaking of the groups to the east, north, or south that were previously often referred to as Assiniboine or Sioux.
- 14 For a survey of these see Lerner, "The Kootenay Plains," 28-94.
- 15 Smith, "The Original Peoples of Alberta," 57.
- 16 Andersen, "Alberta Stoney (Assiniboin) Origins and Adaptations, 55-56.
- 17 Lerner "The Kootenay Plains," 40.
- 18 Kennedy, *Recollections*, 72-73.
- 19 Lerner "The Kootenay Plains," 93.
- 20 Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council et al., *The True Spirit*, 97-108.
- 21 Leroy Little Bear, "Jagged Worldviews Colliding," 78.
- 22 H.M. Robinson, "The Blackfeet Indians," 39.
- 23 Diamond Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians of Alberta*, 1-3 and Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council et al., *The True Spirit*, 97. Allied with the Blackfoot Nations and the Tsuu T'ina were the Gros Ventre.
- 24 Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council et al., *The True Spirit*, 97-108 and Snow, *These Mountains*, 2.
- 25 Dempsey, "The Blackfoot Nation," 276.
- 26 See for example, Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 86-87 and Dempsey "The Blackfoot Nation," 276. Brian Smith, on the contrary, argues that the use of alternative food sources may have been underestimated due in part to the androcentrism of early accounts which may not have recognized the economic contributions of women. Smith contends that there is both archaeological evidence and sufficient indication of a knowledge of fishing to suggest that fish provided necessary sustenance at various points for many northern plains First Nations. Smith, "The Historical and Archaeological Evidence," 35-49.
- 27 Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 14-15.
- 28 Carter, *Aboriginal Peoples*, 27-28 and Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 27-29. Certainly the introduction of the horse into this territory, first to the Blackfoot, in the early eighteenth century allowed a far greater range with much greater speed than was allowed by dog assisted travel. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 94-95 and also Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*.
- 29 Klein, "The Political Economy of Gender," 149. Some caloric estimates will be provided in the section on the B.C. interior which follows.
- 30 See for example, Hellson and Gadd, *Ethnobotany of the Blackfoot Indians*.
- 31 Hungry Wolf, *The Ways of My Grandmothers*, 140-141.
- 32 Esther Schiff Goldfrank, "Fieldnotes, 1939," Esther Schiff Goldfrank Fonds, Glenbow Museum Archives.

- 33 Hungry Wolf, *The Ways of My Grandmothers*, 59-68 and Oscar Lewis, *American Anthropologist*, 175-176. Lewis says they were also always married and of high social standing. By his reckoning, more than 30 percent of the Piikani were considered “manly-hearted” at the time of his writing. See also Kehoe, *Women and Power*, 115-116 and Carter, *Aboriginal Peoples*, 90.
- 34 Klein, “The Political Economy of Gender,” 151 and Jenness, *The Sarcee*, 14.
- 35 See for example Carstens, *The Queen’s People*, 7 and Smith, “The Original Peoples,” 56-57.
- 36 Conaty, “Economic Models,” 406-407.
- 37 Boldt and Long, “Tribal Traditions and European-Western Political Ideologies,” 537-553; Satzewich and Mahood, “Indian Affairs and Band Governance,” 42; Crowshoe and Manneschmidt, *Akakstiman*, 16-17; Ray, *I Have Lived Here*, 29 and Canada, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, “The Blackfoot Confederacy,” 69-71.
- 38 Jenness, *The Sarcee Indians of Alberta*, 10-11.
- 39 Larner, “The Kootenay Plains,” 415.
- 40 Snow, *These Mountains*, xiii.
- 41 Thomson, “A History of the Okanagan,” 20.
- 42 Boas and Teit, *Coeur d’Alene*, 177-181. This has also been published with different pagination, and with Teit listed as first author, as *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus* (Seattle: Shorey Book Store, 1973).
- 43 Baker, “Archaeological Research, 16 and Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy, *Ethnobotany of the Okanagan-Colville Indians*, 2.
- 44 Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy, *Ethnobotany*, 1. See also Baker, “Archaeological Research,” 10-11.
- 45 Ignace and Ignace, “The Secwepemc, Traditional Resource Use,” 380 and Ignace, “Shuswap,” 203.
- 46 Boas and Teit, *Coeur d’Alene*, 177-178.
- 47 Boas and Teit, *Coeur d’Alene*, 229-230. See also Ignace, “Shuswap,” 205-206 and Kennedy and Bouchard, “Northern Okanagan,” 238-240.
- 48 Boas and Teit, *Coeur d’Alene*, 167n9 and Farley, *An Atlas of British Columbia*, 43-49.
- 49 Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy, *Ethnobotany*, 2-3; Thomson, “A History of the Okanagan,” 16-17 and Farley, *An Atlas*, 26-27 and 48-49.
- 50 Thomson, “The Response of Okanagan Indians,” 96-98.
- 51 Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove*, 355-358.
- 52 Teit, *The Shuswap*, 535. Teit refers to these Secwepemc as the “Cañon Division.”
- 53 Morice, *The History of the Northern*, 43 and Teit, *The Shuswap*, 536-537.
- 54 Ross, *The Fur Hunters*, 37; Hudson and Ignace, “The Plateau,” 346-347 and Hudson, “The Okanagan,” 359.
- 55 Teit, *The Shuswap*, 468, 507-508, and 535-536.
- 56 Baker, “Archaeological Research,” 46 and Thomson, “The Response,” 98. These trade networks also facilitated participation in the fur trade.
- 57 For presence of horses on the Plateau already by 1808 see Fraser, *The Letters and Journals of Simon Fraser*, 63-64, 70, 73, 79, 84, 119, 122, 133, 140, 142, 144, 146, and 149. See also Boas and Teit, *Coeur d’Alene*, 213-214.
- 58 Boas and Teit, *Coeur d’Alene*, 201 and 211; Hudson and Ignace, “The Plateau, 347 and Thomson, “The Response,” 98.
- 59 Hudson and Ignace, “The Plateau,” 346.
- 60 Compiled from Hudson’s Bay Company, “Thompson’s River Post Journal 1841-1843,” BCA.

- 61 Hudson's Bay Company, "Miscellaneous Records—Kamloops" mf IM778, file B.97/e/1, pc 2, HBCA.
- 62 Hudson's Bay Company, "Thompson's River Post Journal, 1822," entries for 26 August and 10 and 18 November, BCA.
- 63 For an Indigenous perspective on the importance of Salmon to Okanagan culture see, Armstrong, "Unclean Tides," 181-182.
- 64 Boas and Teit, *Coeur d'Alene*, 206-210. See also, Kennedy and Bouchard, "Northern Okanagan," 241 and Ignace and Ignace, "The Secwepemc," 383.
- 65 Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove*, 146 and Boas and Teit, *Coeur d'Alene*, 206.
- 66 Ignace, "The Shuswap," 209.
- 67 Hudson, "The Okanagan," 357.
- 68 Vibert, *Traders' Tales*, 238.
- 69 Boas and Teit, *Coeur d'Alene*, 201.
- 70 Turner, Bouchard and Kennedy, *Ethnobotany*; Boas and Teit, *Coeur d'Alene*, 182-194, 201-206, 242-244 and 257-258; Hudson, "The Okanagan," 358-359 and Ignace and Ignace, "The Secwepemc," 377 and 382.
- 71 The first estimate was calculated by anthropologist and botanist Eugene Hunn. The second was arrived at independently by both Anastasio and Ray. All cited in Vibert, *Traders' Tales*, 130.
- 72 Hudson and Ignace, "The Plateau," 346.
- 73 Cited in Ignace and Ignace, "The Secwepemc," 387. See also, Thomas, *The Wisdom of Dr. Mary Thomas*.
- 74 On this point see Vibert, *Traders' Tales*, 185.
- 75 Ignace and Ignace, "The Secwepemc," 387 and Thomson, "The Response of Okanagan Indians," 98-99.
- 76 Powell, "Report on various Ind. Tribes," 1873 LAC, RG 10, vol. 3596, file 1241.
- 77 The Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan, and Couteau or Thompson Tribes per their secretary, James A. Teit, "Memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier," BCA, NWp 970.5 M533.
- 78 Much more will be said about this below, but on this point see for example Thomson, "The Response of Okanagan Indians."
- 79 Boas and Teit, *Coeur d'Alene*, 167-175, 227; Teit, *The Shuswap*, 457-462; Hudson and Ignace, "The Plateau," 347; Hudson, "The Okanagan," 361; Kennedy and Bouchard, "Northern Okanagan," 247; Ignace, "The Shuswap," 203, 210-211 and Hill-Tout, "Report on the Ethnology," 131.
- 80 Teit, *The Shuswap*, 569-570; Kennedy and Bouchard, "Northern Okanagan," 247 and Ignace, "The Shuswap," 212.
- 81 Ignace, "The Shuswap," 212.
- 82 Kennedy and Bouchard, "Northern Okanagan," 247.
- 83 Boas and Teit, *Coeur d'Alene*, 226; Ignace, "Shuswap," 211-212; Kennedy and Bouchard "Northern Okanagan," 241-242 and 247-248; Thomson, "The Response," 97 and Hudson, "Okanagan," 362-363.
- 84 Teit, *The Shuswap*, 569-570 and Ignace, "Shuswap," 211.
- 85 Maracle, Armstrong, Derickson, and Young-Ing, *We Get Our Living*, 8-11 and Boas and Teit, *Coeur d'Alene*, 227.
- 86 Boas and Teit, *Coeur d'Alene*, 227; Ackerman, "Kinship, Family, and Gender Roles," 521 and Maracle et al., *We Get Our Living*, 12.
- 87 Boas and Teit, *Coeur d'Alene*, 168 and Teit, *The Shuswap*, 457-466.
- 88 Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, 188.

- 89 Lux, *Medicine That Walks*, 15 and Dempsey, “The Blackfoot Nation,” 291.
- 90 Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council et al., *The True Spirit*, 19 and Dempsey, “The Blackfoot Nation,” 291.
- 91 DIA, *Annual Report, 1877*, xvi.
- 92 DIA, *Annual Report, 1879*, 271; *Annual Report, 1880*, 235 and Rob Sinclair, Accountant, DIA on Memorandum from Vankoughnet to Accountant, 21 January 1880, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3693, file 14335, pt. 1.
- 93 Determining the populations for particular years even from solely the DIA’s *Annual Reports* is perilous. The *Annual Report* for 1882 includes a table entitled “Number of Indians in the North-West Territories and their whereabouts on the 31st December, 1882” which gives the “No. on Reserve” and “Total number of Indians” for the “Blood Indians” as 3,542 (p. 202), the population claimed later by the Kainai. Dempsey, “Gladstone believed,” A5. John A. Macdonald, then Superintendent General of Indian Affairs (SGIA) gives the figure for the same population as 3,400 (*Annual Report, 1882*, p.xvi), as does Indian Agent C.E. Denny (p. 170). Inspector T.P. Wadsworth indicates that there were 3,615 (p. 178). The table “Farming Agencies and Indian Reservations” gives 3,510 for the “Blood” in the column “Approximate Number of Indians on Reserves.” The following year the reported population drops precipitously. In the 1883 *Annual Report* SGIA J.A. Macdonald lists the Blood population at 1,550 (p. lv). Agent C.E. Denny, apparently in his efforts to reduce both rations and the land reserved for the Kainai, argued that “I found, after much work in taking a correct census, that the number was greatly over estimated,” but gives no new estimate (p.80). Both the tables “Farming Agencies and Indian Reservations” and “Number of Indians in the North-West Territories and their whereabouts on the 31st December, 1883” give the population as 2,589 (p. 200, 206). While overestimation of population might explain the abrupt drop in reported population from 1882 to 1883 there is probably more to it. The reduction of population also permitted the DIA to reduce the reserve size by over one hundred and fifty square miles. Dempsey, “Gladstone believed ‘big claim’ was valid,” A5. While the precipitous drop in population may, then, have been the result of an over-estimation as the agent claimed or a deliberate attempt to defraud the Kainai of land, neither scenario helps explain why the Kainai population declined further under the watchful eye of the DIA until it reached a low of 1,122, or less than half of 1883’s reduced count by 1911. DIA, *Annual Report, 1911*, 6.
- 94 Boas and Teit, *Coeur d’Alene*, 176; Teit, “Indian Tribes,” 287 and Teit, *The Shuswap*, 463.
- 95 Boyd, *Spirit of Pestilence*, 21-60 and Vibert, *Traders’ Tales*, 51-58.
- 96 Harris, “Voices of Disaster,” 74-75.
- 97 “Census of Indians Inhabiting Shuswap and Okanagan Districts, 1877” LAC, RG 10, vol. 10011. These figures vary slightly from the 585 and 983 respectively published in the *Annual Report* for 1877 (p.lxvi). For a comment on those excluded from the Okanagan portion of the census, see Thomson, “A History of the Okanagan,” 22.
- 98 DIA, *Annual Report, 1883*, 189, 191. This is the first year in which the population totals are given by agency.
- 99 See for example Wicken, *Mikmaq Treaties*, 27-32; Coates, *The Marshall Decision*, 31-41; Isaac, *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights*, 24-27 and Dickason, “Amerindians between French and English,” 45-67.

- 100 Allen, *The British Indian Department*, 11.
- 101 Leslie and Maguire, *The Historical Development*, 3, 12, and 32.
- 102 Allen, *The British Indian Department*, 11-17; Leslie and Maguire, *Historical Development*, 3-6 and Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 13-14.
- 103 Stanley, "As Long as the Sun Shines," 8.
- 104 Upton, "The Origins of Canadian Indian Policy," 56-57.
- 105 Milloy, "The Early Indian Acts," 145-146.
- 106 Milloy, "The Early Indian Acts," 146-148 and Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 15-16. The full title of this Act is "an Act to encourage the gradual civilization of the Indians in this Province, and to amend the laws respecting Indians."
- 107 Canada, *Statutes of Canada*, 32 and 33 Vic. (1869.), c.6. The full title of this Act is *An Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians, the better management of Indian affairs, and to extend the provisions of the Act 31<sup>st</sup> Victoria, Chapter 42*.
- 108 Canada, *Statutes of Canada*, 39 Vic. (1876), c.18, sections 62 and 63. See also Kent McNeil, "The Implications of Parliament's Exercise of Section 91(24) Powers for the Inherent Right of Self-Government," A research paper prepared for the Office of the B.C. Regional Vice-Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, 2002, 6-7.
- 109 See for example, *Calder v. Attorney-General of British Columbia* (1973) 34 DLR (3d) 145. See also Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 216-218. While the decision in Calder was split, other cases decided by the Supreme Court of Canada have made it clear that Aboriginal rights are not dependent on, or do not originate from, the Royal Proclamation. See for example *Guerin v. R.*, (1984) 2 S.C.R. 335, 13 D.L.R. (4th) 321 at 376.
- 110 "Terms of Union, 1871" in British Columbia, *Revised Statutes of British Columbia*, 1979, vol. 7 (Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1981), 85.
- 111 The only treaties in British Columbia today are the Douglas Treaties of the 1850s, Treaty 8 signed at the end of the nineteenth century, the Nisga'a Treaty a hundred years later and the Tsawwassen Treaty which came into effect in April 2009.
- 112 Brian Titley refers to the "ad hoc" nature of colonial Indian policy while Sarah Carter points to the "ad hoc, tentative manner" in which policy was applied after the nineteenth-century numbered treaties. Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 1; Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 51.
- 113 Christie, *Okanagan Indians* BCA, NWp 970.5 C555. See also, de Pfyffer's, introduction to a reprint of this in *Okanagan History*, 77-91.
- 114 Cardinal, *The Rebirth*, 124.
- 115 Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 200.
- 116 Scott, "Indian Affairs, 1867-1912," 622-3.
- 117 Morris, *The Treaties of Canada*, 287-288.
- 118 Clearly, reserves had different meanings and purposes for the First Nations people who lived on them than for their non-Indigenous neighbours or the DIA. For the former, they became homes where generations lived and raised their families. They could serve as refuges from the racism to which they could be exposed outside of the reserve borders. For neighbouring farmers, business people, and governments they were holding areas for labour and land that could be exploited or brought into service in extraordinary times of labour shortage or war. They provided captive markets, sources of needed resources, and potential thoroughfares for roads or railways. They provided employment for a phalanx of

government employees and teaching grounds for those who wanted to be farmers. For missionaries they were a convenient, concentrated, and stable location for conversion.

119 Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 37.

### Chapter Three

- 1 From the report of Frederick Abbott, Secretary to the U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners, in regard to the relations between the church and government in Canada. Abbott, *The Administration of Indian Affairs*, 25.
- 2 Appendix C of "Report of the Government of British Columbia on the Subject of Indian Reserves" in British Columbia, *Papers Connected to the Indian Land Question*, 14.
- 3 Report of I. W. Powell to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, 1873, RG 10, vol. 3596, file 1247. The wording is slightly different in the published "Report of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for British Columbia" in Canada, *Sessional Papers, 1873*, paper 23, 6.
- 4 Hayter Reed, Circular, 9 February 1891, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1137.
- 5 In 1899, Anglican Missionary to the Siksika, H.W.G. Stocken, wrote "oh, Rome [the Catholic Church] is so aggressive, + God forbid that we should sleep...Rome is awfully upset with us here + talks of putting an extra Priest close to my own Mission in addition to the one at the South Reserve, + to build schools + church as soon as possible." Harry W. Gibbon Stocken to Baring-Gould, 21 February 1899. See also, Stocken's *Among the Blackfoot*, v, vii, xii.
- 6 For an example of the conflict in relation to a proposed hospital on the Nakoda reserve see correspondence in LAC RG 10, vol. 3993, file 186,790.
- 7 "Indian Proselytism," *Calgary Herald*, 15 April 1891. See also "Why Not More Co-operation Among the Churches," *Calgary Herald*, 8 June 1895 for the *Herald's* arguments regarding the economy of cooperation.
- 8 Frank Pedley to S.H. Blake, 19 April 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4024, file 289,032-2.
- 9 See for example, Alex, Archbishop of St. Boniface, O.M.I. to Governor General in Council, 28 July 1889, LAC, MG29 E106, vol. 16, file "Church-Dept. Relations, 1887-1895."
- 10 For example, the continued troubles between Agent S.B. Lucas and Methodist missionaries John Nelson and E.B. Glass nearly resulted in Lucas' dismissal, but instead he was transferred from his post at Bears Hills to the Sarcee Agency in January 1891. "Biographical Notes"; Hayter Reed to Lucas, Indian Agent, Bears Hills, 18 December 1888 M699/4; Dewdney to Rev Canon Newton, Edmonton, 31 May 1890, M699/4 and Lucas to Alonzo Wright, M.P. Ottawa County, 21 January 1891, M699/5, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds.
- 11 See for example, "Correspondence Regarding Communications Made to Newspapers by Ministers of the Gospel Criticizing Indian Affairs Government Officials in the Northwest Territories," LAC, RG 10, vol. 3753, file 30,613.
- 12 Entry for 21 April 1892, Daily Journal at Sarcee Agency, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M 699/8.
- 13 McDougall to Indian Commissioner, 12 November 1894, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3598, file 1419 pt. A.
- 14 Grasse to Indian Commissioner, 21 December 1896 and McDougall to Rev. A. Sutherland, General Secretary, Methodist Church Missionary Department, 28 June 1897, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3966, file 151,384.

- 15 Extract from a Report of the Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council , approved by His Excellency on the 17th May 1897,” LAC, RG 10, vol. 3908, file 107,286.
- 16 Abbott, *The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*, 25.
- 17 S.H. Blake to DSGIA Frank Pedley, 19 October 1908, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4024, file 289,032-2.
- 18 Tims to Indian Commissioner, 27 June 1895, LAC, RG 18, vol. 110, file 517-95.
- 19 Herchmer to Comptroller, telegram, 3 July 1895, LAC, RG 18, vol. 110, File 517-95. On Tims’ unpopularity see Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 129-130.
- 20 Comptroller Frederick White to Commissioner L.W. Herchmer, 16 October 1895, LAC, RG 18, vol. 112, file 665-95.
- 21 Supt. S.B. Steele to Commissioner, NWMP, 8 November 1895, LAC, RG 18, vol. 2182, file “Commissioner’s office, 1895,” pt. 2. Steele noted, however, that there were nine Mormons who had wives in both the U.S. and Canada, and this was “known to the Force for many years.”
- 22 J. Davidson, Lees Creek, to Commissioner, 5 November 1895, LAC, RG 18, vol. 2182, file “Commissioner’s office, 1895,” pt. 2.
- 23 For a discussion of nineteenth century efforts to eliminate Indigenous polygamy in the prairie west see Carter, “Creating ‘Semi-Widows’ and ‘Supernumerary Wives.’”
- 24 Alexander Morris to John McDougall, 20 June 1874, LAC, MG 29 C23.
- 25 “Minutes of meeting held with Indians of Bonaparte, Pavilion and Fountain reserves on the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th August, 1910,” LAC, RG 10, vol. 3750, file 29858-11.
- 26 BCA, GR-0099, box 4, file K-18 and Hatch “The British Columbia Police,” 1-18. The initial force consisted of only five policemen and a chief constable, but by 1922 there were about 200 in the BCPP. The duties of the BCPP were taken over by the RCMP on August 15, 1950.
- 27 For the 1911 case of I.W.W. organizer G.S. Biscay arrested in a C.N.R. construction camp and for the charge of assault laid by G. Carlsen of the I.W.W. against BC Police Constable Lee of Savona, see BCA GR-0056, box 12, file 12.
- 28 Stonier-Newman, *Policing a Pioneer Province*, 38.
- 29 Entries for 30 April, 8 June and 9 June 1901, BCA, GR-1728, vol. 2.
- 30 See, for example, entries for 5, 11, and 24 May 1911; 3, 10, 28, and 30 September and 3, 6, 10, and 17 November 1911, BCA, GR-1728, vol. 3.
- 31 See for example, Daily Journal, 1914, entries for 25, 26, and 27 1914 and Daily Journal, 1915, entry for 11 November, 1915.LAC, RG 10, vol. 1325.
- 32 McLean to Frederick Hussey, 4 September 1900, BCA, GR-0063, box 1, file 3.
- 33 British Columbia, Provincial Game Warden, *Annual Report*, 1918, BCA, GR-0446, box 86, file 11, p.55. The BCPP had been assisting game wardens since at least 1910. William Bowser, Attorney General for B.C. to Frederick Hussey, 4 January 1910, BCA, GR-0063, box 5, file 4.
- 34 British Columbia, Provincial Game Warden, *Annual Report*, 1918, BCA, GR-0446, box 86, file 11, p.518.
- 35 H. Bell Irving, W. Farrel to D.M. Eberts MPP, telegram, 8 July 1901, BCA, GR-0429, box 7, file 3, item 2314/01. See also F.S. Hussey to D.M. Eberts, AG, telegram, 8 July 1901, item 2317/01. For a brief synopsis of these events see Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 215.
- 36 H.D. Phen Armthrop to Hussey, 25 October, 1904, BCA, GR-0063, box 2, file 5.

- 37 Geo. McCullough to Stuart Henderson, M.P.P., 8 April 1909, BCA, GR-0063, box 5, file 1. For a request for mounted police see BCA, GR-0429, box 9, f3, item 3426/02.
- 38 Lin and Brannigan, "The Implications of a Provincial Police Force, 1 and Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, 176.
- 39 On the mythical status achieved by the mounted police in popular culture see Walden, "The Great March of the Mounted Police," 33-56. For the mythical status of the Mounties compared to that of the Texas Rangers see Graybill, *Policing the Great Plains*, 16-22. The Canadian force was called the North West Mounted Police from its inception until 1904 when "Royal" was added by a grant of Edward VIII. In 1920 the name was changed again to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
- 40 *Calgary Herald*, "Jubilee Edition," 4 July 1924.
- 41 Turner, *The North-West Mounted Police*, 143-61.
- 42 Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers*, 130. See also Betke, "Pioneers and Police on the Canadian Prairies," 9 and Morgan, "The North-West Mounted Police," 61. For a brief report on NWMP Commissioner Irvine's visit to RIC headquarters and field offices see, Irvine, "North-West Mounted Police Force," 3.
- 43 See, for example, Horrall, "Sir John A. Macdonald," 183.
- 44 Horrall, "Sir John A. Macdonald," 195-196.
- 45 Macleod, *The NWMP and Law Enforcement*, 3.
- 46 Jennings, "The North-West Mounted Police," 315. See also Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 155 on this point.
- 47 Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 181 and Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 52.
- 48 A.A. Dorian, Memorandum to Minister of the Interior, 11 May 1874, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3610, file 3461. Dorian made it clear that the state was asserting its authority and that "the co-operation of the Indians is not in any way desired or sought in any action which the Mounted Police Force, may find it necessary to take."
- 49 Macdonald to Dewdney, 11 January 1884, Glenbow, Edgar Dewdney Fonds, M320, Series III-4, John A. Macdonald Correspondence, p.483. To this end, for example, in 1882 the force was thanked by the minister "for inducing" Big Bear to accept treaty. LAC, RG 18, vol. 1004, file 4.
- 50 Macleod, *The Northwest Mounted Police*, 87-88.
- 51 See for example "Yesterday and Today, Review of the Work Accomplished by Mounted Police," *Calgary Herald*, 4 July 1925, 8.
- 52 Scott to Stewart, 28 October 1927, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6822, file 494-1-2 pt. 1.
- 53 Macleod, *The North West Mounted Police*, 28 and Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, *The True Spirit*, 80, 117, 136-137, and 378-379.
- 54 NWMP, "Annual Report for 1883," paper no. 12 in Canada, *Sessional Papers, 1884*, 15.
- 55 Comptroller White to DSGIA Vankoughnet, 19 March 1892 and White to Vankoughnet, 23 May 1892, LAC, RG 18, vol. 56, file 696-91.
- 56 Reed to Vankoughnet, 31 March 1892, LAC, RG 18, vol. 56, file 696-91.
- 57 White to Vankoughnet, 23 May 1892, LAC, RG 18, vol. 56, file 696-91.
- 58 G.M. Sproat to David Laird, 27 August 1877, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3653, file 8705.
- 59 Frederick White in "North-West Mounted Police," Appendix D of Report of the Secretary of State in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1877, 21; Jennings, "The North West Mounted Police," 228 and Hubner, "Horse Stealing," 286-288.

- 60 Copy of Order in Council, 24 April 1882, Canada, DIA, *Annual Report, 1882*, xliv-xlv. John A. Macdonald's annual report as SGIA for that year indicates his early support for the idea of passes to restrict Indigenous movement, DIA, *Annual Report, 1882*, xi.
- 61 Commissioner A.G. Irvine in "North-West Mounted Police," Part III of *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1882* in Canada, Sessional Papers, 1883, 11-12.
- 62 Vankoughnet memorandum to Macdonald, 15 November 1883, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1009, file 628.
- 63 DIA, *Annual Report, 1883*, lii. Macdonald's report is dated 1 January 1884.
- 64 Vankoughnet to Irvine, 15 November 1883, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1011, file 786.
- 65 Steele to Commissioner, NWMP, 24 May 1884, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1016, file 1262.
- 66 White to Irvine, June 6, 1884, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1009, file 628.
- 67 NWMP, "Annual Report, 1884," in Canada, *Sessional Papers, 1885*, 6. On this point see Jennings, "The North West Mounted Police," 228-229; Jennings, "The North West Mounted Police," 289-90 and Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 150-151.
- 68 NWMP, "Annual Report, 1884," in Canada, *Sessional Papers, 1885*, 6.
- 69 For examples see Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 151 and Dempsey, *Charcoal's World*, 23.
- 70 Jennings, "The North West Mounted Police," 290-291.
- 71 Middleton to Dewdney, 6 May 1885 and Dewdney to Middleton, 7 May 1885, LAC, Dewdney Papers, MG 27 I C4, vol. 4, pages 1658-1660. See also B. Bennett, *Study of Passes for Indians to Leave Their Reserves* (N.P., Treaties and Historical Research Centre, 1974), 1-2 and Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 150.
- 72 Dewdney "Notice," 6 May 1885, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3584, file 1130.
- 73 Dewdney to J.M Rae, Agent at Battleford, 23 June 1885, LAC, Dewdney Papers, MG 27 I C4, vol. 5, pages 1948-1949. See also Bennett, "Passes for Indians," 3 and Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 150.
- 74 Dewdney to Macdonald, 1 August 1885, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3710, file 19550-3.
- 75 Dewdney to Macdonald, 1 August 1885 and Reed "Memorandum for the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Indian Commissioner relative to the future management of Indians," 20 July 1885, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3710, file 19550-3.
- 76 Dewdney's comments appear in the margins of Reed's Memorandum of 20 July 1885, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3710, file 19550-3. For perspectives that emphasize Reed's initiative in this regard see Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 146 and Barron, "The Indian Pass System," 27-28.
- 77 Vankoughnet, memorandum to Macdonald, 14 August 1885, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3710, file 19550-3. Macdonald's comments appear in the margins of Vankoughnet's memorandum. Macdonald's views are also outlined in an unsigned letter apparently dictated by Macdonald on 28 October 1885.
- 78 Reed to Dewdney, 16 August 1885, LAC, Dewdney Papers, MG 27 I C4, vol. 5, pages 2076-2087. Quote at 2078-2079.
- 79 Dewdney to De Balinhard, 19 August 1885, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3716, file 22,173.
- 80 Unsigned letter to Dewdney, 4 June 1886 and unsigned Memorandum to McNeil, 1 September 1886, vol. 3710, file 19550-3. The date written on the first letter is 1866 but this must be an error. Bennett, "Passes for Indians," 3-4.
- 81 DIA, *Annual Report, 1886*, 136.
- 82 W.D. Antrobus, NWMP Superintendent Commanding E Division, "Report of the Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police," 65.

- 83 W.M. Herchmer to Commissioner, 9 June 1887 and W.M. Herchmer to Commissioner, 4 June 1887, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1077, file 321.
- 84 Commissioner Herchmer to Commissioner, Indian Affairs, 12 November 1888, LAC, RG 18, vol. 25, file 900-1888.
- 85 J.H. McIlree, Supt. Commanding "E" Division, to Assistant Commissioner NWMP, 7 November 1888, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1101, file 136-1888.
- 86 Herchmer to Comptroller, NWMP, 12 Aug 1889, LAC, RG 18 vol. 1139, file 173-1889. For Pocklington's report of police assaults on Indigenous people see Herchmer to Comptroller, NWMP, 20 August 1889; Pocklington to Indian Commissioner Reed, 9 July 1889; Reed to NWMP Commissioner Herchmer, 13 July 1889 and Steele to NWMP Commissioner Herchmer, 27 July 1889, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1139, file 173-1889.
- 87 Pocklington to Indian Commissioner, 11 December 1889, LAC, Hayter Reed Papers, MG 29 E106, vol. 18, file "Pocklington 1889-1891."
- 88 Vankoughnet to White, 21 October 1890, LAC, RG 18, vol. 44, file 784-90.
- 89 Vankoughnet to White, 17 October 1890, LAC, RG 18, vol. 44, file 782-90.
- 90 NWMP, *Annual Report, 1889*, 42.
- 91 Steele, *Forty Years in Canada*, 258 and NWMP, "Annual Report, 1889" in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1890, 66.
- 92 "Extract from Supt. Steel's monthly report, Fort Macleod, 1890; Dewdney to White, 4 September 1890 and Reed to Dewdney, 30 August 1890, LAC, RG 18, vol. 45, file 953.
- 93 NWMP, *Annual Report, 1889*, 66.
- 94 P.R. Neale, "Notes of an interview between the Chiefs of the Bloods and North Peigans, and Messrs Pocklington and Springett of the Indian Department and Supt P.R. Neale, Commanding N.W.M. Police in the Macleod District., 2 February 1888, LAC, RG 18, vol. 19, file 249-1888.
- 95 Steele to Commissioner NWMP, n.d. and Reed to DSGIA, 7 November 1891, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3863, file 83,757.
- 96 Reed to DSGIA, 10 December 1891, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3863, file 83,757.
- 97 Daily Journal at Sarcee Agency entries for 26 and 27 May and 3 June 1892, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M699/8 1892.
- 98 Daily Journal at Sarcee Agency entries for 1, 3, and 6 June 1892, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M699/8 1892. Lucas stated that he agreed to grant them permission to leave the reserve "if they would all go to work."
- 99 A. Ross Cuthbert, Inspector to Commissioner NWMP, 3 June 1892, RG 18, vol. 67, item 454-92. There is also a copy of this in RG 10, vol. 6817, file 487-1-2 Pt. 1.
- 100 Reed to Dewdney 27 June 1892, RG 18 vol. 67, item 454-92.
- 101 "The Mounted Police and the Sarcees," *Calgary Herald*, 8 June 1892.
- 102 L.W. Herchmer to Fred White, Comptroller, NWMP, 10 June 1892, LAC, RG 18, vol. 218, file 763-1901 and L.W. Herchmer to Fred White, 9 June 1892, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6817, file 487-1-2 pt. 1.
- 103 White to Vankoughnet, 16 June 1893, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6817, file 487-1-2 pt. 1.
- 104 Fred White, Comptroller, NWMP to L Vankoughnet, DSGIA, 19 March 1892 and Reed to SGIA, 31 Mar 1892, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6817, file 487-1-2 Pt. 1.
- 105 Daily Journal at Sarcee Agency for 1892, entries for 8 and 11 July, 30 August, 6 September, 5 October 1892; Daily Journal for 1893, entries for 14, 16, and 19 January, 9 May and 4 October 1893 and Daily Journal for 1894, entries for 5 and 6 March, 2 and 9 November 1894, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M 699/8

- and Daily Journal for 1896, entries for 8 and 13 June 1896, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M 699/9 See also, passes in Glenbow, Sarcee Indian Agency Fonds, M1837, box 4, file 22.
- 106 For Lucas withholding rations see for example 1892 Daily Journal at Sarcee Agency, entry for 9 April, Glenbow, Lucas family Fonds, M699/8. Reed wrote that “[w]ithholding rations is about the only lever we have to move idle, or control insubordinate Indians...” Reed to T.M. Daly, 7 Jan 1893, LAC, Hayter Reed Papers, MG 29 E106 vol. 16, file “Cattle Killing.” See also Wilson to Sec DIA, 3 May 1908, Glenbow, Blood Agency Fonds, M1788, box 3, file 21. On agents from different reserves cooperating to withhold rations and force the return home of those without passes see for example J.A. Markle, Cardston, to Jas Wilson, 28 June 1901, Glenbow, Blood Agency Fonds, M1788, box 4, file 24.
- 107 Reed to SSGIA, 14 June 1893 and White to Vankoughnet, 16 June 1893, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6817, file 487-1-2 pt. 1; Steele to Commissioner, NWMP, 9 June 1893, LAC, RG 18, vol. 84, file 505-93; E. Hodder President, et al, Calgary Rod and Gun Club to SGIA, 3 February 1893, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6732, file 420-2 and Joseph Howe, Supt. Commanding “E” Division at Calgary to Commissioner NWMP, 22 May 1896, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1354, file 76-1896 pt.3.
- 108 T. Mayne Daly to Vankoughnet, 20 June 1893, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6817, file 487-1-2 pt. 1.
- 109 For resistance see for example Daily Journal at Sarcee Agency, 1896, entries for 29 May and 27 June, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M 699/9. Joseph Howe to Commissioner NWMP, 22 May 1896, LAC, RG 18 vol., 1354, file 76-1896, pt. 3.
- 110 For examples of cooperation to this end in Treaty 7 see for example George H. Race, Clerk and Acting Agent, Blackfoot, to Jas Wilson 12 July 1900, Glenbow, Blood Agency Fonds, M1788, box 16 file 119; J.A. Markle, Cardston to Jas Wilson, 28 June 1901, Glenbow, Blood Agency Fonds, M1788, box 4, file 24; H.E. Sibbald, Blackfoot Agent to R.N. Wilson, 28 December 1905; Indian Agent, Blood Agency to H.E. Sibbald 24 January 1906 and Sarcee Agent to R.N. Wilson, 3 August 1908 Glenbow, Blood Agency Fonds, M1788, box 3, file 21. For cooperation between agents in Canada and the US see for example J. H. Monteath, Agent Blackfeet Indian Agency, Browning Montana to James Wilson 4 Oct 1901 Glenbow, Blood Agency Fonds, M1788, box 4, file 24. In 1902, Blood Agent James Wilson made a request up the DIA chain of command “to ask the United States Agencies to return to the old system of punishing, or returning immediately Indians who visit without a pass.” James Wilson to Indian Commissioner, 30 October 1902, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3797, file 47,554-2.
- 111 A.B. Perry to Commissioner, NWMP, 8 July, 1896; Herchmer to Asst. Commissioner, DIA, 9 April 1896 and Paget to Herchmer, 24 April 1896, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1354, file 76-1896 pt.3 and Inspector J.O. Wilson, commanding Calgary District, 14 May 1900, LAC, RG 18, vol. 192, file 484.
- 112 Jas. Smart, Calgary to Fred White, Comptroller NWMP, 15 July 1901; Smart to White, 19 August 1901 and White to Smart, 30 August 1901, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6817, file 487-1-2 pt.1
- 113 See for example Markle to Scott, 8 December 1913 vol. 7102, file 773/3-1-1 pt.1. For a request for a pass through a third party see for example J.C. Graves to R.N. Wilson, 23 April 1906 and Wilson to J.C. Graves, Macleod Hotel, Macleod 28 April 1906 Glenbow, Blood Agency Fonds, M1788, box 3 file 21. For a request for a pass extension see for example, Calf Robe, Browning Mont. to Indian Agent,

- Blood Agency, 2 May 1902, Glenbow, Blood Agency Fonds, M1788, box 4 file 23. For the police requesting a reduction in passes issued see "Extract from weekly Report of Inspector E.J. Camies" at Pincher Creek in A.B. Perry, NWMP Commissioner, to Fred White, 22 March 1906, LAC, RG 18, vol. 317, file 266-06.
- 114 Graham to Scott, 22 September 1921, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3826, file 60,511-4A.
- 115 Bennett, "Passes for Indians," 6-7.
- 116 C. Pant Schmidt to Secretary, Indian Affairs Branch, Dept. of Mines and Resources, 8 January 1941 and T.R.L. MacInnes, Circular letter to all Inspectors and Indian Agents in the Prairie Provinces, 23 June 1941, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6817, file 487-1-2 pt.1.
- 117 Harvey Jules, interview with author Joyce Dunn at Chase, British Columbia 1983. Copy of tape recording in author's possession.
- 118 Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World*, 54 and 1. George Manuel was a Secwepemc Chief and served as president of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs and as the first president of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples.
- 119 See for example, Kamloops Agent Daily Journal, 1898, entries for 30 March and 17 May 1898; Daily Journal for 1912, entries for 8 March, 29 June, and 1 July 1912 and Daily Journal, 1913, entries for 20 May 17, 18, and 23 June, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1325.
- 120 Vowell to Pedley, 30 June 1903, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3944 file 121698-54.
- 121 For an example of restrictions on fishing imposed on the Lekwungen (Songhees) near Victoria see John Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations*, 257-262.
- 122 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1325, Kamloops Daily Journal for 1914, entry for 15 August 1914.
- 123 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1325, Kamloops Daily Journal for 1915, entry for 24 December 1915.
- 124 See for example Frank Devlin, Indian Agent New Westminster to Vowell, 23 September 1899, BCA, GR-0065, box 2, file "Telegrams September 14, 1898 to December 31, 1900, A-G" and "Kamloops Daily Journal for 1913," entry for 5 and 11 July 1913.
- 125 J.W. McKay, Indian Agent for the Kamloops and Okanagan agencies, to Superintendent A.W. Vowell, 11 April 1892 and M. Hagan, principal KIRS, to Vowell, 24 April 1892, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3918, file 116,659-1.
- 126 Jas. Irving, Manager, CP Navigation Co. Ltd to Indian Commissioner, Victoria, 29 March 1889 and H. Moffatt, Acting Indian Superintendent, Victoria, to R.H. Pidcock, Agent, Alert Bay, 28 March, 1889, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3816, file 57,045-1.
- 127 Pidcock to I.W. Powell, 3 April, 1889, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3816, file 57,045-1.
- 128 Alfred Hall, Missionary of CMS, to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 5 October 1889 and SGIA to Hall, 21 October 1889 LAC, RG 10, vol. 3816, file 57,045-1.
- 129 Dewdney, SGIA, to Privy Council of Canada, 20 February 1890, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3816, file 57,045-1.
- 130 Jno S.D. Thompson, Federal Minister of Justice to Governor General in Council, Mar 18, 1890, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3816, file 57,045-1.
- 131 A.W. Vowell, I Supt to Capt J.D. Warren, Victoria, 3 March 1890; Warren to Vowell, 21 March 1890; Jno Irving to Vowell, 11 March 1890 and Vowell to Vankoughnet, DSGIA, 25 March 1890, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3816, file 57,045-1.

- 132 Pidcock to Vowell, n.d, (marked received 4 March 1891) LAC, RG 10, vol. 3816, file 57,045-1.
- 133 T. Mayne Daly to Senator W.J. Macdonald, 10 May 1895, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3816, file 57,045-1.
- 134 Vowell to DSGIA, 11 May 1895 and DSGIA to Vowell, 20 May 1895, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3816, file 57,045-1.
- 135 J.E. Rendle, Methodist missionary, Quatiaski Cove, B.C. to Vowell, 29 October 1909, BCA, GR-0063, box 5, file 3.
- 136 See for example Graham to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, DIA, 6 November 1917, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3696, file 15, 316 and W.E. Ditchburn to J.F. Smith, 20 December 1917, vol. 1319.
- 137 Manuel and Posluns, "*The Fourth World*," 34.
- 138 Fred White, "Memo, re cattle killing by the Blood Indians," 29 September 1894 and Comptroller to Herchmer, 6 October 1894, LAC, RG 18, vol. 101, file 38-95.
- 139 T. Mayne Daly to Herchmer, 2 November 1894, LAC, RG 18, vol. 101, file 38-95.
- 140 Comptroller to Commissioner Perry, 14 April 1910, RG 18 vol. 390, file 267-10. There is more detail on the events surrounding this particular investigation in the section on the Piikani in Chapter Seven.
- 141 Walsh to R.W. Scott, Secretary of State, 6 September 1876, LAC, RG 18, vol. 9, file 69-76.
- 142 Comptroller to L.W. Herchmer, 11 November 1890 and Herchmer to White, 15 November 1890, LAC, RG 18, vol. 45, file 832-90.
- 143 J. Howe, Supt, Calgary, to Commissioner, NWMP, 14 May 1896; Comptroller, NWMP, to Reed, 26 May 1896, LAC, RG 18, vol. 122, file 352-96.
- 144 F. White, "Memo, re cattle killing by the Blood Indians," 29 September 1894, LAC, RG 18, vol. 101, file 38-95.
- 145 Const. W. Amer to Supt. Primrose, O.C. Macleod, 17 March 1904, LAC, RG 18, vol. 274, file 382.
- 146 Steele to Commissioner, 7 May 1897, LAC, RG 18, vol. 137, file 333-97.
- 147 Insp. Jno. F. Burnett to Commissioner, 30 May 1903, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1523, file 69-1903.
- 148 Cortlandt Starnes, "Crime Report re; Complaint of Blood Indians," 9 June 1917, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1897, file 73. This sale will be discussed below.
- 149 White to DSGIA F. Pedley, 25 May 1907, LAC, RG 18, vol. 339, file 350. See also Pedley to White, 8 May 1907; White to Pedley, 10 May 1907; Pedley to White, 15 May 1907 and White to Pedley 25 May 1907.
- 150 See for example entries for 8 April and 4 May 1912, BCA, GR-1728, Diary April 26, 1911- March 31, 1919. (vol. 3).
- 151 Supt. J. McIlree to Commissioner Irvine, 3 September 1885, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1023, file 3239.
- 152 Nevitt to Liz Nevitt, 27 December 1874, Glenbow, R.B. Nevitt Fonds, M893, box 1, file 3. On the general point of the visual impact created by the Mounted Police see Graybill, *Policing the Great Plains*, 41.
- 153 Extract from letter to Commissioner, 14 January 14, 1891 LAC, RG 18, vol. 47, file 49-91.
- 154 Howe to Macpherson, 6 May 1896, LAC, RG 18, vol. 122, file 333-96. The practice of employing scouts is discussed below.

- 155 Alexander Morris, cited in Mayfield, "The North-West Mounted Police," 103.
- 156 Hildebrandt, *Views from Fort Battleford*, 36. For the NWMP extending Anglo-Canadian values see Graybill, *Policing the Great Plains*, 14.
- 157 Macleod, *NWMP and Law Enforcement*, 3 and Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 165-166.
- 158 Major General Selby Smythe, Report of tour through the North West and British Columbia, 1876, LAC, RG 18, vol. 8, file 29a-76.
- 159 L. Vankoughnet, DSGIA to F. White, Comptroller, NWMP, 29 November 1886; L.W. Herchmer, Commissioner, NWMP to White, 4 May 1887 and White to Herchmer, 21 June 1887, LAC, RG 18, vol. 13, file 16-88.
- 160 L.W. Herchmer to Comptroller, 4 May 1887, LAC, RG 18, vol. 13, file 16-88.
- 161 Laurier to Joseph Martin, 30 December 1898, RG 18 vol. 156, file 574-98 and Comptroller to John McDougald, Commr. of Customs, Ottawa, 1 February 1899, RG 18, vol. 161, file 93-99.
- 162 H.W. Rowell, President of the Privy Council, to Premier J. Oliver, 18 December 1918, BCA, GR-1323, file 6839-8-18.
- 163 See for example Deputy Attorney General to Premier, 27 May 1919, BCA, GR-1323, file 6839-8-18.
- 164 A.M. Manson to G.P. Graham, Minister of Militia and Defense, 31 May 1922, BCA, GR-1323, file 839-8-18, mf reel B2149.
- 165 Cortlandt Starnes, RCMP Commissioner, to D.C. Scott, 7 December 1927 and Starnes to E. Lapointe, Minister of Justice, Ottawa, 7 December 1927, LAC, RG 18, vol. 3175 file G-516-4-24. The DIA objected to the closing of these RCMP detachments.
- 166 "Annual Report of the Supt. of Police for the year ending Oct 31, 1897," BCA, GR-0099, Box 1 file "Misc. Reports, Statutes, Etc. 1897-1914," p.699.
- 167 Stonier-Newman, *Policing a Pioneer Province*, 118.
- 168 This is evident from the events of 1885. The force reached a peak of 1,000 men during the resistances of 1885, but with reductions in the size of the force in the 1890s and the assignment of a large contingent to the Yukon gold fields, barely 500 men remained in all the North-West Territories. R.C. Macleod, *The NWMP and Law Enforcement 1873-1905*, 46.
- 169 George Murdoch, Diary transcript, LAC, MG 29 C 13, file 1.
- 170 NWMP Inspector Z.T. Wood to Officer Commanding NWMP, Calgary, 2 May 1896, LAC, RG 18, vol. 122, file 333-96.
- 171 For the Treaty 7 area and the prairie west see, W.M. Herchmer to L.W. Herchmer, 28 July 1890, LAC, RG 18, vol. 2178 file 21; entry for June 11, Daily Journal at Sarcee Agency, 1891, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M 699/8 and DIA, *Annual Report, 1906*, 270. See also correspondence in RG 18, vol. 2729, pt. 11; the appointment of Former NWM Policeman and Indian Agent C.E. Denny, Dewdney to Denny, 24 November 1885, Glenbow, Dewdney Fonds, M320, Series 15, Indian Department - C.E. Denny Correspondence, 1882-1886, p. 1165 and the personnel file of James Robertson, a detective hired in 1909. LAC, RG 10, vol. 3144, file 341,116-1. For a report from the DIA's "Secret Service Agent" Peter Ballendine see LAC, RG 10, vol. 3701, file 17169.
- 172 Williams, *Call in Pinkerton's*, 15.
- 173 Report of Pinkerton's agent #13, 16 March 1911, BCA, GR-0056, box 3, file 1 and Williams, *Call in Pinkerton's*, 199.
- 174 For the Okanagan area see, for example, entries for 8 July 1890, 9 January 1891, 1 April 1891, BCA, GR-1887, B.C. Provincial Police Force, Vernon, Charge

- Book, p. 60, 70, and 77; Hussey to H.A. Maclean, Depty A.G., Victoria, 4 May 4 1905, enclosing E.C. Simmons, Chief Constable, Vernon, to Hussey, Apr, 29, 1905, BCA, GR-0429, box 12, file 1; Inspector Colin Campbell to Hussey, 15 November 1910, BCA, GR 97, vol. 2, file "Insp. Colin Campbell, Corr, A-Z, Apr to Dec 1911 and entry for 1 July 1912, BCA, GR 1728, Diary, April 26, 1911-March 31, 1919 (vol. 3).
- 175 "Crime and Punishment," *Kamloops Daily News*, 10 August 1991, B15. See also I.W. Powell to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 5 Mar 1887, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7748, file 24154-12.
- 176 Pere Nequalla to SGIA, 7 December 1908, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3944, file 121698-54.
- 177 J.H. Christie to Frank Oliver, SGIA, 4 August 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4044, file 347510 and vol. 4046, file 354,669-2.
- 178 Macleod, *The NWMP and Law Enforcement*, 149-150.
- 179 J.W. Powers to Dewdney, 29 May 1889, Glenbow, Dewdney Fonds, M320, Minister of the Interior Papers, 1888-1892, Series 36, J.W. Powers Correspondence—1888, p. 2177-2180.
- 180 DIA, *Annual Report, 1889*, xiii-xiv. Dewdney oversaw the employment of scouts during the events of 1885.
- 181 Canada. *Copy of Treaty and Supplementary Treaty No.7 Made 22nd. Sept., and 4th Dec., 1877, Between Her Majesty the Queen and the Blackfeet and Other Indian Tribes, at the Blackfoot Crossing of Bow River and Fort Macleod. Rpt. from 1877 ed.* (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1966), 6.
- 182 Howard Adams, *Prison of Grass*, 67.
- 183 For an example of the employment of scouts near the end of the period under discussion here see for example, Farm Instructor, Blood Agency to Joe Healy, Police Scout, Lethbridge, 14 April 1920, Glenbow, Blood Agency Fonds, M1788, box 16, file 120.
- 184 White to Herchmer, 17 September 1887, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1084, file 513-1887.
- 185 Herchmer to White, 31 March and White to Herchmer, 12 April, 1888, LAC, RG 18, vol. 22, file 385-88.
- 186 Reed, "Memorandum for Supt. General," 26 February 1890, LAC, RG 18, vol. 61, file 170.
- 187 Vankoughnet to NWMP Comptroller F. White, 12 December and 23 December 1891, LAC, RG 18, vol. 61, file 170, LAC, RG 18, vol. 61, file 170.
- 188 White to Herchmer, 11 May 1889, LAC, RG 18, vol. 35, file 473-1889.
- 189 Reed, "Memorandum for the Department attached to Commissioner's letter from Regina, No. 214, dated 30<sup>th</sup> November, 1991," LAC, RG 10, vol. 3865, file 84,815. File includes a newspaper clipping referred to only as "Ev. Journal" and dated 9-12-91.
- 190 Herchmer to White, 15 May 1889, LAC, RG 18, vol. 35, file 473-1889.
- 191 White to Vankoughnet, 18 February 1892, LAC, RG 18, vol. 61, file 170.
- 192 Reed to McIlree, 12 November 1890, RG 18, vol. 45, file 874-90.
- 193 Supt. Cdg E Division to Commissioner, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1817, file 110. The superintendent complained that "Sergt. Irvine informs me they have to be driven to their work all the time."
- 194 NWMP Inspector Z.T. Wood to Officer Commanding NWMP, Calgary, 2 May 1896, vol. 122, file 333-96.
- 195 This was the case with Agent Pocklington on the Kainai reserve. C. Hilliard, Staff Sgt, Stand Off, to Officer Comndg Macleod Dist., 18 April 1891, LAC, RG 18, vol. 51, file 314-91.

- 196 Reed to McIlree, 12 November 1890, LAC, RG 18, vol. 45, file 874-90. For NWMP offers of rewards in the Treaty 7 area see P.C.H. Primrose, Supt. Commanding Macleod District, to [Indian Agent] James Wilson, 13 August 1903, Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, vol. 3, file 22; W.M. Herchmer to Commissioner, 5 September 1887, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1077, file 321 and W.M. Herchmer to L.W. Herchmer, 7 April 1889, vol. 1144, file 177. For BCPP in Kamloops and Okanagan regions see Basil Gardom, Constable at Enderby to Chief Constable Simmons, 7 November 1907, BCA, GR-0055, box 73, file 2; Maclean to Hussey, 23 November 1899, GR-0063, box 1, file 2 and F.J. Fulton, Acting A.G. to Hussey, 29 June 1909, GR-0063, box 5, file 1.
- 197 Jos. Gillispie, Const i/c Kipp Detachment, 27 April 1901, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1481, file 133.
- 198 See, for example, NWMP Inspector Z.T. Wood to Officer Commanding NWMP, Calgary, 13 May 1896, vol. 122, file 333-96.
- 199 McLean to JP McLeod, Deputy AG, 29 May 1915, BCA, GR-1323, file 5414-8-15, mf reel B2122.
- 200 Constable Darrough at Phoenix collected rents from houses of prostitution and earned 10 percent commission. W.H. Bullock-Webster, Chief Const. to Wm Spier, Mgr. Eastern Townships Bank, Grand Forks, 7 September 1906 and Spier to Bullock-Webster, 8 September 1906. BCA, GR 99, box 3, file 5.
- 201 Alice Moore to Supt. BC Police, 22 June 1911, BCA, GR-0097, vol. 2, file "Insp Colin Campbell, Corr, A-Z, Apr to Dec 1911" and Thos Smith, Chief Const, to Campbell, 17 Jan 1913, BCA, GR 336.
- 202 For financial irregularities see, for example, E.C. Simmons to Hussey, 29 September 1908, BCA, GR-0055, box 73, file 2 and Hussey to Bunbury, 28 April 1911, BCA, GR-0056, box 26, file 2. For an example of accepting gifts from prostitutes see the case of L.B. Simeon in Supt. Colin Campbell to Attorney General, Wm. Bowser, 1 May 1912, BCA, GR-0063, box 9, file 1. For examples of public drunkenness see Chief Constable E.C. Simmons to Hussey, 23 August 1909, BCA, GR-0055, box 74, file 3 and the case of J.A. Nesbitt in Hussey to H.A. Maclean Deputy AG, 10 April 1906 [there are two letters of this date], BCA, GR-0429, box 13, file 2.
- 203 L. Shatford to Hussey, 21 June 1906, BCA, GR-0055, box 72, file 3.
- 204 Simmons to Hussey, 14 July 1906, BCA, GR-0055, box 72, file 5.
- 205 For settler complaints of police conduct see for example John Wood to Attorney General Bowser, 22 September 1910, BCA, GR-0063, box 7, file 1 and W. Plumm to W.L. Fernie, Chief of Prov. Police, Kamloops, October 1910, BCA, GR-0056, box 12, file 5. For the observations of church representatives, see Rev. Geo. Kinney to Bowser, 4 April 1911, BCA, GR-0063, box 7, file 5. For the case of a NWMP deserter who found employment with the BCPP until he was discovered and arrested, see Bowser to Hussey, 14 September 1910, BCA, GR-0063, box 7, file 1.
- 206 Supt John Cotton, Cdg C Division, to Commissioner, 20 November 1884, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1018, file 2274.
- 207 Supt. R.R. Neale to Commissioner, 17 July 1888 and Neale to Commissioner, 7 August 1888, LAC, RG 18, vol. 24, file 667-1888. *Nolle Prosequi* is not the same as an acquittal, as the defendant could have been retried, but meant that the prosecutor would proceed no further with the action in this instance. Only Kill was the wife of Bears Back, a Kainai who made the initial complaint.

- 208 Stoler and Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony," 24.  
 209 George McDougall to D.A. Smith, 8 January 1874, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3609, file 3278.  
 210 Blake to Oliver, 6 February 6 1907, LAC, RG 10 vol. 4023, file 289,032-1.

#### Chapter Four

- 1 Quote attributed to J.H. Gooderham, 17 May 1911 in J-L Lavern, "Legends and Traditions of the Blackfoot Indians," 101, Glenbow, J-L. Lavern Fonds, M8521, file 5.
- 2 Assuming a DIA interest in providing increased services to Indigenous people that was stymied by parliament, J.E. Hodgetts referred to the department as operating in a "quiet backwater...unable to stir up any interest in expanding the services to the Indians." Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Service*, 225.
- 3 It should be reiterated here that not only the DIA kept records on Indigenous people. In the National Archives 105 of 150 record groups contain information collected concerning First Nations people.
- 4 Russell, "Paper Burden," 59.
- 5 A.E. St. Louis cited in Russell, "The White Man's Paper Burden," 53-54.
- 6 Scott, "Indian Affairs, 1867-1912," 605-6.
- 7 Dyck, "An Opportunity Lost," 121-2.
- 8 Mike Mountain Horse to Minister of the Interior, 24 January 1925, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4093, file 600,107. See also A.F. Grady, Macleod, to Stewart, 18 November 1924 and RCMP Sgt. Webb, Lethbridge Subdistrict, i/c of Macleod Detachment to Officer Commanding RCMP Southern Alberta District, 14 November 1924.
- 9 Canada, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed 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," Appendix to the *Journals of the Senate of Canada*, 1926-27, 223-6. Hereafter "Special Joint Committee."
- 10 He clearly had a copy with him since he challenged O'Meara's quotations and read his own passages from the book into the record. "Special Joint Committee," 223-4 and 227-8.
- 11 Special Joint Committee, "Report and Evidence," 225-6. For a more detailed examination of the Allied Tribes and the Committee's dealings with them see Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*.
- 12 H. McGill, Circular letter to all agents, inspectors and the Indian Commissioner for British Columbia, 12 May 1944, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3245, file 600,381.
- 13 Mike Mountain Horse, to Minister of the Interior, Jan 24, 1925 and Joe Mountain Horse to W.L.M. King, 7 February 1925, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4093, file 600,107.
- 14 A.E. St. Louis cited in Russell, "Paper Burden," 52.
- 15 Vankoughnet, Circular, 11 April, 1890, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1137.
- 16 Reed to J. Wilson, 3 August 1894, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1115. Cited in Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 224.
- 17 Vankoughnet, circular letter, 10 April 1890, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1134.
- 18 L. Vankoughnet, circular, 28 December 1892, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1134.
- 19 McGill to all Agents and Inspectors, also Asst. Commissioner Berry, 15 March 1933, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3245, file 600,381.

- 20 The conclusion regarding the steady increase in workforce is derived from the “Outside Service” component of the “Return of Officers and Employees” in the DIA’s *Annual Reports* for the years 1879 to 1896.
- 21 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1886, pt. I, 134-139, 143-155, 167-185 and pt. II, 9. From this point on there were more agents in Treaty 7 than in the Kamloops and Okanagan region. In 1886 as well, a second inspector was appointed for the North-West Territories responsible for Treaties 4, 6 and 7.
- 22 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1888, 90-96; *Annual Report*, 1899, 607 and *Annual Report*, 1901, 174-175 and 183.
- 23 Figures are derived from the “Outside Service” component of the “Return of Officers and Employees of the Department of Indian Affairs” in DIA, *Annual Report* for the years discussed. These totals include all reserve employees listed for the five component First Nations and agencies of Treaty 7 but do not include school employees or medical officers or others that might be employed on a part time or temporary basis as farmers, interpreters, or in some other capacity.
- 24 All figures reported here were compiled from the “Return of Officers and Employees of the Department” in the department’s *Annual Reports*. The populations are from the “Census Return of Resident and Nomadic Indians” also from the *Annual Reports*.
- 25 Calculated from “General Wholesale Price Index,” Series K33, in F.H. Leacy, *Historical Statistics of Canada*.
- 26 Lt. Gov. Trutch to John A. Macdonald, 14 Oct 1872, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3821, file 59335 Pt1.
- 27 Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 180-181; Harris, *Making Native Space*, 73-74; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 9.
- 28 DIA *Annual Report*, 1881, 7.
- 29 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1884, lxxv.
- 30 Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1899, 236-237; *Annual Report*, 1909, 229 and PC 1998, 11 October 1887, LAC, RG 10 vol. 3246, file 600,403.
- 31 Inspector W.E. Ditchburn to James A. Teit, 6 August 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1312.
- 32 Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1912, 214.
- 33 Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1912, 242.
- 34 *The Kamloops Standard*, 20 February, 1914, Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1914, pt ii, 88.
- 35 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1911, 138-9.
- 36 This conclusion was reached by examining the “Outside Service” component of the “Return of Officers and Employees” in the DIA’s *Annual Reports*.
- 37 In 1913 some groups were shifted back from the Lytton Agency.
- 38 Maureen Lux points out that the expense incurred for rations and supplies to the destitute in Treaty 7 was between four and seven times those in Treaties 4 and 6 in the mid 1880s. Lux, *Medicine that Walks*, 65-67.
- 39 Scott, “Indian Affairs,” 599-600.
- 40 Leslie and Maguire, *The Historical Development of the Indian Act*, 73, 77 and 80; Tobias, “Protection, Civilization, Assimilation,” 21 and Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 156-157. As Sarah Carter points out, it was not until after the mid-1880s and the increase in reserve agricultural production in the prairie west that the permit system was more strictly applied.

- 41 For an example of directions from Ottawa to an agent in the Treaty 7 region that he issue permits only to individuals, see DIA Secretary J.D. McLean to Sarcee Agent A.J. McNeill, 15 June 1897, Glenbow, Sarcee Indian Agency Fonds, M1837, box 1, file 6.
- 42 Dewdney in DIA, *Annual Reports*, 1891, xvii.
- 43 Dewdney in DIA, *Annual Reports*, 1891, xvii and Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 157.
- 44 Goodwill and Sluman, *John Tootoosis*, 123-125.
- 45 Elias, *The Dakota*, 88-89; Miller, *Skyscrapers*, 200-1; Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 157,226 and 228 and Lux, *Medicine That Walks*, 149.
- 46 Oliver to Smart, 12 December 1900; Smart to McLean, 19 December 1900; McLean to Smart 21 December 1900 and R.N. Wilson to McLean 8 January 1901, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3990, file 181,425.
- 47 Dion, *My Tribe the Crees*,132 and Lux, *Medicine That Walks*, 164.
- 48 For police assistance to the DIA in supervising the permit system, see for example, Inspector Good, Commanding E Div, NWMP, to Lucas, 8 January 1897, Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1837, box 1, file 5; PC Primrose to James Wilson, 12 August 1903, Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, vol. 3, file 18 and Commissioner Wm. Graham to RNWMP Commissioner A. Bowen Perry, 22 August 1919, RG 18, vol.2172, file 24. For evidence regarding the permit system in operation in the post World War II period, see for example, LeRat with Ungar, *Treaty Promises, Indian Reality*, 138-139.
- 49 E. McNeil to RN Wilson 22 Aug 1904 Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, vol. 3, file 17; John R. Hallam to R.N. Wilson 31 Mar 1906 and J.A. Hewson to Wilson, n.d. Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, vol. 3, file 16.
- 50 Bonwell Wood to R.N. Wilson, 1 Jan 1906 and J.C. Graves to R.N. Wilson, 11 July 1906 Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, vol. 3, file 16.
- 51 C. Hilliard to R.N. Wilson, 31 August 1905, Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, vol. 3, file 16.
- 52 N.H. Mirin to Jas Wilson 6 August 1903, Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, vol. 3, file 18.
- 53 For example, Sarcee Agent McNeill had to try to collect a month's old debt incurred by the NWMP, while Blood Agent Wilson was responsible for requesting overdue payment from St. Paul's Mission. A. McNeill to Supt. Sanders NWMP Calgary, 16 January 1902, Glenbow, Sarcee Indian Agency Fonds, M1837, box 1, file 6 and Wilson to Rev Gale, St Paul's Mission, 12 December 1905, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, box 3, file 16.
- 54 Harris, *Fish, Law, and Colonialism*, 68-69 and 76.
- 55 T.S. Higginson to Agent J.W. McKay, 11 November 1888, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1328.
- 56 Higginson to McKay, 5 December 1888, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1328. Those First Nations people who defied his authority Higginson referred to for example as "enfants," "saucy pups," or "impudent roosters." Higginson to McKay, 12 June 1888 11 November 1888 and 15 March 1892.
- 57 Higginson to W.F. Wood, 29 August 1894 and 2 December 1894, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1328.
- 58 Irwin to Vowell, 2 April 1903, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3944, file 121,698-54. Silpahan's name also appears as Silphan, and Selpaghen in the documents.
- 59 Clifford Sifton to Governor General in Council, 13 July 1903, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3944, file 121,698-54.

- 60 Billy Paul et al. to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, undated but stamped received by DIA 23 March 1904 and J.D. McLean to Vowell, 7 April 1904, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3944, file 121,698-54.
- 61 Irwin to Vowell, 24 June 1904, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3944, file 121,698-54.
- 62 Dion, *My Tribe the Crees*, 132 and 145; Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains*, 147-148; Goodwill and Sluman, *John Tootoosis*, 125; Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 229-236 and Buckley, *From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare*, 54-55.
- 63 Scollen to Lacombe, 3 July 1885, Glenbow, Scollen Family Fonds, M4343. See also the comments of W.C. Cameron, Liberal representative for Huron West, in the House of Commons. Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 15 April 1886, 718-730.
- 64 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 25 June 1895, 3281.
- 65 Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 237-239 and Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers*, 173. For an overview of Sifton's efforts see D.J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton," 127-151.
- 66 Canada, DIA, *Annual Report*, 1897, 213.
- 67 For another brief overview of the "Indian agent system" see Robin Brownlie, *A Fatherly Eye*, 30-34.
- 68 Anthony Jacobus Looy, "The Indian Agent and His Role in the Administration of the North-West Superintendency, 1876-1893," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Queen's University, 1977, 11.
- 69 Looy, "The Indian Agent," 329.
- 70 George Gooderham, "Autobiography," 9, Glenbow, George H. Gooderham Fonds, M4738 box 10.
- 71 W.C. McCord to Edgar Dewdney, 29 October 1884, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3698, file 16,579.
- 72 Daily Journal at Sarcee Agency, entries for 16, 19, 20, 21 and 26 January 1893, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M 699/8. For similar discretion in the awarding of employment in the Blood Agency see Prairie Chicken to Fand [sic] n.d., Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, vol. 16, file 119.
- 73 Daily Journal at Sarcee Agency, 1896-7, entry for June 22, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M699/9.
- 74 Gooderham, "Autobiography," 39, Glenbow, George H. Gooderham Fonds, M 4738, box 10.
- 75 John McDougall to Indian Commissioner, 12 November 1894, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3598, file 1419 pt. A.
- 76 Abbott, *The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*, 32-33.
- 77 Forget to Agent, 14 October 1896, Sarcee Indian Agency Fonds, M1837, vol. 1, file 4. If anything the level of autonomy awarded to Indian agents decreased over time. R.N. Wilson, Indian Agent for the Kainai and Piikani for thirteen years until 1911, reported after being forced out of DIA service that he had considerable freedom to make purchases for "routine duties" like cattle roundups and seasonal wages from funds raised locally. By 1919, though, the agent on the Kainai reserve was informed that for an expenditure for any purpose in excess of ten dollars, he was required to obtain "special permission" from the DIA. R.N. Wilson, *Our Betrayed Wards*, 12.
- 78 Hayter Reed, circular, 8 December 1892, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1134.
- 79 Dewdney to J.A. Macdonald, 9 January 1885, Glenbow, Edgar Dewdney Papers, M 320, Series 8, p.522-523.
- 80 See for example Inspector McGibbons' report on Treaty 7. DIA, *Annual Report*, 1892, 124-135.

- 81 Wadsworth to (no recipient, but stamped received by the DIA), 14 May 1887, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3751, file 30,024.
- 82 NWMP Inspector Z.T. Wood to Officer Commanding NWMP, Calgary, 2 May 1896, RG 18, vol. 122, file 333-96.
- 83 Farm Instructor on the Siksika reserve, David Brereton, who noted each occasion, met the agent only 2-3 times per week. Daily Journal of David L. Brereton, 1907. Glenbow, Brereton Family Fonds, M130.
- 84 J.A. Macdonald, Memorandum, 18 March 1882, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1080.
- 85 A.G. Irvine to Indian Commissioner, 1 March 1892, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3871, file 89,071. Paget's comments are written in the margin.
- 86 S. Swinford, Inspector, Agency Accounts to Secretary DIA, 13 November 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, file 773/3-1-1 pt.1.
- 87 DIA, *Annual Report, 1889*, pt. I, 314 and 316.
- 88 J.G. Ramsden to J.D. McLean, Sec. DIA, 22 November 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1311.
- 89 BCPP Const. C. Phair, Lillooet to Hussey, 20 June 1892, BCA, GR-0055, vol. 1, file 14.
- 90 Powell, telegram, to John Tait, HBC Agent at Kamloops, 23 January 1874, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3605, file 2813.
- 91 Entry for 25 May 1914, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1325, file e "Daily Journal, 1914." In other areas of the interior of the province there were complaints that the agent visited reserves only twice per year. C. Phair, BCPP constable, Lillooet to Hussey, 20 June 1892, BCA, GR-0055, box 1, file 14.
- 92 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1325, file a, "Diary 1898-9," entry for 20 December 1898 and file b "Daily Journal, 1898," entries for 26 February and 26 October 1898.
- 93 Special Joint Committee, 181. See also, "A copy of general instructions usually sent to newly appointed agents in B.C." with A.W. Vowell to Sec DIA, 17 Mar 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4048, file 360,377.
- 94 Fred White to Edgar Dewdney, 9 Jan 1884, Glenbow, Edgar Dewdney Fonds, M 320, Series III-5, p.784.
- 95 See for example A.E. Forget, Commissioner, to DSGIA, 4 February 1896, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M699/6 and McLean to Inspector K.C. MacDonald, 28 March 1912, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3945, file 121696-64.
- 96 Gooderham, "George Gooderham's Autobiography," 37, Glenbow, George H. Gooderham Fonds, M 4738, box 10.
- 97 "Instructions to Agents" with A.W. Vowell per W. MacLaughlin to Secretary, DIA, 17 March 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4048, file 360,377. This clause was included in instructions to DIA personnel in B.C. from at least 1879. Vankoughnet to I.W. Powell, 30 December 1879, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3701, file 17,514-1.
- 98 D.C. Scott, "General Instructions to Indian Agents in Canada," 25 October 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 10020.
- 99 Vankoughnet, Circulars, 11 April 1893 and 20 February 1894, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1137.
- 100 Newcombe, Deputy Minister of Justice to DSGIA, 9 February 1895, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3946, file 123,496 and McLean, Circular, 10 June 1904, vol. 3246, file 600,403.
- 101 See, for example entries for 11 June 1913, "daily journal, 1913" LAC, RG 10, vol. 1325, file d; entry for 19 March 1912, "daily journal, 1912" file c; entries for 4 and 27 January, 1915, "daily journal, 1915" file f.

- 102 Reed, Circular, 19 August 1891, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1137 and Reed to Agent, 10 September 1891, vol. 1134.
- 103 Vankoughnet to I.W. Powell, 30 December 1879, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3701, file 17,514-1.
- 104 "Instructions to Indian Agents," with J.D. McLean to A.W. Vowell, 7 March 1910, vol. 4048, file 360,377; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1910, xxix. On the NW Coast they were also expected to discourage the potlatch.
- 105 For a study of Canada's attempts to restructure Indigenous families in the plains region and to enforce its conceptions of morality and appropriate gender roles based on monogamy see Carter, "Creating 'Semi-Widows' and 'Supernumerary Wives.'"
- 106 Scott, Acting DSGIA, to Rev. S.D. Chown, Toronto, 19 October 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3762, file 32,345 Pt.1.
- 107 Scott to Chown, 19 October 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3762, file 32,345 Pt.1.
- 108 Pedley, Memorandum, to D.C. Scott, 6 November 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 10030.
- 109 Brownlie, "Intimate Surveillance," 160.
- 110 Forget, Circular, 19 December 1893, LAC, RG 10, 1137.
- 111 Forget to Sarcee Agent, 12 August 1890, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1134.
- 112 Unsigned Memo to D.C. Scott, 6 November 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 10030. The memo quotes section 92 of the Indian Act. See also Forget, Circular, 26 August 1889, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1137 and Glenbow, J.W. Tims Family Fonds, M1233, file 6, "Impressions Regarding Missionary Effort Amongst The Indians, Being an Address Given at the First Convention of Indian Workers in the Province of Alberta, at Edmonton, Jan 6, 1909," p. 13.
- 113 See for example, Canada, DIA, *Annual Report*, 1903, 147.
- 114 Even though Peigan Frank promised to give up one of his two wives he was discharged from the employ of the RNWMP. Joseph House, RNWMP Macleod, to Wilson, 23 June 1902, Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, vol. 4, file 23.
- 115 Cummiskey to McLean 19 July 1912, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3945, file 121,696-64.
- 116 A McNeill, Sarcee Agent, to R.N. Wilson, Blood Agent, 3 August 1908, Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, vol. 3, file 21. See also Agent to A. McFtridge, Indian Agent at Browning Montana, 23 June 1913, vol. 13, file 98.
- 117 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1909, xxxi.
- 118 Scott to Indian Agents, Circular, 2 January 1914, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3762, file 32,345 pt.1.
- 119 For a fuller discussion see Carter, "Complicated and Clouded," 151-178.
- 120 J.W. McKay to A.W. Vowell, 1891, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3816, file 57045-1. On this general point see also, Brownlie, "Intimate Surveillance."
- 121 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1901, 184.
- 122 White, "Restructuring the Domestic Sphere, 4, 131.
- 123 McKenna, "The Indian Laws of Canada," 66. See also Hayter Reed to Sarcee Agent, 19 May 1891, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1134.
- 124 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," LAC, RG 10, vol. 3696, file 15,316.
- 125 I.W. Powell to SGIA, 5 March 1887, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7748, f24154-12.
- 126 W.E. Ditchburn to J.F. Smith, 20 December 1917, vol. 1319; H. Graham to J.D. McLean, 6 November 1917, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3696, file 15,316.

- 127 McKenna, "The Indian Laws of Canada," 67.
- 128 J.-L. Levern, "Legends and Traditions of the Blackfoot Indians," 53, Glenbow, Jean-Louis Levern Fonds, M8521, file 5. Levern cites Mathew 11,22.
- 129 McKenna, "The Indian Laws of Canada," 64.
- 130 J.F. Smith to J.D. McLean, 3 February 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6781, file 452-265.
- 131 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1899, XXVIII. For a related discussion see Raibmon, "Living on Display," 69-89.
- 132 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1909, XXIV.
- 133 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1899, XXVIII.
- 134 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1909, XXIV. See also "Report of Indian Affairs," *Calgary Herald*, 23 March 1892.
- 135 Entry for 9 January, Daily Journal at Sarcee Agency, 1892, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M699/8.
- 136 Indian Commissioner J.A. McKenna to R.N. Wilson, 19 March 1904, Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, vol. 3, file 21 and Agent to Indian Commissioner, n.d., LAC, RG 10, vol. 1151.
- 137 On this point see Carter, "Categories and Terrains of Exclusion," 149-150.
- 138 Reed, Circular, 9 February 1891, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1137.
- 139 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1896, xxxiii.
- 140 For examples of the wives of farm instructors taking on this task see DIA, *Annual Report*, 1909, xxiv.
- 141 Reed, circular, 9 November 1889, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1134.
- 142 "Instructions to Indian Agents," with J.D. McLean to A.W. Vowell, 7 March 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4048, file 360,377; Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*, 181 and Reed, circular, 23 February 1889, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1137.
- 143 L. Vankoughnet, circular, 10 April 1890, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1134; L. Vankoughnet, circular, 11 April 1893 and A.E. Forget, circular, 22 December, 1893 LAC, RG 10, vol. 1137.
- 144 J.D. McLean, circular, 4 July 1908, Glenbow, Blackfoot Agency Fonds, M 1785, vol. 5, file 2.
- 145 J.D. McLean to Gooderham, 31 May 1907, Glenbow, Blackfoot Agency Fonds, M 1785, vol. 2, file 7 and McLean to Sibbald, 13 March 1906, file 8.
- 146 J.D. McLean to Gooderham, 11 August 1908, Glenbow, Blackfoot Agency Fonds, M 1785, vol. 5, file 2.
- 147 Dean Neu and Richard Therrien have provided a provocative survey of the application of related techniques that they refer to as "the genocidal use of the softwares of government, especially accounting." Neu and Therrien, *Accounting for Genocide*, 180.
- 148 J.D. McLean, circular, 28 May 1901, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1327. Burrows, "A Much Needed Class of Labour," 30.
- 149 Canada Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1902, 280 and *Annual Report*, 1903, 314.
- 150 Forget to Agent, 10 August 1896, Glenbow, Sarcee Indian Agency Fonds, M1837, vol. 1, file 4.
- 151 J.D. McLean to J.H. Gooderham, 22 June 1910 and Gooderham to McLean, 27 June 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4048, file 358,888.
- 152 Secretary, DIA, circular to all agents, 5 June 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1327.
- 153 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1897, 189.

- 154 On this point see Lux, *Medicine that Walks*, 141.
- 155 L. Vankoughnet, circular, 11 April 1892, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3871, file 89250. See also L. Vankoughnet, circular, 11 April 1893 and Forget, circular, 20 April 1894, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1137; Hayter Reed, circular, 14 September 1889 and Forget, memorandum, 25 April 1893, vol. 1134.
- 156 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1907, 192.
- 157 Wm. Laing Meason to Thomas Elwyn, 30 August 1884, BCA, MS-0218.
- 158 Wadsworth to Dewdney, 13 August 1882, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3610, file 3525. See also Titley, *The Frontier World of Edgar Dewdney*, 50.
- 159 *Kamloops Standard*, 13 October 1897, 2.
- 160 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.
- 161 "Dr. McDougall's Notes on a Meeting with the Indians on Bonaparte Reserve," 12 October 1909, LAC, RG 10 vol. 3750, file 29858-10 and John McDougall, "General Report," 1909, vol. 4020, file 280,470-3.
- 162 Phil Oppenheim to E.B. Drummond 15 March 1911, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1311.
- 163 R.C. Armstrong, J.P., to J.D. McLean, 21 February 1912, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3945, f121,696-64.
- 164 McDonald to Secretary of DIA, 23 September 1910 and McLean to Inspector K.C. McDonald, 8 June 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1311.
- 165 McLean to Irwin, 10 February 1911, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3944, file 121698-54.
- 166 J.G. Ramsden to J.D. McLean, 22 November 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1311.
- 167 Smith, "A Very Respectable Man," 16.
- 168 Forsell, "Law Enforcement of Pioneer Days," 13-14; *Kamloops Inland Sentinel*, 7 August 1884 and 16 March 1886, 22 and 29 April 1886 and 14 January and 8 July 1893; Mary Balf, "Mica Mining," n.d., Newspaper article binder, no. 171, KMA and Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Kamloops Record Book, Leases, Water Rights, Surrenders, Alluvial Deposits, 1893-1912," 2-10, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1326.
- 169 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, 19 October 1897 and 9 October 1934, 1, 6 and Forsell, *Law Enforcement*, 14.
- 170 Mary Balf, "John Freemont Smith," n.d., Newspaper article binder, KMA and *Kamloops Inland Sentinel*, 19 February 1966, 3.
- 171 T.J. Cummiskey to J.D. McLean, 27 March 1913, enclosing Lt. Col. Charles Flick to T.J. Cummiskey 21 March 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4048, file 357,520.
- 172 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, vol. CXXVI (1917), 654.
- 173 Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*, 181.
- 174 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, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7535, file 26154-1. A hand written note in the corner of this letter states that Dennison wished to become Indian agent at Kamloops.
- 175 "Return of names of all persons who having been in the employ of the Government (in connection with the Department of Indian Affairs) in the Northwest Territories, have ceased to be in that employ since 1896," n.d. [1898?] LAC, RG 10, vol. 3984, file 168921.
- 176 A.R. Springett to Indian Commissioner, 9 November 1891, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3865, file 84,546.

- 177 Former NWM Policeman and then agent to the Siksika, G.W. Wheatley, for example, was discharged for lending flour to a local trader. Only when SGIA John A. Macdonald intervened was his reinstatement directed. Dewdney to Pocklington, 14 January 1884 and Hayter Reed to SGIA, 18 February 1884, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3672, file 10,837.
- 178 A.E. Forget to DSGIA, 4 February 1896, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M699/6.
- 179 Reed to Lucas, 11 December 1889, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M699/4. See also Reed to Lucas, 8 January 1889.
- 180 Dewdney to Rev Canon Newton, Edmonton, 31 May 1890, Glenbow, Lucas Family Fonds, M699/4.
- 181 Pocklington to Reed, 15 August 1886, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3712, file 20,523.
- 182 D. MacDonald to K.C. McDonald, 7 July 1911, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1311.
- 183 For an example involving a Conservative Association see James Patterson, former farming instructor at Blackfoot Crossing, to T. Farrow, M.P for North Huron 2 August 1880 and T. Farrow to Col. Dennis, 2 August 1880, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3716, file 22,529. For examples involving Liberals see "The Peigan Agency," *Macleod Gazette*, 8 November 1897, copy in LAC, RG 10, vol. 3732, file 26585 and J.A. Grant to SGIA, 29 January 1903, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4004, file 222812-2.
- 184 Forget, Circular to officials of the Indian Department in the Northwest, 2 March 1894, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1137.
- 185 [Anglican] Bishop of Rupert's Land to J.A. Macdonald, 25 August 1882, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3609, file 3262. See also section on churches above.
- 186 John McDougall, "Minutes of meeting held with Indians of Bonaparte, Pavilion and Fountain reserves on the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th August, 1910," LAC, RG 10, vol. 3750, file 29858-11, 7. The S't'uxwtews chief's name is alternatively spelled Bazile, Basile, and Basil in various documents.
- 187 Francois Silpahan et al. to R.B. Bennett, 5 July 1932, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7941, file 32-154.
- 188 Entry for 10 March 1893, Daily Journal at Sarcee Agency, Glenbow, Lucas Family, M 699/8, File 1893 and correspondence in LAC, RG 10, vol. 3900, file 99,482.
- 189 Vankoughnet to T.M. Daly, SGIA, 5 June 1893, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3732, file 26,585.
- 190 Reed to DSGIA, 3 July 1893, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3900, file 99,482.
- 191 "Dr. McDougall's Notes on a Meeting with the Indians on the Bonaparte Reserve, October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1909," LAC, RG 10, vol. 3750, file 29858-10.
- 192 Piikani ceremonialist Reg Crowshoe and psychologist Sybille Mannes Schmidt confirm that with the institution of the reserve system, leaders "have become arms of the federal government and its administration." Crowshoe and Mannes Schmidt, *Akak'stiman*, 17.
- 193 Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 39.
- 194 F.E. Chesson, Secretary A.P.S. to E.B. Lytton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, n.d., encl. in Lytton to Douglas, 2 September 1858 in *Papers Connected*, 14.
- 195 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," LAC, RG 10, vol. 3696, f15,316.
- 196 Reed "Memorandum for the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Indian Commissioner relative to the future management of Indians," 20 July 1885 and Dewdney to Macdonald, 1 August 1885 and Vankoughnet to Macdonald, 14 August 1885, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3710, file 19550-3. Macdonald's comments are in the margins of Vankoughnet's letter.

- 197 Cooper, "Lessons of Empire," 5.
- 198 Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*, 30, 45, and 136. See also Means "The Sell-Outs, ii. and Lawrence, "Real" Indians and Others, 228.
- 199 See for example, McKay, *Instruments of Governance*; Cornell and Kalt, *Reloading the Dice*, 17-18 and Reilly and Reynolds, *Electoral Systems and Conflict*, 24.
- 200 Satzewich and Mahood, "Indian Affairs and Band Governance," 54-55. See also Tobias, "Indian Reserves in Western Canada," 151.
- 201 Black Plume's "Declaration of a Chief or Councilor," 14 October 1901, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3940, file 121,698-16. For Kamloops see Philip Tomma's "Declaration of Chief or Councilor," 7 June 1920, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7941, file 32-154
- 202 Laird to McLean, telegram, 11 September 1900 and McLean to Laird, telegram, 11 September 1900, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3939, file 121698-3.
- 203 Laird to DIA Secretary, 24 October 1900, Crop Eared Wolf to Laird, 28 May 1907, Laird to Crop Eared Wolf, 30 May 1907, R.N. Wilson to Indian Commissioner, 6 June 1907, Markle to Indian Commissioner, Winnipeg, 7 June 1907 and J.A. McKenna to Secretary, DIA, 11 June 1907, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3939, file 121698-3. Crop Eared Wolf was Red Crow's adopted son and younger brother of his second wife. Dempsey, *Red Crow, Warrior Chief*, 59.
- 204 Markle to Secretary, DIA, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7541, file 29,103-1 pt.1.
- 205 H.C. Ross to Deputy Minister, 19 June 1907, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3939, file 121698-3.
- 206 Supt Primrose to Commissioner, NWMP, 4 March 1909, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1622, file 68.
- 207 Laird to DIA Secretary, 6 May 1905, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3939, file 121698-3. Not only did the individual that was chosen have to be approved of by the DIA, but also continued to hold the position at the department's pleasure, for an indefinite period in this case or in other situations for a period determined by the DIA.
- 208 Laird to Secretary, DIA, 28 March 1906, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3939, file 121698-3.
- 209 In recommending Seymore to replace Leon on the Neskonlith reserve, Agent Irwin reported that he was "one of the most industrious and progressive Indians of the band." Irwin to n.p., n.d. April 1903, extract, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3944, file 121, 698-54.
- 210 Archibald Irwin to A.W. Vowell, 2 April 1903, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3944, file 121,698-54.
- 211 Pere Nequalla to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 7 December 1908, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3944, file 121, 698-54.
- 212 Christie, *Indian Affairs in British Columbia*, p/970.5/C554, BCA; T.J. Cummiskey to J.D. McLean, 15 May 1912, and "Report of the Committee of the Privy Council," 21 June 1912, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3945, f121,696-64.
- 213 McLean to Cummiskey 10 June 1912, Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, 21 June 1912, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3945, file 121, 696-64.
- 214 Cummiskey to McLean 11 October 1912, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3945, file 121, 696-64.
- 215 McDougall to Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, 22 September 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4020, file 280,470-2.
- 216 W.M. Graham to D.C. Scott, confidential correspondence, 13 April 1920, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4070, file 427063-A1.
- 217 Robert MacDonald "Our Indians Get a Rough Deal U.K. Report Says," *Toronto Star*, 31 August 1974.

## Chapter Five

- 1 Joseph Trutch to Acting Colonial Secretary, 28 August, 1867 in *Papers Connected*, 41-2.
- 2 Owram, *Promise of Eden*, 125-6; Kelly, "Class, Race, and Cultural Revolution," 29-30 and Samek, *Blackfoot Confederacy*, 178-9.
- 3 Canada. Department of the Interior. *Annual Report*, 1877, xvii.
- 4 Samek, *Blackfoot Confederacy*, 178-9.
- 5 Abbott, *The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*, 21.
- 6 Samek reports a version of these figures from the same source, but makes no comment. Samek, *Blackfoot Confederacy*, 24.
- 7 Canada, Department of the Interior, "Report of the Department of the Interior, for the year ended 30th June, 1874" in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1875, paper 8, 56.
- 8 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 74 (1906), 950. This is also cited in Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 21.
- 9 Calculated from Canada, *Census of Canada, 1931*, Table 1a (Ottawa, J.O. Patenaude, 1936), 350 and *Canadian Annual Review*, 1908, 515-23. See also Robin, *The Rush for Spoils*, 99.
- 10 Canada, *Census of Canada, 1890-91*, vol. 1 (Ottawa, S.E. Dawson, 1893), table VI, 369 and *Census of Canada, 1931*, table 1a, 350. The figure for 1921 was calculated as the sum of the populations given for Alberta and Saskatchewan. See also Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 511; Palmer with Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, 78 and Thompson, *Forging the Prairie West*, 71.
- 11 See Provincial Bill of 1879, No. 16 in LAC, RG 10, vol. 3679, file 12,068. See also Cail, *Land, Man, and the Law*, 63-4 and Taylor, *Crown Lands*, 20.
- 12 G.M. Sproat to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs (SGIA), 27 May 1879, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3679, file 12,068.
- 13 G.M. Sproat to CCLW, 24 May 1879, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3679, file 12,068.
- 14 By 1913, the expense of carrying out surveys of this sort made it clear that had the survey process begun again in B.C. it was unlikely that the township system would be used. Cail, *Land, Man, and the Law*, 63.
- 15 Cail, *Land, Man, and the Law*, 69.
- 16 McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework," 641.
- 17 Belyea, "Mapping the Marias," 178.
- 18 Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, 4.
- 19 Belyea, "Mapping the Marias," 165-6.
- 20 Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, 4.
- 21 de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 36.
- 22 Scott, "Indian Affairs, 1867-1912," 623-4.
- 23 Scott, "Indian Affairs, 1867-1912," 623.
- 24 For a brief overview of early legislation regarding the issue of consent, see Martin-McGuire, *First Nation Land Surrenders*, 18-20.
- 25 Cail, *Land, Man, and the Law*, 14 and Martin-McGuire, *First Nation Land Surrenders*, 15-16, 42, 493-4 and 497-8.
- 26 James Douglas to Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of HBC, 18 October 1838, in E.E. Rich ed. *The Letters of John McLoughlin*, 242.
- 27 Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 66 and 71 and Ormsby, *British Columbia, A History*, 145 and 163.
- 28 For a brief treatment of the activities of the gold seekers and their relations with Indigenous people, see Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 95-102.

- 29 In British Columbia, only 3 percent of the land, or 6.5 million acres, is classified as arable or potentially arable. Cail, *Land, Man, and the Law*, 19 and Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 5.
- 30 The first Indian reserve, ironically at approximately the site of the provincial legislature, was established by 1851 when HBC surveyor J.D. Pemberton acknowledged its existence. Harris, *Making Native Space*, 27.
- 31 Hudson's Bay Company, Fort Victoria, "Register of land purchases from Indians," BCA, MS-0772, mf A01285(6). Copies of the agreements, with the exception of the one at Nanaimo, appear in *Papers Connected*, 5-11. For the "anomaly" of Treaty 8, see Arthur Ray, "Treaty 8, A British Columbia Anomaly," *B.C. Studies* 123 (Autumn 1999), 5-58.
- 32 James Douglas to E.B. Lytton, 14 March 1859 in *Papers Connected*, 16-17. See also Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 151-3; Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 26-30 and Harris, *Making Native Space*, 21, 26-7, 33.
- 33 James Douglas to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 9 February 1859, *Papers Connected*, 15-17. On this point see also, Harris, *Making Space*, 34.
- 34 Lytton to Douglas, 30 December 1858, *Papers Connected*, 15.
- 35 Douglas to Lytton, 14 March 1859, *Papers Connected*, 16-17 and Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 30.
- 36 Douglas to R.C. Moody, CCLW, 27 April, 1863, *Papers Connected*, 26-7.
- 37 Karr, "James Douglas," 77.
- 38 See for example Douglas to Lytton, 14 March 1859 in *Paper Connected*, 16-17. On this point also see Harris, *Making Native Space*, 33.
- 39 Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 161-2.
- 40 Trutch to Acting Colonial Secretary, 28 August, 1867 in *Papers Connected*, 41-2.
- 41 Trutch to Acting Colonial Secretary, 28 August, 1867 in *Papers Connected*, 41-2.
- 42 W.G. Cox to P.H. Nind, 16 July 1865 and Walter Moberly to J.W. Trutch, 22 December 1865, *Papers Connected*, 31-34.
- 43 Trutch to the Colonial Secretary, 17 January 1866, *Papers Connected*, 32.
- 44 Dewdney to Trutch, 8 November 1866, *Papers Connected*, 37-39 and British Columbia, *Government Gazette*, 6 October 1866.
- 45 "Mr Turnbull's Report" enclosed in J.C. Haynes to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 28 November 1865 in *Papers Connected*, 35-6; Thomson, "History of the Okanagan," 118-123 and Harris, *Making Native Space*, 37-9 and 58-9.
- 46 "Terms of Union 1871" rpt. in R.S.B.C. 1979, vol .7 (appendices), 85.
- 47 Henry Holbrook, 10 March 1870, British Columbia, Legislative Council, "Debate on the Subject of Confederation Within Canada," appendix A of James E. Hendrickson, ed., *Journals of the Legislative Council*, 461.
- 48 See for example the comments of Thomas Basil Humphreys and Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, 25 March, "Debate on the Subject of Confederation," 567-568.
- 49 Francis Jones Barnard, 25 March 1870, "Debate on the Subject of Confederation," 568.
- 50 On these points see Foster, "Letting Go the Bone," 58-60.
- 51 See for example Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 175-178; Cail, *Land, Man, and the Law*, 185-194 and Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 46-52.
- 52 George A. Walkem, "Report of the Government of British Columbia on the Subject of Indian Reserves" in *Papers Connected*, Appendix, 1-9.

- 53 See for example, A.W. Vowell to Secretary, DIA, 19 February 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1283.
- 54 Charles Good, Deputy Provincial Secretary to Archibald McKinlay, Indian Reserve Commissioner, 23 Oct 1876, B.C.A, GR-0494, British Columbia, Provincial Secretary, Correspondence and Reports of the Indian Reserve Commission, box 1, file 2. See also LAC, RG 10, vol. 3605, file 2907.
- 55 For complaints transmitted to the Dominion government by missionaries in the period before 1877, see for example, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3605, file 2806 and file 2959 pts. 1 to 5 and vol. 3611, file 3756-1.
- 56 I.W. Powell to Minister of Interior, 4 February 1874, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3605, file 2813.
- 57 C.J. Grandidier in *Victoria Standard* 28 August 1874. Also reprinted in British Columbia, *Sessional Papers*, 1875, 680-681. See also Powell to Provincial Secretary, 15 August 1874, *Papers Connected*, 139-140. Canada, "Report of the Department of the Interior, for the year ended 30th June, 1876" in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1877, Paper 11, 32 and Powell to Attorney General for British Columbia, 6 November 1873, 29 December 1873 and 12 January 1874, *Papers Connected*, 121-6.
- 58 Adrien, Chief of Adams Lake Band, and six other Shuswap Chiefs to Powell, undated, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3617, file 4590C.
- 59 John Ash, Provincial Secretary, to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 30 January 1874, *Papers Connected*, 127.
- 60 For a discussion of Powell's tour of the interior in the summer of 1874 and Indigenous response see Harris, *Making Native Space*, 81-6.
- 61 Canada, Department of the Interior, "Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year Ended 30<sup>th</sup> June 1876" in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1877, xv-xvi and LAC, RG 10, vol. 3611, file 3756-2, "Report of a Committee of the Honorable the Executive Council, Approved by his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor on the 6th Day of January 1876. By "nation" the agreement referred to "all Indian tribes speaking the same language." For more on the establishment of the Indian Reserve Commission see Harris, *Making Native Space*, 98-103; Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 188-190 and Cail, *Land, Man and the Law*, 207-08.
- 62 Canada, *Canada Gazette*, 1877, vol. 10, 799 and "Addendum Interior" in *Statutes of Canada*, 1877, cxxvii and Foster, "Letting Go the Bone," 63-64 and 84, fn 187.
- 63 Robin Fisher makes a similar point. Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 188.
- 64 See for example, Francis, *Images of the West*; Owram, *Promise of Eden*; Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, 30 and Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 107.
- 65 With the inauguration of dry-belt farming practices by the 1880s, even this arid belt began to come under pressure from eastern Canadian colonialists. Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 59-60.
- 66 Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 110 and Martin, "Dominion Lands" Policy, 4.
- 67 Ray et al., *Bounty and Benevolence*, 46-47.
- 68 Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 183 and Martin-McGuire, *First Nation Land Surrenders*, 26.
- 69 Great Britain, "Order of Her Majesty in Council Admitting Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union," 23 June 1870, in Ollivier, *British North America Acts*, 161.
- 70 Canada, Department of the Interior, "Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year Ended 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1874 in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1875, 53 and 55

- and J.A.N. Provencher, Indian Commissioner, to Minister of the Interior, 31 December 1873, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3608, file 3084.
- 71 Canada, Department of the Interior, "Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year Ended 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1874 in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1875, 53 and Morris, *Treaties*, 338-42.
- 72 Canada, Department of the Interior, "Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year Ended 30<sup>th</sup> June 1877" in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1878, xv-xviii.
- 73 NWMP, "Annual Report of the NWMP," 1874, 64, cited in Mayfield, "The North-West Mounted Police," 115-118.
- 74 "Petition of the Chokitapix or Blackfeet Indian Chiefs to Lieut. Gov. Morris, President of the Council for the North West Territories," PAM, Alexander Morris Fonds, MG 12 B 1, no. 1265.
- 75 Canada, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30 June 1877, xxxix-xl.
- 76 G.F. Lanigan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 19 July 1874, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3611, file 3676 and *World*, 7 Aug 1874. Copy in LAC, RG 10, vol. 3611, file 3676.
- 77 On these points see Foster, "Letting Go the Bone," 58.
- 78 See for example, Trutch to Secretary of State for the Provinces, 26 September 1871, *Papers Connected*, 99-101.
- 79 Trutch to Acting Colonial Secretary, 28 August 1867, *Papers Connected*, 41-43.
- 80 "Report of a Committee of the Privy Council, 23 February 1877," LAC, RG 10, vol. 3597, file 1353.
- 81 Sproat to SGIA, 30 June 1877, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3650, file 8497.
- 82 Sproat to Minister of the Interior, 1 November, 1877, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3656, file 9111 and Canada, Department of the Interior "Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30<sup>th</sup> June 1877" in Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1878, xix.
- 83 Anderson to E.A. Meredith 21 July 1877, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3651, file 8540 and vol. 3596, file 1279, McKinlay and Sproat to Provincial Secretary, 21 July 1877.
- 84 Mara and Tait to the Indian Commissioners, 13 July 1877, LAC, RG 18, vol. 30, file 789-902.
- 85 Sproat to SGIA, 27 August 1877, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3653, file 8701.
- 86 Sproat to SGIA, 27 August 1877, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3653, file 8701.
- 87 Entries for 9 July and 16 July 1877 in "Journal of the Proceedings of the Commission for the settlement of the Indian Reserves in the Province of British Columbia continued from vol. 1, remaining in the office of the Indian Department of Victoria," LAC, RG 10, vol. 3659, file 9500. On the isolation of northern Secwepemc see Teit, *The Shuswap*, 467-468.
- 88 McKinlay and Sproat to Provincial Secretary, 22 August 1877, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3596 file 1279.
- 89 *Daily British Colonist*, 2 Sep 1877, 3. The *Colonist* also opined that the work "would be more difficult" in the Okanagan.
- 90 Sheila McManus makes a similar observation in regard to the Blackfoot. McManus, "The Line Which Separates," 123.
- 91 Powell to SGIA, 9 January 1878, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3657, file 9197.
- 92 KMA, vertical files, Whitfield Chase file, item 2, Whitfield Chase, et al., Petition to the Provincial Parliament of British Columbia, 24 January 1878 and British Columbia, *Sessional Papers*, 1878, 451.

- 93 McKinlay and Sproat, unaddressed copy, 9 January 1878, KMA, vertical files, Whitfield Chase file, item 1, A. Also in LAC, RG 10, vol. 3657, file 9193.
- 94 "The South Thompson Reserves," *Daily British Colonist*, 1 May 1878, 3.
- 95 Chase, though, seems to have been uncomfortable with his wife's identity and renamed her Betsy Tovilenck. Dunn, *A Town Called Chase*, 33-36.
- 96 For the oral record of seventeenth to nineteenth century alliances see Wilton Goodstriker's introduction to Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council et al., *The True Spirit*, 5-11.
- 97 See Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 205-253; Samek, *Blackfoot Confederacy*, 12-13; McManus, "The line which separates," 107-08 and Mayfield, "The North West Mounted Police," 15.
- 98 Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, *The True Spirit*, 325.
- 99 Morris, *Treaties*, 275 cited in Dempsey, *Red Crow*, 118.
- 100 Col. J.F. Macleod, "Interview between Lieut. Col. Macleod and the Blackfoot Tribe," LAC, RG 10, vol. 3658, file 9399 ½. This is undated but is stamped 1 November 1878 at the Department of the Interior.
- 101 P.R. Neale, "Notes of an interview between the Chiefs of the Bloods and North Peigans, and Messrs Pocklington and Springett of the Indian Department and Supt P.R. Neale, Commanding N.W.M. Police in the Macleod District.," 2 February 1888, LAC, RG 18, vol. 19, file 249-88.
- 102 Walter Hildebrandt and Sarah Carter make the important point that the Indigenous leadership was well aware that the American government was using its military to massacre Indigenous people there. Treaty Seven Elders et al. *The True Spirit*, 198.
- 103 For an overview of some of the meetings Crowfoot had with these officials see Dempsey, *Crowfoot*, 77-86.
- 104 Dempsey, *Crowfoot*, 94-5. See also, Glenbow, Lucien M. and Jane R. Hanks Fonds, M8458, box 1, file 3, Many Guns via Mary Royal, 1938, 89 and 102 and Hanks and Hanks, *Tribe Under Trust*, 7-14.
- 105 Larner, "The Kootenay Plains," 177-9.
- 106 Snow, *The Mountains are Our Sacred Places*, 35-6.
- 107 Larner, "The Kootenay Plains," 155-9.
- 108 Maclean, *McDougall of Alberta*, 111 and 98-110. For the role of McDougall from the oral record of Treaty 7 First Nations see Treaty 7 Elders et al., *True Spirit*, 78-80, 118-119, 122-123.
- 109 Larner, "The Kootenay Plains," 155-9.
- 110 Larner, "The Kootenay Plains," 157-159. This view aligns with the oral record as presented by Nakoda Chief John Snow in *The Mountains are our Sacred Places*, 35.
- 111 Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council et al., *The True Spirit*, 111-145.
- 112 Indigenous negotiators sought to create an environment that would allow the continuation of their distinctive institutions and structures and so ensure the survival of their respective cultures in all of their aspects. On this point see for example Price, *Indian Treaty Relationships*, 48.
- 113 Jones, *License for Empire*, xii.
- 114 *Copy of Treaty and Supplementary Treaty No. 7*, 4.
- 115 *Copy of Treaty and Supplementary Treaty No. 7*, 4 and Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council et al., *The True Spirit*, 290-291.
- 116 On the agricultural potential of the reserve lands see Dempsey, *Crowfoot*, 104.
- 117 *Copy of Treaty and Supplementary Treaty No. 7*, 6.

- 118 David Laird, from a report in the *Globe*, 4 October 1877, quoted in Morris, *Treaties*, 262.

## Chapter Six

- 1 A. Bridgman to DSGIA Pedley, 9 April 1907, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4035, file 307426.
- 2 G. M. Sproat, *Memorandum* (on Indian Reserves in the District of Yale), (N.P., n.p. 1878), 10, CIHM microfiche 16195.
- 3 Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan," 117.
- 4 Sproat pointed out that "the number of animals rather than the mere number of men" should be a factor in determining the size of grazing lands. Sproat, Report as Joint Commissioner, 26 February 1878, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3657, file 9360.
- 5 Sproat to Powell, 11 November 1879 in DIA, *Annual Report*, 1879, 146-148; Powell to J.A. Macdonald, 9 October 1879; Sproat to Powell, 14 November 1879 and Powell to Sproat, 11 December 1879, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3679, file 12068. See also Cail, *Land, Man, and the Law*, 216-217.
- 6 Sproat to SGIA, 3 March 1880 and Macdonald to Vankoughnet, 7 July 1880, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3711, file 19581. See also Harris, *Making Native Space*, 155 and 162; Cail, *Land, Man, and the Law*, 217 and Harris, "The Nilha7kápmx Meeting at Lytton," 5-25.
- 7 Acting Minister of the Interior, Memorandum to the Privy Council, July 1880, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3711, file 19581.
- 8 Vankoughnet in DIA, *Annual Report*, 1978, 15 and Trutch to J.A. Macdonald, 19 May 1880, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3711, file 19581. Macdonald agreed that O'Reilly's salary should be equal to what he earned as a Judge. J.A. Macdonald to Vankoughnet, 7 July 1880, vol. 3711, file 19581.
- 9 Trutch to J.A. Macdonald, 19 May 1880, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3711, file 19581.
- 10 Report of Privy Council, 19 July 1880 and DIA to Patrick [sic] O'Reilly, 9 August 1880, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3716, file 22195 and Vankoughnet to Walkem, telegram, 22 July 1880, BCA, GR-0868, Department of Lands and Works, Correspondence Inward to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 1871-1883, box 4, file 34.
- 11 Brealey, "Travels From Point Ellice," 222.
- 12 For example, the Province accepted all but two reserves O'Reilly confirmed in his first year in the field. Cail, *Land, Man, and the Law* 215 and Harris, *Making Native Space*, 184.
- 13 *Papers Connected*, 50-51, Trutch to O'Reilly, 5 August 1868 and O'Reilly to Trutch 29 August 1868.
- 14 Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 199-201; Brealey, "Travels From Point Ellice," 225-226 and Harris, *Making Native Space*, 169-215.
- 15 *Colonist*, 26 August 1885.
- 16 Powell to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 9 December 1884, British Columbia, *Sessional Papers*, 1885, xx, after p. 410; DIA, *Annual Report*, 1886, 96; Report of the Executive Council of British Columbia, 17 January 1884 and Report of a Committee of the Privy Council, 30 May 1884, LAC, RG 6, vol. 56, file 960.
- 17 Powell to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 9 December 1884, British Columbia, *Sessional Papers*, 1885, xx, after p. 410 and DIA, *Annual Report*, 1886, 96.

- 18 For examples of a reserve sale at Shuswap Lake and provincial support for the sale see Smithe to Powell, 9 May 1884; Powell to Smithe, 13 May 1884; Smithe to Powell, 5 June 1884 and Powell to Smithe, 5 July 1884 in British Columbia, "Return to an Order of the House for a return of all lands set apart for Indians in this Province subsequent to the return made to this House on 13<sup>th</sup> January, 1873, with the names of the tribes and the number of Indians for whom each reserve had been made; and a return of the reserves which have been made to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, but not assented to by him," in British Columbia, *Sessional Papers*, Third Session, Fourth Parliament, 1885, ii-v (following p. 410). For further examples in the Okanagan see Harris, *Making Native Space*, 190-191 and 212-213.
- 19 Report of Committee of Privy Council, 27 October 1888, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3704, file 17867.
- 20 For a brief synopsis on the Okanagan commonages see Harris, *Making Native Space*, 198 and Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan," 142.
- 21 See for example Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 28 March 1892, 511-524 and "Indian Lands in British Columbia" *Globe and Mail* 29 March 1892 in LAC, RG 10, vol. 3871, file 88891.
- 22 See for example, O'Reilly to SGIA, 29 April 1895 and O'Reilly to DSGIA, May 21 1895, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3938, file 120710-1.
- 23 Vowell had replaced I.W. Powell as Superintendent for British Columbia in 1889. DIA, *Annual Report*, 1898, 248. Vowell's personnel file is at LAC, RG 10, vol. 3829, file 61939. See also Harris, *Making Native Space*, 219.
- 24 In contrast to the 216.7 acres per person that remained in reserves in the Treaty 7 area only 28.7 acres was retained in B.C. For reasons discussed above, though, land retention in the Kamloops and Okanagan areas was more than three times the provincial average at 90.6 acres. Compiled from DIA, *Annual Report*, 1896, 68-83, 151, 154, 193, 201, and 203.
- 25 James Dunsmuir to Clifford Sifton, 2 February 1901 in British Columbia, *Sessional Papers* 1901, 581.
- 26 The 1899 provincial statute granting reversionary interest was incorporated into section 80 of the Consolidated Land Act of 1908. British Columbia, "An Act to Amend the "Land Act," *Statutes*, 1899, 62 Vict., c.38, s. 9 (amending c. 113 s. 72 of the RSBC) and *Statutes*, 1908, 8 Edw. VII, c.30, s. 80.
- 27 R.A. Renwick, Deputy Commissioner of Lands and Works to Vowell, 12 September 1907, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3750, file 29858-10 and Vowell, in "Report of the Indian Reserve Commissioner," DIA, *Annual Report*, 1908, 273.
- 28 Vowell to Frank Pedley, DSGIA, 22 January 1907 in DIA, *Annual Report*, 1907, 262-3.
- 29 Vowell in DIA, *Annual Report*, 1910, 252.
- 30 Frank Pedley in DIA, *Annual Report*, 1908, xxxv.
- 31 J.D. McLean to R.A. Renwick, Deputy Minister of Lands for B.C., 23 September, 1911, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3750, file 29858-11.
- 32 Oliver to Pedley 14 August 1905 and Pedley to Inspectors & Indian Agents in N. W. Territories, 29 August 1905 LAC, RG 10, vol. 4020, file 280470-2.
- 33 DSGIA to Secretary, DIA, 4 January 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4020, file 280470-2.
- 34 McDougall, "Interim Report Re Indian Reserves Near Kelowna B.C." enclosed with McDougall to Oliver, 17 April 1909, vol. 4020, file 280470-2.
- 35 McDougall, "Interim Report Re Vernon Indian Reserves" enclosed with McDougall to Oliver, 17 April 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4020, file 280470-2.

- 36 “Interim Report Re Indian Reserves Near Enderby B.C.” enclosed with McDougall to Oliver, 17 April 1909, vol. 4020, file 280470-2.
- 37 The two locations where additions were recommended were at Spence’s Bridge where “their village was wiped out and their reserve practically destroyed” by a land slide and at Lytton where “quite a number of Indians have been squatted on Government lands and improved these for many years.” Report included with McDougall to DSGIA, 26 January 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4020, file 280470-3.
- 38 J.A. Teit, for John Whistamnitza, Chief at Spences Bridge Band and others, 24 April 1909 vol. 4020, file 280470-2.
- 39 Charles M. Chewéligh et al Petition to SGIA, 21 Jul 1908; John Whistemnitza et al. petition of 8 chiefs from Nicola and Spences Bridge, 18 Jan 1909.
- 40 John McDougall to Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior 22 Sept 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4020, file 280470-2.
- 41 John McDougall to Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior 22 Sept 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4020, file 280470-2.
- 42 Pedley wanted to know if McDougall had “furnished the Indians with a copy of his report...and if so, under what authority he took this action.” Pedley to McLean, 9 March 1911, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4020, file 280470-2.
- 43 Perrin to DIA, telegram, 1 March 1911; Oliver to Perrin 8 March 1911 and Perrin to Oliver, 9 March 1911, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4020, file 280470-2.
- 44 W.E. Ditchburn, Chief Inspector of Indian Agencies, to D.C. Scott, DSGIA, 31 December 1920, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4047, file 357411-2.
- 45 Duff, *The Indian History of British Columbia*, 128.
- 46 Neylan, *The Heavens are Changing*, 7.
- 47 A. Irwin to Inspector K.C. McDonald, 18 August 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1311.
- 48 K.C. MacDonald to Secretary, DIA, 1 August 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4050, file 362466-1A.
- 49 In 1908, for example, Secwepemc Chiefs Louis of Tk’emlups (Kamloops) and Basil of St’uxwtews (Bonaparte), and Okanagan Chief Chilheetsa of Nicola went together to the DIA in Ottawa to present their case for an additional reserve at Loon Lake. DSGIA Frank Pedley, Memorandum for File, June 1908, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3750, file 29858-10.
- 50 “What the Indians Want,” *Victoria Colonist*, 27 March, 6 and 13 July, and 30 August, 1906; J.A. Teit, “British Columbia Indian Land Question. Notes for Mr. Brewster,” 31 May 1917, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3821, file 59335 pt.4; Canada, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed 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” in Appendix to the *Journals of the Senate of Canada*, First Session of the Sixteenth Parliament, 1926-27, 133 (hereafter Special Joint Committee, “Report and Evidence”); Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, *The Shuswap*, 12 and Thomson, “A History of the Okanagan,” 152.
- 51 *Kamloops Sentinel*, 26 August 1910 cited in Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, “Memorial,” <http://www.shuswapnation.org/memorial.html> (21 January 2009).
- 52 Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan and Couteau Tribes of British Columbia, “Memorial to Wilfrid Laurier” British Columbia Archives, NWp/970.5/M533.
- 53 Canada, Special Joint Committee, “Report and Evidence,” xix.
- 54 Canada, Special Joint Committee, “Report and Evidence,” 10-11. See also Cail, *Land, Man, and the Law*, 232.

- 55 Canada, Special Joint Committee, "Report and Evidence," 9-11; George Edgar Shankel, "The Development of Indian Policy in British Columbia," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1945, 194-195; Cail, *Land, Man, and the Law*, 232 and Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples*, 88.
- 56 McBride to Laurier, 19 November 1910, BCA, GR-0441, box 149, file 1.
- 57 J.F. Smith, Kamloops Agent, "Journal, 1912," entries for 14 and 15 March 1912 and LAC, RG 10, vol. 1325c and "Journal, 1913" entries for 28 May 1913, vol. 1325d.
- 58 Canada, Special Joint Committee, "Report and Evidence," 53-54.
- 59 Patterson II, "Arthur E. O'Meara," 91-92. For a more recent survey of O'Meara's work see Haig-Brown, "Arthur Eugene O'Meara."
- 60 A.E. O'Meara, Lectures on "The Indians title to the Lands of B.C." delivered at Aberdeen School, Vancouver, 22 April 1910, BCA, MS-0421.
- 61 W.E. Ditchburn, Inspector of South West Inspectorate, to DIA Secretary, 15 July 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1312.
- 62 Ditchburn to Indian Agent at Alberni, 18 July 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1312. This letter includes a note that it was sent to all agents in B.C.
- 63 Martin-McGuire, *First Nation Land Surrenders on the Prairies, 1896-1911*.
- 64 Kennedy to Irwin 27 June 1907. This letter is torn and a piece is lost but "me" is likely the missing word. Also Irwin to Vowell, 5 July 1907 and Kennedy to Frank Oliver, SGIA, 8 June 1908 enclosing the Order in Council of 15 May 1908 in which British Columbia provided Kennedy with the quit claim grant under section 80 of its *Land Act*.
- 65 Pere Nequalla to DSGIA, 7 December 1908, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271322-1. Typed copy in vol. 3944, file 121698-54.
- 66 Ross to Secretary, 20 January 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3944, file 121698-54.
- 67 Bridgman to Vowell 20 February 1908, Vowell to Bridgman, 2 March 1908, McLean to Bridgman 11 March 1908, Bridgman to Pedley 26 August 1908, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3750, file 29858-10.
- 68 Bridgman to Pedley, 12 February 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3944, file 121698-54; McLean to Vowell, 20 February 1909; Irwin to Vowell, 8 March 1909 and Vowell to McLean 10 March 1909, LAC RG 10, vol. 3944, file 121698-54.
- 69 See correspondence in March to June of 1909 in LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271322-1.
- 70 Pedley to Kennedy, 17 June 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271322-1.
- 71 Kennedy to Pedley, 25 June 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271322-1.
- 72 McDougall to Secretary, DIA, 22 July 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271322-1.
- 73 Christie to Pedley, 4 August 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271322-1.
- 74 S. Stewart, Asst. Secretary, to Ramsden, 9 October 1909 LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271322-1.
- 75 "Investigation Re Surrender of Long Lake Reserve," 28 October 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271322-1.
- 76 McDougall to McLean, 6 November 1909 and "Investigation Re Surrender of Long Lake Reserve," 28 October 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271322-1.
- 77 "Investigation Re Surrender of Long Lake Reserve," 28 October 1909; Ramsden to McLean and McDougall to McLean, 6 November 1909 and Order in Council, 27 December 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271322-1.
- 78 A. Irwin to J.D. McLean, 9 April 1910; H.C. Ross to Deputy Minister of the Interior, 19 April 1910 and McLean to Irwin 4 May 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3944, file 121698-54.

- 79 Christie, *Indian Affairs in British Columbia* (N.P., n.p., 1916), BCA, NWp/970.5/C554 and T.J. Cummiskey to J.D. McLean, 15 May 1912, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3945, file 121,696-64.
- 80 Christie, *Indian Affairs in British Columbia*.
- 81 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, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3945, file 121,696-64.
- 82 T.J. Cummiskey to J.D. McLean, 11 October and 15 May 1912, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3945, f121,696-64.
- 83 J.D. McLean to T.J. Cummiskey, 10 June 1912; Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, 21 June 1912, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3945, file 121,696-64 and Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, vol. CIX (1912-13) col. 4420.
- 84 T.J. Cummiskey to J.D. McLean, 19 July 1912 and Chief Pierre Michelle, 10 September 1912, vol. 3945, file 121, 696-64.
- 85 Pringle and Guthrie to Oliver 22 May 1911 including “Chewile agreement” of 25 June 1907, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271322-1.
- 86 Pringle and Guthrie to Oliver, 19 May 1911, Pringle and Guthrie to Oliver 22 May 1911, and E.L. Newcombe, Deputy Minister of Justice to DSGIA, 18 August 1911, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271322-1; Kennedy to D.C. Scott, DSGIA, 18 March 1918 and A. McGraw, Inspector of Indian Agencies, to W.A. Orr, in charge of Land Branch, Ottawa, 5 September 1919, vol. 4014, file 271322-1A.
- 87 Kennedy to Minister of Interior, 26 February 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271, 322-1.
- 88 Casto Louie to W.J. Roche, 5 May 1916 and Megraw to Casto Louie 5 July 1916, copies in Christie, *Correspondence* (N.p., n.p., 20 April 1917), 1-2, NWp/970.5/C554c, BCA.
- 89 Christie, *Okanagan Indians* and Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, vol. CXXVII (1917), cols. 2341-44.
- 90 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, vol. CXXVII (1917) col. 1379 and Christie, *Okanagan Indians*.
- 91 Christie, *Okanagan Indians*.
- 92 See correspondence between Kennedy and Megraw in LAC, RG 10, vol. 11302. Also, Megraw to Commissioner, RNWMP, 18 January 1917 and Assistant Commissioner, RNWMP to Megraw, 23 January 1917, LAC, RG 18, vol. 3320, file 118.
- 93 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, vol. CXXVII (1917), 2341-2344; Department Affairs, Memorandum, 26 March 1917, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4014, file 271322-1 and McLean to Kennedy, 19 July 1922, vol. 4014, file 271322-1A. Eventually the removal of this reserve was declared illegal and the Okanagan were paid compensation after seven decades of struggle.
- 94 Robert Rogers, SGIA, to the Governor General in Council, 10 May 1912, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4044, file 344441.
- 95 “Memorandum of Agreement arrived at between J.A.J. McKenna, Special Commissioner appointed by the Dominion Government to investigate the condition of Indian Affairs in British Columbia and the Honourable Sir Richard McBride as Premier of the Province of British Columbia” in “Orders-in-Council and Agreement re, Powers and Functions of The Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for British Columbia,” LAC, RG 10, vol. 3821, file 59,335, Part 4. Also 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), 10-11. Hereafter, Canada, Royal Commission, *Report*.
- 96 Canada, Royal Commission, *Report*, 10-11 and Memorandum of agreement between McKenna and McBride in LAC, RG 10, vol. 4093 file 600250 and vol. 3821, file 59,335 pt. 4.
- 97 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1913, xxiv.
- 98 Cited in Canada, Special Joint Committee, "Report and Evidence," 9.
- 99 PC 1401, 10 June 1913 in "Orders-in-Council and Agreement re Powers and Functions of The Royal Commission On Indian Affairs For British Columbia," LAC, RG 10, vol. 3821, file 59335, part 4, copy in BCA, GR-1323, drawer 8, file 457-8-12, reel B2082 and Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, *Confidential Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia* (Victoria, Acme Press, 1916), 3.
- 100 Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World*, 30.
- 101 Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Report*, 10-11 and "Orders-in-Council and Agreement re, Powers and Functions of The Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for British Columbia," LAC, RG 10, vol. 3821, file 59,335, Part 4.
- 102 E.L. Wetmore to W.J. Roche, SGIA, 1 December 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4050, 362466-1A.
- 103 J.A.J. McKenna to Robert Rogers, Minister of the Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 26 October 1912, BCA, GR-1967 and Canada, "An Act to provide for the Settlement of Differences between the Governments of the Dominion of Canada and the Province of British Columbia respecting Indian Lands and certain other Indian Affairs in the said Province," *Statutes of Canada*, 1919, second session, and 1920, c.51, p. 313-314. This Act is also known as "The British Columbia Indian Lands Settlement Act" and is also transcribed in Ware, *The Lands We Lost*: 204-205. It follows similar enabling legislation passed by the province in 1919. British Columbia, "An Act to provide for the Settlement of Differences between the Governments of the Dominion and the Province respecting Indian Lands and Indian Affairs in the Province of British Columbia," *Statutes of British Columbia*, 1919, c.32. This is also transcribed in Ware, *The Lands We Lost*: 202-203.
- 104 Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Transcript of Evidence Submitted to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916, Kamloops Agency, 43, 19, 34, and 30.
- 105 Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Transcript of Evidence Submitted to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-1916, Okanagan Agency, 77 and Thomson "A History of the Okanagan," 151.
- 106 Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Evidence, Okanagan Agency, 75. This quote inspired the title for a book published by the Okanagan. Maracle, et al., *We Get Our Living Like Milk From the Land*.
- 107 Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Evidence, Okanagan Agency, 10-11.
- 108 *Kamloops Inland Sentinel*, 15 November 1907, 1.
- 109 *Kamloops Inland Sentinel*, 24 December 1907, 6.
- 110 *Kamloops Inland Sentinel*, 13 October 1913, 1 and 4 and 24 October 1913, 4. 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.

- 111 Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Evidence, Kamloops Agency, 3 and 6-7.
- 112 Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Evidence, Kamloops Agency, 10-13.
- 113 Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Evidence, Kamloops Agency, 147. J.A. Shaw from Shuswap and D.A. Macdowall from Victoria were the provincial representatives on the commission. The questioning of Smith took place in Victoria after the commissioners had been to Kamloops.
- 114 Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, Evidence, Kamloops Agency, 171. For examples of Wetmore's confusion in the Kamloops Agency see Evidence, Kamloops Agency, 150, 155, and 174.
- 115 E.L. Wetmore to Louis Corderre, Secretary of State, 29 November 1913, BCA, British Columbia, Provincial Secretary, Correspondence in from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in British Columbia, BCA, GR-0672, box 1, file 27.
- 116 Mary Thomas, Interview with Joyce Dunn at Chase, British Columbia, 1982. Tape recording in possession of author.
- 117 Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Report*, 26 and Canada, DIA, *Annual Report*, 1920, 42-3 and 48-9. It should be noted in addition that the purchasing power of the dollar dropped by almost half from 1916 to 1920. Leacy, *Historical Atlas of Canada*, "General Wholesale Price Index," series K33.
- 118 J.A.J. McKenna, "Clear the Way for Development," *Vancouver Province*, 25 February 1918.
- 119 Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Report*, 177. For reserve by reserve valuations see also LAC, RG 10, vol. 10240, file 901/30-1-9.
- 120 British Columbia, Provincial Secretary, Correspondence in from the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in British Columbia, GR-0672, box 3, file 6, 356, 383, and 339. Kamloops Reserve One was reduced by 383 acres.
- 121 Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Report*, 177. The Commission explained that the lower estimate was calculated by not applying any value to two reserves without water.
- 122 Canada, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, *Report*, 715-722.
- 123 For comparative photographs of Isaac Harris and Baptiste Logan see de Pfyffer, introduction to Christie, *Okanagan Indians*, 80-1.
- 124 J.G.H. Bergeron to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 20 November 1913, enclosing "Interim Report No. 16," BCA, GR-0672, box 1, f21 and McKenna-McBride Commission, *Report*, 700-13. Page 711 contains the recommendation that the reserve 3 "be conveyed to Isaac Harris." See also Carstens, *Queen's People*, 121 and 291.
- 125 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1917, 653 and 1898.
- 126 Forty Five Representatives of the Interior Tribes to SGIA W.J. Roche, 17 March 1916, LAC, Robert Borden Papers, MG 26-H. See also "Report of Interview with Sir Wilfrid Laurier" 27 April 1916, Report of Interview with Hon. Dr. Roche, 9 May 1916 and "Report of Interview with the Right Honourable Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister," 19 May 1916.
- 127 "Exhibit No. 4 From Andrew Paull" in Canada, Special Joint Committee, "Report and Evidence," 175-176.
- 128 "Statement of the Committee of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia for the Government of Canada," 5 February 1919, LAC, Borden Papers, MG 26-H, item 16477.

- 129 *Statement of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia for the Government of British Columbia* (Vancouver: Cowan & Brookhouse, 1919). Copies in LAC, RG 10, vol. 3821, file 59335, part 4A and Borden Papers, MG 26-H, item 16501.
- 130 Ditchburn to Scott, 1 November 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3820, file 59335, part 3.
- 131 Scott, Memorandum to Meighen, 14 November 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3820, file 59335, part 3. See also Mitchell, "The Allied Tribes of British Columbia," 41-44; Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 100; Harris, *Making Native Space*, 251 and Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 145-148.
- 132 Scott, Memorandum to Meighen, 9 January 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3820, file 59335, part 3.
- 133 Canada, *Statutes of Canada*, 10-11 Geo. V (1919 Second Session and 1920), c. 51, p. 313-314. Also transcribed in Ware, *The Lands We Lost*, 204-205.
- 134 British Columbia, *Statutes of British Columbia*, 1919, c.32. Also transcribed in Ware, *The Lands We Lost*, 202-203.
- 135 T.D. Patullo, Minister of Lands, to A. Meighen, 21 April 1920, Meighen to Patullo, 27 May 1920, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3820, file 59335, part 3.
- 136 J.W. Clarke memorandum to Minister of Lands, 1 April 1920, vol. 3820, file 59335, part 3.
- 137 Patullo to Scott, 29 October 1924 and Scott, Memorandum to Charles Stewart, 4 March 1924, LAC, RG 10, vol. 10240, file 901/30-1-13. A copy of the Ditchburn-Clark Report is in BCA, GR 931. See also Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 148-149. For a brief discussion on the difference in the reports submitted by Ditchburn and Clark see Harris, *Making Native Space*, 253.
- 138 Canada, House of Commons, 9 *Debates*, 6 April 1920, 953. See also Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 148. A Statement of the Allied Tribes was entered into Hansard two weeks previously. Canada, *Debates*, 26 March, 791.
- 139 Chilheetsa even traveled to Ottawa to attempt to circumvent the Allied Tribes. Chief Elie Larue, Kamloops, to Scott, Feb 9, 1924; Pragnell to Scott, Dec 22, 1923; Statement of Chief Johnny Chillihitse, through Mrs Williams-Interpreter, to D.C. Scott, 4 February 1924, LAC, RG 10, vol. 10240, file 901/30-1-13. Report of the First General Meeting of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia, 1919 in LAC, RG 10, vol. 3821, file 59335, part 4.
- 140 Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 102-103 and Wendy Wickwire, "We Shall Drink From the Stream," 225.
- 141 Perhaps even more important factor though, was growing opposition to Japanese fishers following World War I and the recommendations of a Royal Commission, known as the Duff Report, which called for the "displacement of Orientals" from the fishing industry in BC. Canada, Commission to Investigate Fisheries Conditions in British Columbia, *Report and Recommendations* (Ottawa, F.A. Acland, 1922), 11. On this point see also Newell, *Tangled Webs of History*, 98-100.
- 142 "Conference of Dr. Duncan C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs of the Dominion of Canada, W.E. Ditchburn, Chief Inspector of Indian Agencies of British Columbia, with the Executive Committee of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia," beginning 7 August 1923, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3821, file 59335, part 4A, 11-16, 6, 26, 80 and 90-95 and *Statement of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia for the Government of British Columbia*, 11-14. Copies in LAC, RG 10, vol. 3821, file 59335, part 4A and Borden Papers, MG 26 -H, item 16501. On the final point see also Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 151-152. For a transcript of the Vancouver meetings see LAC, RG 10, vol. 3820, file 59335, part 1.

- 143 Scott to Stewart, Feb 20, 1924, LAC, RG 10, vol. 10240, file 901/30-1-13.
- 144 Scott to Ditchburn, 1 April 1924, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3820, file 59335, part 3.
- 145 Canada, Order-in-Council 1265, 19 July 1924. This legislation followed provincial acceptance of the amended report a year earlier with provincial order-in-council 911, 26 July 1923. Cited in Ware, *The Lands We Lost*, 47.
- 146 The Allied Tribes of British Columbia, "Supplementary Memorandum," 23 April 1925, LAC, RG 18, vol. 3312, file 1925 HQ 1034-E-2.
- 147 Canada, *Debates*, 1926, 11 June, 4417-4419. The petition is also copied in Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*, xviii.
- 148 Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*, 34-35.
- 149 Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*, 161.
- 150 Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 105 and Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*, 3-23 and 26.
- 151 Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*, 78-81, 84-94 and 219-229.
- 152 Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*, 2-3.
- 153 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.
- 154 May, "The Nishga Land Claim," 110 and Canada, Special Joint Committee, *Report and Evidence*, 238-239.
- 155 Canada, *Statutes of Canada*, 17 Geo. V (1926-27) c. 32, p. 158.
- 156 British Columbia, Executive Council, "Schedule referred to in order-in-council 911 of 26 July 1923," GR-0931, BCA. This document is also known as the Ditchburn-Clark Report. 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.
- 157 For post 1951 interference in the lives of Indigenous people see for example Manuel, *The Forth World*, 71 and 95; Canada, Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, *Minutes of Proceedings*, no. 39, 27 April 1988, 7-16 and Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, *The Shuswap*, 28.
- 158 A.E. O'Meara Lectures on "The Indians' Title to the Lands of B.C." delivered at Aberdeen School, Vancouver, 22 April 1910, BCARS, MS-0421, 31-34.

## Chapter Seven

- 1 Graham to Scott, 15 May 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, file 773/3-1-1 Pt.1.
- 2 *Calgary Herald*, 1 April 1887.
- 3 Larner, "The Kootenay Plains," 293 and Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council et al., *The True Spirit*, 139-141.
- 4 Edgar Dewdney in DIA, *Annual Report, 1878*, 81; Snow, *These Mountains*, 39-40 and Larner, "The Kootenay Plains," 180.
- 5 DIA, *Annual Report, 1878*, 81; Bigstony to Indian Commissioner, 3 June 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4043, file 339151.
- 6 McLean to Bigstony, 11 June 1909 and Laird to Pedley, 23 June 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4043, file 339151.
- 7 McDougall to DSGIA, 21 March 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4043, file 339151.
- 8 McDougall to DSGIA, 21 March 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4043, file 339151.

- 9 McLean to TJ Fleetham, Nakoda Agent, 29 March 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4043, file 339151.
- 10 McLean, memo to D.C. Scott, n.d.; McLean to P.G. Keyes, 21 November 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4043, file 339,331 and Larner, "The Kootenay Plains," 321.
- 11 Laird to Pedley, 23 June 1909; McLean to Abraham, 8 July 1909; P.G. Keyes, Secretary, Dept of the Interior to McLean, 6 October 1909 and Fleetham to Secretary, DIA, 30 November 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4043, file 339151.
- 12 Larner, "The Kootenay Plains," 339-384; Dempsey; *Treaty Research Report Treaty 7*, 29-30 and Snow, *These Mountains*, 76-103.
- 13 The new reserve was surveyed in July 1882. DIA, *Annual Report, 1882*, 220 and DIA *Annual Report, 1901*, 172.
- 14 DIA, *Annual Report, 1883*, lii.
- 15 *Manitoba Free Press*, 24 May 1888, in LAC, RG 10, vol. 3801, file 49,000.
- 16 "The Sarcee Reserve," *Calgary Herald*, 8 June 1892.
- 17 A. Sifton, Commissioner of Public Works, NWT, to Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the NWT, 30 November, 1901, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3563, file 82, pt. 17.
- 18 A. Sifton to Minister of the Interior, 30 November 1901 and J.A.J. McKenna, Memorandum for Minister, 8 February 1902, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7543, file 29120-1, pt.1.
- 19 John de Sousa, Secretary, Calgary Board of Trade, to Minister of the Interior, 22 March 1902; A.J. McNeill to D.C. Scott, 8 April 1904; D.C. Scott, memorandum for DSGIA, 22 April 1904; Charles Peterson, Secretary, Calgary Board of Trade to Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, 22 April 1904 and Sifton to Peterson, 3 May 1904, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7543, file 29120-1, pt. 1.
- 20 A.J. McNeil, Sarcee Agent, to Secretary, DIA, 12 May and 2 June 1904 and, for example, A. J. Picton-Warlow, rancher at Priddis, to Minister of the Interior, 18 May 1904, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7543, file 29120-1, pt. 1.
- 21 McLean to A.J. McNeill, Sarcee Agent, 11 August 1905; McNeill to McLean, 25 September 1905; A.W. Dingman to A.J. McNeill, 25 September 1905; McNeill to McLean, 25 September 1905; Dingman to McLean 27 September 1905; Pedley, Memo to file, 10 October 1905 and DIA, agreement with Calgary Natural Gas Company Ltd., 7 March 1906, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7654, file 20120-1. See also P.K. Wood, "Pressured from all sides, the February 1913 Surrender of the Northeast corner of the Tsuu T'ina Nation," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30 (2004), 120-121.
- 22 McDougall to Pedley, 16 January 1906, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7543, file 29120-1, pt. 1.
- 23 McDougall to Pedley, 5 February 1906, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7543, file 29120-1, pt. 1.
- 24 McDougall to Secretary DIA and McDougall to Oliver, 9 Nov 1907, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7543, file 29120-1.
- 25 McNeill to DSGIA Pedley, 2 Jan 1908, LAC, RG 10, vol.7543, file 29120-1 pt 1.
- 26 Pedley to McNeill, 12 March 1909 and McNeill to Secretary, DIA, 16 August 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol.7543, file 29120-1 pt 1.
- 27 Secretary, DIA, to Markle, 28 August 1909 and Markle to Secretary, 7 September 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol.7543, file 29120-1 pt 1.
- 28 Fleetham to Pedley, 3 March 1913, enclosing copy of surrender agreement; Pedley to Acting SGIA, 4 April 1913, 28 February 1913 and Acting SGIA to Governor General in Council, 13 March 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7543, file 29120-1 pt 1. See also Wood, "Pressured from all Sides," 123-124 and Lackenbauer, *The Politics of Contested Space*, 14-25.

- 29 Fleetham to Secretary, DIA, 28 August 1913 and W.J. Roche to His Excellency the Administrator in Council, 18 September 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4068, file 423020.
- 30 A long term lease was finally negotiated with the DMD in 1921. Lackenbauer, *The Politics of Contested Space*, 15, 27-8 and 38.
- 31 G.E. Olsson, "An Accounting of Lands Surrendered"; Wood, "Pressured from all Sides, 126 and Lackenbauer, *The Politics of Contested Space*, iii-v.
- 32 SGIA memorandum to Privy Council, 19 March 1880, LAC, RG 10, vol. 1079, 278.
- 33 DIA, *Annual Report, 1883*, liv.
- 34 The *Annual Report* for 1882 gives the "Total number of Indians" for the "Blood Indians" as 3,542, but by 1883 this had been reduced 2,589. DIA, *Annual Report, 1882*, 202 and *Annual Report 1883*, 200 and 206. See also Dempsey, "Gladstone Believed 'Big Claim,'" A5.
- 35 In 1998, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada finally admitted that "the full and informed consent of the adult, male members of the Tribe was not properly obtained" so the surrender was "legally invalid." John Sinclair, Assistant Deputy Minister, ILAC, to Chief Chris Shade, Kainai, 15 April 1998, Appendix A in Indian Claims Commission, *Blood Tribe/Kainai Inquiry, 1889 Akers Surrender* (Ottawa, Indian Claims Commission, 1999).
- 36 DIA, *Annual Report, 1902*, 128. See also DIA, *Annual Report, 1909*, 172.
- 37 For an overview of Kainai opposition to alienation of their reserve see Samek, *Blackfoot Confederacy*, 114-118.
- 38 Oliver to R.W. Scott, Acting Minister of the Interior, 14 September 1896; Hayter Reed, DSGIA, to Acting SGIA, 18 September 1896 and R.W. Scott to Frank Oliver, 22 September 1896, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7541, file 29,103-1, Pt. 1.
- 39 D. Laird to Agent, 18 January 1902, Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, vol. 4, file 24; Oliver to Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, 5 March 1902 and J. Smart to Oliver, 20 March 1902, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7541, file 29,103-1, pt. 1 and J.A.J. McKenna, Memorandum to SGIA, 5 January 1904; J.A.J. McKenna to Clifford Sifton, 5 January 1904 and R.N. Wilson, Blood Agent, to J.A.J. McKenna, 25 March 1904, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3571, file 130, pt. 19.
- 40 Laird to Secretary, DIA, 24 October 1900 Laird to Crop Eared Wolf, May 30, 1907, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3939, file 121698-3.
- 41 Frank Pedley, DSGIA, to Inspectors & Indian Agents in N.W. Territories, 29 August 1905 and McLean to McDougall, 31 March 1906, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4020, file 280,470-2.
- 42 Markle to R.N. Wilson, 7 March 1907, Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, file 64 and R.N. Wilson to Indian Commissioner, 6 June 1907, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3939, file 121698-3.
- 43 Crop Eared Wolf to Laird, 28 May 1907 and Laird to Crop Eared Wolf, 30 May 1907, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3939, file 121698-3.
- 44 P.C.H. Primrose, Superintendent Commanding "D" Division at Fort Macleod to A.B. Perry, Commissioner RNWMP, 30 May 1907, LAC, RG 18, vol. 340, file 417-07 and Crop Eared Wolf to Laird, 28 May 1907 and Laird to Crop Eared Wolf, 30 May 1907, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3939, file 121698-3.
- 45 R.N. Wilson to Indian Commissioner, Winnipeg, 6 June 1907, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7541, file 29,103-1, pt. 1.

- 46 Markle to Secretary, DIA, 15 September 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7541, file 29,103-1, Pt. 1.
- 47 R.N. Wilson to Secretary DIA, 30 June 1910, Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, file 64.
- 48 Glen Campbell, Chief Inspector of Indian Agencies to Agent W.J. Hyde, 17 Feb 1913 Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M 1788, vol. 13, file 97.
- 49 F. Paget, Accountant, Memorandum to D.C. Scott, 10 November 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, File 773/3-1-1, pt.1.
- 50 Scott to Markle, 2 December 1913, Markle to Scott, 27 November and 8 December 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, File 773/3-1-1, pt.1.
- 51 Markle to Scott, 17 December 1913 and Scott to Markle 24 December 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, File 773/3-1-1, pt.1.
- 52 Markle to Scott, 27 February 1914 and Scott to Markle, 24 March 1914, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, file 773/3-1-1, pt.1 and Dilworth to Asst. Deputy and Secretary, DIA, 25 January 1914.
- 53 Markle to Scott, 27 January 1917; Scott to Markle 5 March 1917 and Markle to Scott, 10 March 1917, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, file 773/3-1-1, pt.1.
- 54 Dilworth to Scott, 23 April 1917 and Scott to Dilworth, 8 May 1917, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7541, file 29,103-1, pt.1.
- 55 John Fawcett, Barrister, to Minister of Indian Affairs, 9 May, 1 June, and 15 June 1917 and Scott to Fawcett, 20 June 1917, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7541, file 29,103-1, pt.1.
- 56 Dilworth reported that there were 124 in favour and 116 against. Dilworth, telegram to Scott, 12 June 1917; Joseph Hicks, Barrister and Solicitor to SGIA, 12 June 1917; Dilworth to Scott, 13 June 1917; Joe Mountain Horse and six other members of the 191<sup>st</sup> Overseas Battalion, Bramshott Camp, England, to DIA, 25 June 1917 and D.C. Scott, "Instructions for the guidance of Indian Agents in connection with the surrender of Indian reserves, 15 May 1914," LAC, RG 10, vol. 7541, file 29,103-1, pt.1.
- 57 Dilworth to Scott, 18 February 1918; R.N. Wilson to Scott, 20 February and 10 March 1918, J.D. Matheson, Barrister, to Meighen, Minister of the Interior, 1 March 1918 and Matheson to Scott, 29 April 1918, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, file 773/3-1-1, pt.1.
- 58 Scott to W.M. Graham, 10 April 1918 and Graham to Scott, 25 February and 22 April 1918, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, file 773/3-1-1, pt.1.
- 59 Scott to Graham, 21 February 1918, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4070, file 427063-A.
- 60 Leslie and Maguire, *Historical Development of the Indian Act*, 113-114. "Statement showing the percentage of increase in the areas utilized on Indian reserves for cultivation and stock-raising as a result of the greater production campaign," n.d., LAC, RG 10, vol. 4069, file 427,063. See also McLean to Dilworth, 27 May 1918, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7541, file 29103-1, Pt. 2.
- 61 R.N. Wilson to Scott, 10 February 1919, Scott to Graham, 18 February 1919, Graham to Scott, 25 February 1919, Wilson to Meighen, telegram, 3-4 May 1920, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, file 773/3-1-1, Pt.1. "Summary of representations contained in memorial of the Blood Indians, respecting surrenders of March 23<sup>rd</sup> and May 30<sup>th</sup>, 1918, and the Comments of the Indian Commissioner thereto" enclosed with Scott to James Lougheed, 1921. LAC, MG 26 I, Meighen Papers, Series 2, vol. 31, mf reel C-3227.
- 62 Wilson to Scott, 7 April 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, file 773/3-1-1, Pt.1.

- 63 Graham to Scott, 26 December 1918, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, File 773/3-1-1 pt. 2 On Graham's Greater Production scheme see Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 40-43 and Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 249-251.
- 64 Scott to Graham, 6 February 1919 and Graham to Scott, 6 March 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7541, file 29103-1, pt. 1. There are also unsigned and undated drafts of a surrender in this file.
- 65 R.V. Sinclair, Ottawa Barrister, to Scott, 31 May 1920 enclosing memorial; Scott to Meighen, 8 June 1920; R. N. Wilson to James Lougheed, SGIA, 2 August 1920; Scott to Wilson, 16 August 1920 and R.N. Wilson to Scott, 8 May 1922, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, File 773/3-1-1 Pt.2.
- 66 Graham to Scott, 21 February 1921, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, file 773/3-1-1 Pt.2; Graham telegram Meighen, 27 March 1921 and Meighen to Graham, 28 March 1921, vol. 7102, file 773/3-1-1 Pt. 1.
- 67 Samek, *Blackfoot Confederacy*, 117-119.
- 68 Wm. Pocklington, Agent, to Indian Commissioner, 30 September 1884, LAC, RG 10 vol. 3698, file 16106
- 69 For a description of the reserve and the water available for stock see, for example, DIA, *Annual Report, 1909*, 187. The *Annual Reports* indicate that the population declined from a post-treaty high of 942 in 1885 to under 500 and still declining twenty years later.
- 70 D.C. Scott, Chief Accountant, DIA Memorandum to DSGIA Pedley, 20 April 1909 and Markle to Secretary, DIA, 2 May 1908 LAC, RG 10, vol. 4034, file 302340-1. In June Markle reported that he believed that the majority were not in favour.
- 71 DIA, *Annual Report, 1908*, xxxv.
- 72 Markle to Secretary, DIA, 24 May 1909, 16 July 1909, and 18 August 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4034, file 302340-1.
- 73 P.C. 1823, 28 August 1909 in LAC, RG 10, vol. 4034, file 302340-1. The number of males over 21 from DIA, *Annual Report, 1909*, 55.
- 74 Colin Macleod to SGIA, 23 August 1909, Markle to Secretary, DIA, 7 September 1909, and Pedley to MacLeod, 14 September 1909, and Constable A.M. Fyffe to Supt. P.C.H. Primrose, 30 November 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4034, file 302340-1.
- 75 MacLeod, telegram to Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, 10 November 1909 and Oliver to MacLeod, 11 November 1909. LAC, RG 10, vol. 4034, file 302340-1.
- 76 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 16 November 1909, 121-122.
- 77 Pedley, telegram to Markle, 19 November 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4034, file 302340-1. Copy of Markle's surrender tally and the Piikani affidavits are in this file.
- 78 Markle to Secretary, DIA, 26 November 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4034, file 302340-1.
- 79 Markle to Secretary, DIA, 27 December 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4034, file 302340-1.
- 80 H.C. Ross to Deputy Minister, 12 April 1910 and J.D. McLean to E.H. Yeomans, 13 April 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4034, file 302340-1.
- 81 Fyffe to Supt. P.C.H. Primrose, 30 November 1909 and Primrose to Commissioner, 1 December 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4034, file 302340-1.
- 82 Fyffe to Primrose, 4 April 1910, LAC, RG 18, vol. 390, file 267.

- 83 Comptroller to Commissioner A.B. Perry, 14 April 1910, LAC, RG 18, vol. 390, file 267.
- 84 McLean to Rev. W.R. Haynes 18 May 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4034, file 302340-1 and Const. Fyffe to Supt. Primrose, 7 May 1910, LAC, RG 18, vol. 1622, file 69.
- 85 McLean to NWMP Comptroller F. White, 10 June 1910, McLean to Rev. W.R. Haynes 18 May 1910, and Haynes to McLean, 10 June 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4034, file 302340-1.
- 86 Arrears calculated from "Statement showing the names of purchasers and total amount of arrears of principal and interest in agreements sent under recent O. C. regarding increased rate of interest and payment of arrears and which have not been returned signed within the time limit" with Lands and Timber Branch, Memo to Deputy Minister, 6 September 1918. Acreages calculated from "Cancelled Contracts of Indian Lands in the Province of Alberta" with J.S. Caldwell, i/c Land and Timber Branch to Tax Commissioner, DIA, 16 August 1923. See also, SGIA to E.J. Garland, M.P, 29 April 1924, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3872, file 89,600-19.
- 87 DIA, *Annual Report, 1883*, liv and 102.
- 88 DIA, *Annual Report, 1883*, liv and Canada. *Indian Treaties and Surrenders*, vol. II (1891) rpt. (Saskatoon, SK, Fifth House Publishers: 1993), 128-138.
- 89 Denny to Dewdney, 16 April 1882 and Irvine to White, 30 April 1882, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3600, file 1737.
- 90 DIA, *Annual Report, 1883*, liv.
- 91 Reed to DSGIA, 28 September 1892, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3583, file 1084 pt. 1.
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- 93 F.H. Malcolm, Secretary, Malcolm's Western Canneries to D. Laird, Indian Commissioner, 1 February 1907; Laird to Markle, 4 February 1907 and Markle to Laird, 7 February 1907, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3653, file 82 pt. 18.
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- 97 Markle to Secretary, DIA, 22 September and 29 September 1908 and 25 March 1909, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3702, file 17537-3.
- 98 Markle to Secretary, DIA, 29 March 1910, Markle, telegram to DIA, 12 April 1910 and Markle to Secretary, DIA, 11 April 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3702, file 17537-3.
- 99 Markle to Secretary, DIA, 22 April 1910; Pedley to Markle 16 May 1910 and Markle to Secretary, DIA, 15 June 1910, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3702, file 17537-3.
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- 104 McLean, Secretary, DIA, to J.H. Gooderham 18 May 1911 and D.C. Scott, Chief Accountant, Memorandum to DSGIA Pedley, 22 February 1912 and 15 January 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3702, file 17537-3.
- 105 McLean to Gooderham, 8 May 1913; Gooderham to McLean, n.d. and Scott to Gooderham, 14 April 1915, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3702, file 17537-3.
- 106 Chief Iron Shield and Chief Yellow Horse on behalf of the Siksika, 30 April 1915, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3702, file 17,537-3.
- 107 Gooderham to Scott, 1 May 1915, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3702, file 17,537-3.
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- 110 Markle to Scott, 25 May 1915, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3702, file 17,537-3.
- 111 Scott to Gooderham, 4 June 1915; Gooderham to Scott, 9 June 1915 and Scott to Gooderham, 14 June 1915, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3702, file 17,537-3.
- 112 Peter J. O’Connor, Secretary, Land and Timber Branch, to Scott, 9 October 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3702, file 17,537-3.
- 113 F.A. Kilbourn, Kilbourn-Newton Ltd, Investment and Real Estate to R.B. Bennett, M.P. for Calgary, 18 July 1912, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3702, file 17,537-3.
- 114 Scott, memorandum to Meighen, May 6, 1920, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4070, ...file 427063-A1.
- 115 Graham, memorandum to Meighen, 3 April 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4069, file 427,063. See also Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 249-251.
- 116 Scott to Graham, 22 February 1922, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4069, file 427,063.
- 117 See for example, Gooderham “Autobiography,” 42, Glenbow, George H. Gooderham Fonds, M4738 box 10.
- 118 Gooderham, “Autobiography,” 35, Glenbow, George H. Gooderham Fonds, M4738 box 10; Gooderham to Scott, 18 May 1917; McLean to E.A. Kirkby, 30 August 1917 and W.A. Orr to McMann & Eddie, 9 July 1917, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4063, file 406,557. LAC, RG 10, vol. 6624, file 104A-1-41 3 contains correspondence regarding the arrears but terminates in 1952.
- 119 W.M. Graham to Scott, 17 February and 9 April 1921 and Scott to Graham 18 February 1921, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4092, file 549,000.
- 120 M. Christianson, Inspector, to W.M. Graham, 26 July 1930, LAC, RG 10, volume 12649, file 104/34-1.

- 121 See for example L.F.S. Upton, "The Origins of Canadian Indian Policy," 56.
- 122 Leslie and Maguire, *Historical Development of the Indian Act*, 103-104; DIA, *Annual Report, 1908*, xxxv and *Annual Report, 1909*, xxxiv.
- 123 Dempsey, "One Hundred Years," 27.
- 124 Hanks and Hanks, *Tribe Under Trust*, 36.
- 125 Martin-McGuire, "First Nation Land Surrenders," xiii.
- 126 This calculation was derived by combining the Siksika, Kainai, and Piikani populations and reserve sizes. DIA, *Annual Report, 1913*, pt. i, 168, 170, 182 and pt. ii, 6 and Abbott, "The Administration of Indian Affairs," 82.
- 127 Samek, *Blackfoot Confederacy*, 106 and 116-117.
- 128 "An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Laws Respecting Indians," Canada, *Statutes of Canada*, 39 Vic. (1876), c. 18, s. 26, subsection 1 and "Extracts from the Debates of the House of Commons," 30 March 1876, in LAC, RG 10, vol. 6808, file 470-2-1.
- 129 D.C. Scott, "Instructions for the guidance of Indian Agents in connection with the surrender of Indian reserves, 15 May 1914," LAC, RG 10, vol. 7541, file 29,103-1, Pt.1. This clause was reprinted word for word in DSGIA Harold McGill's instructions eighteen years later. Harold McGill, "Instructions for the guidance of Indian Agents in connection with the surrender of Indian reserves" 2 November 1932, LAC, RG 10, vol. 12649, file 701/34-1.
- 130 The Hanks' support the position that "a basic need for security against poverty" was a motivating force in the Siksika surrender. Hanks and Hanks, *Tribe Under Trust*, 43-47.

## Chapter Eight

- 1 J.D. McLean to Agent Thomas Deasy, 8 September 1922, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3181, file 452,124-A cited in Dempsey, *Warriors*: 72.
- 2 Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *The Canada Year Book* (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1921), 789; Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report, 1918*, 14 and DIA, *Annual Report, 1919*, 13 and 56.
- 3 Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report, 1919*, 20 and D.C. Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 310.
- 4 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. Cumiskey to J.D. McLean, 27 March 1913; Royal Commission on Indian Affairs to Secretary, DIA 19 September 1913 and Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 4 November 1913, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4048, file 357,520.
- 5 For examples of some of Agent J.F. Smith's activity in this regard prior to World War I see LAC, RG 10, vol. 1325 (c) "Daily Journal for 1912" entries for 1 July and 20 December 1912 and (d) "Daily Journal for 1913," 20 May and 28 June.
- 6 *Kamloops Standard*, 9 April 1918, 1. For a general description of wartime reserve production see, Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 39-42.
- 7 On this point see Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 39 and Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 250.
- 8 P.C. 393, 16 February 1918 in LAC, RG 10, vol. 4070, file 427,063-A and DIA, *Annual Report, 1919*, 10.
- 9 Graham to Meighen, 7 January 1918, LAC, Meighen Papers, MG26-I, Series 1, vol. 4.

- 10 Scott to Graham, 21 February 1918, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4070, file 427,063-A. Prime Minister Borden confirmed this to the House a few weeks later. Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 19 March 1918, 27.
- 11 DIA, *Annual Report*, 1918, 19-20 and Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 23 April 1918, 1047-1049.
- 12 Carter, "An Infamous Proposal," 13, 9.
- 13 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 25 June 1919, 4063. See also Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 42. The irony of a Conservative cabinet minister in charge of a department that was attempting to restructure the collective elements of Indigenous economies bragging about state controlled production seems to have been missed by Meighen.
- 14 Graham, memorandum to Meighen, 3 April 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4069, file 427,063 and Scott to Graham, 23 February 1922, LAC, RG 20, vol. 4070, file 427063-A. See also Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 251.
- 15 Shot-on-Both-Sides et al. to Stewart, 20 December 1922, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7102, file 773/3-1-1-1, pt. 2.
- 16 J.A. Newnham, Bishop of Saskatchewan, to Scott, 10 February 1920, LAC, RG 10, vol. 4070, file 427,063-A.
- 17 Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 42-43.
- 18 Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 43-44.
- 19 Scott, Memorandum to Meighen, 15 November 1918, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7535, file 26154-1.
- 20 See, for example, Scott to W.J. Black, Chairman Soldier Settlement Board, 2 April 1919 vol. 7535 file 26154-1. Also Carter, "Infamous Proposal," 15.
- 21 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 23 June 1919, 3877-3879.
- 22 Carter, "Infamous Proposal," 15-17.
- 23 See for example Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 47.
- 24 E.A. McLean to Secretary, DIA, 6 October 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7535, file 26154-1.
- 25 *Kamloops Telegram*, 16 July 1921.
- 26 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, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7535, file 26154-1.
- 27 A. Megraw to D.C. Scott, 6 August 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7535, file 26154-1.
- 28 J.D. McLean to Agent Thomas Deasy, 8 September 1922, LAC, RG 10, vol. 3181, file 452,124-A cited in Dempsey, *Warriors*, 72.
- 29 Leslie and Maguire, *Historical Development*, 114.
- 30 Inspector Megraw complained "there seems rather more commercialism than altruism in the refusal to do so in this case." A. Megraw to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, DIA, 13 December 1916, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6773, file 452-70.
- 31 J.F. Smith to E. Lemmens, 9 Jan 1917 and E. Lemmens to J.F. Smith, 11 Jan 1917, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6773, file 452-70. It is not known if a special grant was offered to KIRS.
- 32 A. Megraw to J.D. McLean, 5 December 1917 and J.D. McLean to A. Megraw, 30 December 1917, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6773, file 452-70 and Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1919, 70.
- 33 J.D. McLean to A. Megraw, 12 September 1918, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6773, file 452-70.
- 34 A. Megraw to J.D. McLean, 30 September 1918, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6773, file 452-70.

- 35 G. McLean to A. Megraw, 20 October 1918 and J.D. McLean to A. Megraw, 18 November 1918, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6773, file 452-70.
- 36 J.D. McLean to J.F. Smith, 6 September 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7528, file 25,154-2.
- 37 J.F. Smith to J.D. McLean, 14 July 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7528, file 25,154-3, Pt. 1.
- 38 J.D. McLean to J.F. Smith, 6 September 1919, LAC, RG 10, vol. 7528, file 25,154-3, Pt. 1.
- 39 DIA, "Preliminary Information Form for Indian Soldier Settlement," LAC, RG 10, vol. 7528, file 25,154-3, Pt. 1.
- 40 Mountain Horse, *My People*, 139-140 and Dempsey, *Warriors*, 55.
- 41 Rev. Middleton to Scott, 3 September 1918, LAC, RG 10, vol. 6767, file 452-15 Pt.1.
- 42 Chairman of the Board of Pension Commissioners, Notice, 18 June 1919 and Rev. S. Middleton to Blood Agent Ostrander, 17 June 1919, Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, box 16, file 120.
- 43 W.M. Graham to J.E. Ostrander 23 October 1919, Glenbow, Blood Indian Agency Fonds, M1788, box 16, file 120.
- 44 Scott, "The Indians and the Great War" in DIA, *Annual Report*, 1919, 13.
- 45 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 26 March 1920, 789.
- 46 D.C. Scott, "Indians Step Beyond Role of Their Ancient Romance," *Mail and Empire*, 1 July 1927.
- 47 Cooper and Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony," 36.
- 48 Henderson, "*Ayukpachi*, Empowering Aboriginal Thought," 248. See Turner, "Liberalism's Last Stand," 135-147.
- 49 Turner, "From Valladolid to Ottawa," 66.
- 50 Day and Sadik, "The BC Land Question," 30.
- 51 Woolford, *Between Justice & Certainty*, 186.
- 52 Pizzorno, "Foucault and the Liberal View of the Individual," 207.