“The Meaning of This Boundary Line”: Indigenous Communities and the Canada-United States Border on the Columbia Plateau, 1850s-1930s

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Abstract

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This dissertation explores the experiences of indigenous peoples with nation-state borders. On the Columbia Plateau, in the interior Pacific Northwest, the Canada-United States border ran through the aboriginal territories of the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan Nations. Through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these Native nations resisted, undermined, negotiated, and accommodated the border's presence in their homelands. The activities, relationships, and movements of these indigenous communities across the forty-ninth parallel made the region into a borderlands. In lieu of a formal border patrol apparatus, Canada and the United States used federal Indian policy, situational violence, and land settlement practices to enforce the border among these Native nations. The international boundary served as a tool of settler colonialism, and vice versa. Native peoples relocated to reserves in British Columbia and reservations in Montana, Idaho, and Washington as a means of retaining political sovereignty and a land base. Their political reorientation towards the reserve or reservation and towards a relationship with one or the other nation-state in effect reified the border's meaning as a marker of national

domain. However, Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan bands and families continued to engage in cultural and spiritual practices and kin-based relationships across the boundary line well into the twentieth century. These transborder activities disrupted Canada and the United States' efforts to control the movement of indigenous bodies and maintain the separation of Native homelands at the line. A focus on the activities of Native communities in the Canada-United States borderlands reveals the contingent nature of border enforcement and the nation-states' struggle to control national peripheries. This perspective also shows how indigenous nationhood endured colonial institutions of division, isolation, and assimilation delineated by the international boundary.

To Grandpa

Stephen “Bud” Lozar

June 27, 1925 – April 15, 2019

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes

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A Note on Terminology

In historical studies of indigenous peoples, names and labels applied to different groups in colonial sources more often than not fail to identify a community correctly at any one time. For consistency, I have made choices to dispense with certain terms and use other terms that are more practical and sensitive, but unfortunately still imperfect. When referring to indigenous peoples, I use that term or "Native peoples," rather than "Indian" or "Indians." When I do employ the term "Indian," it is in the context of settler voice or government policy directed at Native peoples or individuals. The label "Native peoples" avoids the US or Canada-specific "Native American," "American Indian," or "First Nations." For the main indigenous groups under study here, I stay with the names Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan. Even these names have evolved through time. They are some of several names that various sources have applied to these groups. The Ktunaxa have also been called Kootenay and Kootenai, although the name they use for "the people" is Aqǂsmaknik. The Sinixt, spelled in a variety of ways, were for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries known by outsiders as the Arrow Lakes people or the "Lakes." The Okanagan, another word with dozens of spellings, also go by the name Syilx. Finally, I use the term "nation" when referring to the larger collective within their aboriginal territories. When discussing sub sets of the nation, I use the term "bands," another useful but imperfect label. A band designates a village or group of extended families.

Introduction

In July of 1884, Chief David of the Ktunaxa welcomed a visitor to his home along the Kootenay River in the northern Rocky Mountains.[1] David's people, an indigenous community of the Columbia Plateau, were concerned about white settlers taking up lands in their territory. The man visiting David was Indian Reserve Commissioner Peter O'Reilly. The province of British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada had authorized O'Reilly to mark out reserves for Native peoples. David was eager for O'Reilly to set aside a Ktunaxa reserve that settlers would recognize as claimed and unavailable. O'Reilly arrived for the meeting with David at the Tobacco Plains in the heart of Ktunaxa territory expecting the chief to request an adequate-sized reserve for his band, but when O'Reilly asked David to choose which lands he would desire for his band's reserve, David requested all the traditional lands of the Ktunaxa Nation.[2] This claim included land in British Columbia and in Montana and Idaho Territories. David felt this area would contain enough land for his people's hunting, fishing, and horse grazing needs.[3]

O'Reilly was incensed at the massive size of David's request but cared more that the claim spilled over into the United States. He retorted, "We cannot talk about U. S. land…it is on the other side of the boundary…we must only talk of the Canadian side."[4] The commissioner's jurisdiction ended at the Canada-United States border, established in 1846. As a resident of British Columbia and therefore a subject of the British Crown, David had no authority or territory south of the border either, according to Canadian officials. O'Reilly informed David that his people must reorient themselves away from the southern portion of their homelands and

[1] Peter O'Reilly to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 16 December 1884, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1884* (hereafter, *ARCIA*) (Ottawa, ON: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1885), lxxiii.
[2] Kutenai Indian Tribe Statements, 1912, Box SC 645, Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

recognize their position north of an international boundary. Responding to the commissioner, Chief David asked, "What is the meaning of this boundary line…It runs through the middle of my house. My home is on both sides. Why should you without asking me or considering me, divide my property in two and also divide my children?"[5] To David, this border threatened to partition the Ktunaxa people and severe access for many of them to their territory to the south. David declared, "I am a Chief and am standing on the Boundary. We live on both sides of the line."[6]

Ignoring Ktunaxa conceptions of territoriality and community, O'Reilly insisted that David choose lands north of the line because that was the Queen's wish for her Native people. David eventually agreed to limit his reserve to lands north of the border, with the understanding that the Queen would honor his request. His new claim included Ktunaxa lands from the border, north along the Rocky Mountains to Columbia Lakes, and then southwest along the Purcell Mountains back to the border; about 704,000 acres according to O'Reilly.[7] The commissioner still found the extensive size of this smaller claim completely unreasonable, so he left the meeting with David and unilaterally assigned the chief's band a reserve of about 11,260 acres along the Kootenay River at Tobacco Plains.[8] The Ktunaxa at Tobacco Plains did not immediately move upon this reserve, nor did they show any initial signs of recognizing or respecting the international border that ran through their territory. Yet, moments like this episode reveal that the border the Ktunaxa Nation contended with would have increasingly significant consequences for the integrity of their community and ties to homeland.

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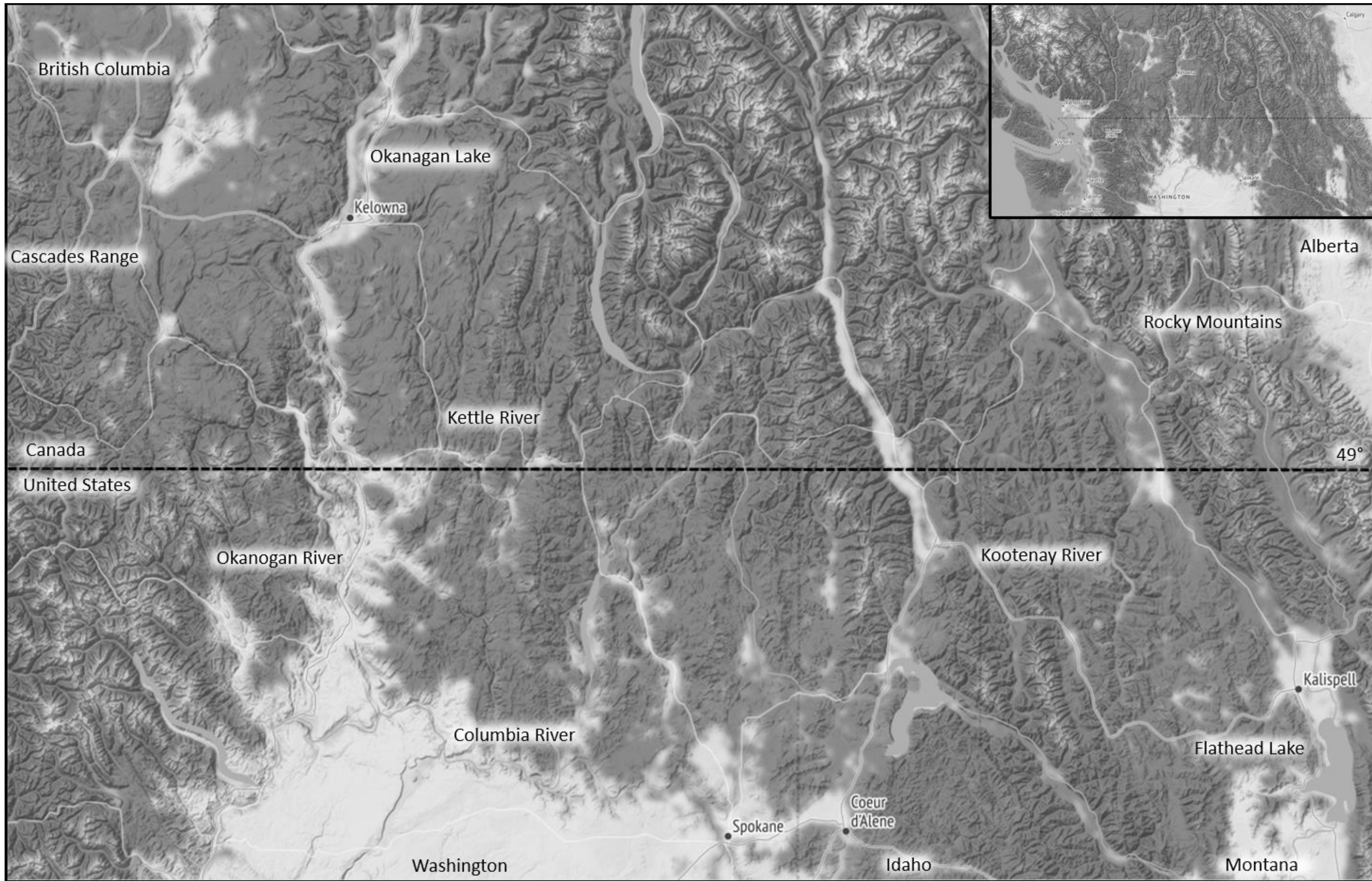
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Peter O'Reilly to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 16 December 1884, *ARCIA 1884* (Ottawa, ON: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1885), lxxiii.
[8] Ibid.

"The Meaning of This Boundary Line" explores how indigenous nations of the Columbia Plateau understood, undermined, and adjusted to the Canada-US border that ran through their homelands. Through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Ktunaxa and their Okanagan and Sinixt neighbors along the forty-ninth parallel encountered settlers and government agents from Canada and the United States. Both governments intended to make the border a meaningful entity for their purposes in the interior Pacific Northwest. To reify the border meant dividing Native peoples at the line and making them subjects of one or the other nation-state. The Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan actively contested and strategically negotiated this process, with results that included new conceptions of their group identities and allegiances but not a surrender of their indigenous nationhoods.

My interest in the issue of indigenous peoples and international borders came from my growing up on the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana. A member of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, I knew that our Kootenai, or Ktunaxa, band was, and still is, associated with Ktunaxa bands in British Columbia and Idaho. A desire to understand the histories of these relationships and how their connections worked in a cultural and political sense prompted my initial research. Exploring transborder Ktunaxa connections then led me to ask further questions about Native peoples and international borders. How have indigenous actions and cultural persistence along national peripheries affected and informed the nation-state's ability to regulate and enforce its borders? How has the border's delineation of national space, Indian policy, and settlement served to control Native mobility and shape the structure of indigenous communities? If so, how complete has that control been and why? How could a



“Columbia Plateau region, present day” *maps.stamen.com*

transborder zone of indigenous activity and interaction exist alongside the restrictive forces of colonialism? The summary answers are intertwined and reciprocal: colonial governments deterring indigenous bodies from crossing the line in effect reinforced the international boundary, but Native people's active relationships with their homelands that spanned the line diluted the primacy of nation-state borders.

Through the nineteenth century, bands of the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan Nations maintained connections to each other and their homelands while negotiating colonial impositions such as the Canada-US border. These distinct Native communities had long ago developed essential ties to the river valleys between the Cascades and Rocky Mountain Ranges. These territories stretched north to Columbia Lakes and Okanagan Lake, and south to Flathead Lake and the confluence of the Okanogan and Columbia Rivers. Their subsistence-oriented migrations through these areas of the Columbia Plateau had shaped and reflected their sense of group identity, culture, and worldview. Indigenous relations to land and community endured through the initial changes wrought by colonialism in the middle of the century. As settlers followed fur traders to the region, Great Britain and the United States resolved their competing claims on what they called the "Oregon Country" by dividing the area along the forty-ninth parallel in 1846. Subsequent direct enforcement of the border proceeded on an ad hoc basis for several decades.[9] On paper, the border divided the Ktunaxa, Okanagan, and Sinixt peoples, but because of the colonial governments' relatively weak presence and contingent enforcement tendencies, Native bands, families, and individuals could travel beyond the line with little or no obstructions and even exploit the international boundary's jurisdictional limitations at times. They would

[9] For an overview of the Canada-United States border's history in the Pacific Northwest, see Ken Coates, "Border Crossings: Patterns and Processes along the Canada-United States Boundary West of the Rockies," in John Findlay and Ken Coates, eds. *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 3-27.

eventually find that crossing the line for some purposes such as attending a Sun Dance met less resistance than for other activities such as hunting deer. Native movements and the loose enforcement conditions at the line created a fluid borderlands situation that provided space for the persistence of indigenous nationhood and sovereignty.

In the late nineteenth century, however, a growing settler population on the Columbia Plateau and the US and Canadian governments' expanding administrative capacity in Indian affairs began to discourage Native peoples' movements in the border zone. Both nation-states sought to incorporate the region into their national folds after the 1870s. This involved taking control of the region's by then roughly 1,000 Ktunaxa, 1,180 Okanagan, and 300 Sinixt people within their respective jurisdictions. Assigning and moving bands to reservations in Montana, Idaho, and Washington territories and to reserves in British Columbia located away from the boundary line served to deter cross-border movements. Settlers further strengthened the barriers by claiming the land between these enclaves and the border. Assigning Native families or individuals to a reserve or a reservation would assist the federal governments in claiming "their" wards as "American" or "Canadian" Indians. Through the 1890s and into the first three decades of the twentieth century, bands of the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan began to assert their political identities as reserve or reservation confederation members. With this reorientation, bands reconstituted and channeled the exercise of their indigenous sovereignty towards their political relations with either the Canadian or US governments. Together, these policies and institutions served as powerful tools for enforcing the border among the region's indigenous people, all without posting permanent border patrols or erecting physical barriers.

And yet, despite this demonstrable political divergence, the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan continued to engage in activities and movements that sustained their indigenous

nationhood across the colonial border. They gathered together to celebrate the Sun Dance, to pick berries, to attend church, to support each other in conflict, and to fish at Kettle Falls on the Columbia River, all of which meant crossing the Canada-US border. These connections persisted through a time when Canadian and US Indian policy seemed to have successfully confined Native bodies and group consciousness to the reserve, the reservation, and to one side of the border. The Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan did orient their political identities and efforts toward working with and holding the US and Canadian governments accountable for support and protection - a difficult decision of colonial origins and constraints. However, the US and Canadian settler-states could not bring indigenous Columbia Plateau peoples to turn fully away from their kin and homelands across the line. In claiming the interior as national space, Canada and the United States sought to assert dominion over their respective lands up to the boundary and jointly to make the border a meaningful and respected entity among the region's residents. The Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan Nations' continued transnational activities, relationships, and movements into the twentieth century complicated and held off a full realization of the colonial nation-states' authority on the Columbia Plateau.

Historiography and Significance

"*Indian*" *Identity*

In this dissertation, I intervene in studies of indigenous group identity by showing how international borders played a role in the evolution of community identities as well as how Native nationhood persisted across borders after 1846. On the subject of Indian identity, scholars have analyzed how factors such as law, ethnogenesis, race, culture, and family relations, among

others, have shaped our understanding of who Native people are and according to what criteria.[10] However, most of these studies have been limited to within the bounds of a single nation-state, focusing on Native peoples within Canada or the United States. For instance, they have not taken into account that for some Native communities in North America, nation-state borders became a factor influencing Native group identities. On the one hand, borders divided Native nations, rendering the partitioned peoples subjects of one nation-state or the other. Thus, nation-state nationality became part of their identity. On the other hand, cultural and place-based elements of indigenous identities could persist beyond the boundary line in many ways. Narrowing our attention to such border zones can reveal how Native cultural persistence and movements disrupted and confused colonial attempts to circumscribe and impose categories of Indian identity on these indigenous borderlands populations.

In this study, Native nationhood is defined by a combination of elements related to place, culture, and social relations. Native nations consist of a group of people that share a common language, a sense of homeland, cultural or spiritual traditions, and kinship relations of extended families, which together structure a coherent social and political system. Sets of extended family units, or bands, operate with political and economic autonomy but are also connected to other bands through these several elements that constitute their larger Native nation. The bonds of Native nationhood structure a common identity that can stretch over a large geographical area

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[10] Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Melinda Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South: Race, Identity, and the Making of a Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), Dwanna Robertson, "A Necessary Evil: Framing an American Indian Legal Identity," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 37, no. 4 (2013): 115-139; Mark Miller, *Claiming Tribal Identity: The Five Tribes and the Politics of Federal Acknowledgement* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013); Jill Doerfler, *Those Who Belong: Identity, Family, Blood, and Citizenship among the White Earth Anishinaabeg* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), Christine Dupres, *Being Cowlitz: How One Tribe Renewed and Sustained its Identity* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2014); Simone Poliandri, *First Nations, Identity, and Reserve Life: the Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011); David Chang, *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

and are indeed informed by this connection to place. Native nations possess an indigenous sovereignty that is embedded in political traditions and kinship relations. Native nationhood contrasts with the Western nation-state model of rigid institutional delimitations of citizenship, boundaries, and hierarchy.[11]

During the period under study, from the 1850s to the 1930s, Indigenous networks within the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan Nations of the Columbia Plateau could transcend the border that marked Canadian and United States jurisdiction along the forty-ninth parallel. Native people's movements and situationally expressed nationhood along the border did not always fit neatly with reservation or reserve, or even nation-state frameworks. In times of crisis, bands from one side of the border could count on support from their kin on the other side. Calling upon these Native networks included drawing upon a common heritage and the idea of an unbroken homeland. Yet, to collect as a nation did not require a response to crisis. More often than not, a shared sense of belonging could guide the assembly of bands and families in cultural celebrations and hunting parties that brought them from and on to the various reserves and reservations. They crossed the border to hunt, fish, and gather roots and berries and stay with each other for

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[11] Scholars have begun to theorize the concept of the indigenous "nation" with more rigor than previous applications of the sometimes romanticized term. See, Christina Gish Hill, *Webs of Kinship: Family in Northern Cheyenne Nationhood* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017); Brian Hosmer and Larry Nesper, eds., *Tribal Worlds: Critical Studies in American Indian Nation Building* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013); David Wilkins and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2011); Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999); Audra Simpson, "Paths Toward a Mohawk Nation: Narratives of Citizenship and Nationhood in Kahnawake," in Duncan Ivison, Paul Patton, and Will Sanders, eds., *Political Theory and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 113-136. Some scholars prefer the term "peoplehood" to describe the connection between affiliates of a larger Native group. This notion has been most saliently cohered as the "peoplehood matrix" that considers factors of language, sacred history, religion, and land as elements of group identity. Tom Holm, J. Diane Pearson, Ben Chavis, "Peoplehood: A Model for the Extension of Sovereignty in American Indian Studies,' *Wicazo Sa Review*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 12-15. For applications of the "peoplehood" criteria, see Eric Hannel, *Reinterpreting a Native American Identity: Examining the Lumbee through the Peoplehood Model* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015); Margaret Huettl, "Nindandishinaabewimin: Ojibwe Peoplehood in the North American West, 1854-1954," (University of Nevada, Las Vegas, PhD. diss., 2016).

extended periods of time. In some cases, they even crossed to collect annuities or lease money on the reservation and then returned across the line. Such migrations, relationships, and schemes vexed government agents in Canada and the United States. For borders to function as they should, the state needed these unattached Native peoples to align themselves with one or the other agency and to stay there.

My analysis of Columbia Plateau Native movements and identity amid colonial impositions of borders, reserves, and reservations draws in part from historians Keith Thor Carlson's and Andrew Fisher's work on the Sto:lo and the Columbia River peoples. Thor and Fisher analyze indigenous articulations of collective consciousness and community relations to place within the "cauldron of colonialism." They show that indigenous people maintained versions of group identity while adapting to colonial structures that satisfied Native community understandings of self. In Carlson's study of the Sto:lo of the Lower Fraser River, he shows how a collective identity among disparate bands could be called upon according to a particular situation. They mobilized their sense of nation and common interest when one subgroup faced a colonial threat.[12] In other instances, bands operated independently in certain external affairs. In his study of the Mid-Columbia River fishing people, Fisher traces the formation of a distinct "Columbia River Indian" identity. With the creation of regional reservations, government agents expected Native peoples to relocate to their respective reservations and stay there. Instead, groups of "renegades" stayed on the river away from the reservation or remained on the

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[12] Keith Thor Carlson, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 13-18, 27-30. Also relevant here is Christopher Wetzel's work on the Potawatomi, which traces how the various, geographically dislocated bands and tribes of the Potawatomi draw on several aspects of a shared culture, language, and relations to construct their nationhood. Just as important to their adoption of the nation as a unifier is their drawing upon a common historical experience of with colonialism and diaspora. Christopher Wetzel, *Gathering the Potawatomi Nation: Revitalization and Identity* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015).

reservation for only part of the year. This existence reflected indigenous connections to place more than the manufactured identities of the multi-tribal reservation confederations.[13] In both cases, the colonial labels applied to these Native communities failed to capture the dynamic activities, situational expressions of identity, migrations, or indigenous understandings of place, kinship, and culture.

A focus on the border zone illuminates different layers of Native group identity, paradoxically in a space where they should be the least visible. Native individuals, families, and bands tacking back and forth between their transborder indigenous nationhoods and their assigned political status' becomes visible from this vantage point. Many studies of Native group identity focus on the smaller subunits of Native nations that became reserve bands or reservation tribes in the later nineteenth century. These studies offer important insights into group experience and characteristics, including social organization, political activity, and culture change, among other developments. However, the narrowed scope of these studies tends to miss connections to the larger community histories of which those people are a part.[14] Considering the Native nation

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[13] Andrew Fisher, *Shadow Tribe: The Making of Columbia River Indian Identity* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 5-10.

[14] Tribal or band histories that focus on one subset of a Native nation or of the reserve or reservation community that the subset became often focus on the period after the 1860s or so. In these cases, ethnographic, linguistic, cultural, kinship, among other characteristics, that connect the group to the larger entity receive attention for context. But this is usually provided as background information. They then tend to lose importance to the smaller community narrative history. For examples, see Henry Edwin Stamm, *People of the Wind River: The Eastern Shoshones, 1825-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); Paul C. Rosier, *Rebirth of the Blackfeet Nation, 1912-1954* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); Laurie Arnold, *Bartering with the Bones of Their Dead: The Colville Confederated Tribes and Termination* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012); Thomas Biolsi, *Organizing the Lakota: The Political Economy of the New Deal on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992); John W. W. Mann, *Sacajawea's People: The Lemhi Shoshones and the Salmon River Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Keith W. Regular, *Neighbours and Networks: The Blood Tribe in the Southern Alberta Economy, 1884-1939* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press 2008); John W. Heaton, *The Shoshone-Bannocks: Culture & Commerce at Fort Hall, 1870-1940* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005); Melissa Meyer, *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation, 1889-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Morris Foster, *Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991).

in the same analytical frame as the band, reserve, or reservation community allows us to see how Native peoples lived in both dimensions despite some interference from colonial institutions.[15]

Along the forty-ninth parallel, colonial categories, subjectivities, and spatial constructs doubly complicated Native articulations of nationhood. By the end of the nineteenth century, Native people contended with and adapted to the imposed labels of the reserves and reservations to which the governments assigned them, and by extension their status as Canadian or American Indians. The state played a leading role in establishing the parameters of political identity within these enclaves. This meant isolating bands on disparate reserves in British Columbia and confederating bands with other tribal groups on reservations in Washington and Montana. The politically-constructed space of the reserve in Canada and the reservation in the United States took on new importance as settlers seized lands in Columbia Plateau valleys and rendered other lands unavailable to Native peoples. Bands and their leaders came to identify with their reserve or reservation and advocated for the protection of these spaces from further encroachment.[16] In political relations with the state, they also referred to themselves as Canadian or American for many of the same reasons. In these reconfigurations, indigenous sovereignty was certainly constrained but also recognized to a degree, more so in the United States than in British Columbia.

[15] Sociologist Stephen Cornell work on Native group identity is useful here. Cornell categorizes Native "groupness" into the "organizational" and "conceptual" dimensions to explain the difference between a groups' imposed political status and its indigenous cultural and kin-based ties. Stephen Cornell, *The Return of the Native: American Indian Political Resurgence* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1988), 72-75, 101-104.

[16] As Alexandra Harmon notes, the reservation was just one of many conveyors of Native individual and group identity. In determining who a Native person was or to what community they belonged, Indians and non-Indians considered language groupings, village locations, racial categories, and kinship connections, among other identifiers, along with reservation membership. Still, Native peoples and their descendants made use of as well as complicated these labels in their legal, social, and political relations with non-Indians. Harmon, *Indians in the Making*, 9-12, 120-122. 136-139.

For Native peoples, indigenous nationhood could coincide with reserve or reservation membership, until nation-state actors applied terms of exclusivity. As indigenous nations, the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan continued to exist in a "self-conscious peoplehood" cohered by kinship ties, language, spirituality, tradition, and sense of territory.[17] In these respects, the indigenous nation could transcend reservation, reserve, and nation-state borders. When possible, bands, families, and individuals could exercise both modes of collective consciousness based on the setting and the purpose or event. These divergent statuses, reserve or reservation or transborder Native nation, became incompatible when the state intervened in indigenous activities within its jurisdiction. For instance, a Ktunaxa family from British Columbia could be arrested as "foreign Indians" for carrying out depredations in Montana, when they would have considered themselves Ktunaxa people hunting deer in their traditional territory. In consequential interactions with the state, imposed subjectivities and labels mattered more for Native peoples than being of an indigenous nation. Of sorting these constraints and overlaps and their legacies, Sinixt elder Marylyn James concluded in a 2017 interview, "It's complicated."[18]

Borderlands Histories

In the field of North American borderlands studies, my project contributes to recent scholarship advocating a more robust recognition of indigenous nations' power, activities, and agency in contested meeting spaces. Definitions of "borderlands" vary from "permeable boundaries that both divide and connect" to "non-physical cultural frontiers."[19] I adopt the former definition in my study. In their article "From Borderlands to Borders," historians Jeremy

[17] Cornell, *The Return of the Native*, 75.
[18] Marylyn James, interview by Patrick Lozar, 19 July 2017, Vallican, British Columbia.
[19] Pekka Hämäläinen and Benjamin H. Johnson, "Preface," in Pekka Hämäläinen and Benjamin H. Johnson, eds., *Major Problems in the History of North American Borderlands* (Boston, MA: Wadsworth, 2012), xviii.

Adelman and Stephen Aron trace how fluid North American borderlands solidified into national or international bordered-lands. Their case study model examines how different regions between empires or nation-states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries came under the exclusive control of national governments. However, the marginalization of Native peoples in the larger narrative hinders their analysis, which does "lethal" historiographical damage according to historians John Wunder and Pekka Hämäläinen.[20] Historians Julianna Barr and Joshua Reid have shown why by drawing attention to indigenous borderlands in which different Native groups jostled over territory. Non-Natives entered into these complex situations and contestations at their own risk.[21] Historians Brian DeLay's and Pekka Hämäläinen's work on the southern plains shows how mounted indigenous nations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could make a mockery of imperial and nation-state border legitimacy, in their case the US border with Spain and then Mexico.[22] Native invasions of Mexico contributed to the region's borderlands status and laid bare the inherent fiction of nation-state borders as meaningful entities in this period.

Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett argue that such practices demonstrate that nation-state borders were anything but automatically fulfilled representations of national space and territoriality. They observe that indigenous spaces endured, "and nowhere did they endure more visibly than at the territorialized edges of nations-spaces that simultaneously embodied and

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[20] Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History," *American Historical Review,* Vol. 104, no. 3 (June 1999): 814-817. Pekka Hämäläinen and John Wunder, "Of Lethal Places and Lethal Essays," *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 4 (Oct. 1999), 1229-1234.

[21] Juliana Barr, "Geographies of Power: Mapping Indian Borders in the "Borderlands" of the Early Southwest," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 68, no. 1 (2011): 5-46; Josh Reid, *The Sea is My Country: The Maritime World of the Makahs* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015). See also, Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Theodore Binnema, *Common and Contested Ground: A Human and Environmental History of the Northwestern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001).

[22] Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

undermined state power."[23] By this, they mean that the state sought to bring order and authority to their borders and that indigenous activities on these national peripheries would remind nation-states just how incomplete this project remained.[24]

I show that the persistence of a Columbia Plateau indigenous territoriality sustained a borderlands dynamic along the United States and Canada's peripheries into the twentieth century, hampering nation-state efforts to reify the border as a marker of dominion. In this space, nation-state borderlands were indigenous homelands. As Canada and the United States began to assert themselves in the region, indigenous activities on their borders became a logistically and jurisdictionally complicated, perennial issue. Both governments expended great effort to compel the Native peoples of the Columbia Plateau to accept their position as Canadian or US subjects on either side of the line. But the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan actively engaged their relationships with kin up and down the region's river valleys and participated in the cultural and place-based traditions that defined their indigenous nationhood. Such relations were difficult to extinguish.

Settler Colonialism

In showing that the Canada-US border was a factor in the dispossession of Native landholders and immobilization and confinement of Native bodies, this dissertation inserts the role of international borders into discussions of settler colonialism. Settler colonialism is a useful framework for understanding how settlers and state entities carved up and parceled out Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan lands. Theorist Patrick Wolfe bases the concept of settler colonialism on

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[23] Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett, "On Borderlands," *The Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (Sept. 2011): 348-350.
[24] As historian Sheila McManus puts it, "nations are in fact made and unmade at their borders." Sheila McManus, *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender, and the Making of the Alberta-Montana Borderlands* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2005), xi.

what he calls the "logic of elimination." According to this idea, the fundamental goal of settler colonialism is to eliminate indigenous people from the land and replace these former landholders with settlers. Scholars, including historians Margaret Jacobs and Lisa Ford, have added layers to this premise, identifying several components of replacement, including Indian boarding and residential schools, land allotment, settler law, and relocation racial blood quantum criteria of Indian identity.[25] These forces have worked together to either physically remove indigenous bodies from the land or to erase their indigenous identity and concomitant claim to the land. In the North American West, Canada and the United States enacted this process in a number of ways. Treaties and the refusal to make treaties, war and violence, reservations and reserves, the Indian Act of 1876 and the General Allotment Act of 1887, child removal policies, and curtailing access to sites of subsistence all contributed to the structural dispossession of indigenous lands in the North American West. Many of these forces were overt and by design. Lines on a map, among other policies and institutions, were not all explicitly meant to erase Native peoples, but they still played an important role in the process of erasure.

The Canada-US border guided and assisted in the settler colonial objective of dispossessing the Columbia Plateau's indigenous peoples. With the stroke of a pen in 1846, and through decades of reinforcement on the ground, Native nations lost half their recognized

[25] Scholars and theorists including Lorenzo Veracini and Jurgen Osterhammell have applied settler colonialism to a host of global sites of colonization, and others have since found it relevant to the North American West. This scholarship includes Janne Lahti, "Introduction: What is Settler Colonialism and What It Has to Do with the American West?," *Journal of the West*, Vol. 56, no. 4 (Fall 2017): 8-12; Margaret Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788-1836* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Gray Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee: U.S. Empire and the Transformation of an Indigenous World, 1792-1859* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Walter Hixon, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Bethel Saler, *The Settlers' Empire; Colonialism and State Formation in America's Old Northwest* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2015).

territory without their consultation or consent. From the point of view of these indigenous nations, their people were subject to two powers at once. Through the nineteenth century, British, Canadian, and US governments chipped away at Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan homelands through a series of tactics including land cession treaties, Indian reserve commissions, establishing executive order reservations, and then at times appropriating some or all of these supposedly protected lands. The state created reservations and reserves with their own boundaries to contain Indians. Even before the creation of these institutions, however, the international border itself created American and Canadian bounded space for "American Indians" or "Canadian Indians."

Both governments factored the border into their approach to the dispossession of Native lands. The border served as an additional tool of "divide and conquer" that was not available in the same way in other areas of the continent.[26] Drawing Native peoples away from the line and towards their reserves and reservations could create better conditions for establishing state control and authority. Dismantling reservations or relocating them farther from the border, or allowing settlers to fill the spaces between reserves and reservations and the border could discourage Native peoples from moving near or beyond the boundary. Such schemes allowed the settler-states to enforce their borders while also dispossessing the indigenous groups inside the boundary. Therefore, settler colonialism and international borders must be considered as reinforcing the same goals.

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[26] In other areas of North American where Native peoples did suffer the border's partition of their community, see McManus, *The Line Which Separates*; Michel Hogue, *Metis and the Medicine Line: Creating a Border and Dividing a People* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Jeffrey Schulze, *Are We Not Foreigners Here? Indigenous Nationalism in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018); Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus; Political Life across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

However, I suggest we must analyze this history without privileging a settler colonial framework at the expense of a borderlands or indigenous framework. On one hand, historian Margaret Jacobs has argued that "while evocative of dynamism of cultural encounters and the fluidity of national borders, the concept of the borderlands – involving 'multiple collisions, conquests, and accommodations' – still seems to evade identifying the central process at work in the West, namely colonialism."[27] On the other hand, dismissing a borderlands frame of analysis devalues at best and ignores at worst indigenous agency and persistence in the border zone and obscures the Native peoples who disregarded the border and engaged indigenous ties across the line. The activities and experiences of the Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa Nations through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries demonstrate that a borderlands situation and settler colonialism could exist in the same place at the same time.[28]

A 1923 report from the *Creston Review* illustrates this simultaneity and its persistence well beyond the nineteenth century. The report described the arrest of Ktunaxa men and women from near the Lower Kootenay Reserve in British Columbia. The *Review* recounted "Forty seven indians and squaws charged with gambling…the Creston Indians were playing host to about a dozen reds from the Bonner's Ferry, Idaho reserve, the excuse for the get together being a

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[27] Margaret Jacobs, "Getting Out of a Rut: Decolonizing Western Women's History," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 79, no. 4 (November 2010): 599. Walter Hixson also notes the presence of borderlands in North American history. However, he quickly dismisses the borderlands experience in favor of an argument that settler colonialism is the fundamental story of American history. Walter Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 1. See also, Janne Lahti, *Wars for Empire: Apaches, the United States, and the Southwest Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017), 5-6.

[28] Debates over the place of indigenous peoples in settler colonial studies are relevant here. Critics of settler colonial theory question the inevitable nature of the "logic of elimination" that marginalizes indigenous subjects amidst the juggernaut of colonialism. See J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, "'A Structure. Not an Event': Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity," *Settler Colonialism*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (Spring 2016), http://csalateral.org; Corey Snelgrove, Rita Kaur Dhamoon, Jeff Corntassel, "Unsettling settler colonialism: The discourse and politics of settlers, and solidarity with Indigenous nations," *Decolonization; Indigeneity, Education, & Society*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (2014), 1-32; Zoë Laidlaw and Alan Lester, eds., *Indigenous Communities and Settler Colonialism: Land Holding, Loss and Survival in an Interconnected World* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

celebration of the third anniversary of the death of the late chief Dominic Luke."[29] The Ktunaxa of the lower Kootenay River still came together across the border to honor their ancestors and to socialize and indulge in games of chance. They demonstrated their dedication to preserving and enacting the cultural elements of their transnational Ktunaxa Nation identity. However, Canada still sought to impose its laws on the Ktunaxa and discourage such jurisdictionally burdensome gatherings. Establishing and imposing settler law were essential to processes of assimilation and dispossession, but as long as indigenous people performed and prioritized their Native nationhood over the forty-ninth parallel, borderlands and settler colonial dynamics were in play simultaneously on the Columbia Plateau. My study shows that border enforcement and settler colonialism had devastating effects, but these forces did not and could not fully supplant the mental maps and movements of the Columbia Plateau's indigenous nations.[30]

Methodology and Structure

Recorded histories of the Okanagan, Sinixt, or Ktunaxa Nations are few and partial. This scarcity is largely due to a nation-state-bound archival and historiographical tradition that renders transborder populations nearly invisible. The British, Canadian, and US government archives on Indian affairs are inherently focused on the Native peoples within the colonial states' boundaries. Government officials concerned themselves with monitoring and influencing the activities of the Indians in their separate jurisdictions. The archival record reflects this inward-facing attention. The historiography on these Native groups is thus a product of the archives' national orientation.

[29] "47 Indians on Trial," 9 March 1923, *Creston Review*, 8.
[30] In the context of Palestine, Edward Said refers to the Zionist settler colonial goal of removing the Palestinians as a "future wish." This wish did not and could not reflect the reality of a persistent Palestinian presence in Israel. Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1992), 9.

For example, studies focus on the Okanagan people in British Columbia or the Okanagan people in Washington, but not both.[31]

Identifying and tracing Ktunaxa, Okanagan, and Sinixt cross-border activities and relationships has required reading the archival sources through a transnational and indigenous lens. Many sources make passing mention of seemingly inconsequential border crossings or the presence of American Indians in Canada or vice versa. Putting these references into context involves crossing the border into Canadian or American historiographies. This is a necessary practice to break out of the national myopia that tends to bury transnational histories. Indigenous oral histories and community-produced written sources have provided my research with a crucial foundation from which to observe the quotidian acts and webs of kin-based relationships that transcended the border and thus to understand Native nationhood in this context.[32] This methodology makes visible the persistence of Native nations despite the settler and state-created structures and conditions that aimed to pull them apart at the line.

This dissertation comprises five chapters that follow the historical evolution of the Columbia Plateau indigenous peoples' relationship with the Canada-US border. Although it proceeds chronologically, the thematic approach results in some chronological overlap. The

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[31] See Duncan Duane Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan: Indians and Whites in the Settlement Era, 1860-1920" (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1985); Leslie Spier, ed. *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington,* ed. Leslie Spier, Contributions from the Laboratory of Anthropology 2, General Series in Anthropology 6 (Menasha, WI: George Banta Publishing, 1938); Keith Smith, *Liberalism, Surveillance, and Resistance: Indigenous Communities in Western Canada, 1877-1927* (Edmonton, AB: Athabasca University Press, 2009).

[32] See Shirley Louis, ed., *Q'sapi: A History of Okanagan People as Told by Okanagan Families* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, Ltd., 2002); Troy Hunter, *Not So Long Ago: Recollections of Ktunaxa/Kinbasket Elders* (Cranbrook, BC: Ktunaxa/Kinbasket Tribal Council, 1999); Adolf Hungry Wolf and Beverly Hungry Wolf, *Indian Tribes of the Northern Rockies*, Summertown, TN: Book Publishing Company, 1989); Elders of the Kootenai Nation and the Members of the Tribe, *Century of Survival: A Brief History of the Kootenai Tribe of Idaho* (Kootenai Tribe of Idaho, 1990), Maggie Plummer, *Passing it On: Voices from the Flathead Indian Reservation* (Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press, 2008); Nancy Perkins Wynecoop, *In the Stream: An Indian Story*, ed. N. Wynecoop Clark (Spokane, WA: N. Wynecoop Clark, 1985).

dissertation begins with the period before the creation of the border in 1846 and moves into the 1930s when Native leaders demonstrated most visibly their continuing dedication to their band's political identity at the expense of their kin across the border. The conclusion draws connections to recent Ktunaxa, Okanagan, and Sinixt efforts to assert their transnational nationhood, cultural revitalization, relationships to lost homelands, and overt anti-colonial border protests.

Chapter One explores how the Sinixt, Ktunaxa, and Okanagan Nations came to know non-Native peoples through the early-nineteenth-century fur trade and learned the difference between the British and the Americans. The indigenous communities of the Columbia Plateau had a well-established relationship with the land and waters that defined their territory and their sense of group cohesion and identity. They traded and consorted with fur traders and in the process learned about the newcomers' character and plans for the region. These lessons would inform Native peoples' understanding of the situation created by the 1846 Oregon Treaty that fixed the boundary between British North America and the United States in the far west at the forty-ninth parallel. When Britain and the United States launched a terrestrial survey of the boundary line in 1858 to 1862, the indigenous residents of the border zone participated in the project at every step. In this series of engagements and interactions, all parties sought to gain knowledge of each other to determine how they could incorporate the other into their own economic and political pursuits.

Chapter Two relates how the Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa peoples learned lessons about the international border and their American and British and Canadian counterparts in the context of violence and war on the Columbia Plateau. From conflicts between Native nations and settlers and the US Army in Washington Territory in the 1850s to settler violence visited upon Sinixt bands in British Columbia in the 1890s, indigenous people alternatively avoided and

exploited conflict by using the border when they could. In some situations, Native people took advantage of the British and Canadian or American inability to pursue them across the line due to jurisdictional constraints. In other situations, the border represented a refuge from conflict with settlers in British Columbia. In these ways, Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan people utilized the border in confronting the wrenching challenges of colonization on the Columbia Plateau.

Although they were well aware of the border's presence in their homelands, Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan people continued for decades after 1846 to move through their territory across the forty-ninth parallel and to gather as indigenous nations with little regard for the border's division of their lands and communities. Chapter Three shows that bands and families of these Native nations continued to pursue the land-based and cultural practices and traditions that had shaped their group identities. This chapter shows most vividly how these activities and Native people's mental maps and homelands transcended the Canada-US border and could persist well into the twentieth century. Migrating and congregating families and bands sustained the bonds of indigenous nationhood, giving only passing attention to their having traveled through an international border.

Chapter Four shows how federal Indian policy worked in tandem with local and federal settler law to implement an increasingly effective enforcement of the border among Columbia Plateau indigenous peoples. After the 1870s, Canada and the United States endeavored to compel indigenous peoples to recognize that they were subjects of a state within American or Canadian jurisdiction. These efforts consisted largely of the reserve and reservation systems and associated patterns of non-Native settlement. Confined to a Canadian reserve or US reservation, Native bands and families would be discouraged from leaving their enclave and crossing the Canada-US border. Settlers assisted in the process by filling the spaces between the reserve or reservation

and the international boundary. As settlement increased in Washington, Idaho, Montana, and British Columbia, so too did local government and law enforcement capacity. When Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan people crossed the line, local law enforcement informed them of their status as foreign Canadian or American Indians and treated them as such.

By the 1880s and 1890s, Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan bands and their leaders began to channel their authority through their politically recognized reserves and reservation confederations. Chapter Five assesses how bands came to conflate their political identity with their reservation or reserve. In the midst of further non-Native settlement, reservation allotment policy, and potential reserve land "cut-offs" or appropriations, bands negotiated for the protection of their reservation or reserve homes in political relations with the Canadian, British Columbia, or US governments. Into the twentieth century, the assertion of this political identity also meant claiming a position within the United States or Canada as American or Canadian Indians. The decisions to express a Canadian or American identity was politically strategic. It was also a product of nationalistic and assimilation-driven education in boarding and residential schools. As band and tribal governments became more assertive in relations with either federal government, they often prioritized their entitlement to government recognition and redress over their relationships with kin from beyond the border.

In 1926, the tribal leaders of the "Colville and Okanogan tribes" petitioned the US federal government to address a long-standing land claims issue.[33] In putting their claims into context, they gave US president Calvin Coolidge a history lesson:

[33] The "Colville and Okanogan tribes" meant the Okanagan and Sinixt and likely the Skoyelpi bands that resided on the Colville Indian Reservation's north half before and after the federal government returned that section to the public domain.

> We had always been here. When the world was made, God gave everyone a country…you came and you took our lands. One part came from the cold side of heaven (the Canadians) and said, this is all my land down to this line; another party came from the warm side of heaven (Americans) and said this is all my land up to this line. They did us, the Indians, a great wrong. When the President and the Queen of England made their line dividing the Indian Country they did not consult us. You came after us; you should have consulted us.[34]

The Okanagan and Sinixt leaders associated by then with the Colville Indian Reservation reminded the executive branch of the foreignness of the border that was imposed upon them. They explained that as indigenous nations, they should have been included in the negotiations on this massive land claim delineated by the boundary line. They spoke as representatives of their people on the Colville Reservation working within the US Indian administration system, but they explained the experience of their larger transborder Okanagan and Sinixt nations. An indigenous nation consciousness and memory persisted but was also bound up in the border's presence in their lives and histories.

This dissertation illustrates how Native peoples on the Columbia Plateau interacted with the border in a variety of ways – ignoring, crossing, resisting, exploiting, avoiding, and adjusting to the line and its delineation of nation-state space and authority. These activities and responses demonstrate an indigenous identity that was flexible and strategic, as well as resilient and grounded in culture and space.

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[34] *Claims of Lower Spokane and Lower Pend d'Oreille or Lower Kalispell Indians, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee of Indian Affairs House of Representatives, Seventieth Congress, First Session on HR 5574* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1928), 26. This message echoes an earlier message by a Spokane leader in 1858. John Owen, *The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen: Pioneer of the Northwest 1850-1871, Vol. Two*, ed. Seymour Dunbar (New York, NY: Edward Eberstadt, 1927), 177.

Chapter One
Native Homelands and External Designs

On July 4th, 1860, a Ktunaxa man canoeing along the Kootenay River encountered a member of the American boundary survey party making its way east through the mountains. Through their limited means of communication, one speaking Ktunaxa and the other English, the Ktunaxa man determined that the surveyor, Joseph Harris, wished him to guide the survey party through the hills of the Kootenay River valley. He agreed to guide the American surveyors.[1] Along the way, Harris's party made astronomical observations to determine the location of the forty-ninth parallel, which was to serve as the boundary between the United States and British North America. They hoped they would soon reach Aklew Creek, or *āqʟū* meaning "snow" in the Ktunaxa language.[2]

After several days of marching through thick brush, Harris began to question how well his Ktunaxa guide knew the territory and whether they were, in fact, moving in the right direction. He called upon his Ktunaxa guide

> and indicated that I was dissatisfied that it had not turned out as he had told me. He shook his head, stooped down, picked up a pine needle, held his thumb nail an eighth of an inch from the end to show how nearly we had reached our journey's end. I looked more narrowly and saw a quarter of a mile ahead, where the Aklew came down from the northeast.[3]

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[1] Joseph S. Harris and Anne Streeter, *Joseph S. Harris and the U.S. Northwest Boundary Survey, 1857-1861* (Bloomington, IN: Trafford Publishing, 2012), 280. The Ktunaxa man could have been either Kah-nitl or Kow-ish-ee, who were listed as couriers in the boundary survey's employ in the second week of July, 1860. Andrew Johnson, "Message from the President of the United States Concerning the Northwest Boundary Commission, February 13, 1869," 1869, 95, 40th Congress, 3d Session, Ex. Doc. No. 86., 13.
[2] Alexander F. Chamberlain, W. J. McGee, William Nelson, and O. T. Mason, "Anthropologic Miscellanea," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (1902), 348.
[3] Ibid, 281.

The Ktunaxa man demonstrated his knowledge of Ktunaxa country and humbled the skeptical American. The Ktunaxa people cultivated their understanding of the landscape and the distances between geographic features through a cultural and economic relationship with their territory. The American surveyors marking the line of latitude 49° operated according to Western science and technology-based conceptualizations of territory. However, they could not have carried out their surveying project without indigenous knowledge and assistance. The American, and soon after, British survey parties came and went, but the boundary they marked would have repercussions for the Ktunaxa people's ability to move through and relate to this land they called *?amak?is* (homeland).

The Ktunaxa and their neighbors on the Columbia Plateau, the Sinixt and Okanagan, had long-established cultural roots in the region. They drew sustenance from the mountain valleys of the upper Columbia River basin. They hunted, fished, and gathered roots and berries according to a seasonal cycle that guided their movements and knowledge of place. The stories they told about their homelands and their cultural and kin-based social relations structured their indigenous nationhoods. Through these practices and relations, they came to understand themselves, their place on the land, and their sense of territory.

For generations before they first encountered Europeans and European-descended Americans in the early 1800s, the Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa peoples had sagaciously approached other outsiders according to their interests and circumstances. They interacted with others as trade partners, enemies, allies, friends, and sometimes as kin. They maintained this self-interested and guarded approach when meeting traders from Europe and the United States in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Many indigenous bands and families welcomed opportunities to exchange animal skins to foreign traders for European manufactures and other

goods. In these interactions, and in communications with other Native peoples, they learned to distinguish between the non-Native traders of British fur companies and American traders and government officials.

By the mid-nineteenth century, British and American political designs for the region complicated fur trade relations and customs. In trading and forming relationships with Native peoples, non-Native traders came to know their trade partners to a certain extent. They distinguished between Native groups by adapting or assigning names and attributes to each group according to non-Native agendas and comprehension. A growing familiarity and set of relations between traders, and later Catholic missionaries, facilitated trade with the Sinixt, Ktunaxa, and Okanagan people. Despite this knowledge of Native peoples' activities and locations on the Columbia Plateau, British and American diplomats ignored their presence along the forty-ninth parallel in 1846. In agreeing to fix the boundary between British North America and the United States along this line of latitude, officials divided Native territory and the fur trade's field of operations. With this geographic division and disruption to economic patterns, Native peoples would begin to distinguish between British and Americans on a spatial as well as behavioral basis.

The Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa peoples observed the differences between the British and the Americans, but also these colonial powers' shared campaign to divide the Northwest and claim their respective sides. In their mid-century encounters and exchanges, Native peoples of the Columbia Plateau observed how the British fur trade contrasted with the Americans' political plans for the region. By 1860, they experienced firsthand the British and American drive to mark the border line's location on the ground. Native men and families were present at and contributed to the boundary surveys tasked with determining the forty-ninth parallel's location. With the

border marked, the Native nations along the forty-ninth parallel gained a clearer sense of how their imperial and nation-state counterparts charted and claimed territory.

Peoples and Place

From the late-eighteenth and into the first decades of the nineteenth century, the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan peoples developed an immersive relationship with the Columbia Plateau landscape. Native families and collections of family groups referred to as bands moved deliberately about the area's river valleys and mountainsides to procure wild foods and game at particular times of the year. In observing and learning from the landscape, they gained a keen sense of territory and established claims to their respective homelands. Subsistence patterns influenced food gathering and production roles of community members and leadership among men and women. In the process, connection to place shaped their worldview and cultural traditions. In claiming space, they recognized the boundaries of their territory and the territory of other peoples nearby. They also developed strategies for engaging with outsiders.

By the late-eighteenth century, forces introduced from the outside, including epidemic disease and the horse, had disrupted these Native communities' group structures and dynamics. However, the place-based yet flexible nature of Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan indigenous nationhood allowed these communities to persist and adapt to new pressures and opportunities. A deep knowledge of the land empowered Native nations to claim these spaces as their exclusive territories.

Through the late 1700s, indigenous peoples had jostled for position on the Columbia Plateau by displacing some groups and absorbing others. Archeological data and Native oral histories tell how people from south of the Similkameen and Okanogan River valleys moved

north to Okanagan Lake, pushing the Secwepemc residents north and incorporating the resident Athabascan-speaking peoples.[4] On the northern plains, conflict with the Blackfoot drove Plains Ktunaxa bands west over the Continental Divide.[5] Ktunaxa people settled along the Kootenay River and its tributaries and on down to Flathead Lake. The Sinixt lived along the banks of the Arrow Lakes, Slocan Lake, and down the Columbia River. Their major geographical shift to the south occurred in the nineteenth century. What anthropologist Paula Pryce has called a Sinixt "diaspora" pushed the resident Skoyelpi people near Kettle Falls farther down the Columbia.[6] Thus, over several generations, the peoples identified in the historical record as the Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa made these river valley spaces their homes.

Procuring foods from the landscape according to seasonal availability ordered the peoples' social and cultural worlds and grounded their connections to place. The Kootenay, Columbia, Kettle, Okanogan, and Similkameen Rivers flow through the semi-arid high country landscape of the central Columbia Plateau. This section of the Plateau stretches from the Columbia River and Flathead Lake in the south up to Okanagan Lake and the Columbia Lakes in the north. A variety of flora grows in the Plateau's mountains, hillsides, and river systems. Okanagan and Sinixt peoples observed when and where bitterroot, wild onions, strawberries, and

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[4] Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy, *Indian History and Knowledge of the Lower Similkameen River – Palmer Lake Area* (Victoria, BC: British Columbia Indian Language Project, 1984), 12-21; Marie Houghton Brent, "Indian Lore," *The Thirtieth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society, 1966* (Vernon, BC: Okanagan Historical Society, 1966), 110-112; Dorothy Kennedy and Randall Bouchard, "Northern Okanagan, Lakes, and Colville," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 12, ed. Deward Walker (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 238.

[5] Claude Schaeffer, "The Plains Kutenai: An Ethnological Evaluation," *Alberta History*, Vol. 30, no. 4 (1982), 1-9; Theodore Binnema, *Common and Contested Ground: A Human and Environmental History of the Northwestern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 128. The Niitsitapi-speaking peoples comprised several groups, often lumped together by the label "Blackfoot." By the mid-nineteenth century, these peoples who were north of the international boundary were known by the British and Canadians as Blackfoot and those who were south of the line were known as Blackfeet by Americans.

[6] Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy, "Lakes Indian Ethnography and History" (unpublished report, 1985), 13-14; Paula Pryce, *Keeping the Lakes' Way: Reburial and the Re-creation of a Moral World among an Invisible People* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 36.

soapberries were ripe and held "first food" ceremonies to bless and initiate their harvest.[7] They, as well as Ktunaxa people, collected and then processed roots and berries for trade and consumption later in the year. In the summer and fall months, Okanagan bands and families fished for salmon at the confluence of the Similkameen and Okanogan Rivers while Ktunaxa people fished for trout and sturgeon on the lower Kootenay River.[8] Sinixt bands camped at Kettle Falls for the major salmon runs, where they were joined by other Native fishers from the region. A designated Salmon Chief directed the busy fishing operations and camps and presided over the "first salmon" ceremony held to ensure an abundant harvest.[9] Later in the year, hunting parties tracked and took deer and elk higher in the mountains. Ktunaxa bands ventured east over the mountains to hunt bison on the northern plains.[10] Food gathering operations framed the construction of their yearly calendars. For instance, in the Ktunaxa calendar, June was the "Moon of strawberries ripening," followed by July, or "Serviceberry time," and November was "Deer Rutting" month.[11]

Storytelling provided some cosmological structure and explanation for the patterns of food availability and reinforced knowledge and connection to place. These stories often involved animal characters such as Coyote or Eagle demonstrating their power over humans and placing or not placing berries or fish in particular areas.[12] For instance, Sinixt people told an animal story

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[7] Nancy Turner, Randy Bouchard, Dorothy Kennedy, eds., *Ethnobotany of the Okanagan-Colville Indians of British Columbia and Washington* (Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1980), 146-149, 152-153.
[8] Bouchard and Kennedy, *Indian History and Knowledge*, 30; Allan H. Smith, *Kutenai Indian Subsistence and Settlement Patterns: Northwest Montana*, (Seattle, WA: U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Seattle District, 1984), 133-138.
[9] David H. Chance, *People of the Falls* (Colville, WA: Kettle Falls Historical Center, 1986), 35.
[10] Smith, *Kutenai Indian Subsistence and Settlement Patterns,* 94-110, 113-117.
[11] Kootenai Culture Committee, "The Traditional Worldview of the Kootenai People," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History,* Vol. 65, no 3 (Autumn 2015), 47-73.
[12] Mourning Dove and Donald M. Hines, ed., *Tales of the Okanogans* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1976); Kootenai Culture Committee, *Ktunaxa Legends* (Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press, 1997).

to explain why huckleberries grew near the Columbia River for humans to consume.[13] In telling these stories over generations, Sinixt people passed down their knowledge, relationship with, and claim to this part of the Columbia River.

Kinship and active cultural connections between bands formed the bonds of indigenous nationhood. Across the Columbia Plateau, men and women married outside their band's set of extended families.[14] Okanagan and Sinixt peoples also married outside of their Native nations as a matter of establishing relationships with potential allies. Marriage links between bands constituted kinship networks up and down the river valleys of the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan homelands. A common language facilitated these relationships for the Okanagan and Sinixt who spoke similar Interior Salish dialects. The Ktunaxa communicated in their own isolate language.[15] These languages cohered people across space, among other ways, by references to areas of the landscape. Intermarrying and speaking in a common tongue within their respective territories underpinned the relationship between nation and place.

A gendered division of labor guided women and men's economic responsibilities within these family and band structures. From their camps, women and children collected roots and berries at higher elevations and along hillside creeks. They also constructed woven baskets and

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[13] Eileen Delehanty Pearkes, *The Geography of Memory: Recovering Stories of a Landscape's First People* (Nelson, BC: Kutenai House Press, 2002), 22-23.
[14] Lillian Ackerman, *A Necessary Balance: Gender and Power among Indians of the Columbia Plateau* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2003), 57-59; Kennedy and Bouchard, "Northern Okanagan, Lakes, and Colville," *Handbook,* 248; Duncan Duane Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan: Indians and Whites in the Settlement Era, 1860-1920," (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1985): 194; Douglas R. Hudson, "The Okanagan Indians of British Columbia," in Jean Webber, ed., and the En'owkin Centre, *Okanagan Sources* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books Ltd., 1990), 64, 70-71, 76-78.
[15] Kennedy and Bouchard, "Northern Okanagan, Lakes, and Colville," *Handbook,* 238; see also, Jeanette Christine Armstrong, "Constructing Indigeneity: Syilx Okanagan Oraliture and tmix^{w} centrism," (PhD diss., Universitat Greifswald, 2009); Peter J. Seymour and Anthony Mattina, ed., *The Complete Seymour: Colville Storyteller* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 1-8; Bill Brunton, "Kootenai," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 12, ed. Deward Walker (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 223.

fashioned root digging sticks for these tasks.[16] Though they all traced the movements of deer and other game, it was the men who led hunting parties to take these animals.[17] In 1807, explorer David Thompson observed the gendered nature of these hunting parties. He consistently noted the groups of Ktunaxa men taking and providing deer meat.[18] Bands and families moved to various stations along the Kootenay, Columbia, and Okanogan Rivers to catch fish. Often it was the men who set the traps or speared the fish, but it was the women who processed the catch and readied them for the drying rack.[19] Members of extended families pursued many of these hunting, fishing, and gathering operations together to ensure success and to share in the harvest, but then congregated in the winter villages at the end of the season.

Designated individuals would lead and coordinate these various economic endeavors. The salmon chief at Kettle Falls demonstrates this tradition of task-specific leadership. Trader Archibald McDonald noted in 1841 that the salmon chief wielded authority over the fishing camps even when he was hunting deer miles away from the falls.[20] Among the Sinixt, Ktunaxa, and Okanagan, each recognized band or village chiefs spoke for their group. They sometimes had influence over other bands through kinship networks as well. A chief, almost always male, could gain this position by inheritance, by exhibiting supernatural power, or by demonstrating

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[16] Nancy Turner, Randy Bouchard, Dorothy Kennedy, eds., *Ethnobotany of the Okanagan-Colville*, 146-149; Leonard Corwin Brant, *Kootenai Indians of the Columbia Plateau* (Rathrdum, ID: Northwest Research and Publications), 197-200.
[17] Brunton, "Kootenai," *Handbook*, 227; Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan," 182-183. Women sometimes participated in particular deer hunting tactics, such as the half-moon deer drives.
[18] David Thompson and T. C. Elliot, ed., "The Discovery of the Sources of the Columbia River," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. 26, no. 1 (March 1925), 33-35, 38, 40-41.
[19] Hudson, "The Okanagan Indians of British Columbia," *Okanagan Sources*, 59-60
[20] Archibald McDonald, *This Blessed Wilderness: Archibald McDonald's Letters from the Columbia, 1822-44*, Jean Murray Cole (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), 183; Chance, *People of the Falls*, 35.

skill in a hunt or in war.[21] He presided over internal or inter-band affairs and, in external relations, served as the representative for his people and their territory.[22]

When Ktunaxa, Okanagan, and to a lesser extent Sinixt peoples adopted the horse in the eighteenth century, they expanded their territorial ranges and tightened the connections between bands.[23] Horses reached the Columbia Plateau from the south via the Bitterroot Salish and Nez Perce peoples by the mid-eighteenth century.[24] Soon after, Okanagan and Ktunaxa bands incorporated the horse into their economies and migration patterns.[25] With the horse, bands and families could pack more gear over longer distances. Ktunaxa bands could therefore carry out more bison hunting trips across the mountains.[26] Among both the Okanagan and Ktunaxa, bands increased the range of their territories and participated in more expansive seasonal rounds.[27] On one hand, more movement meant more frequent meetings of bands, which reinforced the connections between them. On the other hand, as they expanded their economic activities, they also encountered more competition from mounted neighbors. The need for mutual protection in hunting parties bound allied bands closer together, among the Ktunaxa people in particular.[28]

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[21] Kennedy and Bouchard, "Northern Okanagan, Lakes, and Colville," *Handbook,* 247-248; Brunton, "Kootenai," *Handbook*, 229-230; Hudson, "The Okanagan Indians of British Columbia," *Okanagan Sources*, 70-73.

[22] In an 1825 exchange, fur trade official George Simpson consulted a chief above Kettle Falls about constructing a post on his people's land. The chief obliged and allowed Simpson to establish a fort near the falls, with terms. This is an example of a Native leader exercising rather broad authority on the fate of their lands and proximity to a busy fishing station. George Simpson, *Fur trade and Empire; George Simpson's Journal*, ed. Frederick Merk (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 139-140.

[23] The Sinixt and lower Kootenay River Ktunaxa continued to use the canoe as their main mode of transportation. The natural environment was not as conducive to horse raising in parts of their country. See, Pryce, *'Keeping the Lakes' Way',* 38, and Brant, *Kootenai Indians of the Columbia Plateau*, 31.

[24] Binnema, *Common and Contested Ground,* 87-91; Colin Calloway, *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 294-296.

[25] As the horse became a part of indigenous society, Native communities also developed stories about the horse's arrival. For instance, see Bill Cohen, ed., *Stories and Images About What the Horse has Done for Us* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books Ltd., 1998), 34-35.

[26] Smith, *Kutenai Indian Subsistence and Settlement Patterns,* 245-255. The

[27] Deward Walker and Roderick Sprague, "History Until 1846," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 12, ed. Deward Walker (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 138-139; Larry Cebula, *Plateau Indians and the Quest for Spiritual Power, 1700-1850* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 28-36.

[28] Walker and Sprague, "History Until 1846," *Handbook*, 139.

Larger hunting and trading parties made these peoples more visible to outsiders who would come to see them as units comparable to nations. The expansions and adjustments initiated by the adoption of the horse continued into the nineteenth century.

During this same period, a series of epidemic diseases that swept through the Columbia Plateau also ruptured the structure and coherence of the region's indigenous communities. Indigenous people beyond the Rocky Mountains had come in contact with British and French traders who exposed them to diseases such as smallpox for which they had no immunity.[29] Interactions with these peoples brought disease over the mountains. According to Ktunaxa oral history, at least one Ktunaxa band experienced irreparable decline from an early bout with disease.[30] Late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century circulations of smallpox, whooping cough, and influenza affected Sinixt and Skoyelpi people and likely the Okanagan. Population figures before the 1810s are informed estimations. Pre-epidemic estimates for the Sinixt range from 500 to 2,000; for the Okanagan, 2,000 to 4,000; and for the Ktunaxa, 1,000 to 4,000.[31] Some scholars estimate Native populations dropped 50% to 80% by the end of the nineteenth

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[29] Robert Boyd, "Demographic History Until 1990," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 12, ed. Deward Walker (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 472-473; James Baker, "Archaeological Research Concerning the Origins of the Okanagan People," in Jean Webber, ed., and the En'owkin Centre, *Okanagan Sources* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books Ltd., 1990), 34-35. For a quality survey of epidemics in the Pacific Northwest, see Robert Boyd, *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence: Introduced Infectious Diseases and Population Decline among Northwest Coast Indians, 1774-1874* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

[30] Schaeffer, "The Plains Kutenai," 2. A Ktunaxa elder recounted the decimation of their villages in a story told to ethnographer Franz Boas in the early twentieth century. He described a man going from village to village where bodies were piled up. In some camps there were survivors who then joined other Ktunaxa villages by marrying in. Franz Boas, *Kutenai Tales* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethology, 1918), 268-271. James Baker, "Archaeological Research Concerning the Origins of the Okanagan People," *Okanagan Sources*, 32-36. All of these scholars assess the various historical counts at different moments in the nineteenth century. A number of factors contribute to the overall estimations, including decline from disease, location of community, purpose for enumeration, among other criteria.

[31] Pryce, *'Keeping the Lakes' Way',* 41; Harry Holbert Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association,* no. 56 (Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association, 1941), 122.

century.[32] As band numbers decreased, the survivors sought protection from kin and amalgamated with their hosts. Thus, some community populations decreased or disappeared while others grew.[33] The population figures for the Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa of 1778 looked drastically different from those at the crest of the interior northwest fur trade in 1827.

Through community expansions and contractions, a combination of kinship, autonomy, and culture defined Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa political and national consciousness. Overlapping familial relations or extensions of authority existed between bands or villages. Anthropologist Christina Gish Hill aptly calls these links "webs of kinship." Men from multiple bands would come together to engage in hunts led by the hunting chief.[34] Women of extended families from different bands contributed to the food gathering tasks, collecting roots and berries.[35] Indigenous spiritual leaders presided over ceremonies that brought together adherents from multiple bands.[36] Some prominent political leaders had influence with other bands. These relations manifested and guided the functional bonds of the Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa Nations. Communication in a shared language sustained these connections as much as common purpose, tradition, and ties to place. In these ways, Native nationhood was flexible and strategic, but was also grounded in the physical landscape.[37] Bands rarely functioned as completely unified

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[32] Jeffrey C. Reichwein, *Emergence of Native American Nationalism in the Columbia Plateau* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing Inc., 1990), 258-260; Pryce, *'Keeping the Lakes' Way'*, 41, Boyd, "Demographic History Until 1990," *Handbook,* 472-477.

[33] David H. Chance, *Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colvile District* (Moscow, ID: Northwest Anthropological Research Notes, 1973), 121-122; Pryce, *'Keeping the Lakes' Way'*, 40-42; David Chance, "The Kootenay Fur Trade" (Seattle, WA: U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1981), 27.

[34] Flanagan, *Indian Trails of the Northern Rockies*, 15-16.

[35] Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan," 171-172; Kennedy and Bouchard, "Northern Okanagan, Lakes, and Colville," *Handbook,* 242.

[36] Ibid, 249; Verne Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (Los Angeles, CA: The Southwest Museum Administrator of the Fund, 1939), 10-15.

[37] Gish Hill notes of the Northern Cheyenne that, "Although kinship organized Native peoples at many levels, including the family, the clan, or the band, the Cheyenne used kin ties to construct a socio-political body that connected people across these smaller kin-based social units, tying people together by blood, by marriage, or by differing levels of adoption," in *Webs of Kinship: Family in Northern Cheyenne Nationhood* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017), 19-20.

political units in relations with other tribal groups or later with Europe-descended peoples. However, the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan peoples' kinship and culture-based nationhoods had the capacity and confidence to address external political issues and diplomacy.[38]

Opportunities and Change in the Fur Trade Era

Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan people actively and strategically participated in the fur trade economy introduced by parties from France, Britain, and the United States. Native communities generally welcomed fur traders into their territories and allowed them to establish forts. Trade offered sought-after material goods that Native people desired to enhance their own pursuits. Their interest in the traders' Christianity encouraged Catholic missionary activity on the Columbia Plateau. Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan bands received visits from missionaries and began visiting the Catholic mission churches. Native peoples made strategic adjustments to incorporate new opportunities by adding fur posts and missions as stops along their seasonal food gathering migration routes.

On the Columbia Plateau, Native peoples encountered European and Europe-descended peoples as early as the 1790s. Even before face to face encounters, they dealt with old world disease epidemics and adopted the horse into their societies. They also became aware of and

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[38] Various scholars have labored to pin down the term indigenous nationhood and what the parameters should be for its application and function. What many agree on, ranging from Taiaiake Alfred, David Wilkins, Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, and Christopher Wetzel, is that the nation is decentralized politically, but collective groups share institutions, cultural characteristics, traditions, a sense of uniqueness vis a vis other groups or peoples, and often a connection to territory. Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), 47; David E. Wilkins and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2011) 46, 48; Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, "Marked by Fire: Anishinaabe Articulations of Nationhood in Treaty-Making with the United States and Canada," in Brian Hosmer and Larry Nesper, eds., *Tribal Worlds: Critical Studies in American Indian Nation Building* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013), 114-116; Christopher Wetzel, *Gathering the Potawatomi Nation: Revitalization and Identity* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015).

grew interested in tobacco and technologies obtained by indigenous neighbors beyond the mountains, namely firearms, metal tools, and other material goods. These items began to circulate in the northern Rockies before and during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Ktunaxa trips over the Continental Divide exposed them to the rich trade developing between indigenous groups on the plains and fur traders from the rival North West Company (NWC) and Hudson's Bay Company (HBC).[39] Traders sought beaver furs, and the aggressive NWC pushed west to ensure trade relationships with more Native partners.[40] As the trade ensued, Native nations such as the Blackfoot and Cree gained valuable firearms. Firearms shifted the regional balance of power, which the Ktunaxa and other Native peoples felt across the divide.[41] Ktunaxa bands visited the still-new fur trade posts on the eastern slope of the Rockies to encourage traders to come over the mountains. By 1800, some interested Ktunaxa people shepherded two NWC traders into the Columbia Plateau to initiate trade in their territory. The traders did not stay long, but they set the course for others to follow.[42]

Ktunaxa traders proceeded with narrow goals for expanding the fur trade into their territory in the first decades of the nineteenth century. They welcomed NWC explorer and trader David Thompson in 1807. From Thompson's Kootenae House post on the upper Kootenay River, Ktunaxa people traded deer and beaver skins to Thompson and his seasonal associates.[43]

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[39] Claude E. Schaeffer, "Le Blanc and La Gasse, Predecessors of David Thompson in the Columbia Plateau," (U.S. Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Browning, MT: Museum of the Plains Indian, 1966), 4-10; Binnema, *Common and Contested Ground*, 117-118, 162-169.
[40] The NWC was also concerned with American fur traders in the upper Missouri River country. See, Dorothy Johansen and Charles Gates, *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1967), 65-67, 84-89.
[41] Roland Bohr, "Aboriginal Archery and European Firearms on the Northern Great Plains and in the Central Subarctic: Survival and Adaptation, 1670-1870," (PhD diss., University of Manitoba, 2005), 286-324.
[42] Schaeffer, "Le Blanc and La Gasse," 4-10.
[43] David Thompson, *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America 1784-1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1968), 375-376; T. C. Elliot, "The Discovery of the Source of the Columbia River," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. 26, no. 1 (1925), 25-27.

They aimed just to meet immediate needs. As trader Ross Cox observed, they "appeared to be perfectly aware that beaver was the only object that induced us to visit their country; they exerted themselves to procure it for the purposes of obtaining firearms, spears, etc., to enable them to meet their enemies the Black-feet on more equal terms."[44] Soon, though it would not become their primary economic practice, Ktunaxa people would dedicate more and more of their efforts towards trapping and trading for pelts and even bison hides.

Okanagan bands positioned themselves as assets in the shifting fur trade operations of the interior in the 1810s. Explorers noted Okanagan people's proficiency in trading for goods beyond their homelands. Upstart fur trade companies therefore sought to tap into the Okanagan trade networks between the Columbia River and the Nicola country to the northwest.[45] The short-lived American-owned Pacific Fur Company (PFC) secured permission from the local Okanagan people to build a fort at the confluence of the Columbia and Okanogan Rivers in 1811.[46] Okanagan individual and families trapped and traded with the Americans to a certain extent, though less than the PFC hoped. When the PFC sold out to the NWC in 1813 as a result of the War of 1812, Fort Okanagan became British property.[47] This shift reduced the Okanagan Nation's ability to exploit American competition with the British as favored trade partners. Then

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[44] Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River* (New York, NY: J. & J. Harper, 1832), 233.
[45] Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West*, ed. Kenneth A. Spaulding (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), 37; Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804-1806, Vol. Three* (New York, NY: Antiquarian Press Ltd., 1959), 169.
[46] Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River 1810-1813*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, OH: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904), 151; Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River* (London, UK: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1849), 140-141.
[47] James R. Gibson, *The Lifeline of the Oregon Country: The Fraser-Columbia Brigade System, 1811-47* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 4-11.

after the 1821 NWC merger with the HBC, the ability to play rival traders off each other evaporated.[48]

In the 1820s and into the 1830s, Ktunaxa and Okanagan traders focused their trade and exchange towards the HBC and invested in making this relationship work for them. They maintained their pursuit of tobacco for consumption and firearms and ammunition for defense against the Blackfoot. Ktunaxa families and bands went to Forts Kootenay and Flathead on a regular basis to sell pelts. At such exchanges, trader John Work found that he had to partake in the Ktunaxa tradition of smoking together and conversing before trade could even begin.[49] Such precautions were necessary for the HBC trader who wished to capture the Ktunaxa trade and prevent them from trading with the Americans in the Missouri River country to the southeast.

As HBC operations expanded between Fort Okanagan and Fort Kamloops to the north, Okanagan people began to serve in logistical roles rather than doing the trapping itself. The Okanagan Valley's dry climate could not sustain large beaver populations, so Okanagan people did little trapping. Instead, Okanagan families traded horses and guided brigades through what the HBC called the Columbia District, established in 1815. These services continued the flow of tobacco, ammunition, and metal goods into the Okanagan economy.[50] In the northern sections of Okanagan territory, shrewd leader Nkwala positioned himself between HBC traders and the region's Native trappers. Nkwala's position as facilitator and middleman in this economy

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[48] Carol Abernathy Mellows, "The Clash of Cultures – 1800 To 1858," in Jean Webber, ed., and the En'owkin Centre, *Okanagan Sources* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books Ltd., 1990), 96. The Ktunaxa also exploited the rivalry between the NWC and the HBC to a certain extent. They would continue this strategy with American fur companies from the 1820s to the 1840s.
[49] Brant, *Kootenai Indians of the Columbia Plateau*, 77-78; .C. Elliot, "Journal of John Work," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, no. 5 (1914), 259-260.
[50] Elizabeth Dolby, "The Fur Trade and Culture Change among the Okanagan Indians," *Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, Okanagan Historical Society, no. 37 (1973), 141-145; Gibson, *The Lifeline of the Oregon Country*, 180-181.

brought prestige and influence over company traders, Okanagan bands, and other regional Native communities.[51]

Sinixt and Skoyelpi peoples took advantage of the fur trade and fort economy emerging near Kettle Falls in the 1820s. The hub of Kettle Falls attracted HBC official George Simpson to construct a major fur depot nearby to capture the site's economic activity. Native leaders obliged and Simpson established Fort Colvile in 1825. Soon after, the Sinixt and Skoyelpi became Fort Colvile's closest producers and providers of pelts.[52] Sinixt families and individuals who trapped for trade or on credit brought in furs on a regular basis. The Company encouraged and guarded their business with the Sinixt. When Native communities such as the Ktunaxa attempted a hostile takeover of the Interior Salish trade at Fort Colvile in the late 1820s, company officials intervened to protect their arrangement with the Sinixt.[53] Through the following decade, Sinixt people kept the pelts coming and even began staying at the fort for longer periods throughout the year. Native labor also supplemented the fort's small farming operations through the summer.[54] These activities pulled Sinixt economic activities and migrations farther south, closer to the British fort. The Sinixt formed something of an alliance with the HBC at Fort Colvile, just as the Company had hoped.

In the 1820s, the Company instigated a program to reeducate indigenous youth and convert them to Christianity. The aim was to secure a more responsive generation of Native trade partners while also fulfilling a moral justification for imposing control over indigenous peoples.

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[51] , Peter Carstens, *The Queen's People: A Study of Hegemony, Coercion, and Accommodation among the Okanagan of Canada* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 37-41.
[52] George Simpson and Frederick Merk, ed., *Fur trade and Empire; George Simpson's Journal* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 139-140; Chance, *People of the Falls*, 64-75.
[53] David Douglas, "Sketch of a Journey to North-Western Parts of the Continent of North America during the Years 1824-'25-'26-'27, II," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society,* Vol. 5, no. 4 (1904), 362-363; David Chance, "The Kootenay Fur Trade," 47-48.
[54] Chance, *Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company,* 47, 59, 67-69.

To achieve this, the HBC insisted that tribal leaders allow some of their children to attend school.[55] The chief traders convinced chiefs from Ktunaxa families and other Native leaders to the south to put their young men in the company's care. "Kutenai Pelly," the son of a Ktunaxa chief, was one such recruit, as were "Kootenai Collins" and "Spokane Garry." The HBC took these boys and several others to the Church of England Missionary School at Red River in present-day Manitoba, where the boys received an immersive education in Christianity. The Company expected them, in turn, to teach and convert their peoples back home.[56] Oral histories suggest that the Ktunaxa young men who returned met this expectation to a degree.[57] However, Native students from the Columbia Plateau were too few to produce the ripple effect within their communities that the HBC envisioned.

Some Columbia Plateau Native people grew interested in the traders' religion for its potential power. American missionaries heard of this interest, and in the 1830s, Protestant missionaries initiated their own attempts at religious training for Native peoples west of the Rocky Mountains. [58] Two Presbyterian missionary couples, the Walkers and the Eells, attempted to preach among the Sinixt and Skoyepi at Kettle Falls in 1838. However, Fort Colvile's chief trader, Archibald McDonald, urged the Americans to go south for their work.[59] Catholics – Jesuit

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[55] Religious education was actually a directive from London as a condition of the HBC's 1821 commercial license. Claude E. Shaeffer, "Early Christian Mission of the Kutenai Indians," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 71, no. 4 (1970), 327.

[56] Cebula, *Plateau Indians and the Quest for Spiritual Power, 1700-1850*, 75-80.

[57] Brant, *Kootenai Indians of the Columbia Plateau*, 76-77.

[58] Albert Furtwangler, *Bringing Indians to the Book* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2005), 14-41; Cebula, *Plateau Indians and the Quest for Spiritual Power*, 90-97. Many of those who attended the school at Red River died from disease.

[59] Chance, *People of the Falls*, 93-94. Clifford Drury, ed., *Nine Years with the Spokane Indians: The Diary, 1838-1848, of Elkanah Walker* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1876), 75-76. As a chief trader with concerns about American encroachments into the HBC's relationship with the Native peoples of Kettle Falls, McDonald discouraged the Presbyterians Elkanah Walker and Asa Smith to set up their mission far to the south.

missionaries - then filled this vacuum, and they had the most direct impact on bringing the Sinixt and Ktunaxa "to the book."

The Ktunaxa and Sinixt, as well as the Skoyelpi and Okanagan, proved particularly receptive to baptism and conversion. In the context of epidemic disease threatening to destroy their people, many Sinixt, Okanagan, and their neighbors welcomed the Jesuits' medicine as a potential means of survival.[60] In 1838, Catholic priests Francois Blanchet and Modeste Demers passed through Kettle Falls on their way west. There, they stopped to baptize Native peoples as well as families associated with the HBC. On their way back through, Sinixt chief Kessouilih greeted the missionaries and allowed Demers to perform conversion rites for him. Kessouilih received the name Gregoire and strongly encouraged his people to embrace the "black robes'" religion.[61] Two years later, Jesuit priest Pierre-Jean De Smet conducted a tour of the Columbia Plateau to promote Catholic Christianity among the Rocky Mountain tribes in anticipation of establishing missions. Upon arriving to the Okanagan camps, he noted these people "received us with the greatest cordiality and joy…I was surrounded by more than 200 horsemen, and more than 200 others were already in waiting." The Ktunaxa, De Smet boasted, "unanimously declared themselves in favor of my religion… the next day I baptized all their little children and nine of their adults." Despite their eagerness, adults were generally less than enthusiastic about receiving baptism or accepting conversion. They did allow De Smet to baptize their children, which happened at much higher rates.[62]

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[60] Ibid, 72-73, 75.
[61] Ibid, 94; Pryce, *'Keeping the Lakes' Way'*, 45.
[62] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, Volume XXVII De Smet's Letters and Sketches, 1841-1842* (Cleveland, OH: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), 372, 358.

As momentum built in the 1840s, the Jesuits founded several Catholic missions, including St. Paul's near Kettle Falls and Fort Colvile in 1845. At these missions, Native people could gain frequent, direct access to missionaries rather than wait for them to come around. Several Salish leaders traveled great distances between the missions, seeking to gather information on church ceremony and bring it back to their people. Having earlier received baptism from De Smet, Okanagans interested in the power of Christianity would travel to St. Paul's for further religious instruction and prayers.[63] These trips could conveniently coincide with summer salmon runs and trade at Kettle Falls. Attending church near the missions became a consistent element in Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa seasonal migration patterns through the 1840s

Certain pockets of Sinixt and Okanagan society remained ambivalent about the Jesuits' Christianity. In 1845, the Jesuits sent missionary John Nobili north of Fort Okanagan to Okanagan Lake to proselytize. At the lake, he found many Okanagan people eagerly waiting for his "priestly functions." But Nobili also encountered other Okanagans who stole his belongings. A fellow missionary reported, "An Indian there was found wearing the Priest's cassock, and another had thought the Church vestments were suitable material for making leggings."[64] Nearly fifteen years then passed before Catholic missionaries attempted to establish a mission at Okanagan Lake.[65] Missionaries could not keep a constant eye on their converts, and thus indigenous spiritual traditions persisted alongside Native peoples' practice of Christianity. Sinixt chief Vincent told Father Joseph Joset at the St. Paul's mission that some of the people were

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[63] Sister Maria Ilma Raufer, O.P. *Black Robes and Indians on the Last Frontier: A Story of Heroism* (Milwaukee, WI: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1966), 69, 65-66.
[64] Ibid, 67.
[65] Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan," 36-40.

Christians, others were “half and half,” and the rest observed the “superstition or the old Indian practices and vices.”[66]

By the 1840s and early 1850s, Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa peoples incorporated Christianity and the missions into their spiritual and social lives, as they saw fit. Native people who converted to Christianity did not necessarily adopt the amenable behavior that the HBC had originally intended for their trade partners. Those who did observe and seek to practice the Jesuits’ religion spent more time meeting with missionaries and attending church at the missions. Native peoples visited the missions as seasonal destinations, just as they did when trading at the company posts. And as in the fur trade, they interacted with Christianity on their own terms and according to their own goals. They sought the Black Robes’ ostensible spiritual power and protection from disease but retained what they wished of their own indigenous spiritual traditions.

Among the Interior Salish, relations with fur traders bred changes in Native social composition and activities. New opportunities and pressures drew Native people and non-Natives together, sometimes intimately. Marriages between Native women and white fur traders were often a means of establishing a working relationship between traders and Native communities.[67] Timentwa, daughter of an Okanagan chief, married NWC-turned-HBC man Alexander Ross around 1814. In Ross’ account, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, he provided numerous

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[66] F. M. Buckland, “Some Notable Men in the Okanogan Valley,” *First Annual Report of the Okanogan Historical and Natural Society* (September 1926), 14-15. Larry Cebula refers to this dynamic of some Native people practicing Christianity, indigenous spirituality, and with some combinations of the two varied traditions as the “Columbian Religion.” Native spiritual traditions and practices continued in earnest as functional elements of community and family culture, rather than being completely replaced with Catholic Christianity. Cebula, *Plateau Indians and the Quest for Spiritual Power,* 81-87, 119-120.
[67] For more on this, see Sylvia Van Kirk, “From ‘Marrying-In’ to ‘Marrying-Out’: Changing Patterns of Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Marriage in Colonial Canada,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Vol. 23, no. 3, (2002), 1-2.

descriptions of the social mores and expectations surrounding indigenous marriage arrangements, the intimate and intricate details of which he gathered from his Okanagan wife.[68] Timentwa, also known as Sally, and Alexander had children, as did the many couples of Native women and fur trade men.[69] Fur trade society referred to the offspring of these relationships as *metis*, among other labels. Members of this new generation could serve as intermediaries between their indigenous communities and the fur trade business. For instance, Francois Duchoquette, the son of an Okanagan chief's sister and a French Canadian man, was born and raised in the Okanagan Valley among the Okanagan people. As an adult, he became a leading figure in the fur trade operations at Fort Okanagan.[70]

If white or metis fathers left the district, the children born of these relationships often stayed with their mothers and remained part of Native communities.[71] At sites like Fort Colvile, metis families stayed near the fort community for much of the year as fathers served the HBC on a more permanent basis. In these situations, Native wives and their children, often Sinixt, spent time with their Sinixt relatives and with families associated with the fort. Some of their Native relatives appreciated the material advantages of these bi-cultural connections. Others were suspicious of the trader husbands' agendas or were concerned about the offspring not learning the traditions and practices of their mothers' people.[72]

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[68] Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 283-286, 310.
[69] Sylvia Van Kirk, "'What if Mama is an Indian?': The Cultural Ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family," in J. Peterson and J.S.H. Brown, eds., *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), 207-219.
[70] Jean Barman, *French-Canadians, Furs, and Indigenous Women in the Making of the Pacific Northwest* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 21.
[71] Ibid, 108-109.
[72] Nancy Perkins Wynecoop, *In the Stream: An Indian Story*, ed. N. Wynecoop Clark (Spokane, WA: N. Wynecoop Clark, 1985) 81-93.

As Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa people devoted more attention to the fur trade, their seasonal subsistence migrations pivoted increasingly around the trapping and trading cycle. Although Native families and individuals did not commit to trapping exclusively, they did spend more time trapping in the winters. Instead of staying in winter villages subsisting on dried meat, roots, and berries, trappers would venture out to set and check traps in freezing bodies of water. Native trappers and their families then processed the furs and set out for the fur posts to trade in spring or summer. In addition to trading at the posts, those interested in Christianity could attend church services at the nearby missions.

The Sinixt provide an interesting example of this pattern. Incentives prompted Sinixt bands to remain for longer periods in the far southern portion of their territory, at Kettle Falls and Fort Colvile. Beginning in the 1830s, Sinixt bands gradually displaced the Skoyelpi farther down the Columbia River and Colville Valleys. They also participated in the fur trade at Fort Colvile for far longer than their Native neighbors.[73]

As for Ktunaxa people, their migratory range likewise came to include necessary trips to Fort Colvile for delivering pelts. And because Ktunaxa traders proved quite successful in procuring and delivering furs, the HBC kept tabs on them to ensure that they remained in the company's orbit and did not dedicate too much time to hunting on the northern plains.[74] To this end, Company men built a fur post on the mid-Kootenay River. Seasonal visits to the post became a routine practice among the Ktunaxa into the 1840s.

[73] Pryce, *'Keeping the Lakes' Way'*, 42-44.
[74] Chance, "The Kootenay Fur Trade," 50-52. The HBC's main goal for orienting Ktunaxa trading to the western slope of the Rockies was to control the trade. They also hoped to keep the Ktunaxa from interacting with the Blackfoot peoples, with whom they had previous issues, and to prevent the potential of encountering and trading with Americans on the upper Missouri River region.

The interaction of indigenous bands, families, individuals and non-Native traders and missionaries laid a foundation for subsequent discursive representations of the Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa. In fur trade company and missionary records, Native peoples of the Columbia Plateau became legible and "tribal" through a series of exchanges between various parties. White explorers and traders would collect information about a group from one or more sources, and then approach the group in question with this knowledge framing their expectations.[75] In a critical reassessment of fur trade archive representations of Columbia Plateau indigenous peoples, scholar Elizabeth Vibert contends that "the very naming of these groups is a vexed issue."[76] When David Thompson and other traders and prominent fur trade company officials recorded their interactions and descriptions of Native peoples, they ascribed names to and depictions of these groups. Those who followed on the traders' heels or who took political, economic, or social interests in these Native groups adopted, essentialized, and circulated the traders' labels.

David Thompson's reports of the "Kottenais" or "Kootanae" that he encountered and interacted with in the Rocky Mountains in 1808 were some of the first recorded designations of the Ktunaxa as a distinct people.[77] Having only met and conversed with subsets of the Ktunaxa, Thompson managed to tie a people he and his readers called the Kootenay to a place, beyond the Continental Divide and up and down the Kootenay River.[78] The same goes for the Sinixt who

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[75] James Scott considers this a practice of the state, but crafting and achieving legibility is also a part of the large, well-financed fur companies like Hudson's Bay and Pacific Fur, approach to unknown potential trade partners. James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 64-65.
[76] Elizabeth Vibert, *Traders' Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 28-29.
[77] Tyrrell, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative*, 304-305, 327-328. The Ktunaxa are also named in Arthur S. Morton, *The Journal of Duncan McGillivray of the Northwest Company at Fort George, 1794-95* (Toronto, ON: MacMillan Company, 1929), 55-56.
[78] Ibid, 382-391.

came into textual being by 1824 and the Okanagan who became known to non-Native newcomers as such with Thompson's observations in 1811.[79]

For these early observers, language played a leading role in grouping Native peoples together. Though some explorers and traders labeled groups with more insight and nuance, others often labeled the Sinixt and Okanagan as "Flathead," or simply "Salish." Or a non-Native recorder heard their Salishan language dialect and lumped them together with other Salish speakers in the interior.[80] With more interactions over the 1810s, 1820s, and 1830s, non-Natives amassed more written records on the Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa peoples that further entrenched their fixed identities in the minds of readers. Armed with these characterizations, a non-Native person could assume that a Native person fishing on the lower Kootenay River was Ktunaxa or that a Salish-speaking family arriving at Fort Okanagan was Okanagan.[81]

Native peoples worked with these imperfect names as they continued to interact with non-Native peoples. The catchall Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa labels obscured the realities of these peoples' identification also with smaller bands or extended families and specific places. In the process, the names themselves took on their own reality in the historical record as colonialism and indigenous adoption of the labels became more prevalent.

Lines on a Map

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[79] Pryce, *'Keeping the Lakes' Way'*, 17; Tyrrell, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative*, 465.
[80] Pryce, *'Keeping the Lakes' Way'*, 18-19.
[81] Chance, *Influences of the Hudson's Bay Company,* 98. Native peoples worked with or complicated these problematic labels in economic, social, and political and legal interactions with non-Natives. For more how indigenous peoples co-created, confounded, and made use of increasingly rigid Native group labels, see Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 245-249.

By the 1840s, Great Britain and the United States disrupted Hudson's Bay Company operations by imposing a boundary line separating British and American territory that ran directly through Native homelands and fur trade routes. Diplomats responsible for this restructuring of political boundaries had little regard for the position of those people on or near the line. The Sinixt, Ktunaxa, and Okanagan peoples' fur trade partners in the HBC struggled to adjust to this new geopolitical arrangement on the Columbia Plateau.

The Columbia Plateau that Native communities called their home had become part of the "Oregon Country" in the diplomatic dialog and aspirations of Great Britain and the United States. Both governments made claims on the region by 1818. For the British, their fur trade companies represented foot soldiers solidifying their position on the ground. The Americans countered that the 1805-1806 Corps of Discovery expedition, Robert Gray's entrance into the Columbia River, and the former Pacific Fur Company holdings legitimated the United States' claims to the Columbia River region. After the War of 1812, Great Britain and the United States desired to establish more diplomatic and less antagonistic relations. This resulted in their agreeing to designate the Oregon Country a jointly occupied zone.[82] Diplomats formalized the agreement in the Convention of 1818, which remained in effect until 1846.[83]

Tension in the joint occupation soon gave way to talks of dividing the region. Suspicious HBC officials grew concerned about American settlement-driven designs for the region. Governor George Simpson and his superiors remained focused on making the fur trade more efficient and profitable in the Columbia District.[84] However, more American missionaries

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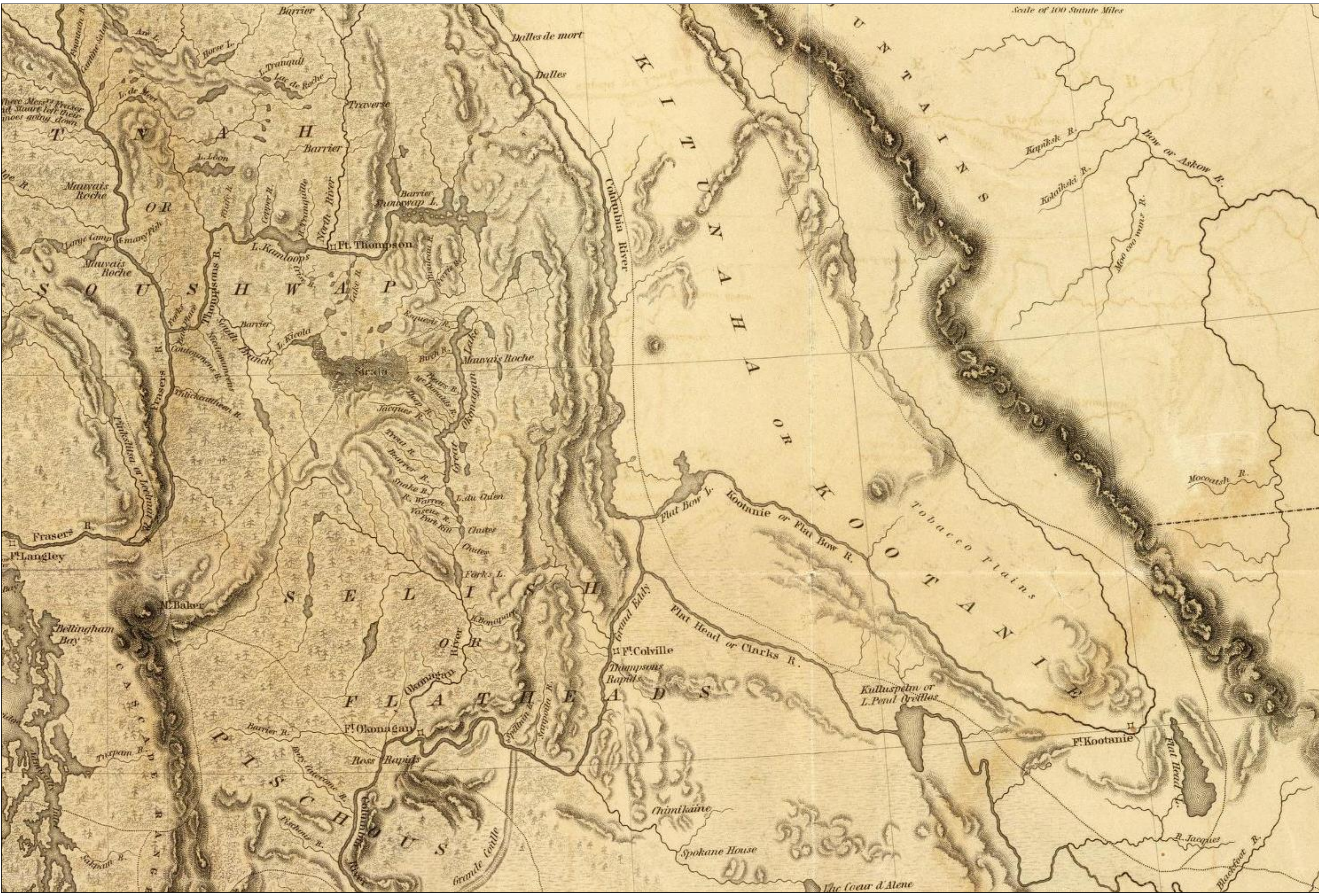
[82] Mark Joy, *American Expansionism, 1783-1860: A Manifest Destiny?* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2003), 48-50.
[83] Bradford Perkins, *Castlereagh and Adams: England and the United States, 1812-1823* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), 267-274.
[84] Richard Somerset Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific 1793-1843* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 44-67.



"Map of the Oregon Territory, by the U.S. Ex. Ex. Charles Wilkes Esqr. Commander, 1841." *davidrumsey.com*

established mission complexes in the area while the Willamette Valley drew American settlers to its verdant prairies in the 1830s and 1840s.[85] Thus, the British realized that they would need to re-consider the Oregon Country agreement. The Ashburton-Webster Agreement in 1842 opened the possibility of extending the current border between British North America and the United States west along the forty-ninth parallel. Politics then forced the issue. In the US presidential election of 1844, expansionist Democrat James Polk called for setting the border at latitude 54°40', well north of the suggested 49° line.[86] HBC officials and the British government advocated fixing the border at the forty-ninth parallel west to the Columbia River, then down the river to its mouth.[87]

In 1845, British minister Richard Packenham rejected Polk's proposed terms, but Polk likely believed that further negotiations would reach an eventual agreement to fix the boundary at the forty-ninth parallel.[88] And indeed, when Lord Aberdeen took the reins as foreign secretary, he agreed to an extension of the forty-ninth parallel from the crest of the Rocky Mountains to the coast, not including Vancouver Island.[89] Polk accepted this offer and sent the treaty to the Senate for ratification. Preoccupied with the recently initiated United States war with Mexico, the Senate agreed to the terms of the Oregon Treaty with no revisions in 1846. According to the treaty, the United States would respect HBC property on Puget Sound and in the interior as well

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[85] Gray Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee: U.S. Empire and the Transformation of an Indigenous World, 1792*-1859 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Cebula, *Plateau Indians and the Quest for Spiritual Power*, 91-120.
[86] Robert Merry, *A Country of Vast Designs: James K. Polk, the Mexican War, and the Conquest of the American Continent* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 170-173.
[87] Charles Carey, ed., "British Side of the Oregon Question, 1846," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 36, no. 3 (1935), 290-291.
[88] R. L. Schuyler, "Polk and the Oregon Compromise of 1846," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 26, no. 3 (Sept. 1911), 446-453, 456-457. The 1818 boundary line set at the forty-ninth parallel set a precedence for negotiations for the Oregon Country. Though there was diplomacy, bravado, and politicking to determine the line's location in the west, the forty-ninth parallel served as a convenient reference point in the discussions of the 1840s.
[89] Thomas McClintock, "British Newspapers and the Oregon Treaty of 1846," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 104, no. 1 (Spring 2003), 99-101.

as the property rights of HBC employees and British subjects in what became American territory. When the HBC was ready to sell off its assets south of the forty-ninth parallel, the company would receive fair compensation, guaranteed by the US government.[90]

The politics and terms of the Oregon Treaty reflected the diplomats' glaring detachment from the people actually inhabiting the Oregon Country. The treaty made no reference to the region's indigenous peoples, nor does it appear that American or British officials discussed them as consequential factors in the negotiations. The high politics of Anglo-American diplomacy overlooked or ignored the region's largest population group while securing the rights of the HBC affiliates and their assets.[91] This oversight was not lost on the Native peoples of the former Oregon Country. Decades later, Native leaders expressed their frustrations that the governments imposed and moved borders in their territories. Chief Spokane Garry harangued an official from the US agency near Kettle Falls, "When the President and the Queen of England made their line dividing this country they did not consult with us. They did us a great wrong."[92] Consultation or consideration or not, the border between Britain's North American claims and United States territory would be set at the forty-ninth parallel.

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[90] Lewis Hertslet, ed., *A Complete Collection of the Treaties and Conventions*, Vol. VIII, "Treaty Between Her Majesty and the United States of America, for the Settlement of the Oregon Boundary," (London, UK: Henry Butterworth and Son, 1851), 930-932.

[91] An article published in the London-based *Topic* newspaper on April 18, 1846 assessed the Oregon controversy and Great Britain's stake in the region. The article reviews the population of the Oregon Country and mentions the "Indian nations" in reference of their greatly decreased numbers due to disease and how they are now only "scattered about" or in "the service of the Europeans, or hovering on the confines of the fur establishments." This "vanishing Indian" sentiment likely shaped the British and American diplomats' ideas about Oregon and its value and ownership. Charles Carey "British Side of the Oregon Question, 1846," 268-269. On the other hand, one HBC official, John Pelly, did hope that should the forty-ninth parallel be selected as the dividing line, that as long as "there is no restriction as to Trade with the Natives" the British would make out better than the circumstances would suggest. John Galbraith, *The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821-1869* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), 247-248.

[92] "Speeches of Indian Chiefs at Council held Nov. 6 72, by Joh A. Simms Special Indian Agent Colville Reserve," Washington Superintendency, 1853-1880, 1872-1873, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs 1824-1881, Roll 912. R. H. Milroy to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 15 December 1872, Washington Superintendency, 1853-1880, 1872-1873, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs 1824-1881, Roll 912.

Company fur trade affiliates felt the direct effects of the Oregon Treaty's boundary provision more immediately than Okanagan, Sinixt, or Ktunaxa peoples in the years after 1846. With the Columbia District severed, the HBC would eventually have to give up possessory rights to its real property south of the border.[93] This meant relinquishing Fort Okanagan and Fort Colvile. Until the parties agreed to compensation, however, the company retained possessory rights as long as there were British HBC employees living or working at the forts.[94] The Oregon Treaty also stated that HBC traders were liable for duties on goods imported for exchange with Native peoples in the United States. Article II thus treated British subjects like American citizens who paid import duties if they brought goods across the border.[95] To avoid this cost, company traders began using a trail between Fort Langley on the coast and Fort Kamloops in the western interior. The trail bypassed the long-used Columbia River route now found in the United States. The forty-ninth parallel's indifferent east-west orientation prompted this adjustment.

Given the company's decades' long presence on the Columbia Plateau, terminating fur trade operations, relationships, and networks would not be quick.[96] Forts Okanagan and Colvile continued to function through the late 1840s and into the 1850s and trade continued with some regularity. In 1856, Washington Territory governor Isaac Stevens remarked with disgust, "Nothing has yet been effected in the way of relieving the territory from the foreign corporations in our midst. This want of action is retarding the settlement of the country, and has specially of late, been the cause of mischievous results. Colville is at this moment practically a British

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[93] Galbraith, *The Hudson's Bay Company,* 252-256.
[94] Galbraith, *The Hudson's Bay Company,* 254-255.
[95] Ibid, 90-91.
[96] H. Lloyd Keith, "'A Place so Dull and Dreary': The Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Okanagan, 1821-1860," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 98, no. 2 (Spring 2007), 90-92.

dependency."[97] Stevens was referring to Colvile's persistent service to Native traders seeking HBC goods. However, the HBC's trade with Native people did eventually decline as a result of article II's enforcement. By the mid-1850s, the strains of increasingly regulated and taxed imports and declining profits at Fort Colvile forced the HBC to make a cost-saving adjustment. In 1856, the company established Fort Shepherd at the confluence of the Pend Oreille and Columbia Rivers, just a few miles north of the line. [98]

Commercial Alliances and American Encroachments

Through the fur trade and in their interactions with non-Natives, Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa peoples observed the distinctions between the British and the Americans. After 1821, Native trappers and traders worked with the British-owned HBC and its British (mainly Scottish, English, and Irish) and French Canadian employees.[99] Though they did not all share the same success in trade with the HBC or enthusiasm for the British, they did share a recognition that the company's project was fundamentally different from that of the Americans who were making inroads onto the Columbia Plateau in the 1840s. After 1846, they could distinguish a familiar commerce-oriented HBC from the newer, settlement-oriented Americans coming from the south. To the Native peoples near the forty-ninth parallel, differences between the British and Americans took on a visible geographical north-south distinction as well.

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[97] Isaac Stevens, "Governor Isaac I. Stevens to the Fourth Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly, December 3, 1856," Charles Gates, ed., *Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington to the Legislative Assembly, 1854-1889* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1940), 44.

[98] Jean Webber, "Fur Trading Posts in the Okanagan and Similkameen," *Okanagan History: Fifty-seventh report of the Okanagan Historical Society* (1993), 18-22. Fort Shepherd was originally called Fort Forty-Nine.

[99] The HBC was a British name, and the Chief Factors and officials were British as well. The traders and other employees were often not themselves British. Most notably in the Columbia District, a significant number of Iroquois men served in the ranks of the fur brigades. Non-white employees of the HBC included Native Hawaiians and Iroquois from the New York-Ontario region. For more on their participation in company operations, see Jean Barman and Bruc McIntyre Watson, *Leaving Paradise: Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest, 1787-1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006). John C. Ewers, "Iroquois Indians in the Far West," *Montana: the Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 13, no. 2 (Spring 1963): 2-10.

The Ktunaxa position near the Rocky Mountains and down towards Flathead Lake afforded them opportunities to interact with non-British traders. Ktunaxa interactions with HBC company representatives were friendly and strategic. Ktunaxa traders pursued relatively consistent trade relationships with the HBC at Fort Colvile and Kootenay Fort. However, into the 1830s they were also open to meeting with American traders from the south and east.[100] They came to know of American traders from the Rocky Mountain and American Fur companies' rendezvous at which attendees exchanged furs, guns, and other goods. The Bitterroot Salish to the south joined in these rendezvous and related to the Ktunaxa their experiences.[101] A US fur trade exploratory mission led by US Army Captain Benjamin Bonneville came to the Northwest in 1833. Some Ktunaxa extended an invitation to the Americans to come north and collect furs with them. According to Captain Bonneville, the "Cottonois were anxious for him to proceed at once to their country; which they assured him, abounded in beaver" and urged him "to make it his autumnal hunting ground."[102] Ktunaxa people had thus kept their options open when it came to the HBC and encroaching American companies.

The Ktunaxa had developed a sense that different agendas guided British and American interests. The HBC felt compelled to station at least one trader in Ktunaxa territory to discourage their trading with Americans (or unaffiliated traders, known as *coureurs de bois*, for that matter) and ensure that Ktunaxa pelts made it to the Fort Colvile depot.[103] But Ktunaxa actions indicate

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[100] Chance, "The Kootenay Fur Trade," 39-52.
[101] John Fahey, *The Flathead Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 39-43; see also, Fred Gowans, *Rocky Mountain Rendezvous: A History of the Fur Trade Rendezvous 1825-1840* (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2005).
[102] Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U. S. A. in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West* (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1873), 203-204.
[103] Chance, "The Kootenay Fur Trade," 48-52.

that they intended to make the British-American competition work for them and to serve their own agendas, such as ensuring protection from the Blackfoot confederacy east of the mountains.

Okanagan men, women, and leaders developed economic, political, and social ties with the HBC by 1846, and none with Americans. Okanagan people assisted with the district's operations up the Okanogan River towards Fort Kamloops. Some Okanagan women formed intimate unions with company men and produced families. When business was doing well, Okanagan relations with company traders and chief factors were mostly functional and amicable. At times, the relationship could be strained, such as when Okanagan men stole horses from the HBC brigades or during conflict between the Okanagan people's neighbors and company officials.[104] Still, Okanagan chief Nkwala's position demonstrates how deep ties to the HBC could be. His success as an intermediary and consultant in HBC operations shaped his thinking about the British. Nkwala's favor with the British evolved into demonstrating allegiance to Queen Victoria as the monarchy conferred gifts and medals on him.[105] By the 1840s, Okanagan people had encountered the British on a regular basis. For much of this time, it was through the HBC that Okanagan bands and families interacted with non-Natives. Most other non-Natives were Americans or European missionaries who passed through from Fort Okanagan to Fort Kamloops and remained in Okanagan country only temporarily.[106]

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[104] Keith, "A Place so Dull and Dreary," 88-89; Gibson, *The Lifeline of the Oregon Country*, 90-91. This is also not to suggest that Okanagan-HBC relations were free from violence. Cole Harris argues that both sides employed violence in response to an offense or for maintaining discipline. Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 31-67.
[105] Brent, "Indian Lore," 109-110; McDonald, *This Blessed Wilderness*, 44-45; Carstens, *The Queen's People,* 45-47. Carstens suggests that this may have been a British tool to ensure compliance from the honored and much regaled indigenous leader. This was a royal tactic used throughout the British Empire.
[106] Other non-Native travelers included Peter Skene Ogden, Modeste Demers, and David Douglas, and William Brackenridge.

The Sinixt experience with company traders at and north of Fort Colvile exhibit some parallels with the Okanagan dynamic. The local Sinixt maintained generally positive and mutually beneficial relations with company officials, though the chief traders wished they would be more compliant in bringing in furs. They spent significant time at Fort Colvile and became even more invested in their relationship with the British than their Native neighbors. [107] In 1860, British surveyor Charles Wilson noted

> The chief of the Lake Indians, who live northward towards the Columbia lakes, came to pay me a visit & shake hands; he is a wonderful old man & remembers the first whites coming into the country & has ever been a firm friend to them. Not many years ago, when the Skimakaal Indians were going to attack the Company's brigade of furs going through to Fort Hope, he brought his whole tribe down and protected them. The Indians will not allow anyone but the Company to settle on this plain.[108]

These Sinixt defended their British allies and allowed only the company to settle in their territory. They did not encounter many Americans in the upper Columbia River region, but the Sinixt were aware of American settlement schemes and the conflict they bred in the 1850s. Sinixt leaders likely directed this restriction to settlement on their lands at Americans, who had gained a reputation for aggressive settlement practices. In a similar exchange with a Native hunter from the Kettle River area in Sinixt territory a few days later, Wilson wrote that the man "was very chatty & told us all his grievances against the Americans & many stories of the war with them."[109]

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[107] Pryce, *'Keeping the Lakes' Way',* 42-45; Benjamin MacDonald, "Narrative of Benjamin MacDonald," *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 16, no. 3 (July 1925), 195.
[108] Charles Wilson, *Mapping the Frontier: Charles Wilson's Diary of the Survey of the 49th Parallel, 1858-1862, While Secretary of the British Boundary Commission*, ed. George F. G. Stanley (Toronto, ON: Macmillan of Canada, 1970), 111. Editor George Stanley makes the correction that Wilson was referring to the Arrow Lakes, through which flow the Columbia River. There are Columbia Lakes up the Kootenay River to the northeast. The identity of the "Skimakaal Indians" is unclear here. It could possibly mean the Kalispel or Spokane or even the San Poil located to the southwest and southeast of Fort Colvile.
[109] Ibid, 117.

As they interacted with the British and Americans, Native people used terms from the regional Chinook trade language to differentiate between their English-speaking counterparts. Commonly used between Northwest Coast and Lower Columbia Native traders and their non-Native partners, the Chinook Wawa or jargon facilitated communication through the many language barriers.[110] As the fur trade spread inland and up the Columbia River, so did the use of the Chinook patois.[111] In the language were terms to identify English or British white people and American white people. The English were "King George men" and the Americans were "Bostons" or "Boston men."[112] The Ktunaxa and their neighbors made use of this Chinook vocabulary. One ethnographer as late as 1892 recorded some Ktunaxa vocabulary and noted, "The Lower Kootenays call the United States Dlē'nē (the other side) or Bo'sten ämā'kis (country of the Americans), Canada being denominated Kindjâte ämā'kis (the country of the British), the two words Bo'sten and Kindjâte having been adopted from the Chinook jargon."[113] Others, including the Sinixt, later referred to themselves as "King George men" to demonstrate their association with the British in what became Canada.[114] These signifiers came into use far earlier in the fur trade world of the coast than in the interior, but it would appear that Columbia Plateau peoples employed these Chinook terms by at least the 1850s.[115]

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[110] Rena Grant, "The Chinook Jargon, Past and Present," *California Folklore Society*, Vol. 3, no. 4 (Oct. 1944): 259-276.
[111] Chief Edwards of the Okanagan taught his children Chinook at least by the 1890s and therefore must have spoken it by the 1870s. "Maggie Victor – Wha-hul-kin-malks: An Okanagan," *Thirtieth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society 1966* (1966), 138.
[112] Clifford Trafzer, *The Chinook* (New York, NY: Chelsea House Publishers, 1990), 30-31.
[113] A. F. Chamberlain, "Report on the Kootenay Indians of South-Eastern British Columbia," *Eighth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada* (London, UK: Burlington House, 1892), 596.
[114] C. Ian Jackson, ed., *Letters from the 49th Parallel, 1857-1873: Selected Correspondence of Joseph Harris and Samuel Anderson* (Toronto, ON: The Champlain Society, 2000), 292; Edward L. Affleck, ed., *Kootenay Yesterdays* (Vancouver, BC: The Alexander Nicolls Press, 1976), 94, 107.
[115] George Lang, *Making Wawa: the Genesis of Chinook Jargon* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 3.

The differences between the Americans and the British-owned HBC would come into sharper relief on the Columbia Plateau in the 1850s. With the border between British and US-claimed territories fixed in 1846, the US federal government intended to bring administrative order to Oregon Territory and thus facilitate the settlement and development of the region. The government needed to meet with and assert control over Native peoples and to plan for infrastructure to move Americans to the Northwest.

A year after the Oregon Treaty, conflict with the Cayuse introduced American military force to Oregon Territory. A party of Cayuse murdered missionaries at the Whitman Mission and an Oregon settler militia formed in response. The well-stocked and reinforced militia fought the Cayuse in a series of battles for over a year. The militia eventually crushed the Cayuse belligerents and corralled the rest of the Cayuse people. The Americans then tried and convicted the alleged Whitman murderers and executed them in a public hanging. [116] Their show of force that overwhelmed the Cayuse set a precedent for Native and American relations for the next decade.

In 1853, the US federal government dispatched two surveys to the northwest to search for the best route for a northern railroad line. In that year Congress also separated Washington Territory from Oregon Territory. Career soldier Isaac Stevens accepted appointment as territorial

[116] For more on the Cayuse War of 1847, see John Brown and Robert Ruby, *The Cayuse Indians: Imperial Tribesmen of Old Oregon* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972). According to Angus McDonald, one of the chief traders at Fort Colville, the fort "was never attached by Indians. When the Kayoozas murdered their Protestant Missionaries in 1847, the Spokane Missionaries took refuge here. There was a report, probably true, that one tribe of the Colvile tribes intended to kill all English speaking people of the Fort, but they never put their intention into practice." The "Colvilles," either the Sinixt or Skoeylpi near the fort were dealing with a disease outbreak at the time and were disinclined to join the Cayuse war effort. McDonald's recollection of the report shows that the news of the Cayuse conflict had made its way to the "Colville" people near the fort. Angus McDonald and F. W. Howay, William S. Lewis, and Jacob A. Meyers, eds. "Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 8, no. 3 (July 1917), 199. See also, Drury, ed., *Nine Years with the Spokane Indians*, 475-483.

governor.[117] On his way west from the states, Stevens led one of the railroad surveys across the Columbia Plateau. US Army captain George McClellan led the other survey. The two parties explored through the Okanagan, Kettle, and Spokane River areas, taking measurements and speaking to Native people about the government's plans. Stevens and McClellan converged at Fort Colville where they met with chief trader Angus McDonald. At Fort Colville and among the region's Native people, they made known their presence as soldiers, surveyors, and representatives of the United States government.[118]

Word of these American activities made its way north, reaching the ears of Native people along the forty-ninth parallel. To the Okanagan and Sinixt and their neighbors, the Americans had demonstrated the ability to wage wars of retribution and submission against Native nations. They had marched through Native territory making announcements for preparations for white settlement. Though not directly affected by these American assertions of power and authority, Native peoples in the vicinity of the boundary line recognized that Americans used violence and show of force to control Indians in US territory. [119] They could contrast this behavior with that of the HBC.

The HBC appeared to Sinixt and Ktunaxa people intent only on trading furs in their territories with no intention to promote settlement. At Fort Colvile, many company traders and trappers came and went with the fur season. Their numbers were never large enough to suggest an expanding fort population. The company stationed only one employee at Fort Kootenay in

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[117] Kent Richards, *Isaac I. Stevens: Young Man in a Hurry* (Pullman: WSU Press, 1993), 150-151.
[118] Philip Henry Overmeyer, "George B. McClellan and the Pacific Northwest," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 32, no. 1 (Jan. 1941): 3-60; Kent D. Richards, "The Young Napoleons: Isaac I. Stevens, George B. McClellan and the Cascades Mountains Route," *Columbia* 3:4 (Winter 1989-90): 21-28.
[119] Robert Ruby and John Brown, *Indians of the Pacific Northwest: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 102-103; Overmeyer, "George B. McClellan and the Pacific Northwest," 41-46.

Ktunaxa country. Sinixt and Ktunaxa traders continued to bring pelts to Fort Colvile and Fort Kootenay, respectively, and maintained functional relationships with chief trader Angus McDonald and his HBC associates.[120] Even when fur prices declined in the 1850s, Sinixt traders, for instance, still preferred working with the HBC.[121]

In the 1850s, Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa peoples observed that HBC fur trade activity concentrated in the north, in this case, beyond the forty-ninth parallel. The company made use of Fort Shepherd north of the line in British territory as an alternative to Fort Colvile by the late 1850s.[122] It did the same with Kootenay Fort in 1858. Because many Ktunaxa remained keen to trade, the HBC relocated that post to the Tobacco Plains just north of the international boundary.[123] At Fort Okanagan, essentially all fur trade activity had faded out by 1854, though the last HBC manager actually left the fort for British Columbia in 1860.[124] Fort Kamloops to the north absorbed Fort Okanagan's traffic and responsibilities. Through the 1850s, Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa peoples began to associate the British with the space in which the British company conducted its fur trade business, north of the invisible border.

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[120] Chance, "The Kootenay Fur Trade," 48-54, 60-62; Albert J. Partoll, "Angus McDonald, Frontier Fur Trader," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 42, no. 2 (April 1951): 138-146. There were certainly moments of tension between Native people and traders. Chief traders consistently related their frustration with their Native partners' lack of attention to the company's need for them to bring in furs. As HBC operations grew more challenging in the 1840s and 1850s due to declining fur-bearing animal populations and disruptions to the trade continued, these complaints grew more vocal. The times of tense relations often came from the "middle grounds" of company and tribal discipline tactics that were seen as inconsistent or a reproach of indigenous community customs. Duane Thomson and Marianne Ignace, "'They Made Themselves our Guests': Power Relationships in the Interior Plateau Region of the Cordillera in the Fur Trade Era," *BC Studies*, no. 146 (Summer 2005): 3-35; John Phillip Reid, "Principles of Vengeance: Fur Trappers, Indians, and Retaliation for Homicide in the Transboundary North American West," *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 24, no. 1 (Feb. 1993): 21-43.
[121] Ruth Lakin, *Kettle River Country: Early Days Along the Kettle River* (Colville, WA: Statesman-Examiner, Inc., 1976), 22-23.
[122] Chance, "The Kootenay Fur Trade," 69, 75; Elsie Turnbull, "Fort Shepherd," *The Beaver*, (Autumn 1959), 42-47.
[123] Chance, "The Kootenay Fur Trade," 61-62; Howard S. Brode, "Diary of Dr. Augustus J. Thibodo of the Northwest Exploring Expedition, 1859," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 31, no. 3 (July 1940), 327-331.
[124] Keith, "A Place so Dull and Dreary," 91-92; John V. Campbell, "The Sinclair Party – An Emigration Overland along the Old Hudson Bay Company Route from Manitoba to the Spokane Country in 1854," *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 7, no. 3 (July 1916), 199.

Native-white relations south of the line appeared increasingly chaotic and rife with conflict, compared to relations with the British to the north. The US government's attempts to establish treaties with the Native nations on the Columbia Plateau languished as hostilities erupted when American miners and settlers cut through the region after 1855. Prompted by a series of gold rushes, clashes between aggrieved Native treaty signers, miners, and the US Army turned Washington Territory into a war zone in the late 1850s. These developments will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Suffice it to say, the Sinixt, Ktunaxa, and Okanagan peoples straddling the forty-ninth parallel had a growing sense of the difference in character, mission, and behavior of the British and Americans. Their social, political, and commercial interactions with these peoples informed their ability to differentiate between them. The British and Americans had a different manner of distinguishing between their citizens, subjects, and territories. They intended to mark the line separating British jurisdiction from American by launching a boundary survey through the Northwest.

Native Peoples and the Northwest Boundary Survey

In 1858, the Fraser River gold rush in British Columbia coincided with the conclusion of the main campaigns of the Americans' wars with Native peoples in Washington Territory. This created the need and conditions to begin the official boundary survey of the forty-ninth parallel. The US Army's "pacification" of the variously confederated Yakama, Palouse, Coeur d'Alene, and Spokane bands cleared the path along the mid-Columbia River region for American settler-miners to make their way north.[125] American miners who had heard of the Fraser River gold strike that same year began traversing the Columbia River to the Okanagan Valley and even

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[125] Ken Mather, *Trail North: The Okanagan Trail of 1858-1868 and its Origins in British Columbia and Washington* (Victoria, BC: Heritage House, 2018), 98-100, 141-144; Robert Ficken, *Unsettled Boundaries: Fraser Gold and the British-American Northwest* (Pullman: WSU Press, 2003), 137.

farther up the Columbia past Fort Colvile to cross into British territory heading toward the Fraser.[126] Unruly hordes of American miners stomped through Okanagan and Sinixt territory. More importantly for former HBC chief factor and then British Columbia governor James Douglas, they marched across the designated international border with little awareness of their passage into British jurisdiction. Douglas expressed his concerns regarding jurisdiction and the Americans' presence to the Governor of Washington Territory, Fayette McMullen. McMullen responded in agreement, "Interests have lately arisen and are daily accumulating near the line dividing the two countries of such magnitude as to render any official act bearing directly or indirectly on the question of jurisdiction of the greatest importance." [127] The "act" was determining the line's location on the ground. Fortunately for Douglas and McMullen, the campaign to mark the line was just getting under way.

American and British diplomats arranged for a coordinated boundary survey commission that got off the ground in 1857, but it would not gain steam until the next year. The British Foreign Office and the US Department of State had recognized the need for an official boundary survey earlier because the water boundary through the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Salish Sea, and Boundary Bay remained unclear.[128] The rest of the boundary along the forty-ninth parallel, though straight and terrestrial, came with its own challenges. Acquiring and hauling survey equipment over several mountain ranges in climates that could swing harshly from season to season and with changes in elevation would prove difficult. In late 1857, the American survey

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[126] A significant percentage of gold-seekers also traveled by ship to Vancouver Island and then on to the Fraser's mouth. Ibid, 38-48.
[127] Quoted in Daniel Marshall, *Claiming the Land: British Columbia and the Making of a New El Dorado* (Vancouver, BC: Ronsdale Press, 2018), 30-31. McMullen succeeded Stevens as governor in 1857 when Stevens became Washington's territorial delegate to Congress.
[128] Jackson, ed., *Letters from the 49th Parallel, 1857-1873,* xxxvi-li. One issue prompting the surveys was the San Juan Island affair.

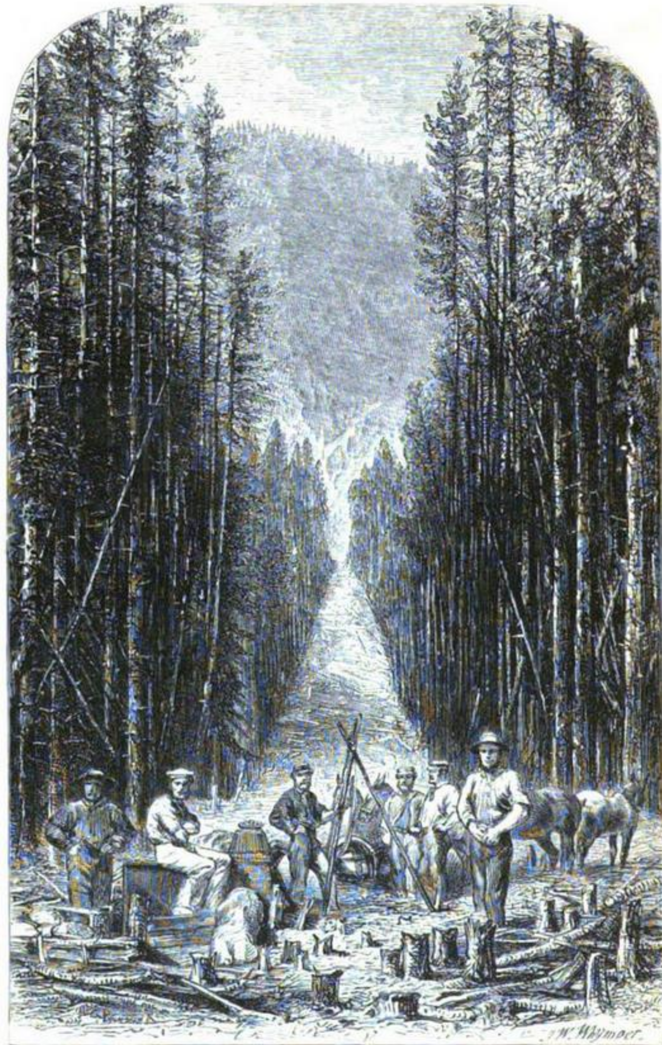
party under Archibald Campbell arrived in Semiahmoo on the Strait of Georgia and began its march east. The Imperial War Office sponsored the British party, which did not arrive to begin its work until spring 1858.[129]

As the teams proceeded, they established a series of stations from which to take astronomical measurements along the way. Thousands of hours of work went into hauling materials, setting up camp and equipment, carrying out measurements, traversing dangerous terrain, and finding food. The crews lamented the necessary task of physically cutting a path through the forests to render the line visible on the ground. Timing was of the essence. Campbell recognized the project's high stakes in 1858, noting "the extraordinary excitement recently produced by the discovery of gold on the Fraser River and its tributaries have awakened an interest in this region of country…[t]he boundary line instead of running through a wilderness, and separating only savage tribes, may, ere long traverse a country populated by emigrants from the United States and Great Britain."[130] Campbell's superiors would have agreed with his sense of urgency. The British were particularly concerned with locating where crossings would occur and thus where import duties would be collected.

The work of both parties continued during what was called the field season of each year from 1858 until 1862. They crossed the Similkameen, Kettle, Columbia, Pend Oreille, and Kootenay Rivers and followed paths around the most treacherous mountain passes, gorges, and

[129] Ibid, xxxviii-li.
[130] Ibid, lxvii.

cliffs. At points, the Americans and British encountered each other and traded notes and even stayed together near the Fort Colville barracks on the Columbia River during the winter of 1860-61.[131] They compiled their readings and laid out physical markers where they could. The markers often consisted of crude piles of stones called cairns arranged in a pyramid, to inform those passing through of the change in jurisdiction.[132] Armed with axes, they also cut down the trees to form a twenty-five or thirty-foot-wide path along the forty-ninth parallel to render visible the line in the more heavily forested sections.[133] Nearly every aspect of the survey operation required new sources of labor and positive relations with the local residents along the line.



"British and United States Boundary Line – Yahk River." Commander R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (London, UK: John Murray, 1862).

[131] Ibid, lxxi-lxxii. Though there was some cooperation, there was also antagonism at times as well. Disagreement often came from questions of scientific survey methods.
[132] Harris and Streeter, *Joseph S. Harris and the U.S. Northwest Boundary Survey*, 290.
[133] Jno. Parke to Archibald Campbell, 17 May 1859, Letters Received by the Department of State From U.S. Commissioner Archibald Campbell, Roll 1, Records Relating to the First Northwest Boundary Survey Commission, 1853-69, Microcopy No. T-606.

From the Cascades to the Rocky Mountains, Native Plateau peoples tolerated, sometimes welcomed, sometimes harassed, and often assisted the boundary survey commission. As the American surveyors made their way down the eastern slope of the Cascade Mountains towards the Similkameen River, they prepared for conflict with the tribes of the interior. In fact, American surveyors retained a military escort should they encounter issues with "the Okinakane and Similkameen Indians," thought to be "the most warlike tribes in that part of the county and decidedly hostile last year, when miners were passing through their valley to Fraser River." These concerns were apparently overblown. In summer 1859, when Captain Archer met a group of Okanagans, Chief Tonasket expressed a desire to establish positive relations with the surveyors. Tonasket, the "principal chief," negotiated a peaceful passing of the surveyors through the valley and on to the Kettle River to the east.[134]

The British party made it to the Okanagan Valley about a year after the Americans had passed through. Presuming that their favorable British reputation preceded them, they proceeded with no army escort, claiming, "We expect little opposition from the natives as they are pretty friendly to King George Men (Englishmen) though they hate Boston men (Americans) intensely, and they pretend to be able to discriminate between them very readily."[135] Upon their arrival to the valley, the Okanagan people indicated their intent to establish a positive relationship with the British party. They wished to share in tobacco, and British Lieutenant Samuel Anderson obliged.[136]

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[134] When the soldiers from the escort began digging for gold along the Similkameen, some Okanagans actually joined them. Archibald Campbell to Secretary of State Lewis Cass, 6 December 1859, Letters Received by the Department of State From U.S. Commissioner Archibald Campbell, Roll 1, Records Relating to the First Northwest Boundary Survey Commission, 1853-69, Microcopy No. T-606.
[135] Jackson, ed., *Letters from the 49th Parallel,* 251.
[136] Ibid, 270.

For the most part, these surveyors and their employees did maintain peaceful relationships with Native people through the Okanagan, Kettle, and Columbia River valleys. The Sinixt on the Columbia were quite receptive to the British. Anderson noted a Sinixt burial site located "just in Her Majesty's Dominions, and the Indians seem to take a pride in calling themselves King George Indians."[137] Sinixt receptivity was born of their positive relations with the HBC. In the Kootenay River country, the surveyors described the Ktunaxa as welcoming and interested in their presence, not just as boundary commissioners but as potential trade partners. One British survey member, Charles Wilson, noted of the Ktunaxa, "The news of our arrival had spread to the Indian village on the Tobacco plains and early this morning we were visited by an immense number of Indians…they were very civil and friendly."[138] For the most part, Ktunaxa bands along the line maintained amicable relations with the British and American surveyors. They could also be indifferent towards and tolerant of the surveyors' temporary camps near the Kootenay and its tributaries. When violence did break out between Native peoples and whites, it emerged far more frequently between miners and Native men near sites like Colville, not with the survey parties.[139] In sum, the Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa peoples observed the surveyors' activities and deemed them not an immediate military threat.

These parties made connections based on a mutual interest in Native labor and trade. To various degrees, Okanagan, Sinixt, Ktunaxa, and other Native peoples contributed to the survey operations as laborers. The American party tabulated payment distribution records for temporary and unskilled workers who assisted in the various tasks of the survey toward the Rockies. During the 1859 to 1860 seasons, officials listed many of these workers, almost exclusively men, as

[137] Ibid, 292. Charles Wilson's story of the Sinixt chief protecting the HBC reinforces this relationship, in Stanley, ed. *Mapping the Frontier*, 111.
[138] Stanley, ed. *Mapping the Frontier,* 153.
[139] Jackson, ed.*, Letters from the 49th Parallel,* 285-286, 290-291.

simply “Indian,” or they wrote an individual’s name followed by “(Ind.)”, as in “Toe-nook-sahk, (Indian.)” or “Ar-kacth…(Ind.).”[140] It is thus near impossible to ascertain from this list these men’s affiliations with a particular Native nation. Those in charge of payment did not concern themselves with such distinctions.

The majority of Native workers served as guides, typically at a rate of $1.00 a day. For instance, Kerli-lim-neptsa served as a guide for the Americans during their work in the Similkameen and Okanagan Valleys from August 12 to September 15, 1859, and collected $35.00 for his service. Another position was “expressman” or courier. Many Native men served as couriers, delivering mail, messages, and news between surveyors in the field or to stations such as Fort Colville where mailings destined for the coast were collected and distributed. These tasks fetched $1.00 a day, but they could also fit into a trip that a Native person was already making, towards Kettle Falls for instance.

Plateau Native people also served as packers of goods and equipment. [141] Packing astronomical equipment, tent materials, food, and other gear through rugged terrain required horses, mules, and Native operators. In one stretch east of the Colville depot, the commission employed a large contingent of Native packers in February of 1860. Surveyor Joseph Harris noted, “Gardner left here this morning with one man as recorder and fifteen Indians as pack animals. The whole party is mounted on snow shoes as the snow is too deep…The trip is likely to last some six weeks.”[142] Along swift-moving waterways, Ktunaxa individuals and others ferried the surveyors and their equipment across creeks and rivers too deep to cross on foot.[143]

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[140] Andrew Johnson, “Message from the President of the United States Concerning the Northwest Boundary Commission, February 13, 1869,” 1869, 95, 40th Congress, 3d Session, Ex. Doc. No. 86., 8-13.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Jackson, ed., *Letters from the 49th Parallel,* 189.
[143] Ibid, 207.

Interestingly, the records suggest that almost no Native people served as "axemen" for the boundary commission, perhaps because they had no interest in hacking a wide path through the forests of their homelands beyond the river valleys.[144]

Native people worked for both the American and British survey parties. The surviving record of payment distributions for the United States demonstrates that the survey's success hinged upon Native labor along the line. Historian Benjamin Hoy calculated that Native people contributed several thousands of days of labor to the multi-year operation, indispensable in some of the most challenging areas of the interior.[145]

Those Native people working for the surveys in various capacities did so mostly for their own reasons and made astute observations about the way the surveyors operated. The British sought out Native guides to assist them in finding trails for moving equipment and other logistics, but in several instances their would-be guides declined. In the Okanagan and the Kootenay, they refused, insisting that the routes to the forty-ninth parallel were impractical or dangerous, and they abstained from endangering themselves.[146] This discernment included the preparations or lack thereof in the surveyor's plans for the work and logistics. Anderson lamented in November 1861 that in Ktunaxa country,

> I was unable to employ any Indians to assist us, tho there were plenty about. A good many of them were employed at the time by us last year, but thro' some false motives of economy our Commissioner reduced the quantity of food for Indians below our ordinary ration. When the Indians began to see that they were being starved by degrees they all left

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[144] It is unclear whether the position of "axeman" meant those laborers who cut down trees to mark the boundary line, or if it also included the cutting or widening of trails using an axe. If it means the latter, then there is at least one recorded case in which "an old Indian" at the Kootenay River who cut trail for the American surveyors in July of 1860 using an axe provided by Harris. Harris and Streeter, *Joseph S. Harris and the U.S. Northwest Boundary Survey,* 280-281.
[145] Benjamin Hoy, "A Wall of Many Heights: The Uneven Enforcement of the Canadian-United States Border," (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2015), 34-38.
[146] Jackson, ed.*, Letters from the 49th Parallel,* 269, 300.

> in a body, not even waiting for their pay. So this year none of them would consent to accept employment on our Commission.[147]

When there was opportunity to exploit, however, some Native people made sure to take advantage. As the British were surveying near the Okanagan Valley, they encountered a family on its way to hunt. Anderson asked them to serve as guides for a time. He and his two other employees camped overnight with the presumably Okanagan family. In the morning, when Anderson found that most of their horses and mules were gone, he sent his men to look for them. They recovered all but three. Anderson promised the two Native men cash compensation if they would find the remaining stock. He recalled, "In about an hour an Indian returned with all the three. I thought perhaps he had driven them off during the night to get a reward."[148] By either luck or design, the Native man could cash in on the surveyors' logistical needs. Native people worked as temporary laborers and used their income to supplement their traditional hunting, fishing, and gathering economies.[149]

In their interactions with the American and British survey commissions, Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa peoples gained a better sense of how the nation-states perceived their territories. Native peoples knew well the north-south trails channeled by the Columbia Plateau's river valleys. Native guides also introduced the surveyors to the existing trails that ran along an east-west route. These trails evolved according to the terrain and took travelers to specific areas of food collection or to sites of cultural significance. To the Native people along the line, the rigidly straight path of the forty-ninth parallel made little sense as a geographical reference point. Additionally, the rock mound monuments or the thinning of trees that represented the line would

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[147] Ibid, 303.
[148] Ibid, 271.
[149] For more on the differing perceptions of work and the indigenous valuation of exchange, see John Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 10-12.

have proved unnecessary and puzzling to them. And yet, indigenous leaders interacted with the British and American survey parties for their potential as sources of revenue or trade, and many Native individuals served the commissions as shrewd, cooperative laborers.

As Native people guided the surveyors and camped with them, they communicated with the Americans and the British and ascertained what the survey operation meant to these white people. Previous interactions with fur traders, miners, and government representatives gave them a sense of the differences between the British and Americans. However, the line and its on-the-ground markings symbolized this difference and its location in a more visible, geographical sense. Okanagan-Skoyelpi-Sinixt author Mourning Dove later addressed this visibility, recalling that the "soldiers cut a swath through the thick virgin forest without asking the Colville, leaving an open space sixty feet wide, running east to west through the center of our lands. Wherever a trail crossed this space, piles of rock were left to mark the line."[150] Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa individuals and leaders served in this boundary commission project in a variety of ways, for their own reasons. Mourning Dove draws attention to the fact that this boundary line and its production would become a presence in the lives of Columbia Plateau peoples well after surveyors finished marking the forty-ninth parallel in 1862.

Over the course of the first half of the nineteenth century, the Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa peoples had negotiated challenges and opportunities wrought by influences from beyond the Columbia Plateau. Through these changes, they worked to preserve and enhance their economies, territories, and communities. They incorporated horses into their seasonal round and trade networks, and they folded the delivery of furs into their timing of the fish runs at Kettle

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[150] Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove: A Salishan Autobiography*, ed. Jay Miller (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 154.

Falls. They earned wages from guiding outsiders, and they sought to gain power and status within their communities from the Black Robes' religion.

Native Plateau peoples also recognized the limits of these opportunities and the sources of such limitations. The Sinixt, Ktunaxa, and Okanagan found that their trade partners would come with national intentions for Columbia Plateau lands. The British HBC trade officials offered mutually-beneficial trade while expecting loyalty in return. The American government officials stood as the advance-guard of permanent settlement. However, both colonial powers shared the desire to identify and mark on the ground their territorial claims. Though enticed to cooperate in the production of the western boundary between British North America and the United States, many Columbia Plateau individuals, families, and bands did so mostly when it would be convenient or beneficial to them and their geopolitical agendas in between the mountains.

With the line surveyed and marked in the early 1860s, the forty-ninth parallel did become a reference point for both Native nations and nation-states and how they operated on the Columbia Plateau. Determining what the border would mean in practice would take time. Over the next five decades, the Ktunaxa, Okanagan, and Sinixt would discover how the border could be exploited or ignored, but also its capacity to divide and pull nations apart.

Chapter Two

"There are unchecked means of escaping across the boundary": Understanding the Border through Violence and War

Between 1855 and 1895, the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan peoples, along with their indigenous Columbia Plateau neighbors, came to know the Canada-US border's myriad meanings and inconsistencies through exposure to and participation in warfare, violence, and colonization. For Native groups on or near the boundary line, the border marked the difference between the British, and later Canadians, and the Americans. Native peoples considered Canada or the United States, as represented by their government policies and settlers, favorable partners in some instances and the lesser of two evils in other instances. Native-settler conflict occurred with both nation-states. When Columbia Plateau wars broke out, the Okanagan and the Ktunaxa along the border responded as distinct indigenous nations. Bands from British Columbia offered their support or crossed the border to reinforce militants from their communities against the US Army, and vice versa.

The border also functioned as a marker of sanctuary and escape beyond which the officials from one nation-state could not follow. Some bands and families migrated across the line to avoid the violence of war and the parties perpetrating it while others crossed to escape justice from the authorities. The possibility or threat of cross-border movement could serve as leverage in negotiations with either federal government. Though they were certainly not easy lessons, conflicts produced knowledge of the burdens and possible exploitable opportunities of the Canada-US border.

In the context of war and violence in the Canada-US borderlands, conflict produced rich records that render transnational indigenous relations even more visible. The meetings and

communication networks between bands and their awareness of each other's experiences with settlers or the US or Canadian government reveal both the sinews and situational expressions of Native nationhood.[1] Native peoples displayed the links between bands that formed their distinct nations as a matter of necessity, cooperation, and resistance. Moments of crisis punctuated these trends, including the Plateau War and gold rushes of 1855-1858, Okanagan and Interior Salish mobilizations in 1877-1879 and 1891, a Ktunaxa jail break in 1887, and a Sinixt murder in 1894. Depending on the situation, Native peoples could assert their indigenous connections that transcended the border, while also responding to or exploiting the border's delineation of nation-state jurisdiction.

Rarely has the Columbia Plateau borderlands been included in narratives of warfare in the interior Pacific Northwest. Historians have spilled much ink on Native peoples' wars with settlers, the militias, and the Army in Washington and Oregon Territories, and far less so in British Columbia. However, few have considered how these conflicts evolved around the border. Robin Fisher has provided a blueprint for understanding the comparative cultures and political regimes that perpetrated or avoided war in British territory and the American Northwest.[2] Fisher's comparative analysis, however, tends to reinforce the border's division of territory and history. The Okanagan, Interior Salish, and Ktunaxa experience shows that war greatly obscured this separation and that Native-settler conflict in the United States and Canada was more entwined than previously observed.

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[1] Keith Thor Carlson's work on the multi-level and "elastic" identities of the Sto:lo people of the Lower Fraser River offers a useful model for identifying the situational expressions of indigenous nationhood. Carlson argues that the many sub-groups that comprised the Sto:lo nation could come together or retract in response to particular colonial pressures such as physical violence or threats to their land base, and that these collective reactions were based upon deeper indigenous connections. Keith Thor Carlson, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 7-12.

[2] Robin Fisher, "Indian Warfare and Two Frontiers: A Comparison of British Columbia and Washington Territory during the Early Years of Settlement," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 50, no. 1 (Feb. 1981): 31-51.

At least for the period of the late 1850s, historian Daniel Marshall begins to break down this nation-state-bound narrative tradition in his study of the Fraser River gold rush.[3] Marshall argues that American miner militia violence spilled over the forty-ninth parallel. Miners exacted violence upon the British Columbia Native peoples who stood in the mining parties' way. Such violence, and the military systems established to control Native activities, were not contained to 1858; they continued at, near, and beyond the border for decades. Native peoples learned how to take advantage of the nation-states' weakness at the border, but they were also schooled in the state and settlers' means of stopping Native movements or pushing them out.[4] Settler-Native warfare and violence could bleed through some line on a map.

Treaties and War

The US government's first attempts at establishing treaties with Native peoples of the Columbia Plateau coincided with encroachments by American miners and settlers. The bungled treaty-ratification process and trespassing on indigenous lands produced both Native disillusionment and violence, and eventually full out war. Through their interactions with the Americans, Ktunaxa, Sinixt, Okanagan, Yakama peoples and others became aware of the limits of US jurisdiction at the international boundary line. They recognized that government officials

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[3] Daniel Marshall, *Claiming the Land: British Columbia and the Making of a New El Dorado* (Vancouver, BC: Ronsdale Press, 2018).

[4] Of the sparse scholarship on borderlands violence along the forty-ninth parallel in the nineteenth century, historians have focused on primarily on the Great Plains region. See Michel Hogue, *Metis and the Medicine Line: Creating a Border and Dividing a People* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); David McCrady, *Living with Strangers: The Nineteenth-Century Sioux and the Canadian-American Borderlands* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Andrew Graybill, *Policing the Great Plains: Rangers, Mounties, and the North American Frontier, 1875-1910* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). Benjamin Hoy, Daniel Marshall, and Josh Reid provide some of the only treatment on violence on the Pacific Coast borderlands west of the Rocky Mountains. See Josh Reid, *The Sea is My Country: The Maritime World of the Makahs* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015); Marshall, *Claiming the Land*; Benjamin Hoy, "A Wall of Many Heights: The Uneven Enforcement of the Canadian-United States Border," (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2015).

or soldiers could not cross the line as Native peoples did. Beyond the border, British territory represented a respite from strife, reprisals, or dysfunction in Washington Territory.

In 1855, the Ktunaxa band camped around Flathead Lake received notice from runners to the south that the Americans planned to hold a large treaty council near the Clark Fork River.[5] That July, band leader Chief Michelle, and several prominent Ktunaxa men made their way down from Flathead Lake to a site known as Hell Gate for the council with Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens.[6] For the Ktunaxa delegates at this council, peace with the Blackfoot from just across the Rocky Mountains would have been a major goal of the treaty agreement. Stevens also hoped for stability among the several Native nations competing for the upper Missouri River bison hunting grounds on the northern plains.[7] At the Hell Gate council, the Ktunaxa delegation met with Stevens and leaders from the Bitterroot Salish and the Pend d'Oreilles Nations. Stevens provided interpreters, but they had only some knowledge of the Ktunaxa language. A missionary in attendance estimated that the Ktunaxa participants

[5] Carling Malouf, "Early Kutenai History," *The Montana Magazine of History*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (April 1952): 8; Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens asked Lieutenant John Mullan while on his railroad survey to encourage the Flatheads (Bitterroot Salish) to attend a council to work out a land and peace treaty. Mullan believed that the Pend d'Oreilles and Ktunaxa should be included on this reservation as well and determined to bring these bands in as well. Isaac Stevens to J. Mullan, Jr., 8 September 1853, "Report of Explorations for a Route for the Pacific Railroad, near the Forty-Seventh and Forty-Ninth Parallels of North Latitude, from St. Paul to Puget Sound, by I. I. Stevens, Governor of Washington Territory," *Reports of explorations and surveys, to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office 1855), 34-35; J Mullan to Isaac Stevens, 25 January 1854, "Reports of Lieutenant John Mullan, U. S. A, on the Indian Tribes in the eastern portion of Washington Territory," *In Reports of explorations and surveys, to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1855), 440.
[6] It would appear that Michelle had known for a while that this council was going to take place. He stated in the council records in a response to Isaac Stevens that "I started two years ago from my place to come and see you." In Robert Bigart and Clarence Woodcock*, In the Name of the Salish & Kootenai Nation: The 1855 Hell Gate Treaty and the Origin of the Flathead Indian Reservation* (Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press, 1996), 43. Michelle's decision to participate in the council was likely based on the urging of the Catholic missionaries with whom the Ktunaxa had some relations, specifically, Father Adrian Hoecken of the St. Ignatius mission. Malouf, "Early Kutenai History," 8. Hoecken himself attended the last days of the Hellgate Treaty council at the request of Isaac Stevens.
[7] William E. Farr, "'When We Were First Paid': The Blackfoot Treaty, the Western Tribes, and the Creation of a Common Hunting Ground, 1855," *Great Plains Quarterly* Vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 134-137.

understood only about a tenth of the council communications.[8] In the council transcript, Chief Michelle only spoke on record just a few times, and even then his contributions were a reiteration of the Pend d'Oreilles chief Alexander's statements.[9] Alexander and Michelle wished to stay in the north, near Flathead Lake, and for the treaty to set aside these lands for their peoples. Despite the translation issues, an impatient Stevens pressed on through the council proceedings. He sought to concentrate the Ktunaxa, Salish, and Pend d'Oreilles peoples onto one reservation and out of the way of future American settlement.

After several days of talks with Stevens, the Ktunaxa, Salish, and Pend d'Oreilles leaders agreed to the terms of the treaty. One of the more pressing issues, discussion of which actually extended the council for several days, was the location of the reservation. The Ktunaxa and Pend d'Oreilles wanted lands to the north and the Bitterroot Salish wanted to stay in the Bitterroot Valley in the south. Stevens agreed to the possibility of two reservations. For now, they confirmed the Jocko or Flathead Reservation located along Flathead Lake in the Mission Valley, in present day western Montana. The treaty included provisions for school teachers, farming implements, medical support, protection, and an agent. The treaty also outlined the reservation's boundaries. With a vague understanding of the agreement's finer points, Chief Michelle and the four other Ktunaxa delegates signed the Hellgate Treaty.[10]

Within a year, the Ktunaxa people began recognizing issues with the Hellgate Treaty and the federal government's limited capacity to fulfill treaty terms. Stevens informed the Ktunaxa, Pend d'Oreilles, and Salish that the US Congress needed to ratify their treaty before it could become official policy. Distractions of war with the disaffected Walla Walla council participants

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[8] Robert J. Bigart, *Getting Good Crops: Economic and Diplomatic Survival Strategies of the Montana Bitterroot Salish Indians, 1870-1891* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2010), 31.
[9] Bigart and Woodcock, *In the Name of the Salish & Kootenai Nation,* 21-61.
[10] Ibid, 9-16, 21-61. The official title of the treaty is "Treaty with the Flatheads, etc., 1855."

to the west, namely the Yakama and their supporters from 1855 to 1858, delayed congressional ratification of Stevens' treaties with the Columbia Plateau tribes, the Ktunaxa included.[11] In the meantime, however, Congress did manage to ratify a treaty with the Blackfeet just seven months after they held council with Stevens.[12] This discrepancy, coupled with the fact that Ktunaxa hunting parties continued to find themselves victims in the inveterate conflict with the Blackfoot, made the situation almost unbearable for the Ktunaxa band.

Ktunaxa oral histories track Michelle and his band's migration north during these difficult and frustrating times.[13] Based on what Michelle understood of the Hellgate Treaty's terms, his Ktunaxa people were eligible to receive provisions from the US Indian agent. The Ktunaxa under Michelle found little support from the inchoate agency at Jocko. Baptiste Mathias, a Ktunaxa elder and record keeper, explained to anthropologist Carling Malouf around 1952 the situation presented to Michelle in the late 1850s. Michelle wished to procure rations at the Jocko agency, but

> He was in Canada at this time but sent some of his men to get flour. When they arrived at the Jocko they were asked, "What do you want?" They replied, "Flour, sugar, coffee, and clothes." The agents said, "You better go and tell Michelle to come back here to the Jocko. You better go and tell Michelle to come back here because this is his territory. He better come back here to the Jocko. You better go and tell him to come back here. We can't send him anything across the border into Canada." When these Kutenai men returned to Windermere, in Canada they reported to Michelle that they had found the agency, but they had not been allowed to take any goods across the Canadian line.[14]

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[11] For more on the Plateau Wars of 1855-1858, see Donald Cutler, *"Hang them All": George Wright and the Plateau Indian War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016); Kurt Nelson, *Fighting for Paradise: A Military History of the Pacific Northwest* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2007); Kurt Nelson, *Treaties and Treachery: The Northwest Indians' Resistance to Conquest* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Press, 2011); Jo N. Miles, *Kamiakin Country: Washington Territory in Turmoil, 1855-1858* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Press, 2016).

[12] George Minot and George P. Sanger, eds., "Treaty with the Blackfoot Indians. Oct. 17, 1855," *Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company, 1859), 657-662.

[13] Leonard Corwin Brant, *Kootenai Indians of the Columbia Plateau: A Gathering of History, Ethnography, and Sources* (Rathdrum, ID: Northwest Research and Publications, 2013), 96-97.

[14] Malouf, "Early Kutenai History," 8.

The Jocko agent's snub offended Michelle and he decided to remain in British Columbia for another year. The next year, 1857 or so, Michelle returned to Flathead and explained to the rest of the Ktunaxa there that he would not be coming back to the reservation (such as it was before treaty ratification). He favored the Columbia Lakes area and claimed, "I like it better in Canada. I am not coming back anymore and I'm going to leave you. I have found a good place to live with good land where you can never go hungry."[15] Michelle would not return, but his departure did not diminish his ultimate wish that all of the Ktunaxa people be protected on one vast reserve, from Windermere down to Flathead Lake.[16] In his interactions with US government representatives, Michelle witnessed the Americans' ambivalence about delivering on the Hellgate Treaty and Stevens' preoccupation with the Blackfeet. He also became aware of the material consequences of crossing into British territory and out of US jurisdiction. He consciously chose to avoid the Americans for whom he did not care and instead remain in British Columbia.

Unfavorable treaty terms and the failure to achieve timely ratification of Governor Stevens' treaties elsewhere in Washington Territory bred Native resentment and violent conflict on the Columbia Plateau. Stevens met with a host of Native nations at the Walla Walla Treaty council in June 1855. He explained to the delegates, including Yakama chief Kamiakin, that in return for ceding most of their lands they would receive protected reservations and support from the US government. Also, white settlers would be prohibited from trespassing on Native land until Congress could ratify these treaties. With bluster and desperation, Stevens foisted the treaty

[15] Ibid. Baptiste Mathias' telling of Michelle's words came much later, which is why he used the term "Canada" rather than "British territory" or "British Columbia."

[16] Harry Holbert Turney-High, "Ethnography of the Kutenai," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association,* no. 56 (Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association, 1941), 17. The agent at Flathead noted in 1866, the return of Eneas from Canada to the Flathead Reservation in 1866. Migrations between the two sites continued through this period. John Fahey, *The Flathead Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 122.

terms onto the Yakama and the other delegates from the southern Columbia Plateau. Chief Kamiakin signed under duress and remained suspicious of the Americans. Stevens moved on from Walla Walla to the next treaty council. Soon after, however, miner-settlers did begin entering and blazing through Yakama lands on their way to the recently-announced gold strikes to the north.[17] Around the same time, the Yakama murder of an Indian agent on the mid-Columbia River set off a series of battles and reprisals between Yakama-confederated militants and the Washington and Oregon militias. The sporadic attacks led by Kamiakin and his relatives died down until 1858.[18]

When hostilities erupted once more, the punitive assaults of the US Army compelled Kamiakin and others to seek refuge to the north. In 1858, the military confederation of Yakama, Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, and Palouse found themselves thrust into pitched battles with Army regulars. On the heels of a successful rout of US forces near the Spokane River came a devastating loss at the Battle of Four Lakes. US soldiers captured several of the leaders of the resistance. In retribution, Colonel George Wright hanged a number of the Yakama leaders.[19] Kamiakin would not be one of those under the noose. In his interactions with the Americans since 1855, he recognized that there were limits to their authority and jurisdiction. So, Kamiakin and the remnants of his band fled north towards the British possessions. He understood that the Army could not pursue him once he was in British territory. He eventually made it across the line and remained there for several months.[20] He followed a circuitous return route through the

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[17] Richard D. Scheurerman and Michael O. Finley, *Finding Chief Kamiakin: The Life and Legacy of a Northwest Patriot* (Pullman: WSU Press, 2008). 36-95.
[18] T. G. Knudsen, *Warrior of the Mist: A title suggested by Lucullus Virgil McWhorter: A Biography of Qualchan, Chief Owhi's Son* (Spokane, WA: T. G. Knudsen, 1996), 110-254, 44-45.
[19] Cutler, *"Hang them All,"* 173-270.
[20] Scheurerman and Michael O. Finley, *Finding Chief Kamiakin*, 36-95; A. J. Splawn, *Ka-mi-akin: The Last Hero of the Yakimas* (Portland, OR: Kilham Stationary & Printing Co., 1917), 119-120.

northern plains and Rocky Mountains, which gave time for the situation in Washington Territory to calm down.[21]

Native peoples not directly involved in the wars with the Americans chose to move north across the border to avoid being pulled into the violence. The Kalispel, or Lower Pend d'Oreilles, near Lake Pend d'Oreilles, received invitations from the Spokane to join them against the US Army.[22] The Kalispel held a council to consider the proposal, but only a small faction chose to join. The rest of the Kalispel saw the entire conflict as potentially devastating to their community. According to a Kalispel informant, "When the war broke out the great majority of the Kalispel moved into the Salmon River country in British Columbia…some remained there for about two years to be as far away from the warring Indians and whites as possible."[23] Whether they sought sanctuary along the Salmo River or over the line in British territory, they did believe this northern section to be the safer space in the middle of the war.

From along the boundary line, the "Colvilles" observed the war and monitored the US Army's activities to the south. According to one of Colonel Wright's lieutenants, a chief of the "Colville Indians…just on the borders of the British Possessions" came down to attend a council with Wright in 1858.[24] The label "Colville" could mean either Sinixt or Skoyelpi. The Colville

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[21] Splawn, *Ka-mi-akin*, 15, 119-120; Robert Ignatius Burns, S.J., *The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), 314-315; Hiram Martin Chittenden and Alfred Talbot Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J., 1801-1873* (New York, NY: Francis P. Harper, 1905), 968-970.
[22] Cutler, *"Hang them All,"* 135-136. 148.
[23] Teit, "The Salishan Tribes," 371-372. This is known as the Salmo River today. This area, just over the border in British Columbia, was a frequent fishing spot, as well as a hunting ground of the Kalispels. W. J. Trimble, "American and British Treatment of the Indians in the Pacific Northwest," *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (January 1914), 46-47. A note in Trimble's assessment of the character of the Native peoples associated with the Hudson's Bay Company in British Columbia and those in the United States, he mentions that "Yet Kootenays, Pend d'Oreilles, and Okanogans crossed the Line at pleasure" during this period.
[24] Lawrence Kip*, Indian War in the Pacific Northwest: The Journal of Lieutenant Lawrence Kip* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 92-93.

chief also witnessed Wright's battle against the confederates at Four Lakes. Through this exposure, he gained a sense of the US Army's manner of war with Native people. The chief then returned to his people and informed them to be wary of the Americans, and that he "never wished to see them again."[25] Both the Kalispels and the Colvilles hoped to avoid conflict with the Americans by remaining in the north, near or beyond the boundary.

The Americans, instead, would come to the Colvilles. One consequence of the Plateau Wars was the decline of the fur trade post, Fort Colvile, and the construction of the US military base, Fort Colville. During the conflict in 1858, reports began circulating between US officials that "northern" Indians were acquiring ammunition and horses from traders associated with the HBC at Fort Colvile and at Fort Shepherd just over the line in British Columbia. The Coeur d'Alene combatants were some of the main beneficiaries of this trade with the HBC. Of course, hearing of his enemies acquiring war material from the British infuriated Colonel Wright.[26] Around the same time, civilians in the vicinity of Fort Colvile expressed their deep concern with upper Columbia River Indians attacking white people, mostly miners on their way north to the gold fields. They demanded a response from the US Army active in eastern Washington Territory "for protection against Indians, many of whom come from British territory for the purposes of aggression and plunder."[27] To subdue the irregular traffic between the HBC and

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[25] Ibid.

[26] John Nugent to Secretary of State Lewis Cass, 13 November 1858, *The Executive Documents, Printed by Order of the Senate of the United States, Second Session, Thirty-Fifth Congress 1858-'59* (Washington, D.C.: William A. Harris, Printer, 1859), 14-16. He speculated that "when I state that one of the guns captured from the hands of an Indian in October last, in one of Colonel Wright's Indian fights in Washington Territory, was a British musket of the date of 1857, which arm could not have found its way into the heart of our Indian territory, except through the emissaries of the Hudson's Bay Company; and that numbers of similar weapons were furnished to the Indians the war against our troops not the slightest doubt is entertained." The Americans also referred to Fort Shepherd as Fort Forty-Nine.

[27] This request almost amused US Army engineer John Mullan who believed that the army had no responsibility to protect the British HBC traders operating at Fort Colvile. Ibid, Lieutenant John Mullan to Major W. W. MacKall, 24 September 1858, 71.

Native peoples and to discourage the alleged invasions by British Columbia Indians for plunder, the Army rode to Fort Colvile in 1859. A garrison of troops under Captain Pinkney Lugenbeel arrived and soon began constructing military Fort Colville.[28] In many ways, the fort served as the physical manifestation of US authority on this troubled American periphery.

The federal government tasked the Army officials at Fort Colville with the administration of Indian Affairs for the "non-treaty tribes east of the Cascades" in the 1860s. The US Army and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs assigned the commander at Fort Colville to administer to the many tribes in north central and northeastern Washington Territory. Governor Isaac Stevens had originally intended to treat with the Okanagan and upper Columbia River tribes in 1856, but a preoccupation with the Yakama conflict rendered this impossible. Thus, these groups never secured a treaty but were still considered by Americans subjects of the United States.

In 1864, Major Calvin H. Rumrill took an accounting of the tribes under his authority at Fort Colville. He reported to the Indian Superintendent in Olympia that his post was charged to oversee the Okanagan, Sinixt, Spokanes, Colvilles, among others. "Add to these a number who are constantly coming and going from British Columbia, and they will probably number one thousand men," he wrote.[29] This last part was particularly troubling for Rumrill and his successor at Fort Colville, George Paige. The Sinixt were one of those groups "coming and going," but the agents were far more concerned at this moment with the Okanagan people along the border line.

The Okanagan people became known for their strategy of robbing miners and settlers near the Colville and Columbia River valleys and then absconding across the border into British

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[28] Patrick J. Graham, ed., *Colville Collection: A Collection of Historical Articles and Stories about Colville and Northeastern Washington, Book 2: Military Fort Colville, 1859 to 1882* (Colville, WA: Patrick Graham, 2006); 12-18.

[29] C. H. Rumrill to C. H. Hale, 30 June 1864, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1864* (hereafter, *ARCIA*) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 75.

Columbia. They wore down the Indian officials at Fort Colville, who regretted that the Okanagan raiders "when pursued, easily effect their escape in to the British possessions, where, of course, they cannot be taken except by a tedious extradition process."[30] Even if US officials could implement this process expeditiously, an Okanagan individual stealing goods and then finding "refuge on British soil" just as the harsh Columbia Plateau winter set in, could hold off any diplomatic activity until the following spring. Many Okanagan people thus made convenient use of the impediments of nation-state jurisdiction as well as the realities of the region's weather conditions.

In response to the Okanagan strategy, the authoritative Major Rumrill used a show-of-force method of bringing the borderland Native peoples to heel. He reported, "The Okanagans are by far the most troublesome. I have hung one of them for murder, and am continually punishing some of them for theft."[31] Rumrill did not seem to care whether he was punishing "British" Okanagans. Paige, by contrast, was more concerned about this possibility. In administering to his charges, he puzzled:

> The Okinakane tribe living near the boundary line it is exceedingly difficult to make a proper distinction between those entitled to benefit from our government and those of British Columbia, as they are migratory in habit, and the line may be said to cut the tribe in two. My own opinion is that only those who winter on this side can properly be considered as coming under our supervision; or, do those who cultivate on this side during summer belong to us?[32]

Paige could not necessarily count on Okanagan leaders in the United States to control their people's movements or flights across or near the line - a point of contention for several years.

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[30] George Paige to W. H. Waterman, 8 July 1865, *ARCIA 1865* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 99. In mentioning the Okanagan's practice of stealing from whites in Washington Territory and then escaping across the border, he also included Indians as victims of these depredations. It is unclear to which Native peoples he was referring, nor their circumstances.
[31] Rumrill to Hale, 30 June 1864, *ARCIA 1864* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 75.
[32] Paige to Waterman, 8 July 1865, *ARCIA 1865* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 99.

The early agents of the US government came to know the Okanagan people and their habits through a tortuous process of trial and error. Okanagan people learned that the Americans' border could be exploited but also that the US version of justice could be as inconsistent as it was harsh.

Vigilantes and Borderlands Violence

The Okanagan and Ktunaxa Nations faced an invasion of mostly American miners into their northern territories that taught them difficult lessons about the limits of imperial and nation-state border jurisdiction. On their way to the Fraser River gold rush in 1858, miners left a trail of chaos and violence through Okanagan country. In subsequent strikes in the Okanagan and Kootenay regions in the 1860s, vigilante belligerence ran roughshod over the Colony of British Columbia's fledging state presence in and around the mining camps. Governor James Douglas' administration struggled to establish authority over the thousands of miners, and merchants and packers that supplied them, arriving in the mainland colony in waves. Okanagan and Ktunaxa people expected the miners to abide by what they understood to be the rules of border jurisdiction. They quickly learned that the miners could ignore British jurisdiction and address Native-white violence with their own form of justice.

By 1858, the Okanagan Nation faced the twin pressures of war in Washington Territory and the invasions of miners through the Okanagan Valley. Dealing with both issues pulled Okanagan leaders in two directions. When the war between the Yakama, Coeur d'Alene, Spokane and the US Army expanded in 1858, Native calls for a general resistance against the American soldiers and miners reached the Okanagan. Some Okanagan people chose to serve on the side of the Native confederates and fought as far away as the Steptoe Battle south of the

Spokane River.[33] These Okanagan combatants did not necessarily receive sanction from their leaders. Nkwala, the Okanagan chief with wide reaching influence among the Okanagan bands to the south, was reluctant to commit to the conflict with the Americans. From his position at the head of Okanagan Lake, Chief Nkwala was "repeatedly asked to join in the Spokan war against the whites, he refused to embroil his people, claiming that he was with King George and the Queen."[34] He hoped to maintain peace. However, should he send his Okanagans to fight in any conflict, he would focus his attention north towards the Fraser River where their neighbors the Nlakapamux were struggling against the general miner invasion.[35]

Unfortunately for Nkwala, conflict with Americans would come to him. In late summer of 1858, a party of what historian Daniel Marshall calls "miner-soldiers" marched up the Okanagan River valley on their way to the Fraser River and camped at Okanagan Lake.[36] One of the "troop" leaders, Herman Reinhart, wrote of their encounter with Okanagan people at the lake. After their arrival, a group of at least two dozen Natives canoed across the lake to investigate the miners' camp. The awaiting company of miner-soldiers opened fire on them. Reinhart estimated "10 or 12 killed and that many wounded," and the Americans took two prisoners "as spies." The survivors then tried to turn around and retreat across the water on their canoes.[37] Continuing up the Okanagan Valley, Chief Nkwala intercepted Reinhardt's party a few days later. The chief expressed anger and sorrow at the massacre of his people at Okanagan Lake. Nkwala harangued

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[33] Burns, *The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest*, 207-208.

[34] James Teit and Franz Boas, ed., "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus," *Fifty-Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnography, 1927-1928* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1930), 269.

[35] Marie Houghton Brent, "Indian Lore," *The Thirtieth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society, 1966* (Vernon, BC: Okanagan Historical Society, 1966), 109.

[36] Daniel P. Marshall, "No Parallel: American Miner-Soldiers at War with the Nlaka'pamux of the Canadian West," in *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies*, ed. Ken Coates and John Findlay (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002): 38-39.

[37] Herman Francis Reinhart, *The Golden Frontier: Recollections of Herman Francis Reinhart, 1851-1869*, ed. D. B. Nunis Jr. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962), 124-126.

Reinhardt, "It was brutal, and he could not think much of the Bostons, or Americans, that would do the like."[38] The miners gave up the prisoners and continued on. The aged Nkwala could see their return as a small victory in an otherwise destructive and deadly invasion of Okanagan territory as well as the territory of his ally, the Queen. The damage caused by his desire to maintain peace had already been done.

The upstart Okanagan band leader Tonasket endeavored to balance his desire to defend the Okanagan Valley from invaders with his changing position as chief along the border. Tonasket was married to one of Nkwala's daughters. With this union, Nkwala assigned Tonasket a kind of captaincy, or sub-chief position. Tonasket then gravitated to near Lake Osoyoos, extending Nkwala's influence to the south, near the forty-ninth parallel.[39] Nkwala and Tonasket's responses to the chaotic gold rush traffic through Okanagan territory in 1858 strained Tonasket and Nkwala's relationship. Tonasket and his Okanagan supporters near and south of Lake Osoyoos initially resisted the miner-soldier invasions.

In the spring of 1858, a company of miners led by David McLoughlin stopped at Fort Okanagan on its way north to the Fraser.[40] Okanagan chief Sarsopkin became aware of the party's route up the Okanogan River and he arranged for his men to attack the party as they passed through one of the river valley's narrow canyons. As McLoughlin's party passed through the canyon, the Okanagan men attacked and killed several of the miner-soldiers. The survivors fled north up the river but found themselves surrounded. Tonasket, recently arrived at the

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[38] Ibid, 129. For more on Nkwala and his precarious position in the HBC and Okanagan systems, see Duane Thomson, "The Response of Okanagan Indians to European Settlement," *BC Studies*, no. 101 (Spring 1994): 96-117.

[39] Brent, "Indian Lore," 111-112; Shirley Louis, ed. *Q'sapi: A History of Okanagan People as Told by Okanagan Families* (Penticton: BC: Theytus Books, Ltd., 2002), 215-217.

[40] David McLoughlin was the son of noted "Father of Oregon" and Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver John McLoughlin.

skirmish from a business visit near Fort Kamloops, took it upon himself to speak to the leaders of the beleaguered miner-soldiers.[41] He said, "I want to be your friend and treat you well, but I am chief of all this country and I want you to recognize me by paying some tribute for using and passing through this country." With little choice, McLoughlin's party believed him and did indeed present him with gifts.[42] Most important for Tonasket, it turns out, was that the Americans recorded him as being a chief. Anthropologist James Teit later noted, "After this, other white parties recognized him as chief, not knowing any better" and "in this way *Tōnā'sqet* gained considerable influence and came to be called chief."[43]

Tonasket then became an ardent advocate for peace with the miners, and eventually the American settlers and government officials.[44] Tonasket solidified his position within US territory. By at least 1870, the federal government fixed his status as the chief of the "American" Okanagans. [45] Many Okanagan people saw through Tonasket's title, claiming it was contrived and that his authority was granted by the Americans and not by Okanagan leadership traditions.[46] Still, asserting himself within the US Indian Affairs system allowed Tonasket to carve out a

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[41] Splawn, *Ka-Mi-Akin*, 109-113.
[42] Teit, "The Salishan Tribes," 271.
[43] Teit, "The Salishan Tribes," 270-271. There are some contradictory accounts and recollections of what happened with Tonasket and the miners at McLoughlin Canyon. In Mourning Dove's and Rickard Gwydir recollection's, it was Tonasket's father who stopped the miners and would have killed them if his son, also Tonasket, had not rode down from British Columbia and intervened. W. C. Brown suggested that when the Indians took the miners' provisions, Tonasket wished them to return the goods to the miners and that he acted more as an intermediary between HBC trader Angus McDonald and McLoughlin's party. Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove: A Salishan Autobiography*, ed. Jay Miller (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 120-121; Major Rickard D. Gwydir, *Recollections from the Colville Indian Agency 1886-1889*, ed. Kevin Dye (Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2001), 45; William Compton Brown, *The Indian Side of the Story* (Spokane, WA: C. W. Hill Printing Co., 1961), 408.
[44] Superintendent Saml. Ross to E. S. Parker, 1 September 1870, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1870* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1870), 26. Also, Captain Archer of the Northwest Boundary Commission in 1859 recorded Tonasket as a chief. Tonasket fully embraced Archer's labeling him as such.
[45] The military escorts with the Boundary Survey Commission also believed Tonasket to be a chief and US Army Captain James Archer noted the chief's "great authority" over his people; Burns, *The Jesuits and the Indian Wars,* 286.
[46] L. V. W. Walters, "Social Structure," *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagan of Washington*, Leslie Spier, ed. (Menasha, WI: George Banta Publishing Company, 1938): 84.

position that may not have been available under the rule of Nkwala or Nkwala's successor and nephew Chiliheetza.

The Okanagan Nation experienced a rush of American miners into their territory in 1860, in which miners set up camps and instituted vigilante justice amidst a weak state presence in British territory. The Rock Creek gold rush, in between the Okanogan and Kettle Rivers, brought miners to the area in droves. Hoping to control the miners and mining claims, the British colonial government did what it could to assert authority over the operations. Okanagan leaders aligned with the British expected the government to control the Americans. In June of 1861, a miner named Pierre Cherbart was killed at Rock Creek. An inquest by William Cox, the colony's lone magistrate in the district, determined that an Okanagan man named Saul from around Osoyoos Lake was responsible for the murder.[47] A mob of local miner-settlers captured Saul from his camp, which was likely located on the south end of the lake and thus on the US side of the border. The mob then allegedly forced a confession from Saul and lynched him without a trial. Cox sought no further inquiries on the matter.

Up-and-coming Okanagan chief Chiliheetza saw Saul's hanging as a perverted execution of justice and an affront to the Okanagan Nation. In a letter penned to British Columbia colonial governor James Douglas, who pledged to the Okanagan people Britain's protection the year before, Chiliheetza laid out his and his people's resentment.[48] He asserted that the Americans treated Saul with no dignity or according to the rule of law - Okanagan or British - and that Cox condoned their action. He continued:

> I will not ever argue or plead the cause of the guilty but my heart is heavy on seeing the manner in which justice is delivered to us. If the guilty man had been taken by the

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[47] Reuben Ware, "Silhitza's Petition to Governor James Douglas," *Forty-Second Annual Report of the Okanagan Historical Society 1978* (Vernon, BC: Wayside Press Ltd., 1978): 53-58. Oblate missionary Charles Pandosy transcribed the letter for Chiliheetza.
[48] Marshall, *Claiming the Land*, 205-207.

> authorities, judged according to the rules, the entire camp would have learned a lesson at the gallows; but men without a warrant apprehend us and execute us without trial…that is what makes my heart bleed, that is what rouses the anger of all the Okanagan tribe which has already taken up arms.

As Douglas' representative, Cox expected Okanagan people to behave as British subjects. For Chiliheetza, behaving as a British subject lacked any benefit if the governor failed to provide protections against the mob rule of American miners and settlers at Rock Creek. He had hoped the Okanagan people would maintain good relations with Douglas, but the chief showed signs that they were capable of distrusting the British as much as they came to loathe the Americans. In a cycle of borderlands violence, Okanagan leaders and militants would resist the encroachments and prejudiced retribution of miners and settlers just as the Americans instituted their vigilante justice with little regard for Native or British sovereignty and law.

The Ktunaxa also contended with the American miners running roughshod over their territory along the Kootenay River. Miners made their way to the diggings at Wild Horse Creek beginning in 1863. The British Columbia government could do little to manage Ktunaxa-miner relations in this remote mining district. The Ktunaxa gained little from the mining operations that the Americans threw together in the vicinity of Wild Horse Creek. Just like the Okanagan people and their leaders, they resented the inconsistencies in government policy that countenanced acts of vigilantism or outright indiscriminate violence. A Ktunaxa sub-chief recalled, "The white men commenced coming in great numbers to get gold, upon which they set great value. Then our trouble began."[49]

In late 1867, five Ktunaxa men associated with Chief Abraham's Lower Kootenay band encountered a party of miners near Bonners Ferry in Idaho Territory who were on their way to the new diggings on the Kootenay at Tobacco Plains. After spending the evening all together,

[49] Brant, *Kootenai Indians,* 111-112.

one of the Ktunaxa men, Antoine, proposed they kill the miners in retribution for the murder of a Ktunaxa person the season before. That morning, the Ktunaxa party shot and killed two of the miners and wounded one, Joe Herring, who managed to escape.[50] After taking their provisions and horses, three of the Ktunaxa men went north across the border to Kootenay Lake where several families were fishing, and two ventured northeast to join a band of Ktunaxa upriver, past Galbraith's Ferry well into British Columbia. [51]

The Ktunaxa band near Columbia Lakes who received the two wished to avoid being associated with the alleged murderers. They sent a messenger to the Kootenay district's chief magistrate James Normensall to inform him of the men's presence. Normansall balked. He gave notice "that he could do nothing in the matter, as the affair occurred on the other side of the line, and was, therefore, out of his jurisdiction." When a Wild Horse vigilance committee composed of American miners formed to exact justice on their own, Normansall agreed to hand the men over as long as they transported the guilty Ktunaxa to the border and delivered them to the "American authorities." The mob rode into the Ktunaxa camp and collected and handcuffed the two men and assured that "they will be sent to their own country to be tried. They belong to the Kootenai below Bonner's Ferry."[52] Before reaching the border to deliver them over the line, the mob stopped its march and hanged the two Ktunaxa.[53]

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[50] "The Kootenai Mines," *Walla Walla Statesman*, 30 August 1867, 2. An article titled "Contradicted" from the *Statesman's* 13 September 1867 issue redacted the pervious report of the murder of the four miners.
[51] Brant, *Kootenai Indians*, 110-114. A summary article from the *British Daily Colonist*, 10 October 1867, reported that three of the men were killed, and that there was actually little to fear of a hostile situation in the diggings. Compare this report to the 30 August 1867 *Statesman* conclusion that "the Indians throughout the whole upper country are disaffected, and that they only wait the opportunity to commence a war of extermination." See also, John Willis Christian, "The Kootenay Gold Rush: The Placer Decade, 1863-1872," (PhD diss., Washington State University, 1967), 131-133.
[52] "Kootenai Correspondence," *Walla Walla Statesman*, 4 October 1867, 2.
[53] Christian, "Kootenay Gold Rush," 133; Brant, *Kootenai Indians*, 122.

At the same time, near Bonners Ferry, the Americans pressured Chief Abraham to give up the other three Ktunaxa implicated in the murder. Abraham only did so after three days of intense deliberation among Ktunaxa headmen.[54] Justice would be just as swift for these accomplices. By November, the *British Columbian* newspaper reported, “The five Indians who murdered two white men and wounded a third at the Tobacco Plain diggings had all been executed by the American authorities.”[55] Thus, the Ktunaxa party that attempted to ride north to avoid the “authorities” in the United States discovered Ktunaxa bands who disapproved of their actions and hoped to maintain some peace with the miner-settlers. They also found the British colonial government incapable of or ambivalent in handling legal jurisdictional issues, as well as a raucous miner presence that could ignore jurisdiction just the same, with deadly consequences for the Ktunaxa on either side of the purported murder.

Okanagan Crossings

By the 1870s, mining rushes and the arrival of permanent settlers instituted a settler colonial system in British Columbia that effectively supplanted the once-dominant fur trade regime. In 1859, the Crown declined to renew the Hudson’s Bay Company’s grant to trade on the mainland. Chief Factor James Douglas shifted from company business to the business of state and the HBC lost its champion in the region.[56] The Company phased out its operations in the interior as pelt yields declined through the 1860s. Company traders held on by supplying miners in the Okanagan and Kootenay districts, but this arrangement did not last.[57] Many of the traders themselves took to mining. The movement of non-Native people to mining sites encouraged

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[54] Brant, *Kootenai Indian*, 117-121.
[55] “From Kootenay,” *The British Columbian*, 2 November 1867, 3.
[56] Stephen Royle, *Company, Crown and Colony: The Hudson’s Bay Company and Territorial Endeavor in Western Canada* (London, UK: I. B. Taurus, 2011), 225-226.
[57] David H. Chance, *Influences of the Hudson’s Bay Company on the Native Cultures of the Colvile District* (Moscow, ID: Northwest Anthropological Research Notes, 1973), 35.

more settlers to follow and to remain in these areas.[58] In the meantime, British colonial officials began to assess the quality and quantity of interior resources and land in preparation for further settlement. Preparation included establishing policies for setting aside lands for Native peoples. For Governor Douglas and his successors, this meant laying out small Indian reserves for individual bands. Officials maintained the reserve system through British Columbia's transition from colony to Canadian province in 1871.[59] Beginning on Vancouver Island and the coast, Victoria intended the campaign to lay out reserves to stay ahead of non-Native settlement. In the interior, officials failed to lay out reserves with the expediency or proper record-keeping necessary to satisfy Native peoples who witnessed more non-Natives claim lands in areas such as the Okanagan Valley.

Native councils and negotiations with civilian and military leaders to address potential conflict with settlers north and south of the line revealed active Interior Salish networks of communication and support from the 1870s to the early 1890s. Among the Okanagan bands in British Columbia, intense frustration with the unconfirmed status of their lands had simmered since the beginning of the 1870s. As settlers such as the Allisons and O'Keefes began to claim prime grazing lands for ranching operations, Okanagan leaders demanded that the province recognize their claims to the land through the establishment of reserves. They were led to believe that reserves would be protected from further encroachments. The Dominion of Canada's lack of action was especially frustrating for these Okanagan bands since the US government had established in 1872 the Colville Indian Reservation for their Okanagan kin just beyond the

[58] The concept of mining rushes as forerunners of permanent settlement is discussed by Patricia Limerick in "The Gold Rush and the Shaping of the American West," *California History* 77, no. 1 (Spring 1998), 32. See also, Jean Barman, "The West Beyond the West: The Demography of Settlement in British Columbia," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 25, no. 3 (Fall 1990), 7.
[59] See Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 17-104.

international boundary.[60] In 1874, British Columbia Indian Superintendent Israel Powell visited the Okanagan band at the head of Okanagan Lake to discuss the size of their people's provisional reserves. The Okanagan leaders complained, "Our reserves are already very small, the whites already eat away at them and no one gives us justice. We thought the English were not like the Americans, but now we know that they are worse. The Americans take the land, but they pay, the English do not pay and let them be taken, promising a chief who will come only when there is no more land or when we are all dead."[61] The complainants had a clear, comparative sense of what was happening in their transborder territory as well as of what could be done to remedy the problems of seemingly unbridled settler land appropriation.

In 1875 and early 1876, Okanagan chief Selixt-asposem, along with Chief Petit Louis of the Secwepemc to the north, held a series of meetings to consider forming some kind of military confederacy to drive out the settlers. [62] According to Oblate Father Charles Grandidier, some Okanagan people were also acquiring more ammunition in the United States so as to avoid raising suspicions from local traders and British government officials.[63] It seemed the Okanagan militants were ready to strike in September of 1876, but the motion stalled because Okanagan chief Sarsopkin and others in Washington Territory wanted to wait until the next spring to organize a concerted response.[64]

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[60] Department of the Interior, *Executive Orders Relating to Indian Reservations, From May 14, 1855 to July 1, 1912* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), 194. I discuss the establishment of the Colville Indian Reservation and the Columbia Indian Reservation in Chapter Four.
[61] Quoted in Lynn A. Blake, "Oblate Missionaries and the 'Indian Land Question,'" *BC Studies*, no. 119 (Autumn 1998): 36.
[62] Gilbert Malcom Sproat to Provincial Secretary in Victoria, 30 June 1877, British Columbia Provincial Secretary Records Relating to Indian Affairs, 1876-1878, GR-0494, Reel B11011. Selitxt-aposem was also known as Moise and Cinq Coeur or Five Hearts.
[63] Duncan Duane Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan: Indians and Whites in the Settlement Era, 1860-1920" (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1985), 123-127.
[64] Ibid, 128.

Responses and meetings up and down the Okanogan River valley were intensified by the captivating resistance of Chief Joseph's Nez Perce to the southeast, both in reality and in the minds of the concerned parties. In June of 1877, the Okanagan, along with parties from other discontented regional tribes, including the Secwepemc from British Columbia and the Coeur d'Alene and Pend d'Oreilles from Idaho and Washington Territories, met at the Head of Okanagan Lake. They discussed the possibility of launching an attack on settlers as a means of compelling their counterpart governments to recognize their claims.[65] The Nez Perce resistance against the US Army made this option seem viable to those present at the meeting. This large gathering alarmed the local magistrates. British Columbia's Join Indian Reserve Commission was put on alert. The joint dominion and provincial commission was tasked with establishing Indian reserves for bands throughout the province. The Indian superintendent dispatched commissioners Gilbert Sproat, Alexander Anderson, and Archibald McKinlay with great haste to the Kamloops and Okanagan Lake region that summer. In their first assessment of the situation, Sproat and Anderson sent a telegram to Ottawa,

> Indian situation very grave from Kamloops to American frontier. General dissatisfaction --outbreak possible. Indians attempting to confederate. American Indian representatives present at the meeting. Some British Columbian Indians reported to have joined outbreak across the line… Very prudent action necessary to avoid bloodshed. We think, after deliberation and consultation that at least 100 mounted police should be secretly sent to Kamloops via Tete Jeune Cache at once. People here quite helpless - - any action on their part might precipitate crisis…[66]

The "British Columbia Indians," specifically young Okanagan men from the Penticton reserve, accepted invitations from "American Indians" to join up with Chief Joseph's galvanized

[65] Ibid, 131.

[66] A.C. Anderson and Malcom Sproat to Minister of Interior, 13 July 1877, General Correspondence to and From the British Columbia Reserve Commission Regarding Reserves, File 8540, Vol. 3651, Indian Affairs, Black Series, Record Group 10, C-10114.

Nez Perce in the United States.[67] Messages and communication between Native supporters and sympathizers in Washington Territory and British Columbia were consistent as the conflict between the Nez Perce and the US Army evolved through the summer of 1877. Settler Susan Allison recalled the Similkameen Okanagan peoples' preparation for the conflict. She noted that "the Indians were in a state of wild excitement over Chief Joseph's troubles across the border, were holding nocturnal war dances," and attending to spiritual preparations for their participation.[68] Some Okanagans did venture down through Washington Territory on their way to link up with the Nez Perce. However, before they could see any action, they returned to Okanagan Lake, likely at the urging of Chief Chiliheetza.[69] By August of 1877, the Nez Perce fight had moved beyond the Rocky Mountains and far away from the Okanagan Valley. However, the spirit of resistance among Interior Salish peoples near the boundary line persisted through the next several years.

Such dynamics shaped the meetings between the Joint Indian Reserve commissioners and the Okanagan band leaders and forced the commissioners to adjust their tactics. Sproat admitted in his report of the councils in 1877, "The Indians north and south of the International boundary are one people, severed politically by an invisible boundary line." Supporting each other across the border framed the Okanagan peoples' approach to conflicts with settlers and ambivalent government regimes, be they Canadian or American. The "O'Kanagan people had agreed to

[67] Gilbert Malcom Sproat to Minister of Interior, 27 October 1877, Indian Affairs, File 9063, Vol. 3656, Black Series, Record Group 10, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, ON, C-10115, Reel B00288; Robin Fisher, "An Exercise in Futility: The Joint Commission on Indian Land in British Columbia, 1875-1880," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association: Historical Papers*, Vol. 10, no. 1 (1975), 83-84.
[68] S. S. Allison, "Account of the Similkameen Indians of British Columbia," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 21 (1892), 313.
[69] Duncan Duane Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan: Indians and Whites in the Settlement Era, 1860-1920," (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1985): 131; A.C. Anderson and Malcom Sproat, 16 July 1877, Journal of Proceedings 1877, GR-0933, Records of Joint Reserve Commission, Reel B01393.

stand by one another in whatever action might be necessary" to resolve the land issue, reported Sproat.[70]

After placating the Secwepemc near Kamloops, the commission arrived at Okanagan Lake. Chief and principal leader Selixt-asposem had just returned from a trip across the border to visit kin and gauge their sense of the situation. Meetings between the commissioners, Selixt-aposem, and Chiliheetza went relatively smoothly. These exchanges at the very least established a dialog regarding reserves and livestock grazing commonages, and for the time being the Okanagan leaders were satisfied.[71] The chiefs relayed messages to the young Okanagan men to avoid further conflict, and Selixt-aposem even informed a Native "messenger from the Am. side" that they would not join in hostilities on their side of the line. Selixt-aposem accompanied the commissioners on their way south to let his Okanagan kin at Penticton and Osoyoos know of the commission's intentions and of his approval.[72] Though it appeared that crisis had been avoided on the Canadian side, northern Okanagan leaders continued to receive inquiries from Native peoples south of the line seeking their support against settler encroachments and the military in the United States.

Meanwhile, in an effort to extend links of support among the Interior Salish near the Okanogan River up to leaders in British Columbia, runners carried messages across the line. Two message runners sent by Chief Moses of the Salish Columbia-Sinkiuse made their way north in an attempt to propose Chief Chiliheetza's people join Interior Salish resistance in north central Washington Territory. In 1877, Moses hoped to build upon the momentum of the Nez Perce

[70] Gilbert Malcom Sproat to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 1 December 1877, Special Appendix E. "State of Feeling among the Indians," *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Year Ended 30th June, 1877* (Ottawa, ON: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1878), lxvii.
[71] Nancy Marguerite Anderson, *The Pathfinder: A.C. Anderson's Journeys in the West* (Victoria, BC: Heritage House Publishing Company Ltd., 2011), 205-206.
[72] A.C. Anderson and Malcom Sproat, 5 October 1877, Journal of Proceedings 1877, GR-0933, Records of Joint Reserve Commission, Reel B01393.

resistance to force the terms with the US government. When Sproat encountered Moses' couriers in the "South Okanagan" above Lake Osoyoos, he related to his superiors that they were indeed on their way to secure Chiliheetza's support, but that the chief was likely not inclined to commit to a conflict with the American settlers or military.[73] In fact, one of the two, "unmistakably an American Indian," disapproved of the goal of expanding the conflict, but the other, his brother, was to "inform Chiley-heetza that a rising might take place in the spring and [was] asking for his cooperation." Other Native message runners came on their heels to feel out the northern Okanagans and whether their leaders would agree to join Moses.

Sproat recommended that the US authorities be notified of "American" Indians' communications and overtures on the Canadian side.[74] Local settlers on the American side of the line were well aware that to launch such an offensive, Chief Moses would depend on Native reinforcements from British Columbia.[75] Rancher Willis Thorpe estimated that in addition to the many Native allies from the Columbia, Okanagan, Chelan, and Kettle River areas, Moses had support from about one hundred warriors from British Columbia. This seems to be more realistic than his qualitative assumption that "all the Indians from here [Yakima City] to British Columbia are in sympathy with Moses."[76] Sproat's unnamed message runners to Chiliheetza were but two examples of the indigenous communication networks operating in the region that made coordinating a larger resistance movement possible.

Between 1877 and 1879, Moses and his compatriots engaged in a delicate chess match with American authorities, trying to bolster their position in order to secure a reservation of their

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[73] Gilbert Malcom Sproat to Minister of the Interior, 1 November 1877, File 9111, Vol. 3656, Black Series, Record Group 10, Library Archives Canada, Ottawa, ON, C-11063.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Sgt. Oliver O. Howard to the Adjutant General, Division Pacific, 14 May 1878, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs 1824-1881, Washington Superintendency, 1853-1880; 1878, roll 918, NARA, Washington, D.C..
[76] "The Indians of the Upper Columbia. Their Status and an Estimate of their Numbers," *The Morning Oregonian*, 24 March 1879, 1.

own. And Moses used the Canada-US border as a game piece. The Salish Columbia-Sinkiuse under Moses were avoiding relocation to the Yakima or Fort Simcoe reservation further south. Moses appealed to Okanagan chief Tonasket for support as well, but Tonasket refused. In sworn testimony to officials in the US Army in late spring of 1878, Tonasket related Moses' propositioning and confessed that many Okanagan people in the border region were liable to join him against the US military forces attempting to remove the Columbia Salish to Fort Simcoe.[77] In this contingent was Okanagan chief Sarsopkin.[78] Should US Army General Oliver O. Howard attempt to relocate Moses to Yakima by force, Moses' confederates would "certainly resist and then run to the British line."[79] According to Thorpe, Sarsopkin "says that Moses is his friend, and that he will stand by him. Chief Sussupkin told me that he would remove his family into British Columbia, and let them remain there until after the trouble was settled for the summer" of 1878.[80]

Sarsopkin offered to harbor Moses' people across the border and out of Howard's reach, but Moses did not end up pursuing this option. Moses met with Howard in September. In this meeting, the general tried to get a sense of what the chief wanted if he refused to go to Yakima as well as what his army was up against in terms of the Native allies' numbers and resources. Howard asked if any Okanagan men did intend to join him, and Moses responded in the affirmative, citing their kin relationship and wartime communications. Howard then pressed

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[77] Brigadier General Oliver O. Howard to the Adjutant General, Division Pacific, 14 May 1878, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs 1824-1881, Washington Superintendency, 1853-1880; 1878, Roll 918, NARA, Washington, D.C..

[78] W. R. Parnell to W. R. Abercrombie, 12 March 1879, U. S. Adjutant General's Office, File 6310, "Arrest of Chief Moses," Letters Received, 1871-1880, Microfilm M 666, Roll 427.

[79] Brigadier General O.O. Howard to Adjutant General, Division Commander, Division of the Pacific, John Shandy statement, 14 May 1878, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs 1824-1881, Washington Superintendency, 1853-1880; 1878, Roll 918, NARA, Washington, D.C..

[80] "The Indians of the Upper Columbia. Their Status and an Estimate of their Numbers," *Morning Oregonian*, 24 March 1879, 1.

Moses, seeking confirmation of a rumor he had received that a "British Columbia tribe" visited Moses and proposed that he and his people raid the settlers in British Columbia's Okanagan Valley. Though Moses replied that he had not received any delegations from across the border, Howard revealed to Moses his awareness that cross-border raids and a transnational alliance were very real and diplomatically challenging situations.[81]

These fears were not much assuaged with the establishment of a reservation for Moses' Interior Salish and Sarsopkin's Okanagan. By December of that year, Moses had been arrested and detained until, upon his release in 1879, he agreed to visit Washington, D.C. to work out an agreement for a reservation. In the negotiations with the Interior Department, Moses pushed for and secured a reservation on the western bank of the Okanogan River. It extended into the Cascades Mountains and was bounded in the north by the Canada-US border.[82] The Columbia Reservation's configuration did not ease the minds of local settlers who still feared Indian depredations. The *Oregonian* newspaper reported, "The New reservation given to Chief Moses is unpopular…because it is next to the British line which will always afford a safe retreat for all the renegades in the country. They can always find a market there for stolen horses, and obtain ammunition and supplies."[83] Although this concern was born from the settlers' dissatisfaction with Moses in general, there was some truth in this warning. Just months earlier, an Indian agent from the Kootenay District in British Columbia reported that Moses' people had ventured over to acquire guns and ammunition from Ktunaxa traders.[84]

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[81] Quoted in Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *Half-Sun on the Columbia: A Biography of Chief Moses* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 92-93. Moses denying this was likely a practical measure, as he was almost certainly aware of any British Columbia Native peoples coming down and offering support.

[82] Ruby and Brown, *Half-Sun on the Columbia*, 116-155.

[83] "Northwestern Indians," *Morning Oregonian*, 8 May 1879, 1.

[84] "Letter from Kootenay," *Walla Walla Statesman*, 28 November 1878, 1.

Native cross-border communication and meetings served to undermine the implementation of federal Indian administration and land policy among the Okanagan and other Interior Salish peoples on both sides of the border. In British Columbia, Okanagan bands were left in the lurch after the 1870s visits by the Indian Reserve Commissioners failed to secure reserves with any precision, uniformity, or record. Leaders of bands at Osoyoos, Head-of-the-Lake, along the Similkameen River, and those families that were not associated with any reserve at all repeatedly sought answers from federal officials while enduring the consistent encroachments of settlers. Their frustration resulted from the Dominion government's inaction, due to the province's control of land affairs as per the Terms of Confederation. The Similkameen River Okanagans at Keremeos were aware of the land set aside for their kin down the river across the line in 1879. Commissioner Sproat noted, "The Indians in a state of discontent and dejection…contrast their position, as having no land, with that of the American Indians who have an extensive reserve immediately beyond the boundary."[85] They hoped to leverage this knowledge in their consultations with reserve officials in British Columbia. But it soon became clear that the land situation would be elusive for all Okanagan and Interior Salish peoples, on either side of the border.

Okanagan people recognized this tension in problems with Indian administration in the United States as well. In 1882, Okanagan Indian agent Albert Howse attempted to gather a detailed census of Okanagans ostensibly under his authority in British Columbia. The Okanagan people refused to provide the agent with band population numbers, value of property, social and

[85] Gilbert Malcom Sproat to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 13 February 1879, No. 202/79, B.C. Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing, File 65, Box 1, GR-2982, Royal British Columbia Museum Archives, Victoria, British Columbia (hereafter, RBCMA), Reel B16974.

characteristics, among other figures. Howse blamed this reluctance on the "American Indian" element in their midst. He reported:

> There is little doubt that the Indians from Washington Territory (who frequently visit the Indians of my Agency), have much to answer for in inculcating these absurd ideas into the minds of our Indians. They claim unfair treatment from the hands of the American Government, and give various reasons for it, often blaming themselves for giving so much information, which they believe to have been the cause of their trouble…I may also state that there are several tribes or bands who have not had their lands surveyed, though allotted in 1879; and others who received no lands since Confederation.[86]

The "American Indians" warned their kin across the line of the dangers of working with the federal government and providing any information that might compromise their land claims.

These exchanges continued into 1885 as the US government dismantled the Columbia Reservation and the Canadian government failed to secure and protect Okanagan reserves. The Columbia or Moses Reservation had been under assault by settlers and mining interests since its founding in 1879. Many Interior Salish people that the US government expected to join Moses' band on the reservation disagreed with the terms of the reservation and with the assumption that Moses could speak for them. Due to pressure from military surveyors and Washington territorial legislators, the executive branch removed a fifteen mile section of land from the reservation's northern border in 1883 and then eliminated the entire reservation two years later.[87] Moses was again the point man in these negotiations, and he would receive a tidy sum for agreeing to relinquish this reservation on the western side of the Okanogan River.[88] The peoples associated with the Columbia Reservation were then expected to move to the Colville Reservation on the eastern bank of the river.

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[86] A. E. Howse to the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 18 August 1882, *Dominion of Canada Annual Report to the Department of Indian Affairs 1882* (Ottawa, ON: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1883), 66.
[87] E. Richard Hart, *Lost Homeland: The Methow Tribe and the Columbia Reservation* (Winthrop, WA: Shafer Historical Museum, 2017), 140-143.
[88] Ibid, 155-187.

Losing the reservation exacerbated Okanagan and Interior Salish frustrations. They felt that their leaders and the duplicitous officials in the federal government had sold them out. The Okanagan bands to the north matched the anger of those to the south across the line. Kamloops-Okanagan Indian agent Joseph MacKay reported, "The U.S. Okanagans, [commiserate] with their B.C. confreres on the apparent illiberality of our Government towards them." MacKay was surprised at the complaints of the "U.S. Okanagans" because he thought they were actually treated quite well, or at least their leaders Tonasket and Moses were. He observed, "At least half of the Indians belonging to the Okanagan Valley live in Washington Territory, U. States of America, where they are treated to liberal annual subsidies."[89] Clearly, MacKay was working with the narrative of the Native elites and chose to ignore the message of the dissidents. The agent wished that "his" Okanagan Indians could respond to the complaints of their Okanagan kin by boasting of their excellent treatment by the dominion and provincial governments. However, he admitted that the lack of security in land and reserves and continued settler encroachments made such gratitude highly unlikely.[90] For the Okanagan and Interior Salish peoples, both federal governments had failed them in protecting their lands from settler appropriation.

Though some of the specific conditions had changed, the potential for Native peoples along the Okanogan, Similkameen, and Kettle Rivers to organize a militant response across borders against settler actions continued into the early 1890s. An incident in January of 1891 sparked what several Native leaders and many Washington settlers feared would develop into a large scale conflict in the Okanagan Valley. News of the murder of two white miners, S. S. Cole and a Mr. Wilkinson of Conconully, Washington, reached the rest of the area mining towns in

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[89] J. W. MacKay to I. W. Powell, 23 January 1885, No. 206/85, B.C. Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing, File 31, Box 3, GR-2982, RBCMA, Reel B16975.
[90] Ibid.

Okanogan County. Settlers suspected the only two witnesses of the crime to be the guilty parties. The county sheriff and his deputies targeted for arrest two Native youth of Okanagan lineage known in the historical record as “Indian Johnny” and Stephen. Johnny fled and was fatally shot by Deputy Lee Ives. Stephen, son of a prominent shaman named Captain John, made it to Omak Lake where Native community leaders held him until the sheriff arrived.[91] The sheriff took Stephen to the jail in Conconully.

While he waited to post bail, a vigilante mob of settlers forcibly released Stephen from the lockup and lynched the young man, hanging him from a tree outside of town. When Stephen’s body was delivered to his father and the rest of his grieving family and kin, his survivors held mourning dances. Local settlers believed these were dances conducted in preparation for a retaliatory war of extermination.[92] Several of the older Okanagan leaders counseled against any brash response by their young men, many of whom it was reported sought satisfaction for Stephen’s lynching. Within one week, a general narrative of a likely Okanagan Indian outbreak flooded the telegraph lines, mail, and newspapers.

One of the settlers’ most pressing concerns in this seemingly inevitable clash was the Okanagan militants’ reinforcements from north of the Canada-US border. Okanogan County commissioners stressed this point in their plea to Washington’s acting governor Charles Laughton for assistance, arms, and an intervention by the US Army. They asked “that troops be sent to protect against the Indians who are preparing for an outbreak…there will probably be fighting ere you get this as the Indians are being reinforced every hour from British Columbia

[91] U. E. Fries, *From Copenhagen to Okanogan: The Autobiography of a Pioneer* (Caldwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1949), 328-330.
[92] Sister Maria Ilma Raufer, O.P., *Black Robes and Indians on the Last Frontier: A Story of Heroism* (Milwaukee, WI: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1966), 200-201.

and elsewhere, all equipped and armed for war."[93] Laughton then relayed this message to the Department of the Pacific, which then dispatched General Alfred Curry from Spokane Falls to deliver guns and ammunition and to secure the situation in the Okanagan.[94] The *Spokesman-Review* newspaper explained the crisis in similar terms, writing that with such interventions "it would not be difficult to put down an uprising among the Okanogans, but if they were determined to fight they would send out couriers and enlist British Columbia Indians in their cause." Hiram Smith, a longtime resident of Lake Osoyoos and husband of an Okanagan woman, validated this concern but believed that such a crisis could be avoided if the authorities took prompt action.[95]

Evidence from Canada is scant on the likelihood of Okanagans from British Columbia joining their kin in Washington. *The Miner*, a newspaper from Nelson, British Columbia, did report on the matter as it transpired just across the border: "Because of the hanging of an Indian boy by the whites at Ruby City, Washington, an outbreak is feared, and acting-governor Laughton has been asked for military protection."[96] British Columbia settlers or news outlets did not seem to connect the Native peoples' sentiments in Washington to the Okanagan bands in British Columbia.[97]

The context of the speculated Okanagan outbreak in the mid-winter of 1891 was the Ghost Dance, or what Americans and Canadians called the "messiah craze." Originating with the

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[93] Citizens of Alma, Washington to Governor Laughton, 10 January, 1891, *Senate Journal of the Extraordinary Session, First Legislature of the State of Washington* (Olympia, WA: O. C. White, State Printer, 1891), 543.
[94] R. G. O'Brien, Adjutant General to Brigadier General A. P. Curry 11 January 1891, *Senate Journal of the Extraordinary Session, First Legislature of the State of Washington* (Olympia, WA: O. C. White, State Printer, 1891), 544.
[95] Richard Steele, ed., *An Illustrated History of Stevens, Ferry, Okanogan and Chelan Counties, State of Washington, Vol. II* (Spokane, WA: Western Historical Publishing Company, 1904), 502.
[96] "Cream of the World's News," 24 January 1891, *The Miner*, Nelson, British Columbia, 7.
[97] "Cream of the World's News, 31 January 1891, 7; "Washington Indians Excited," 30 January 1891, *Morning Ledger*, 1.

Paiute prophet Wovoka, the Ghost Dance of that period was a ceremony that adherents believed would rid the Indians' world of white people and restore the indigenous peoples' ancestors. In 1890, the Ghost Dance reached the Sioux on the Dakota reservations. Disaffected Lakota men and women performed the dance in significant numbers, much to the anxiety of Indian administrators and many local settlers who feared the religion incited violence. The Ghost Dance message spoke to the Lakota whose bands suffered on the reservations. Native peoples in other parts of North America began to take great interest in the practice and what it meant for them in similar situations of despair or anger.[98] This included the younger Okanagan men infuriated with not only the injustice of Stephen's murder but also with the machinations of the US government and loss of land and lack of authority. These Okanagans left for South Dakota to learn the dance and hopefully improve their peoples' situation. Local settler accounts reported that "16 of the bravest of the Okanogan tribe [went] to Dakota" hoping that the messiah would appear to them. On the messiah's "appearance they would not again dance, but would take the warpath, drive off the 'Bostons' and regain their lost lands."[99]

The claims of Okanagan people practicing the Ghost Dance may have been overblown. The connection between the two was the combined result of a sense of alarm among the settlers and Army officers and the coincidental timing of this crisis in Washington with that of the violent suppression of the Ghost Dance in South Dakota just a few weeks before.[100] In fact, one

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[98] James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology 1892-93 by J. W. Powell, Part 1* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896); Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[99] Steele, *An Illustrated History of Stevens, Ferry, Okanogan and Chelan Counties*, 500-501.

[100] Five months before, in August of 1890, a council was held near Wenatchee Flats near the Columbia River for the Methow, Columbia-Sinkiuse, and Okanagan Indians to air the land base grievances to local settler Francis Streamer in service of General Oliver O. Howard. At what was called the "Grand Medicine Council" of over 500 Native participants, Streamer noted the presence not only of "King George Indians," but also Sioux "braves" as well. The groups present spoke through their "medicine men and women" to urge the US federal government to uphold the treaties and cease forcibly remove Indians to the Colville Reservation. The "King George Indians" were likely

Indiana newspaper reported General Nelson Miles' final "victorious" roundups of Sioux "hostiles" in the same page and column as the increasingly tense situation developing among the Okanagan parties. The *Fort Wayne Sentinel* reported that, in Washington, "The Indians here and from British Columbia are all armed for war."[101] In January of 1891, reports emerged of Native people's along the Kettle River participating in dances. Some cooler heads tried to disentangle the Kettle River people's dancing from that of the Ghost Dance. Local white men who were married to Native women and who were knowledgeable of their customs explained that the dancing was a celebration. They danced for the Great Spirit's granting of a mild winter that spared the lives of their horses.[102] Though the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* acknowledged this possibility, the message remained one of vigilance and suspicion. The Seattle newspaper held:

> The Indians will bear watching. Should they break out, about 250 or 300 warriors could be mustered into service and the country would be hard to handle by the military...Should the Indians break out, their depredations will most likely be directed to stirring up their British neighbors to the north, where they live in large settlements, but without means of defense save their own hands. It would be out of the question for the Indians to cross the Columbia river and expect to make a shrieking success of their voyage to the American side. No, we are not in very great danger, but while the ghost dance is on it will pay us to keep our guard.

Such reports on the predicted uprisings associated with the Ghost Dance reflected more a sense of alarm among the settlers than what was actually happening on the ground.

Though the situation was soon calmed and mostly sorted out, the Okanagan people's connection to their kin across the border persisted as a security issue for the US military. By late

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Okanagans who wanted to get a sense of the situation and add to the concerted voice of discontentment. Interestingly, Streamer also recorded the Native peoples' declaration that the leaders who sold the Columbia Reservation had no right to do so, especially Tonasket. They said that "Tonasket was a King George (British Columbia) Indian and was made a chief by Captain Archer – not by American Indians of Washington lands." Francis Streamer to General O.O. Howard, 20 November 1890, Folder 10, Box 1, Francis Streamer Papers, MsSc 129, Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma, WA.

[101] *Fort Wayne Sentinel*, 14 January, 1891, 1.

[102] "The Red Men's Ball," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 22 January 1891, 1.

January, General Curry had arrived at the western edge of the Colville Reservation where Okanagan leaders agreed to meet with him and state their case. Speaking for their community with a tone of reassurance and peace, chiefs Smitkin, Antoine, Pokamiakin, and Klappellatan, and dozens of their men counselled with Curry and their interpreter Father Etienne de Rouge.[103] This is despite the fact that Curry informed them that he had just delivered an arsenal of guns and ammunition to the Okanogan County commissioners. Chief Smitkin sought to ease the tension and told Curry that it was a matter of the young men listening to the older men's message of patience and cooperation. Pokamiakin, assumed to be one of the leaders of the young men, also spoke. He relayed a similar message of compliance but stressed the importance of the government's keeping alcohol off of the reservation, which he saw as a disruptive force in the community. Curry agreed, though he responded that only the "white chief," the US president, could curtail the sale of alcohol. Even Captain John, the father of the deceased Stephen, spoke of peace and avoiding conflict with the whites.

Curry laid out his terms for keeping the peace. He stressed to the Okanagan leaders that they "must not go around armed, unless when hunting, in order not to arouse new comers; also, that when runners came to them from British Columbia and the buffalo country in order to enlist them in warfare, they must report the matter to the Army officers."[104] Communication regarding war and reinforcements among their Native kin in Canada was a primary concern for Curry. For the Army, addressing Native cross-border interventions and activities would be logistically and legally challenging and something he hoped to avoid. What came to be known as the "Indian Scare of 1891" had been a short episode in white settler anxiety and Native frustration. But more

[103] A. P. Curry, Brigadier General to R. G. O'Brien, Adjutant General, 24 January 1891, *Senate Journal of the Extraordinary Session, First Legislature of the State of Washington* (Olympia, WA: O. C. White, State Printer, 1891), 548-551; Raufer, *Black Robes and Indians on the Last Frontier*, 202.
[104] Ibid.

importantly, the crisis revealed the possibility of interventions and support by Okanagan kin and allies across the line.

Police, Soldiers, and the Ktunaxa

From the 1860s to the 1870s, the Ktunaxa faced a series of countervailing challenges to their economy and security on the Columbia Plateau. They responded with knowledge of conditions on the US side of the border in mind, eventually compelling Canada to consider the border in its own counter-response. The gold rush that drew hundreds of miners to Wild Horse Creek in the 1860s tapered off significantly in the upper Kootenay River region a decade later. During this period of transition, the Ktunaxa negotiated the boom and bust settlement of their homelands, Native-miner violence, the demise of the Hudson's Bay Company fur trade, and a declining feasibility of bison hunting on the northern plains. These constrictions left Ktunaxa bands and leaders in a state of frequent frustration.[105] Ktunaxa leaders also became increasingly concerned with non-Native settlement in the Kootenay River valley. Their leaders hoped that the Canadian government, the "New Chief," would ensure the protection of Ktunaxa lands from settlers seeking to claim property along the Kootenay.[106]

Ktunaxa leaders carried these concerns into their negotiations with government officials in the early 1880s. When Indian Reserve Commissioner Peter O'Reilly arrived to mark out reserves in 1883, Ktunaxa chiefs Isadore and David requested large reserves free from settler preemption. At least some of their concerns over land stemmed from their awareness of the size of the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana Territory, set aside for the Ktunaxa along

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[105] Christian, "The Kootenay Gold Rush," 135-179; William E. Farr, "Going to Buffalo: Indian Hunting Migrations across the Rocky Mountains: Part 2, Civilian Permits, Army Escorts," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 54, no. 1 (Spring 2004), 43.
[106] Israel Powell to A. Campbell, 3 November 1873, File 28013-1, Vol. 3738, Indian Affairs, Black Series, RG-10, Reel C10129.

Flathead Lake. The Ktunaxa on the British Columbia side envied the Flathead Ktunaxa's large, assured, and seemingly impenetrable reservation. A surveyor operating in the region, Arthur S. Farwell, reported that the Ktunaxa "Indians are in constant communication with the aborigines south of the boundary line, and are thoroughly acquainted with the vast extent of the American reservations" and surmised "that the undisturbed relations at present existing, between the very few white residents of Kootenay District, and the Indians may not be of long duration."[107]

Canada's tepid response to the reserve issue prompted a cross-border Ktunaxa mobilization against the settlers and government agents just a few years later. Commissioner O'Reilly laid out some reserves for the Ktunaxa from Columbia Lakes to Tobacco Plains in 1884. However, the commissioner's impersonal and authoritative manner and the inconsistencies of white settlement patterns bred unease through the fall of 1886. Ktunaxa chief Isadore complained to British Columbia Indian Superintendent Israel Powell about the inadequate size of the reserves for his people and their cattle. He was particularly incensed at a Colonel James Baker preempting and settling on prime grazing land along the Kootenay River at Joseph's Prairie, which was also personally important to Isadore and his family.[108] Isadore said of the Ktunaxa that "on the other side there were some bands who were dissatisfied and threatened to rise. We don't want to do this, but we must have a larger reserve. We owned the whole country and why were we denied this? Nothing less than what we have asked will satisfy us."[109]

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[107] A. S. Farwell to the Honourable the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, *Sessional Papers*, *Second Session, Fourth Parliament of the Province of British Columbia, Session 1883-1884* (Victoria, BC: Richard Wolfenden, 1884), 325-326.
[108] I. W. Powell to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 18 November 1886, Vol. 3738, File 28013-1A, Black Series, Record Group 10, Reel C10129.
[109] Ibid.

The frustrations that the Ktunaxa band under Chief David at the Tobacco Plains reserve shared with Isadore spilled south across the forty-ninth parallel. Powell reported, the "bands under Isadore and David are much dissatisfied." He warned, "A feeling that is greatly encouraged almost to demoralization, by their convenience to the international line where they meet with renegade Indians from the other side who have no fixed abode, but who cross and re-cross, claiming land on both sides."[110] Powell observed that summer that the Tobacco Plains Ktunaxa held a council near the line, likely to discuss their shared concerns with their Ktunaxa kin to the south.[111] To ensure that the Ktunaxa frustrations did not devolve into a physical altercation, Powell and the local settlers suggested in 1886 that Ottawa send the North West Mounted Police from the prairies to the Kootenay district.[112] It seemed as though all that was needed was a spark to turn Ktunaxa aggravation into a transnational martial response.

The spark would come the following year, in 1887, with a Ktunaxa response to the incarceration of one of their own. Previously, during the fading years of the mining boom and the arrival of Commissioner O'Reilly, the discovery of two dead bodies in August of 1884 was brought to the attention of the local constabulary near Wild Horse Creek. Two American prospectors were found dead north of Wild Horse Creek and Constable Harry Anderson determined that they were murdered. Anderson and the settlers suspected a Ktunaxa man named Kapla, along with accomplices Little Isadore and Baptiste, wa responsible for the murder. Kapla

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[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] . W. Powell to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 18 November 1886, File 28013-1A, Vol. 3738, Black Series, Record Group 10, Reel C10129; William A. Baillie-Grohman to Dr. I. W. Powell, 10 October 1886, File 28013-1A, Vol. 3738, Black Series, Record Group 10, Reel C10129; Aylmer and Humphreys to Col. Powell, 9 October 1886, File 28013-1A, Vol. 3738, Black Series, Record Group 10, Reel C10129; Arthur Fenwick to Dr. Powell, 6 October 1886, File 28013-1A, Vol. 3738, Black Series, Record Group 10, Reel C10129.

left the area and did not resurface for over two years. Upon his return, the constable arrested and detained him in the jail at Wild Horse Creek.[113]

Finding this settler justice unacceptable, Chief Isadore, joined by two dozen Ktunaxa men, stormed the jail and "liberated" Kapla from detention in March of 1887. Isadore urged Constable Anderson to leave the vicinity, while the Ktunaxa chief sorted out how he would go about adjudicating the accusations against Kapla, according to Ktunaxa legal customs.[114] Evidence in Isadore's exchange with Indian Superintendent Powell soon after suggests that the chief carried out the jailbreak merely to bring attention to Ktunaxa land claims issues in the Kootenay River valley.[115] Even if there was some truth to this, Isadore did admit that the younger Ktunaxa men were keen on defending their actions and protecting Kapla. The Ktunaxa act of resistance reverberated to the other bands to the north and to the south, near and beyond the international boundary line. The response would reveal both the Ktunaxa proclivity to offer each other support in larger military resistance and their increasing awareness of the jurisdictional meaning of the Canada-US border.

The correspondence and orders issued by the governments of Canada, Great Britain, and the United States render visible the links between Ktunaxa bands beyond the boundary line. Powell and others anxiously noted the relationships between the Ktunaxa in British Columbia

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[113] Naomi Miller, *Fort Steele: Gold Rush to Boom Town* (Surrey, BC: Heritage House Publishing Co., 2000), 43; Walter N. Sage, "The North-West Mounted Police and British Columbia," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 18, no. 3 (Aug. 1949), 353-358.

[114] Kale to "Bob or John," 15 March 1887, File 28013-1A, Vol. 3738, Black Series, Record Group 10, Reel C10129; In his response to Powell's plea that he return Kapla to the authorities, Isadore listed a litany of murders in which a white man or men killed an Indian and managed to get the charges dropped by the local or provincial justice system. He may not have fully believed Kapla's innocence, but he certainly had his doubts about how the white Canadians carried out justice when it came to Native peoples. He was surely referring back to the murders during the 1860s Wild Horse Creek gold rush. I. W. Powell to the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 13 July 1887, File 28013-1A, Vol. 3738, Black Series, Record Group 10, Reel C10129.

[115] I. W. Powell to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 13 July 1887, File 28013-1A, Vol. 3738, Black Series, Record Group 10, Reel C10129.

and those near the border in Montana Territory during the land dispute negotiations in 1886. Now their concerns were thrown into even sharper relief after the jailbreak in 1887. In his assessment of the situation, Powell reported that Chief Isadore "relies in case of trouble on the assistance of those whom he has met in council from the other side of the line."[116] The Indian Commissioner and his superiors focused on the Tobacco Plains valley that extended a dozen miles into US territory, as this was a principal Ktunaxa thoroughfare in the border zone. Powell explained,

> The small tribe of Kootenay Indians resident in the locality referred to has for some time been a source of anxiety to settlers and to the peace authorities of the Province on account of their attitude and apparent hostility to the further settlement of the district by whites – not that there exists apprehension of any successful outbreak if confined to the band alluded to, but a combination between them and quite a large number of renegade Indians who belong to the United States, and who are in the habit of passing to and fro across the frontier, ignoring national lines and frequently the laws and regulations of both countries, would, unchecked, create serious and fatal troubles.[117]

A multilateral British, Canadian, and American effort to gather intelligence on the transnational Ktunaxa and intervene at the border ensued. In June, the Department of the Columbia Adjutant General ordered the commanding officer at Fort Missoula in Montana Territory to assess the situation at Tobacco Plains and identify the "renegades." The adjutant general was under the impression that "there may be some Indians, who belong, by tribal relation, to the Canadian Kootenais, but who, for some years have been living south of the boundary."[118] Aware of this issue, the Army sought to determine whether "American" Ktunaxa would cross the border to assist their cousins in British Columbia.[119] US Army officials were

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[116] I. W. Powell to the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 27 April 1887, 13367, Box 396, 1887, Letters Received, 1881-1907, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, D.C.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Assistant Adjutant General Thomas M. Vincent to the Commanding Officer at Fort Missoula, Montana Territory, 4 June 1887, 16036, Box 401, 1887, Letters Received, 1881-1907, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.
[119] Ibid.

wary of the familial connections between Ktunaxa bands, as well as of their tactical knowledge of the landscape. According to the US Army, mobility and kin relations beyond the boundary line appeared to be an asset for those Ktunaxa who seriously considered armed resistance in this elusive border region.

To assist the military forces from Fort Missoula tasked with controlling Native activities at the border, Flathead agent Peter Ronan provided a comprehensive report on the Ktunaxa bands near the line. Ronan was the US Indian agent in charge of the Ktunaxa, Bitterroot Salish, and Pend d'Oreilles tribes of the Flathead Indian Reservation. Ronan's report on the Ktunaxa Nation was predictably unsettling to his superiors in the US government who operated within the bounds of the nation-state. He noted a "detached band of British and American Kootenais who claim the head of the [Flathead] Lake as their home and who are sometimes joined or visited by gambling Indians from the Flathead reservation" while "some of them often go up into the Tobacco Plains country, to Sand Point, in Idaho, or down to the Flathead reservation…they are practically the same tribe."[120]

Ronan outlined the Ktunaxa leadership structure that spanned the border. He noted that Isadore had the most influence among all of the Ktunaxa people. Yet Edward and David at Tobacco Plains claimed to have authority over their band and the bands near Flathead Lake. Eneas on the Flathead Reservation, according to Ronan, acted the most independently.[121] Ronan admitted that "Before the Boundary line was Established, that they were not consulted in making the line; that they are still as closely related as before the line was made, their feelings and interests remaining the same and that they do not, therefore, regard the boundary line as

[120] Peter Ronan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 13 September 1887, no file number, Box 420, 1887, Letters Received, 1881-1907, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.
[121] Edward was sometimes spelled Edwald.

separating them."[122] The Ktunaxa operated with a different geographic and community framework from the Canadians and Americans. This distinct perspective allowed them to support each other in times of crisis in a way that tested the limits of nation-state jurisdiction. The Ktunaxa people's borderland advantage forced the United States to enforce its northern boundary. Armed with Ronan's information, the US Army felt better prepared to intervene on Ktunaxa movements and possible reinforcements at the line.

Through the spring and summer of 1887, a coordinated force of Canadian police and US military units descended upon the Kootenay River valley to enforce their nation-state version of territoriality and impede the transnational alliance of Ktunaxa bands on the Tobacco Plains. At the request of the British Columbia settlers and federal officials, the North West Mounted Police acquiesced to the alarm being telegraphed from Victoria and the Kootenay District.[123] Mounted Police arrived from Fort Macleod, Alberta, by the end of July and soon established a military-style barracks at Robert Galbraith's ferry on the Kootenay.[124] Major Samuel Steele commanded the detachment of Mounted Police.[125] His mandate was to establish order and pacify the Ktunaxa in British Columbia from Columbia Lakes down to the boundary line. The Mounties were to flex the muscle of the state to intimidate Isadore into giving up the accused Kapla and handing him

[122] Ibid.
[123] I. W. Powell to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 27 April 1887, File 28013-1A, Vol. 3738, Black Series, Record Group 10, Reel C10129; R. L. T. Galbraith to H. J. Brady, 15 March 1887, number 346, File "R.C.M.P 1887," RG 18, Vol. 1078, Library Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, ON. One of these settlers was Colonel James Baker. Baker appropriated land at Joseph's Prairie that Chief Isadore repeatedly asserted was his family's land. Animosity between these two went back several years before 1887.
[124] *Report of the Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police Force, 1887* (Ottawa, ON: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1888), 54-55. Assistant NWMP Commissioner W. M. Herchmer arrived in the Kootenay district first in 1887 to assess the situation and determine on whether to send in the Mounted Police. Ibid, 18-20.
[125] Samuel Steele was known for his suppression of the Riel Rebellion on the prairies in 1885 and his later participation in the Boer Wars in South Africa.

over to police custody. Major Steele also arranged a system of patrols throughout the valley, including down to Tobacco Plains.[126]

In approaching their assignment, the Mounted Police considered statements compiled from local settlers. Settlers claimed that the Ktunaxa from the United States held war councils with British Columbia Ktunaxa and were preparing for a fight.[127] NWMP Commissioner W. M. Herchmer estimated that the Ktunaxa had "about three hundred and fifty fighting men in the various bands, all well armed and with plenty of ammunition" and "about 2,000 ponies."[128] This number had to have included Ktunaxa reinforcements from the United States. The Mounties would need reinforcements of their own. From its inception - from Powell's initial report to the governor general's request for a parallel US operation - the Mounted Police presence was to be one component in the effort to enforce the border. With this, Steel reported to his superiors the arrival of a force of US infantry under the command of a Lieutenant C. W. Kennedy to the Tobacco Plains just south of the boundary line. He wrote, "I was in constant communication with Lieutenant Kennedy during his stay in that part of the country."[129]

From the start, the reports from the British Columbia Indian Affairs Superintendent requested support from the Mounted Police as well as the assistance of the US Army on the US side of the international boundary line, beyond Canadian jurisdiction. When word of the potential outbreak at the border reached Ottawa, British officials reached out to the United States to help intervene. Canada's governor general asked Washington, D.C. "to place a military force

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[126] Ibid, 76.
[127] F. White, Comptroller of the North West Mounted Police, number 346, File "R.C.M.P 1887," RG 18, Vol. 1078, LAC, Ottawa, ON.
[128] *Report of the Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police Force, 1887* (Ottawa, ON: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1888), 19.
[129] Ibid, 58.

as close to the frontier as circumstances will permit, so that by joint action of the military bodies peace and order may be restored."[130] In response, the US Department of War then called upon Lieutenant C. W. Kennedy, commander at Fort Missoula in Montana Territory, to put together a unit and march to the Tobacco Plains.[131] From Fort Missoula, Kennedy organized a detachment that made its way north past Flathead Lake and up to Tobacco Plains. Kennedy arrived in June and set up camp to make visible the Army's presence there. Kennedy's flank was crucial for the Canadians who could not match the resources of the United States in what many considered a relatively remote region of the continent.[132]

The US Army's presence discouraged not only a Ktunaxa military intervention across the line, but Ktunaxa north-south movement altogether. The detachment of about two dozen soldiers from Fort Missoula under Lieutenant Kennedy's command gathered information on the Ktunaxa as they marched north to the Tobacco Plains. Kennedy determined that the bands between Flathead Lake and the Tobacco Plains resented the influx of settlers in their homelands and did not take to permanently relocating to the Flathead Reservation. Once at the Tobacco Plains,

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[130] Certified copy of a Report of a Committee of the Honorable the Privy Council for Canada, approved by H. E. the Governor General in Council on the 5th of May, 1887, 13367, Box 396, 1887, Letters Received, 1881-1907, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.

[131] Secretary of State Thomas Bayard to Interior Secretary Lucius Q. C. Lamar, 19 May 1887, 13367, Box 396, 1887, Letters Received, 1881-1907, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.; Brigadier General Thomas Ruger to Assistant Adjutant General Division of the Missouri, 6 June 1887, Assistant Adjutant General Thomas Vincent to Commanding Officer Fort Missoula, Montana Territory, 4 June 1887, 16036, Box 401, 1887, Letters Received, 1881-1907, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.. This series of correspondence describes a cycle of diplomatic requests and bureaucratic actions taken to ultimately subdue the Ktunaxa between Flathead Lake in Montana Territory and the Canada-United States border.

[132] For more on the post-Civil War infrastructure and technological capacity of the US Army to wage war on indigenous peoples, see Elliot West, *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009). Andrew Graybill discusses the role of the North West Mounted Police in pacifying and incorporating the prairie hinterland into the Canadian core in *Policing the Great Plains.* The Mounted Police's penetration into British Columbia in 1887-1888 was a natural extension of Graybill's construction of the constabulary's trajectory west. He links their deployment to the settlement and industrial projects of the Canadian economy. This follows the mining and construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway through the Canadian Rockies in the 1880s and the timing of Steele's arrival. See also, Benjamin Hoy, "A Border without Guards: First Nations and the Enforcement of National Space," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, Vol. 25, no 2 (2014): 89-115.

Kennedy assessed the situation, meeting with Chief David and Sub-chief Edward, to determine the probability of their band joining Isadore's Ktunaxa up the river.[133] "Upon being asked if they would go to the assistance of the Kootenais in British Columbia in case of trouble, the sub-Chief Edward [sic], with whom I first talked, unhesitatingly said [sic] they would. The head Chief, David, has more caution, and was uncertain whether they would go or not." However, Kennedy learned that these Ktunaxa expected a message runner to arrive and spread the word should an outbreak begin.

Kennedy determined that many Ktunaxa from Tobacco Plains and above Flathead Lake would in fact "cross the line and join the upper Kootenais."[134] Kennedy hoped that it would not come to this, as he admitted that it would be very difficult to physically barricade the boundary line from Ktunaxa movement. His plan was to simply arrest and detain the Ktunaxa men considering crossing the line. Only a few runners had been communicating between the bands at this point. They indicated that the path along Kootenay River was closing in the north where the Kootenay Barracks was situated and in the south where the US Army was camped for several months at Tobacco Plains.[135]

The ability of the Ktunaxa bands to offer each other military support across the line decreased by 1888. Nevertheless, their real and rumored meetings and reinforcements informed Indian administration practices on both sides of the line. During the sustained presence of Major Steele's Mounted Police near Galbraith's Ferry (soon to be christened Fort Steele), Chief Isadore negotiated with the police to release Kapla into the local constable's custody. A series of

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[133] 2nd Lieutenant C. W. Kennedy to Adjutant General, Department of the Dakota and Post Adjutant, Fort Missoula, Montana Territory, 6 July 1887, Files 501 and 502, Box "1887," Vol. 1083, R.C.M.P. Records, RG 18, LAC.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.

depositions of Ktunaxa, settlers, and officials revealed that the evidence used against Kapla and his alleged accomplices was not convincing enough for the police to hold them, and they were released.[136]

During these proceedings, Isadore continued to press the land issue to the provincial officials and the Mounted Police present, which apparently was his primary reason to liberate Kapla and get the governments' attention in the first place.[137] Isadore and many of his Ktunaxa people had come to see the utility of the Mounties' presence through 1887 to 1888. Isadore's relationship with Steele provided a conduit for Ktunaxa land and reserve claims. The Mounties served as mediators between Isadore and Colonel Baker and they expedited the arrival of reserve commissioners and surveyors to redraw and resize reserve lands in the Upper Kootenay River valley and Tobacco Plains.[138] Isadore's Ktunaxa were less than enthused to see the Mounties depart in the summer of 1888. Fort Steele remained an established institution after the initial settler cries for assistance in 1887, and it became the hub of the federal Indian administration's Kootenay Agency for several decades.

Unwelcome Sinixt and Settlers

While Ktunaxa maneuverings drove nation-state border enforcement, Sinixt bands came to recognize how the jurisdictional delineation of the Canada-US border and by extension the

[136] Superintendent Samuel Steele to the Commissioner, N.W.M.P., 6 September 1887, Files 501 and 502, Box "1887," Vol. 1083, R.C.M.P. Records, LAC. At least twelve depositions accompanied Steele's adjudication that the evidence against Kapla and his associates was insufficient. "Annual Report of Superintendent Steele," 1 December 1887, *Report of the Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police Force, 1887* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger, & Co., 1888), 60-61.
[137] Samuel Steele, *Forty Years in Canada: Reminiscences of the Great North-West with Some Account of His Service in South Africa by Colonel S. B. Steele, C.B. M.V.O., Late of the N.W.M. Police and the S. African Constabulary*, ed. Mollie Glenn Niblett (New York, NY: Dodd, Mead, & Company, 1915), 248-249.
[138] "Report of Superintendent Steele, North-West Mounted Police, 1888," 1 December 1888, *Report of the Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police Force, 1888* (Ottawa: A. Senecal, 1889), 89-92; Steele, *Forty Years in Canada*, 250-254. Ktunaxa men and women also found a ready market for foodstuffs collected and sold to the hungry and often ill Mounties.

boundaries of the Indian reservation could serve as portals to protection and survival. For Sinixt people, seasonally visiting or occupying the northern portions of their aboriginal territory became increasingly dangerous by the late 1880s and early 1890s. By this point, sporadic non-Native settlement of the Arrow Lakes and the Slocan Valleys constrained the annual migrations of Sinixt families up and down the Columbia River. The Sinixt encountered boom and bust arrivals of settlers driven primarily by silver mining opportunities along Frog Mountain and the Selkirk Range and the associated industries necessary to facilitate the in-migration of opportunists, such as steamship travel.[139] With the silver mining rush to the Slocan Valley, settlers and their aggressive mining methods and the erection of towns such as New Denver and Salmo impeded Sinixt activities in these narrow mountain spaces.[140] The one reserve laid out for the Sinixt at Oatscott along Lower Arrow Lake in the 1860s was little used due to its small size and inaccessibility. The Reserve Commission established no other reserves for Sinixt bands in these areas because of their perceived association with the Colville Indian Reservation in Washington Territory.[141]

Staying at campsites or collecting foods in British Columbia became increasingly precarious for Sinixt families. Interactions between mobile Sinixt and settlers could devolve into violence. In several instances, the antagonists only exchanged words at first. Sinixt bands and families would often make their way north in the summer only to find a familiar food gathering area or grazing ground claimed by settlers. In 1888, they came across a vegetable patch on the

[139] Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographic Change* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 194-218; Katherine Gordon, *The Slocan: Portrait of a Valley* (Winlaw, BC: Sono Nis Press, 2004), 32-45.
[140] Ibid.
[141] By the 1890s, settlers and their news outlets, and even the legislative representatives from the Columbia River region of British Columbia assumed that all Sinixt were "American" Indians from the Colville Indian Reservation. They complained that if they were in the Arrow Lakes, these Indians were only in British Columbia temporarily.

land of what one settler argued was his ranch. They gathered up the vegetables and planted their own potatoes. When they came back to gather the potatoes in the fall, they encountered the rancher and told him "to get off the land; it belonged to them." [142] On other occasions, the settlers and their local government exerted themselves with more confidence in interacting with the Sinixt. Around the same time, settler Alex McCleary found that a group of Sinixt had ridden up the Columbia River on horseback and trespassed onto his ranch on the west side of the river. The riders dismantled McCleary's fences and let their horses graze in the fields to feast on what he claimed were his crops. The rancher then called for the local constable and judge to explain to the Indians that this was his private property and that they had no right running their horses on his land. The constable met with several of the Indians in camp and "gave them a very decided talk" about not trespassing that "had the effect of preventing any further trouble that season." [143] In a similar demonstration of authority, a government official named Captain Robert Sanderson threatened a group of Sinixt in fall 1887. He and his associates were "Camping at Deer Park"

> with the intention of trapping and hunting all winter. One day eight Indians came and asked us to leave – said that the country belonged to them, and their chief had instructed them to command us to leave. I told them they were Colville Indians and belonged on the other side of the line [and] we were three good marksmen and would stay there; that the land belonged to King George and not to the Colville Indians. They went away without disturbing us, probably because of our expressed determination to defend ourselves.[144]

Bravado and threats, in addition to the occasional intervention of a third party often embodied in the state, characterized these exchanges. These sporadic encounters, however, could escalate with deadly consequences.

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[142] "Dangerous Colvilles," *Kootenay Mail*, 13 April 1895, 1. Paula Pryce drew from Kate Johnson's *Pioneer Days of Nakusp and the Arrow Lakes: Nakusp Diamond Jubilee, 1892-1952* (Nakusp, BC, 1951), in identifying the date of this incident in *Keeping the Lakes' Way: Reburial and the Re-creation of a Moral World among an Invisible People* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999). Pyrce and Johnson date it in 1890, when the primary sources put it in 1894.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid.

Sinixt families and their descendants pointed to the 1894 murder of a Sinixt band leader as the pinnacle of settler violence and a major factor in their cumulative decisions to escape across the border into the United States. Along Upper Arrow Lake, around an inlet known as Galena Bay, band chief Cultus Jim had come with his family to hunt and fish through the seasons.[145] In late spring of 1894, Cultus Jim arrived with his family at a particular stretch of this hunting ground. There, they found a settler, Sam Hill, had claimed this land for his ranch.[146] Twice Cultus Jim ordered Hill to pack up and vacate, and twice Hill refused. After a heated verbal exchange (although the records do not indicate how or whether the two understood each other's language but perhaps they could rely on some Chinook words), each aggrieved party pulled out a firearm and discharged his weapon. They missed each other. Cultus Jim then fled, but Hill fired once more and struck down the Sinixt chief. Cultus Jim's wife, Adeline, was with him when the argument began and ended with her husband's death. The Nelson *Miner*'s correspondent reported, "The squaw went off down the lake in a canoe" to get help, but "Cultus Jim's squaw and the friends she went to fetch…possibly never will return."[147] Adeline did not turn up when the local magistrates sought to take her in for questioning.[148] Hill was charged with manslaughter, but a jury in Kamloops acquitted him a few months later. He was free to go.[149] Cultus Jim's shooting was a watershed for the Sinixt people. Though they did not completely cease migrating to their northern homelands, settler resistance to their presence did discourage

[145] Cultus Jim was the non-Native name that has been applied to this Sinixt band chief in the historical record. In Chinook, "cultus" translates as "no good."
[146] "Old Days Come Back," *The Miner*, 19 May 1894, 3.
[147] Ibid.
[148] "Local News," *The Miner*, 9 June 1894, 1.
[149] "Provincial News," *The Miner*, 13 October 1894, 4.

Sinixt bands and families from making as frequent migrations across the border into British Columbia.[150]

With little reserve land and with the settlers' swallowing up precious acres for their ranching and mining operations when the Sinixt were absent, Sinixt people were pushed south. Increasing Native-settler confrontations and then fatal violence caused the Sinixt to flee. They crossed the border, which provided an imperfect sanctuary. Returning across the boundary to the Colville Indian Reservation, or the Sinixt homesteads along the Columbia and Kettle Rivers, provided some protection from the violence in the north.[151] The cumulative result of these protracted as well as visceral experiences was the Sinixt people's tragic and necessary exploitation of the Canada-US border's delineation of national jurisdiction. They achieved some respite, but at the cost of losing access to their valley homelands in the north.[152]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, indigenous groups of the Columbia Plateau came to recognize the Canada-US border's complicated role in their interactions with settlers and the state. Great Britain and the United States fixed the border at the forty-ninth parallel in 1846. The boundary meant little to the Sinixt, Okanagan, Ktunaxa or their Native neighbors until treaties and war came a decade later. Native peoples learned that the border separated non-Native people into British, later Canadians, and Americans who were citizens of their nation-states. After the 1850s, Native peoples avoided war with the Americans and their government by

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[150] One incident in particular, the *Kootenay Mail* reported the Sinixt present near the Arrow Lakes hamlet of Revelstoke, throwing rocks at the local settlers who were fishing on their aboriginal fishing stations. "The Siwash Nuisance," *Kootenay Mail*, 21 September 1895, 1.

[151] Paul Pryce related how Sinixt descendants recalled the murder of Cultus Jim, as late as the 1990s. Paula Pryce, *Keeping the Lakes' Way*, 57-58. The recollection was confirmed in an interview with Sinixt activist Robert Watt. Robert Watt, interview, Inchelium, WA, July 19 2017, in author's possession. See also, Lawney Reyes, *White Grizzly Bears' Legacy: Learning to Be Indian* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 34.

[152] For more on the consequences of this shift south, see Paula Pryce, Keeping the Lakes' Way, and Andrea Geiger, "Crossed by the Border": The U.S.-Canada Border and Canada's "Extinction" of the Arrow Lakes Band, 1890-1956," *Western Legal History*, Vol. 23, no. 2 (2010): 121-153.

escaping across the border into British territory. They observed not only the border's jurisdictional meaning but also its separation of the British and Americans as peoples with distinct character and capacity for violence. Okanagan and Ktunaxa peoples could and did often favor the British over the Americans, at least early on. However, just as they thought that the border separated the Americans from the British, they learned through the chaos of the mining rushes in British Columbia that American vigilantes could ignore British sovereignty and perpetrate violence against Native peoples in British territory.

In times of conflict, the Interior Salish and Ktunaxa communicated with and drew support from their cross-border Native kin and allies against settlers, the police, or the military. In doing this, they took advantage of the border, across which their allies could provide reinforcements in a way that the British, Canadian, or US governments could not. Just the threat of cross-border reinforcements could cause great alarm among local settlers and the federal governments. Threats could produce some results, as in the provincial and dominion Indian reserve commissioners attending to Okanagan or Ktunaxa land concerns. The commissioners hoped to avoid the possibility of a simultaneous domestic Indian outbreak and invasion of "foreign" Indians in Canadian territory. But eventually, the potential for cross-border conflict with Native peoples initiated a military response from Canada, the United States, or both that served as a contingent and incidental manifestation of nation-state border enforcement. Finally, Columbia Plateau Native peoples observed that the border could serve as a kind of escape or sanctuary, what Great Plains Native peoples called the "medicine line." In the 1860s, Okanagans took advantage of this jurisdictional division by plundering on one side of the border and escaping to the other side. By contrast, in the 1890s, many Sinixt reluctantly chose to remove across the border for safety. In these ways, the border played an increasingly significant role in their lives.

In other ways, however, Native peoples chose to move about their indigenous territories on the Columbia Plateau as if the Canada-US border did not exist.

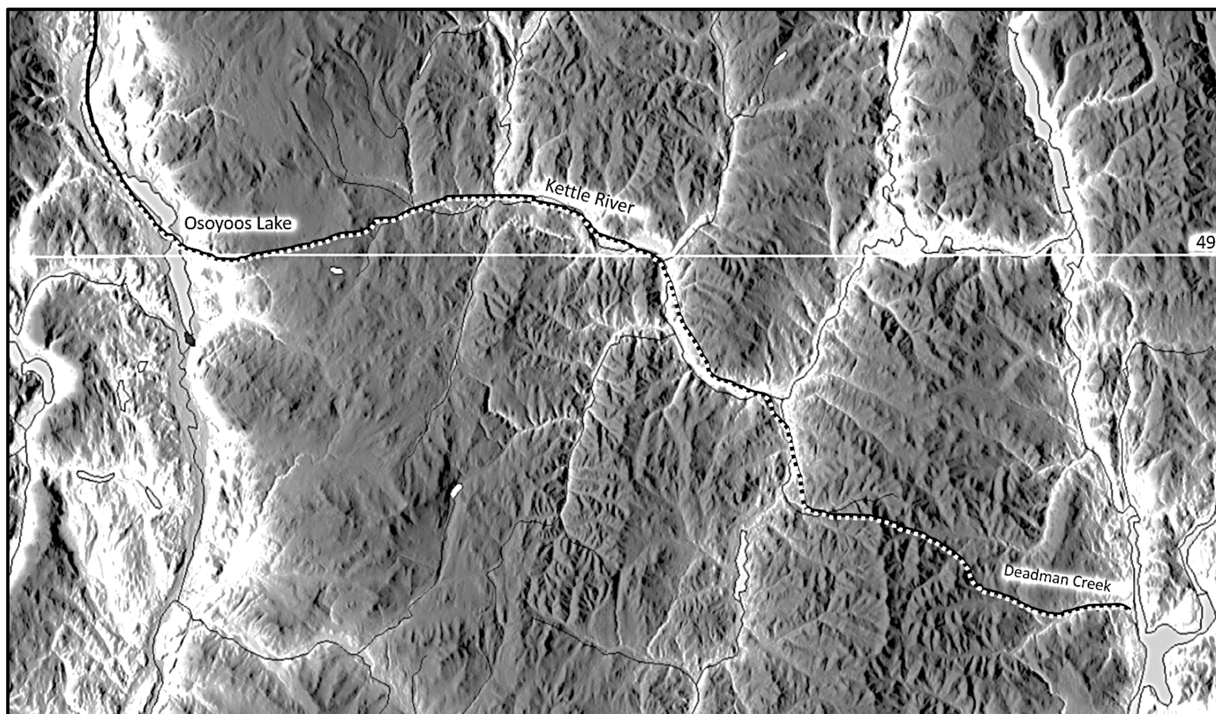
Chapter Three

"The Indians move in a world of their own": Movements, Homelands, and the Persistence of Indigenous Community and Territoriality

The memories and stories told by Okanagan-Skoyelpi-Sinixt author Mourning Dove of her peoples' movements, relationships, and gatherings read like an indigenous geography of the Columbia Plateau. In her autobiography, Mourning Dove, born Christine Quintasket, traces a family lineage very much associated with the region's rivers, lakes, and lands and migrations in between. Her father, Joseph Quintasket, was born along Lake Okanagan and migrated to the Sinixt village of Pia, near the Columbia River. His mother, an Okanagan healer from the Nicola region, frequently visited the Lake Osoyoos area and was buried on the banks of the Similkameen River. Lucy Stui-kin, Mourning Dove's mother of Arrow Lakes Sinixt and Kettle Falls Skoyelpi ancestry, gave birth to her in a canoe while crossing the lower Kootenay River. The unexpected timing of her birth in the late 1880s occurred during her family's transport of a pack train between Walla Walla, Washington, and Fort Steele, British Columbia. She explained that during her childhood, her "family did not remain long in any one place in the summertime."[1] They moved west to the Okanagan Valley to gather bitterroot and east where her mother traded with Ktunaxa people, and noted:

> One trip that my parents seldom failed to make each year was from the Colvile winter village at Kettle Falls to S'oo-yoos Lake, British Columbia.…The well-trodden trail took us over the pass of Deadman Creek…up Kettle River to Midway, British Columbia, which the Indians called In-kla-whin-whe-ten (Battling Place), where Shuswap had a big fight with the Colvile and Okanogan; across the divide at Mock-tsin (Knoll between a Divide), where stood the stone maiden called En-am-tues (Sitting on the Summit) known from ancient legend; and down the sagebrush slopes to the narrows of S'oo-yoos (Osoyoos Lake, as the whites know it), where the trail crossed the Nicola country.…[2]

[1] Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove: A Salishan Autobiography*, ed. Jay Miller (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 10, 19.
[2] Ibid, 20.



"Route described by Mourning Dove, adapted from present-day map." *maps-for-free.com*

They stayed for the better part of the year at the village of Pia, or Kelly Hill, Washington, just north of the Kettle Falls fishing station where indigenous people from all over the Plateau came to fish the salmon runs.

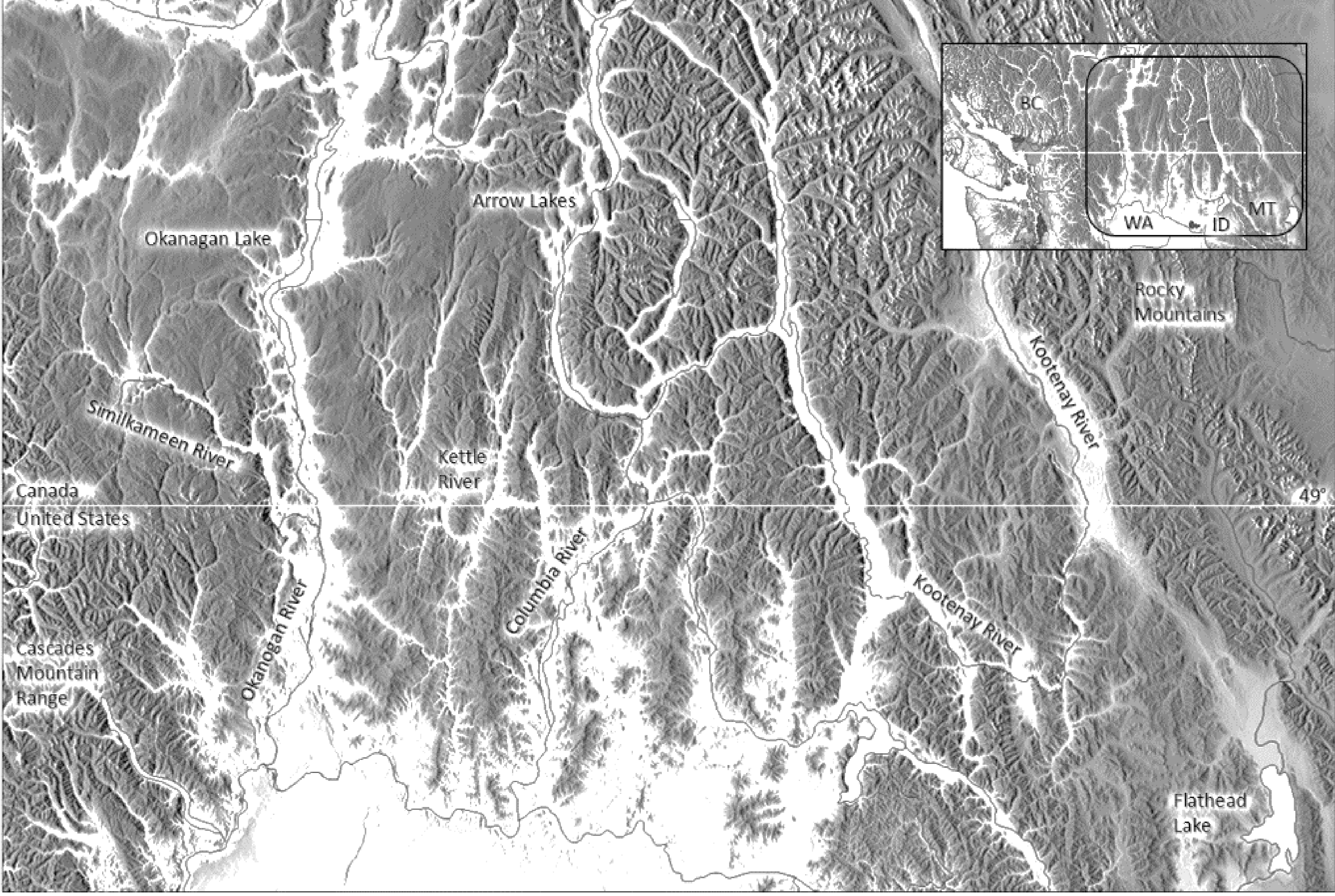
Mourning Dove and her family's movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries crisscrossed the Columbia Plateau, reproducing indigenous patterns of trade, gathering, and seasonal villages locations. References to sites named according to indigenous identifications of place and time - from "ancient legends" to areas where something important happened - demonstrate how her people charted and understood their mountain-valley landscape.[3] Mourning Dove's recollections also describe how indigenous peoples related to each other through trade, intermarriage, conflict, territory, and shared stories. Recounting the ways her

[3] For more on the relationship between place and story in indigenous communities, see Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

family saw, knew, and moved through Plateau space from before the 1890s to the 1910s demonstrates a persistence of indigenous spatial knowledge and movement in a period of world-altering colonization. These patterns of movement, kin-based relationships, and village constellations reveal how an indigenous sense of community and territoriality could persist as well as transcend and de-naturalize colonial spatial constructs such as the Canada-US border.

Like many of Mourning Dove's indigenous neighbors, she did not consider the presence of the Canada-US border when tracing her people's movements through their homelands. Traveling through this cultural and physical landscape, she wrote, her family could "come and go as [they] pleased."[4] At times, Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan families and bands moved beyond the irregularly enforced border when possible to engage in traditional economic and cultural activities and social gatherings. In migrating over the invisible line at will, they could disregard the border's intended purpose of bounding nation-state jurisdiction at the forty-ninth parallel, and instead proceed to their destinations according to an indigenous sense of territoriality. A growing number of non-Native miners, speculators, ranchers, and railroads also crossed the border, altering existing trade and investment patterns and social relations in the border zone. From the perspective of the non-Native newcomer and, by extension, the state and the scholar, these cross-border movements created a borderlands situation. However, this borderlands framework privileges the nation-state's construction of space and history and draws attention away from the fact that these migrations occurred on, within, and through indigenous homelands.

[4] Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove*, 157.



“Columbia Plateau” (present-day map depicts reservoirs from mid-twentieth-century dam projects) *maps-for-free.com*

Consider an Okanagan family fishing up the Okanogan River. On this river, in Interior Salish oral traditions, the mischievous Coyote dispensed or withheld salmon from the villages to teach them a lesson. On the river's shore, Okanagan bands camped to catch salmon in their weirs at Lake Osoyoos as part of their broader seasonal round, near places where they named geographical markers such as *snuxw'axtin*, "where you pick berries." Along the river, Okanagan peoples traveled and related to and understood this place differently than non-Natives.[5] Within this indigenous landscape of movement and homeland, migrations and frequent meetings between bands of the Okanagan Nation continually reinforced community consciousness and connection to territory. For the Okanagan, and the Ktunaxa and Sinixt as well, mental maps could transcend the nation-state maps defined by lines of latitude and longitude, in this case the forty-ninth parallel, and serve to disrupt the colonial orderings of the Columbia Plateau.[6]

After the 1870s and 1880s, as indigenous patterns of movement, socializing, and economic activity persisted, they also evolved in the context of colonial intervention and settlement. Though Mourning Dove's account seems to imply that her family and community existed in a world devoid of settlers, Indian reservations, or borders, she does acknowledge the presence of some of these colonial imports. In reality, almost every aspect of indigenous existence was affected to a degree by non-Native settlement and state institutions such as borders, reservations, and reserves. Colonization imposed new challenges, provided new opportunities, and established new frameworks for indigenous migrations and relations. For non-Native society, the 1890s was a pivot point in which Native border crossings for certain

[5] Mourning Dove and Donald M. Hines, *Tales of the Okanogans* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1976), 23-28; Maggie Stalkia interview, Norman Lerman, "Okanagan (Salish) Ethnology," unpublished manuscript, 1952-1954, Melville Jacobs Collection, University of Washington Special Collections.
[6] For more on how this practice has been utilized by indigenous communities recently, see Gwilym Lucas Eades, *Maps and Memes: Redrawing Culture, Place, and Identity in Indigenous Communities* (Montreal, QB: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015).

subsistence purposes were increasingly discouraged while the custom of Indians coming from across the line to participate in fairs and other celebrations was actually remarked on positively, if not romantically. The movements and activities of indigenous Plateau peoples were thus shaped in part by the pressures and institutions of settler colonialism. But they also attest to the persistence of indigenous space and community that would not fully allow the border's division of their homelands and communities. For decades through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these patterns of movement and congregation, though evolving in form and frequency, held off the United States and Canadian nation-states' full realization of the border as a meaningful and accepted entity on the Columbia Plateau.

Mobility, social and cultural gatherings, and various ways of relating to the land served to reinforce Native nationhood defined, at least in part, by place. Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan families moved to different areas of their community territories to hunt, fish, gather roots and berries, and to conduct intra-tribal trade. Men and boys developed distinct knowledge of hunting park locations and game availability. Families set up camp at fishing sites when the salmon were running to catch and process their fish for consumption during the winter months. Women and girls picked berries and dug for roots along hills and mountainsides. Bands came together to trade and socialize with each other. They also gathered together for spiritual ceremonies as culturally distinct communities. They shared stories about mountains, accidents, animals, conflicts, and humorous memories that were embedded into the landscape.

The Columbia Plateau seasonal round shaped these relations and practices and persisted as an institution into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Though it evolved in response to opportunities and constraints, the seasonal round continued to bring Plateau peoples together as indigenous nations. They incorporated into this cycle of berry harvests, salmon runs,

and game availability, as well as activities introduced by non-Natives including summer hop picking labor, freighting operations, and even annual Christian holidays. The seasonal round, and the constellation of movements within it, linked peoples to the land and guided their cultural practices and social arrangements. These activities and traditions formed the cultural sinews of Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa nationhood that persisted beyond the forty-ninth parallel.[7]

The Persistent Seasonal Round

Indigenous bands and families migrated to resource gathering areas throughout their homelands to fish, hunt, and collect roots and berries at particular times of the year. Their orientation along the north-south axis of major rivers - the Okanogan and Similkameen Rivers among the Okanagan people, the Kettle and Columbia Rivers of the Sinixt, and the Kootenay River for the Ktunaxa – guided their migrations to these harvest sites. Traveling up and down these river valleys, sometimes to the nearby fishing station of Kettle Falls or gathering grounds such as Camas Prairie, for instance, brought Native bands and families down from Arrow Lakes or the Tobacco Plains. Non-Native observers and indigenous oral histories recounted these migrations from the early 1870s into the first decade of the twentieth century.[8] At times, the Indian agents in charge of monitoring and supporting their Indian wards actually appreciated the

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[7] Chantal Norrgard, *Seasons of Change: Labor, Treaty Rights, and Ojibwe Nationhood* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 4-8; Paige Raibmon, “Meanings of Mobility on the Northwest Coast,” in *New Histories for Old: Changing Perspectives on Canada’s Native Pasts*, Theodore Binnema and Susan Neylan, eds. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 175-177. A helpful description of this territorially informed relationship is articulated by Karim-Aly Kassam’s notion of a human ecology, one that he avoids implying as environmentally deterministic: “a cultural system that combines with social structure to inform ecological relations, which in turn informed cultural systems and social relations through complex connectivity.” Karim-Aly Kassam, *Biocultural Diversity and Indigenous Ways of Knowing: Human Ecology in the Arctic* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2009), 100.

[8] Sources referencing the Sinixt, Okanagan, or Ktunaxa crossing the Canada-United States border for food collection, spiritual, and trade purposes, among others, are diffuse. Compiling and ordering these late nineteenth and early twentieth-century references according to Native nation renders more visible the persistence of their migrations in the border zone. However, the scattered nature of these sources impedes efforts to arrange the data into a more narrative form. The following sections are thus organized with more of an ethnographic tone that also demonstrates persistence and adaptation over time.

Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa peoples' ability to feed themselves when the government could not, even if it meant crossing the international border to so. However, by the 1890s, Native migrations on the seasonal round would encounter resistance and prohibition from settlers and government agents, which confined their food harvesting range to smaller pockets of their homelands. Before these settler-state restrictions gained strength, however, Native peoples engaged in the hunting, fishing, and gathering practices that ordered their yearly cycle, organized a gendered division of labor, and connected each Native nation to its territory.

Fishing

Fish migrations up and down the Columbia, Kettle, Okanogan, and Kootenay rivers and their tributaries drew Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan peoples to particular fishing stations according to the seasonal cycles. As long as the fish runs remained predictable and plentiful season to season, migration patterns persisted. In the late nineteenth century, the movements to fishing stations meant crossing the forty-ninth parallel, often multiple times during the year.[9] Non-Native observers noted these as boundary crossings while Native bands and families focused on moving their camps towards fishing sites such as Kootenay Lake or Kettle Falls. They knew that the anadromous fish would begin arriving in June and July as well as how long it would take their band or extended family group to get to stations such as Kettle Falls. Their movements and sense of geography was tied to this resource.

Even the stories they told explained their connection to salmon and place in this Plateau landscape. In her collection, *Tales of the Okanogans*, Mourning Dove related an often-told story

[9] For more on indigenous fishing in the Pacific Northwest borderlands, see Joshua Reid, *The Sea is My Country The Maritime World of the Makahs* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015) and Lissa Wadewitz, *The Nature of Borders: Salmon, Boundaries, and Bandits on the Salish Sea* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012).

about how Coyote withheld or distributed salmon to the villages of the Okanogan and Similkameen Rivers. This story, though it contained some variations in detail by storytellers across time, tells of Coyote's search for a wife at all of the villages along these rivers.[10] Those villages that agreed to give Coyote a wife would secure a continual supply of salmon, and those who refused were denied the fish. For the Okanagan people, the story explains why some parts of the Similkameen and Okanogan Rivers did not have salmon in abundance, such as up the Similkameen beyond where Coyote was spurned by the village women. Their rejection provoked Coyote to build a dam that would keep the salmon from swimming up to them.[11] The salmon were part of their worldview and sense of place. Understanding where and when the fish would be ready for harvest was a crucial component of the Okanagan and others' seasonal round. This relationship continued as non-Native settlers and government agents became more of a presence in the lives of the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan people.

Sinixt people camped and fished for trout and salmon as far north as Upper Arrow Lake and as far south as below Kettle Falls along the Columbia River. They also fished up the Kettle River to the west to Christina Lake and up to the Slocan and Kootenay Lakes to the northeast. Mobile Sinixt fishing camps dotted the banks of the Columbia River, demonstrating their ties to this resource and its waterways.[12] One observer, A. Edward Picard, a miner who was active in the upper Columbia River area, noted interacting with a Sinixt band led by "Chief Melture" and "Cultus Jim" who were camped along the Upper Arrow Lake near Revelstoke, British Columbia in the winter of 1887. Picard later found his way south to the Little Dalles along the Columbia

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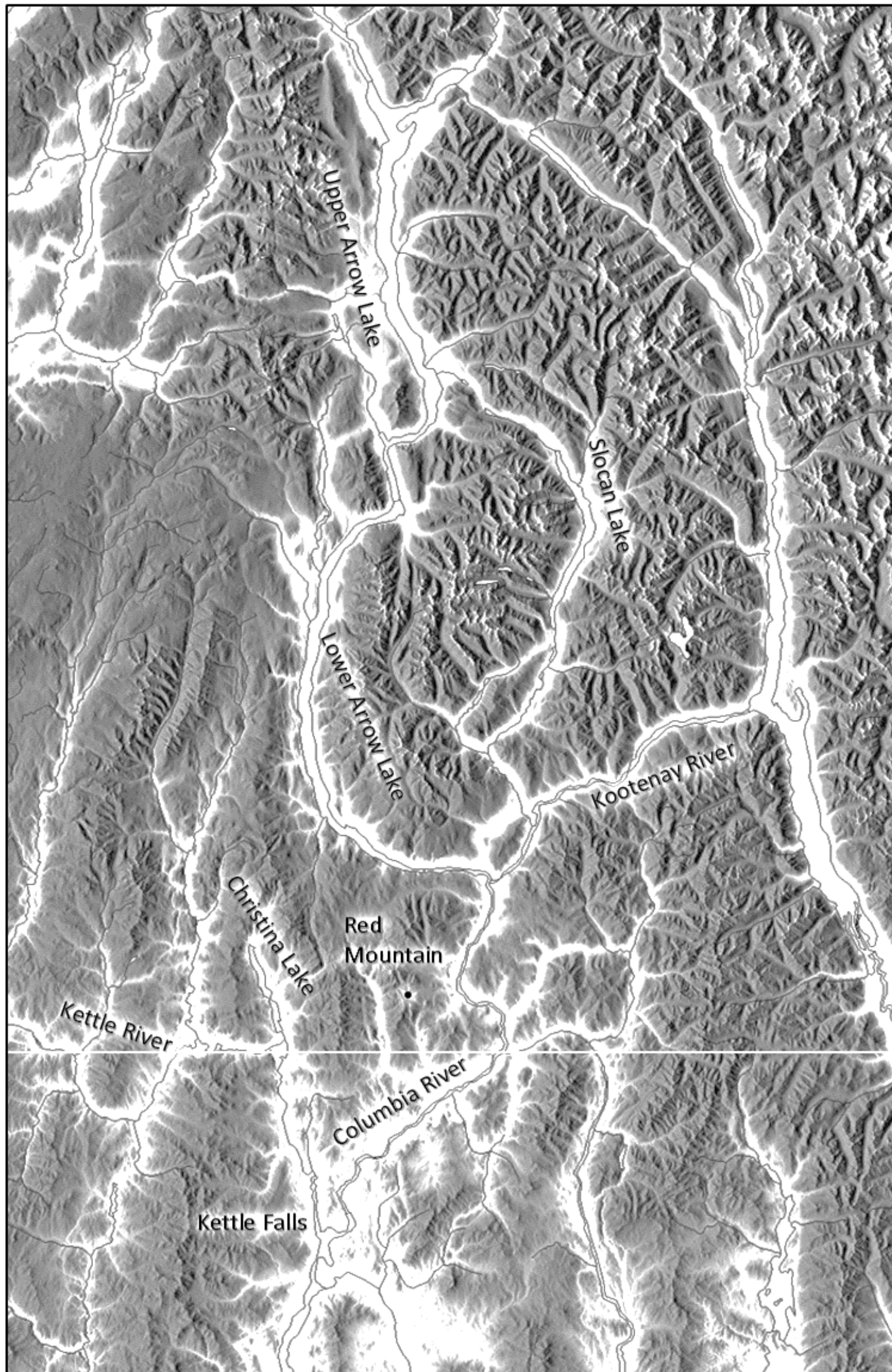
[10] Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy, *Indian History and Knowledge of the Lower Similkameen River – Palmer Lake Area* (Victoria, BC: British Columbia Indian Language Project, 1984), 25-30.
[11] Mourning Dove and Hines, *Tales of the Okanogans*, 23-28.
[12] Ruth Lakin, *Kettle River Country: Early Days Along the Kettle River* (Colville, WA: Statesman-Examiner, Inc., 1976) 4-5; Lawney Reyes, *White Grizzly Bears' Legacy: Learning to Be Indian* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 46.

River, a familiar Sinixt fishing station they called *stsixwlhkw*. Here, his party was welcomed, he reported, "by our old friend Chief Melture and many of his tribe who had put in the previous winter across the river from Revelstoke. The boundary line between the two countries did not



"Sinixt territory, Arrow Lakes and the Columbia River, adapted from present-day map." *maps-for-free.com*

seem to affect the Indians."[13] Local settlers in Revelstoke considered Cultus Jim an "American Indian, one of the Colville Tribe" who, with his band, "came as usual" to Galena Bay along Upper Arrow Lake in the early 1890s. The Sinixt band journeyed "with their families in several canoes arriving about the middle of August and stayed until about the middle of October. They caught Kokanee or red fish, also trout and larger fish…they smoked the fish in cedar bark huts and carried them away to their winter quarters."[14] The Sinixt seasonal pattern of fishing and camping along the river became a distinguishable part of their reputation among outsiders on the Columbia.

Ktunaxa bands migrated along the lower stretch of the Kootenay River to catch a variety of mostly local fish species. The Kootenay River originates high in the Northern Rockies of British Columbia, then flows well into Montana and Idaho, before dipping back into British Columbia at Kootenay Lake. Ktunaxa bands upriver of Kootenai Falls fished, but tended to depend less on fish sources in their diet than their kin at Bonners Ferry and Creston. For these bands on the lower Kootenay River, Kootenay Lake was a frequent fishing destination. Former fur trader and miner in the area, David McLoughlin, knew well the "Lower Kootenay Indians'" seasonal fishing habits. He related in 1883 that "these Indians formerly wintered on Goat River about nine miles north of the boundary line…a few families winter close to McLoughlin's house, and the remainder winter on Jerome Creek some eight miles south of the line." He continued, "as

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[13] Edward L. Affleck, ed., *Kootenay Yesterdays* (Vancouver, BC: The Alexander Nicolls Press, 1976), 94, 107. Interestingly, when describing the Sinixt of Melture and Cultus Jim, Picard refers to them as "American" Indians when with them at Revelstoke, but at the Little Dalles, he says that they themselves claim to be "King George Indians." He also mentioned that they were with some Ktunaxa people at their Revelstoke camp; Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy, "Lakes Indian Ethnography and History," (Unpublished manuscript, 1985), 129.
[14] Kate Johnson, *Pioneer Days of Nakusp and the Arrow Lakes: Nakusp Diamond Jubilee, 1892-1952* (Nakusp, BC, 1951), 97.

the summer advances, and the water recedes, the Indians move down the river and fish."[15] He reported of these Ktunaxa families a decade later, in June of 1893, that "many of them will start shortly for Kootenay lake for the purpose of hunting, fishing, and trading."[16] Indian Agent Michael Phillipps noted in 1889 that the Ktunaxa on the lower Kootenay River were "able to make a living almost without an effort. The [Kootenay] lake is full of fresh-water sturgeon, land-locked salmon, shad and other fish. In the sloughs and creeks running into the river above the lake they can, with their fish weirs and traps catch at all times of the year more fish than they require."[17] The agent added that the band's reserve was situated right along the Kootenay River, but that their camps proceeded along the shore to fish with little regard for the border's intersection with the Kootenay, as also happened with the Ktunaxa upriver at Tobacco Plains.[18] Ktunaxa people tracked the seasonal availability of the various fish species and gravitated to the fishing stations within their territories that would yield the best catch.

Between the months of June and August, Okanagan families fished for salmon at Osoyoos Lake and Okanagan Lake, and the tributaries on either side of the Okanagan Valley watershed. They erected fishing camps along the shores, and Okanagan men and women contributed to the fish catch and processing operations. In 1871, Colville Indian Agent William Winans remarked on the fish weirs set up by Okanagan fishermen a mile below Osoyoos Lake along the Okanogan River and the devices' success at catching salmon he regarded as "very fine

[15] A. S. Farwell to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 31 December 1883, *Sessional Papers*, *Second Session, Fourth Parliament of the Province of British Columbia, Session 1883-1884* (Victoria, BC: Richard Wolfenden, 1884), 327.
[16] "The Kootenay Indians: Sized Up by a Man Who Has Been One of Them for Years," *The Tribune*, June 22, 1893.
[17] Michael Phillipps to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, July 30, 1889, *Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1889* (Ottawa, ON: Brown Chamberlain, 1890), 111. McLoughlin's comment on the year-round availability and even excess of fish, although rather embellished, likely included the Ktunaxa winter conditions practice of punching through the ice to access the fish below the frozen surface. Turney-High noted their infrequent use of this tactic.
[18] Ibid.

eating." Okanagan storyteller Harry Robinson told of Okanagan people fishing at Osoyoos Lake and Okanagan Falls in the 1880s. Robinson recalled, "That time, 1886, the people, Indians from Penticton, all the Okanagan Indians, they were some from Similkameen, and they all move to where Oroville is now in the month of August. And they all got together in Oroville. And that's when the salmon coming up."[19]

Okanagan bands timed the fish runs and moved accordingly, though the volume of fish varied by year. When the yield was less than hoped for, they traded for salmon with their neighbors to the northwest on the Fraser and Thompson Rivers.[20]Joseph Mackay, the British Columbia Indian agent in charge of the Okanagan bands, appreciated the bands' ability to sustain themselves with salmon and hoped to make this enterprise as dependable as possible. He reported in 1890:

> At the mouth of the Similkameen River, in United States territory, are falls which prevent the ascent of the salmon up the Similkameen. The Indians state that when the Okanagan River is very high, occasionally salmon are caught in the Similkameen as far up as Princeton at the Tulameen Forks. I have several times urged the Indians to construct a fish ladder and thus provide themselves with a supply of salmon to be taken at their doors.[21]

Recognizing the importance of this resource, MacKay actually encouraged the Okanagan bands near the Canada-US border to enter into US territory to build a device that would better regulate their access to salmon. Okanagan people recognized the importance of fishing as well, and their consistent movements through the Okanagan and Similkameen valleys suggest they would have

[19] Harry Robinson and Wendy Wickwire, ed., *Write it on Your Heart: The Epic World of an Okanagan Storyteller* (Vancouver, BC: Talonbooks, 1989), 244-245.
[20] A. G. Howse to I. W. Powell, Oct. 19, 1881, General Report of the Okanagan Agency, Indian Office, Nicola, *Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1881* (Ottawa, ON: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1882), 172.
[21] J. W. MacKay to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 25 August 1890, *Dominion of Canada. Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year 1890* (Ottawa, ON: Brown Chamberlain, 1891), 84

had no issues with the fish ladder's location. Through the turn of the century, Okanagan families and bands continued their migrations to stations such as Osoyoos Lake to procure the salmon that were such a crucial component of their diet and seasonal cycle.

Situated within the southern edges of Sinixt territory and the domain of the Skoyelpi, the fishery at Kettle Falls attracted Native peoples from all over the Columbia Plateau and beyond. The Kettle and Columbia Rivers converged at the roaring falls in northeastern Washington Territory. Into the first decades of the twentieth century, a variety of native and anadromous fish species including trout, ling, and salmon, swam up the Columbia and arrived at Kettle Falls. Using spears, hooks, and nets, Native people caught thousands of pounds of fish at the falls during a season that started slow and then peaked in the late summer. Indian agent William Winans noted in 1871 that "Kettle Falls, where all the tribes congregate every summer, it is also a point where the different trails meet and where the Indians are accustomed to Camp."[22]

Families and bands hoping to fish at this busy hub were expected to follow the staging, camping, and fishing procedures directed by the local Salmon Chief. The Salmon Chief enforced cultural and harvest procedures that maintained order among, at times, several hundred people. This included the gendered division of labor, fish distribution, menstrual segregation, and the general peace in the camps. Mourning Dove recounted her visits to Kettle Falls as a child in the 1890s:

> The Indians gathered at the falls every year to spear salmon and dry it for winter. All of the surrounding tribes were welcome at this summer resort in the homeland of my Colvile people…Our camp was close to the Colvile on the west, beside our Okanagan distant relatives from Osoyoos… the east side encampment included Kalispel, Spokan, Coeur

[22] John M. Webster to Superintendent of Indian Affairs T. J. McKenny, 4, February, 1871, Folder 34, Box 4, Webster Papers, MASC, WSU Libraries, Pullman.

d'Alene, and Flathead, while on the west side were the Okanogan, Sanpoil, Squant, and Wenatchi.[23]

Many of the Sinixt and Kalispel people camped for much of the fishing season on Hayes Island, a prime station right above the falls. According to Sinixt elder Lawney Reyes, "The Upper Sin-Aikst journeyed downriver in many canoes. They came from the Arrow Lakes in British Columbia to fish during the chinook runs at Kettle Falls in June…My mother also said that in the early days, the salmon runs and the fish themselves were much larger."[24]

Through the latter decades of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, the salmon runs at Kettle Falls decreased due to the voracious salmon cannery operations on the lower Columbia River.[25] Still, Native peoples from as far west as Osoyoos and north as Upper Arrow Lake came to the falls to fish. Others embarked outwards far from Kettle Falls to trade dried salmon to their neighbors, such as the Ktunaxa.[26] Kettle Falls, at the confluence of two north-south flowing rivers that drew indigenous people from all over to this hub, served as a crucial site of sustenance and trade into the early twentieth century.

Hunting

For Ktunaxa bands and their neighbors who found it increasingly difficult to hunt bison on the Great Plains by the 1880s, subsistence hunting on the Columbia Plateau took on a new

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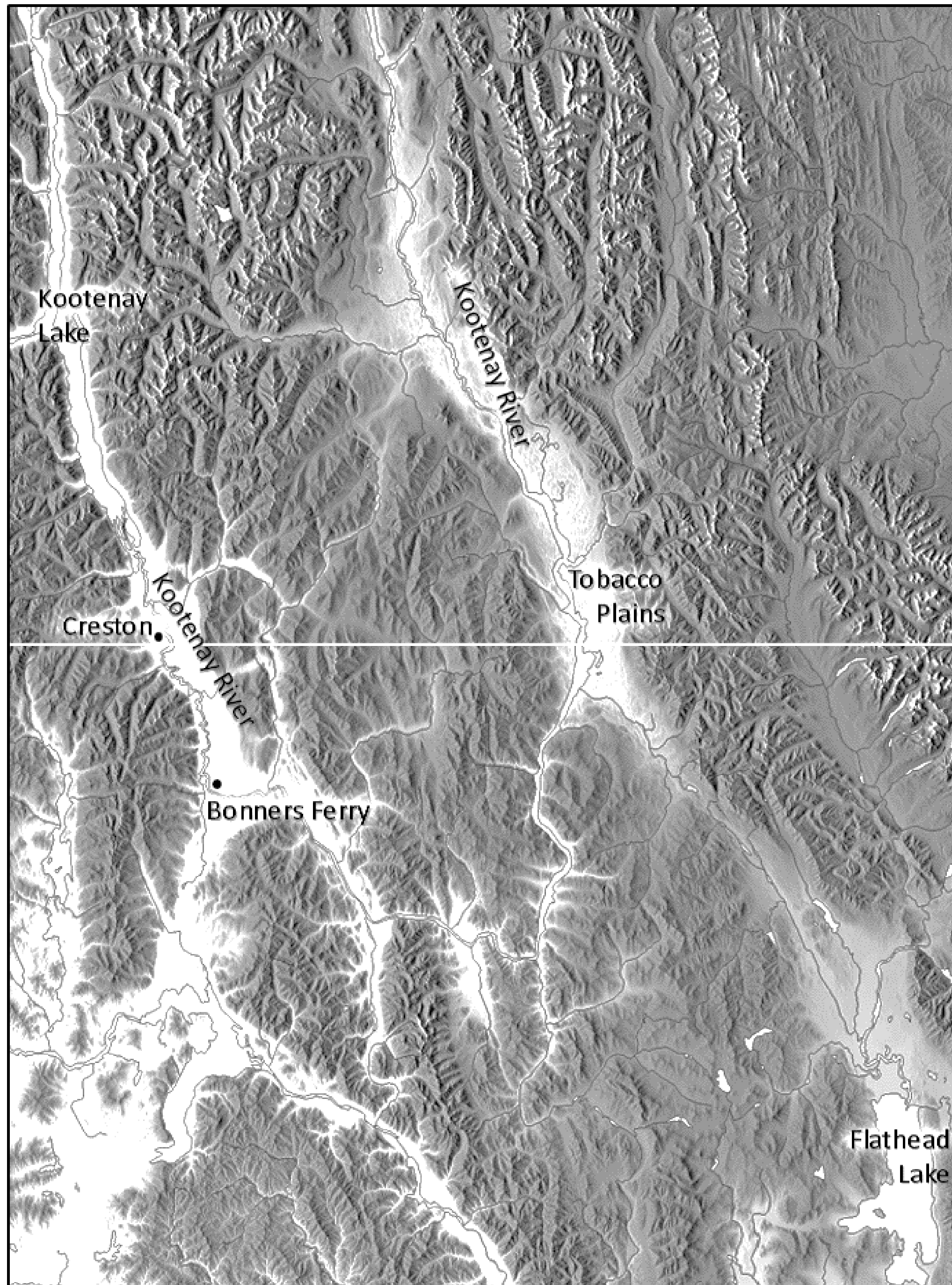
[23] Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove*, 99-100.
[24] Reyes, *White Grizzly Bear's Legacy,* 46.
[25] Joseph Taylor argues that, in the late nineteenth century, a host of capitalist-driven factors contributed to the decline of salmon numbers on the Columbia, downriver from Kettle Falls, but that the canneries played a major role in the salmon population's reduction. Joseph Taylor III, *Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), see Chapter 2: "Historicizing Overfishing." See also, Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *Indians of the Pacific Northwest: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 178, and Hollister D. McGuire to William P. Lord, "Report," *Fifth and Sixth Annual Reports of the Fish and Game Protector of the State of Oregon 1897-1898* (Salem, OR: W. H. Leeds, 1898), 4-6.
[26] For instance, the Kalispel who fished at Kettle Falls would trade with the Ktunaxa when the latter's own fishing in the Kootenay River was in a bad year. See, Leonard Corwin Brant, *Kootenai Indians of the Columbia Plateau* (Rathrdum, ID: Northwest Research and Publications), 187.

importance. For bands from the eastern Plateau, the incorporation of the horse in the eighteenth century expanded and accelerated their perennial bison hunts on the northern plains. Ktunaxa people had engaged in bison hunts more frequently than the Interior Salish Okanagan and Sinixt peoples located much farther to the west. Many of the hunts consisted of bands and families from multiple Native nations guided by a hunting leader.[27] These months-long hunting trips in the summer and fall yielded significant stores of bison meat for the communities back across the Continental Divide. Throughout the Plateau peoples' experiences with bison hunts on the plains, penetrating the bison range meant negotiating conflict with indigenous groups such as the Blackfoot. But by the 1870s and 1880s, the decrease in bison populations on the northern plains and concomitant intensification of intertribal conflict over competition and encroachment, discouraged Columbia Plateau peoples from conducting further hunting trips over the mountains. In adjusting, they confined their hunting practices to their side of the divide.[28] For the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan peoples, the hunting component of the seasonal round and relationship to their homelands proved to be an invaluable source of subsistence during their transition away from the plains.

Among the Ktunaxa and their Interior Salish neighbors, deer migrations drew Native hunters up and down the Columbia Plateau's river valleys and around the mountain ranges. They were intimately aware of these animal migration patterns and the peak times for hunting. In the

[27] William E. Farr, "Going to Buffalo: Indian Hunting Migrations across the Rocky Mountains: Part 1, Making Meat and Taking Robes," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (Winter, 2003): 7; Darris Flanagan, *Indian Trails of the Northern Rockies* (Stevensville, MT: Stoneydale Press Publishing Company, 2001). Numerous reports from Kootenai informants, and Indian agents assigned to the Ktunaxa from both the Kootenay Agency in British Columbia and Flathead Agency in Montana in the 1870s to 1880s reflect the crisis in declining bison hunts.
[28] William E. Farr, "Going Buffalo: Indian Hunting Migrations across the Rocky Mountains: Part 2, Civilian Permits, Army Escorts," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (Spring 2004), 26-43.; Brant, *Kootenai Indians*, 123-124.

process, their hunting endeavors maintained their working knowledge of and relationship to the landscape and its fauna.



"Ktunaxa territory: Kootenay River and Flathead Lake, adapted from present-day map." *maps-for-free.com*

Ktunaxa parties hunted whitetail and mule deer on the Tobacco Plains and along the "loop" of the Kootenay River up to Kootenay Lake for much of the year, though they were best taken in late summer and through the fall. Ktunaxa elder Mrs. Pascal recalled of the Ktunaxa hunting practices, "The Akanahonek [Tobacco Plains Band] would wait for each other on the last bench of the Rockies…the last were larger families which hunted mountain game. The Akanahonek moved to Waterton Lakes and then south to St. Mary's Lake, where they hunted elk, deer, moose, sheep and goat."[29] In addition to hunting deer, which involved gendered production tasks of men killing the animal and women processing the meat and hide, Ktunaxa people would hunt bear. Kootenay Indian agent Michael Phillipps reported in 1888 that, "Bear appear to be still sufficiently plentiful to furnish a supply of good [meat] during the fall and winter months," which proved fortunate as the next year the Ktunaxa "reported the deer less plentiful than in previous years."[30] For those Ktunaxa who did manage to find game, such as the St. Mary's Band, Phillipps noted, "I must confess that the latter are for the most part not only comparatively well off, but enjoy more robust health. They always have money to buy ammunition and clothing, and live on a meat, and to them a more natural diet."[31] Procuring game such as deer to secure this presumed prosperity meant paying attention to their movements and intercepting the animals at particular times of the year. These patterns drew Ktunaxa hunters around the Kootenay River Valley north and south of the forty-ninth parallel into the twentieth century.

[29] Kootenai Culture Committee, "The Traditional Worldview of the Kootenai People," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 65, No. 3 (Autumn 2016), 70.
[30] Michael Phillipps to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 2, July, 1888, *Dominion of Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1888* (Ottawa, ON: A Senecal, 1889), 111; Michael Phillipps to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 30, July, 1889, *Dominion of Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1889* (Ottawa, ON: Brown Chamberlain, 1890), 112.
[31] Michael Phillips to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 30, June, 1892, *Dominion of Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1892* (Ottawa, ON: S.E. Dawson, 1893), 246.

Interior Salish peoples hunted according to similar practices in the Okanagan, Similkameen, Kettle, and Okanogan River Valleys. The Okanagan, particularly in the northern sections of their territory, hunted beaver for the fur trade to a limited extent and traded these pelts at Fort Kamloops. This enterprise died out by the 1860s and afterwards was conducted only at the family and individual levels. In terms of subsistence, Okanagan hunters took big horn sheep, grizzly and black bear, and deer according to their availability. An Okanagan elder, Pierre Louis, described in the early 1950s the locations and types of game available to his people:

> Okanagan always lived from Penticton to the southern boundary of the Colville Reservation—includes all the land on this reservation except the Colville Valley. Similkameen River all the way to Princeton…two miles south of Kelowna there is Mission Creek—Okanagans always used to live there—netted white tailed deer here. No one lives at Mission Creek now. Indians (*sic*) lived mostly from Penticton and to the South but used more northern area for hunting and fishing.[32]

In smaller groups, hunters followed the deer herds along the creeks and parks of the Okanagan Valley. The meat yielded from these hunts fed the hunting parties and their families for weeks and even months. The Indian agent at Fort Colville in Washington Territory, George A. Paige, reported in 1867, the Okanagan "Indians are altogether west of the Columbia, and inhabit the country along the British boundary line and the Okinakane river and lake… subsisting almost [only] by fishing and hunting."[33] Through the 1880s and 1890s, the growing settler population along the Okanogan River increased competition for deer and other smaller animals and reduced the game population for Okanagan hunters. Okanagan people continued to hunt as the game numbers would allow.[34]

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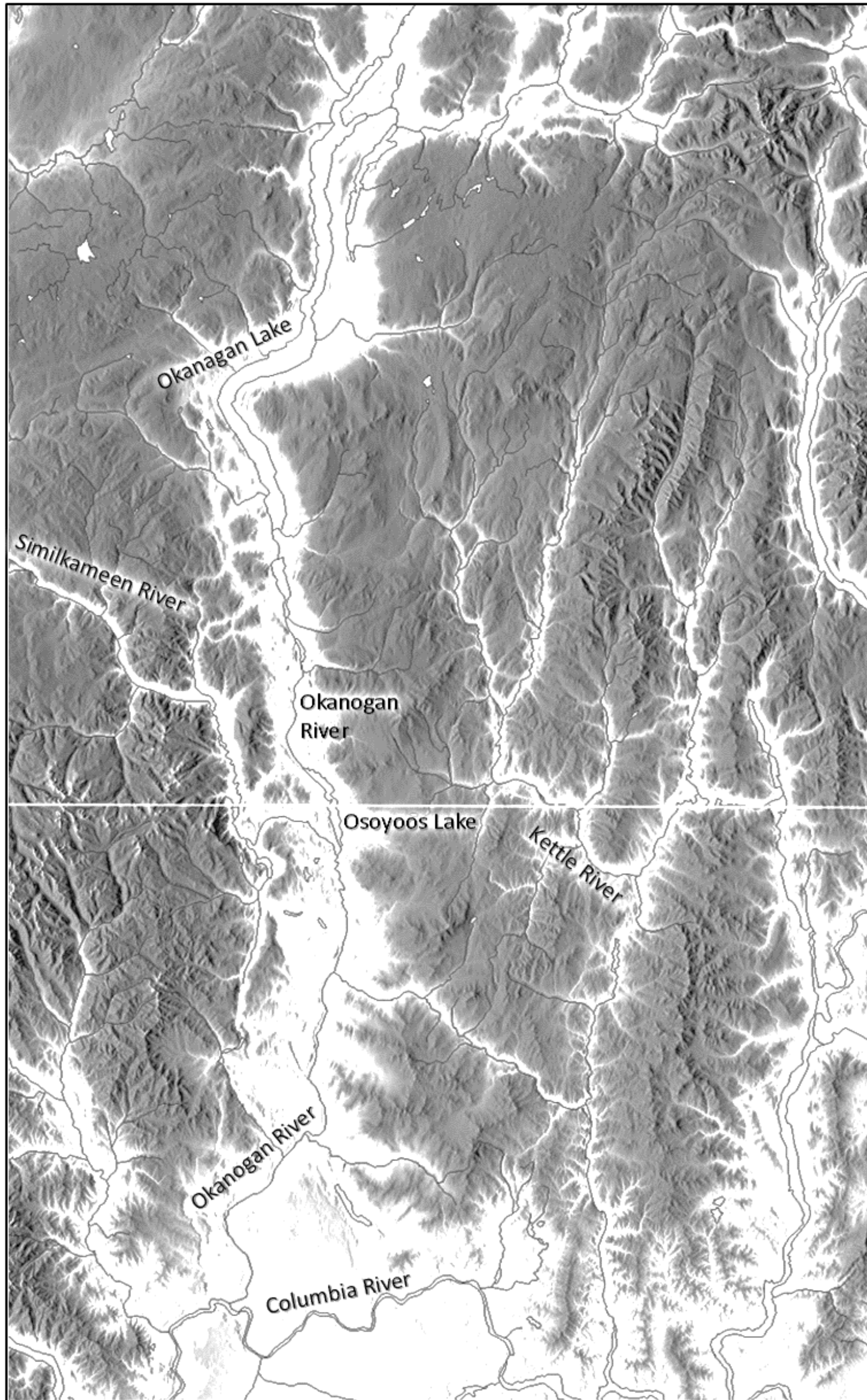
[32] Norman Lerman, "Okanogon (Salish) Ethnology. Field Notes and manuscript by Norman Lerman," page 29, Folder 19, Box 109, Melville Jacobs Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington, Seattle.
[33] G.A. Paige to T.J. McKenny, 1, July, 1867, *Report on Indian Affairs by the Acting Commissioner for the Year 1867* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1868), 56.
[34] Lillian A. Ackerman, *A Necessary Balance: Gender and Power among Indians of the Columbia Plateau* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2003), 151; Duncan Duane Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan: Indians and Whites in the Settlement Era, 1860-1920," (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1985): 200.

"Okanagan territory, Okanagan Valley, adapted from present-day map." *maps-for-free.com*



Among the Sinixt, Mourning Dove described embarking on the annual fall hunt, mostly for deer, with her family as a child in the 1890s and 1900s. Heading out to "join the Colville on

their old hunting ground in the mountain range northwest of our home at Pia," her family and extended kin relations hunted up the winding Kettle River and over the mountains towards Curlew. She noted that these communal hunts could provide deer meat enough to feed her family from that fall until February.[35] Sinixt band Chief Alexander Christian hunted for his family out of necessity around this same time period. Sinixt band leader White Grizzly Bear, or Alexander Christian, led hunts in the northern portions of their territory in the 1900s and 1910s. Sinixt elder Lawney Reyes noted of his maternal grandfather, "As a hunter, Alex Christian was exceptionally skilled and dependable. He hunted for his family's needs and for members of the tribe who needed meat to sustain them" and was "the last in our family to live the traditional ways of our tribe. He traveled from the Arrow Lakes in British Columbia to Kettle Falls in Washington State many times."[36] As the game moved to watering holes in the valleys and bunch grass parks of the mountains, Native hunters and their families tracked these small and large animals all over their country.

Root and Berry Gathering

Accessing berries and roots drew Ktunaxa, Okanagan, and Sinixt men and women to the mountainsides, parks, and river banks of the Columbia Plateau. An awareness of the growth cycles of edible plant species such as service berries, huckleberries, camas bulbs, and wild onions formed the mental maps of seasonal availability and associated patterns of gendered migration to these sites. For instance, dotting the slopes and creeks of the Okanogan River valley were Okanagan Salish place-names that indicated the food sources available in particular areas.

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[35] Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove*, 114-121; Keith Smith*, Liberalism, Surveillance, and Resistance: Indigenous Communities in Western Canada, 1877-1927* (Edmonton, AB: Athabasca University Press, 2009), 166.
[36] Reyes, *White Grizzly Bear's Legacy*, 31-33.; Myler F. Wilkinson and Duff Sutherland, "'From Our Side We Will Be Good Neighbour[s] To Them': Doukhobor-Sinixt Relations at the Confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers in the Early Twentieth Century," *BC Studies*, no. 174, (Summer 2012), 39.

Okanagan people referred to the Marron River as "snuxwaxtin—means where you pick berries. Pick Saskatoon berries there," and the area that became the town of Oroville was "hakxaxilp [which] means red thronberries [sic]," and "half way between Oroville and Ellisford" was "npak?nilten--means sour cherries."[37] Okanagan elder Maggie Stalkia charted Okanagan traditional gathering locations for berries in the 1950s. She explained that Okanagan families, "Saskatoon berries, chokecherries, huckleberries—went to Vernon for them—also went to Tulameen for them, also on other side of Omak Lake on this side of Nespelem—somewhere north of Republic, foam berries."[38] Tracing the movements to these sites, Stalkia's Okanagan grandparents and great-grandparents in the nineteenth century could travel from Okanagan Lake in British Columbia and south to Omak, Washington, and east towards the Kettle River to collect these varieties of berries.

The Sinixt and Okanagan made known to settlers how important accessing berry gathering grounds was to their people. Agent John Simms in 1876 reported that the Indians under his charge, including Okanagan and Sinixt bands, were frustrated with the Colville Indian Reservation to which they were assigned in Washington Territory, because it "did not include their fisheries and root-grounds, (upon which they chiefly rely for support,) they refused to recognize it, and continue to live in their old homes." At this point Simms advised against forcing the "non-treaty" Indians to relocate onto the reservation and recommended that "they be permitted to remain where they are, so long as they continue peaceable."[39] In this suggestion,

[37] Norman Lerman, "Okanogon (Salish) Ethnology. Field Notes and manuscript by Norman Lerman," page 50, Folder 19, Box 109, Melville Jacobs Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington, Seattle.
[38] Ibid, 127-128.
[39] John Simms to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 26, August, 1876, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1876* (hereafter, *ARCIA*) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1876), 132.

Simms hoped to avoid interfering with their seasonal movements to root and berry grounds for harvest.

Among the Sinixt, bands gathered a variety of berry species at areas ranging from the east bank of Upper Arrow Lake and Slocan Lake in British Columbia to below Northport, Washington. In extended family group units, they ranged over this area in early summer to the fall to collect huckleberries, service berries, black camas, and tiger lily roots under the direction of Sinixt women. According to Lawney Reyes, "Red Mountain, where my mother was born…was where the Sin-Aikst bands assembled every August to gather huckleberries and visit."[40] Ethnographers Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy spoke to Sinixt informants whose statements corroborated this memory, Julia Quintasket "recalled that in the early 1900s, the 'Kelly Hill and Northport Indians' used to go here (Red Mountain) regularly to pick huckleberries."[41] For the women and their families, the importance of gathering berries at specific sites in their territories was embedded in the memories and stories of their Sinixt and Okanagan descendants.

From the upper Kootenay River on down to the vicinity of Flathead Lake, Ktunaxa people traveled to collect bitterroot, camas, and berries according to the season, into the twentieth century. [42] Ktunaxa bands and families seeking out camas and bitterroot ventured down to Camas Prairie and the Pleasant Valley in Montana to harvest these essential roots. In 1878,

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[40] Reyes, *White Grizzly Bear's Legacy*, 37. Clara Graham related a similar story of "Indian Joe" and his "family and friends" coming up to her family's ranch in the Beaver Valley in the years between 1901 and 1920. Indian Joe's people came up to hunt and "set up teepees on their ancestral camping ground." After an undefined amount of time since these sightings, Graham recalled, "these harmless friendly people ceased visiting the district, but for many years afterwards the traces of their teepees and sweat bath remained. They evidently retired to the Lakes Indian village across the Columbia River near Marcus, Washington." Clara Graham and Edward Affleck, ed., *Kootenay Yesterdays: Three First Hand Accounts of Mining, Prospecting, Ranching, Teaching, and Trapping in the Kootenay District in Pre-World War 1 Times* (Vancouver, BC: The Alexander Nicholls Press, 1976), 29.
[41] Bouchard and Kennedy, "Lakes Indian Ethnography and History," 123.
[42] Kootenai Culture Committee, "The Traditional Worldview of the Kootenai People," 58-68.

Flathead Indian agent Peter Ronan remarked on the availability of camas and bitterroot at one of these destinations, on Camas Prairie near Flathead Lake in Montana Territory. Camas Prairie was a frequent stop for Ktunaxa women and families from Flathead Lake as well as Ktunaxa from the lower Kootenay River area to the north.[43] Bands from the Columbia Lakes and the Tobacco Plains in British Columbia made their way to Pleasant Valley, about thirty miles south of the Kootenay River, to dig for camas.[44] Processing and drying these roots in the late spring and summer provided Ktunaxa families sustenance later during the winter months. [45]

In the summer, Ktunaxa people would also gather berries, including chokecherries, serviceberry, and huckleberries in areas throughout their territory. The berry grounds near Kootenay Lake in British Columbia were one of the most reliable sources of this important staple in the Ktunaxa diet. Ktunaxa families who were known to be quite mobile up and down the lower Kootenay River descended upon Kootenay Lake to gather berries. By the mid-1890s and into the first decade of the twentieth century, the Indian agent at British Columbia's Kootenay Agency consistently reported Ktunaxa families picking wild berries at and near the lake.[46] The geographical distance between sites of root and berry collection demonstrates the breadth of the Ktunaxa people's spatial and temporal knowledge of their territory's wild vegetation and their continued migrations to access these food sources.

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[43] Brant, *Kootenai Indians*, 197.
[44] Brant, *Kootenai Indians*, 254.
[45] Peter Ronan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 12, August, 1878, *ARCIA 1878* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1878), 88.
[46] R. L. T. Galbraith to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 22 July 1896, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1896* (hereafter, *ARDIA*) (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1897), 91; R. L. T. Galbraith to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 27 July 1903, *ARDIA 1903* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1904), 289; R. L. T. Galbraith to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 30 June 1904, *ARDIA 1904* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1905), 253; R. L. T. Galbraith to Frank Pedley, 20 June 1905, *ARDIA 1905* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1906) 232; R. L. T. Galbraith to Frank Pedley, 2 July 1906, *ARDIA 1906* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1906), 229; R. L. T. Galbraith to Frank Pedley, 23 April 1907, *ARDIA 1907* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1907), 227. By 1905, Galbraith also noted the Ktunaxa picking berries and selling them to local settlers near the lake.

Trade

To acquire foodstuffs and other goods they could not procure within their own territories, the Sinixt and Okanagan peoples traveled to areas throughout the Columbia Plateau and beyond to trade. The Secwepemc and Nlakamapux to the north and the Spokane and Bitterroot Salish to the south were some of their most consistent trading partners. Though some of their partners came to them, extended family units would often travel over long distances to meet with others interested in trade. In addition to travel, trade involved the practice of diplomacy that guided how they carried and asserted themselves in exchange relations. Internally, bands of the Sinixt and Okanagan Nations also traded with each other to obtain supplies available in only certain areas of their homelands or acquired from exchanges with outsiders. Trade networks evolved during the late nineteenth century, particularly with the rise and decline of the fur trade driven by the Hudson's Bay Company. Those networks, however, though changing in frequency and volume with the increased settlement of non-Native people in their homelands, remained grounded in indigenous routes of exchange and demand into the twentieth century.

Before the interior fur trade operations dried up in the early 1870s, Native trappers harvested and traded furs at Fort Shepherd in British Columbia and Fort Colville in Washington Territory. More so than the Ktunaxa, among whom fur production declined earlier, or the Okanagan, among whom there were few fur-bearing animals to begin with, Sinixt families extended their fur trade success into the 1870s. Sinixt people trapped and traded along paths that took them up and down the Columbia River hub of their homelands. Several fur trade posts emerged throughout the Arrow Lakes and below the Columbia's confluence with the Kootenay River, but the HBC fort at Kettle Falls remained the most important for the Sinixt. Though

fluctuating in profitability and demand through the 1850s, trapping beaver and muskrat consistently drew the Sinixt towards the southern end of their territory.

They incorporated this seasonal journey to trade at the fort into their subsistence and gathering patterns through the 1850s and 1860s. By 1871, Indian agents knew the Sinixt to "catch the finest furs, and more of them than any other tribe in this district."[47] One of the first US Indian agents assigned to the "non-treaty" tribes east of the Cascades Range noted of the Sinixt, that they "have no farms, subsisting entirely by hunting, fishing, and trapping; they will sell their furs to the Hudson Bay Company and other traders."[48] They would ride their canoes down from the lakes of the Columbia to "their principal place of rendezvous…the Hudson Bay fort, which is built on their land." For many Sinixt, trapping and trading furs before and into the early 1870s fit well with their traditional resource-based patterns of movement within their aboriginal territories along the Columbia River's north-south axis.

Through the 1870s, Sinixt fur trade activity did decline as agriculture played an increasingly prominent role in the lives of those who remained near Fort Colville for longer periods. Colville agent William P. Winans tolerated Sinixt fur trading for the time being because it meant they then required less government support. Though he believed that "they [were] as well (or better) fed and clothed as any tribe in the district" and "quiet, peaceable, and independent," Winans still envisioned a future in which the Sinixt shed the long distance fur trade and embraced sedentary farming.[49] The fur trade itself was on the decline along the Columbia River through this decade as Fort Shepherd, which replaced Fort Colville's position in

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[47] William P. Winans to General T.J. McKenny, September 1, 1871, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1871* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), 294.
[48] Samuel Ross to Commissioner E. S. Parker, September 1, 1870. *ARCIA 1870* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1870), 25.
[49] Ibid.

the HBC system, ceased operation. In 1883, agent John Simms reported of "his" Colville Reservation Indians, "From the pursuit of game and fur-bearing animals they have turned their attention to agricultural pursuits."[50] Part of the plan to encourage Sinixt people to become sedentary farmers was to discourage their involvement in the fur trade that drew them north into the "British possessions" and out of the agent's jurisdiction.

The trade routes and networks that supplemented their traditional diets and habits of consumption could range dozens if not hundreds of miles up and down the Columbia Plateau river valleys and across the hill and mountain trails in between. Okanagan traders from near Lake Osoyoos traveled up the Okanogan River, past present Enderby, British Columbia, to trade with the Secwepemc for salmon and potatoes. They also ventured up the Similkameen River towards Kamloops to trade hemp, deer skins, and dried huckleberries with the Nlakapamux.[51] Susan Allison observed in 1892 that Okanagan women and men from the Similkameen Valley prepared their surplus serviceberries for trade "with either the Hope or Okanagan Indians for dried salmon or watertight baskets."[52] Okanagans from Osoyoos followed the Kettle River towards Kettle Falls where they obtained bison robes from the "Colville" or Skoyelpi.[53] Okanagan elder Mary Carden recalled in the 1930s her people going to "Spokan, Kalispel, Colville, Moses Columbia and snkama'pElEks (a band of Northern Okanagan) territory to trade."[54] Okanagan people offered bitterroot in trade with Sinixt folks to the east. The Sinixt, as elders recalled in the early

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[50] John Simms to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 15, 1883, *ARCIA 1883* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), 143.
[51] L. V. W. Walters, "Social Structure," in Spier, *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington*, 78.
[52] S. S. Allison, "Account of the Similkameen Indians of British Columbia," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 21, (1892), 309.
[53] Leslie Spier, "Preface," in Leslie Spier, ed., *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington* (Menasha, WI: George Banta Publishing Company, 1938), 5; Walters, "Social Structure," in Leslie Spier, ed., *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington* (Menasha, WI: George Banta Publishing Company, 1938), 77.
[54] Walters, "Social Structure," in Spier, *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington*, 75.

twentieth century, would also trade for camas coming from the south near Soap Lake when they could not find it in their own upper Columbia River country.[55] Sinixt and Okanagan peoples traveled sometimes great distances to acquire commodities from Native and non-Native trade partners. In the late nineteenth century, these trade-oriented migrations continued along familiar terrestrial and water routes through the Columbia Plateau landscape and beyond the forty-ninth parallel.

Stock Raising and Wage Labor

For Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan peoples, working and trading in the emerging cash economy from the 1880s to the 1910s created new spaces for economic autonomy and allowed them to integrate these opportunities into their existing migration traditions and seasonal rounds. Native individuals and families began to participate in the labor economy of mining, ranching, freighting, and agriculture that accompanied the colonization of their homelands. After the 1860s and 1870s, permanent and semi-permanent settlers and miners arrived to establish towns, ranches, farms, and extractive operations. Settlers occupied the Columbia Plateau's river valleys and lakes and claimed rangelands and hillsides. The potential for acquiring large tracts of land for ranching and farming drew settlers such as John Allison, John Haynes, Hiram Smith, James Baker, and the Ramsdell Brothers, among others, to the section's grasslands. The lure of gold brought miners, mostly from the United States, to the gold fields. Town builders, railroads, and the opportunists who supported these industries with freighting, trading, banking, and real estate sales contributed to the Plateau's economic transformation.

[55] Lakes Notes from Mrs. Nancy Wynecoop, Wellpinit, Wash., September 1935, 50-51, Notebook 1, Carton 3, William W. Elmendorf papers, Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.

At a time when the regional labor force was scarce, Native men and women filled the vacuum of laborers. Their seasonal, part-time work in these industries often reflected the migration patterns already present in Sinixt, Ktunaxa, and Okanagan societies. Wage labor and exchange opportunities also drew in Native peoples displaced from other areas of the greater interior Pacific Northwest, such as the Nez Perce.[56] In addition to being hired out to work for non-Native employers, Native men and women engaged in economic enterprises on their own, including cattle ranching, freighting, and selling agricultural produce to settler communities and mining outfits. In tapping into these sources of trade and service for cash, Native peoples traversed the forty-ninth parallel by following well-trod indigenous paths, there and back.

Livestock

Columbia Plateau Native families and bands incorporated the regional livestock industry into their migration patterns and relationships to the land. By the 1850s, the horse had become an irreversibly important part of Ktunaxa, Okanagan, and Sinixt life. Though neither the Sinixt nor lower Kootenay River Ktunaxa bands abandoned the canoe as a primary mode of transportation, they, along with their neighbors, did seek to accumulate horses to facilitate movement and measure economic and social wealth. Certain areas of the Columbia Plateau had better conditions for stock raising than others. However, all stock raisers in this bunch grass country contended with the narrow and frequently crowded nature of the river valleys.[57] Ktunaxa and Okanagan

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[56] For more on the analysis of Native peoples participating in the changing wage labor economy, see John Sutton Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008); Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Labour in British Columbia, 1858-1930* (Vancouver, BC: New Star Books, 1978); James K. Burrows, "'A Much-Needed Class of Labour': The Economy and Income of the Southern Interior Plateau Indians, 1897-1910," *BC Studies*, no. 71, (Autumn 1986): 27-46; Steven High, "Native Wage Labour and Independent Production during the 'Era of Irrelevance'," *Labour/Le Travail*, 37 (Spring 1996), 243-264; Paige Raibmon, "Meanings of Mobility on the Northwest Coast," in *New Histories for Old: Changing Perspectives on Canada's Native Pasts*, Theodore Binnema and Susan Neylan, eds. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

[57] Michael Blackstock and Rhonda McAllister, "First Nations Perspectives on the Grasslands of the Interior of British Columbia," *Journal of Ecological Anthropology* 8, no. 1 (2004), 30-35.

peoples imbued the valley grasslands with a higher value than they had before acquiring horses. Many families and individuals allowed their horses to graze freely and would carry out roundups when it was time to trade in stock or move camp. Through the end of the nineteenth century, horses accelerated Columbia Plateau family and band movements and in many ways expanded their claims to territory at a time when access to grazing lands was shrinking.

For the Interior Salish, controlling cattle and horses meant ranging their livestock where grasslands were available and accessible near and beyond the forty-ninth parallel. Okanagan bands were reported to hold several hundred horses in the mid-1860s, some from their own trade and stock raising, some from horse-stealing as well. The range land in the Okanagan Valley proved ideal for Okanagan peoples grazing horses and growing their herds, with particularly valuable wintering grounds near Osoyoos Lake. By the 1880s, Okanagan families had sizable herds of cayuse ponies and growing numbers of cattle. While leaders such as Nicola in the Northern Okanagan and Sarsopkin below Osoyoos had accumulated large family livestock herds, Chief Tonasket had managed exceptionally large herds on the lower Okanogan River by 1885.[58] Tonasket ranged his family cattle and horses near Osoyoos but grew weary of the forage competition with settler stock growers, who actually controlled much of the prime grazing land below Okanagan Lake. Thus, Tonasket relocated to "Little Canyon" on the Kettle River and even purchased sheep from a rancher in Midway, British Columbia.[59]

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[58] Stand Sauerwein and Arthur Baily, *Fintry: Lives, Loves and Dreams* (Victoria, BC: Trafford Publishing, 2000), 29-30; Duncan Duane Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan: Indians and Whites in the Settlement Era, 1860-1920" (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1985), 196-198.
[59] Katie Lacey, "Chief Tonasket – Chief of the Okanogan Indians," *The Twenty-third Report of the Okanagan Historical Society* (1959): 23-25; William Compton Brown, *The Indian Side of the Story* (Spokane, WA: C. W. Hill Printing Co., 1961), 408-413.

Farther down the Kettle River, to the east, the Sinixt who raised livestock focused their grazing practices on the lower sections of their territory due to the range conditions in the lower Kettle and Columbia River valleys. British Columbia official Gilbert Malcom Sproat reported in 1884:

> The Fort Shepherd Indians – British Indians because they lived there before the Hudson's Bay Company's post, now abandoned, was established, and who spend their summers on the Arrow Lakes – have taken up residence at Colville, in United States territory. Several of them said to me that they would rather live on the British side, which they regard as their country, but they could not find farming and grazing land on the western leg of the Columbia such as their partial civilization requires, and which they find in the Colville district.[60]

Sinixt stockgrowers would have liked to range cattle and horses in the upper portions of the Columbia River valley, but land for grazing was scarce in these areas, and those who owned livestock were compelled to stay in the south, towards Kettle Falls.

Among the Ktunaxa, particularly along the upper Kootenay River, stock raising and grazing were indelible features of their relationship with the land. Missionaries observed Ktunaxa stock raising operations on the Tobacco Plains as early as the 1850s.[61] Having a reliable horse herd assisted Ktunaxa people in their 1870s transition from the supplemental buffalo hunts on the northern plains to more restricted movements on the Rocky Mountains' western slope. By the 1880s, band leaders such as Isadore and David could claim possession over not only horses but cattle as well. British Columbia official Arthur S. Farwell noted that Isadore and "the majority of his followers" thought it best that their cattle range at large throughout the Kootenay

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[60] Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, *Description of Kootenay District, British Columbia* (Victoria, BC: Government Printing Office, 1884), 23.
[61] De Smet, *New Indian Sketches*, 104-106.

River valley. Isadore believed that settler-built fences would prevent the free range of Ktunaxa horses and cattle.[62]

Ktunaxa people ranging their stock over this large area actually extended their claims to territory along the Kootenay River.[63] In 1887, a Canadian official in the North-West Mounted Police noted the Ktunaxa bands having about 500 head of cattle and 2,000 horses and that part of their range included the southern end of the Tobacco Plains, at the forty-ninth parallel. Mounted Police officer William M. Herchmer addressed a suggestion to contain Ktunaxa grazing habits to reserves in the northern reaches of their territory. Herchmer noted, "They have no idea of the boundary line and state that they cannot understand why they should not have the run of the Kootenay River as in the past, and which they claim as their country…they want to live where they always have lived, a number of them having cattle."[64]

By the 1890s, open range grazing along the Tobacco Plains declined as settlers claimed more and more land in prime grazing areas and horse theft became endemic, leaving Native livestock owners as the principal victims.[65] Ktunaxa and Okanagan families took advantage of the economic potential of livestock raising according to their own needs and practices. With the

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[62] A. S. Farwell to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 31 December 1883, *Sessional Papers*, *Second Session, Fourth Parliament of the Province of British Columbia, Session 1883-1884* (Victoria, BC: Richard Wolfenden, 1884), 326.

[63] Peter O'Reilly to the Honorable Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 10 December, 1884, Indian Reserve Commission, Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, British Columbia, File 33, Box 3, GR-2982, Royal British Columbia Museum Archives, Victoria, British Columbia, Reel B16975.

[64] W. M. Herchmer to North-West Mounted Police Commissioner, Regina, 30 November, 1887, Annual Report of the Assistant Commissioner, North-West Mounted Police, 1887, *Report of the Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police Force, 1887* (Ottawa, ON: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1888) 18-19.

[65] Michael Phillips to the Honorable Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 30 June 1892, *Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1892* (Ottawa, ON: S.E. Dawson, 1893) 246. Longtime East Kootenay, BC resident Clara Graham recalled wild horse roundups by the local Secwepemc and non-Native near Windermere in 1910. She stated that a roundup license provided by the provincial government allowed residents to take wild horses. These horses likely descended from those of the northern Ktunaxa bands along the Kootenay River. Clara Graham, "Upper Columbia Experiences, 1910," *Kootenay Yesterdays*, Edward Affleck, ed. (Vancouver, BC: The Alexander Nicolls Press, 1976), 55.

open range method, they kept track of their stock and collected their horses when they were ready. This method complemented their approach to hunting, fishing, and gathering according to the timing of the seasonal round. Raising, selling, and traveling on horses could also serve to extend and maintain indigenous relations to territory while Ktunaxa and Okanagan bands responded to changing economic and settler forces into the 1890s.

Labor

In the changing regional economy, Ktunaxa, Okanagan, and Sinixt peoples incorporated cash into their subsistence strategies. To access this article of trade, men and women worked in a variety of positions. Employers in British Columbia and Montana and Washington Territories needed Native labor on various construction projects, surveys, ranches, and farms.[66] Travel to work sites followed familiar migration routes, and they cared little that these paths crossed an international border. In 1874, Colville Indian agent John Simms responded to inquiries from the Board of Indian Commissioners regarding his charges' work habits. Simms explained that "about 500" of the Indians participated in "manual labor" and that "about four fifths [of] the Indians employed as laborers off the reservation, [had] made greater progress in civilization." They were "working on their own farms, performing farm labor for the white settlers, cutting cord wood, packing supplies to mines." He reassuringly noted, "As a result they are generally well clothed, and have sufficient food for themselves and families."[67] Four years later, Simms concluded of Native labor, particularly in agricultural operations: "So necessary have they become to the

[66] Native labor during the decades of non-Native settlement after the 1870s differed from the work done by Okanagan and Ktunaxa men and women for the Northwest Boundary Surveys of 1858-1862. In this latter period, farming operations, for instance, were permanent as compared to the survey parties that only worked in the area on a temporary basis.
[67] John A. Simms to Hon. F. H. Smith, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Fort Colville, W.T., 25, Sept., 1879, Folder 7 Correspondence: 1874, Box 1b, Cage 213, John A. Simms Papers 1858-1881, MASC, WSU, Pullman, WA.

settlers that it is a matter of common remark 'If the Indians leave the valley, we will have to leave, as we cannot get along without their labor.'"[68] Simms and other agents were notorious for lumping their "Indians" together, without distinguishing between bands and tribes within their jurisdiction, but Simms' observations certainly applied to the Okanagan and Sinixt peoples on the northern edges of the nascent Colville Indian Reservation.

In the mid-1870s, Native peoples of the Okanagan and Similkameen Valleys found seasonal employment in various capacities at the Allison Ranch along Okanagan Lake. During the haying season, these white ranchers relied on Native labor. Susan Allison, wife of rancher John Allison, explained the importance of Indian labor to their haying season:

> One day one of the haymakers failed to appear and my husband rode into the Indian ranch after him, entered his cabin and found him sitting in a state of nature, squatting with some bones on the ground. He said he had lost all of his clothes, even his shirt and pants, and could not go to work unless they were redeemed. The bones were his gambling equipment. Of course, my husband lectured the man and redeemed his clothes – we could not afford to lose a haymaker.[69]

At key points in the agricultural and livestock production seasons, Native families and individuals from the Okanagan Valley provided the requisite labor to keep these industries viable while also subsidizing their own indigenous economies of the seasonal round.

In the 1880s and 1890s Native people worked in the seasonal hop industry that centered on the Okanagan Valley in British Columbia. For some families, moving from the lower end of the valley across the forty-ninth parallel to Okanagan Lake to pick hops fit well into the traditional routes of the root and berry picking component of their seasonal round. Others from farther away, such as those from the Colville Indian Reservation, inserted themselves into these

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[68] John A. Simms to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 8 August 1878, *ARCIA 1878* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1878), 129.
[69] Susan Allison, *A Pioneer Gentlewoman in British Columbia: The Recollections of Susan Allison* ed. Margaret Ormsby (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 45.

well-trod channels. Movement patterns north to the hop fields resembled their migrations to root and berry gathering sites. However, the main difference in this industry was the form of profit from the harvest. Native men and women worked in exchange for a cash payment at the end of the pay period. Such a system would compensate for loss of access to traditional gathering grounds due to settlers fencing lands for farms or the designation of lands as provincial, Crown, or privately owned. Native men and women incorporated cash into their economic practices, purchasing goods from sellers in towns and in the ranch stores, and using money in social and cultural events such as gambling.

The need for Native labor in the Okanagan Valley hop industry quickly became apparent. In 1892, the Governor-General of Canada and his wife, the Lord and Lady Aberdeen, established two ranches in the north Okanagan and began hop growing operations.[70] Early in this enterprise, Native peoples from the Nicola, Nlakapamux, and even Fraser River bands provided the workforce for the harvest, but Native peoples from the Colville Indian Reservation soon began to arrive more frequently to report for duty. Local settlers believed that the Indians from the upper Okanagan and Similkameen Rivers only wanted to travel to the hop fields at Head-of-the-Lake to socialize, which is why, "to secure sufficient pickers," the managers called upon "some Indians from across the border" in Washington State.[71] Lady Aberdeen was reluctant to use "imported Indians" because she felt those from Washington were more unruly and potentially dangerous than those from British Columbia.[72] Nonetheless, as the hop industry grew, so did the demand for seasonal labor.

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[70] John Campbell Gordon Aberdeen and Temair and Ishbel Gordon Aberdeen and Temair, *"We Twa": Reminiscences of Lord and Lady Aberdeen, Vol. II* (London: W. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd, 1925), 88-91.
[71] E. V. de Lautour, "The Nez Perce Indians," *The Fourteenth Report of the Okanagan Historical Society* (1950), 112.
[72] Aberdeen, *"We Twa,"* 89-90.

The Okanagan, Nez Perce, and their Colville Reservation neighbors began making regular late-summer trips to Okanagan Lake for the hop picking season in the mid-1890s. Having picked hops previously on farms around central Washington, they had gained a reputation as quality pickers among the growers in British Columbia. Their labor contractor, Wilpokin, coordinated with representatives from Head-of-the-Lake farms, who would come down to the Colville Reservation to secure pickers. Together, several Native families migrated north to the international border where they were then escorted by local settlers such as E. V. de Lautour, who met them at the line and rode with them to Okanagan Lake. De Lautour recalled of their convoy to Vernon, "What might almost be called a cavalcade, particularly from Osoyoos north, was always well-organized. There were mostly saddle horses and a few hacks, as these people kept well together, allowed no stragglers in passing through the little settlements."[73] There were rarely more than one hundred pickers in one party, though this varied by year. [74] At the Coldstream Ranch, Native pickers could make about one dollar per box of hops, and Lady Aberdeen claimed that "some of them would pick as much as would fill twenty or even thirty boxes-enough to keep them through the winter." Men and women engaged in the picking operations, though employers often noted the exceptional skill and production of the women pickers.[75]

As the five-week season concluded, these indigenous migrant workers socialized at fairs near the lake, raced horses, gambled, and purchased goods with their cash payments.[76]

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[73] De Lautour, "Nez Perce Indians," 112. De Lautour describes the technical and bureaucratic process of securing permission for the Nez Perce Indians to work in British Columbia, as does Patrick Bennett in the same issue of *OHS*, though the two stories diverge significantly.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Aberdeen, *"We Twa,"* 89.
[76] "Report of Investigation into the Status of Indians of Okanagan Band," 22 May 1934, J. A. J. Illington, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, C-11-2, Vol. 11295, Office of the Indian Commissioner for B.C. Victoria, Record Group 10, Reel T-16109.

Apparently, they sought the Hudson's Bay Company woolen blankets sold by the "King George Men" at Vernon.[77] In the fall, the convoys of hop pickers from the Colville Reservation made their way back down to Washington with their goods and cash. These migrations continued into the early 1910s, but seem to have ceased around 1917 when the agricultural industries previously founded on hop growing shifted towards fruit orchards and the labor market shrank. Spanning the turn of the century, primarily Okanagan and Nez Perce pickers moved through the territory of the Okanagan Nation beyond the forty-ninth parallel to deploy their skills of gathering roots and berries in this regional industry.[78]

In the changing "frontier" economy of mining booms and small settlements of non-Natives, freighting became a significant labor and exchange opportunity for Ktunaxa and Sinixt families. Transporting goods to these settlements, born of mining interests that spawned ranching and agriculture operations, proved a persistent logistical issue, particularly in British Columbia. Being well-acquainted with the trails, terrain, and most expeditious routes for moving resources to areas throughout the Plateau across the forty-ninth parallel, Native individuals and their families could participate in the changing settler-oriented economy on their own terms by exploiting their local geographical knowledge.

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[77] De Lautour, "Nez Perce Indians," 115-116.

[78] Rolf Knight describes a reverse labor migration in his seminal study, *Indians at Work,* "Indian women also worked as seasonal harvest labour on large commercial farms. Some Indian families from the southern coast and parts of the southern interior migrated to the hopyards in Washington State from the 1880s on. They worked the berry, fruit, and hop crops of the Fraser Valley, in the Okanagan, and around Creston in the Kootenays." However, he does not go into any more detail about this casual employment pattern specifically, nor does he offer footnotes. He is likely lumping interior and coast British Columbia Indians together, when in fact most of the British Columbia Indians picking hops in Washington came from the coast. Knight, *Indians at Work*, 35-36. See Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), Vera Parham, "All Go to the Hop Fields": The Role of Migratory and Wage Labor in the Preservation of Indigenous Pacific Northwest Culture," in *Native Diasporas: Indigenous Identities and Settler Colonialism in the Americas*, Gregory Smithers and Brooke Newman eds. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), and Lutz, *Makúk*, 190.

By the mid-1880s, some Ktunaxa people began to haul freight for settler businesses along familiar routes in their territory. In 1886, merchants Ralph and Billy Ramsdell established a store at Tobacco Plains, to which Ktunaxa freighters were delivering sundry goods from the Demersville area at the head of Flathead Lake. With their horse trains, these Ktunaxa people carted items from Ramdells' store in Kalispell up to their '69' Ranch near Indian Creek and facilitated this "extensive trade from Flathead to the Canadian Line and beyond."[79] Also tapping into this north-south freighting market centered on Fort Steele was Louie Stui-kin, brother of Lucy Stui-kin of Sinixt and Skoyelpi ancestry. In the late 1880s, Stui-kin ran a pack train with his family that hauled goods from Walla Walla in Washington Territory up to Fort Steele, British Columbia.[80] These trips included traveling through Ktunaxa country along the Kootenay River, but it is unclear whether they were in direct competition with Ktunaxa freighting business. Farther west, the Indian agent at the Colville Indian agency noted the Sinixt engaging in freighting work along the Columbia River in 1891. He informed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "These Indians are very industrious and make considerable money by freighting supplies from Marcus, Wash., to the mines located in British Columbia."[81] Native teamsters moving goods from sources in the United States to destinations and markets in British Columbia earned cash by packing along the same trails that took them to the hunting, fishing, and gathering sites in their territories.

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[79] *Tobacco Valley News*, Eureka, Montana, 18 March 1973, MSS 503, Series 4, File 3, Dave Kay Fonds, Fort Steele Heritage Town Archives; Marie Cuffe Shea, *Early Flathead and Tobacco Plains: A Narrative of Northwestern Montana* (Marie Cuffe Shea, 1977), 103-104. The *Tobacco Valley News* article refers to the Ramsdells as the Ramseys.

[80] Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove*, 10.

[81] Hal J. Cole to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 15 August 1891, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1891* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 441.

Into the twentieth century, bands and families of the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan Nations continued their migrations around their Columbia Plateau homelands to access traditional foods while incorporating other opportunities and necessities in the changing economy. Many of the indigenous migration routes that were shaped by the seasonal round served as the well-trod paths along which Native peoples traveled to engage in the emerging settler economy. Just as movement along the river valleys and across the hills and mountains of the Plateau brought Native men and women to known berry patches and hunting parks, so too did migrations bring them to hop farms, fur trade forts, and cattle grazing areas. While freighting goods along trails that followed the rivers north during the summer, Native peoples fished in these waterways and hunted along their banks.[82]

These routes and the frequency of their use did change with settler pressures and prospects, in ways that altered Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan relationships to homelands and to each other. Maintaining their relationships with the landscape, however, afforded them space in which to negotiate the challenges of a mixed economy. In the process, Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan bands and families expressed the importance and utility of preserving their indigenous mental maps of the Columbia Plateau over what settlers saw as an environment divided along the forty-ninth parallel.

Gathering Together

Social gatherings and cultural ceremonies reinforced the relationships among the individuals, families, and bands comprising the Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa peoples as Native

[82] John Lutz and Josh Reid, among others, have referred to this combination of traditional economies with settler-introduced opportunities and technologies as moditional, or a modified traditional economy. Lutz, *Makuk*, 169; Reid, *The Sea is My Country,* 199-204.

nations. With great distances separating many of the bands, gathering to observe an annual celebration or to socialize at trade fairs served to maintain these larger community connections across space. Additionally, the meetings often occurred at or near culturally important sites and spaces within indigenous homelands beyond the forty-ninth parallel, serving to maintain the participants' connections to the land and each other and the distinctive stories told about these places. These social meetings were often associated with spiritual or cultural events and must be understood within an indigenous constellation of seasonal movements and cycles to which Native people attributed spiritual and practical significance.[83] The fur trade, non-Native settlement, and, in the Columbia Plateau case in particular, the introduction and practice of Catholic Christianity among Native people influenced how, where, and why the people gathered in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Still, Ktunaxa, Okanagan, and Sinixt bands and families continued to travel, meet, and celebrate in areas throughout homelands. Such movements and interactions reinforced community connections and a shared sense of collective cultural identity through a challenging period of transition.

Bands of the Ktunaxa Nation met at villages and camp sites along the transnational Kootenay River valley to socialize and host celebrations. In an 1883 report to his superiors in Victoria, British Columbia, Arthur S. Farwell commented on the social habits of the Ktunaxa people in the loop of the Kootenay River. He noted, "Some of the Upper and Lower Kootenays, the Flatheads, Calispells, and other Indians, frequently rendezvous at Old Kootenay Fort, on Musula Creek. Old Kootenay Fort is in the south-east bend of Kootenay River, about fifty miles

[83] For more on the performance and experience of cultural activities as markers of group distinctiveness, see Morris Foster, *Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991).

south of the line."[84] At these occasions, Ktunaxa people traded horses and gambled, practices that were often combined in horse racing competitions. The Ktunaxa attendees did not just "dissipate generally" at these meetings. They used these opportunities to share information and reconnect with kin from different bands.

Ktunaxa bands met at sites along the Kootenay River and the Tobacco Plains to hold social and cultural celebrations. They observed mid-winter ceremonies replete with dances and singing or held annual social events at sites including Edwards Lake and Rykerts in British Columbia, but also in towns such as Eureka, Montana. In 1895, a Ktunaxa mid-winter celebration near Creston, British Columbia, inspired "numerous bands of their United States brethren [to] come across and help them with the festivities."[85] Settlers in the loop of the Kootenay River noticed these gatherings well into the 1910s.[86] Deaths of prominent Ktunaxa men and women also drew Ktunaxa bands and extended families to villages where survivors held their funerals. In 1917, the funeral celebration for Isadore, the band chief at Bonners Ferry in Idaho saw attendance of Ktunaxa from "Creston, Cranbrook and all parts of the country."[87] Be it for dancing, horse racing, trading, or visiting, the Ktunaxa continued to gather within their aboriginal territory along the Kootenay River. These events reinforced the social and cultural relationships between bands, extending their indigenous nationhood into the twentieth century.

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[84] A. S. Farwell to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 31 December 1883, *Sessional Papers*, *Second Session, Fourth Parliament of the Province of British Columbia, Session 1883-1884* (Victoria, BC: Richard Wolfenden, 1884), 325-327.
[85] "Goat River District," Jan. 19, 1895, *The Miner*, 1.
[86] Turney-High, *Ethnography of the Kutenai*, 187-188; "Goat River District," Jan. 19, 1895, *The Miner*, 1; Gary Montgomery and Tobacco Valley Board of History, *Tobacco Valley: Images of America*, Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009, 12-20; Brant, *Kootenai Indians of the Columbia Plateau*, 258; *Tobacco Valley News*, Vol. 13, March 22, 1973, MSS 503, Series 4, File 3, Dave Kay Fonds, Fort Steele Heritage Town Archives, Fort Steele, British Columbia.
[87] "Indians Have Celebration," 7 August 1917, *Bonners Ferry Herald*, 1.

To the west, Okanagan people met with kin and with Native neighbors along the Okanagan and Similkameen River valleys for trade fairs and ceremonies. Okanagan bands and families converged on Okanagan Lake for give-away ceremonies and dances in which wealthier families would demonstrate their ability to obtain wealth and their generosity by distributing items such as blankets and horses to attendees.[88] An observer from Washington Territory related, "It is here that the Indians from all parts of the Territory, British Columbia and even Alaska, meet for the annual 'potlatch,' even to this day (1888)."[89] As with the "Old Kootenay Fort" rendezvous, attendees at Okanagan Lake would trade fish and venison procured from fishing stations and hunting grounds on the Columbia Plateau and beyond. Though sources disagree on the extent to which these events were held, some oral histories indicate that they did occur annually with some regularity between the end of the fur trade (roughly 1870) and the turn of the twentieth century.[90] An Indian agent in British Columbia, Joseph Mackay, preoccupied with concerns about his charges' private property, lamented in the early 1890s the Shennoskuankin band of Similkameen Okanagans spending too much time with kin, and not enough time focusing on the care of their horses. [91] Mackay reported:

> These Indians failed to produce sufficient winter forage for their live stock, and lost some of their horses in consequence. They do not attend so well to their farms as they should. They waste much of their time in visiting their friends on the American side and in receiving their visits; and as it usual with people who over-indulge in hospitality, the

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[88] Walter Cline, "Religion and World View," in Spier, *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington,* 151-152.
[89] Richard Steele, ed., *An Illustrated History of Stevens, Ferry, Okanogan, and Chelan Counties, State of Washington* (Spokane: Western Historical Publishing Company, 1904), 486, 862.
[90] Ethnographer James Teit downplayed the existence of the potlatch in *Salishan Tribes of the Plateaus*, comparing the practice among the Okanagan. Teit claimed that it "never took a strong hold." (277) Leslie Spier's informants suggest that the potlatch was practiced enough that something of a protocol emerged and was tied to shamans and winter dances.
[91] J. W. MacKay to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 25 August, 1890, *Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year 1890* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlain, 1891), 85.

> Chief is the poorest man in the community. They have means enough to live without want.[92]

He believed "his" Okanagan practicing this ceremony with those "immediately on the International Boundary line" was a liability. However, these Okanagan people participated in the give-a-ways as a means to raise social capital, gain spiritual power or good fortune, maintain community connections and traditions, and provide for their kin. [93] The consistent movement of Okanagan people up and down the Similkameen River facilitated these exchanges and ceremonies and extended the bonds between Okanagan bands and families.

For the Ktunaxa Nation, the Sun Dance was a unifying event that brought bands from all around their territory into one village. The Ktunaxa Sun Dance, a ceremonial practice sharing some similarities with that of the Plains Indian tradition, had roots on the Plateau at least as early as the mid-nineteenth century. Ktunaxa families and bands performed the Sun Dance, which they typically held on an annual basis, to communicate with their primary spirit and creator, Nupika. Upon constructing the Sun Dance lodge, men and women would perform songs, drum, dance, and smoke tobacco, while designated practitioners would play the eagle bone whistle.[94] The Sun Dance chief would orchestrate the proceedings and ensure that the spirit stayed with male and female, elderly and young people for the duration of the ceremony, often with very little sleep over several days. In the presence of the spirit, they prayed and danced to receive blessings of good health and safety.[95] Much of what is known of the Sun Dance, a tradition practiced very

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[92] J. W. MacKay to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 18 August 1891, *ARDIA 1891* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1892), 126.

[93] J. W. MacKay to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs 13 September 1892, *ARDIA 1892* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1893), 243-244; Walters, "Social Structure," in Spier, *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington*, 77-78; Cline, "Religion and World View," in Spier, *The Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon of Washington,* 151-152.

[94] Harry Holbert Turney-High, *Ethnography of the Kutenai* (Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association, 1941), 178-183; Louie Gingras and Jo Rainbolt, *Growing Up Indian: Stories from the Life of Louie Gingras, an 82 Year Old Kootenai Indian* (Billings: Montana Indian Publication Fund, 1975), 30.

[95] Turney-High, *Ethnography of the Kutenai*, 183. Not all ethnographies are in agreement on this point. Though the Ktunaxa some elements of the Plains Indian Sun Dance were present, the most significant difference was the lack of

little after the mid-twentieth century, was recorded in Ktunaxa oral histories and rearticulated by ethnographers such as Harry Turney-High and Claude Schaeffer based on their work with Ktunaxa informants.[96]

The Sun Dance event served to reinforce Ktunaxa unity and a sense of cultural cohesion. According to the tradition, the Sun Dance chief would begin the process of organizing the ceremony once he received notice from the great spirit of when and where it should be held. Sources indicate that the ceremony took place at various locales throughout Ktunaxa territory. Known sites include the Tobacco Plains, Bonners Ferry, and areas on what became the Flathead Indian Reservation, and perhaps also Lake Pend d'Oreille in Idaho and White Swan Lake in in British Columbia.[97] At these annual or semi-annual ceremonies, bands and families from the upper and lower Kootenay River congregated as the Ktunaxa Nation to observe the ritual and keep alive the tradition. In 1937, Ktunaxa elder Baptiste Mathias recalled, "The Sun Dance is a ceremony to honor the Sun, and also to give thanks for all forms of life. In former times, every Kutenai person attended the Sun Dance ceremony, which was held each and every year. It was the center of our tribal life, and the Sun Lodge was the center of our Universe."[98] Meeting at sites in Ktunaxa territory north and south of the forty-ninth parallel as frequently as human or spiritual guides deemed it necessary served to reaffirm and reinforce Ktunaxa cultural identity among families, bands, and kin.

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bodily mutilation, a notable feature of the Sioux and Blackfeet practice. See also, Blanca Tovias*, Colonialism on the Prairies: Blackfoot Settlement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920* (Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2011).
[96] Turney-High met with no less than eighteen Ktunaxa informants in 1939-1940. "Kutenai Sun Dance," Box 9, Claude E. Schaeffer Ethnological Papers, 1934-1969, M1100, Glenbow Museum Archives, Calgary, Alberta.
[97] Clara Graham, *This Was the Kootenay* (Vancouver, BC: Evergreen Press, 1965), 12-13.
[98] Adolf Hungry Wolf and Beverly Hungry Wolf, *Indian Tribes of the Northern Rockies* (Summertown, TN: Book Publishing Company, 1989), 83.

The Tobacco Plains valley, considered the heart of the Ktunaxa homelands, was a frequent destination for hosting the Sun Dance. In one instance, Flathead Reservation agent Peter Ronan reported that in the fall of 1887, "a party of six Kootenai Indians…started from Pleasant valley to go to Tobacco Plains, where a band of British Kootenais camp, just at the International boundary line, to attend a sun dance which the British Indians were to give." [99] Because the Sun Dance lasted several days, congregants had time to come from Flathead Lake or from encampments up the Kootenay River to join in the ceremony. Baptiste Mathias related, "The last big Kutenai Sun Dance I can remember was just before the year 1900, at Tobacco Plains. Just about every Kutenai was there, no matter from what band. We camped in a big circle of tipis that spread far out over the plain. I suppose I will never see such a camp of Kutenais again."[100] One Sun Dance was captured on camera in 1912 near the site of Camas on the Flathead Indian Reservation, depicting dozens of Ktunaxa people present.[101] By the 1930s and 1940s, the Ktunaxa held fewer and fewer Sun Dance ceremonies. Mathias believed that Catholic priests condemning the ceremony discouraged the Ktunaxa from hosting further Sun Dances.[102] Still, ethnographies drawn from testimonies of Ktunaxa informants in this period consistently reaffirmed the observation that this event was foundational to bringing Ktunaxa people together and fortifying their identity as an indigenous nation.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Sinixt and Okanagan practiced the Winter Spirit and Chinook dances, which drew together adherents from throughout their

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[99] Peter Ronan, *Justice to Be Accorded to the Indians: Agent Peter Ronan Reports on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana, 1888-1893*, ed. Robert Bigart (Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press, 2014), 171; "Four Good Indians," *Salt Lake Herald*, December 20, 1893, 1.
[100] Hungry Wolf, *Indian Tribes of the Northern Rockies*, 83.
[101] "Kootenai's Raising Sun Dance Lodge, Camas," N. A. Forsyth Stereograph Collection, ST 001, Montana Historical Society Research Center; "Redskins Gather for Sun Dance at Camas," 2 July 1912, *Butte Miner*, 5.
[102] Hungry Wolf, *Indian Tribes of the Northern Rockies*, 83.

territories. Various sources often conflated the two ceremonies, because they were both practiced in January or February and involved ritual leaders guiding the followers in an intricate ritual of song, dance, and prayers. The shaman or "Indian doctor's" authority to lead these rituals came from a guardian spirit who informed them where to hold the ceremony.[103] Non-Native observers noted before 1904 the performance of dances led by Native shamans, but some of the most visceral descriptions of the Winter Spirit and Chinook dances come from Okanagan and Sinixt sources themselves.[104] Mourning Dove wrote of attending a "seancing rite" with her mother and father as a child sometime before winter 1902 at Northport, Washington, just a few miles south of the confluence of the Columbia and Pend d'Oreille rivers. She described the dance taking place in a long tulee mat lodge with the sacred pole placed at the center of the structure upon which the shamans would perform their songs and displays of power.[105] Conequah, who hosted the dance, revealed to the people his tutelary spirit, the ling fish, whom he explained was "coming from the very headwaters of the Columbia" in the north to deliver his power as a healer.[106] When the dance concluded, the shamans distributed gifts to the families that participated.

To the west, near the Okanogan River, Okanagan rancher Johnny Telkiah was known for hosting similar dances. Sarah Bone McCraigie recorded her recollections of her Uncle Johnny from when she was a child in the 1910s. McCraigie's account explained that Telkiah's extended family had land in the Similkameen Valley in British Columbia and that he lived near Riverside, Washington. The description of Telkiah conveyed that he was "a medicine man and Indians from

[103] Dorothy Kennedy and Randall Bouchard, "Northern Okanagan, Lakes, and Colville," In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 12. Edited by Deward Walker (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 249-250.
[104] See Father de Rogue's comments on Native shamans and dances in Steele, *An Illustrated History of Stevens, Ferry, Okanogan and Chelan Counties*, 861-862.
[105] Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove*, 131.
[106] Ibid, 131-133.

the Colville Reservation and British Columbia reserves would attend ceremonies at his ranch in the Chewiliken Valley. During the long winter months, "Chinook" dances were held there."[107] The Colville Indian agent lamented the continued practice of the Chinook dance in 1913, but he felt that it was confined mostly to the few Okanagans who would "still resist the efforts of the missionary."[108] Interior Salish people who continued came from all parts of their aboriginal territory to practice the Chinook and Winter Spirit dances. Sharing in these ceremonies and rituals of healing not only demonstrated their connections to each other and their spiritual leaders, but also perpetuated the cultural markers of their annual cycle.

Ktunaxa, Okanagan, and Sinixt families that practiced Catholic Christianity traveled throughout their territories to observe church holidays and attend mass with kin at various missions in British Columbia, Washington, and Montana. The shifting grounds of Catholic missionary activity, particularly after the violence of the 1850s in Washington Territory, led to some rearrangements of religious orders, missionaries, and missions on the indigenous Columbia Plateau. In the later nineteenth century, Oblate and Jesuit missions grew in prominence and rededicated their efforts to working with Native families and individuals. With this shift, Native peoples began to visit the missions and churches and in turn solicit visits of missionaries to their villages. More often than not, Native peoples chose to attend Catholic church services when the congregants felt it convenient for them. Also, mass and the Christian holiday calendar provided additional opportunities for Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan bands and kin to gather together on a regular basis.

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[107] Arnie Marchand, *"The Way I Heard It": A Three Nation Reading Vacation* (Arnie Marchand, 2013), 88-89.
[108] Annual Report 1913, Narrative Section I: Law and Order, Letterbook 49, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Colville, Letters Sent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Box 47, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Seattle, WA.

Okanagan people practicing Catholic Christianity congregated to observe holidays and attend mass as Okanagan people in Okanagan territory. After the 1880s, Okanagan adherents began traveling between missions to attend services with their kin at the Oblates' Okanagan Mission in British Columbia and the Jesuits' St. Paul's, St. Francis Regis, and St. Mary's Missions in Washington Territory. Father Charles Pandosy, the Oblate missionary at Okanagan Lake off and on from 1859 to 1891, noted the relationships between Native peoples in the United States and those under the jurisdiction of his diocese in British Columbia's Okanagan Valley. Pandosy concluded that the Okanagan had continuously visited each other "from time immemorial as they are all relations, all one and the same family."[109]

Okanagan Catholics welcomed Father Alexander Diomedi upon his arrival to their camp along the Okanogan River on one of his itinerant missionary tours in the early 1880s. Diomedi, a Jesuit missionary stationed at the St. Francis Regis Mission near Kettle Falls, met with several Catholic Okanagan bands from the confluence of the Columbia and Okanogan rivers up to Lake Osoyoos. According to Diomedi, the Okanagan people attended mass, allowed several baptisms, and encouraged his visiting their kin further up the river. They even provided assistance in Diomedi's trip north up to Lake Osoyoos.[110] Diomedi held Sunday mass with the Okanagan Catholics "farther north, across the boundary line," and was pleased that sixty "Okinagan from below the line also came" to attend church with them.[111] They joined their relatives near Lake Osoyoos to receive the sacrament, but they were also congregating as members of the Okanagan Nation.

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[109] C. M. Pandosy to James Lenihan, 8 August 1877, File 8540, Vol. 3651, Black Series, Record Group 10, Library Archives Canada, Reel C-10114.
[110] Alexander Diomedi, S.J. and Edward Kowrach, *Sketches of Indian Life in the Pacific Northwest* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1978), 54-55, 57
[111] Ibid, 57.

By 1886, with the support of Okanagan chief Smitkin, Father Etienne de Rouge founded St. Mary's Mission along the Okanogan River near Omak Lake.[112] Okanagan families attended mass at Omak with some regularity, but the larger congregations occurred mostly on more significant occasions and holidays, such as Corpus Christi. Of the Okanagan folks that associated themselves with the St. Mary's mission, de Rouge listed those at St. Mary's and Ellisforde, as well as "two camps rights across the B.C. line." He wrote, "It is not our mission but these Indians are coming here and we have to go there for sick calls as they have no other priest and one camp has about 215 and the other 90."[113] To handle these large assemblies of Okanagan Catholics, de Rouge would organize the camps around the mission. He "would have the Indians from the Canadian side camp north of the church, in or as they came, & the Indians from this side camp south of the church, in order as they came, & then he would call the Indians to line up… and shake hands as they went by [each other] & then go into the church."[114] Okanagan elder Harry Robinson later recalled stories of these gatherings. He remembered, "And the people were gathered in Omak mission. To pray. They call it the Corpus Christi. The priest, they gathers the people and have the big church for two, three days. And the people come from all over. From Inchelium, Nespelem, and even from Arrow Lake and from here, from Penticton."[115]

Though the Okanagan bands and families gathered under circumstances introduced from outside of their indigenous spiritual traditions, they used these meetings as a way to reconnect and reaffirm their relationships with each other. Hundreds of Okanagan people from throughout

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[112] Sister Maria Ilma Raufer, *Black Robes and Indians on the Last Frontier: A Story of Heroism* (Milwaukee, IL: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1966), 190-191.
[113] De Rogue quoted in ibid, 198.
[114] Ibid, 188.
[115] Harry Robinson and Wendy Wickwire, ed., *Nature Power: In the Spirit of an Okanagan Storyteller* (Vancouver, BC: Douglas &McIntyre, 1992), 128. Robinson's quote is embedded in the text here. In Wickwire's *Nature Power*, the quotations are organized "on the page in the form of narrative poetry."

their territory attended these Christian ceremonies and holidays and would extend the events over several days. Trips to the mission for holidays such as Corpus Christi could also be adapted to a larger circuit of fishing and root digging in and around the Okanagan Valley.

Ktunaxa people similarly practiced Christianity together in areas throughout their territory much as they did in the Sun Dance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Informed by irregular visits by Jesuit missionary Pierre De Smet, many Ktunaxa people practiced a hybrid and syncretic form of Christianity that included many of their own indigenous spiritual practices. This irregularity and independence allowed them to embrace what they wished from the Jesuit and Oblate missionaries' religions well into the 1890s. After De Smet's 1845 visit to the Tobacco Plains, the local Ktunaxa constructed a small building to serve as their church. For those who did observe more religiously the tenets of Catholic Christianity, De Smet noted in 1861, "In this humble church are now performed all the religious ceremonies of baptism and marriage. The Indians defer them until the appointed season for the arrival of the missionaries; they then come from all parts of the country." Ktunaxa chiefs and practitioners showed they took seriously De Smet's instruction and attempted to translate these ideas and ceremonies to their people.[116] The priest was pleased to report in 1871, "The Kootenais and some of their allied tribes, along the northwestern line of the British Dominions are visited by Catholic missionaries and number several hundred converts."[117] Not all Ktunaxa fully embraced Catholic Christianity, but many of those who did were eager for the missionaries to return to Ktunaxa country.

The infrequent nature of the missionary's visits, however, inspired Ktunaxa adherents to go to the missionaries directly and request their attendance and services. In 1874, Father Philip

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[116] Pierre De Smet S.J., *New Indian Sketches* (New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 1863), 111-113.
[117] De Smet to Ely S. Parker, 27 March 1871, *Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J., 1801-1873*, Vol. IV (New York, NY: Francis P. Harper, 1905), 1302.

Rappagliosi at the St. Ignatius Mission below Flathead Lake was solicited by "two Indians…belonging to the Kootenai tribe. They were sent by their chief, and had traveled two hundred miles in search of the Blackrobe."[118] He obliged, and he made his way ultimately to Chief Joseph's camp on the Tobacco Plains, guided by the two Ktunaxa couriers. At each step of the way, these Ktunaxa couriers sent runners to the next camp and alerted those in the band of the priest's coming. After staying for a few days at each successive camp, band leaders would send Rappagliosi with guides to escort him to the next Ktunaxa camp. Members from various Ktunaxa bands joined their kin to take in the sacrament with the missionary and allow baptisms and marriage blessings. Rappagliosi's journey north, to Flathead Lake, the Kootenay River, and the Tobacco Plains exemplifies not only a pulsing Ktunaxa interest in the missionary's presence, but also the functioning system of Ktunaxa Nation communication networks and relations.[119]

Even when missionaries established more permanent missions in Ktunaxa country, Ktunaxa people only visited when it suited them or when they desired assistance from the priest. The Oblate Father Leon Fouquet helped establish the St. Eugene Mission along St. Mary's Creek as a way to provide a more consistent and effective church presence among the Ktunaxa. From 1874 to 1887 Fouquet tended to Ktunaxa Christian aspirations but with very mixed success, due to their mobility and fluctuating attendance to daily church services.[120] During one of Fouquet's calls to the Ktunaxa at Bonners Ferry in 1874, Ktunaxa chiefs came down from Joseph's Prairie to meet with and inform him that they were about to embark on a large bison hunt on the plains

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[118] Father Philip Rappagliosi, *Letters from the Rocky Mountain Indian Missions*, ed. Robert Bigart (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 46.
[119] Ibid, 47-51.
[120] Thomas A. Lascelles, "Leon Fouquet and the Kootenay Indians, 1874-1887," (MA Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1986), 88-89.

and would not be back for several months, in the fall.[121] Such long-term excursions presented challenges to operating a permanent mission among the Ktunaxa.

The meetings of Ktunaxa families at church is better represented by Father Nicolas Coccola's records at St. Eugene, after 1887. Coccola observed that the Easter mass at St. Eugene drew in Ktunaxa families from farther south. Of the 1889 Easter mass, he wrote, "The Whites, Protestants or Catholics, with all the Indians shook hands with the first communicants, there were representants [*sic*] of the Indian camps even some of the Wild Tobacco Plains, who offered to take me to their plains 80 miles away, but only a few families were to be seen, the rest gone across the line on the American side."[122] For several years, Ktunaxa bands traveled to St. Eugene from throughout the northern and southern portions of their territory to observe the major holidays of Christmas and New Year as well.[123] The Ktunaxa made as infrequent visits to Coccola's mission at St. Eugene as had Coccola to the Ktunaxa at Tobacco Plains.

Similarly, the Ktunaxa along the lower Kootenay River, around eighty miles from St. Eugene, made seasonal visits to the mission and in turn were visited by Coccola when he was able to come.[124] He noted in 1892, "some" of the Ktunaxa under chiefs St. Pierre and Justin had a "jealous" appreciation for the priest's presence and his ability to usher order among their people and the prosperity that the believed came from civilization.[125] Not all Ktunaxa along the lower Kootenay River shared the same feelings towards the Jesuit as their Catholic kin, much to

[121] Ibid, 84-85.
[122] Nicolas Coccola, *They Call Me Father: Memoirs of Nicolas Coccola*, ed. Margaret Whitehead (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988), 116.
[123] Michael Phillipps to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 30 July 1889, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1889* (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlain, 1890), 112.
[124] Coccola, *They Call Me Father*, 118.
[125] Ibid, 123.

the frustration and derision of Coccola. Regarding those among the Ktunaxa upriver who did, Coccola recalled happily,

> The prosperity and happiness of our Indians at St. Pierre attracted the attention of the American Indians who three times made application to come to our meetings by representatives of their tribe. I consented on condition that they had to submit to the regulations of our camp and accept any punishment deserved. Considering [it] not too hard, two times hesitated, but consented at last. After taking part in our reunions they begged me to visit their camp and do there what was done on the Canadian side.[126]

The Bonners Ferry Ktunaxa who practiced Catholicism and welcomed Coccola to their village, according to Coccola's judgment, bought into the missionary's requirement that they elect a new chief and establish a contingent of camp "watchmen" to ensure order. The Ktunaxa on the lower Kootenay River sought to participate in Catholic mass together, and they learned from each other how to engage with Coccola's brand of Christian society and organization. Ktunaxa elder Simon Francis later recalled his band's visits to the Ktunaxa at Coccola's mission during the high holidays. He mentioned, "The Bonners Ferry Kootenai only went to St. Eugene's Mission for the Feast of Corpus Christi so after the feast they all returned to their homes."[127] That they made several visits and gathered with their kin up the Kootenay River reveals their desire to utilize the power in the missionary's message and practice it as families and bands of the Ktunaxa Nation.

For Sinixt bands seeking to practice Catholic Christianity, location and attendance shifted farther and farther into the southern portions of their territory. Though several Sinixt bands and families had received baptism and sought the presence of the priests, they did not attend church regularly until after the turn of the century.[128] In 1874, one Sinixt chief, Paul Ignatius, asked

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[126] Ibid, 123.
[127] Quoted in Brant, *Kootenai Indians of the Columbia Plateau*, 278.
[128] Sister Maria Ilma Raufer, O.P., *Black Robes and Indians on the Last Frontier: A Story of Heroism* (Milwaukee, WI: Bruce Publishing Company, 1966), 223. Earlier, Jesuit Pierre de Smet established a smaller station, St. Peters, along the Upper Arrow Lake to serve those Sinixt who did not make as frequent visits to Kettle Falls and the Colville Mission. However, as more and more Sinixt remained in the southern portion of their territory by the later

Father Rappagliosi to come to their camp, but Rappagliosi declined on account of the long distance to Sinixt territory.[129] Other Sinixt chose to exercise their Catholic relationship with the missionaries at times that were convenient for them. These Sinixt would venture down to Kettle Falls for the salmon runs and would add to this endeavor a visit to the nearby Colville Mission in Washington Territory to attend church services, often with other Sinixt and many Skoyelpi. In 1874, according to the St. Francis Regis Mission diary, over one thousand Indians, including the Sinixt, assembled at the mission for the celebration of Corpus Christi. Such a gathering suggests that Sinixt bands from the northern villages of the Columbia and Kettle Rivers in British Columbia were present to achieve such numbers.[130]

The Sinixt at Pia (Kelly Hill), along the western bank of the Columbia River, constructed their own building for a church and expected the priest at St. Francis Regis to come to them to conduct Catholic mass just as often as they came down to the mission near Kettle Falls for church services.[131] The band leadership of De Smet convert Gregoire and staunchly Catholic Chief Kinkanawah involved strict observances of the missionary's brand of religious order among the Sinixt and Skoyelpi, but this attitude tapered off into the later nineteenth century.[132] Mourning Dove, who noted that "Both Catholicism and shamanism have been part of the beliefs and experiences of my entire life," described the religious proclivities of Sinixt chief Aropaghan.[133] When Father de Rouge protested to Chief Aropaghan the Sinixt practice of the

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nineteenth century, St. Peter's station fell out of use. Paula Pryce, *Keeping the Lakes' Way: Reburial and Re-creation of a Moral World among an Invisible People* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 46-47.
[129] Rappagliosi, *Letters from the Rocky Mountain Indian Missions*, 51.
[130] "Diary of St. Francis Regis Mission," Oregon Jesuit Provincial Archives, Foley Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, WA; Raufer, *Black Robes and Indians on the Last Frontier*, 101.
[131] James O'Neill to J. A. Simms, July 26, 1879, *ARCIA 1879*, 142; Rickard D. Gwyder to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 31 August, 1888, *ARCIA 1888*, 222; Hal J. Cole to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 15 August, 1891, *ARCIA 1891*, 445; Jno. W. Bubb to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 21 August 1894, *ARCIA 1894*, 314.
[132] Kinkanawah has also been spelled Kinkanakua and Kin-ka-now-kla.
[133] Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove*, 32.

Winter Spirit Dance, he replied, "Let my children enjoy their Medicine Dancing as their ancestors did for so many years. It is not harmful. We all go to your church and only dance later for our own amusement."[134] Reading between the lines, Aropaghan was placating the concerned priest while wryly supporting his people's continued practice of the Winter Spirit Dance and allowing space for engaging in and identifying with both expressions of spirituality. Many Sinixt families thus embraced elements of the missionaries' Christianity and incorporated its high holidays and social expectations into their own indigenous movements and cultural gatherings, and these adaptations occurred in closer proximity to the missions to the south in Washington State.

As the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan peoples hunted, fished, collected foods, freighted, traded, worshipped, and gathered together within their aboriginal territories, they sustained and renewed their distinct identities as indigenous nations. These patterns of movement and congregation, informed by the seasonal round, reinforced their connections to homelands and to each other over the distances between bands, families and culturally important spaces. Understandings of territory and community were framed by indigenous conceptions of territoriality rather than by colonial geographic constructs such as the Canada-US border. Instead, paths along the Okanogan River, fishing stations at Kettle Falls, and root digging grounds at Pleasant Valley shaped and sustained an indigenous geography of the region. Hunting parties, give-aways, horse races, and Sun Dances and Winter Spirit Dances allowed the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan people to connect and reinforce their relationships to each other, paying little heed to nation-state borders. Agents from the Canadian and US governments were keenly

[134] Ibid, 130.

aware of the international boundary's presence, yet they often acquiesced to Native people's crossing the line if the crossings were for subsistence purposes or peaceful gatherings.

Through the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth, the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan continued to maintain connections to much of their homelands amidst the colonization of the Columbia Plateau region that wrought profound economic and political change. They paired berry gathering with hop picking operations, Chinook dances with Corpus Christi, and trading camas with freighting supplies to the mines. Indigenous migrations through and relations to homelands did not disappear through this period, nor did the invisible international border fully sever these communities' understandings of themselves as culturally connected as Native nations. As the other chapters show, however, at times, indigenous Columbia Plateau people could consciously choose to recognize the border's existence, while at other times the border was almost impossible to ignore.

Chapter Four

"American Indians upon a reservation, and the British Indians on British soil": Settlement, Reservations, and Settler Law as Devices of Border Enforcement

At every turn, non-Native settlement and the consolidation of local and federal government power in the border region of British Columbia, Montana, Idaho, and Washington evolved with the efforts to control and ground the movements Columbia Plateau Native peoples. From the 1870s to the 1910s, settlers coordinated with their respective federal governments to encourage and compel indigenous peoples to recognize and respect the Canada-US border. As non-Natives came and stayed, claiming or pre-empting precious lands, they established provincial, territorial, state, district, and county governments to manage public services and ensure justice and orderly settlement. The United States, Canadian, and British Columbian governments worked to keep up with the rapid pace of non-Native arrivals in the interior Pacific Northwest. They endeavored to regulate colonization through the territory and statehood process, preserving federal lands, assigning mining commissions, and guiding the distribution of public and Crown lands.

Along the forty-ninth parallel, the border's delineation of nation-state jurisdiction guided the processes of this process of settlement and consolidation, as well as that of controlling Native people. At the same time, the settler institutions of local and federal law and federal Indian policy in the form of reservations and reserves served to reinforce the border as a marker of national separation among the region's indigenous peoples. Rarely considered together in historical scholarship, settler law, reservations, and the Canada-US border acted as tools working in tandem to ground the movements of Native groups such as the Sinixt, Okanagan, and

Ktunaxa.[1] Though distinct from the overt methods of settler violence or military intervention, these government institutions made Native peoples acknowledge and accept their status as subjects of the United States or Canada. Reservations and reserves pulled Native peoples away from the border to discourage intra-tribal mingling. Subjecting border-crossing Native peoples to local laws reminded these "trespassers" that they were in a completely different legal jurisdiction. As historian Benjamin Hoy notes, government officials could strongly encourage and entice Native peoples to stay on the reservation and cease crossing the border, or they could curtail their movement at the border itself.[2] These tactics manifested in a number of ways, but all expressed one additional, underlying motivation: to make bands of the severed Native nations recognize that they were now "American" or "Canadian" Indians and accept the border's demarcation of these assigned identities.

Indian Reserves and Reservations Control the Border

Indian reservations and reserves, the government agents who administered them, and the settler populations surrounding them in effect served as devices of border enforcement. From the 1870s to the 1910s, settler populations and economic activities boomed. Such developments required more and more land from the Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa peoples and their Native neighbors. In the United States, the federal government dismantled some reservations and pulled Native peoples away from the border. As this was done, settlers filled in the space in between the reservations and the international boundary. In British Columbia, the agonizingly uncertain

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[1] Jeffrey P. Shepherd, "Race, Blood, and Belonging: Transnational Blackfoot Bands and Families along the US-Canada Border, 1855-1915," in Katrina Jagodinsky and Pablo Mitchell, eds., *Beyond the Borders of the Law: Critical Legal Histories of the North American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2018); Gerald Reid, "Illegal Alien? The Immigration Case of Mohawk Ironworker Paul K. Diabo," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 151, no. 1 (March 2007): 61-78; Benjamin Hoy, "A Border without Guards: First Nations and the Enforcement of National Space," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, Vol. 25, no. 2, (2014): 89-115.
[2] Ibid.

status of Indian reserves had the effect of tying some Native families to a piece of ground and pushing others across the border where lands seemed to be more secure. Settlers and their government representatives made sure that lands with questionable status defaulted to settler availability. The shrinking of reservations and reserves and the consolidation of off-reservation or borderland Native peoples onto these enclaves made difficult their independent cross-border existence. Settler land purchases and pre-emptions, towns, counties, agricultural and mining operations, and other exclusive public and private lands hemmed in Native peoples and served as a human and institutional buffer between the border and the severed bands.

In the 1870s, the sustained settlement of non-Native people in the interior Pacific Northwest created a need to determine which lands would be reserved for Native peoples. This settlement pressure drove the movement to establish Indian reservations in north central Washington Territory. Colonies of miners and farmers grew around Fort Colville along the Columbia River and at Osoyoos on the Okanogan.[3] To ensure that their mining and agricultural property would be protected from Native peoples such as the Sinixt and Skoyelpi, settlers and the Colville Indian agent demanded that the federal government establish a reservation for the region's roughly 3,300 "non-treaty" Native peoples.[4] Colville agent William Winans and the Washington Territory Indian Superintendent delivered a request to President Ulysses Grant for the creation of a reservation for the "scattered bands" near the Columbia River.[5] In April 1872, Grant established a reservation in northeastern Washington Territory bound in the west by the

[3] Patrick Graham, ed., *Colville Collection, Book Two: Military Fort Colville, 1859-1882* (Colville, WA: Colville Statesman-Examiner, 2006), 29-30; Philip Holmes, "Early History of Northern Okanogan County," (MA Thesis, Whitworth College, 1953), 56-59.
[4] Washington Superintendent of Indian Affairs T. J. McKenny report, 1 October 1871, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1871* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), 278 (hereafter, *ARCIA*).
[5] William Winans to Washington Superintendent of Indian Affairs General T. J. McKenny, 1 September 1871, *ARCIA 1871* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), 295.

Columbia River.[6] Settlers immediately protested the location, claiming that this included their farms and towns in the Colville Valley. Winans suggested instead a reservation situated between the Columbia and Okanogan Rivers and bound in the north by the forty-ninth parallel.[7] Three months later, in June, Grant signed an executive order that removed the "East" reservation and created what became the Colville Indian Reservation to the west. This reservation included the Okanagan and Sinixt peoples and any "other Indians as the Department of the Interior may see fit to locate thereon."[8] The Colville agent and the citizens of what became Stevens County now had a better sense of where to contain their Native peoples.

Mining and ranching enterprises farther west prompted the creation of the Columbia Reservation. Near the Okanogan and Similkameen Rivers, settler Hiram Smith had success in mining and ranching that prompted further mining speculation in the area by 1871.[9] Interest in mining rose and fell through the 1870s and 1880s, but the farming and ranching operations that supported this enterprise had a more permanent presence in the area. [10] The status of the Okanagan and other Native peoples west of the Okanogan River, along with the Columbia-Sinkiuse Salish under Chief Moses, was unclear to the federal government during this period.[11] By 1879, civilian and military officials brought Okanagan chief Tonasket and Chief Moses to

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[6] F. A. Walker, Commissioner to The Secretary of the Interior, 8, April 1872, "Colville Reservation," Department of the Interior, *Executive Orders Relating to Indian Reservations, From May 14, 1855 to July 1, 1912* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), 194; B. R. Cowen to The President, 9 April 1872, *Executive Orders*, 194-195, U. S. Grant, 9 April, 1872, *Executive Orders,* 195.
[7] Richard Steele, ed., *An Illustrated History of Stevens, Ferry, Okanogan, and Chelan Counties, State of Washington* (Spokane, WA: Western Historical Publishing Company, 1904), 86-87; W. P. Winans to Gen. T. J. McKenny, 27 May 1872, Box 4, Cage 147, William Park Winans Papers, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman, WA.
[8] U. S. Grant, 2 July, 1872, *Executive Orders*, 195.
[9] Ann Briley, "Hiram F. Smith, First Settler of Okanogan County," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 43, no. 3 (July 1952): 226-233.
[10] Holmes, "Early History of Northern Okanogan County," 58-61.
[11] E. Richard Hart, *Lost Homeland: The Methow Tribe and the Columbia Reservation* (Winthrop, WA: Shafer Historical Museum, 2017), 77-122; Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *Half-Sun on the Columbia: A Biography of Chief Moses* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 64-167.

Washington, D.C. to negotiate a deal for establishing a reservation for these non-treaty Native groups. Negotiations resulted in an executive order creating the Columbia Reservation in April 1879 with the reservation's northern border set at the forty-ninth parallel and its eastern border on the west bank of the Okanogan.[12] White residents in the vicinity of the Okanogan River were furious with this act. Miners and their associates feared losing access to their mining claims in between the Okanogan and the Similkameen Rivers. From 1879 to 1883, local settlers and even the governor of Washington Territory pushed for returning the reservation's northern portion to the public domain. By 1883, President Chester Arthur signed an executive order that removed from the Columbia Reservation a fifteen mile strip of land from the boundary with Canada, south.[13] Settlers and miners regained their freedom to move onto this area known as the "Similkameen Mining District."

The removal of the "15 Mile Strip" initiated the complete breakup of the Columbia Reservation that drove the remaining Okanagan families to the Colville Reservation, with implications for border enforcement. On its face, it was Americans seeking access to mining sites that propelled the strip's return to the public domain. However, it is telling that this act occurred during a period in which government officials and settlers were increasingly concerned with Okanagan and Interior Salish connections to Okanagan people across the border in Canada.[14] Removal of the northern portion suggests that federal officials hoped to create a buffer from the permeable border with Canada and to discourage Okanagan people from traveling north across the line. Miners and settlers filled up the area in between the reservation and the boundary. Chief Sarsopkin's Okanagan band who remained in this section found themselves surrounded.[15] In

[12] Hart, *Lost Homeland*, 106-108.
[13] Ibid, 123-142.
[14] See Chapter 2 of this dissertation.
[15] Hart, *Lost Homelands*, 144-154.

1884, Sarsopkin secured homesteads, or allotments, for Okanagan families on the removed northern portion of the reservation.[16] An additional order in 1886 dismantled the entire Columbia Reservation but allowed individual families to claim allotments on former reservation land.[17] As more mining, ranching, farming, and other operations emerged west of the Okanogan River, more non-Native people bought property and settled the area. Increasing settlement made it difficult for Sarsopkin's people to stay on their homesteads. By the end of the decade, most had moved to the northwestern portion of the Colville Reservation.[18] At this point, there were almost no official Okanagan lands west of the Okanogan River up to the border with Canada.

Settlers and government agents applied the practice of opening Okanagan lands at Columbia to the Colville Reservation with similar implications for settlement and border control. From the late 1880s to the early 1890s, non-Native settlements and towns grew on the eastern and western edges of the Colville Reservation. Speculators believed that reservation lands potentially held significant mineral wealth and, along with local settlers, they called for the reservation's opening to prospectors and mining companies.[19] Newspapers concluded that the northern Colville Reservation was "indeed a rich country to be inhabited by less than a thousand Indians, half of whom come from British Columbia."[20] Calls to open up the mineral-rich

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[16] "NO TITLE," 9 August 1883, *Vancouver Independent*, 4; "Chief Moses," *Report of the Secretary of the Interior Vol. 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), xxvi.
[17] Hart, *Lost Homelands*, 185-186.
[18] Bruce A. Wilson, *Late Frontier: A History of Okanogan County, Washington 1800-1941* (Okanogan, WA: Okanogan County Historical Society, 1990), 76-77, 99-101, 123-124; Geo. H. Newman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 22 August 1896, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1896, Volume II* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 311-312. One other example is Albert M. Anderson to John F. O'Neill to 15 November 1898, 'Letterbook: Miscellaneous No. 3,' Box 4, Letters Sent, Miscellaneous June 1884–July 1925 Volumes 12-15, Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter, NARA), Seattle, WA.
[19] "Legislative Proceedings," *Washington Standard*, 13 January 1888, 2; "NO TITLE," *Idaho Semi-Weekly World*, 27 January 1888, 2; "NO TITLE," *Pullman Herald*, 17 November 1888, 2; "Territorial Items," *Washington Standard*, 22 February 1889, 1; "To Open the Colville Reservation," *Lewiston Teller*, 2 January 1890, 2; "West From Colville," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 7 May 1890, 9; "Railroads at Spokane Falls," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 1 January 1891, 10.
[20] "The Moses Reservation," 1 January 1891, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 22.

reservation coincided with Congress' justification for severing the north half. The Congressional Indian Affairs Committee sought to regulate Native movements better in the border zone, arguing:

> Sixty miles of the reservation being on the international boundary, the Government does not have that security there which it ought to have, the consequences of which are seen in the constant passing over the line from British Columbia and the north of Indians that have no right on the reservation, the illicit sale of whiskey, and a state of constant trouble and disorder which constitute a menace to the peace and progress of the State of Washington as well as a danger to the entire country.[21]

Pulling the reservation's northern boundary thirty-five miles south, away from the border, would also presumably pull Colville Reservation-affiliated bands away from the border as well. In addition, the committee reasoned that "The concentration of the Indians on a diminished reservation, that would be surrounded by civilized communities…while giving the government more complete control" would "bring to bear more immediately and effectively the influences of education and civilization upon the Indians."[22] To this end, three federal commissioners went to Colville to discuss with tribal leaders the possibility of opening the reservation's north half to non-Native settlement.[23]

The agreement to cede the north half would put the Okanagan and Sinixt bands in a precarious position. In May 1891, Antoine of the Okanagan band, along with other tribal representatives, met with the commissioners. Chief Aropaghan of the Sinixt band and Barnaby of the Skoyelpi negotiated with the commission a few days later. According to the commissioners,

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[21] Mr. Wilson, "Agreement with Indians on Colville Reservation," *The Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Fifty-Second Congress 1891-1892* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 2-3.
[22] Ibid, 3-4.
[23] "A communication from the Secretary of the Interior, submitting an agreement with the Indians of the Colville Reservation for the cession of a part of their lands," *The Executive Documents of the Senate of the United States for the First Session of the Fifty-Second Congress 1891-1892* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 1-3, 8.

the Colville Tribes would receive $1.5 million in expected land sales and the Okanagan and Sinixt could claim allotments within the ceded northern section.[24] Under difficult circumstances, in which even Chief Moses believed it was inevitable and futile to resist, Okanagan and Sinixt leaders and others signed the commission's land cession agreement.[25] Soon after, land surveyors arrived at the ceded "North Half," as Colvilles called it, and began to lay out and assign allotments to Native families and individuals. Between 1892 and 1896, surveyors identified 51,652 acres that would be assigned 660 Colville Indian allottees of the North Half.[26] Sinixt and Okanagan families took lands along rivers and creeks, but their allotments were not particularly concentrated. This was a period of insecurity. Native families complained of and physically resisted the encroachments of non-Native squatters and claim jumpers.[27] A trickle of illegitimate interlopers grew to a flood of emboldened settlers and miners by 1898. Soon, settlers founded the

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[24] Ibid, 4-5, 7-8.

[25] Ibid, 15-20; Ruby and Brown, *Half-Sun on the Columbia*, 289. The land cession contract was submitted to Congress, but congressional debates questioned the Colville Reservation tribes' standing in negotiations with the federal government, which derailed ratification and compromised payment to the tribes. "Colville Commission," *Report of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), xlv-xlvi; "Indians on Colville Reservation," *Congressional Record Containing the Proceedings and Debates of the Fifty-Second Congress, First Session, Vol. XXIII* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 3840.

[26] "Clair Hunt's homesteaders map of the entire north half of the Colville Indian Reservation," (Bossburg, WA: Clair Hunt, 1900), *Early Washington Maps*, MASC, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman, WA; Jessie A. Bloodworth, *Human Resources Survey of the Colville Confederated Tribes: A Field Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Portland Area Office, Colville Agency* (Portland, OR: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1959), 44. In 1912, Colville agent John Webster mentioned the relationship between North Half allotments and citizenship. He reported, "The Indians around Oroville are of several classes. Most of those on the North Half are citizens, having been allotted prior to the Burke Act. Some, however, were not formally allotted until after the Burke Act. Then the place is frequented also by Indians from the South Half, and by others from British Columbia." John Webster to D. L. Crowder, 10 June 1912, M-5 "Liquor Traffic" 1912, Box 127A, Colville, General Subject "M" Files FY 1912 1-8, Records of the Colville Indian Agency 1865-1964, Bureau of Indian Affairs Records, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Seattle, WA.

[27] Albert Anderson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 22 December 1897, Letters Received, 1881-1907, 54864, 1897, Box 1491, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.; Bloodworth, *Human Resources Survey*, 44-47; Hal. J. Cole to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 26 August 1892, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1892* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 488; Hal J. Cole to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 31 July 1893, *ARCIA 1893* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1893), 322; Jno. W. Bubb to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 16 August, 1895, *ARCIA 1895*(Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 314; Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove: A Salishan Autobiography*, ed. Jay Miller (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 184-185.

towns of Republic and Chesaw and mining claims and homesteads began to surround the Sinixt and Okanagan allotments of the former North Half.

"Peopling" the spaces in between the reservation south half, the off-reservation allotments, and the Canada-US border with settlers created a physical and psychological barrier to Sinixt and Okanagan movements.[28] By no means did settlers filling in the map create some new official, legal bind preventing Native peoples from moving about the landscape beyond the forty-ninth parallel. Nor did it automatically force Native peoples to relocate to the diminished Colville Reservation to the south. The remaining allotments, however tenuous, proved this. But the gulf created between them and the border was effectively filled in with non-Natives, discouraging Okanagan and Sinixt bands and families from moving farther north. In this sense, moving reservation lands south and leaving them with only these allotments would de-incentivize Okanagan and Sinixt peoples from moving around, north of the border, and would expedite the processes of acculturation and detribalization. To US officials, associating with "the wilds of British Columbia" hindered "their" Indians' transition from being Okanagan or Sinixt to becoming American.[29]

In British Columbia, a similar pattern of establishing reserves and facilitating non-Native settlement in the Okanagan and Similkameen Valleys isolated Okanagan peoples onto diminished homelands. In the colony of British Columbia, the Commissioner of Lands and Works coordinated the Indian reserve system. In the 1860s, Assistant Commissioner William

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[28] Historian Sheila McManus uses the term "peopling" in the context of Canada and the United States seeking to use settlement of white men and women up to the Canada-United States border at Alberta and Montana as a means of making this space more Canadian or American. Sheila McManus, *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender, and the Making of the Alberta-Montana Borderlands* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), xvi-xvii, xx. The Blackfeet Nation in Montana is the only other tribal group in the United States whose northern border is also the forty-ninth parallel.
[29] Wilson, "Agreement with Indians on Colville Reservation," 3.

Cox based the reserve system on Governor James Douglas' liberal policy of assigning lands to indigenous peoples upon which they would transition to a sedentary, agricultural existence.[30] Cox laid out relatively large reserves in the interior, compared to those of the coast, for Okanagan bands near Okanagan Lake.[31] Joseph Trutch became Lands and Works Commissioner and his reserve policy diverged from Douglas'. Trutch believed that indigenous people never held title to the land, they were simply residents. Thus, no aboriginal title needed to be transferred to the British.[32] At this same time, the colonial government tasked Okanagan Valley rancher John Haynes with reviewing Cox's reserves. Haynes reduced the size of the Okanagan reserves at Head-of-the-Lake and Penticton, which opened up more lands for settlers.[33] Settlers launching ranching operations acquired large swaths of land through a process called preemption. With preemption, settlers submitted land claims that the Victoria government frequently granted. Okanagan people grew increasingly frustrated as more lands fell into the hands of ranchers at the expense of reduced reserves in the Okanagan and Similkameen Valleys.[34]

British Columbia's confederation with Canada in 1872 initiated a new round of reserve assignments in the Okanagan region. The federal government handled Indian Affairs but British Columbia remained in charge of provincial lands. To address this discrepancy, federal and provincial officials formed a joint commission in charge of assigning more reserves to Native

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[30] Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 37-42.
[31] Duane Thomson, "Opportunity Lost: A History of Okanagan Indian Reserves in the Colonial Period," *Okanagan Historical Society Report,* no. 42 (1978): 43-49.
[32] Ibid, 86-90.
[33] Ibid, 56-58.
[34] Paul M. Koroscil, *The British Garden of Eden: Settlement History of the Okanagan Valley, British Columbia* (Burnaby, BC: Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, 2003), 29-31, 32-34, 36-50; Harris, *Making Native Space*, 56-58. Duncan Duane Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan: Indians and Whites in the Settlement Era, 1860-1920," (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1985): 118-120.

peoples in anticipation of an increase in settler population. The Joint Dominion Provincial Reserve Commission, designated in 1875, finally made its way to the interior in 1877.[35] The commission moved south through the Okanagan Valley from Head-of-the-Lake down to Penticton and eventually to Osoyoos Lake to meet with Okanagan bands and negotiate reserves. In some cases, they were responsive to band needs. At Head-of-the-Lake, Okanagan leaders demanded the restoration of the original Cox reserve and the commission acquiesced. In other cases, commissioners avoided turbulence with settlers and their preemptions and displaced bands to various reserves. Band leader Charles requested a reserve for his band along Okanagan Lake. Since ranchers owned land near there, the commissioners told Charles to take his people to Head-of-the-Lake or south to Penticton.[36] At Penticton, near Skaha and Okanagan Lake, the commissioners met with Chief Francois to map out a reserve for his people. After several weeks, they assigned Francois' band a reserve and access to a stock grazing commonage. The commonage abutted the lands of rancher Thomas Ellis, who actually made as much if not more use of the grazing commons than did the Penticton Okanagans.[37] At each step, settler interests influenced how and where the commission assigned reserves to bands in the Okanagan district.

At Osoyoos, adjacent to the international boundary, the commission's work involved an additional task: gatekeeping. While at Osoyoos, the commission had to contend with the band's proximity to the Canada-US border. It also had to deal with the fact that in the 1860s, Cox had designated a reserve for the Osoyoos band but did not record it on a map. Haynes assigned a

[35] Harris, *Making Native Space*, 98-103.
[36] Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan," 133-135; J. W. MacKay to I. W. Powell, 23 January 1885, GR-2982 BC Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, Royal British Columbia Museum Archives, Victoria, British Columbia (hereafter, RBCMA), Reel B16975; J. W. MacKay to I. W. Powell, 2 October 1884, GR-2982 BC Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, RBCMA, Reel B16975.
[37] Tracy St. Claire, "Economic Diversification on the Penticton Reserve: Pre-settlement to 1920" (MA Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1993), 36-40.

reserve to them in the early 1870s as well, but this reserve was disastrously small for the Osoyoos band and clearly beneficial to Haynes.[38] The commission set out to mark a larger reserve than Haynes had assigned. Agreeing to enlarge the reserve contented Gregoire, the band's leader. In their conversations about the reserve and its location and size, Commissioner Gilbert Sproat sought to conflate in the band leadership's mind the reserve and the peoples' closeness to the border with Washington Territory. He said:

> Particular care was taken to impress upon the Chiefs the policy of abstaining from any active interference with matters as for outside the Boundary, when trouble has for some time existed between the Ind. and the U.S Authorities. It is needless to recapitulate all that was said on this subject. Suffice it to say that the subject was delicately handled, and that the efforts of the representation to elicit from the Chiefs renewed assurances of their loyalty and their good intentions.

The chief wanted clarity on the reserve's status and the commissioner wanted the chief's loyalty and, in the same breath, a promise not to cross the border.[39]

Haynes, who was also the chief customs officer at Osoyoos, schemed to undo much the commission's work and return Indian reserve land to settlers in the border region.[40] The IJC finished its work and left Osoyoos in October of 1877.[41] Haynes, however, continued to press the provincial and federal governments over the next two years about the size and location of the Osoyoos reserve. Haynes claimed the Reserve Commission unjustly took his and his associates' crown grant land along the river and gave these lands to the Okanagan Indians. By early 1879, the Dominion returned the vast majority of the Osoyoos reserve's land adjacent to the western

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[38] Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan," 135-136, 143-147.
[39] 16 November 1877, Records of Joint Reserve Commission, 'Letterbook, 1876-1878,' GR-0933, B1393.
[40] Dave McIntosh, *The Collectors: A History of Canadian Customs and Excise* (NC Press Limited, 1984), 322-328; Hester E. White, "John Carmichael Haynes: Pioneer of the Okanagan and Kootenay," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* Vol. 4, no. 3 (1940): 188-200.
[41] Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan," 135-136, 143-147.

boundary along the Okanagan River to the ranchers.[42] In this short amount of time, the band was intimidated into avoiding entanglement with United States Indian problems and suffered the collusion of the Haynes, the resistant provincial government, with the conciliatory federal government. The band's official territory, where its was guaranteed access to land and irrigation, shrank considerably while the best lands along the Okanagan Valley were opened up to settlers who crowded the small reserves near the river and lake.

Similarly, along the Similkameen River, settler preemptions encircled the Okanagan reserves near the international boundary. In 1878, Commissioner Sproat arrived in the lower Similkameen Valley to assign reserves to the Okanagan bands there. Sproat laid out a combination of absolute and temporary reserves, rendering these spaces off limits to settler preemption. However, ranchers went ahead and made preemption and water rights claims on lands reserved for Okanagan bands. The province prioritized these claims before finalizing the status of the reserves.[43] Commissioner Peter O'Reilly came in 1884 to secure the Similkameen reserves once and for all.[44] He marked several reserves, including the Shennosquaukin reserve that was bounded in the south by the international boundary. O'Reilly noticed that much of the agricultural quality of the valley's land was less than ideal, compared to the ranchers'

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[42] Gilbert Malcom Sproat, "Decision 16th and 21st Nov. 1877 Reviewed 26th Oct. 1878," "Osoyoos," British Columbia Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, GR-2982, RBCMA, Reel B16974; W. H. Lowe to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 8 January 1878, British Columbia Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, GR-2982, RBCMA, Reel B16974; J. C. Haynes to Gilbert M. Sproat, 12 April 1879, British Columbia Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, GR-2982, RBCMA, Reel B16974; Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan," 146-147.

[43] Harris, *Making Native Space*, 144-145, 212; J. W. Mackay to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 16 August 1887, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1887* (Ottawa, ON: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1888), 120-121.

[44] Agent J. W. Mackay indicated Similkameen Okanagans' fears over the status of their lands in 1885, reporting "The Similkameen Indians are in a great state of uncertainty respecting their reserves. According to a tracing which I received from my predecessor, nine reserves, each of small extent, were allotted to these Indians. I find that they have now eighteen small settlements. There is not much good land in the lower portion of the Similkameen valley." J. W. Mackay to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 22 August 1885, *Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1885* (hereafter, *ARDIA*) (Ottawa, ON: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1886), 93.

preemption lands around them. He feared it was "now impossible to make a more desirable reservation for them, all the land in the valley having been taken possession of by pre-emption, or purchase."[45] The already small reserves that could only support Native livestock grazing were quickly crowded out. When ranchers' animals began grazing on reserve lands, the Indian agent suggested Okanagan bands fence off their reserves to separate their property and claims from that of the white ranchers. Fencing could also contain to these small enclaves much of the Similkameen Okanagans' economic activity.[46]

A steady influx of settlers followed the large landholders in British Columbia's Okanagan Valley that effectively confined Native activity to Indian reserves. The non-Native population of the "Okanagan/Boundary" region of southcentral British Columbia grew from 817 in 1881 to 3,390 in 1891, 12,085 in 1901, and 28,066 in 1911. Populations of the principal towns, including Vernon, Penticton, Summerland, Kelowna, Keremeos, and Princeton, grew into the hundreds by 1911 and the thousands by 1921.[47] As these populations grew, so too did the agricultural and mining industries that supported them. Settlers bought up land for speculation, orchards, mining, timber extraction, and ranching, all of which required additional resources, including water. These land and resource enterprises surrounded the Osoyoos, Similkameen, Penticton, West Bank, and Head-of-the-Lake reserves.[48] In effect, these reserves served as exclusive home bases where many Okanagan people endeavored to make farming and livestock raising work. In the process, bands would be more tethered to these precious last vestiges of their un-ceded territory.

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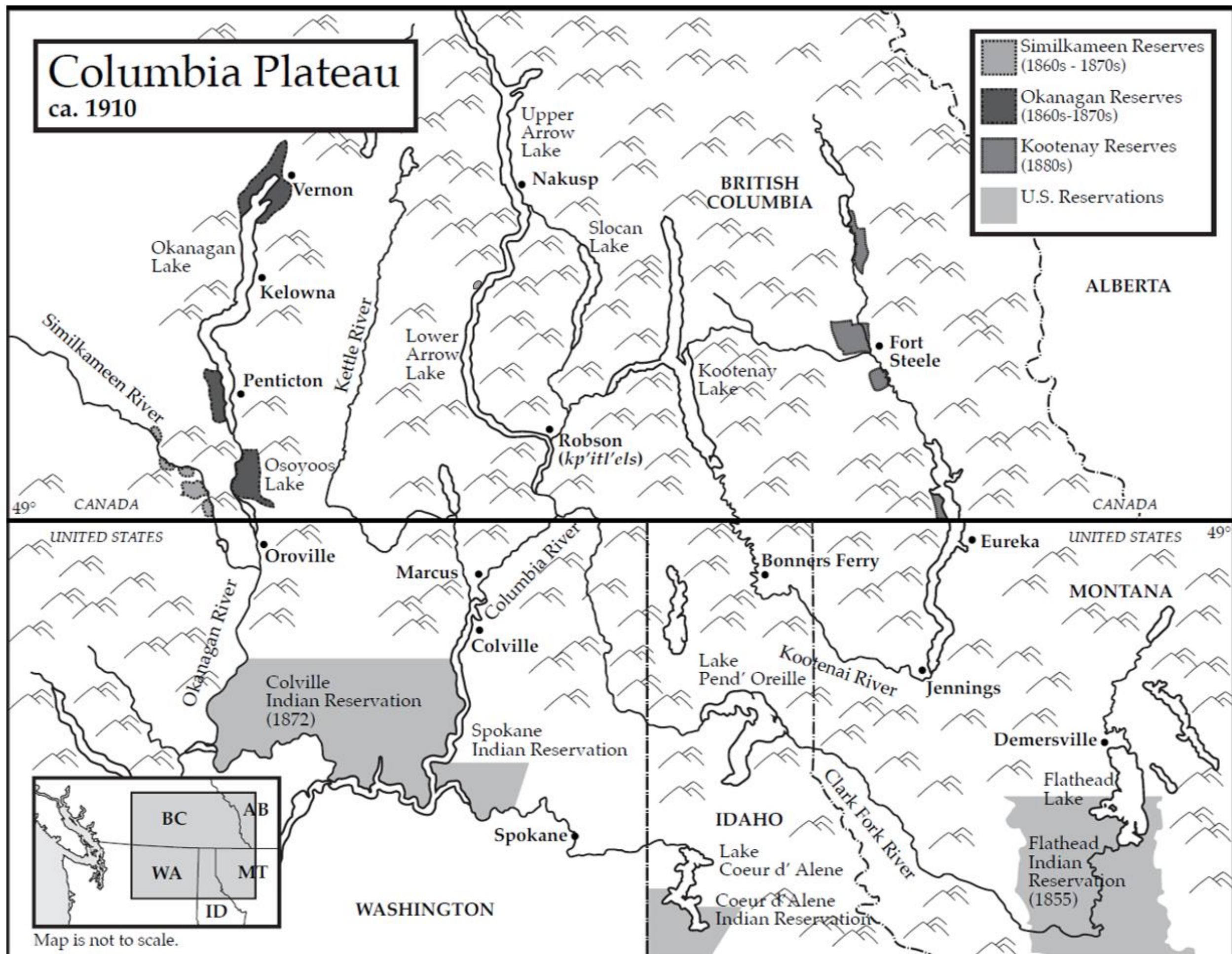
[45] Quoted in Harris, *Making Native Space*, 213.
[46] J. W. Mackay, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 24 August 1893, *ARDIA 1893* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1894), 232.
[47] Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia*, Revised Edition (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 387.
[48] For more on these non-Native economic developments and settlement patterns, see Koroscil, *The British Garden of Eden*; David Mitchell and Dennis Duffy, eds., "Bright Sunshine and a Brand New Country: Recollections of the Okanagan Valley 1890-1914," *Sound Heritage*, volume 8, no. 3 (1979): iii-79.



Patrick Lozar, "'My Home Is on Both Sides'": Indigenous Communities and the US-Canadian Border on the Columbia Plateau, 1880s–1910s," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 65, no. 3 (2018), 394.

This tethering served as an implicit method of controlling Native movements. For bands near the forty-ninth parallel, they were increasingly oriented towards their reserve and British Columbia and away from their mobile existence that could and did extend beyond the international boundary.

The Flathead Indian Reservation similarly played a key role in pulling Ktunaxa bands and families apart at the forty-ninth parallel. The Ktunaxa reserves established in British Columbia in the 1880s complemented the Flathead Reservation's draw. The process of separating the Ktunaxa onto reserves or the reservation occurred in two areas, between the Tobacco Plains and Flathead Lake, and along the lower Kootenay River at Bonners Ferry and

Kootenay Lake. By the early 1890s, the Ktunaxa of the Flathead Valley north of Flathead Lake made their way to either British Columbia or to the Flathead Reservation. By the mid-1890s, only a few Ktunaxa families remained at Bonners Ferry while the rest of their band had relocated to the reservation or north across the border. Tension from non-Native settlement in the areas between reserves or reservations, along with motivated Indian agents, displaced Ktunaxa people from these liminal borderland spaces.

The Ktunaxa families and individuals who trafficked between the Flathead Reservation and the Tobacco Plains had long seen this area as one territory. In the early 1880s, Ktunaxa people from near the forty-ninth parallel supplemented their traditional diets by venturing down to the Flathead agency to access rations and annuities guaranteed to the Flathead tribes by the Hellgate Treaty.[49] This practice frustrated British Columbia government officials. A surveyor tasked with gathering data on the Ktunaxa people counted "800 total" but grumbled that 150 of them were "migratory, receiving their share of the annuities paid by the United States Government…and claiming to be British Indians when they wander north of the boundary line."[50] When they could, they based their eligibility for treaty guarantees on their being Ktunaxa people. The more rooted reservation Ktunaxa under Chief Eneas saw themselves as connected to those coming down from the north and even hoped to facilitate those connections better. In 1882, Flathead tribal leaders met with federal representatives about constructing a railroad through the Flathead Reservation.[51] Eneas used this meeting as an opportunity to see about extending the

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[49] Charles J. Kappler, ed., "Treaty with the Flatheads, Etc., 1855," *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II (Treaties)* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 722-725.
[50] A. S. Farwell to Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 31 December 1883, *Sessional Papers*, *Second Session, Fourth Parliament of the Province of British Columbia, Session 1883-1884* (Victoria, BC: Richard Wolfenden, 1884), 325.
[51] *Report in Relation to an Agreement Made Between Joseph Kay McCammon Assistant Attorney General, on Behalf of the United States, and the Confederated Tribes of the Flathead, Kootenay, and Upper Pend d'Oreilles Indians for*

reservation's northern boundary up to the Canada-US border. When asked about the railroad proposal, Eneas advanced his Ktunaxa agenda:

> I am the chief and this is my country. I am not joking in telling you I would like to get the Flathead Lake country back…We had a big country, and under those conditions we signed the treaty. Seven years after that we learned that the line of the reservation ran across the middle of Flathead Lake. We didn't know that when we signed the treaty. That is the reason we want that country back.[52]

The commissioner, Joseph McCannon, listened to Eneas' request and informed the Ktunaxa chief that he would pass it along to the Secretary of the Interior. With this promise, Eneas and the other Flathead chiefs consented to the railroad's construction on the reservation.[53] McCammon did indeed mention in his report the desire of the Flathead Reservation Ktunaxa "to have their lands extended from the present northern line up to the international line between the United States and the Dominion of Canada."[54] Unfortunately for the Ktunaxa, the executive branch did not include such a land restoration provision in the railroad agreement that the President sent to Congress to ratify.[55] The Flathead Valley would remain open for non-Native settlement through the 1880s.

In the 1880s and 1890s, the establishment of reserves in British Columbia, Indian agent coercion, and the non-Native settlement of Ktunaxa territory pulled Ktunaxa bands towards Flathead or to reserves in the Kootenay River valley. In British Columbia, Ktunaxa bands eagerly awaited the arrival of the reserve commissioners to mark out lands for their exclusive use. Smaller non-Native settlements and large landholdings of settlers such as Colonel James

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the Sale of a Portion of their Reservation in Montana for the Use of the Northern Pacific Railroad (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883.

[52] Ibid, 9-10.

[53] Peter Ronan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 4 September 1882, *ARCIA 1882* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1882), 103.

[54] Ibid, 7.

[55] Hiram Price to Secretary of the Interior, 10 October 1882, *ARCIA 1883* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), xix-xx.

Baker seemed to anticipate further settlement in the area. By 1880, the Indian reserve commission devolved into a one-man operation. The lone commissioner, Peter O'Reilly, hoped to get out ahead of further settlement in the Kootenay District and to assign reserves to the Ktunaxa people.[56] Upon arrival in 1884, he assessed that the Ktunaxa controlled far more territory than such a small population of Native peoples could need.[57] He hoped to concentrate Ktunaxa bands onto much smaller reserves, arguing that "in the interest of both whites, and Indians" it was best to provide isolated "land in blocks where the Indians can reside permanently, and not be brought into conflict with the whites."[58]

In his meeting with Chiefs David and Isadore, O'Reilly paid little attention to the Ktunaxa peoples' wishes for their reserves. The Ktunaxa leaders made claims to much of the Kootenay region, down to the Tobacco Plains. O'Reilly found these demands unreasonable. He relayed:

> I had the utmost difficulty in persuading the Kootenays to agree to the boundaries fixed on by me, and which they look upon as meagre in the extreme, compared with the millions of acres set apart by the United States Government for American Indians, a few miles South of the line. Moreover I think it important for provincial, and International reasons, that Indians living on the frontier should have no reasonable ground of complaint.[59]

The Ktunaxa bands in British Columbia recognized how expansive a reserve could be, based on the Flathead Reservation example, but O'Reilly would not entertain establishing something like that the Kootenay district. In at least one meeting with a Ktunaxa band, O'Reilly simply up and left the council in exasperation. He then drew up the Minutes of Reserve with no input from

[56] Peter O'Reilly to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 16 December 1884, Indian Reserve Commission, Special Appendix to Superintendent General's Report, *ARDIA 1884* (Ottawa, ON: MacLean, Roger & Co., Wellington Street, 1885), lxxiii-lxxvi.
[57] Peter O'Reilly to Commissioner of Lands and Works, 10 December 1884, British Columbia Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, GR-2982, RBCMA, Reel B16975.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

Ktunaxa people and departed from the Kootenay District. These Ktunaxa bands protested the handling of their reserves. By 1887, O'Reilly returned with Superintendent Israel Powell to settle the lingering issues with the commissioner's hastily laid out reserves.

The reserve at Tobacco Plains, situated directly on the international boundary, served as the Flathead Reservation's counterpart in displacing the Ktunaxa from the Flathead Valley. To encourage the Ktunaxa near the line to remain on the reserve, the superintendent Powell assigned Michael Phillipps to the Kootenay Agency in 1887. Phillipps, a longtime resident of Tobacco Plains, was married to Chief David's daughter.[60] As agent, Phillipps needed these transient Ktunaxa to establish themselves on the reserve and cease crossing into US territory.[61] At one point in 1887, Phillipps confronted the Ktunaxa on the boundary line. Phillipps wrote:

> [I] held a consultation with the Indians on Tobacco Plains, on the American side of the Boundary line, with a view of getting them to decide which of them in future would remain on the American side of the line and which go North on the British reservation. In other words he wishes them to state definitely whether they desire to be considered as British or United States Indians.[62]

Most did not give an immediate answer. However, one extended family group did reach out to Phillipps about moving permanently to the reserve. Chief Edward, who camped a few miles south of the boundary line, became fed up with settlers claiming his land. He found no recourse with the Montana authorities. He and his people chose to avoid the settlers and move across to the Tobacco Plains reserve and become "Canadian Indian[s]."[63] As settlement increased farther

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[60] Naomi Miller, "Michael Phillipps: Prominent Kootenay Citizen," in *The Forgotten Side of the Border: British Columbia's Elk Valley and Crowsnest Pass*, by Wayne Norton and Naomi Miller, eds. (Kamloops, BC: Plateau Press, 1998), 30-33.

[61] I. W. Powell, 11 July 1887, File 22,673, Vol. 3719, Black Series, Canada Department of Indian Affairs, RG-10, Reel C-10126; L. Vankoughnet to I. W. Powell, 13 July 1887, File 22,673, Vol. 3719, Black Series, Canada Department of Indian Affairs, RG-10, Reel C-10126.

[62] Peter Ronan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 13 September 1887, no file number, Box 420, 1887, Letters Received, 1881-1907, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C..

[63] I. T. Wood to S. B. Steele, 16 July 1888, File 44356, Vol. 3790, Indian Affairs, Black Series, Record Group 10, Reel C10138; Michael Phillipps to L. Vaukoughnet, 22 March 1889, File 44356, Vol. 3790, Indian Affairs, Black Series, Record Group 10, Reel C10138; Michael Phillipps to L. Vaukoughnet, 10 April 1889, File 44356, Vol. 3790,

south, more Ktunaxa would have to choose to stay at Tobacco Plains or on the Flathead Reservation.

An intervention into Ktunaxa-settler tensions in the Flathead Valley effectively cleared the area of Ktunaxa by the mid-1890s. Well aware of the Ktunaxa people's exploitation of the liminal space between the reservation and the international boundary to the north, Flathead agent Peter Ronan, the US Army, and local settlers coordinated an effort to displace the Ktunaxa from the valley. These forces sought to separate "British Kootenais" from Chief Eneas' "American" Ktunaxa, who often camped together in the Flathead Valley north of the reservation.[64] A round of violence in 1888 and 1889 in which settlers murdered Ktunaxa men for vengeance or as a result of alcohol, compelled the Army and Agent Ronan to step in.[65] In one incident, two Ktunaxa men were hanged by vigilantes and four were hanged on the authority of the State of Montana.[66] Settlers blamed the troubles on Eneas for not controlling his people off the reservation and allowing them to carouse with the "British" Ktunaxa. Ronan agreed with this sentiment and urged Eneas to reorient his people south to a sedentary life on the reservation.[67] To ensure this, Ronan suggested to his superiors, "On account of the large number of settlers who are now crouding [*sic*] into the country at the head of the Lake, it is necessary to have a reliable man at the Kootenai village, on the border of the reserve."[68] Induced to stay on the reservation as the Flathead Valley filled with settlers, the Ktunaxa retreated from the area between the

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Indian Affairs, Black Series, Record Group 10, Reel C10138; F. Coccola to Department of Indian Affairs, 22 April 1889, File 44356, Vol. 3790, Indian Affairs, Black Series, Record Group 10, Reel C10138.

[64] Peter Ronan, *Justice to Be Accorded to the Indians: Agent Peter Ronan Reports on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana, 1888-1893*, ed. Robert Bigart (Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press, 2014), 107-110.

[65] Peter Ronan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 14 August 1890, *ARCIA, 1890* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), 125; Ronan, *Justice to Be Accorded to the Indians*, 74-79, 81-83, 127-128, 106-110, 143-145, 157-160

[66] "Under the Rope," 20 December 1890, *Anaconda Standard*, 1.

[67] Ibid, 110.

[68] Ibid, 170.

international boundary and the Flathead Reservation. Kootenay Agent Michael Phillipps in British Columbia noted the results of these efforts:

> The year 1890 was by no means a pleasant one, the uneasiness amongst the Indians south of the international boundary communicating itself to the young men amongst these Indians. Fortunately the prompt action of the United States civil authorities (aided by a force of volunteers and a small body of regular troops) in arresting…a large number of the Indians south of the boundary, and the execution of four of their number, had a very quieting effect on both sides of the line. Since that time there has been little to complain of in the behavior of the Indians on either side.[69]

In a related campaign, Agent Ronan strived to relocate the Ktunaxa from the lower Kootenay River onto the Flathead Reservation and away from the international boundary. Ronan was concerned with the Bonners Ferry band of Ktunaxa in northern Idaho. The band remained in the border region into the 1880s and received little attention from Flathead because of their distance from the agency and the confusion about their status as the responsibility of Canada or the United States.[70] When O'Reilly visited Chief St. Pierre's band on the British Columbia side in 1884, band leaders requested to situate its reserve along the Kootenay just north of the border. Even with a reserve, the band maintained its mobility.[71] A few years later, Agent Phillipps noted,

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[69] Michael Phillips to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 28 July 1891, *Sessional Papers, Volume 10, Second Session of the Seventh Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1892* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1892), 127.

[70] Representatives from the Ktunaxa band at Bonners Ferry were not present at the Hellgate Treaty council in 1855, but would come to be associated with this agreement between the Ktunaxa, Bitterroot Salish, Pend d'Oreilles, and the United States government. Paul Flynn, "Early Kootenai History," *Bonners Ferry Herald*, 16 February 1961, 7. For a time, the band was associated with the Colville Agency in Washington Territory. "Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, A draught of a bill to provide for the establishment of a reservation for the Indians of the Colville agency, in the Territory of Washington, and for the Coeur d'Alene Indians, of the Territory of Idaho, with additional papers," House of Representatives, Ex. Doc. No. 102, 1-2, 6-7. Box 4, William Park Winans Papers, MASC, Washington State University Library, Pullman, WA; Benjamin Moore to D.C. Atkins, 12 July 1886, File 19121, Box 322, Letters Received 1886, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.; Rickard Gwydir to J. W. C. Atkins, 11 February 1888, File 17333, Box 446, Letters Received 1888, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.; Rickard Gwydir to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 2 January 1889, File 19327, Box 497, Letters Received 1889, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.. Father L. Jacquet to Major R. Gwydir, 11 December 1888, File 19327, Box 497, Letters Received 1889, Record Group 75, NARA Washington, D.C. Jacquet related the band's supposition that "What they ask is reasonable enough and steps should be taken to procure them, especially as the Government has ignored these Indians until this year, believing that they belonged exclusively to Montana or to British Columbia, while they are distinct of both and live in Northern Idaho."

[71] P. O'Reilly to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 16 December 1884, "Special Index to Superintendent General's Report," *ARDIA 1884* (Ottawa, ON: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1885), lxxv.

"The reserve is about three miles from the international boundary. The Indians do not reside on it. They camp on the banks of the river as they move up and down…the same tribe of Indians residing on both sides of the boundary line."[72] By the end of the decade, more settlers arrived in the lower Kootenay area, making it difficult for Ktunaxa families to maintain their autonomy near the line.[73] As settlement increased on the US side, the federal government became more interested in removing "its" off-reservation Ktunaxa at Bonners Ferry to the Flathead Reservation. Moving the band closer to the reservation would also make it easier to monitor and would decrease potential Ktunaxa-settler conflict.

In 1889, Ronan met with band leaders to provide them with a choice to take homesteads in Bonners Ferry or move to Flathead.[74] In the meeting, Ronan tried to sell the removal option but realized the futility and the band's ultimate desire to stay.[75] However, it was at this same time that an increasingly assertive settler voice urged Ronan to move the band from the lower Kootenay Valley. North Idaho settlers argued that assigning homesteads to the Ktunaxa families would leave little quality land for the settlers.[76] For those Ktunaxa families that chose to stay, surveyors marked out homestead allotments from 1890 to 1891. However, the Interior Department failed to approve these allotments and the Bonners Ferry Ktunaxa suffered competing, illegitimate claims by incoming settlers.[77] This precipitated threats and vandalism

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[72] Michael Phillipps to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, July 30, 1889, *ARDIA 1889* (Ottawa, ON: Brown Chamberlain, 1890), 111.
[73] Garnet Basque, *West Kootenay: The Pioneer Years* (Surrey, BC: Heritage House Publishing Co. Ltd., 1990), 14-16; Jim Lyons, et. al., *History of Boundary County Idaho, Vol. 1* (Bonners Ferry, ID: Boundary County Historical Society, 1987), 40-42.
[74] Peter Ronan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 6 August 1889, File 22436, Box 544, Letters Received 1889, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.
[75] Ibid.
[76] J. I. Anthony and others to Major Peter Ronan, 24 July 1889, File 22436, Box 544, Letters Received 1889, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.
[77] Peter Ronan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 16 October 1889, File 29817, Box 563, Letters Received 1889, Record Group 75, BIA, NARA; Joseph G. Straughan to Peter Ronan, 14 Oct. 1889, File 29817, Box 563, Letters Received 1889, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.

between Ktunaxa landholders and settlers that produced a general discontent.[78] The conflict devolved to the point that Chief Isaac sent a delegation in 1891 to the Flathead Reservation to meet with Chief Eneas to speak about the possibility of joining their Ktunaxa kin there. Ronan capitalized on this interest, noting it "was hopeless for them to retain said lands as they were already run over by white settlers, or land grabbers, who in some cases located on Indian claims by force of Arms."[79] Ronan made plans to meet again with the aggrieved Ktunaxa leaders.

The prospect of imminent removal sparked a crisis within the Bonners Ferry Ktunaxa band that forced them to choose between staying among the settlers, removing to Flathead, or relocating more permanently to Canada. Ronan met with the band multiple times to argue for the wisdom of moving to the reservation.[80] In a meeting in 1891, Ronan found band leaders grappling with the options. Headmen David and Isaac were of the party agreeing to go to Flathead, but sub-chief Moise would not consent. Ronan reported:

> Moiese object[ed] to the removal, stating that he belonged to the British Kootenais, and if pressed to move would go with his followers across the British line which was only some thirty miles distant from his camp. To this I replied and sent word to the Chief that I was glad of this information; that Moise and other British Indians would be at perfect liberty to depart from American soil, and take their belongings across the British line, while the American Indians would follow me to the reservation in Montana. I also sent word to Moise that British Indians could not acquire title to land on the American side of the boundary, and if he desired to separate from the band of Kootenais on the plea of belonging to the British portion of the tribe, that he must vacate the land…and take up their homes on British soil, as I did not believe they could acquire title unless they became citizens of the United States.[81]

Moise agreed to the terms, and Ronan was pleased to report this agreement to the Indian Office. He saw this action as a way to reinforce the border in the Ktunaxa people's minds, that it had

[78] Ronan, *Justice to Be Accorded to the Indians*, 192-193, 220-223.
[79] Ibid, 220.
[80] Ibid, 258-260.
[81] Ibid, 269.

“the desired effect of taking all of the Indians from that locality and locating them where they properly belong – the American Indians upon a reservation, and the British Indians on British soil.”[82] Families from Isaac and David’s contingent soon made the trek to Flathead, leaving one less Ktunaxa contingent inhabiting the border zone.

Chief Moise’s Ktunaxa crossed the boundary in 1892 to formally become “British Indians” but found the situation in British Columbia just as disagreeable as in Idaho and soon returned to Bonners Ferry for the last time. Moise and his people entered a thorny situation in British Columbia. Their Ktunaxa kin up the Kootenay River were dealing with companies attempting to reclaim the river and Kootenay Lake for irrigation. These reclamation operations threatened Ktunaxa gardens near the reserve. British Columbia government officials complained of the Ktunaxa people threatening the workers at the reclamation site, and they and their representatives in the Canadian Privy Council insisted that these “Indians are troublesome and their numbers are frequently augmented by visits from their friends from the United States; also that they are not kept upon their reserves.”[83] Moise’s band quickly realized that being a “British” Ktunaxa still entailed a settler and federal belief that the Indians should not cross the border and that they should stay on their reserves, even if it meant losing access to their food sources. Within a few months, several of the families that moved across the line with Moise returned to the Bonners Ferry area to take up allotments with the few families that had stayed on their farms

[82] Ibid, 270.
[83] Michael Phillipps to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 1 July 1893, *ARDIA 1893* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1894), 126; Privy Council Clerk John J. McGee to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 22 April 1893, File 28013-2, Vol. 3738, Black Series, Canada Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Reel C-10129; N. Fitzstubbs to A. W. Vowell, 8 September 1892, File 51-1/1, Correspondence [after 29 Jan 1881] -1900, MS 24 FSHT Collection BC Attorney General, Fort Steele Heritage Town, Fort Steele, BC.

in northern Idaho. By relocating and taking allotments, they dispensed with their British affiliation and became "American Indians" once more.[84]

Settlers and the Flathead Indian Reservation pushed and pulled Ktunaxa bands and families away from an existence on the border, demanding that the Bonners Ferry band choose their residency and their "nationality." The rapid and at times violent settling of the lower Kootenay Valley created a minefield around Ktunaxa mobility that made moving to the reservation an appealing option. Flathead was one hundred miles away and far from the boundary of US territory.[85] Not all moved to the reservation, but all of the Bonners Ferry Ktunaxa found themselves in a situation in which they had to make a choice to become British subjects or American Indian wards. Making this decision effectively rendered the border a real entity with material consequences.

In the Columbia River valley, Canadian government ambivalence about securing a land base for the Sinixt inadvertently served as a push factor that drove these bands south across the border. Through the 1890s, the Sinixt bands that stayed for longer periods along the Columbia and Slocan Rivers in British Columbia contended with miners and settlers filling their territory. The non-Native population of the West Kootenay district was 2,185 by 1891 and reached 23,516 by 1901.[86] The growth of towns such as Castlegar, New Denver, Revelstoke, and Trail and their industrial activities disrupted the Sinixt ability to maintain a foothold in their northern

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[84] Ronan, *Justice to Be Accorded to the Indians,* 325-327.

[85] Interestingly, this removal was happening at the same time as Ronan and the settlers of the Bitterroot Valley south of Missoula, Montana were trying to relocate Chief Charlot's Salish up to the Flathead Reservation. Though the circumstances were not exactly the same, in both instances, Ronan wanted to bring the bands that were associated with the Flathead Nation onto the reservation for closer control and supervision. Charlot's Bitterroot Salish holdouts finally agreed to move in 1891. For more on this, see Robert Bigart, *"Getting Good Crops": Economic and Diplomatic Survival Strategies of the Montana Bitterroot Salish Indians, 1870-1891* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010).

[86] Robert D. Turner, *West of the Great Divide: An Illustrated History of the Canadian Pacific Railway in British Columbia, 1880-1986* (Victoria, BC: Sono Nis Press, 1987); Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 387.

homelands. In 1895, at Revelstoke on Upper Arrow Lake, a Sinixt party found local white residents fishing at one of their traditional stations and were incensed by this competition.[87] The silver mining boom in the narrow Slocan Valley left little room for Sinixt campsites and discouraged their presence.[88] As the mining and smelting operations of Red Mountain grew with the towns of Rossland and Trail, Sinixt bands made fewer visits to this area in the late 1890s and 1900s.[89] With the intensity of settlement, the few scattered bands that retained strong ties to homelands in British Columbia were concentrated into two areas of the Columbia Valley by the turn of the century.

In 1902, an officer from the provincial police discovered the body of a Native man near the railroad tracks that connected the towns of Robson and Castlegar and reported the discovery to the Indian agent at Fort Steele, Robert L. T. Galbraith.[90] Galbraith then went to Robson to determine whether this had been an Indian under his charge. In investigating, he found a band of Sinixt camped at the confluence of the Columbia and Kootenay Rivers, previously unknown to government officials.[91] Galbraith sought to establish a reserve for the band in an area away from current and projected settlement along the Columbia River. He proposed a small reserve to the north along Lower Arrow Lake near some existing Sinixt cabins.[92] The Minister of Lands

[87] "The Siwash Nuisance," *Kootenay Mail*, 21 September 1895.
[88] Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 194-218.
[89] Jeremy Mouat, *Roaring Days: Rossland's Mines and the History of British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011); Lawney Reyes, *White Grizzly Bear's Legacy: Learning to be Indian* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 31-34.
[90] The train depot at what became West Robson grew with increased railroad traffic and Canadian Pacific Railroad investment in the local mining and ranching industries, as did the nearby town of Castlegar. Mouat, *Roaring Days*; Turner, *West of the Great Divide*, 101-108; "History," Castlegar, https://www.castlegar.ca/index.php/visitors/about-castlegar/history/ (accessed 23 May 2018).
[91] *Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of B.C.*, "Kootenay Agency – Transcript" (1914), 84.
[92] Ibid, 85.

approved a 225-acre plot for the band. What became known as the Oatscott Reserve was well away from settlements to the south and from the Canada-US border.

The reserve that government agents established for the Sinixt in 1902 did little to ground the remaining bands, nor did it reflect the Sinixt families' desires for a protected homeland. They considered the confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia a kind of "home base." Sinixt people called the confluence *kp'itl'els* and stopped there on their way up to the Arrow Lakes and down to Kettle Falls. For a decade, Galbraith repeatedly reported to the Department of Indian Affairs that the "Arrow Lakes Band" was content with their reserve, though they made their living working for settlers off the reserve.[93] These reports consistently ignored the aspirations of those who did not consider Oatscott their home. For at least four families of Sinixt, the Oatscott Reserve was insufficient. If they were going to be tied to a land base, they wanted the confluence, *kp'itl'els*. According to band leader Alexander Christie, "The Lower Kootenay River has been occupied by my people from time immemorial" and "my ancestors have belonged to there as far back as I can trace."[94]

A combination of government ambivalence, an "intentional community," and a lack of accountability on the part of the Department of Indian Affairs prevented the establishment of a reserve at *kp'itl'els*, which effectively drove Christie's Sinixt band south across the border. Many of the settlers who arrived in West Kootenay were of European or North American origin. From

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[93] See R. L. T. Galbraith reports in the *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* for the years to 1903 (290); 1904 (253-254); 1905 (233-234); 1906 (230-231); 1907 (228); 1908 (238); 1909 (243-244); 1910 (229-230); 1911 (213-214); 1912 (221); 1913 (221-222); 1914 (89-90); 1915 (90). These reports vary little in description, which suggests that Galbraith did not actually visit Arrow Lakes that often and simply reproduced the previous year's accounting.

[94] Alexander Christie to Royal Commission on Indian Reserves, "The statement of Alexander Christie or Christian of Mouth of Kootenay River, B.C.," 25 June 1914, Correspondence re Royal Commission itinerary, File 691, Vol. 4047, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Reel T-3961. According to Sinixt elder Lawney Reyes, Christie was also spelled Christian.

a completely different context, the Doukhobors, a community of Christian pacifist dissidents from the Russian Empire, immigrated to Canada in the first decade of the twentieth century. The Doukhobors eventually moved their Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood to the Castlegar area of British Columbia.[95] By 1908, Peter Verighan, a principal leader of the sect, bought land along the Columbia River and soon the rest of the Doukhobors followed. They expanded their land base across the river by buying a tract of land where Native peoples were known to have frequently resided. To prove up and make profitable these lands, the Doukhobors began digging, tilling, planting, and building structures on their property.[96]

Alexander Christie maintained that this was Sinixt land, where his ancestors were buried and where he felt his band held prior title that should be recognized by the Department of Indian Affairs. Christie petitioned the Indian Department, Kootenay Agent Galbraith, and even James Teit, an British Columbia ethnographer, for assistance in securing an official reserve at *kp'itl'els*, or Brilliant as the Doukhobors called it. Teit reiterated Christie's point of their consistent occupation of the land.[97] Indian Agency inspector Thomas J. Cummisky was critical of this perspective. Cummisky believed that if indeed Sinixt people had lived on this tract then surely some official would have noticed and would have done something for them.[98] By the time the McKenna-McBride Commission, in charge of finalizing Indian reserves in British Columbia, began hearings in the Kootenay district in 1914-1915, a new agency inspector had been assigned

[95] Commissioner William Blackmore, *Report of Royal Commission on the Doukhobors*, 53-86, Vol. 2b, GR-0793, Reel B17011; Myler F. Wilkinson and Duff Sutherland, "'From Our Side We Will Be Good Neighbour[s] To Them': Doukhobor-Sinixt Relations at the Confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers in the Early Twentieth Century," *BC Studies*, no. 174, (Summer 2012), 32-38.
[96] Ibid, 47-49.
[97] Andrea Geiger, "'Crossed by the Border': The U.S.-Canada Border and Canada's 'Extinction' of the Arrow Lakes Band, 1890-1956," *Western Legal History* 23, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2010): 132; Dorothy Kennedy and Randy Bouchard, "Lakes Indian Ethnography and History," (unpublished report, 1985), 145.
[98] Geiger, "Crossed by the Border," 133.

to the Sinixt issue. Inspector Ainsley Megraw agreed with the earlier assessment that Christie's Sinixt had no rights to this land and maintained that these people already had a reserve at Oatscott.

Megraw knew that the Christies moved frequently down the Columbia River into US territory, back up to the confluence, and beyond to Arrow Lakes. He saw their mobility as a strike against their cause.[99] At one point, in 1915, Megraw wrote a letter to Christie who was visiting relatives near Bossburg, Washington, claiming that Christie's statement to the reserve commission about securing land at *kp'itl'els* was misleading and asked why his Sinixt have "not lived on that land up on the Columbia River and are not living on it now?" He wanted Christie to move and permanently stay on the reserve at Oatscott and cease migrations beyond the border. He argued, "British Columbia Indians should not be living in Washington state."[100] Christie responded from Bossburg, "I know BC Indians should not be living in United States But it could not get worse there and [I] had to make a living so [I] come here for [a] time."[101]

With the province actively, and the dominion tacitly, acknowledging Doukhobor title, the Christie band of Sinixt had little choice but to remove to the Oatscott reserve area or relocate on a more permanent basis in the United States. Megraw demanded the Christies make a decision on their location at the same time that the McKenna-McBride commission failed to establish a reserve at the mouth of the Kootenay. Most of the Sinixt associated with Oatscott on the west side of Arrow Lake lived and worked around Burton on the east side. In this way, the Oatscott Sinixt people's world shrank and by the end of the decade many had dispersed to other British

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[99] Ibid, 134-136.
[100] A. Megraw to Alec. Christian, 14 June 1915, File 356,200-1, Vol. 4047, Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Reel C10179.
[101] Alic Christie to A McGraw, 25 June 1915, File 356,200-1, Vol. 4047, Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Reel C10179.

Columbia reserves. Oatscott was difficult to access, was not ideal for farming, and when boat service across the Lower Arrow Lake ceased, it became near impossible to stay there.[102] The Doukhobors permitted the Christies to remain around Castlegar. However, with no protected land base at *kp'itl'els* and the knowledge that Sinixt relatives held allotments on the Colville Indian Reservation and the former North Half, relocating south of the border became the only viable option.[103]

Reluctantly, the Christies made their way to Washington State in small groups and, except for a few visits north by Alexander into 1920, this band had made a more or less permanent relocation.[104] As historian Andrea Geiger explains, with this relocation, the Sinixt unintentionally severed their ties and claims to any land in Canada and became Colville Reservation tribal members. Through ambivalence and deferring to settler title over indigenous claims, the Department of Indian Affairs created the conditions for the Sinixt to remove themselves into an entirely different jurisdiction and stay there.[105] In handling the Sinixt case, Canada carried out a kind of reverse enforcement of its border with the United States. The dominion effectively pushed one particular indigenous group out and refused to let it claim any residence or title should these people wish to return. A change in location and thus colonial jurisdiction did the work of border enforcement in a material and legal sense.

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[102] Geiger, "Crossed by the Border," 138. Shirley Louis, ed., *Q'sapi: A History of Okanagan People as Told by Okanagan Families* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, Ltd., 2002), 187, 199.
[103] Wilkinson and Sutherland, "From Our Side We Will Be Good Neighbour[s] To Them," 45-47.
[104] Reyes, *White Grizzly Bears' Legacy*, 35-37.
[105] Geiger, "Crossed by the Border," 149-153. This argument is distinct from Brendan Rensink in *Native But Foreign: Indigenous Refugees and Immigrants in the North American Borderlands* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 2018), in which the native groups crossing the border "originated" as a tribal community within the boundaries of Canada or Mexico and are entering the United States. Geiger is arguing the reverse, in fact – that the Sinixt who, along with their homelands, were bifurcated by the border saw those left in the north pulled into the south to join the rest. They were effectively made "foreign" in this process of re-categorization beyond the boundary line.

Divide and Concur: Local and Federal Law as Border Enforcement

As states with municipalities and counties and provinces with towns and districts began to administer local laws and adjudicate civil cases, nation-states endeavored to implement federal and international laws at the same time and in the same places along the Canada-US border. The colony of British Columbia joined Confederation with Canada in 1871 and became effectively linked to the rest of the nation with the Canadian Pacific Railroad in 1885. On the US side, the territories of Montana, Idaho, and Washington all became states by 1890. While these sub-national entities began establishing and executing their own legal regimes, both the Canadian and US federal governments were consolidating their power in the region and carrying out national policy agendas and law enforcement within their respective territories. In the United States, this included racial and labor oriented laws such as the Chinese Exclusion Act and Indian policy. Canada was focused on Indian administration as well, while also fulfilling the "National Policy" of nation-building in the 1880s. Local and national law and jurisdiction converged in the border zone of the interior Pacific Northwest, serving together as an additional method of border enforcement.[106]

Border enforcement, traditionally understood as a federal responsibility of nation-state agencies, was driven and conducted largely by local and regional authorities and agendas as it was applied to Native peoples of the Columbia Plateau.[107] This phenomenon is visible in the Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa peoples' interaction with local law enforcement and federal

[106] See Benjamin Hoy, "A Border without Guards," and "Policing Morality: Regulating Sexuality across the Canada-United States Border," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 99, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 30-62.
[107] Brad Asher advances this point, arguing that Indians came into contact with settlers and state civil and criminal courts off the reservation in Washington Territory more than other institutions of the federal government. Brad Asher, *Beyond the Reservation: Indians, Settlers, and the Law in Washington Territory, 1853-1889* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).

Indian agents' administration of justice.[108] On one hand, courts of law in Washington tried and detained "Canadian Indians" accused of theft, and British Columbia did the same of "American Indians." In these cases, Native peoples were subject to the legal regime of another country when they passed through the border. On the other hand, local and federal officers engaged in an internationally cooperative effort to ensure that Native peoples also complied with the law in this different jurisdiction and received punishment if they failed to do so. In several situations, Native individuals taken in by police, sheriffs, or Indian agents on one side of the line were actually handed over to the authorities on the other side of the line in a local application of the extradition process. Indeed, Colville Indian Agent William Winans noted in an 1870 report of his trip to the Okanagan Valley that he arrived at "Soo-yoos Lake to see Mr. Haynes the British Customs House Officer for the purpose of delivering up Indian offenders on each side of the line."[109] When local districts did not have the capacity to remove or detain "trouble" Indians from the other side, they either called for intervention by national forces or worked to create the conditions in which Native peoples would remove their "criminal activities" across the border.

Canada and the United States' recognition of Native peoples' right to hunt game on state, provincial, crown, or federal lands ended at the international boundary.[110] In the 1890s, Ktunaxa hunting parties encountered harsh penalties for hunting out of season, off the reservation, and in a different national jurisdiction. Before 1895, Ktunaxa parties had hunted throughout the

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[108] For more on the subjection of indigenous peoples to settler law, see Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788-1836* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Tina Loo, *Making Law, Order, and Authority in British Columbia, 1821-1871* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Asher, *Beyond the Reservation*; Katrina Jagodinsky, *Legal Codes and Talking Trees: Indigenous Women's Sovereignty in the Sonoran and Puget Sound Borderlands, 1854-1946* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016).

[109] W. P. Winans, 1 July 1870. 'Letterbook, Copies & Correspondence & W. P. Winans' File 34, Cage 147, MASC, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman, WA.

[110] For more on hunting in the borderlands, see Michael Wise, *Producing Predators: Wolves, Work, and Conquest in the Northern Rockies* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016).

Kootenay River and Flathead Valleys to procure smaller game, such as deer.[111] Observing the patterns of deer herds, their sizes and movements and location, and the timing of their peak availability was critical for Ktunaxa hunters to take this food source at various points through the year. For the band at Tobacco Plains in particular, the several herds that they kept track of could wander beyond the international boundary line and back to follow food sources and water in the various creeks and rivers. Ktunaxa hunting parties, large and small, ventured out to take several deer at a time, often crossing the border in the process. The Ktunaxa band affiliated with the Flathead Indian Reservation operated with off-reservation hunting rights protected by the Hellgate Treaty.[112]

According to the US government, however, off-reservation hunting rights were not extended to the Ktunaxa peoples' kin in Canada. The recently organized State of Montana was wager to enforce this domestic measure at the local level. White Montanans complained of Ktunaxa from British Columbia hunting in Flathead County. They claimed that the "foreign" Ktunaxa presence would place an undue burden on the county's ability to implement game laws. To deal with these hunter interlopers, popular opinion in Kalispell, Montana, asserted, "The only way to abate the Indian nuisance is to run them out of the country. The Indians that slaughter game in the Flathead are British Columbia wards. Settlers along the Kootenai and Fisher rivers threaten to run the Indians across the border."[113] Though they promoted physical coercion, discouraging "Canadian" Ktunaxa hunting activities through legal means had more of an impact.

[111] "A Rich Country," 28 September 1893, *The Columbian*, 4. This Columbia Falls, Montana newspaper casually reported in 1893 that "Not less than 30 lodges of British Indians have been hunting between the [Tobacco] Plains and the North Fork of Flathead river on the American side. The game has been slaughtered – in fact, cleaned up, so hunters say."

[112] Charles Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 722-725; Monte Beck, "State v. Stasso: Off-Reservation Hunting Rights," *Montana Law Review*, Vol. 39, no. 2 (Summer 1978): 323-330.

[113] "They're Enjoying Life," 2 February 1895, *Anaconda Standard*, 7.

In 1895, local officers arrested three Ktunaxa men for violating game laws in the state of Montana. The Ktunaxa hunting party of men and women led by a strong-willed man named Toma ventured down from the Tobacco Plains in British Columbia across the border into Montana to hunt whitetail deer in the late spring. They rode south with several horses and guns and they soon successfully took down three deer.[114] County law enforcement stopped, detained, and charged the "British" Ktunaxa party with hunting out of season. The county Justices of the Peace fined the Ktunaxa party and confiscated their horses, guns, saddles, axes, and other items. It would appear that the justices were just waiting for the opportunity to catch these Ktunaxa hunters, as they admitted that these Ktunaxa "have repeatedly been here and are exterminating deer in U.S."[115] Upon hearing of this arrest and confiscation, Ktunaxa chief Paul went down to demand that his people's fines be reduced or have their property returned to them.[116] The justices stood firm on their decision and Paul returned north and appealed to the Kootenay Indian Agent at Fort Steele, Robert L. T. Galbraith, to intervene in the matter. In this instance, Galbraith sided with the Ktunaxa hunters. He explained to his Indian department superiors that, yes, the "Indians had gone across the Boundary Line, as was their custom for years, and killed three deer for food," but he thought "it a little sharp practice on the part of the Justices, as these Indians from time to time have crossed the Line, without let or hindrance, as their relatives and friends live at Flathead, Montana, and it seems strange that the law should be enforced against them without

[114] An English resident of the border region of ill-repute, Charley Radcliffe, encountered the Ktunaxa hunting party and was aware of the border's location. He did not inform them of that they had crossed into the United States. Radcliffe may have even done so with the understanding that they would hunt out of season and he could potentially tip off the local officials and receive a cash reward. Olga Weydemeyer, ed., *The Story of the Tobacco Plains Country: The Autobiography of a Community* (Caldwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1950), 170-171; Michael Phillipps to R. L. T. Galbraith, 24 June 1895, File 128,001, Vol. 3949, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, C-10166.

[115] W. H. Murray and Hop Peters to Robert Galbraith, 9 May 1895, File 128,001, Vol. 3949, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, C-10166.

[116] Michael Phillipps to R. L. T. Galbraith, 24 June 1895, File 128,001, Vol. 3949, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, C-10166.

some warning."[117] Officials in Victoria agreed and Superintendent Vowell sent a formal notice to Montana governor John Rickards, airing their grievances.[118]

The aggrieved Ktunaxa wanted answers to the perplexing questions of local and international jurisdiction that did not recognize transnational indigenous territory. The Ktunaxa at Tobacco Plains met with Agent Galbraith several times to hear what was being done about the hunting fine and seizure of their people's property but were left unsatisfied.[119] Discouraged, Chief Paul ventured down to the Flathead Reservation to speak to Ktunaxa chief Eneas. Chief Paul likely consulted Chief Eneas to get a sense of how authorities in the United States administered law, order, and justice, as well as find out how the Flathead tribes' treaty hunting rights worked.[120] Such intra-tribal consultations were not uncommon. In gathering information from the Ktunaxa at Tobacco Plains, Agent Galbraith asked them directly about the deer hunting incident and the larger settler concern about depredations on the US side of the border. They denied the association with depredations but admitted that they travel "to and from the Flathead Country, where they go from time to time to visit relatives, [and] kill game for food."[121]

Montana governor Rickards and Flathead County police enforced the game laws while also enforcing the border among the Ktunaxa who operated with a dramatically different sense of territory and the movements of the game they hunted. To British Columbia Indian superintendent

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[117] R. L. T. Galbraith to A. W. Vowell, 13 May 1895, File 128,001, Vol. 3949, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, C-10166.
[118] A. W. Vowell to Governor of Montana, 6 June 1895, File 128,001, Vol. 3949, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, C-10166. Vowell also informed Rickards that British Columbia had game laws as well. He claimed that provincial authorities handled foreign Indians hunting in British Columbia more sensitively, making sure that "resident native South of the Line" were notified of their hunting in a different jurisdiction. Vowell was likely just taking a dig at Rickards' swift and harsh handling of the Ktunaxa case.
[119] R. L. T. Galbraith to A. W. Vowell, 24 June 1895, File 128,001, Vol. 3949, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, C-10166.
[120] Ibid.
[121] R. L. T. Galbraith to A. W. Vowell, 21 September 1895, File 128,001, Vol. 3949, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, C-10166.

Vowell's question of how Montana was handling the Ktunaxa hunting issue, Rickards gave a stern response that no clemency would be granted from his office.[122] Rickards claimed that this particular case was just one of many in which "British" Indians invaded Montana to raid the ranches and houses of the state's white residents.[123] The governor drew upon a potent message that cultivated an appearance of strong leadership and protection of all ravaged Montanans.[124] He also explained his legal position: "the British Indians cannot plead ignorance relative to the law, for their leading men have over and over again been apprised of the condition of affairs and urged to keep their subordinates within the limits of the law." He felt it self-defeating to show mercy to these Ktunaxa "who have unlawfully crossed the Border to ravish our Game Preserves," and he would not intervene or pardon them.[125] To Rickards, these "foreign" Indians needed to accept their status as British subjects with no rights across the border in the United

[122] Vowell, Galbraith, Phillipps, and the Ktunaxa continued to press Rickards on the issue. They collected affidavits from local white residents of northern Flathead County. The residents collectively had little problem with the Ktunaxa presence, as long as they were peaceful, and could not substantiate claims of "depredations." They did not want anyone overhunting their deer population. When delivering these statements to Rickards, they did little to change the governor's mind on the matter. He maintained the depredations messaging and punted, offering, "as to the depredations committed by Indians from over the border and I shall lay the matter before the proper authorities in Washington with a view to securing protection for the State from the wards of the British Government." Hayter Reed to A. W. Vowell, 12 October 1895, File 128,001, Vol. 3949, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, C-10166; Michael Phillipps to R. L. T. Galbraith, 31 August 1895, File 128,001, Vol. 3949, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, C-10166; R. L. T. Galbraith to A. W. Vowell, 21 September 1895, File 128,001, Vol. 3949, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, C-10166; J. C. Leonard, et. al. to R. L. T. Galbraith, 11 November 1895, File 128,001, Vol. 3949, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, C-10166; J. E. Rickards to A. W. Vowell, 27 December 1895, File 128,001, Vol. 3949, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, C-10166.

[123] J. E. Rickards to A. W. Vowell, 10 June 1895, File 128,001, Vol. 3949, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, C-10166.

[124] Much of Montana's concern with "foreign" Ktunaxa hunting in United States territory came from an outcry over "British Cree" refugees hunting in the northeastern area of the state. Montanans conflated alleged Cree "depredations" with Ktunaxa hunting around the Flathead Valley as a means to rally support against the Ktunaxa. Michel Hogue, "Disputing the Medicine Line: The Plains Crees and the Canadian-American Border, 1876-1885," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 52, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 6-17; Rensink, *Native But Foreign*; 8 February 1896, *The Missoulian*, 2; "Montana and Montanans," 23 June 1895; *Anaconda Standard*, 2; "Caught in the Act," 11 June 1895, *The Missoulian*, 1; A. E. Fouquet to D. M. Browning, 13 February 1895, File 7387, Box 1168, Letters Received 1895, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.

[125] Ibid.

States. Rickards and Flathead County taught this lesson to the Ktunaxa through an unflinching application of state law.

Sinixt hunting trips across the border into British Columbia became a point of international pressure and mediation. The Sinixt families who made their way up the Columbia River to camp and hunt in the 1890s encountered settlers and their representatives who felt threatened by their presence. Settler news outlets referred to Sinixt hunting of deer and other small game as "depredations" because these animals should be protected under the game laws of British Columbia. For the Sinixt who stayed for longer periods in the West Kootenay district, their hunting would fall under domestic game laws. Regulating the hunting of Sinixt from across the boundary line was a different story altogether and bringing them to heel proved elusive for local authorities.

Local residents believed that the province should stop the "invasions" of Sinixt from across the line. James Kellie from West Kootenay proposed to the Legislative Assembly in Victoria in 1892 a remedy for this issue. He explained that "the Indians from the neighbourhood of Colville, in State of Washington, do annually come into British Columbia and hunt along the Arrow Lakes and Columbia River." He suggested that "in the interests of British Columbia, our Government … instruct its officers in Kootenay, or elsewhere, to see that the provisions of the 'Game Act'…be enforced in regard to these foreign Indians when they cross the International Boundary for the purpose of hunting in British Columbia."[126] Kellie's motion, seconded by Colonel Baker from near Fort Steele, was withdrawn from legislative consideration, but the lobbying did not end there. The focus soon shifted to local settler constituencies calling for a

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[126] Mr. Kellie motion, 1 March 1892, *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of British Columbia, Session 1892* (Victoria, B.C.: Richard Wolfenden, 1892), 33.

robust intervention by the dominion government.[127] The minister to parliament from British Columbia's Yale riding, John Andrew Mara, recommended that the federal government send the North West Mounted Police to West Kootenay to "protect the frontier from marauding Indians." He felt that the mere presence of the police would deter Sinixt people from crossing the line.[128]

The Columbia River settlers' calls for action escalated from a provincial solution to a dominion one, to then calling on the United States to control "their" Indians on their side of the line, which eventually produced results.[129] A report from the *Kootenay Mail* in 1895 laid out this argument:

> The Colvilles are American Indians, and when they commit depredations in Canada, it is very easy for them to escape to their reservation beyond the boundary in the State of Washington. They are under the jurisdiction of the Indian authorities of the United States and therefore the status of the nomadic marauders on Canadian territory becomes an international question that should be settled between the two governments. They should be made to understand by the United States government that they have no rights to land north of the boundary line.[130]

Though there was actually a good deal of communication between settlers in British Columbia and officials south of the border, making a formal request for curtailing the movements and hunting practices of "American Indians" proceeded through the channels of federal and colonial bureaucracy. In 1895, word of the province's claims of "Colville Indian depredations" reached

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[127] "Mr. Kellie Prefers them as they are," 24 November 1894, *Kootenay Mail*, 1; "A Trip Through the Riding," 9 June 1894, *Kootenay Mail*, 1; 11 May 1895, *Kootenay Mail*, 1.
[128] *Official Report of the Debates House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada Fifth Session – Seventh Parliament 1895, Vol. xl* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1895), 3899-3900. This option did not see much support in parliament due mainly to of the cost of sending the police to British Columbia. "The Kootenay Mail," 11 May 1895, *Kootenay Mail*, 1.
[129] "No title," 6 December 1894, *The Nakusp Ledge*, 2.
[130] "Our Indian Troubles," 13 April 1895, *Kootenay Mail*, 2. Associating the Sinixt with not only "depredations" against settlers and breaking the provincial game laws that define the hunting season, white residents also argued that Sinixt hunters from the United States were taking game in Canada that was intended for the Ktunaxa from the lower Kootenay River in British Columbia. Kootenay agent Galbraith did not address this point in formal correspondence, at least to the Columbia River settlers' satisfaction. In an increasingly crowded terrain, the Ktunaxa who did hunt along the lower Kootenay River and Kootenay Lake may have agreed with the settlers' defense and desired fewer competitors as well. "The Kootenay Mail," 11 May 1895, *Kootenay Mail*, 1; "No Title," 20 April 1895, *Kootenay Mail*, 1.

the Colville Indian agent, John Bubb. He received a complaint "by the British Ambassador at Washington that Indians of this reservation are continually crossing into Canadian Territory, for the purpose of hunting to the detriment of the Canadian Indians. White settlers [were] occasionally suffering at their hands."[131] To Bubb, the fact that this issue had circulated through such high diplomatic levels amplified the situation's urgency.

In an agency memorandum, Bubb declared it was "the duty of all employees of this agency, to warn Indians not to cross the Boundary line, for the purpose of hunting, or for any other unlawful purpose. Any violation of this order should be immediately reported to this office, giving all necessary data in the case, to insure the prompt arrest of the parties so offending.[132] The order was directed primarily at the Colville Agency's Indian police force.[133] Bubb's directive, along with a growing hostility to the Sinixt presence in British Columbia, effectively discouraged the Colville Reservation Sinixt from continuing to cross the line to hunt game.[134]

The forces of settler agitation, diplomatic intervention, and reservation administration made Sinixt hunting in their northern territories less and less feasible. The heavy hand of local game laws did not play as much of a role in restraining Sinixt cross-border hunting as it did with the Tobacco Plains Ktunaxa. Instead, Canadian settlers demanding Sinixt exclusion at the border

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[131] Agent Jno. W. Bubb to Employees, 8, April, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters, Letterbox no. 8, Letters Sent, Miscellaneous, Box 2, Colville Indian Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, NARA, Seattle, WA.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Jno. W. Bubb to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 16 August 1895, *ARCIA 1895* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 313-314. The Colville Indian police had actually already been dealing with border interloper issues, namely attending to white miners from British Columbia attempting to squat on reservation "North Half" lands.
[134] Agent Bubb reported in a separate correspondence that it was not such an imposition if "Canadian Indians" came across the line to hunt in US territory. He recognized that this was part of a larger pattern of indigenous hunting movements and practices, acknowledging that "Canadian Indians frequently come to this side for the purpose of hunting and visiting and it seems this sort of friendly intercourse has been kept up for years." Jno. W. Bubb to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 6 April 1895, File 16162, Box 1188, 1895, Letters Received, 1881-1907, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.

and the Colville Reservation agent's intervention curtailed Sinixt hunting in British Columbia. A few scattered reports of Sinixt hunting in the upper Columbia River region came out over the next decade. [135] As settlement of West Kootenay increased through this period, white residents observed the decreasing frequency of Sinixt people coming up to the area from Colville, for hunting or otherwise.[136]

The exercise of customs enforcement among indigenous migrants also served to discourage Native movements on either side of the line but required the assistance of Indian agents. On the Columbia Plateau, Native people moving goods across the border for consumption or sale encountered a frequently misunderstood and inconsistently applied policy of collecting customs duties. Some Native people capitalized on the lack of clarity on whether Indians were to pay duties on goods brought across the border. The Jay Treaty of 1794 mentions the right of Indians along the Canada-US border to be exempt in "passing or repassing with their own proper Goods and Effects of whatever nature" from paying "any Impost or Duty whatever." This provision also limits these goods and effects by size or amount, or "Goods in Bales, or other large Packages," as in a few furs or a knapsack on their person.[137] Interpreting this article and its subsequent iterations through the early nineteenth century often fell to government officials and administrators on the ground, with varying results.

Indian agents did much of the work in making the Ktunaxa people understand the implications of transporting goods through the border and their obligation to pay customs duties.

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[135] "From Sunday's Daily," 17 November 1899, *Nelson Weekly Miner*, 3, Reyes, *White Grizzly Bears' Legacy,* 32-33.
[136] Clara Graham, *This Was the Kootenay* (Vancouver, BC: Evergreen Press, 1963), 242-243.
[137] "Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, Between His Britannick Majesty; - and the United States of America," Charles I. Bevans, LL.B., *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America 1776-1949* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), 15-16.

British Columbia Indian administrators and agents knew that Ktunaxa families went down to Lake Pend d'Oreilles in Idaho Territory to trade at the post at Sand Point. They purchased flour, ammunition, and blankets and brought these goods back into Canada without paying a duty. That Ktunaxa people avoided this tax frustrated Superintendent Israel Powell. He observed that Ktunaxa patrons could get these items cheaper in US territory than could a non-Native trader.[138] With the main culprit, Chief Isadore, in mind, Powell concluded in 1887 that "Duty should manifestly be collected from them if all are to be treated alike." When Agent Phillipps informed Isadore that his people would have to "pay the customs duty in the same way as the whites," the Ktunaxa people responded in a "burst of dissatisfaction."[139] Rather than paying the import duty, Isadore declared that his people would purchase their goods from Canadian sources.

Five years later, during the Bonners Ferry band's attempt to relocate to British Columbia, Chief Moise encountered customs officials at the border. They told Moise that he would have to pay a duty on the cattle the Ktunaxa intended to bring with them into Canada. Some of the young men ignored the customs officials and deliberately ran their cattle across the line. With this infraction, Flathead agent Peter Ronan arrived to settle the matter. He inquired of the new British Columbia Indian Superintendent Arthur Vowell whether Ktunaxa people were subject to the duty on their stock. Vowell answered in the affirmative, and Ronan convinced the Ktunaxa band to bring the cattle back to the border and then pay the duty. In a face-to-face council with Ronan, the Ktunaxa band leaders agreed.[140]

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[138] I. W. Powell to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 26 November 1887, *Sessional Papers. Volume 13. Second Session of the Sixth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada Session 1888* (hereafter, *Second Session 1888*) (Ottawa, ON: A. Senecal, 1888), 133.
[139] I. W. Powell to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 26 November 1887, *Second Session 1888,* xci; Michael Phillips to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 2 July 1888, *ARDIA 1888* (Ottawa, ON: A. Senecal, 1889), 110.
[140] Ronan, *Justice to Be Accorded to the Indians*, 301-303.

Customs officials' and Indian agents' interventions persisted as Native people continued to bring prohibited items goods across the border or failed to pay the duty on permitted items. According to the rhetoric of newspaper accounts and government records, Indians transporting goods across the border, surreptitiously or unknowingly or otherwise, were deliberately engaging in smuggling.[141] In most cases, the primary concern was the importation and consumption of alcohol by and among Native peoples. Though non-Native smugglers made up the bulk of illicit importation and sale of alcohol, Native peoples' troubled association with liquor consumption along with their murky status under the Jay Treaty drew significant attention from customs collectors and Indian agents.[142] Local law enforcement and Indian agents accused Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa peoples of smuggling alcohol into the United States or into Canada, and many were pursued, apprehended, and detained.

Indian agents and local authorities did little regulating at the border itself and mainly addressed the issue once they discovered alcohol or saw signs of the previous consumption of alcohol among "their" Indians. On the Canadian side, agents Michael Phillipps and Robert Galbraith reported the Ktunaxa of the Kootenay Agency had acquired alcohol from Indians in Montana. Those who were found to have alcohol either had gone across the border to access it or had had a Native smuggler from beyond the line bring it up to them. At one point, Galbraith managed to apprehend a "Montana Indian" who was involved in selling liquor to the Ktunaxa at

[141] Sophie Morigeau, a metis freighter and trader who lived among and was affiliated with the Ktunaxa at Tobacco Plains, was a noted example of this clandestine practice. Morigeau had freighted goods on her wagon from Missoula in Montana Territory up into Windermere, British Columbia since the early 1880s. The most profitable part in Morigeau's trade was bootlegging alcohol across the line for sale to Native and non-Native customers. Carol Ray, "Sophie Morigeau: Trading Across the Boundaries," (MA thesis, University of Wyoming, 2001), 6-7, 24; Johnson, *The Story of the Tobacco Plains Country,* 44-45.
[142] For more on non-Native alcohol smuggling and bootlegging, see Stephen T. Moore, *Bootleggers and Borders: The Paradox of Prohibition on a Canada-U.S. Borderland* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014).

Tobacco Plains.[143] Deliberate traffic in illicit goods went both ways. In Montana, the Ktunaxa were accused of "smuggling goods from Canada into the United States."[144] In 1911, a Nez Perce man reported to officials in the Office of Indian Affairs that two Ktunaxa men from British Columbia had sold him whiskey.[145] Such traffic vexed US Indian agents who pleaded with officials in British Columbia to intervene.[146] When local authorities could track down these perpetrators, they subjected the accused to local jurisdiction on their side of the line. In one instance, reported a newspaper in Kelowna, British Columbia, provincial police arrested a Colville Reservation Indian from Washington State for "supplying liquor to Indians" in the Okanagan Valley. The court found Aeneas Seymour guilty of the charges, and he was given a two month sentence at the jail in Kamloops.[147]

A combination of customs infrastructure and a growing Indian affairs bureaucracy began to bring Native peoples more in line with customs law, at least on the Canadian side. In one quite visible instance, the Canadian Customs department constructed a new customs station directly on Indian reserve land. The customs commissioner chose to appropriate land from the Tobacco Plains reserve, which sat right near the border. The department built the customs house on the land Ktunaxa band Chief Paul. Among the Tobacco Plains Ktunaxa, the department would "have

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[143] Michael Phillipps to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 1 July 1893, *Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1893* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1894), 126; "Tobacco Plains News," *The Prospector*, Fort Steele, BC, 5 December 1903, 1.
[144] "Matters Worth Reading Which Have Happened Throughout Montana Recently," *Dillon Tribune*, 3 July, 1908, 12; "A Red Desperado," *Helena Independent,* Helena, MT, 14 May 1889, 1.
[145] Johnnie Davis statement, 13 July 1911, File M-5 "Liquor Traffic," Colville, General Subject "M" Files: FY 1912, Box 127a, RG75, NARA, Seattle, WA.
[146] John Webster to Attorney-General for British Columbia, 25 June 1913, File M-5 "Liquor Traffic," Colville, General Subject "M" Files: FY 1912, Box 127a, RG75, NARA, Seattle, WA.
[147] "Town and Country Notes," *Kelowna Record*, 14 June 1917, 3. In a report on the Okanagan Indian Agency, Inspector A. Megraw noted in passing an Okanagan Indian who was likely to be fined or serve jail time for smuggling. He wrote, "Jimmie Antoine is in trouble over a smuggling case and the action is being heard by Norris to-day some time. Some say he is almost sure to be sent up, for he hasn't the money to pay and that by the reading of the Customs Act it will take about $200. to see him through." A. Megraw to John Kennedy, 2 May 1917, C---2, 11302, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Reel T-16114.

full view and control of all the trails in the immediate vicinity."[148] The Port of Rooseville could better regulate all incoming traffic from the United States but would also stand as a visible and formidable state presence in the everyday life of the local Ktunaxa through the 1910s and 1920s. The conversations and mutual reinforcement between the Department of Indian Affairs and the Department of Customs chipped away at the ambiguous status of Native peoples importing goods into Canada. When Antoine Nehumpchin of the Similkameen Okanagans attempted to bring some horse saddles across the line from Washington in 1924, Customs informed him he must pay an import duty on these goods. Nehumpchin protested, claiming that as an Indian he was exempt from paying import duties. Customs and the Okanagan Indian Agent worked to sort out the issue. Upon inquiring with Ottawa, agent Fred Ball was informed that Nehumpchin was not exempt from paying duties on goods imported into Canada.[149] Though Nehumpchin continued to push back, Ottawa gave him no alternatives.[150] The Jay Treaty does not appear to have been invoked by anyone involved in Nehumpchin's case. At the border, intimidation and inter-agency cooperation compelled Ktunaxa and Okanagan people to recognize and abide by Canada's customs laws.

Local law enforcement also played a role in regulating Native criminal activity in the border zone.[151] When carrying out the law among "foreign Indians," law enforcement either

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[148] John McDougall to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, 10 September 1914, File 467,756-1, Volume 4079, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Reel C-10184; A. Megraw to Assistant Deputy and Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, January 22 1915, File 467,756-1, Volume 4079, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Reel C-10184.
[149] Fred J. C. Ball to Antoine Nehumpchin, 4 March 1924, File 32-164, Volume 7941, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Reel C-13511.
[150] J. D. McLean to Antoine Nahumchin, 24 April 1924, File 32-164, Volume 7941, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Reel C-13511.
[151] In cases of non-violent crimes, some local governments were keen to arrest and detain Indians from the other side of the boundary line to ensure the fines were paid for their infractions. Whether in the case of a "Canadian" Sinixt stealing saddles in Washington or "American" Ktunaxa breaking gambling laws in British Columbia, arresting and subjecting Indians to settler law, the payment of fines were a welcome source of revenue to municipal and county

subjected them to local law or delivered the perpetrator back to the border. With both options, state and provincial law served to reinforce a Native person or group's "Canadian" or "American" status. In terms of delivery or extradition, the incentive was to get rid of what the authorities considered renegade or outlaw Indians and return them to their law enforcement counterparts on the other side of the line. Native peoples aware of the border's separation of national jurisdiction would then find that escaping across the line did not always ensure legal protection or immunity. For example, in 1879, amidst the chaos of Chief Moses' Columbia-Sinkiuse efforts to avoid removal to the Yakima Reservation, a group of Native men associated with Moses and Sarsopkin's Okanagan band murdered two white people south of the Big Bend country.[152] One of the murderers, Saluskin, fled north into British Columbia. Soon after, newspapers reported that British authorities captured Saluskin in British Columbia. He was then handed over at Fort Colville, transported down to Umatilla, Oregon and then taken to Yakima City for trial, where he was sentenced to hang.[153]

In 1887, a small party of young Ktunaxa men from the Flathead Reservation was making its way to Tobacco Plains and encountered an encampment of white miners in the Pleasant Valley. Some sources indicate that one of the young men, Jerome, suggested that they attack the three miners in their camp as "revenge for the killing of Indians at the head of Flathead lake." Jerome and John Annen, along with Antley, carried out the attack and murdered the miners.[154]

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governments. "Courthouse and County News," 7 July 1917, *Colville Examiner*, 3; "47 Indians on Trial," 9 March 1923, *Creston Review*, 8.

[152] "Exciting Indian News," 2 May 1879, *Corvallis Gazette*, 2; For more on the Perkins murder, see Ruby and Brown, *Half-Sun on the Columbia,* 86-87

[153] "Saluskin Moved," 11 April 1879, *Lewiston Teller*, 1; "Notes From Yakima," 4 March 1879, *Morning Oregonian*, 1.

[154] "THEIR CRIMES. History of the Murderers for Which the Indians Were Hanged." Copied from the *Missoula Weekly Gazette*, 24 December 1890, Samuel E. Johns Papers 1885-1934, Montana Historical Society, Helena Montana. Other accounts suggests that it was actually the other men in the party that bullied Antley into participating in the attack. "THE FLATHEAD TRAGEDY: A Straight Account of the Triple Murder and the Recent Indian Lynching," *Butte Daily Post*, 3 April 1888, 4.

The crew remained at large until the following April when Deputy Sheriff Ralph Ramsdell organized a posse of local settlers to track down and detain the three Ktunaxa in the Flathead Valley.[155] The posse arrived at the Ktunaxa camp at the head of Flathead Lake and made short work of sentencing Jerome and John and quickly hung both of them under lynch mob authority.

Antley reportedly escaped on horseback and rode until he reached the Tobacco Plains.[156] Ramsdell reported that "Antley had made his escape into the British possessions" where he remained for two years. Antley likely resided among Ktunaxa allies at Tobacco Plains on the Canadian side during these years, but eventually his notoriety likely kept him from remaining invisible from the authorities for long. Kootenay Agent Michael Phillipps knew full well about Antley's presence. In this sensitive situation, Phillipps inquired with the Department of Justice whether he should initiate the extradition process to determine if he had the authority to hand Antley over to the US Army. Justice said that extradition proceedings must take place.[157] With this advice, in August of 1890, Antley "was arrested by the mounted police and turned over to the deputy sheriff at or near Horse Plains" in Montana and placed in Missoula County jail.[158] At

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[155] The US Army detachment stationed at Tobacco Plains apparently were not mandated to track down the Ktunaxa party responsible. Brigadier General Thomas Ruger to Assistant Adjutant General Thomas Vincent, 8 December 1888, 31255, Box 494, 1888, Letters Received, 1881-1907, Record Group 75, NARA, Washington, D.C.

[156] "STORY OF THE MURDER," *Anaconda Standard*, 30 August 1890, 1; "REVEALED BY ACCIDENT," *Independent Record*, 19 December 1890, 2; A "resident of Flathead country" lamented that Antley "fled in haste, probably toward the British possessions" and that "he is probably forever safe from the reach of the vengeance of the people of Flathead Lake." "HANGING TWO KOOTENAIS," *Helena Weekly Herald*, 12 April 1888, 4.

[157] Michael Phillipps to Minister of Justice, 29 May 1890, File 70,890, Volume 3841, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Reel C-10148; J. A. M. Atkins to Michael Phillips, 26 August 1890, File 70,890, Volume 3841, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Reel C-10148. Phillipps considered this situation more carefully than previous cases, as he reported in 1888 that "Twice during the past year there have been disturbances on the American side, south of the international boundary; and I had upon one occasion to ask Major Steele for assistance to remove American Indians of bad character from the reserve immediately bordering on the boundary." Michael Phillipps to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 2 July 1888, Sessional Papers No. 16, *ARDIA 1888* (Ottawa, ON: A. Senecal, 1889), 110-111.

[158] "UNDER THE ROPE," *Anaconda Standard*, 20 December 1890, 1, 8. Antley was a teenager. One-time temporary Indian agent, T. C. N. Norbury remarked of Antley and his associates, "They were all Flat Head Kootenay Indians…they caught 4 of the murderers (1 escaped 1 turned Queen's (State) Evidence) & they hung the other two up to a tree." This suggests that Antley had been captured and was being held by the police until notice

first, Antley had assumed he could escape across the boundary line where local police from the United States had no authority to cross and capture him. The cooperation of the police in British Columbia with Montana law enforcement to return Antely, however, overruled his ability to exploit the border's separation of jurisdiction. Antely was sentenced to hang in December of 1890, along with three other Ktunaxa men found guilty of murdering whites in separate incidents.[159]

Horse stealing was another crime that could land Native peoples in jail or instigate their retrieval after an escape across the line. A Similkameen Okanagan man, Eneas Nahumshan, was notorious for stealing horses with his gang in the Similkameen Valley. In 1911, the local constable arrested Nahumshan for this crime near Hedley, British Columbia.[160] Nahumshan managed to escape the local jail and race across the line into Washington, where he had served jail time previously. British Columbia sent Constable Max Ewart from Keremeos to retrieve him. According to the *Hedley Gazette*, Ewart gained a reputation for successfully tracking down and apprehending persons for whom he had an arrest warrant. He was "loud in his praises of the assistance and cooperation on the part of the peace officers of Okanagan County, Washington, with whom he [had] had to do on several chases which he [had] made across the line."[161]

In sum, through the last decades of the nineteenth century into the first decades of the twentieth, local settlers took greater control of the lands north and south of the forty-ninth parallel. With the blessing and support of their respective national governments, they imposed

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from Ottawa or Montana. Tommy Norbury to parents, approx. 1890, Folder 1, Box 1, Norbury Family Papers, MSS 877, Royal BC Museum, Victoria, BC.

[159] Ibid.

[160] "Horse Stealing Case," 5 January 1911, *Hedley Gazette*, 1; "Recovered Stolen Horses," 9 May 1907, *Hedley Gazette*, 1.

[161] "Town and District," 22 December 1910, *Hedley Gazette*, 3.

legal and political regimes to facilitate this colonization. Indian reservations and reserves became the constricted homes of the Columbia Plateau's Native peoples. These institutions developed in a dialectic as settlers used reservations to curtail Native movement across the Canada-US border while efforts to control border crossings at the line reinforced the need for and utility of reservations. In the liminal spaces of the border zones, Indian agents pulled those under their charge away from the line or demanded that bands pick sides and relocate permanently. At the same time, settlers filled in the spaces around Indian reserves and reservations as their populations thickened and subjected Native peoples to their local laws and maturing institutions of force. Native peoples moving about their territory to hunt were subject to the game laws of two foreign nations. Federal officials intimidated Native families to cease transporting goods across the line or to pay customs duties. These acts and the settler presence had the effect of making more real the Canada-US border in the minds and experiences of the Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa peoples. Settler rhetoric and labels of "nationality" distinguished bands, families, and individuals as "American" or "Canadian" Indians. As settlement increased, and reserve and reservation lands became precious last vestiges of Native-owned property, securing these lands and staying on them provided some community stability. However, it also meant that their being "Canadian Indian" of the Osoyoos Reserve or "American Indian" of the Colville Indian Reservation became even more important.

Chapter Five

"On this side of the line we have one father": Divergence, Sovereignty, and Political Reorientation within Canada and the United States

After the 1880s, the Sinixt, Ktunaxa, and Okanagan strategically embraced their political reorientation as reserve or reservation bands and as Canadian or American Indians. Bands channeled indigenous sovereignty and political identity through their reserve in British Columbia or their reservation confederation in the United States. To varying degrees, bands participated in shaping the political and place-based parameters of group identity in their negotiations with the governments of British Columbia, Canada, and the United States.

In British Columbia, the Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa bands that found themselves north of the forty-ninth parallel advocated for the establishment of reserves to ensure they could maintain a land base for their members. Band leaders co-created reserves along with provincial and dominion government representatives. By the end of the century, the entities of band and reserve were conflated as a political identity. The colonial state played a leading role in this discursive and ontological conflation. Government agents kept track of reserve populations and met with reserve leaders exclusively, which reinforced the community's political identity bound by the reserve.

On the US side, Ktunaxa, Okanagan, and Sinixt bands worked within the reservation confederation system, at Colville and Flathead in particular. Though US government officials established these reservations decades before the turn of the century, their function as vessels of identity emerged later and in the context of settlement and federal assimilation policy. In confederation politics, Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa bands and their leaders advocated for their own people. But as members of the confederation, they also spoke for the entire reservation

community of which they were a part. Band leaders worked within this system of governance to control and advance their peoples' situation and maintain indigenous sovereignty. In other words, the Okanagan and Sinixt at Colville and the Ktunaxa at Flathead operated politically, and were identified in this regard, as Colville Indian Reservation and Flathead Indian Reservation tribes.

As politically reoriented bands, the Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa peoples also claimed their status as Canadian or American Indians to bolster their efforts to hold either government accountable to their wards and subjects. Within the boundaries of Canada or the United States, government agencies subjected Native individuals, families, and bands to assimilation-oriented policies intended to suppress indigenous identity and promote their absorption into the dominant society. Boarding school education and land allotment legislation were some of the most efficacious government supported or facilitated programs in the assimilation campaign. Embedded in these programs were messages of American and Canadian patriotism and nationalism, conveyed to Native peoples through a variety of methods and mediums. Over a few generations, Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa people adapted to various degrees to their ascribed status as Canadian or American, and they performed this identity in a variety of ways.

In some cases, band leaders in the United States could view "Canadian Indians" as outsiders, and vice versa. Through this period, bands and families continued traveling beyond the border to visit kin and participate in social, economic, and cultural traditions. However, periods of declining economic opportunity and increased competition for scarce resources on reserves and reservations strained these relationships. In these moments, band leaders looked with suspicion at the Native individuals or families in their midst who could be regarded as "foreign." An urgent sense of self-preservation caused band leaders to doubt the legitimacy of a person or

family's affiliation, mainly if they tried to access reserve or reservation resources or government support. In these cases, being identified as Canadian or American Indian could be a source of contention within the nation-bound community. Such concerns emerged in the context of a colonial relationship between reserve and reservation communities and the often negligent, yet paternalistic federal governments.

Identifying with the Reserve and the Reservation

The Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan bands on reserves in Canada and reservations in the United States sought to make these political entities economically viable and administratively secure. In doing so, bands spoke for and considered their reserve or reservation as their home. They identified with their reserve or reservation political affiliation in relations with the Canadian and US federal governments. They strategically focused their political activity towards defending and seeking to improve their recognized enclaves. Scholars such as Paul Rosier, John Heaton, and Frederick Hoxie have shown how Native communities adjusted to life on reservations and embraced and even indigenized this imposed political, geographical, and social entity.[1] Writing about the Lakota people's transition onto the Cheyenne River Reservation, Hoxie argues that era in Sioux history "should be understood not as a time of defeat and hopelessness but as a crucial period of adaptation and survival. Forced into a strange new world, these people used the tools available to them to protect and preserve the place they now call their homeland."[2] In Washington and Montana, Columbia Plateau bands participated in reservation

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[1] John W. Heaton, *The Shoshone-Bannocks: Culture and Commerce at Fort Hall, 1870-1940* (Lincoln: University Press of Kansas, 2005); Paul Rosier, *Rebirth of the Blackfeet Nation, 1912-1954* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); Frederick Hoxie, *Parading Through History: The Making of the Crow Nation in America, 1805-1935* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[2] Frederick Hoxie, "From Prison to Homeland; the Cheyenne River Indian Reservation before WWI," *South Dakota History*, Vol. 10, no. 1 (Winter 1979), 24.

confederation governments in internal and external political relations. Bands, families, and their leaders adapted to their new political situations as a means to protect their "new" homelands.

On the Flathead Reservation in Montana, the Ktunaxa associated with the village at Dayton Creek worked to secure their homesteads and represent their band in reservation affairs. In the late 1880s and 1890s, Chief Eneas promoted farming among his people as a means to achieve some economic security. Farming and harvesting wheat on their lands along the reservation's northern boundary served as an additional means of claiming space. Ktunaxa families' attempts to make this enterprise work suggests their desire to firm up roots on the reservation. Eneas even went so far as to purchase with his own money farming equipment for his Ktunaxa. Indian agent Peter Ronan also wished to see them take up farming and marked out plots for the Ktunaxa farms, which they called allotments.[3]

Settlers crowding the northern edge of the reservation ignored the Ktunaxa people's exclusive allotments and began encroaching on their plots in the early 1890s. Seeking recourse for the settlers' claiming Ktunaxa lands, Eneas demanded the agent intervene. He explained to Ronan:

> a party of white people took possession of a number of allotments…I took your advice…and held my people from getting in trouble with this class of people. It was hard to do so when an Indian saw one of them run a fence around his little enclosure and defy interference from the Indians with arms in hand. You complained to-day…that the Indians did not improve their farms as well as you expected this year. How could they do so?...I sent for you to come to ask you as our Agent, who made the allotments to my people, when can my children cultivate and improve their land without being insulted and ordered from the soil they believe belongs to them?[4]

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[3] Though Eneas and Ronan refer to "allotments" for the Ktunaxa, they are really referring to the agent's assigning homesteads as part of the Indian Homestead Act. The General Allotment Act did not apply to the Flathead Indian Reservation, and thus no allotments were assigned with the rest of the reservation land being opened up for non-Native settlement.

[4] Peter Ronan, *Justice to Be Accorded to the Indians: Agent Peter Ronan Reports on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana, 1888-1893*, ed. Robert Bigart (Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press, 2014), 307-308.

The agent listened and started the process of land restoration, which involved finding the settlers' homesteads illegally located within the reservation's northern border. As a leader of one of the reservation bands, Eneas had expectations of the reservation system and he sought to calibrate it towards Ktunaxa survival. This incident reveals the Ktunaxa band's dedication to making farming work, protecting their lands on the reservation, and holding their agent accountable to meeting their needs.[5]

Ktunaxa leadership participated in commissions and consultations with US federal officials along with fellow leaders of the Pend d'Oreilles and Bitterroot Salish in reservation affairs. Commissions came to Flathead for several years after the mid-1890s to negotiate a plan to allot lands to members of the confederated tribes. According to the federal government's allotment scheme, the post-allotment surplus lands would be made available to settlers. In meetings with the commissions, the Ktunaxa spoke for both their band and for the entire reservation community. One commissioner claimed that selling large portions of their reservation land would bring the Flathead tribes out of poverty. Ktunaxa chief Isaac, who succeeded Eneas in 1901, shared Salish chief Charlo's skepticism, stating, "You told me I was poor and needed money, but I am not poor. What is valuable to a person is land, the earth, water, trees…and all these belong to us…We haven't any more land than we need, so you had better buy from

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[5] Agent Ronan was quite pleased with the sudden success the Ktunaxa had with farming wheat near Dayton Creek. Unfortunately, as in other areas of the reservation, a lack of irrigation inhibited predictable success in wheat farming into the first decades of the twentieth century. Ronan, *Justice to Be Accorded to the Indians*, 253-254; Peter Ronan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 26 August 1892, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1892* (hereafter, *ARCIA*) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 292; Joseph T. Carter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 20 August 1895, *ARCIA 1895* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 191; Joseph T. Carter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 27 August 1896, *ARCIA 1896* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 185; W. H. Smead to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 15 September 1898, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior* (hereafter, *ARDI*)(Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), 190-191; W. H. Smead to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 30 September 1903, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 193-194; Samuel Bellew report, 2 August 1906, *ARDI* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 256.

somebody else."[6] When the commissions failed to convince the tribes to sell, US Senator Joseph Dixon, representing Montana settler opinion, cobbled together legislation to allot the Flathead Indians and open up the reservation to non-Native settlement. Dixon's bill to impose allotment on Flathead passed in Congress in 1904.[7] Government agents determined the initial list of tribal members eligible for allotments in 1905. They counted over 550 Ktunaxa individuals to whom plots of land for farming or grazing purposes could be assigned.[8] Most Ktunaxa allotments were located on the reservation's northern end.

The Ktunaxa band invested in the reservation confederation and sought to make this political association work for their community. Flathead leadership sent or attempted to send delegations to Washington, D.C. to meet with federal officials to sort out the chaos and disruptions caused by the allotment program.[9] These issues included identifying eligibility for allotments, the status of mixed-race families, and the timing and manner of opening the reservation to settlers, among others. Koostatah succeeded Isaac as chief, but Sub-chief Thomas Antiste represented the Ktunaxa for the Flathead delegations in these trips to the capital through the 1910s.[10] During this period, tribal power and representation on the reservation shifted from the traditional chiefs towards a council form of government. Two governing bodies emerged at

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[6] Burton M. Smith, The Politics of Allotment: The Flathead Indian Reservation as a Test Case," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 70, no. 3 (July 1979), 138.
[7] Ibid, 137-138; see also Jaakko Puisto, "'This is my reservation, I belong here': The Salish-Kootenai Struggle Against Termination" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2000), 64-71.
[8] Eugene Mark Felsman, "Brief History of the Enrollment Process on the Flathead Reservation, Montana, 1903-1908" (unpublished manuscript, 1991), 17. Enrollment councils would add more Ktunaxa to the allotment "rolls" in subsequent years.
[9] "Reds Seek Great Father of Indian," 28 March 1903, *Butte Inter Mountain*, 3; Dagny K. Krigbaum, "The Impact of Allotment on Contemporary Hunting Conflicts: The Confederated Salish-Kootenai as Example," (MA Thesis, University of Montana, 1997), 71-77.
[10] "Indian Delegation to Washington," 8 June 1910, *The Missoulian*, 14; "The Indians Elect Six Delegates," *Lake Shore Sentinel*, 13 May 1910, 1; "Delegation back from Washington," *Lake Shore Sentinel*, 24 June 1910, 1; "Woman's Address Funeral Feature," *Anaconda Standard*, 30 June 1919, 12. Koostatah became chief upon Isaac's death in1902.

Flathead, one created by the agent and the other organized independently. The presence of two councils led to confusion and frustration among the full-blood and mixed-blood members as well as among the traditional tribal leaders. Ktunaxa leaders and spokespersons had to negotiate this factionalism and competing claims of authority on the reservation, along with power struggles with their Salish-speaking confederates and mixed-blood opportunists. Koostatah and others asserted themselves in tribal politics by contributing to council meeting debates regarding political economy and land and water issues.[11]

Meanwhile, on the Colville Indian Reservation, Sinixt and Okanagan leaders worked with other tribal leaders to remind the federal government of its commitment to providing support, security, and economic opportunity for their people. By 1885, with the arrival of Chief Joseph's band of Nez Perce, the Colville Reservation was home to twelve distinct Native groups. Sinixt leaders such as Aropaghan and their Skoyelpi relatives under Chief Barnaby represented their peoples in the northeastern corner of the Colville Reservation near Kettle Falls and the village of Inchelium. In the reservation's northwestern corner, Tonasket continued to act as chief of the reservation Okanagan until his death in 1891. At an 1889 council with the recognized leaders of the various Colville reservation tribes, Indian agent Rickard Gwydir related the hopes of the Great Father in Washington to establish order on their reservation. The president called for

[11] Flathead Tribal Council, 4 May 1923, Folder 43164, Box 10, Flathead, Central Classified Files, 1907-39, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.. Heather Cahoon, "For Better or for Worse: Flathead Indian Reservation Governance and Sovereignty" (PhD diss., University of Montana, 2005), 118-124. Even before allotment was introduced, Native peoples from other tribes relocated to the Flathead Reservation. Dozens of Spokane and Kalispel families made their way to Flathead in the 1890s. The assignment of reservation land encouraged others associated with Colville, Nez Perce, Blackfeet, and Umatilla to seek land at Flathead.

unity among the many Colville Reservation tribes. He proposed that they adhere to a code of conduct to manage the affairs of their people.[12]

Chief Aropaghan agreed with aspects of the agent's proposition, adding, "This is where we wish to be – There's one chief here – one there – another yonder – All over the country – I would want everything bad cleaned off our country. I want all the Indians to be as one – united."[13] In terms of crime and punishment among their people, Aropaghan asked that all the chiefs uniformly attend to this duty. Barnaby agreed, stating, "Oripah-kin and I are of the same opinion[.] We are two chiefs, but our lands and interests are the same…Washington wants us to have one law. I am glad that is the case. If some of my people go to other tribes I will get them back." They welcomed a code of laws for their people, but they also insisted that these laws should apply to non-Native perpetrators as well, as they believed that it was the white denizens who caused much of the trouble on and near the reservation.[14] Tonasket, by contrast, felt that the other chiefs could be doing more to adopt "white ways" as he felt he had done. Seeing the "Indian working hard putting up good fences, stables, and barns" on the reservation pleased Tonasket, as he believed that this was the path to success.[15] In these discussions, Colville leaders considered several ideas for improving their reservation and achieving a functional coexistence among the members of their many Native groups.

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[12] "Proceedings of Council held at Colville Agency W.T. March 4+5 – 1889," File 9190, Box 512, Letters Received 1889, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter, NARA), Washington, D.C.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid. Chief Tonasket had gone to Washington, D.C. along with Okanagan chief Sarsopkin to weigh in on Colville Reservation matters as they related to the Okanagan band in the mid-1880s. A significant portion of the band grew weary of Tonasket's withdrawn leadership, however, and began to resent him. In expressing their concerns, the dissidents commissioned a local Christian missionary pen a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, bypassing Tonasket's authority altogether. Al. Diomedi to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1 December 1887, File (3)3480, Box 445, Letters Received, 1888, Bureau of Indian Affairs Records, NARA, Washington, D.C.

From the 1890s to the 1910s, the political efforts of Okanagan and Sinixt bands and their leaders reflected a commitment to their own people and to the shared Colville Reservation. On the reservation, some families and individuals experimented with farming, while others struggled financially due to a lack of economic opportunity in the area.[16] Through these transitions, Sinixt and Okanagan leaders also contended with the federal government's campaign to open up the reservation's northern half. Representing the Okanagan band, Chiefs Antoine and Smitkin and Chief Aropaghan of the Sinixt band, among others, met with federal commissioners who convinced them to sign an agreement disposing of the northern portion for $1.5 million dollars. The government would then allot land to the Okanagan and Sinixt people that remained in the ceded portion.[17] However, due to Congress' mishandling of the agreement, the federal government failed to pay out the compensation to the Colville Tribes. In 1905, US Indian Inspector James McLaughlin met with Colville leaders to discuss allotting the reservation's diminished south half. Those including Antoine and Smitkin, and Aropaghan, agreed to allotment for the south half because McLaughlin informed them that signing the agreement was the only way to finally receive the original funds for the previous sale of the North Half.[18]

In addition to securing the funds originally promised them, they also believed that the McLaughlin agreement would resolve the status of their allotments in the north. Issues with

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[16] Albert Anderson to Merrill Gates, 18 November 1899*, Thirty-First Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners 1899* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 34.
[17] . "Colville Commission," *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891/92), xlv-xlvi; "Indians on Colville Reservation," *Congressional Record Containing the Proceedings and Debates of the Fifty-Second Congress, First Session, Vol. XXIII* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 3840.
[18] "A communication from the Secretary of the Interior, submitting an agreement with the Indians of the Colville Reservation for the cession of a part of their lands," *The Executive Documents of the Senate of the United States for the First Session of the Fifty-Second Congress 1891-1892* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 15; "Agreement with Colville Indians," Letter from the Secretary of the Interior transmitting with a Copy of Communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, a Draft of a Bill to Ratify an Agreement with the Indians of the Colville Reservation, in Washington, House of Rep. 59th Congress, 1st Session, Document no. 332 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 13.

heirs, leasing, sale, and settler encroachment on former North Half allotments had frustrated the Okanagan and Sinixt bands for a decade. At one point, Chief Aropaghan inquired directly of the Colville agent, John Webster, about these issues. The Sinixt chief asked Webster to assist a band member whose allotment was in peril, explaining, "I am the boss of this country. I want you to give his land back to that boy. This is his allotment. He was born there, his father and mother was there all the time till they die. I want you to give the allotment back to him, not to give it to anybody, 'tis nobody's business, it is yours. I cannot do that – you will finish it. You are the man that can do everything."[19] In these ways, Sinixt and Okanagan leaders advocated for their own people as well as asserted themselves in decisions affecting the entire reservation.[20]

Sinixt leaders continued to press for government accountability in Indian Affairs on the Colville Reservation while navigating tribal politics. Representing the Sinixt, James Bernard succeeded Aropaghan as chief by 1910. Bernard had served in leadership capacities since the 1890s and had accompanied Colville representatives to Washington, D.C. on several occasions. He also led delegations to speak on behalf of the Colville Indians in the 1910s and 1920s.[21] On a reservation of twelve Native groups, factionalism and divergent interests made it difficult to achieve consensus on particular issues. Bernard was instrumental in establishing the Colville Indian Association as a political body organized to channel and consolidate the confederated

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[19] Arapaghan to Indian Agent, 10 November 1904, File 4, Box 1, John McAdam Webster Papers, MASC, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman.
[20] Lawney Reyes, *White Grizzly Bears' Legacy: Learning to Be Indian* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 39.
[21] Ibid, 38-39; Sister Maria Ilma Raufer, *Black Robes and Indians on the Last Frontier: A Story of Heroism* (Milwaukee, IL: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1966), 439; For instance, the article, "Northern Indians Not Satisfied Without Pay for Their Land," 27 December 1898, *The Herald*, 1, states that "The Indians, led by Chief Aura Paghuin and Chief Bernard, demand that they be paid about $1,500,000, claiming this under the report of a commission which examined into the matter some time after the reservation was set apart by President Grant's proclamation in July, 1872. A truce has been secured on the promise that the two chiefs will be taken to Washington this winter by Agent Anderson to see the president."

tribes' various concerns.[22] Sinixt descendants remembered, "Chief James Bernard of the Colvilles was one of the first chiefs who realized the moral obligations of the U.S. Government toward its Indian wards."[23]

In their capacity as Colville Reservation Indians, the Okanagan and Sinixt made claims on the US government that reflected their understanding of their position as "American Indian" tribes. Around the time that Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924, which unilaterally classified all Native Americans in the United States as citizens, the "Colville and Okanogan Tribes" submitted to Congressional representatives a request to pursue legal action in the Court of Claims.[24] They sought full compensation for the sale of the reservation's North Half. President Calvin Coolidge vetoed a bill that would create such a pathway for redress. In response, tribal leaders met in Spokane, Washington, in 1925 to craft a lucid yet incisive letter to "Our Great White Father."[25]

The "Older Chiefs of the Colville and Okanogan tribes of Indians of the State of Washington" recognized their position within the jurisdiction of the United States. [26] Through

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[22] Kathleen A. Dahl, "Sovereignty, Environmental Use and Ethnic Identity on the Colville Indian Reservation" (PhD diss., Washington State University, 1990), 85-86. Also a founding member of the Colville Indian Association was Christine Quintasket, or Mourning Dove. Laura Arnold, "More than Mourning Dove: Christine Quintasket – Activist, Leader, Public Intellectual," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 67, no. 1 (Spring 2017), 38; Dahl, "Sovereignty, Environmental Use and Ethnic Identity," 84-85.
[23] "Statement of Ronald A. Nelson, President, Colville Indian Association," *Colville Termination: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, Ninetieth Congress, First Session on S. 282, June 8 1967* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), 83-84; "Courthouse and County News," 14 February 1914, *Colville Examiner*, 10.
[24] "An Act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue certificates of citizenship to Indians," 2 June 1924, HR 6355, PL 68-175, Session 1, 68th Congress, 1924, *Public Laws of the United States of American 1923-1925* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925), 253; "Claims of the Colville and Okanogan Indian Tribes of Washington against the United States," HR 3855, House of Representatives, Sixty-Ninth Congress, First Session, 1925, 3-12.
[25] Raufer, *Black Robes and Indians on the Last Frontier*, 427.
[26] *Claims of Lower Spokane and Lower Pend d'Oreille or Lower Kalispell Indians, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee of Indian Affairs House of Representatives, Seventieth Congress, First Session on HR 5574* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1928), 25-26.

this status, they focused their political efforts on making claims on the US government. They insisted that they should be eligible to do so because of their status as American Indians. The chiefs admonished Coolidge, "You are our guardian. You govern us by your laws…By your laws we cannot urge a claim against you without your consent; we cannot ask you for justice in your own courts, unless you first make a law granting us that right."[27] They reminded the president of the promises made by Governor Isaac Stevens in the 1850s that began their relationship with the United States but emphasized that the government did not keep these promises. They asked that the Great Father right this wrong, declaring, "We are your children; we are your wards; we can do nothing without your consent."[28] Through lobbying members of Congress, tribal leaders secured support from Washington's congressional representatives to support a bill to this end, but Coolidge once again vetoed the legislation. Leaders and council of the Colville Tribes would continue to keep pressure on their federal government until the Court of Claims heard their case decades later.[29]

A consciousness of US jurisdiction and power explains the Bonners Ferry Ktunaxa band's political orientation, despite its not having a reservation in north Idaho. Having been granted no executive order reservation in the 1890s, the families of the Bonners Ferry Ktunaxa band chose instead to take homesteads along the Kootenay River as their politically recognized space. A collection of homesteads did not afford the same kind of security or guarantees of assistance from the Indian Office that reservation tribes were eligible to receive. Still, they actively solicited US Indian agents for institutional support and for protection of their

[27] Ibid, 28.
[28] Ibid, 29.
[29] Raufer, *Black Robes and Indians on the Last Frontier*, 436-437.

homesteads from encroaching white settlers in and around Bonners Ferry.[30] Through chief Morrissee Chiqui and his successor, Isadore Chiqui, the Ktunaxa had houses built near their Catholic mission and "after many unsuccessful petitions," finally obliged the federal government to build a day school at the mission and to provide medical assistance as well.[31]

In the 1910s, Bonners Ferry Ktunaxa leaders petitioned the Indian agent at the Colville Reservation, asking him to re-survey their homesteads and ensure that the property lines remained visible and defensible from duplicitous or opportunistic settlers. The band welcomed agent John Webster to confirm its homesteads in 1911.[32] He reported their efforts to work in the local economy, to the extent they could, and to send their children to school. They cultivated relationships with local allies and Catholic Church representatives, who often spoke on their behalf in matters of education and concerning threats to remove their band to the Colville Reservation in the mid-1910s.[33] One bilingual Ktunaxa man, Simon Francis, recalled his role in these affairs as a young man. Francis noted that he "acted as government interpreter for many years and, at present, [1931] interpreter for the United States Kootenai. When the Indian Agent visits the village I spend practically all my time with him interpreting the wants of the tribe. I

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[30] Peter Ronan, *Justice to Be Accorded to the Indians: Agent Peter Ronan Reports on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana, 1888-1893*, ed. Robert Bigart (Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press, 2014), 317, 325-328.

[31] Leonard Corwin Brant, *Kootenai Indians of the Columbia Plateau* (Rathrdum, ID: Northwest Research and Publications), 150-157; "Is Defender of the Indians," 18 February 1916, *Bonners Ferry Herald*, 1; "Local Indians to get School," 17 February 1912, *Bonners Ferry Herald*, 1.

[32] "Commissioner of Indian Affairs," File 2, Box 1, John Mc. Webster Papers, cage 145, MASC, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman, Washington; John Webster to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 21 February 1911, File 8, Box 2, John Mc. Webster Papers, cage 145, MASC, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman, Washington; "To Survey Kootenai Valley," "Plans Kootenai Survey," File 9, Box 2, John Mc. Webster Papers, cage 145, MASC, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman, Washington.

[33] "Says Government Negligent with Kootenai Indians Here," 4 February 1916, *Bonners Ferry Herald*, 1, 8; "Is Defender of the Indians," 18 February 1916, *Bonners Ferry Herald*, 1; "Unfavorable to Moving Plan," 10 March 1916, *Bonners Ferry Herald*, 1., "Threatened Removal of the Kootenais," *The Thirty-third Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association* (Philadelphia, PA: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1916), 46-48.

also interpret the wishes of the agent to the tribe."[34] The Ktunaxa at Bonners Ferry did what they could to make themselves and their concerns visible to the US Indian Office as a matter of survival.

In British Columbia, Okanagan and Ktunaxa bands began to associate their political identity with their individual reserves. For bands of extended families, associating political identity with the decentralized reserves was entirely different from the experience in the United States where bands became part of large multi-tribal reservations.[35] In the late 1870s and into the 1880s, provincial-dominion reserve officials had encountered Okanagan and Ktunaxa bands on their procession through the interior. In meetings with band leaders, they identified and laid out reserves for each these groups. Once established, recognized reserve bands and their chiefs interacted with the Indian administration, the provincial government, and with other Native peoples as representatives of their reserves. They identified with their reserves because it was in these spaces that they maintained some semblance of political and economic control. Their association with the reserve emerged at a time when most bands in British Columbia had little autonomy in conducting their own affairs.

A decades-long effort to secure the return lost lands reinforced the Osoyoos Lake band's connection to its reserve. Chief Gregoire's Okanagan band engaged in a protracted struggle for the return of reserve lands taken by settlers, a struggle that defined their leadership and political attention as Nk'Mip Reserve Indians into the twentieth century. At the heart of the issue was

[34] Brant, *Kootenai Indians*, 280.
[35] The Bonners Ferry Ktunaxa experience with homesteads rather than a reservation looked more like the reserve experience of bands in British Columbia, as compared to those at the confederated Flathead and Colville Reservations. For more on band dynamics and transitions to reserve life, see Elizabeth Furness, "Cycles of History in Plateau Sociopolitical Organization: Reflections on the Nature of Indigenous Band Societies," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 51, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 137-164, Peter Carstens, *The Queen's People: A Study of Hegemony, Coercion, and Accommodation among the Okanagan of Canada* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 151-156.

John C. Haynes' dubious method of preempting reserve lands near Osoyoos Lake. Haynes, a rancher and a government official, took advantage of an anomaly in the reserve commission's marking of the reserve above the lake that allowed him to appropriate some of the most valuable land and riverfront for Gregoire's people.[36] The province granted the preemption while also recognizing the discrepancy but would not compensate the Osoyoos Okanagans for the land grab. Year after year, Gregoire sought either recompense for the lands or more lands with better access to water sources for his people's farming and cattle enterprises.[37] After Gregoire's death in 1907, Baptiste George succeeded him as band chief.

Baptiste George, along with other band and family leaders at Osoyoos, pursued these concerns over reserve land into the 1910s.[38] They had lived through the Indian Reserve Commission, Haynes, Commissioner Peter O'Reilly, and the continued settlement and land pre-emptions around their reserve. The adult men brought their personal memories to bear when meeting with the Royal Commission in October 1913. Baptiste George opened the meeting by stating, "As soon as they had made the agreement with the Queen and had this land surveyed off, my heart has asked ever since, because all this land and the hills and the forests had belonged to my forefathers, but my forefathers and myself never received one cent for this land…but the reserve that is surveyed is done."[39] Spokesman John Stilkiar [Stilkiah] corroborated the chief's statement. He added his recollection of the timeline and the agreement regarding the boundaries of their reserve and the re-survey that effectively cut off more land along the Okanogan River.[40]

[36] Duncan Duane Thomson, "A History of the Okanagan: Indians and Whites in the Settlement Era, 1860-1920" (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1985), 144-147.
[37] Ibid, 146.
[38] Hester E. White, "Presentation of the Silver Medal to Chief Baptiste by Col. Pragnall," *The Twenty-first Report of the Okanagan Historical Society 1957* (Okanagan Historical Society 1957), 21.
[39] *Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of B.C.*, "Okanagan Agency – Transcript" (1913), 77.
[40] Ibid, 78.

They drew upon the troubled history of their reserve but couched their message in terms of the reserve's future. Band leaders requested more land for their younger men and families who needed a space for a supplemental agricultural or ranching based economy, as the previous generation had. Chief Baptiste related, "Every man in this room has his own house on this reserve…they cultivate the land and that is the way they make their living."[41] Baptiste sought to ensure that the next generation of Nk'Mip families would have the opportunity to remain with their people on their reserve, which included feeding themselves and achieving self-sufficiency in the changing regional economy.

Ktunaxa bands' association with reserves as political units is particularly evident in the situations at Creston and Tobacco Plains. At Creston, many Ktunaxa families had lived and worked on the Lower Kootenay Reserve since commissioner Peter O'Reilly laid it out in 1884.[42] Their reserve on the Kootenay River contained only a few quality spots for farming. In a changing economy that emphasized agriculture, these farmlands were quite valuable to the Ktunaxa band of the Lower Kootenay Reserve, as well as to the area's non-Native population. As early as 1891, the Ktunaxa told commissioner O'Reilly that they needed acres added to their existing reserve to maximize their lands for growing because the seasonal flooding of the Kootenay River threatened their fledging crops.[43] Not only were no additional lands added, the next year a company from England arrived to launch a reclamation operation to make the lands of the river section above Kootenay Lake available to settlers. The area Ktunaxa resisted the reclamation operation. They feared that dredging the river threatened their gardens as well as the

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[41] Ibid, 79.

[42] Peter O'Reilly to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 16 December 1884, *Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1884* (Ottawa, ON: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1885), lxxvi.

[43] Peter O'Reilly to A. W. Vowell, 6 June 1891, "Letterbook, 1887-1892," Vol. 1273-1278P, Records of Joint Reserve Commission, C-13902, Canada Department of Indian Affairs, Reel B-1391.

graves of their ancestors located on and near the reserve. In 1892 and in 1895, Ktunaxa parties deliberately disrupted the company's reclamation work by pulling up survey stakes and intimidating workers.[44] The Kootenay Indian agent and the resident Catholic priest, Father Nicolas Coccola, intervened. The Ktunaxa leaders expressed their grievances in council, and further conversations with the agent and priest placated the aggrieved Ktunaxa residents. [45] The reclamation work eventually continued. However, the project proceeded only in fits and starts for the next fifteen years, with reserve Ktunaxa opposing such disruptive infrastructure at every step.[46]

By the time the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs arrived at the Lower Kootenay Reserve in September of 1914, band chiefs Arbel and Alexander were invested in speaking for their reserve and the families of their band. In the three years leading up to the commission's arrival, Chief Alexander had ventured to both Kamloops and "the Coast" - likely Victoria or Vancouver - to gather information on the status of Indian reserves across British Columbia.[47] He and Arbel told the commissioners they needed more reserve land in general and better access to areas for farming and cattle grazing.[48] The commissioners listened but remained concerned about the economic conditions on the Lower Kootenay Reserve. A commissioner asked Alexander if he would rather just relocate his people to the St. Mary's Reserve near Fort Steele. Alexander responded that his band would not "like to go up to St. Mary's…these Indians here they were born here and live here, and the Indians up at St. Mary's they were born there and they have

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[44] Tommy Norbury to his Father, 18 October 1892, File 7, Box 1, Norbury Family (T. C. N. Norbury), MSS 877, Royal BC Museum Archives, Victoria, British Columbia; John Mcfee to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 22 April 1893, File 28013-2, Vol. 3738, Black Series, Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, Reel C10129;
[45] Nicolas Coccola, *They Call Me Father: Memoirs of Father Nicolas Coccola*, ed. Margaret Whitehead (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988), 130-131.
[46] "Local Notes," 3 September 1908, *Cranbrook Herald*, 2.
[47] *Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of B.C.,* "Kootenay Agency – Transcript" (1914), 1-2.
[48] Ibid, 4-9.

lived there all the time."[49] The band leaders wanted to preserve the future of their reserve, their reserve economy, and their band's relationship to this space.

At Tobacco Plains, Ktunaxa leaders similarly identified with their reserve through their efforts to control the reserve's boundaries and political economy. In 1891, Paul David succeeded his father as chief of the Tobacco Plains band. Paul David worked with the Indian agent Robert L. T. Galbraith to preserve law and order among his people as well as to prevent local settlers from encroaching and grazing on their reserve land.[50] Encroachments became more frequent as settlement increased in the valley south of the growing town of Cranbrook, near Fort Steele, and the town of Eureka, Montana, just beyond the international boundary. The Tobacco Plains Ktunaxa received visits from Agent Galbraith, who frequently assessed their situation on the reserve.[51] Galbraith became as aware of these settler intrusions as he was of the band's fragile reserve economy. The Ktunaxa band could not depend solely on the farming and stock raising opportunities within the boundaries of the reserve, which made Ktunaxa off-reserve hunting a continued necessity. But they did try to make these economic pursuits work. Through the 1900s, they continued raising cattle and horses and building fences on the reserve. As with other reserves on the arid Columbia Plateau, irrigation and land competition drove the need for a re-assessment of the Tobacco Plains reserve lands.

When the Royal Commission came to Tobacco Plains, the band chief, recognized headmen, and other spokespersons frequently referred to Tobacco Plains as "my reserve."[52] In

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[49] Ibid, 10.
[50] Michael Phillips to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 30 June 1892, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1892* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1893), 246.
[51] These visits are recorded in the agent's annual reports submitted to his superiors in Ottawa in the Department of Indian Affairs from 1892 to 1910.
[52] *Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of B.C.*, "Kootenay Agency – Transcript" (1914), 30.

his statement to the commissioners, Chief Francois focused on the land's productive capacity, saying, "My Chief told you it is all right that the Reserve is ours. I would like to ask you to give me some ranging land for my cattle. About the farming here, that is on my reserve, and that is where I do my farming."[53] Headman Joseph David added, "I tell you I like this Reserve, and now today I wish to ask you to make it strong, to leave it as it is – not to have any of it cut off…I am very glad to see you on this Reserve to do a good work for us."[54] In speaking for their reserve, they asked that the commission impose no reductions. Indeed, they requested an increase in land for grazing or growing hay, or at least better access to range land for their cattle herds. When asked if he would instead like to move to a different reserve, Chief Paul David answered, "I like this Reserve, and would rather have it than any other piece of land."[55] When band leaders spoke for the Tobacco Plains Reserve, they spoke for the Tobacco Plains Ktunaxa.

Royal Commission testimonies of Okanagan and Kootenay district reserve leaders refer not only to a reserve affiliation, but also to a Canadian affiliation that grounded the chief's position in these matters. In his testimony, Chief Paul David at Tobacco Plains informed the commissioners of the problems his people had with cattle grazing and livestock raising in their increasingly crowded valley. One particular issue was cattle wandering near the international boundary line. A white rancher from south of the boundary line would graze his cattle north of the line, reducing the grass available for Ktunaxa cattle on the reserve.[56] Paul David asked the government to build a fence along the southern border of their reserve, along the forty-ninth parallel. A fence would keep out the American cattle and keep their own cattle from roaming

[53] Ibid, 33-34.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid, 37.
[56] Ibid, 44.

beyond the line to be intercepted by American ranchers.[57] When asked if he lost cattle to white ranchers from British Columbia, Paul David told the commissioner, "These white people on this side of the line we have one father the King with them…We are all under one King – the Indians and the whites."[58] He assured the commissioner that it was the Americans who caused the problems for the Ktunaxa near the border, not the Ktunaxa people's Canadian neighbors whom he identified with in this instance.

National Identities, Native Identities

Native people worked within a nation-state system according to their status as either Canadian or American subjects or citizens. Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa bands made claims on their respective nation-state as American or Canadian Indians in trust relationships with the federal governments. This involved participating in the cultural and national institutions of the nation-state as a means to reinforce their positions. Indian boarding schools and residential schools forcibly exposed generations of Native youth to the national cultures of Canada or the United States as a means of rapidly promoting their assimilation. In other situations, Native people chose to perform their imposed national status by observing national holidays or contributing to national causes. Though families and individuals continued to cross the border to visit each other and practice their communities' indigenous traditions during this period, the performance of national culture drew reserve and reservation bands closer to Canada or the United States.

Among bands in British Columbia, the questions of reserve land and land title remained the most pressing issues after the turn of the century. Okanagan and Ktunaxa band leaders began

[57] Ibid, 45.
[58] Ibid, 37-38.

to coordinate with leaders from other Native communities in British Columbia based on their shared frustrations and objectives. They recognized the structure of the political system that claimed authority over the land question and focused their efforts on petitioning the province of British Columbia, the Dominion of Canada, and even the British Empire for resolution.

In several multi-tribal delegations, representatives from the Okanagan and Ktunaxa joined British Columbia band leaders in submitting memorials stating their grievances or petitioning Victoria, Ottawa, and London directly. In 1906, Chief Johnny Chilliheetza from the north Okanagan joined Squamish and Secwepemc representatives on a trip to meet with Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier in Ottawa and then on to London to meet with King Edward VII.[59] Both meetings were attempts to bypass intransigent provincial authority and speak directly to those in higher positions. In their meeting with the king, Chilliheetza and his associates asked his majesty to intervene in British Columbia's appropriation of Native lands. The king and Canadian High Commissioner Lord Strathcona listened politely but offered no formal solution or promise for redress on the land issue.[60] Historian Keith Thor Carlson has argued that, according to the delegate chiefs, the king did make some promises, despite not having provided a written agreement defining the terms.[61] The lack of recognized crown support fueled further political activity and coalition building among the aggrieved bands.

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[59] "To Visit the King," 8 June 1906, *Victoria Daily Times*, 2. Johnny Chiliheetza's father was Chief Chiliheetza of nineteenth century Okanagan authority. Johnny was a member of the Nicola at Douglas Lake to the northwest of the Okanagan Valley reserves. He seems to still have had some influence over the affairs of the Kamloops-Okanagan Agency bands and was listed as Okanagan. See also, "General," 5 April 1906, *Hedley Gazette*, 4.
[60] Darcy Anne Mitchell, "The Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia: A Study in Pressure Group Behavior" (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1973), 21; "Indians to Appeal to King," 22 July 1906, *The Sun*, 10; "Chief Joe Capilano is Disappointed," 30 August 1906, *Vancouver Daily Province*, 1.
[61] Keith Thor Carlson, "Rethinking Dialogue and History: The King's Promise and the 1906 Aboriginal Delegation to London," *Native Studies Review*, Vol. 16, no. 2 (2005), 9-10.

In 1908, Okanagan chiefs met with Nlakapamux and Secwepemc leaders at Spences Bridge, British Columbia, west of Kamloops, to discuss the need to deliver "a big 'paper'" to Ottawa recounting their grievances.[62] An ethnographer and ally, James Teit, helped them craft such a letter. Around the same time, they worked to form an organization known as the Interior Tribes of British Columbia.[63] In 1910, the authors intercepted Prime Minister Laurier on a trip through Kamloops and presented their formal notice "From the Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan, and Couteau Tribes of British Columbia." The memorial to Laurier explained,

> We expect much of you as the head of this great Canadian Nation, and feel confident that you will see that we receive fair and honorable treatment. Our confidence in you has increased since we have noted of late the attitude of your government towards the Indian rights movement of this country…We trusted the whites and waited patiently for their chiefs to declare their intentions toward us and our lands. We knew what had been done in neighboring states, and we remembered what we had heard about the queen being so good to the Indians and that her laws carried out by her chiefs were always just and better than the American laws.[64]

The Okanagan party and others sought recognition of their rights as the original land title holders and the federal government's protection of their lands from British Columbia. They also sought to cooperate with local settlers, their Canadian neighbors.

Laurier responded positively to the memorial and indicated he would take their claims seriously. However, the conservatives who replaced his administration the following year did not share Laurier's interest.[65] Leaders from the Interior Tribes of British Columbia continued to

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[62] Peter Campbell, "'Not as a White Man, Not as a Sojourner': James A. Teit and the Fight for Native Rights in British Columbia, 1884-1922," *Left History*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (1994): 43.
[63] R. M. Galois, "The Indian Rights Association, Native Protest Activity, and the "Land Question" in British Columbia, 1903-1916," *Native Studies Review*, Vol. 8, no. 2 (1992), 9, 16.
[64] "To Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada, From the Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan, and Couteau Tribes of British Columbia. Presented at Kamloops, B.C. August 25, 1910," Lee Maracle, Jeannette C. Armstrong, Delphine Derickson, Greg Young-Ing, eds., *We Get Our Living Like Milk From the Land* (British Columbia: Okanagan Rights Committee, 1993/1994), 109-116.
[65] Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal People and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990), 88.

work for a legal resolution of the land issue, which included drawing support from coastal organizations such as the Indian Rights Association. Okanagan and Ktunaxa band leaders traveled to meetings with interior and coastal bands at Spences Bridge and Victoria between 1910 and the beginning of the Royal Commission on British Columbia Indian Affairs in 1913.[66]

Through the Royal Commission of 1913-1916 and after, Okanagan and Ktunaxa leaders contributed to inter-tribal political activities, which reflected their commitment to securing recognition of land tenure for all British Columbia bands. Their efforts also demonstrated their political consciousness and enacting of their position within the Canadian federal system. The Royal Commission heard from hundreds of bands throughout the province from 1913 to 1916, but at no point were the commissioners interested in or mandated to hear statements regarding aboriginal title. By the end of the tour, the commission calculated the province's band populations and lands necessary for their economic subsistence and determined that 47,000 acres of reserved land could be made available to settlers while some land would be added to certain reserves.[67] The commission report did not include a recommendation on recognizing aboriginal land title.

Okanagan chief Johnny Chilliheetza and Ktunaxa chief Paul David, among many others from the Interior Tribes, found these results beyond disturbing. They embarked on a desperate trip to Ottawa to appeal directly to the Privy Council in 1916.[68] There they laid out their recent efforts with the dominion government: "We have had interviews with the prime minister, the

[66] Wendy Wickwire, "'They Wanted…Me to Help Them': James A. Teit and the Challenge of Ethnography in the Boasian Era," in Celia Haig-Brown and David A. Nock, eds, *With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian & Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 305-306; *Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of B.C.*, "Okanagan Agency – Transcript" (1913), 80, 127, 130; *Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of B.C.,* "Kootenay Agency – Transcript" (1914), 15.
[67] Tennant, *Aboriginal People and Politics*, 88-89, 97-98.
[68] "Elko Notes by Fred Roo," 27 April 1916, *Cranbrook Herald*, 4; "Elko Notes by Fred Roo," 8 June 1916, *Cranbrook Herald*, 4.

minister of the interior and the deputy superintendent-general of Indian affairs, but the matter stands unsettled yet. We have also interviewed Sir Wilfred Laurier, who, when prime minister promised to have our claims brought before the judicial committee of the privy council of England. We also called upon the governor-general."[69] Their return home in the summer of 1916 with no satisfaction from the federal government prompted the Interior Tribes of British Columbia to amalgamate with the Indian Rights Association, forming the Allied Tribes of British Columbia that year.[70]

For a decade, the ATBC would serve as the primary inter-tribal political organization dedicated to the Native land issue. Leaders from most of the Okanagan bands in British Columbia, and to a lesser extent the Ktunaxa, were represented in the founding.[71] Eventually, Okanagan leaders such as Johnny Chiliheetza developed mixed feelings about the ATBC as a body. Still, other Okanagans sought representation from the organization and contributed to its voice at key moments. The ATBC met in 1919 and drew up a petition demanding that the Royal Commission cut-offs (appropriations), not be accepted, and by 1923 its executive committee held a conference with the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs Duncan Scott on that issue. Speaking for the "Okanagan Tribes," Narcisse Baptiste, son of Baptiste George of Osoyoos, repeatedly avowed that his people did not agree to any cut-offs of Okanagan or Similkameen reserve land.[72] In the ATBC meetings with federal officials, Baptiste and Johnny

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[69] "Indians Feel Firm Hand of Land-Grabber," 30 May 1916, *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 5.
[70] Wickwire, "They Wanted…Me to Help Them," 308.
[71] *House of Commons, Special Committees of the Senate and House of Commons Meeting in Joint Session to Inquire in the Claims of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia, As Set Forth in their Petition Submitted to Parliament in June 1926, Session 1926-1927, Proceedings, Reports and the Evidence* (Ottawa, ON: F. A. Acland, 1927). 175-176.
[72] "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," 106-108, Allied Indian Tribes of B.C., File 1, MSS 997, Royal BC Museum Archives, Victoria, BC.

Chiliheetza represented or claimed to represent the Okanagan people in British Columbia.[73] Okanagan leaders contributed to the 1927 House of Commons official inquiry that followed up on yet another petition from the ATBC the year before. By asserting themselves through coalition actions, Okanagan political leadership demonstrated a commitment to securing redress from the Canadian state through multiple channels. Furthermore, Okanagan and Ktunaxa political activities reveal these peoples' embrace of a Canadian Indian identity and an orientation towards Canada.

In cases of political activity, Native peoples could strategically adopt their status as Canadian or American, while in cases of education the choice was made for them. Indian boarding schools and residential schools played a significant role in inculcating into Plateau Native youth their "national" status. These schools exposed Native students to patriotic rhetoric and civic curriculum designed to hasten their embrace of American or Canadian values and affiliation.[74]

In the United States, Indian education policy centered on assimilating Native students into the larger non-Native society as independent citizens. Among Native communities where Christian missionaries were already well-established, federal Indian education policy would be carried out by the missionaries as a matter of practicality. This unusual church-state marriage was the result of President Ulysses S. Grant's "Peace Policy," ordained in the 1870s as an alternative to military violence against Native nations. Missionaries and their assistants, often

[73] *To Inquire in the Claims of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia,* 136-139.
[74] For more on how the federal government implemented this policy in borderland spaces far from the metropole, see Andrae M. Marak and Laura Tuennerman, *At the Border of Empires: The Tohono O'odham, Gender, and Assimilation, 1880-1934* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013), and John R. Gram, *Education at the Edge of Empire; Negotiating Pueblo Identity in New Mexico's Indian Boarding Schools* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015.

Catholic nuns or young women seeking paid work as teachers, instructed Native male and female students in boarding schools and day schools. In this gendered curriculum, instructors taught boys vocational trades, including farming, blacksmithing, and carpentry. Girls received training in the "domestic arts," in skills such as sewing, laundry, and cooking. Administrators and teachers emphasized these industries along with lessons in Catholic Christianity. Instruction in reading, writing, and math had its place in the classroom as well.[75]

At the St. Ignatius mission schools on the Flathead Indian Reservation, teachers instilled in students the American values of civics through lessons in US history and activities honoring national holidays and symbols. In the boy's school classroom, the students read "History of the U.S. Sadliers Prepatory Course," and in the girl's school, "Hassard's History of the U.S."[76] These texts promoted themes of patriotism and American hero worship. Ktunaxa youth, along with the other Native students at St. Ignatius, were also exposed to and performed at a variety of patriotic ceremonies and events that celebrated uniquely American achievements and culture. In 1890, administrators subjected students to "Franchise Day" services commemorating the three-year anniversary of the General Allotment Act. An excited Indian agent Peter Ronan shared the day's program with his superiors, which included thanksgiving service at the church, the school superintendent's address on the "Privileges and Duties of American Citizenship," a baseball game, "Patriotic Recitations by the boys," a concert by the boy's brass band playing the "Star Spangled Banner" and the "Red, White and Blue," and the choirs singing "3 cheers for 'Our Country.'"[77] Throughout the school year, Ronan reminded the Indian Office, "New Year's Day,

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[75] Peter Ronan, *"A Great Many of Us Have Good Farms": Agent Peter Ronan Reports on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana, 1877-1887*, ed. Robert Bigart (Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press, 2014), 160.
[76] Robert J. Bigart, ed., *Zealous in All Virtues: Documents of Worship and Culture Change, St. Ignatius Mission, Montana, 1890-1894* (Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press, 2007), 24-25.
[77] Peter Ronan, *Justice to Be Accorded to the Indians: Agent Peter Ronan Reports on the Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana, 1888-1893*, ed. Robert Bigart (Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press, 2014), 122.

Washington's Birthday, Arbor Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas were appropriately observed as holidays by civil and religious exercises," as was "hoisting the American flag."[78] For the growing numbers of Ktunaxa children attending the school, this immersion into American symbolism and education meant to detribalize their minds and assimilate them into American society.[79]

In British Columbia, government support for Christian boarding schools aimed at assimilating Native peoples lagged slightly behind the United States, but the schools that began in the 1880s operated according to a similar assimilationist ideology. By that decade, the federal mandate to educate indigenous children with a goal of absorbing them into the wider Canadian society gained ground nationally.[80] As in the United States, Christian missionary societies and churches contracted with the Department of Indian Affairs to carry out the mandate. By the late 1880s, this arrangement reached British Columbia. Missionaries present in the province took advantage of this funding source to expand their missions through the schooling option.[81] Father Leon Fouquet had founded an Oblate Catholic mission among the Ktunaxa at the confluence of the Kootenay and Elk Rivers called St. Eugene's. During Father Francis Coccola's tenure as the resident priest among the Ktunaxa, he petitioned for funds from the Oblate administration and the federal government to launch a residential school at St. Eugene's in 1890. [82]

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[78] Ibid, 378. For more examples of the performance of patriotic celebrations in the early 1890s, see Bigart, *Zealous in All Virtues*, 73, 84, 96, 99, 165, 211.
[79] Ibid, 154. The fewer numbers of Ktunaxa students at St. Ignatius, compared to those from other tribal communities at Flathead, administrators believed was due to the character of Ktunaxa parents and their distance away from the school. For those Ktunaxa youth who did attend school, St. Ignatius was one of the only relatively nearby options and so they likely attended school there.
[80] John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999) 23-49. See also, J. R. Miller, *Shinwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1996).
[81] Vincent J. McNally, *The Lord's Distant Vineyard: A History of the Oblates and the Catholic Community in British Columbia* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2000), 124-128.
[82] Ibid, 145-150.

Accepting federal support meant implementing Canadian education curriculum along with the Oblates' religious training. In the residential school, instructors taught both throughout the student's daily school routine. The majority of pupils at St. Eugene's, or the Kootenay Indian Industrial School, as it came to be known, came from Ktunaxa reserves in British Columbia.[83] Coccola and the Sisters of Providence taught boys and girls separately in the trades and domestic arts for half of their school day.[84]

Instructors also exposed Ktunaxa youth to content that emphasized Canadian national identity and civic values to inculcate into their minds that they were "Canadian Indians." Thus, the other half of the St. Eugene's curriculum consisted of catechism and teaching the Department of Indian Affairs' "Programme of Studies for Indian Schools," which Coccola consistently adhered to according to his reports to the department.[85] In addition to instruction in the English language, the "Programme of Studies" curriculum included "ethics," civics, and history lessons. Students would be taught "Citizenship of Indians. Patriotism. Industry." Under the "History" category, they learned "Canadian History," "Stories of Indians of Canada and their Civilizations," and British Columbia history.[86] Boys also played in the brass band at the school and played patriotic songs at local events or when dignitaries such as the Governor-General came to St. Eugene's. School administrators designated the boy's band to play for Canadian national

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[83] R. L. T. Galbraith to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 25 July 1902, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1902* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1902), 251; "School Near Completion - Kootenay Indian Most Intellectual of All Tribes," 23 March 1912, *The Prospector*, 1.

[84] The St. Eugene school administrators remark on the gendered vocational and domestic arts curriculum for boys and girls, respectively in their annual reports to the Department of Indian Affairs. These references are mentioned in reports from the following years: 1891 (135), 1892 (262), 1893 (135), 1894 (170), 1895 (149), 1896 (92), 1897 (290), 1898 (348), 1899, 1901 (426), 1902 (418), 1903 (287), 1904 (251), 1905 (378), 1906 (456), 1907 (419), 1909 (442), 1910 (335), 1911 (382), 1912 (567), 1914 (176), 1915 (244), 1916, (184).

[85] Department of Indian Affairs reports for the years, 1895 (148), 1896 (384), 1897 (289), 1898 (347), 1901 (425), 1902 (418), 1903 (433), 1904 (415), 1905 (450), 1906 (456), 1907 (419), 1909 (422), 1911 (576), 1912 (567).

[86] "Programme of Studies," *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1897* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1898), 312-315; "Programme of Studies," *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1898* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1899), 358-361.

and British imperial holiday celebrations, including the Victoria Day festivities in the nearby town of Cranbrook in 1901.[87] The school inundated a generation of Ktunaxa children with programming that reinforced their understanding of themselves as "Canadian Indians" within the bounds of Canada.

Before the 1900s, Okanagan and Sinixt youth experienced patriotic curriculum primarily in boarding schools in Washington State, rather than in British Columbia. In British Columbia, no religious or government agency built a boarding or day school for Okanagan children until 1915.[88] The Kamloops Residential School to the north did not consistently take Okanagan students in significant numbers until after the 1920s.[89] In Washington, by contrast, Okanagan students attended the Tonasket Indian School about twenty miles south of the border off of the Okanogan River, while Sinixt youth often went to the Sacred Heart School near Fort Colville.[90] At the Tonasket School, which became operational in the late 1880s, administrators and instructors exposed Okanagan boys and girls to a boarding school curriculum that reinforced American civics and history. They read American history textbooks such as "Stories of Our Country," and sang the Star Spangled Banner at presentations.[91] In one rendition of the national anthem, an observer noted, "the way it was sung showed that the spark of patriotism needed little

[87] N. Coccola to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 1 July 1901, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1901* (Ottawa, ON: S. E. Dawson, 1901), 426.
[88] J. Robert Brown to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 21 October 1914, Volume 6405, File 833-1, part 1, School Files Series, Record Group 10, Department of Indian Affairs, Library Archives Canada, Reel C-8744; Frankie Beusern to Mr. Scott, 5 November 1914, J. Robert Brown to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 21 October 1914, Volume 6405, File 833-1, part 1, School Files Series, Record Group 10, Department of Indian Affairs, Library Archives Canada, Reel C-8744.
[89] For references to Okanagan youth at Kamloops School, see Shirley Louis, *Q'sapi: A History of Okanagan People as Told by Okanagan Families* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 2002).
[90] Hal J. Cole to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 11 August 1890, *ARCIA 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890), 217; Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove: A Salishan Autobiography*, ed. Jay Miller (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), xiii, 27, 197.
[91] Henry Hanks to W. N. Hailman, 15 August 1894, *ARCIA 1895* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 315.

fanning" among the Native students."[92] By the time the Tonasket School closed in 1896, instructors had exposed a generation of Okanagan youth and others to nationalistic messaging intended to remind the students of their position in the United States.[93]

Native students did not necessarily embrace the Canadian or American patriotic and civics-oriented programming impressed upon them by the schools, but it was a ubiquitous presence in their school experience. Students often resisted the authority of the school teachers, or they remained in school for only short periods. During the time that Okanagan and Ktunaxa children were in the classroom, on the farm, in the sewing room, or in the band, administrators and teachers constantly reminded them of their position within a specific colonial nation-state. Thus, some Native children found themselves in a confusing situation when their parents sent them across the Canada-US border to attend school. In such cases, these students learned lessons in one nation-state's national culture and then returned back over the line as a subject or citizen of another nation-state.[94] Native students left the Indian schools with an awareness of American or Canadian national identity that shaped multiple generations of Ktunaxa, Okanagan, and to a lesser extent Sinixt, people's sense of positionality.

Native bands, families, and individuals participating in civic or cultural activities of either nation-state demonstrated a willingness to perform national identity. On the Flathead and

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[92] "Tonasket Indian School: Interesting Exercises Mark the Close of the Year," 7 July 1895, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 10.
[93] Geo. H. Newman to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 15 August 1897, *ARCIA 1897* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 290.
[94] The Bonners Ferry band of Ktunaxa sent a number of their children to the St. Eugene school in British Columbia because they were excluded from attending the local public schools along with white students. Elders of the Kootenai Nation and the Members of the Tribe, *Century of Survival: A Brief History of the Kootenai Tribe of Idaho* (Kootenai Tribe of Idaho, 1990), 12; Brant, *Kootenai Indians of the Columbia Plateau*, 278-279; Commissioner of Indian Affairs," File 2, Box 1, John Mc. Webster Papers, cage 145, MASC, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman, Washington; Troy Hunter, *Not So Long Ago: Recollections of Ktunaxa/Kinbasket Elders* (Cranbrook, BC: Ktunaxa/Kinbasket Tribal Council, 1999), 54.

Colville reservations, and even among the Bonners Ferry Ktunaxa band, Native peoples joined in American holiday celebrations. Since at least the early 1890s, Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa peoples had observed the Independence Day holiday on July 4th as part of their slate of mid-summer social and cultural gatherings. Normally, Christian missionaries and federal agents disparaged and discouraged indigenous celebrations. The agents of assimilation often grumbled that the Native peoples' manner of celebrating deviated from American traditions, or that Native attendees became too rowdy for their taste. [95] However, they thought that their wards celebrating American patriotic holidays fostered Native recognition of American power and hastened their eventual absorption into the dominant society.

Bands and families participated on their own terms, holding Fourth of July "powwows" themselves or accepting invitations to attend local town and county festivities. At one 1910 event in Polson, Montana, the Flathead Reservation Ktunaxa agreed to join in the holiday lineup. The local newspaper reminded its readers, "It will be remembered that a number of these Indians were in Polson last Fourth of July and took part in the celebration, and they are imbued with the spirit of patriotism and will come in even greater numbers this year."[96] Native families often camped for several days before and after July 4th and held activities throughout their stay.[97] They would also march in the parade alongside the local settlers or, donning their dance regalia, ride on their own into town or to the festival grounds in a large procession.

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[95] Peter Ronan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 5 August 1893, *ARCIA 1893* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1893), 185; Colville Superintendent to D. L. Crowder, 10 June 1912, File M-5 "Liquor Traffic," General Subject "M" Files FY 1912 1-8, Box 127a, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Colville Indian Agency, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, (hereafter, NARA) Seattle, Washington.
[96] "Polson Town Will Celebrate Fourth," 20 May 1910, *Lake Shore Sentinel*, 1.
[97] "4th of July Excursion," 19 June 1914, *Bonners Ferry Herald*, 1; "Courthouse and County News," 29 May 1915, *Colville Examiner*, 4; "Indians to Observe Fourth," 27 June 1913, *San Juan Islander*, 2; "The Local News," 6 July 1912, *Colville Examiner*, 5.

At Inchelium, Washington, in Sinixt and Skoyelpi territory on the Colville Reservation, Native organizers held a "monster Indian celebration and Fourth of July observance" that included horse racing, dances, traditional stick games, and athletic competitions.[98] The Bonners Ferry Ktunaxa participated in similar activities at Sandpoint, Idaho, alongside baseball games and automobile parades.[99] A major Fourth of July powwow celebration at Nespelem also became an annual occurrence on the Colville Reservation, which Okanagan and Sinixt families regularly attended.[100] At Independence Day events, white neighbors immersed Native peoples in American patriotic messaging through songs, imagery, and speeches. Though they took part on their own terms and introduced indigenous traditions of celebration and recreation, Fourth of July events reminded these Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa peoples of their place in the United States.

War and military service presented Native people with an intense experience of nationalism and patriotism. Okanagan men from British Columbia affirmed their national status as Canadian through service in the military. Few Okanagan men felt inclined to enlist in the British imperial forces before the Great War's beginning in 1914, although George Mclean from Kamloops did serve with Canadian Mounted Rifles in South Africa's Boer War in 1902. Mclean also served with the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) deployed in Europe.[101] By 1917, a significant per capita number of band members from the Head-of-the-Lake reserve enlisted in the CEF. When the military exemption tribunal came to Vernon, British Columbia, in 1917, it found

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[98] "Courthouse and County News," 29 May 1915, *Colville Examiner*, 4; "The Local News," 6 July 1912, *Colville Examiner*, 5. Announcements of this event in 1913 reported also that "The Indians from three reservations and from British Columbia will attend."

[99] "4th of July Excursion," 19 June 1914, *Bonners Ferry Herald*, 1; "Fair Plans Progressing," 19 September 1913, *Bonners Ferry Herald*, 1.

[100] Okanagan elder Andrew Joseph Sr. recalled attending the Nespelem Powwow as a child in the 1940s. Andrew Joseph Sr. *The Country of Sen-om-tuse (snˀamtus): Growing Up the Traditional Colville-Okanagan Way* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 2013), 68-77.

[101] Janice Summerby, *Native Soldiers, Foreign Battlefields* (Canada: Minister of Veterans Affairs, 2005), 14-15.

that "every Indian who would have come under Class 1 of the Military Service Act is at the front already, or on his way there."[102] Of those from the Okanagan band who did serve, two were killed in action and the rest returned home. [103] The inspector for the Indian Department celebrated the service of these young men and held them up as exemplars of Canadian patriotism to the rest of the band.[104] In the midst of band politics in which some members called for a vote to elect a new chief, those such as Isaac Harris protested on the grounds that some of their voting members were still overseas.[105] Harris' Okanagan son Johnny was still with the CEF, and he felt that delaying the vote until the men's return would honor their decision to "fight for their king & country."[106]

Other Okanagans openly supported Canada's efforts in World War I. [107] To fund Canada's war operations overseas and at home, Canadians were lending to the government by buying bonds, known as "Victory Bonds." From Osoyoos, Chief Baptiste George bought Victory

[102] "Indians Enlisted Readily," 6 December 1917, *Kelowna Record*, 1. For more on Canada's First Nations and World War I, see Timothy C. Winegard, *For King and Kanata; Canadian Indians and the First World War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012).
[103] A. Megraw to Assistant Deputy and Secretary Department of Indian Affairs, 5 June 1919, File 32-164, Vol. 7941, Indian Affairs Central Registry Files, Record Group 10, Reel C-13511, Library Archives Canada (hereafter, LAC); Louis, *Q'sapi: A History of Okanagan People*, 41.
[104] A. Megraw to Assistant Deputy and Secretary Department of Indian Affairs, 5 February 1918, File 32-164, Vol. 7941, Indian Affairs Central Registry Files, Record Group 10, Reel C-13511, LAC.
[105] Fred Ball to Assistant Deputy and Secretary Department of Indian Affairs, 15 July 1919, File 32-164, Vol. 7941, Indian Affairs Central Registry Files, Record Group 10, Reel C-13511, LAC. Calling for an election while these Head-of-the-Lake Okanagan soldiers were away was a political maneuver that would sway the vote to a particular party. Some from this faction was critical of the war, which they saw as a conflict that did not involve them. For more on Native critiques of Native service in World War I, see Robert J. Talbot, "'It Would Be Best to Leave Us Alone': First Nations Responses to the Canadian War Effort, 1914-1918," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 45, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 90-116.
[106] Isaac Harris to Mr. Megraw, 29 January 1918, File 32-164, Vol. 7941, Indian Affairs Central Registry Files, Record Group 10, LAC, Reel C-13511; A. Megraw to Assistant Deputy and Secretary Department of Indian Affairs, 5 February 1918, File 32-164, Vol. 7941, Indian Affairs Central Registry Files, Record Group 10, LAC, Reel C-13511.
[107] In her gratitude to the Red Cross during the Great War years' outbreak of diseases including the Spanish Influenza, Mourning Dove waxed remarkably patriotic about Native men fighting in Europe. She focused more on American Indian men and their service in the war, rather than Indians in Canada, but the message could have easily been for the servicemen in Canada. Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove*, 189-192.

Bonds for the war effort - $21,000 worth, the most of any Native person in Canada.[108] As a recognition of the chief's support, the government presented him with two Union Jack flags, which he flew at his farm in the south Okanagan.[109] Later, in 1935, the Crown awarded Baptiste a silver jubilee medal in a grand ceremony to honor his contribution to Canada and the British Empire's victory in the war.[110]

It was one thing for the Okanagan soldiers and supporters to acknowledge their status as Canadian Indians, but quite another to engage that status actively in support of a foreign war for a nation that continued to ignore their peoples' claims of state-sanctioned injustice. In the American context, historian Paul Rosier suggests that "their service was part of a more complex narrative of loyalties. To act patriotically meant both to celebrate the continuities of tribal patriotism and its protection of ancestral homelands and to foster change in America by holding it to the standards that generate patriotism in the first place, to reify the tropes of freedom and democracy."[111] Okanagan service to Canada was a way to show loyalty and then use that gesture as a bargaining chip to seek redress on issues closer to home.[112] Though there may have been myriad reasons for supporting Canada, the extension of support itself demonstrates the Okanagan bands' orientation towards the dominion.

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[108] Various Authorities, *Canada in the Great World War: An Authentic Account of the Military History of Canada from the Earliest Days to the Close of the War of the Nations* (Toronto: United Publishers of Canada, 1919), 327.
[109] "Western Float," 4 December 1919, *The Ledge*, 1.
[110] Hester E. White, "Presentation of the Silver Jubilee Medal to Chief Baptiste by Col. Pragnall," *Twenty-First Report of the Okanagan Historical Society* (Okanagan Historical Society, 1957), 19-22.
[111] Paul Rosier, *Serving their Country: American Indian Politics and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 10.
[112] Stressing war service as a means of securing rights domestically in the United States or as a bargaining chip toward independence from the British Empire was a commonly used political strategy in colonies such as India. See Adriane Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles: African Americans and World War I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Budheswar Pati, *India and the First World War* (New Delhi, India: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 1996); Richard Fogarty and Andrew Tait Jarboe, *Empires in World War I: Shifting Frontiers and Imperial Dynamics in a Global Conflict* (New York, NY: I. B. Taurus & Co., 2014).

Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Okanagan reorientations on reserves in Canada and reservations in the United States played a significant role in how bands asserted themselves politically. However, into the first decades of the twentieth century, Native families, bands, and individuals maintained cultural and social relationships with each other across the border. They held spiritual ceremonies and honorings, and even socialized at such events as American Fourth of July celebrations beyond the boundary line. Though the participants may have begun to see themselves as different from their kin from Canada or the United States, they could still come together to practice the kin and place-based traditions of indigenous nationhood.

Domestic Protection from "Foreign Indians"

In the context of settler colonialism and consequent dwindling resources on reservations and reserves, competition could make tribal leaders question an individual or family's belonging within the community. The colonial system of federally administered reserves and reservations framed and fueled such suspicions and calls for expulsion or disenrollment. The process of reviewing someone's status included questioning their nation-state nationality, which in turn reaffirmed and reinforced the band's own status as either Canadian or American. An Okanagan person could have Okanagan parents, speak *nsyilxcən*, and engage in Okanagan cultural practices with other Okanagan people. However, the individual's birth in another country could be considered suspicious and grounds for challenging their status as a legitimate member of the reserve or reservation, if the circumstances arose.[113] In times of economic scarcity amidst

[113] David Wilkins and Shelly Wilkins analyze the motivations behind tribal disenrollment and the political structures that make this process possible in tribal and United States legal systems. They argue that disenrollment can be nonpolitically motivated and politically motivated. Nonpolitically motivated disenrollment is due to "fraudulent enrollment, error in enrollment, dual membership, or failure to maintain contact with the home community." Wilkins and Wilkins also state that "economic greed, political power, or personal vendettas" drive politically motivated disenrollment. In the case of Okanagan reserve bands and the Colville Tribes on the transnational Columbia Plateau, the situation reflected the former, but flared up in circumstances of economic downturn. David Wilkins and Shelly

insufficient government support, reserve or reservation leaders seeking to alleviate economic challenges made the difficult decision to prioritize nation-state nationality over indigenous kin-based nationhood. In British Columbia, the Indian Act allowed administrators to determine band membership. Federal officials implementing this statute and their relationships with bands framed debates about band membership that included questioning a member's nationality. In the United States, the allotment of reservation lands for individuals and families and the status of these lands as inheritable assets guided much of the tribal governments' discussion of membership and enrollment.

Among the Okanagan in British Columbia, frustration with Indian administration and the control of band leadership fueled questions of member legitimacy in the 1910s and 1920s. The questionable surrender, or transfer, of Okanagan reserve land at Kalamalka Lake (Long Lake) in 1908 started the conversation about Okanagan authority and belonging in reserve affairs. That year, a local settler produced a land surrender document that claimed Okanagan signatories consented to the transfer. The Okanagan from Head-of-the-Lake questioned the document's validity, and a review of the consent signatures indicated that the surrender was "irregular."[114] Okanagans claimed that some of the signatories were not band members. "The list contains names of Indians who are native of the United States," they alleged.[115] Indian department inspector Thomas Cummisky defended the surrender and deposed Head-of-the-Lake band chief Baptiste Logan, replacing him with a man the rest of the band worried would be more

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Wilkins, *Dismembered: Native Disenrollment and the Battle for Human Rights* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), 5-6.

[114] Robert L. de Phyffer, ed., J. H. Christie, "Okanagan Indians Non-Registered: The Reason Why," *Okanagan History: 54th Report of the Okanagan Historical Society* (Okanagan Historical Society, 1990) 79-81.

[115] J. H. Christie to Frank Pedley, 4 August 1909, File 271322-1, Vol. 4014, Black Series, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, LAC, Reel C-10203.

amenable.[116] Logan's removal, among other issues, prompted the creation of the Okanagan Indian Defense League, with a former Mounted Police officer who had married an Okanagan woman, James H. Christie, serving as spokesman.

The League, and Christie as its representative, decried the Indian department's micromanagement and scheming that resulted in the deposing of certain band chiefs and the support of fraudulent land surrenders. Additionally, they lamented that the Okanagan people,

> this remnant of a once numerous, powerful, peaceable and industrious band of native-born British Indians should have suffered the hell of miseries through which they have passed during the last ten years, at the hands of the combination of negligent, ignorant, and intently harsh officials, and the invading hordes of stray, foreign Indians, half-breeds that drift from the United States with an added quota from the reserves of B.C.[117]

The alleged presence of "American Indians" became a recurring concern in British Columbia Okanagan band politics and relations with the Indian department.[118] Phrases such as "real Okanagans" compared to "American Okanagans" were used more frequently in correspondence and reports from the League and from those such as the recently deposed chief Castor (Gaston) Louis.[119] Their grievance focused on outsiders consuming reserve resources and illegitimately holding band leadership positions. They charged that the Indian department condoned this arrangement. There was some accuracy to the latter point. The much reviled Inspector Ainsley Megraw reported to the department in 1919, "There are certain Indians in this band who have always been recognized as members and have voted on all previous elections, who are also

[116] de Phyffer and Christie, "Okanagan Indians," 82.
[117] Ibid, 87.
[118] Okanagan Indian Reserve Defense Leauge (hereafter, OIRDL) to Dr. Roche, 24 August 1916; OIRDL to Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 24 August 1916; J. H. Christie to Wilfred Laurier, 12 September 1916; J. H. Christie to Robert Borden, 10 October 1916; Charges Laid Regarding conditions on Reserves and the Conduct of officials pages 24 26 inclusive J. H. C., "Correspondence Between J. H. Christie and Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, In past twelve months" (Okanagan Indian Affairs, 1917).
[119] James A. Teit to Duncan Scott, 23 July 1918, File 32-164, Vol. 7941, Central Registry Files, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, LAC, Reel C-13511.

known to have allotments in the State of Washington. They are among the best Indians of the band and it is desirable that their position be defined authoritatively."[120] Until the federal government could define the so-called "American Okanagans'" position, denunciations of their membership would continue by the aggrieved "British-born Indians."[121]

The "American Indian question" raised by certain parties of the Okanagan bands in British Columbia persisted until the 1930s when the Indian department finally agreed to review the issue. Jimmy Antoine, from the Head-of-the-Lake, made this issue a centerpiece of his attempts to undermine the government inspector and agent. Antoine and his allies continued attacking "American Indians on the Reserve" in the debates regarding recognized band leadership and the elections of their chief.[122] The Okanagan Indian agent, Fred Ball, explained to his superiors that some band members were born in the United States and had ties to the Colville Reservation. However, Ball clarified, "No American Indians have been allowed to reside on the Reserves for the past five years and I have sent many away who have attempted to do so." He claimed, "Many of those referred to by Antoine as 'American Indians' were born of Okanagan parents and have never left Canada, but have left property on the American Reserves by relatives there."[123] The agent rebuffed the dissidents because he wished to place a man of his choosing named Pierre Louie as band chief. Louie claimed "he and all his ancestors were Okanagan Indians." Antoine's faction insisted Louie was an "American Indian" and thus ineligible for the

[120] A. Megraw to Assistant Deputy and Secretary Department of Indian Affairs, 3 September 1919, File 32-164, Vol. 7941, Central Registry Files, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, LAC, Reel C-13511.
[121] de Phyffer and Christie, "Okanagan Indians," 91.
[122] Fred Ball to Assistant Deputy and Secretary Department of Indian Affairs, 13 March 1924, File 32-164, Vol. 7941, Central Registry Files, Department of Indian Affairs, Record Group 10, LAC, Reel C-13511.
[123] Ibid.

position.[124] Highlighting Louie's American roots was also a way to drive a wedge into the agent's agenda as well as to underline the faction's status as Canadian Indians.

By 1933, the department was obliged to launch an investigation into the status of American Indian "interlopers."[125] The investigator, J. A. J. Illington, ascertained that some individuals were on the rolls on the Colville Reservation but had moved to the Okanagan reserves when they were young and had raised families in Canada.[126] Illington determined that the primary individuals and their families were leading figures on the reserves at Head-of-the-Lake, Duck Lake, and Westbank. He believed their contributions to their reserve communities outweighed any questionable status as American interlopers. Interestingly, of those who had their status questioned during the first round of expulsion calls by the League in 1917, four had petitioned for the removal of American Indians in 1933.[127] These claims of band legitimacy were proposed according to the Indian administration system's authority and the Indian Act, which had already made reserve life so challenging in this period. Claiming bona fide Canadian Indian identity involved rejecting those who were considered American Indians. Doing so allowed Okanagan people to feel they were exercising some control over their affairs at a time of decreasing political autonomy.

Debates over Okanagan identity and Canadian or American affiliation emerged on the Colville Indian Reservation as well, for many of the same reasons as in British Columbia. In the

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[124] Ibid.
[125] "General Conditions, Okanagan Indian Reserve No. 1 Vernon B. C.," Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 24 November 1933, C-11-2, Vol. 11295, Office of the Indian Commissioner for B.C. Victoria, Record Group 10. Reel T-16109; Chas. C. Perry to G. S. Pragnell, 1 December 1933, C-11-2, Vol. 11295, Office of the Indian Commissioner for B.C. Victoria, Record Group 10, Reel T-16109.
[126] "Report of Investigation into the Status of Indians of Okanagan Band," 22 May 1934, J. A. J. Illington, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, C-11-2, Vol. 11295, Office of the Indian Commissioner for B.C. Victoria, Record Group 10, Reel T-16109.
[127] Ibid. Interestingly, Jimmy Antoine's Okanagan wife had Colville Indian Reservation land in her name as well, and when she died Antoine became the beneficiary of those lands in Washington State.

1900s and 1910s, Colville tribal members took allotments on the reservation. As allotment holders died, married, or moved, complicated questions of residence and heirship needed sorting out, a challenging bureaucratic task. At the same time the Indian Department in British Columbia was seeking information about Colville Reservation Indians in Canada, the Colville Superintendent was investigating the issue for his purposes at Colville. The US Indian Office determined that tribal members or their descendants with property on the reservation were not required to live or remain on that property and could also possess land elsewhere if they wished.[128] Some tribal members resided, farmed, and ranched on their allotments, others leased the lands to non-Natives. The Colville superintendent noted that some Colville tribal members received per capita monies from lease land or timber sales and collected these funds while also living on reserves in British Columbia.

This did not sit well with the Colville Indian Association (CIA). In a 1933 letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, the CIA headed by James Bernard condemned "double-dipping" into tribal funds and resources. They claimed that "said Indians are Canadian subjects, some drawing Indian rights from our reservations and also from the Canadian Soviet, too. Some are dead and are still drawing per capita payments from our Government." These people "live as far north as 200 miles from the Canadian border and, too, some of these Indians do not know where their allotments are on this reservation." In the midst of the Great Depression, CIA resolved to purge these "several hundred Indians from benefits of our tribal resources." The Colville superintendent agreed with the CIA's criticism, but also recognized the

[128] Harvey Meyer to Geo. Pragnell, 7 June 1934, C-11-2, Vol. 11295, Office of the Indian Commissioner for B.C. Victoria, Record Group 10, Reel T-16109; A. W. Benicke to Harvey Meyer, 24 May 1934, C-11-2, Vol. 11295, Office of the Indian Commissioner for B.C. Victoria, Record Group 10, Reel T-16109. Geo. Pragnell to Chas. Perry, 14 June 1934, C-11-2, Vol. 11295, Office of the Indian Commissioner for B.C. Victoria, Record Group 10, Reel T-16109.

situation's complex nature. The assertive voices of the CIA made a stark distinction between Colville Indians in the American system and "Canadian subjects."[129]

Colville representatives elaborated on the issue in the US Senate "Survey of Conditions of Indians in the United States" hearings in 1933. In this survey, congressional members of the subcommittee on Indian Affairs inquired about the pressing concerns of American Indian tribes. Tribal member Peter Lemery introduced the issue of Canadian Indians with land holdings at Colville possessing reserve lands in British Columbia as well.[130] Christine Quintasket, or Mourning Dove, explained that Washington, D.C. had been informed of the big picture but that the issue was still being investigated at Colville. Quintasket then stated:

> I know for a fact, and I am well acquainted in the Okanogan region, that that occurs. The international boundary line cuts the Okanogan tribe in two. Part of the tribe are Canadians and part of them are American Indians. These Indians naturally will intermarry back and forth and in the early periods when they got their allotments on this side, why, maybe a woman or man would get married and go on the other side and raise a bunch of children…They are Canadian subjects. They are born and raised there. They are the children or grandchildren of the original allottees on this reservation and they hold their rights under the Canadian Government, too. So we are framing that resolution to have that abandoned. It has eaten into our funds.[131]

Quintasket and her associates recognized how kinship and marriage relations functioned in Okanagan Country and that the border itself was a problematic presence in the lives of the Okanagan people. As leaders of the Colville Indian Reservation, however, they also worked within a colonial system of Indian Affairs, strapped budgets, and constrained autonomy. In these challenging circumstances, Quintasket gave the US Senators a rigid, nation-bound version of the issue that they could grasp and hopefully begin to address within their jurisdiction. Colville tribal

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[129] Colville Indian Association to John Collier, 17 June 1933, Committee on Indian Affairs, *Survey of Conditions of the Indians of the United States, Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs United States Senate, Seventy-second Congress Frist Session, Part 32, Idaho and Washington* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934), 17145.
[130] Ibid, 17119.
[131] Ibid, 17120.

leadership believed that they needed Congress to understand this issue, which was one of many facing the tribes, in order to protect their reservation community and advance their sovereignty within the existing American political framework. The entangled web of allotment title and per capita payments to those on the tribal rolls made resolving this matter quite difficult. Differentiating between Okanagans as Colville allottees and their descendants living in the United States, and those Okanagans residing in Canada, continued in the Colville political agenda for several decades.[132]

Beginning in the late nineteenth century and lasting well into the twentieth, Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa bands acknowledged, accepted, and engaged their new political status as reserve bands or reservation tribes. Bands adapted to the spaces designed for them by the Canadian and US federal governments and operated as recognized reserve bands or confederated reservation tribes in order to protect these lands for their people. Embracing these reserve or reservation spaces as political units meant advocating for them as Canadian Indians or American Indians in relations with their respective federal governments. In making demands on the state, Native peoples of the Columbia Plateau asserted themselves as Canadian or American subjects. Claiming the titles of reserve or reservation bands and performing nation-state national identities contributed to the political divergence of Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa bands on either side of the forty-ninth parallel. These were powerful and consequential adjustments in the political lives

[132] Removing "alien Indians" residing in Canada from the rolls at Colville would come up in debates and tribal government actions a number of times in the 1950s and 1960s. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Colville Indian Legislation, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs United States Senate Eighty-eight Congress, First Session, S. 1442 and S. 1169* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), 137; Jessie Bloodworth, *Human Resources Survey of the Colville Confederated Tribes: A Field Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Portland Area Office Colville Agency* (Portland, OR: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1959), 51. For more on the relationship between enrollment and termination at Colville, see Laurie Arnold, *Bartering with the Bones of Their Dead: The Colville Confederated Tribes and Termination* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012).

of the Columbia Plateau's Native nations. However, such reorientations could not fully extinguish their sense of transnational indigenous nationhood across the Canada-United States border. As Chapter 3 shows, Native families and bands continued to gather to participate in cultural celebrations and reinforce their relationships with each other beyond the line. Maintaining cultural and kinship connections and visiting sacred sites within their border-spanning aboriginal territory preserved indigenous nationhood. No doubt the colonial order and the colonial border introduced a tension in the expressions of these identities. When possible, Native communities asserted themselves as reconfigured political units within the nation-state while also maintaining the cultural elements and place and kin-based relationships of their Native nations across the line.

Epilogue

"Despite this impediment to our unity, we have persevered"

In 1956, Canada declared extinct the Sinixt Arrow Lakes Band.[1] Canada's Order in Council declaration rested on the death of Sinixt elder Annie Joseph. To Canada and British Columbia, Joseph's death three years prior meant that the last living band member and former resident of the Oatscott Reserve on Lower Arrow Lake had passed. This circumstance allowed the federal government to transfer the reserve lands to the province.[2] By the 1950s, the majority of Sinixt people lived on the Colville Indian Reservation in Washington State, though some had moved to other reserves in British Columbia. Elders such as Eva Orr and her family did spend time in Sinixt territory across the border during this period, but after their visits would return to their homes on the Colville Reservation.[3] Legal extinction of the Arrow Lakes band did not immediately affect the Sinixt people in Washington. However, that status would preclude them from claiming rights in Canada in the future.

The legal extinction of the Sinixt in their northern homelands is in some ways representative of the general mid-twentieth-century nadir of transnational indigenous consciousness on the Columbia Plateau. Hydroelectric dam projects on the Columbia River disrupted fish migrations and flooded the Kettle Falls fishery. The dams produced economic disruptions that discouraged Native people from migrating to this once great fishing station.[4] The

[1] Andrea Geiger, ""Crossed by the Border": The U.S.-Canada Border and Canada's "Extinction" of the Arrow Lakes Band, 1890-1956," *Western Legal History*, Vol. 23, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2010), 147.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Paula Pryce, *Keeping the Lakes' Way: Reburial and the Re-creation of a Moral World among an Invisible People* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 110-11; "Affidavit of Vance Robert Campbell," 3 March 2008, Robert Allen Watt vs. Her Majesty the Queen, Federal Court of Canada, http://sinixtnation.org/files/affidavit%20vance%20robert%20campbell.pdf (accessed 10 March 2019).
[4] Blain Harden, *A River Lost: The Life and Death of the Columbia* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), 106-108; Lawney Reyes, *B Street: The Notorious Playground of Coulee Dam* (Seattle: University of

Okanagan and Sinixt at Colville and the Ktunaxa on the Flathead Reservation debated termination with their tribal partners on the reservation. Under termination policy, the US federal government proposed terminating tribal entities and disbursing tribal assets to members.[5] Okanagan and Ktunaxa bands in British Columbia remained focused on the "Indian Land Question," seeking provincial and federal recognition of aboriginal title.[6] "Domestic" struggles to ensure rights and legal protections for their communities preoccupied reserve bands and confederated tribes. From the 1940s to the 1960s, these political efforts and concerns superseded the active expressions of Ktunaxa, Okanagan, and Sinixt nationhood that linked bands to each other and to their lands across the Canada-US border.

By no means did cross-border travel, relationships, or communication cease completely through this period of inward-facing political activity. Ktunaxa and Okanagan men and women married across the border and relocated to the reserves or reservations of their spouses.[7] Many Native children received some or most of their primary and secondary education across the border at schools in Washington or Montana or in British Columbia.[8] They attended events such as rodeos and "powwows" at sites beyond the line. A growing fruit orchard industry in the southern Okanagan Valley employed Native peoples from the Colville Reservation. Okanagan families and laborers from British Columbia crossed the border annually for seasonal work in

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Washington Press, 2008), 126-136; Lawney Reyes, *White Grizzly Bear's Legacy: Learning to be Indian* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012) 48-50.

[5] Laurie Arnold, *Bartering with the Bones of Their Dead: The Colville Confederated Tribes and Termination* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012); Jaakko Puisto, "'This is my reservation, I belong here': The Salish-Kootenai Struggle Against Termination" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2000).

[6] Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990), 125-138.

[7] Shirley Louis, *Q'sapi: A History of Okanagan People as Told by Okanagan Families* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 2002), 29, 61, 63, 77, 100, 137, 152, 165. Troy Hunter, ed. *Not So Long Ago (qa ?isit winiktni (Ktunaxa) = Dahahex – gasa – ooy (Shuswap): Recollections of Ktunaxa/Kinbasket Elders* (Cranbrook, BC: Ktunaxa/Kinbasket Tribal Council, 1999), 91, 98, 100.

[8] Louis, *Q'sapi*, 32, 33, 35, 166, 177; Hunter, ed. *Not So Long Ago*, 54-56.

these apple orchards.[9] Okanagan elder Harry Robinson described the social gatherings of Okanagan fruit pickers near Omak. He explained, “They stay there all night. For stick game, you know. Some people, they play stick game and some people go to work, picking apples. They had a camp there.”[10] These migrations and connections were the seeds from which a future resurgence of transnational consciousness and support would grow.

In the 1960s and 1970s, American Indian tribes in the United States and First Nations in Canada drew from the momentum of the civil rights movement in asserting their political agendas. The civil rights and anti-Vietnam War activism that peaked in the 1960s inspired other activist and social movements, including among Native peoples. Known as the “Red Power” movement, Native activists and organizations such as the American Indian Movement (AIM) demanded the US federal government honor treaties and allow for greater tribal economic and political autonomy.[11] Activism in “the States” informed First Nations rights activism and organizing in Canada. This influence coincided with First Nations resistance to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau’s 1969 proposal to eliminate Native peoples’ distinct status.[12]As part of a “Pan-Indian” movement, Red Power activists sought to effect high level policy change, but also to improve the conditions in local Native communities on reserves and reservations. Political scientist Paul Tennant emphasizes this development in the British Columbia case. He observed that “tribalism” among Native nations gained new enthusiasm at the same time that First Nations support for province-wide organizations was waning. The Okanagan and the Ktunaxa bands in

[9] Lloyd L. Wong, “Migrant Seasonal Agricultural Labour: Race and Ethnic Relations in the Okanagan Valley” (PhD diss., York University, 1988), 223-224; Louis, *Q’sapi*, 220, 222, 226.
[10] Harry Robinson and Wendy Wickwire, ed., *Nature Power: In the Spirit of an Okanagan Storyteller* (Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992), 184-186.
[11] Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: the Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York, NY: The New Press, 1996).
[12] J. R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

British Columbia began to favor a more unified approach to land issues and negotiating treaties with Canada, as an Okanagan unit and as a Ktunaxa unit of related heritage, homeland, and nationhood.[13]

By the early 1980s, the Okanagan and Ktunaxa bands in British Columbia formed area councils that united politically under banners of indigenous nationhood. These "tribal" entities would bolster their land claims and could better coordinate the treaty process. In 1976, Okanagan bands met at Head-of-the-Lake to form a tribal council and by 1984, they formally established their council federation.[14] The tribal council affirmed their alliance, stating, "We, the Okanagan Nation…declare that…Our Okanagan Governments have allowed us to share equally in the resources of our mother…We have never given up our rights to our mother, our mother's resources, our governments and our religion."[15] A shared vision and pooling of resources would allow the tribal council to pursue claims with a stronger position, though the organizations were not without inter-band politics.[16] The Kootenay Indian Area Council formed along similar lines and for similar reasons. Headquartered in Cranbrook, the area council represented five bands in British Columbia.[17] This Kootenay coalition submitted land claims in the 1980s.[18] Though

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[13] Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 181-184.
[14] "Indians form tribal council," 12 May 1976, *Nanaimo Daily Free Press*, 20; "Okanagan Nation Declaration," Okanagan Nation Alliance, https://www.syilx.org/about-us/syilx-nation/okanagan-nation-declaration/ (accessed 10 March 2019).
[15] "Okanagan Nation Declaration," https://www.syilx.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/ON_Declaration.pdf (accessed 10 March 2019).
[16] Peter Carstens, *The Queen's People: A Study of Hegemony, Coercion, and Accommodation among the Okanagan of Canada* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 249; "Radicalism Repulses Band," 1 November 1976, *Times Colonist*, 6.
[17] "Fight against Kootenay River diversion grows," 14 December 1977, *The Vancouver Sun*, A18. This coalition included a Secwepemc band, the Kinbaskets, which had been administratively added to the former Kootenay Agency, and they would later separate from the group.
[18] Frank Cassidy and Norman Dale, *After Native Claims?: The Implications of Comprehensive Claims Settlements for Natural Resources in British Columbia* (Lantzville, BC: Oolichan Books, 1988), 18, 213, 226-227.

focused on land claims and the treaty process, both multi-band councils worked through their organizations for cultural revitalization, education, and employment projects and goals.

The Canada-US border could not contain this growing sense of "tribalism" or nationhood. By the 1970s, the Bonners Ferry band of Ktunaxa in north Idaho, had worked to secure a recognized land base from the federal government for decades, with no success.[19] Their struggle came to a head in 1974 when the band declared war on the United States. Led by tribal councilperson Amy Trice and spokesperson Douglas Wheaton, the Ktunaxa demanded the federal government provide a treaty and a reservation for their band. AIM's standoff with federal police at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, the year before obligated US officials to take the Idaho Ktunaxa seriously, despite the band being unarmed.[20] Though Wheaton indicated that AIM might intervene, he did confirm that the Ktunaxa party was reinforced by twenty Indians from British Columbia and Washington State. Welcoming the support of Native allies from across the forty-ninth parallel shows that the Ktunaxa were tapping into a transnational indigenous network.[21] Their kin relationships with the Lower Kootenay Band in British Columbia were well-known and likely played a role in their reinforcement.[22] Soon after their declaration of war, Congressional representatives and Bureau of Indian Affairs agents sat down with Ktunaxa leadership and agreed to set aside 12.5 acres for the band's exclusive use.[23]

Through the 1980s and into the 1990s, Native nations began to deliberately reassert their connections to each other and their homelands across the Canada-US border. Embedded within

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[19] Ian Chambers, "The Kootenai War of '74," *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 42, no. 1 (Winter 2018), 50-62.
[20] Ibid, 62-68.
[21] "Indians Gather as Kootenais Continue Their Waiting Game," 18 September 1974, *Blackfoot News*; "Mayor Fears Violence in 'Indian War'," 18 September 1974, *Idaho State Journal*, 7. Wheaton reported the presence of Native allies from Oregon as well.
[22] Paul Baker, *The Forgotten Kutenai* (Boise, ID: Mountain States Press, 1955), 39-41.
[23] Chambers, "The Kootenai War of '74," 76-78.

these revivals of transnational indigenous consciousness were acute critiques of the border's legacy of disruption. In band government, Ktunaxa administrators hired other Ktunaxa for positions in administration and cultural revitalization. The Ktunaxa tried to travel across the border to visit family at their leisure. In these cases, Canadian immigration denied American Ktunaxa permission to work in Canada without a work permit despite Ktunaxa claims that they should not need a permit.[24] Law enforcement arrested and fined Ktunaxa who crossed the line at unsanctioned times or crossings.[25] The Ktunaxa responded to this discriminatory border policing with a simultaneously indigenous and anti-colonial rhetoric. They claimed that crossing the forty-ninth parallel was their right, as "They are not immigrants in their own territory."[26] Caroline Gravelle from Tobacco Plains argued, "Look at my family. Half are American Indians and half are Canadian Indians…Indians should have the right to cross freely between the two countries."[27] Members from the Flathead Reservation in Montana would host the Kootenay Indian Area Council and vice versa. In 1988, they staged a visible demonstration at the border in which they circumvented the Rooseville Port of Entry by crossing the line through a nearby hole in the fence. Upon crossing, delegates met to discuss concerns important to the Ktunaxa Nation, including making federal immigration policy more responsive to Native travelers.[28]

The late 1980s discovery of indigenous ancestral remains in British Columbia prompted the Sinixt to launch a re-occupation of their northern territory across the border. Around 1987, the Colville Reservation Sinixt received word that a road construction project at Vallican, British

[24] Ron Rose, "'Kootenay nation' tested at hearing," 5 June 1984, *The Vancouver Sun*, A11; "Resolution #84-F-010, 8 September 1984," Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians, https://www.cwis.org/wp-content/uploads/documents/atni8410.txt (accessed 4 March 2019).
[25] Douglas Todd, "Kootenay Indians Press for freedom at border," 5 June 1986, *The Vancouver Sun*, A11.
[26] Ron Rose, "'Kootenay nation' tested at hearing," 5 June 1984, *The Vancouver Sun*, A11.
[27] Douglas Todd, "Kootenay Indians Press for freedom at border," 5 June 1986, *The Vancouver Sun*, A11.
[28] "Kootenay Nation protests border through territory, Customs policy," 27 July 1988, *Char-Koosta News*, Vol. 17, no. 10; "Tribes host Kootenay assembly," 28 June 1989, *The Independent-Record*, 11B.

Columbia, threatened indigenous burial sites along the Slocan River. Private and museum "collectors" had already removed remains from the area in years prior.[29] To prevent further disturbance, a Sinixt party crossed the forty-ninth parallel, arrived at the construction site at Vallican, and set up a blockade.[30] Marylyn James, Robert Watt, Robert Campbell, and other Sinixt band members served as guardians and maintained a camp at the site while petitioning for the return of the ancestral remains.[31] Their occupation faced legal challenges from Canadian immigration authorities. Canada argued that the Arrow Lakes people were extinct and the Sinixt occupiers were American Indians with no rights in Canada. In response, the Sinixt stewards held that they maintained an indigenous connection to their *tum xúlaʔxʷ* (territory or home) and that they were never consulted in the establishment of the Canada-US border. Robert Watt attempted to establish their legal position in Canadian federal court, but the court claimed his US citizenship disqualified Sinixt legal standing.[32] Still, through the 1990s, they managed to secure the return of over fifty ancestral remains. Various Sinixt guardians continued to stay at Vallican into the 2000s.[33] Throughout the occupation, the Colville Tribes generally supported the Sinixt in British Columbia, though conflicting decisions and challenges at times strained their relationship.[34]

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[29] "Affidavit of Vance Robert Campbell, *Robert Allen Watt vs. Her Majesty the Queen*, Federal Court of Canada. 3 March 2008," Sinixt Nation: Keeping the Lakes Way http://sinixtnation.org/files/affidavit%20vance%20robert%20campbell.pdf (accessed 10 March 2019).
[30] Pryce, *Keeping the Lakes' Way*, 100-102.
[31] Sandra Hartline, "Arrow Lakes Indian ancestors to be reburied," 5 September 1991, *The Vancouver Sun*, A12.
[32] Bruce Granville Miller, "Conceptual and Practical Boundaries: West Coast Indians/First Nations on the Border of Contagion in the Post-9/11 Era," in Sterling Evans, ed., *The Borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 57-58. See also, Lori Barkely and Tonio Sadik, "'At the end of the dog's tail': Aboriginal Policy and Sinixt in British Columbia, Canada," unpublished essay: 1-27. In the Sinixt absence from their northern homelands, the Okanagan and Ktunaxa had developed their own claims to the Arrow Lakes, Slocan, and upper Columbia, and Kootenay River regions for the purposes of land claims and future treaty negotiations.
[33] Pryce, *Keeping the Lakes' Way*, 99.
[34] Ibid, 133. In an ongoing legal development, Sinixt descendant Rick Desautel has argued for Sinixt hunting rights in British Columbia, in Sinixt territory. Desautel shot an elk in British Columbia in 2009 and allowed himself to be arrested and detained. The legal strategy was to use his case in provincial court to advance not only traditional

The Okanagan formalized their ties across the border while overtly rejecting the border on paper and on the ground. In the later 2000s, the Okanagan Nation Alliance that had formed out of the Okanagan Tribal Council in British Columbia met with the Colville Confederated Tribes from Washington State. Their meeting centered on Okanagan unity and conversations regarding transnational issues affecting Okanagan people. Drawing on a common identity, they put their criticism of border policy in Okanagan terms. Colville chairperson Jeanne Jerred stated at the 2009 meeting, "The international border at the 49th Parallel was created without consultation with the people who live here…Despite this impediment to our unity, we have persevered – maintaining strong political, economic, cultural, and familial ties among our people."[35] A few months later the Okanagan Nation staged a protest against new identification laws for anyone entering into the United States. At the rally near the Chopaka/Nighthawk crossing station, protestors dismantled the fence that ran along the line and marched across, in full view of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and US Border Patrol.[36] The next year, the Okanagan Nation Alliance and Colville Confederated Tribes formally announced a mandate of mutual support. The "Unity Declaration" affirmed that the "parties" remained culturally and politically united across the imposed border. They would also work together to preserve Okanagan culture, to help expand their economies, and to support each other in either side's

hunting rights, but to establish the Sinixt historical and contemporary presence in Canada. Desautel was acquitted of the hunting charges in 2016. The provincial judge based the acquittal on a recognition of Sinixt claim to territory. Desautel has reintroduced the case in the British Columbia court of appeals. Emily Schwing, 'Canada says the Sinixt tribe is extinct. The tribe's American descendants disagree.," 14 September 2018, *PRI's The World*.

[35] "Okanagan Nation Alliance and Colville Confederated Tribes Meet in Unity and Political Solidarity," 9 June 2009, *Tribal Tribune*, 1.

[36] Ian Austin, "ID rules tougher for entry to U.S.," 1 June 2009, *The Province*, A14; K. C. Mehaffey, "Tribes gather at border to protest new passport requirement," 2 June 2009, *Wenatchee World*.

political endeavors.[37] With the declaration, the Okanagan Nation forged a stronger position from which to take on border issues such as environmental and immigration policy.[38]

Native nations of the Columbia Plateau have contended with the disruptions and reconfigurations introduced by Great Britain, Canada, and the United States' imposition of the international boundary since 1846. The United States and Canada's efforts to control Native peoples have been central to establishing nation-state power in the region and to the creation and maintenance of a functional international border. Nation-state governments and settlers employed a variety of tactics and mechanisms in their attempts to discourage Sinixt, Okanagan, and Ktunaxa peoples from crossing the border and to compel them to remain on "their" side. This included physical violence, settler law, reserves and reservations, membership rules and allotment, and Indian administration systems. Regulating Native movements and activities along the forty-ninth parallel reified the international border's meaning as a marker of nation-state jurisdiction. By the mid-twentieth century, Native peoples had staked their political survival in their reserves in Canada or reservations in the United States at the expense of their indigenous nationhood that spanned the border. The forces of settler colonialism seemed to have completed the nation-states' goal of closing the border and of isolating the region's indigenous peoples.

Through the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, however, Native individuals, families, and bands continued to move about their indigenous homelands and to maintain the cultural and social ties that made them Okanagan, Sinixt, and Ktunaxa. They gathered together to

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[37] "Syilx Unity," Okanagan Nation Alliance, https://www.syilx.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Unity-Declaration.pdf (accessed 10 March 2019).
[38] Issues of environmental concern include the re-negotiation of the Columbia River Treaty between the United States and Canada. The treaty is set to expire in 2024, and official negotiations to renew began in spring 2018. In March of that year, the Canadian and United States governments announced that Native nations would not be formal members of the negotiating team. The Okanagan Nation Alliance, Ktunaxa Nation in British Columbia and the Upper Columbia United Tribes from Washington, Idaho, and Montana, as well as individual tribes immediately denounced the exclusion of Native nations.

perform the cultural and spiritual traditions that defined their distinct identities. They knew and moved through their territories according to the seasonal round and the stories they told about places of cultural importance. Though the colonial circumstances changed, affecting how bands moved and related to each other across the border, Native nationhood nevertheless persisted. In the later twentieth century, the resurgence of a transnational indigenous consciousness grew from this persistence. Border crossings, ties to homeland, and kinship relations sustained a borderlands condition on the Columbia Plateau, which the nation-state could never fully close.

In 1884, Chief David of the Tobacco Plains band asked what was the meaning of this boundary line that supposedly ran through Ktunaxa territory. He was concerned that this border threatened to divide the Ktunaxa Nation. A government official explained to David that the line was a political boundary that separated Canada from the United States. One hundred years later, in 1984, Kootenay Indian Area Council chairperson, Chief Sophie Pierre, returned to the issue of the border's presence in Ktunaxa territory. Pierre stated unequivocally,

> We were hopeful that, after more than a century of chicanery, the federal government had finally committed itself to some form of justice in the pursual [*sic*] of Indian self-government…hear me clearly…when I say on behalf of my people that the imaginary boundary your government has run across the 49th parallel has, from its conception, been applicable to newcomers as a way of governing themselves. We, the Kootenay Indians, have our own way of governing ourselves.[39]

The Canada-US border did disrupt how bands of the Ktunaxa Nation related to each other in the intervening 100 years. However, as Chief Pierre declared, the Ktunaxa would not allow the border to extinguish their enduring sense of nationhood and homeland on the Columbia Plateau.

[39] Ron Rose, "'Kootenay nation' tested at hearing," 5 June 1984, *The Vancouver Sun*, A11.

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