LAND TENURE AMONG THE
UPPER THOMPSON INDIAN

by

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B.A., The University of British Columbia, 1963

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department
of
Anthropology and Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
April, 1965
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Date **30 April 1965**
ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to examine the nature of the system of land tenure as it exists among the Upper Thompson Indians who live in the vicinity of Lytton on the Fraser River. It is a fact that among Indian bands in Canada, there exists the possibility of at least one system of land tenure being in operation and this is as it is officially laid down in the Indian Act. There are instances recorded of the instigation of this official system producing conflict between the administration and the Indian because it violated certain aspects of an indigenous system. It was noticed that among the Upper Thompson, conflict with respect to the question of land tenure was minimal and, as a result, an examination of why this might be so was thought to be of interest.

The information for the study was gathered by essentially three main methods: (1) personal interviews with members of nearly every household on the reserve lands; (2) personal access to various files in the Indian Office, combined with discussion with various administrators; and (3) as participant observer among the Indians of the region as they carried out their daily activities.

It was concluded in the examination that the official system of land tenure was focussed on land which was
for the benefit of the band as a whole, and this land was for the most part uninhabited. The administrators were not attempting to instigate a system of land tenure at the level of the individual Indian and consequently he has been left to his own devices to organize how the tenure of land is to be established. This has resulted in considerable variations in the Indian system of land tenure being allowed to evolve. These variations are not articulated normative distinctions by the Indians themselves; rather, they have been observed as methods of behaving with respect to changing sets of facts, such as availability to individual wage labour, accessibility of the Indian to the administrator, and vice-versa, and the relative proximity of the various residential sites to the town of Lytton. The disposition of these factors, among others, has been instrumental in effecting both the extent of the groups which have tenure of land in the region, as well as the nature of the affective significance associated with land.
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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I should like to thank Dr. R. W. Dunning for his supervision of the research and his valuable suggestions concerning the presentation of certain aspects of the thesis. I would also like to thank the superintendent of the Lytton Agency, Mr. J. Meek, whose interest in and assistance of the research being done in the area, was of great help. And finally to those members of the Lytton Band whose hospitality, kindness and patience made this study possible, I am very grateful.
CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND ITS FORMULATION

This thesis finds its genesis in a single observation in the field. It does not stem from any theoretical query or from the observance of some logical inconsistency or limitation in another's analysis. Consequently, any direct comparability of this work to others with the same orientation will not be easily made. However, most other studies concerned with land tenure, if they do aspire to comparability do so in a rather deceptive manner. Although they might use commonly used terms and make illustrative analogies with apparently similar situations they still adhere, at least implicitly, to the approach that they are describing the system in the particular situation being observed. This anti-naturalist approach, which emphasizes the historical uniqueness of a situation, is clearly stated by Evans-Pritchard when he explicates his stand on social anthropology in this regard by saying that the differential between social anthropology and history . . . "is one of orientation, not aim, and that the two disciplines are 'indissociables'." Some have attempted to avoid the cognomen of "unscientific" which has justifiably been associated with this approach by contriving complex academic models (for example, Parsons). However, these have largely resulted in elaborately compounding the situation rather than resolving it and have produced the equivalent of a "Notes and Queries
in Anthropology," albeit more systematically, which points up potentially significant aspects to consider rather than a working model which empirical data may substantiate or modify. There are other attempts, which seem to be different from the above in name rather than in concept, which contrive classifications into which seemingly similar elements from different cultures can be placed for purposes of comparison. We are thinking here, in particular, of the Human Relations Area Files which have attempted this approach on an incredibly ambitious and vast scale. A more directed example of this approach is Murdock's Social Structure. It seems that in much the same view that Evans-Pritchard considers as being the difference between social anthropology and history, one could analyze the Parsonian taxonomy and the Murdockian typology—"the difference being one of orientation, not aim." The general criticism we would make of both is that these schemes provide no condition which assures valid replicability in the analysis of a given situation and as a consequence do not allow for general statements of relationships which break the bounds of a given culture.

A real alternative to analyzing a situation so that it is comparable involves what appears to be a convergence of the so-called structural approach with the phenomenological approach. This has been considered in outline by P. Bohannan and more intensively by Romney and D'Andrade
et al.⁷; who draw attention to the necessity of fully knowing the conceptual categories of the exotic cultures so that they may be compared to theoretical concepts and then to one another. It is only if the exotic concepts lose none of their individualizing traits and yet become intelligible to the anthropologist can he then make a meaningful comparison of them. However, to know the "folk system" as Bohannan calls it, is a very major task as Romney and D'Andrade point out—a task which the author of this thesis had neither the time nor competence to perform during the time of field work and consequently has found it necessary to resort to the less ambitious goal of description. Although necessary for both scientific and historical aims the type of description below is waxing historical in approach due to its dubious comparability.

When carrying out field work in 1963 in the area of Lytton, which is at the upper extremities of the canyon of the Fraser River, a fact was recorded concerning the tenure of land on the reserve of the Lytton Band. The situation was such that the residents of a particular dwelling rented their house and land from an individual who did not belong to the Band for which the land in question had been officially reserved. The official ruling in the Indian Act is such that a situation of this kind is legally impossible. However, in the actual situation it was not only possible, but acceptable procedure.
Related to all the peoples of Canada who are entitled to the status of "Indian" there is at least one highly distinctive system of land tenure. This system is defined by statute as it is laid down in the Indian Act and civil law, and it guides the official policy of the federal government and administrators and the members of the Indian local government in relation to land. Such a general system is not geared to accommodate the needs of any specific groups of people who live within a particular social and economic environ and with respect to a certain geographic region. As a result it seems that there may be the possibility for the official system, as it will be called, to work against any Indian principles which are maintained with respect to land. It is not surprising to find that, subsequent to the above state of affairs, considerable conflicts in the operation of diverse systems have been observed. Conflict in this context is that observed between the official system and the Indian system, and it is made apparent by the fact that adherents to either system find themselves consistently working at cross-purposes with one another. There may indeed be friction produced through inherent inadequacies in either system or as a result of forces extraneous to either; however, the point in emphasis here is that conflict may be expected when the structurally significant roles of either system find that their actions are not complementary when focussed on the issue of the tenure of land.
In the few months spent in the vicinity of Lytton in the summer of 1963, it was observed that among the Nlak'apamux, or Indian people of this area, conflict resulting from such a situation as that described above, was minimal. This was so even to the extent that the comparatively aberrant specific case which engendered this study was in no way a contentious issue. It was observed also in this field trip that the acquisition of tenure of land did not seem to be coincidental to the official system of land tenure as it is laid down in the Indian Act. Therefore, a description and examination of the factors related to such a situation seemed to be of interest.

Logically there are eight general possibilities to consider prior to a field investigation of the situation with which we are faced. For this examination we are given that: (1) the rules for the official system do exist, and (2) minimal conflict resulting from the introduction of the official system to the society of the Lytton Band was observed. The problem as stated is to determine the nature of the variable which is the existing system of Indian land tenure, and we are assuming that one or a combination of the possibilities presented below will be the most general statement of the determinant of the existing situation.

Firstly, the existing situation could have resulted from the fact that the official system of land tenure was found to coincide with the Indian system so that they were
actually one and the same and thereby did not evolve as a contentious point.

Secondly, it is possible that both the official system of land tenure and the Indian system have been modified in various ways so that a qualitatively new system or number of systems have evolved as functionally operative.

Thirdly, it could be that both the official system and the Indian system of land tenure persist in toto; however, because of the separate contexts to which they are respectively relevant, their juxtaposition is not found to be at cross-purposes.

Fourthly, it is conceivable that neither an official system of land tenure nor an Indian system is in operation among the people of the Lytton Band.

Fifthly, the introduction of the official system of land tenure need not necessarily have resulted in any persistent discord if the Indian system experienced accommodation to it as a fairly congenial process.

Sixthly, the official system could have been modified with respect to accommodating the particular demands of the Indian system of land tenure at Lytton.

Seventhly, at the level of the Indian agency it is possible that the superintendent ignores the official rules of land tenure and the Indian system is allowed to continue
without interference. In other words, the official system is an administrational facade and is inconsequential to the administered.

Eighthly, it is possible that there was really no pre-existing system of land tenure among the Indians of the Lytton Band and the official system has been introduced and made functionally operative to the satisfaction of the administrators and the Indians.

It will be evident very quickly that some of the above are incorrect and therefore irrelevant, among these are mates to mutually exclusive alternatives. However, the remainder are by no means discretely relevant as determinants and therefore may only be treated as overlapping factors, the nature of which, a field trip for the summer of 1964 was organized for the purpose of investigating.
CHAPTER II

FIELD METHODS

Field Situation

Among the total population of approximately 800 individuals of the Lytton Band, about three-quarters live on the reserve lands allotted to them. The people are unevenly scattered throughout the area, with the largest concentration to be found at the village of Klickumcheen, which is adjacent to the town of Lytton. The rest of the population is scattered along both banks of the Fraser River, in small villages of two to four houses or in isolated residence.

The economic situation of this area with respect to the Indian is extremely poor. A great proportion of them have no opportunity for employment and except for occasional work in the summer find it necessary to resort to welfare, which is administered through the Agency. The Agency therefore has come to represent to many Indians the means of realizing satisfaction of very essential needs; namely food, clothing and shelter. The Indian on the other hand represents to the Agency an unending frustration of what they are only too willing to tell one is their ultimate purpose, which is to develop the Indian to a standard where he will eventually be able to look after his own affairs. An aim which at once suggests the nature of the Agency's opinion of the Indian at
present; namely that he is not now at such a standard, implying that he is in many respects, and according to the Agency important respects, incapable and irresponsible.

Important in the stratification of Agency/Indian system in reserve situations in general is the fact that there are no means whereby an individual Indian may achieve those qualifications which would entitle him to join the ranks of the Agency. In other words, within the sphere of life in which an Indian is brought up there is no provision for upward mobility to that standard which the Agency and the White world represent. An Indian is therefore expected to strive towards a goal which is systematically denied him and which he can only hope to achieve through some form of cultural osmosis, whereby the "standard" is passed through to him via the filters of White prejudice, the Agency and association with low class Whites who are usually his socio-economic equivalents in terms of the White culture.

The full meaning of being "Indian" in the administrative sense is not to be appreciated nor considered to really exist apart from the notion of "reservation" which suggests, and rightly so, something secluded and hidden away. That is something which is on the "outside." This is a fact the Agency recognizes as being important and which the Indian recognizes that at least the Agency recognizes its importance. The degree to which the Indian may be influenced by this is contingent on his dependency on certain services of the Agency,
and in Lytton, at least in the winter months, this is considerable. In certain instances the Agency may consider that their only power to manipulate their charges is to offer them what they feel to be or at least should be their goal, which is to be considered a peer. Such manipulation by the Agency of the attribute of "Indian" which is considered to be a somewhat discrediting stigma signifying something second rate and below standard, does of course have its effects. The broadest statement concerning such effects is that it produces a reticent and wary attitude among the Indians towards the Agents in particular and Whites in general. There is in short an attempt to neutralize the advantage of the Agency, by a form of complementary manipulation. The fact that this manipulation is to some extent generalized as a way of dealing with the White world beyond the Agency is of considerable significance to the field worker in the area.

The Indian, particularly in Lytton where he is dependent on the Agency to such an extent, views Whites in general with a hesitant and suspicious air. This factor almost necessitates an extensive period in the field solely for the purpose of establishing rapport in order to ensure that one is gathering valid information and not just what the Indian thinks you want to hear or thinks he wants you to hear. It is not being suggested that this situation is unique in the respect that one must secure the trust of one's informants,
however, the discussion above does indicate that this field situation may be rather extraordinary and consequently certain measures must be taken to deal with the problem.

The field worker when carrying out the study in Lytton did not, of course, see the situation in the light of the above discussion. The situation in the field is a social one and, unfortunately, one must act first and reflect later. The Indian "front" although by no means consistent in presentation was consistently presented and it proved problematic enough to warrant this mention and consideration.

Observing and Recording

Naturally enough, the methods in the field shifted as interests varied and as more and more about the subject became known. Initially the tack was to be a non-participant and to some extent an unintroduced observer. The aim was to become known by sight and to be gradually introduced to the people as informally as possible. Sitting in the beer parlour, standing on the street corners and covering as much of the area as possible on foot were the ploys adopted and during this time a diary was kept of initial impressions of the area. This approach was taken after the first few days in the field during which a formal introduction was arranged with an individual. The reaction by this individual to the field worker was one of reticence and suspicion and
despite efforts to dissuade him to the contrary this first informant was convinced I was a "government man." The interview consequently was not a very relaxed or profitable one despite the informal beer parlour surroundings in which it was conducted. In retrospect this was probably as much a consequence of the naivete of the field worker in wanting to "get" information immediately as it was due to the informant's attitude towards government men. At any rate the approach mentioned above was adopted and as it turned out, proved to be a profitable and practical means of establishing rapport, albeit time consuming.

Contact was made immediately with the Indian Office in Lytton, which is the Agency office for the Lytton Agency. The contact in this office was the superintendent who was most helpful and enthusiastic in assisting the research and provided access to many files and documents relevant to the study. The remainder of the office staff was rather indisposed to co-operate with "university types who don't know anything about the practical side of it (i.e., administration of Indians)." During the total length of the field trip some weeks were spent in the Indian office recording material from files and observing Indian-administrator interactions within the office.

During the introductory period the opportunity was taken to be formally introduced to various members of the White community of Lytton, among which were hotel owners, storekeepers,
cafe proprietors, labourers and the R.C.M.P. detachment. Visits and discussion with the twenty odd individuals met at this time were continued throughout the stay in the field.

As contacts amongst the Indians were gradually established and the "word" got around about the nature of the study and the business of the field worker a door-to-door survey was carried out for the purposes of establishing a number of factors relevant to the study. Among these were: (1) Who owned the land and house? (2) How was the house acquired? (3) Who were its residents? (4) What were the various occupations of the residents? and (5) Where had the residents come from who were not born in the residence in which they were now located? During this time much material was also obtained about housing conditions, attitudes on various subjects, and intra and inter-familial relations. This was possible because in carrying out the interviews in many cases it was considered necessary to just "talk" without getting immediately to the business at hand. It was thought to be unnecessary and impractical to interrupt domestic duties by formalizing the interview and consequently the objectives were attained in one to two hours (and often more) of undirected discussion. Indeed, it often resulted in necessitating a return trip for only in exceptional cases did an extensive discussion ensue from the first interview and three-quarters of the residents visited required a second interview. There were, however, cases when the persons seemed totally uninterested and on occasion hostile and the ploy here
was to get what one could as quickly as possible and go. Even in these more difficult instances second trips which were required were carried out.

Of the seventy-five residences which were inhabited during some period of every year on the reserve land of the Lytton Band, five were not contacted at all due to a combination of the occupants being absent during the time of the field trip and also because some of them were at too far a distance to warrant expending the time of two days to make a revisit. The latter involved some of those individuals who lived at the extremities of area "A" on the map, where it was necessary to walk, or if possible ride on a horse, to these areas and it always involved camping out. Among the total number of residents in the area about twenty-five were visited frequently and the inhabitants were observed intensively. This occasionally involved spending the night camping on their property, eating meals with them, and going through their daily round of activities. Infrequently there was the occasion to work at ploughing, haying or weeding with a family, and whenever the opportunity arose it was taken up immediately.

As the research progressed more detailed knowledge was required concerning certain aspects. Among these there was the necessity to know genealogical connections of individuals, which extended beyond any given residential unit.
Luckily, three interested and knowledgeable elders were able to help the study in this regard. One of these had been the chief some ten years previously and had extensive knowledge on many of the land transactions at that time, the relationships of the individuals involved, and the nature of the discussions and disputes, if any, which occurred. Taking genealogies is a time-consuming and complicated process at the best of times. This seemed especially so when there is no attempt by the people to designate specific relationships and half forgotten indigenous kinship terms were supplemented by very general English terms. A typical statement which was frequently recorded was, "We are all each other's cousins." Diffuse remarks such as this are certainly a significant commentary on the nature of the social organization with respect to kinship, however; as a consequence the working out of relationships which approximate a functioning "system," was a complicated and by no means satisfactorily achieved process. With respect to the genealogies recorded numerous cross-checks were made with other informants before they were finally drawn up and filed.

In all interviews carried out, a notebook was taken along, however. Only on very few occasions during the initial interview was anything written down as it was observed or spoken. Although it was made clear to everyone of the intended utilization of any information received, it was considered to be poor strategy to appear even remotely "official" in an
introduction. The method used in these instances was to jot notes on scraps of paper in the pocket and on leaving to immediately expand upon these in the notebook. As familiarity increased with informants it became increasingly more easy to take notes at the interview without producing an inhibiting effect.

In interviewing members of the White populus the same procedure was carried out in general; however, it was far more acceptable, indeed expected by some, that notes be taken during the interview. In summary, however, it should be mentioned that with regard to conducting interviews and note-taking that no inflexible rule was made and that a great deal depended on an assessment of the relationship and the tenor of the reception presented. The above is merely an outline of the general procedures taken.

Every three days the hand written notes were typed up and filed and it is in this context that considerable difficulty was experienced. The problem of the study was essentially a problem of the researchers and not a problem to the individuals concerned, indeed it was not even clear as an issue for consideration to them. This resulted in the filing of the data being done again and again in an attempt to determine meaningful categories which would suggest possibly significant relationships. The large sections of deserted or unused land which could be utilized if necessary,
the lack of a premium being placed on holdings in general, and the loose social integration of the population resulted in no consensus of behavior with regard to acquiring tenure. Individuals, for instance, would often be able to describe how they acquired their holdings without being able to say how anyone else might go about it, pointing out that their behavior was a result of circumstance rather than norm. Consequently, a wide diversity of ways was recorded, in which tenure over land was acquired.

The only significant unit which seemed to be in operation was the body of relatives which has come to be classed under the rather controversial concept of the "kindred." However, to carry out an analysis of this in order to determine how it functions as a system would require, it seems, an intensive phenomenological consideration of the relationships involved. This would involve, among other things, a detailed and systematic study of such terms as the so-called "cousin," in order to establish all of its multivarious connotations. By establishing in what contexts what relationship is expected from the use of the term "cousin," or whatever, conceivably one could then begin to discern varying fields of significance with which it is associated. Such a study would provide one with a knowledge of how the Indians order and conceive of the situation. The indigenous categories could then be compared to the analytical categories of one's theory and from their comparisons with methodologically
similar studies could be carried out to some purpose. This of course need not necessarily end up with a kinship "system" for it may be found that the parameters of organization are functions of an entirely different set of factors.

The fact that such an analysis is beyond the capabilities of the author has been mentioned already. However, it is the contention here that only through such an analysis can adequate comparisons be made and meaningful generalization be proposed. To do this requires above all a set of analytical categories with which comparisons can be made and the filing of one's data carried out, and it is only from this basis that one can begin to see some meaningful system in the situation.
CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHIC SETTING

Topography

The area of our concern is situated at the merging of two great landform divisions in British Columbia. These are the Southern Plateau of the Interior System and the Coastal Mountains of the Coast System. The Southern Plateau System is essentially rolling upland mantled with glacial deposits and deeply incised by the major rivers. In the south this plateau region is fairly high and in places exceeds 5,000 feet. However, in comparison to the landforms of the Coast Mountains immediately to the west, the plateau region is significantly different. The Coast Mountains in combined height and area are the greatest mountain mass in Canada. The terrain is rough and precipitous and is cut by great canyon-like valleys such as that through which the Fraser River flows, the walls of which often descend hundreds of feet to the water in near perpendicular attitude. Throughout the length of the Coast Mountains as they are found below Lytton one finds the characteristic contrast between the low narrow valley floors and the lofty mountain peaks, which at times reach upward of 8,000 feet. For the most part, however, the land with which we are immediately concerned varies little, in the topographic sense, throughout the area, and is constituted by the scattered alluvial benches and terraces.
of gravels and sands which border both sides of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers.

Climate

The region around Lytton is one of the driest and hottest areas in British Columbia. The prevailing weather conditions come from the Pacific. However, the Coast Mountains drain a great deal of moisture from any east-west movements of air masses, which results in the area being situated in a "rain-shadow," and, as a consequence, it often receives less than twenty inches annually. In the well-protected valleys the precipitation drops occasionally to less than ten inches. In contrast, however, one finds that higher up the slopes annual precipitation increases, so that towards the limits of the region between twenty-five and thirty inches may fall. Thirty per cent of the precipitation falls in the winter months in contrast to approximately fifteen per cent being precipitated in the summer. Torrential downpours are very rare at any time and thunderstorms are also extremely rare.

In the valleys of this region the heat of the summer is developed to a maximum with a mean daily temperature for July being in excess of 70° F., with not infrequent extremes of over 100° F. This rather high mean temperature is, however, modified by altitude, and summer temperatures are greatly decreased and winter conditions prolonged as one
travels up the adjacent slopes. Coincident with the rest of the Province the spate of the local creeks and streams occurs in the heat of late June and July as the surrounding mountains shed their winter snows. However, even in the hottest years there remain in pockets along the high ridges deposits of glacial ice. In the winter months temperatures fall considerably, so that the mean for January is somewhere between 32° F. - 40° F. However, seldom does it fall below 0° F.

In the valleys of the Thompson and Fraser Rivers there are in places almost incessant winds. The predominant wind direction is along the valleys, with the strongest air movements occurring in the late afternoon and moving up-valley. The direction and persistence of the wind is influential in the lives of the people of the area in varying degrees; however, it seems that generally its significance is becoming increasingly less.

Vegetation and Soil Types

In the Lytton area the soil coverage is of the "dark-brown" type which is characteristic of the semi-arid middle-latitude continental climate areas in North America. These soils are fertile under conditions of adequate rainfall or irrigation and, due to their rather precarious marginal situation at Lytton, where drought and adequate rainfall are alternated, some areas can become very arid, whereas others,
with a constant and abundant water supply, seem oasis-like in comparison.

The vegetation of the area is a combination of a number of distinct types: "osoyoos arid," "dry forest," and, in isolated pockets such as the Botanie Valley, one finds the vegetation of the "coast forest" type. The "osoyoos arid" is characterized by antelope brush, rabbit brush, cactus and sage brush, with very occasional stands of yellow pine. In the "dry forest" areas, which require more moisture than the previous type, one finds yellow pine, Douglas fir, western larch, sage brush, mariposa lily, and buckbrush. In the verging on "coast forest" type found in the Botanie Valley one finds spruce, hemlock, and cedar, with a lower growth of salal, huckleberry, thimbleberry, and salmonberry, to name but a few. There are also in the latter regional type many edible roots to be found.

Fauna

In the category of big game one finds on the higher ridges the mountain goat, California bighorn sheep, with black bear and coast deer on the lower ridges. None of these species, however, is in an over abundance, and for the most part their habitat is usually so inaccessible that they are seldom seen. Coyotes are fairly abundant on the west side of the Fraser.
Gophers, marmots, and weasels are in the area on the lower slopes, with fisher on the high ridges. Numerous small birds are to be found and the occasional flock of wild pigeons are to be seen. Rattlesnakes are fairly numerous on the east side of the Fraser, however there are none on the west side; they are also found along both sides of the Thompson.

Location and Accessibility

The general area is accessible by both road and rail, and by either means it is approximately 170 miles out of Vancouver. The Trans-Canada Highway, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and the Canadian National Railway (CNR) form the major links with larger centres, and all run through the town of Lytton, which is the principal settlement in the area. These three major routes of transportation have been built alongside the drainage channels of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. Below Lytton, in the area of our concern, the CNR follows the west bank of the Fraser, while the CPR and the Trans-Canada have been built on the east bank of the Fraser River. Similarly arranged these major arteries change direction at Lytton and align themselves with the Thompson River.

The reserve lands of the Lytton Band are extensive and encompass an area of over 13,000 acres. These tracts are of irregular topographic attitude and consist of farmlands,
scrub timber; merchantable timber, range lands and dry flats; they are scattered in parcels of varying sizes along the banks of the Fraser some ten miles below Lytton and some thirty miles above Lytton and along the Thompson some ten miles above Lytton. Above Lytton on the Fraser accessibility is provided by the Lytton-Lillooet highway on the east bank with numerous rough side roads leading away from it, and on the west bank are a wagon road and connecting trails. The wagon road goes only eighteen miles up, however, and from there on a rather poor trail leads on to the land thirty miles from Lytton which is connected by road to Lillooet. On the east bank of the Thompson there is little accessibility to the land other than the track bed of the CNR.
CHAPTER IV

LAND TENURE: (A DEFINITION)

In order to appreciate the various roles which land may play in the life of man it would be useful to determine some essential facts related to his existence. Firstly, if man is to exist he must do so in a special dimension, and secondly, if he is to continue to exist he must learn to exploit his environment. To this extent land may function as a site on which man at a given time lives, and it may also contain the requisites from which he can derive gratification of his needs. The relative merits of land are determined by man through an evaluative process, the standards for which are provided in the cultural milieu in which he has been conditioned. Any specific value placed on land, therefore, is contingent on the particular perspective held by individuals in a culture. One of the concerns of this study is to determine the relative degree of effective significance which has been associated with the object of land by the people of the Lytton Band. The problem is to establish how land is subjectively symbolized to embody a degree of gratification achievement; in other words we wish to establish how it is valued. There is tremendous controversy in the literature over the concept of value, and the differences of opinion are primarily directed at determining firstly, how
the observer may be cognizant of the presence of a value,\textsuperscript{1} and secondly, how the analyst may determine the importance of a value, in terms of priority in the individual evaluative process.\textsuperscript{2} However, the concern here is not in the determination of values in general, rather its focus is aimed at deciding how a cultural group places a value on a certain thing. There seem to be at least two observable criteria which may be used for such analysis; one is the actual use to which the object is put, and the other is the persistence of the organized method by which a group ensures that the gratification derived from that object remains a consistent and uninterfered realization.

Few considerations of inhabited land, aside from certain concerns of geographers, may continue for long without introducing the notion of tenure. Land tenure is the right of privileged use that a group of individuals consider they hold over the land in which they live. Such a notion immediately implies evaluation and exclusion. Evaluation is implied by the fact that if a man is cognizant of his hold of something then a desire for it to persist must be in effect, and this requires a value judgment concerning the thing held. To hold something also implies exclusion by the fact that it is inconceivable that a man could be cognizant of his hold of something if it were not for the opportunity of being able to compare himself with others and be aware that they did not hold that something as
well. If the constituents, in analysis, of tenure are exclusion and evaluation it could be inferred that the specific nature of the tenure is directly contingent on the form these two factors take, and concluded, that as they vary so also does the nature of the tenure.

If in a single cultural group there exists tenure of land it may be assumed that there is a shared symbolic meaning associated with land. Such a situation would stimulate the group to establish a systematic way of acquiring such tenure of land in order that they may be assured of realizing the benefits derived from its use.

The existence and persistence of a land tenure system therefore may be seen, in the light of the above discussion, to be dependent on a number of factors. Firstly, land must be seen as embodying the necessary accoutrements through which certain needs are satisfied. Secondly, the "meaning" of land with respect to the gratification of certain needs, must be shared by a group. Thirdly, it is necessary, if the evolved land tenure system is to persist, that the effective significance which has been associated with land remains stable. In other words, if there is a variation in the degree of gratification to be achieved from the land, then it is very likely that the existing system of land tenure will be modified.
CHAPTER V

LAND TENURE AND THE ADMINISTRATION

Official Rules of Land Tenure (a precis)

In reference to the rules of tenure as they are laid down in the Indian Act it is important to keep in mind that they are not necessarily carried out in the actual practice of land tenure. They are in fact what "should" be done from the administrator's point of view; however, unless they are utilized in a systematic way they cannot be considered part of the land tenure system per se. The object in presenting them here is to expose some possible methods of acquiring tenure of land and maintaining it as a system. Exactly how relevant these rules are to the people of the Lytton Band will be seen in the description of their behavior with respect to land use.

Reserve Lands (Sec. 18-19)

First and foremost, reserve land is held by Her Majesty who has set aside these lands for the use and benefit of the respective bands which have been allocated to them. The Minister, who is the superintendent general of Indian Affairs, has the authority to license any use of reserve lands if he considers it to be contributing to the general welfare of the band. The Minister may also authorize the survey of reserve lands, the subdivision of the whole or any portion
of a Reserve, and direct the location and construction of right-of-ways.

**Possession of Land in Reserves (Sec. 20-29)**

Apart from considering the Band as a collective unit and the rights of use of the reserve land in respect to this unit, there are also conditions provided in the Indian Act whereby individual claims on land may be made. An Indian may lawfully gain possession of reserve land if the Band council, with the approval of the Minister, considers that the individual is entitled to the allotment he desires. The granting of such allocation is usually contingent on whether or not it will conceivably be detrimental to the welfare of the Band and also whether the individual has made any improvements on the land which he desires. When an individual has been allocated to a portion of land by his council the legal strength of his claim in the eyes of the administration depends on the discretion of the Minister. The Minister may issue either a Certificate of Possession, which acknowledges the right of the individual to the land, or he may issue a Certificate of Occupation, whereby he places an onus on the individual to fulfill certain prescribed conditions respecting the use and settlement of the land before a Certificate of Possession is granted.¹

The Minister must approve all transfers of individually possessed land before they may be carried out.
lawfully. Such transfers may be initiated by the possessor or by the Minister. In the case of the individual possessor wishing to transfer his rights in the land he is allowed to do so either to the Band as a whole or to another member of the Band. If the action of transference of individual rights of possession is initiated by the Minister it is either because the Minister has a use for the land which he considers more significant than the present use to which it is being put by the individual, or such dispossession may also be due to the fact that the individual no longer resides on the Reserve. On the discretion of the Minister both the latter forms of alienation may warrant compensation.

Descent and Distribution of Property (Sec. 42-50)

The property of a deceased Indian who has been lawfully deemed possessor of land may be dealt with exclusively by the Minister. In the case of an individual dying intestate the Minister may appoint administrators to superintend the property and, in the instance of an individual leaving a written and signed statement indicating his wishes with respect to the disposition of his property, the Minister may either appoint executors or carry out the terms of the testament.

In the event that an individual dies intestate, or that the will of an Indian is declared void by the Minister, his interests in land are to be distributed in the following
fashion: priority is given to the widow and the children of the deceased; in the event that they do not exist, an individual's interest in land is vested in his parents. If the parents of an Indian are not alive then the property is to be divided among his siblings, and if a brother or sister dies leaving issue then the property which would have gone to siblings of the deceased then goes to their remaining issue. In no case shall the administrator of property of an intestate admit a claimant who represents a kin to the deceased more remote than the children of the deceased's brother and sister. If such kin do not exist any interest in land in the Reserve shall vest in Her Majesty for the benefit and use of the Band. No dower on the property of an individual who dies intestate has an automatic dispersal. The management of such lands is in the hands of the Minister, who may either grant rights of disposition or usufructory, or grant both; however, he may grant neither. The enactment of such decisions as may be handed down are delegated to the local superintendent who has gathered the necessary information regarding an intestate.

Land and the Administration

Since the first attempts of establishing a concentration of the Indian populations on reserved lands in British Columbia there has been an effort to set aside those lands which would provide economic independence for the Band concerned. In the earliest papers connected with the issue
of Indian lands one finds Governor Douglas writing in 1859:

In forming settlements of natives, I should propose, both from a principle of justice to the state and out of regard to the well-being of the Indians themselves, to make such settlements entirely self-supporting, trusting for the means for doing so, to the voluntary contributions in labour or money of the natives themselves; and secondly, the proceeds of the sale or lease of a part of the land reserved, which might be so disposed of, and applied towards the liquidation of the preliminary expenses of the settlement.3

Douglas was advised in this regard to exercise caution in laying out and defining the reserves so as to avoid checking at a future date the progress of the White population.

There is evidence in the records4 of disagreement between the Provincial Government and the Dominion Government concerning the allocation of Indian reserves. Apparently the Dominion Government insisted that the Indians be allotted eighty acres for each family of five people. The Provincial Government felt that they could not comply with such a request because it ignored both the wide variation in the topographic features of the region as well as the differences of the habits of the Indians in each area. The Provincial Government compromised by offering to give twenty acres to each family of five and assented to grant in the case of the allotment of future reserves a further twenty acres to each head of a family.
In 1916 a Royal Commission was set up to determine the particular conditions in the various Indian Agencies in British Columbia and establish the necessities of each Agency in respect to allotting additional reserve lands. It was found in the Lytton Agency that a great deal of the reserve land was arid and neither water nor adequate means for its use in irrigation was available, and also stock raising and farming were minor occupations among most of the Indians of the area. Applications for additional lands were filed on behalf of the Lytton Band where small parcels adjacent to existing reserves were utilized by individuals because they possessed better soil or a more advantageous position with respect to a water supply. They were also filed where the Commission and the Superintendent of the Agency decided the addition of certain portions would be an immediate or long-term asset to the Band. The result of the Royal Commission was that over 2,000 acres were added to the reserve lands of the Lytton Band.

All the efforts on the allotment of land have been concerned, as far as it is possible, to provide the Band of the area with resources from which they can be self-sufficient. However, with changes in economic and social conditions which affect the lives of the people of an area, there is often constant variation in what portions of the reserve lands may be seen as beneficial to the well-being of a Band. As
populations grow, educational facilities increase, realization of growing new markets come about, the reserve lands are conceived of in new and different ways.

"Significant" Lands and the Band Unit

The concern of the superintendents of an Agency is the welfare of a Band as a whole, and to this extent they must at least attempt to direct the development of those resources of an area which will produce the most universal benefit.

In the Lytton area, up until about ten years ago, land was utilized for agricultural purposes, the main crop of the Indian farmer being beans. Apparently the farming of beans provided a good living for most, and many were able to live fairly comfortably. However, as the prices of beans went down and more and more work had to be done in order to realize the same profit, increasingly few Indians continued farming. Today much of the arable land of the area lies fallow, and farming, considered as any sort of mainstay to the economy of the Band is of negligible importance. With the exception of a recently growing market for grapes and corn, which the climate of the Lytton area is uniquely suited for, there has been very little to encourage the active use of land for productive purposes on an individual basis and, as a result, the administrators have been forced to concentrate on land which may provide revenue monies to the Band through its sale or lease.
To date attempts at supplementing the economy by acquiring monies through the lease or sale of land have not been very lucrative for the Band as a whole. This is partly due to the fact that there is a very large population in the Lytton Band (over 800) to be reckoned with. However, it is also a result of the lack of types of land from which remuneration may be obtained in this way. Leases of certain portions of land for purposes of logging, industrial and commercial sites, and temporary right-of-ways have been contracted and also surrenders of certain lands have come about, which have gone mostly for railway, power line, and highway right-of-ways.

In a number of the leases and surrenders mentioned above there has been involved the compensation of individuals who have been allotted to the land concerned. On occasion this has resulted in the individual obtaining all the remunerations resulting from such a transaction. The Council determines whether or not an individual's request to be located to a certain plot of land is to be granted. They also advise whether or not an individual is to be entitled to compensation from the Band monies. In order to gain the consent of the Council in such matters an individual must be able to prove that he is using the land he is concerned about. On the consent of the Council a superintendent makes a "meets and bounds" survey, which entails surveying along already established lines which are marked off by fences, ditches and
promontories in the area. This does not entitle the individual to a Certificate of Possession,\(^6\) which requires a legal survey; it merely locates the person to the area he wishes to use. Such an allotment is respected even in the absence of the individual who has been away from a certain lot or away from the region altogether for up to twenty years. An instance was observed of a group of families, who needed more room because their children were growing up and wanted houses and some land of their own, not thinking they had the right to usurp the land and house next door, even when the person who had lived there had been gone so long that they did not know his name or anything about him.

There is considerable ambiguity in the Agency's policy regarding the granting of individual allotments.\(^7\) Many of the individuals who have been in areas where land is being used for the benefit of the Band have requested compensation before they have been officially allotted to a portion of land. This has resulted in some individuals having difficulty in obtaining compensation, a fact which has contributed to some extent in their neighbors requesting to be officially located on their land before the same situation arises with them. The areas which have been given the most attention with regard to "meets and bounds" surveys and the location of individuals on certain portions of land have been: (1) those areas which are most accessible and (2) those areas
which have been considered by the administration to be significant to the Band as a whole. The tenor of the approach of the administration to lands other than those mentioned above was to "let the people concerned work out their own way (of disposing of the land)" . . . and . . . "let the whole thing (the settling of an estate) ride; the chances are nothing will come of it anyway." However, even in the former case the superintendents visualizing the possible difficulties which individual rights over land may produce in the obtaining of monies for the Band as a whole have attempted, with little success to date, to discourage the Council from granting individual rights of this sort.

The administerial unit of the Band when considered as a whole may be presented with a limited number of situations, if indeed any at all, which could be considered to be of universal consequence. Because of the fact that traditionally there existed no organized representation of the peoples' interests on a scale approaching that of the Lytton Band, the introduced local government, consisting of a chief and Council, must resort directly to the conditions of the Indian Act from which it was contrived, in order to determine its concern with the Band as a whole. 8

There are a number of influences which a Band Council may effect with regard to the concerns of the Band. These influences are articulated in the Indian Act (1952) in
Sections 57, 58, 59 and Sections 64 and 66. The Band Council is involved in the regulations to be made by the Governor-in-Council regarding the granting of licenses to cut timber on reserve land, and they are also influential in the effectiveness of the suggestions of the Minister regarding the improvement or leasing of uncultivated or unused land. The Council also has some voice in the adjustment of contractual arrangements involving the disposition of surrendered lands, reserve lands, and the rate of interest payable on both of these. The consent of the Council of the Band is also required by the Minister when he authorizes and/or directs the expenditure of capital or revenue monies of the Band for the promotion of the welfare and progress of the Band.

The Indian monies accrued by the means of leasing and surrender described above have been utilized with the consent of the Council of the Band and often with their initial suggestion for the maintenance of roads, bridges and water supply systems, and the building of houses on the reserves. Some years ago the Council drew up a plan for investing some of their capital monies which was to be for the benefit of the Band as a whole. After acquiring the consent of the Governor-in-Council they went ahead and spent some $40,000 and constructed a "Native Hall" in the village of Klickumcheen, adjacent to the town of Lytton. There was evidently considerable difficulty in determining what investment of the Band money would be considered by the
Band as an investment on behalf of them all. As one Councillor put it, "It was really a matter of spending it in a way that would produce the least complaints." A statement which certainly discloses a despairing attitude towards being able to obtain an enthusiastic consensus on what would be considered a worthy investment by the Band as a whole. Undoubtedly the Indian population in the immediate area of the "Native Hall" have few complaints, for the hall is in continual use, especially in the winter time, for the purpose of staging various sports activities and numerous public dances. However, to those individuals who live, for instance, across the Fraser River and on the other side of the Stein Creek from Lytton, who come into Lytton perhaps once a week, and very often far less than that, the possibility that their visit will coincide with an activity going on in the hall is by no means assured. The fact that this may involve a quarter of the population of the Band is not so significant as the fact that involves in excess of 200 individuals, a number which is a great deal larger than most other Bands in toto. The point of the above discussion is to demonstrate some of the problems involved when one attempts to consider in a meaningful way the Band unit, in any terms other than the strictest administerial ones, as a community.
CHAPTER VI

LAND TENURE AND THE INDIAN

A. Pre-White

(a) Economic and social setting

In pre-White times the people of the Lytton area subsisted on a hunting and gathering economy. Deer, salmon, roots and berries were the staple foods of the Band. The hunting of deer was more common in the Lytton area than it was to the south because there were more deer and it was easier to hunt them.

Apart from the limited specialization in manufactured articles there was a sexual division of labour, in which men performed the occupations of hunting, trapping and fishing, and women concerned themselves with the gathering of the various roots and berries and the preparation of foods.

In the active season of food gathering in the summer, when they were scattered and moving about continually, they lived in the summer lodge, which was a framework of poles covered with mats and bark. In the three coldest months of the winter the people returned to their permanent winter dwellings. The winter dwelling was semi-subterranean and housed a group of related families which ranged from between fifteen to thirty individuals. These winter dwellings were situated in isolation or small village groups of three or four.
The people of the Lytton Band had frequent trade and intercourse with the other bands in the surrounding areas. There was an emphasis in such interaction with the people to the north and east partly as a result of the difficulties of travel down the canyon and partly due to a feeling that the lower bands were inferior because they were all fishermen.

Any position of influence among the people of the Lytton Band was obtained on the basis of individual achievement. A person who was wealthy, had acquired a reputation for wisdom, oratory, or valor in war, enjoyed a certain influence over his neighbors, however no one person was considered the supreme head. If decisions were to be made concerning more than the immediate populus of a small village or winter dwelling, then the men would gather in formal meetings and discuss the issue. If a specialized type of knowledge is required in order to come to a decision a man with a reputation in such matters was invited to attend the meeting in an advisory capacity. The group of men who initially called the meeting were expected to feed any who attended. Any decisions to be made concerning domestic affairs were made by the men of the group, however, in most cases the opinion or advice of the father or eldest son was taken. It was a matter of custom to consult all the men of the household or village if the decision was to affect the group as a whole.
Affiliations were traced bilaterally, the strongest ties being with the winter residence group. Within such a group certain names were used for each member and the use of these names was exclusively the privilege of members of the group. It is not clear how extensive these 'groups' are: however, the fact that immediate neighbors were called into the naming feast suggests that perhaps they formed the limits of such a group. It seems highly likely also that those in neighboring winter dwellings are closely related by blood, perhaps siblings or cousins.

The residence patterns showed an emphasis on patrilocal-virilocal^2 residence. However, at least in the early years of marriage the locality of a couple was in flux, for it is recorded that after the marriage ceremonies were over the couple lived with and visited their respective parents just as they felt inclined.\(^3\) It seems that this would indicate that there was no strict normative behavior regarding post marital locality. A couple was established as a member of either spouse's group if they stayed with them for a year or more.\(^4\)

Restrictions of marriage existed between first cousins, and second cousin marriage was looked down upon. There was a strong tendency for both leviratic and sororatic unions, and the consent of a woman's brother-in-law had to be acquired before a woman could establish a peaceful union with another man. There was a frequency of polygamous unions.
taking place with some men having up to seven and eight wives, however this was by no means prescribed behavior and many only took a single spouse. There being no ascribed positions of status among these people and there were few formal restrictions of marriage in this respect however, it seems that affiliations between the various men of influence and the marriages of their children were arranged accordingly.

(b) Land tenure system

The land in the vicinity of Lytton was, with few exceptions, the property of the tribe in common for the purpose of root-digging, berry picking and hunting. The people of the Lytton Band were not restricted to using merely the land in their immediate area, nor were others prevented from using the land near Lytton for the purposes described above. Bands who had established relationships with each other through trade and inter-marriage often were to be found hunting in each other's area without being considered intruders. An instance was cited of members of the Lytton Band going as far into the country of the Upper Nicola as Douglas Lake in order to hunt elk and fish for trout. Others went up and stayed at Spences Bridge in the spring to fish with people there on the Thompson River for salmon and in the lake in the area for trout. Berry picking and root-digging grounds were also common property in the same way, the most productive area in the region for this
activity was in the Botanie Valley about fifteen miles into the hills from Lytton towards Spences Bridge. As many as a thousand Indians were to be found here during the root-gathering season and they represented every Band in the surrounding area. The looseness, indeed almost complete lack of recognition of limits to a Band's territory with regard to the collecting of staple foods, reflects to some extent the spotty nature of the distribution of resources in this region.

Individual tenure of land in this region was limited to a few temporary plots of land and one's exclusive privilege over such pieces of land was only with respect to certain uses, however such tenure could be inherited. Generally an individual could acquire tenure of two types of land; the first was the place in the mountain where a deer-fence was erected. These fences were looked on as the property of those who maintained them, and nobody was allowed to erect another fence in proximity to one already existing for it would affect the chances of the first one catching anything. Nobody from another Band could build a deer-fence in the vicinity of other groups' winter residence sites. The second type of land which an individual could acquire individual tenure of was the fishing station, which often had to be built. Because of the lack of a steep submarine inclination in the area around Lytton, when compared with the consistently precipitous attitude of the land to the
south, many fishing stations required the construction of overhanging platforms. An individual could acquire tenure of such a station. The eyries of the golden eagle could also be held by an individual; however, these were not as significant as the other two.

Deer-fences, fishing stations, and eagles' eyries were inherited by all the children of a man. The children at least had priority, with the emphasis on the males. The eldest brother usually had first choice as to what he wished to lay claim to; if he was a hunter he would take the deer-fence and leave the fishing station to his other brothers. However, very often these places were used by all the sons in common, and the children of the last surviving of these were to inherit from their father. If a man died without sons, then his nearest male relative inherited the site; barring the existence of a near male relative, then a man's daughter and his sons-in-law inherited the tenure. Because these sites concern the activities of man it seems natural that the emphasis is on male inheritance of rights over them. However, a woman could acquire rights in the winter residence dwellings, for it was recorded that if a man died leaving his wife with children she inherited the lodge of her deceased husband and the children could inherit it from her. Apart from this a woman's hold on property was focused on moveable goods.
B. **Present Day**

(a) **The common setting**

In considering the common factors which have been observed to pervade the whole of the Lytton Band, our purpose is to establish those interests which are characteristic of these people in general. Once having determined these elements it may be assumed, unless explicitly stated to the contrary, that they exist in all other situations to be described below. Our concern, of course, is restricted to those universal constituents which are considered to be most directly relevant to the focus of this study: land tenure.

The household unit, which will be defined here to mean all those which have their residential site or building in common, is found throughout the area. It performs various and varying functions from place to place; however in all instances it gratifies the basic needs for food and shelter to those who are its constituent members. The specific activity of the household which seems to be of almost universal occurrence, which is of concern here, is the attempt at supplementing the diet by growing a vegetable garden. All households also require, at least periodically, a certain amount of food, clothing, and hardware from the stores in Lytton.

There is very little opportunity in this region for an individual to obtain money and as a result, in the
lean winter months, government assistance forms an important part of the economy. This assistance, which is doled out at the Indian Agency office, except in very exceptional cases, is given in the form of a chit which may be exchanged for goods at the store. This, however, may vary if the individual is given the opportunity to work for his assistance. This involves projects such as road maintenance, bridge repair, or water ditch maintenance, and any work done in this connection is paid in cash. There is another type of assistance which is invariably in the form of cash and this is the pensions granted for old age and disability.

(b) Distribution of population

In establishing limits to the population we are provided with certain plots of land and the concern of determining who has tenure of this land to assist us in the delineation. To this extent the population will be considered to encompass all those people who hold right in "a tract of land, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty, that has been set apart by Her Majesty for the use and benefit of a band"\(^7\) of Indians in Canada. In other words, we are interested in those people who have acquired tenure of "reserve" land of which the above excerpt is a definition from the \textit{Indian Act}.

It was suggested that the official members of the Lytton Band\(^8\) were by no means an exclusive group when it came
to a question of acquiring tenure of the reserve land. It is true that the implications of exclusion contained in the above definition of "reserve" is in some sense correct; however, it applies to definite contexts and is by no means significant as a blanket statement in connection with land tenure. Due to a combination of ignorance, misinterpretation and manipulation of the official rules and customary systems of behavior regarding land tenure, and also as a result of shifting and changing values of land, the total population to be considered is larger than the total number encompassed by the somewhat arbitrary Band unit which is utilized by the administration. The point here, of course, is to emphasize the fact that there is no necessary connection between the statement in the Indian Act and what actually happens on the Reserve lands in question regarding their tenure. The situation is such that by far the greatest part of the population to be considered does belong to the people of the Lytton Band; however, not because they are members of the Band, rather because they have tenure of the land. The smaller percentage of individuals who are not members of the Band and yet whose behavior is very relevant to the primary concern of this study are not significant to the immediate concern of this aspect of it, which is to describe the population distribution. There seems to be little order in the distribution of the non-members of the Band, however the same could not be said for the greatest proportion of the members of the Lytton Band.
Among the total population of approximately 800 individuals of the Lytton Band, about three-quarters live on the Reserve lands allotted to them. These people are unevenly scattered throughout the area, with the largest concentration to be found at the village of Klickumcheen, which is adjacent to the town of Lytton. The rest of the population is scattered along both banks of the Fraser River, in small villages of two to four houses or in isolated residence.

As a result of various social and economic variations observed among the people in different areas of the Reserve lands it has been found useful in certain contexts to delineate these differences. The sub-sections of the area have been clearly marked on the enclosed map and have been denoted by the letters A, B, C, D and E. All the areas, with the exception of C, have their populations scattered, with between half a mile and two miles separating each house or group of houses.

The area designated by A is on the west bank of the Fraser River and extends from the Stein Creek to the small village of Nickel Palm, situated approximately eighteen miles up river from the town of Lytton. This area has a population of 130 individuals. Directly down river from area A is the area designated by B, and this stretches for about seven miles below the Stein Creek to a point about three miles below Lytton; it is populated by 100 individuals.
Area C designates the village of Klickumcheen which is adjacent to the town of Lytton. There are 140 people in Klickumcheen. The area D, except for area C and some reserve land on the Fraser thirty miles above Lytton, encompasses all the reserve land on the east side of the Fraser, which includes the land on both banks of the Thompson River. Most of the 110 individuals living in area D are within six miles of the town of Lytton.

There is one more area designated on the map and this is E. However, for two reasons this has not been included in one of the other subsections. It encompasses reserve land on the west bank of the Fraser at a point twenty-five miles above Lytton and on both banks of the river thirty miles above Lytton. Fifty people live in this area; however, because of the distance from Lytton the most important market and supply centre for these people is the town of Lillooet. The majority of the population lives on the west bank and the only connecting road runs into Lillooet; they are only connected by a horse trail to Nickel Palm, which is to their south and in area A. As a result of the inaccessibility of this area the information gathered on the people there is almost negligible, consequently little more may be said about them in the remainder of the study.\[11\]

(c) Area "A"

(1) Economic activity and use of land
The reserve land in the area is made up of approximately 3,500 acres at various altitudes, which ranges from rough and rolling to flat surfaces and is periodically cut by intermittent streams and the occasional large creek. The productive value of the land with respect to the band as a whole is today of negligible importance. There are no leases in effect and none of the land has yet been surrendered. However, this is not because the land lacks potential in this regard, for there exist 700 acres of mature merchantable timber in the area. This situation seems to be a result of, as much as anything else, the general inaccessibility of the area as compared with lands on the east side of the Fraser River, which are equally or more fortunately endowed and have access to highways and railways.

A wagon road traverses the whole length of this area and connects the people, with the assistance of a government-run ferry across the Fraser, to the town of Lytton. Because it is necessary that every household in this area must come to town quite frequently there is a premium placed on having access to some form of transportation. Most households have solved this problem with the horse, using it with a saddle or in a team and wagon. The use of horses has created the necessity of having to cut and stack hay at least every other year, an activity which requires not less than two men to accomplish. Haying may only be carried out on the various flats in the area which have an abundant supply of water. With one exception all the hay fields
were fenced off with barbed wire or rails, with a smaller corral conveniently situated in which to stack the hay.

The residential site is situated adjacent to the hay fields and vegetable gardens. Seldom is there fencing around the house unless it is within a fenced-in field. Often near the house there are racks for drying fish; however, by no means all the sites have these.

A number of households in the area are involved in cattle ranching on a small scale (10-60 beef cattle). They all range their cattle in the same area on crown land and it is about ten miles from the Fraser River behind Nickel Palm. Keeping cattle naturally requires a great deal more hay than that needed by a few horses and what is perhaps more important, it requires a great deal more water for irrigating.

Apart from the sources common to the people of the whole region there is very little chance of an individual being able to obtain a cash income. To a few, forest fires provide a brief opportunity to acquire some money; however, this kind of work seldom lasts more than a week and barely enough money is made to pay off any outstanding court fines or bills at the store in Lytton. Nearly every individual from this area who gets the opportunity for full-time employment must leave the area. There is one exception to this however, where an individual from Nickel
Palm has worked steadily for the last three years on a ranch immediately across from where he lives. This individual rows back and forth to work nearly every day. Occasionally during the year this working man is able to get part-time employment for a number of his male relatives in the area. One other Indian very infrequently obtains money from being a guide to hunters.

(ii) The household and patterns of residence.

(See Appendix, Table 2)

In developing a method of classifying residence patterns by which fruitful comparison may be made with the other areas in the region there are three basic questions which may be asked of all situations involving residence, and these are: (1) Who are the people residing on any one site? (2) How does an individual come to reside on a certain site? (3) Why are persons residing on certain sites rather than others?

The people in the area are scattered in small villages and isolated residences which are half a mile to two miles apart. Over 60 per cent of the household groups involve three generations of people and the remaining 40 per cent involves two generations. This means that there are relatively few residential sites and many individuals are concentrated in each household. Where the household has three generations, it is constituted in the following fashion: the senior generation consists of one individual, a married
couple, or a married couple and a sibling of one of the couple. The next generation is represented by consanguineal relatives of the first or second descending generation from the elders and the spouse of at least one individual in this generation. The third generation consists of the children of the second.

In these instances of household groups being constituted by two generations they were found to be formed in the following manner: a couple and their children, a couple plus siblings of one of the couple and the children of the couple, or an individual or couple with relatives of the first or second descending generations.

An individual may gain acceptance to a household group in which he was not born through the widest affinal or consanguineal connections. For the purposes of considering possible resident sites kinship affiliations are recognized bilaterally to the second ascending generation, and extended collaterally when required. When an individual marries, this results in a considerable number of possible alternative residence sites from which a couple may choose. The choice in residence of a couple, however, is definitely not between whose kin they will stay with, but seems to be contingent on such practical considerations as congeniality of personalities, available room in a household, possession of horses, adequate water supply and distance to the town of Lytton.
The constituents of a household group and the possible means by which an individual may come to be part of the group certainly do not limit acceptance to only band members. As a result it was not uncommonly observed that non-Indians and Indians but not band members were fully accepted members of household groups. The non-Indians were male and the Indians but not band members were either women who had originally come from the band and had married out and for various reasons returned, or they were men who had come from another band to live with women of the Lytton Band in this area.

The household group places a premium at certain times of the year on the role played by men. It was mentioned that at least two men were required for haying in the summer time and for this reason a household group must have an adequate supply of manpower in order to ensure their transportation facilities. All those household groups which involve three generations have the necessary manpower and so also do some with only two. The households with only two generations present, which do not have the necessary labour force for haying, must make arrangements with another group for this purpose. This usually involves the pooling of labour between households without horses and those with, the ones without thereby securing a right to occasional use of the horses of the other.
Aside from the necessity to secure their mode of transportation a household in this relatively isolated district values the presence of an individual merely for the enjoyment realized in social contact. There were two cases observed of old people adopting young children just for this purpose, and as one old man put it, "We like to have someone around to keep us company away up here." However, even other larger households seem to enjoy crowding together in one residence. One household of fifteen individuals was situated immediately along side an older, yet vacant and useable house, out of which they had just moved. Dry goods were stored in the older house, which was a two-storey structure, whereas the new house had only five small rooms on one level.

In choosing the residential site five men went to the household group where access was obtained through their spouses. One of the main reasons for doing so in each case was because their sites would be closer to Lytton. This discloses perhaps a growing tendency to regard the value of land in terms of a site's accessibility or proximity to town rather than its productivity.

(iii) Communities other than the household
(See Appendix, Table 3)

It has been mentioned that a number of small herds of cattle are kept by members of certain households. Naturally these cattleowners require a great deal more hay
than that required by those who just own a few horses. This has resulted in rather well established relationships between the households involved. The cattle when they are on the range require periodic salting, which each family takes a turn at doing. The herding to and fro from the summer range and the winter pastures is carried out by all members of the households involved. The roundup and branding is also a corporate effort.

In the summer time, during the months of July and August, some of the households, or parts of them, go down to the Fraser Valley and Sumas Prairie to pick berries. Arrangements must be made before going for someone to look after the horses and water the vegetable garden while they are away. These arrangements may be made with neighbors or with a convenient relative. If the berry picking venture is to be profitable a group of people must go down together for it involves living in shacks supplied by the berry farmers. An individual, if he does not affiliate himself and make arrangements with a group before going, would find difficulty in finding a place where he would be accepted and as a result would have to either rent a place or pay the group where he was accepted for such domestic conveniences as are provided. However, individuals from this area seldom go down to pick berries in consecutive years and as a result few arrangements become very firmly established.
Apart from communities being formed for the various economic reasons discussed, groups exist on the basis of kinship affiliations. The extent of the effective bilateral kin group of an individual, that is the kin group which he is considered part of or which he considers himself a part of, is not a set and established thing but is in constant flux, contracting and expanding appropriately to suit the situation. For instance, an individual might affiliate himself, on the death of a sibling, with his other siblings and the children of the deceased and assist in paying for the costs of the ceremonies. However, the same individual in the instance of the child of a sibling dying would by no means necessarily assist financially in the ceremonies, but would in all likelihood attend to pay his respects. The degree of participation in a concern which involves an individual strictly on the basis that he is a member of a kin group is contingent on how closely he is related consanguinely to the central figures of the situation, and also on how significant he considers the outcome of a situation.

(iv) Land tenure system (Area "A")

It has been established that the land in the area is used for a number of purposes ranging from the growing of vegetable gardens, the production of hay, and as residential sites. The methods of acquiring rights of usufruct are those alternatives which an individual is limited to when
considering gaining acceptance to a household group other than the one in which he was born. In other words, these would include the residences of one's own or one's spouse's bilateral kin group taken to the second ascending generation and extended collaterally. There seems to be little normative influence directing where one eventually does establish one's residence among the considerable alternatives, which may at times be presented, other than with respect to the practicality and convenience of the site. This has resulted in cases of individuals owning land with a house, good fields, and an adequate water supply, leaving this land vacant in favour of a site acquired by the spouse which was closer to town. In this area all the household groups used for agriculture only that land which was immediately adjacent to the residential site.

There was no individual or discrete group which customarily inherited rights of disposition of land; however, the system is still not as loosely organized and accommodating as was seen to prevail in the acquiring of tenure of usufruct. An individual who owned land could establish a certain amount of security for being cared for in old age by promising a couple that they could have the land when he (or she) died.

Land could be held individually or in joint ownership. Land was either given to one's spouse, to those individuals of the second generation in the household which were the most closely related to the owner, or it was given to some or all
of one's children, or it was vested with kin who conceivably might need it in the future, such as a grandchild.

The transference of land, with the exception of one official will being written, was by word of mouth. It was common practice that once a person had been publicly notified that the land was to be owned by him (or her), everyone in the household considered him the owner from that moment on, which was often long before the original owner had died. There were a number of cases also of land not being handed down at all, verbally or otherwise, and on the death of the owner, tenure of disposition was assumed by the senior generation remaining in the household. The latter form of acquisition, when it occurred, often resulted in joint tenancy. One woman remarked in such a situation, when asked who owned the land, "Well, I guess we (her sisters) all do."

(d) Area "B"

(i) Economic activity and use of land

The reserve land in this area consists of approximately 1,200 acres which represent extremes in topography ranging from flat cleared areas of fifty acres or more to steep wooded mountain sides. A number of swiftly flowing streams descend to the Fraser through these reserves. These lands have been used quite extensively in the past for the growing of beans and other vegetables; however, today little of this activity takes place on a commercial basis. To the Band as a whole this land has provided a certain
income with the surrender of 120 acres of land bordering the banks of the Fraser River to the Canadian National Railway for the purpose of use as right-of-way. There are no resources whatever in the way of timber potential and apart from further demands by the railway there seems to be little else in the near future which would make the area important in terms of acquiring Indian monies.

A good road, which may be traveled over by car, runs the full length of these reserve lands. Those individuals who live in the northern portion of the area cross over to Lytton by means of the ferry. Nearly all those who live in the southern part of the area use the catwalk, which has been built alongside of the C.N.R. bridge, to go to Lytton. Only one household supports a team of horses for transportation purposes, and this is situated at the farthest point from Lytton in the area just below the Stein Creek. A great many other households own horses, which previously were used for cultivation; however, now that there is very little cultivation required, the horses range freely throughout the area all the year round. Because of the relative proximity of Lytton to the people of this area, with the exception of three households that have cars, these people walk to and from town.

Only two households in the area have gone in for farming in a serious way. They both have been stimulated by
the Indian office, which has encouraged the growing of grapes and corn in hopes that the increasing demand of these commodities by the wineries and distilleries of the lower mainland will provide a ready market. Both these households must use horses for cultivation. In the need for horses one household maintains its own, the other finds it necessary to rent a team. The team was rented from a household in Area A and was paid for with an unbroken colt that the household in Area B owned and with a promise to the owner of the horses of a new suit of clothes when the harvest came. Another household owns and cares for, in a very perfunctory manner, a herd of thirty cows. Apart from these ventures the land is used for little else. Some individuals fish from various points and enjoy a limited and sporadic market for fresh fish in the town of Lytton and in the village of Klickumcheen. Occasionally fish are sold in quantity (50-100 fish) to the Nicola Indians who take it back and resell it for a profit among their own people.

A number of households in the area are supported by various members holding jobs in Lytton or in the surrounding area. The individuals who hold jobs do so on a permanent basis. One woman works as cleaning woman for one of the boarding houses in Lytton. Two men work on road construction and maintenance and another has a job on the C.N.R. Two other men have permanent jobs as farm labourers on a ranch in the vicinity, and periodically a few others are hired on a part-time basis to the same place.
(11) The household and patterns of residence
(See Appendix, Table 2)

Among the scattered households in the area only 30 per cent contain three generations of people. Over 50 per cent of the remaining households contain two generations, and nearly 20 per cent contain only one. It is significant that these percentages are differently-proportioned from those given for Area A, and the constituents of the households are not as widely varied, as will be seen. The households with three generations of people are constituted by the senior generation being in the person of an individual of either sex, or a couple. The next generation is represented by the children, with or without a spouse, of the senior generation or their siblings, and the third generation are the children of the second.

The households with only two generations are formed by a couple and their children. Those of only one generation are either elderly couples or an individual living alone.

In acquiring acceptance to an already established household there are no instances in this area where the bilateral kin group is recognized farther than the collaterals of the first ascending generation. For the most part, an individual who resides in a household other than that in which he or she was born does so in the household in which their spouse was born. Instances of this not occurring were
in cases of a household being set up neolocally, which happened when individuals by various means came to reside on land which was formerly the property of neither affineal nor consanguineal connections.

There being little necessity for either a set minimum labour supply or a contrived means of transportation in this area, the household can afford to be reduced to one generation. In cases where it has, the individuals concerned are invariably elderly and their children, if any, have elected to reside elsewhere. There is far more opportunity in this area than in Area A for one to be presented with situations which might entice one away.

Many of the children of households with one generation present have moved to other areas or regions for reasons of employment. Interaction here is also far more diverse and a spouse is often obtained from another band. One instance of this was observed when an individual who owns land in this area has rented a place in the town of Lytton because he is employed by one of the railways and it would be impossible for him to keep his job and reside on the land that he owns. This individual's mother and stepfather and some of his siblings and half-siblings still reside on the land.

There are a number of instances where certain members of a household are officially of another band. One
notable instance was observed where a woman originally from the Lytton Band married a man from the Siska Band. Shortly after the marriage the couple separated and the woman returned to the Lytton Band, and for the last twenty years has been living with a man of this Band. This second union has produced ten children. However, because there was no divorce of the marriage, all these children are credited to the men at Siska and are listed as members of that Band. The man from Lytton is listed as a bachelor. Such a situation is bound to violate the Indian Act when it comes to disposing of the properties which both the official and the biological father possess.

(iii) Communities other than the household  
(See Appendix, Table 4)

The major interactions that the people of this area engage in, other than those which take place within the confines of their respective households, occur in the town of Lytton. There are two main gathering points for people in Lytton and these are the beer parlour and a log pile which is situated in a vacant lot on the main street of town. Many individuals may spend all day in the air-conditioned beer parlour. Usually this is for the purpose of drinking. However, many also go, it seems, primarily to enjoy the benefits afforded by the atmosphere of sociability. It was often observed that persons would sit in the beer parlour talking and discussing with one another for ten hours
at a stretch, in the meantime consuming no more than half a dozen beers. The benefits of television and a juke-box are also provided in the beer parlour. On warm days in the summer time many individuals sit on the log pile in town and gossip to one another and talk with friends whom they would otherwise not see, and with children who do not live with them any longer. Both the beer parlour and the log pile are used as centres in which a message can be left with those present to pass on to the individuals concerned when they appear.

At least every other week a couple will spend an evening in the beer parlour. If the couple have young children they often make arrangements with someone to look after them until they, the parents, come home when the beer parlour closes at midnight. Very often babysitters have reciprocal arrangements with each other so that instead of paying someone to look after one's children the households concerned agree to assist each other when the situation arises. Because of the prevalence of households which are only comprised by two generations such "baby-sitting rings" are quite common, and they are formed by groups of households in proximity.

(iv) Land tenure system (Area "B")

It has been established that, apart from the very few farming ventures in the area, land considered by the
individual for its productive benefits is of only slight significance. This situation has not always been the case, for it was also mentioned that considerable farming of beans used to be carried on in the area. The days of farming have left their mark on the land and also in the minds of certain individuals living in the area. There are many fences still to be seen, albeit in disrepair, around the many arable and, for the most part, unused fields. There was an instance observed of one of the farmers wishing to reclaim for use a field which had not been used for many years and subsequently had had a road diverted through the middle of it as a short cut. The individual, in reclaiming, put up the fence in its old position and thereby realigned the road back to its original route. There was no doubt in the individual's mind of the extent of the field which he claimed and no question on the part of others as to his right to do so, even when this particular field had not been used for over twenty years.

In this area there are not only fields in disuse, there are also a considerable number of residential sites that have been vacated. However, the years of farming as well as the accessibility of the area from Lytton has also left its mark in the land location files of the Indian Office for nearly every residence site, and the land associated with it, has been allocated to someone. The allotments have not
been in a single collective unit, and many have had their residence site and productive unit separated from each other, a situation which has really emerged as a result of the different ways in which rights to land may be obtained.

In acquiring rights of usufructory in land there is an emphasis on the sphere being limited to the collaterals of the first ascending generation taken bilaterally. This, however, is by no means rigid, and there were cases observed where usufructory rights were obtained by request without the individual in need being within the sphere of the above-mentioned relationships. These instances of non-relatives acquiring usufructory rights of land concerned those allotments which were no longer being used by the owner.

In acquiring rights of disposition over land, it involves essentially those that are within the sphere of relatives who are eligible for privileges of usufructory. The process by which such rights are handed down is in the spoken word and by official will, the latter being by far the most significant method in operation. However, there is one method of acquiring land which has nothing to do with kinship ties of any kind, and this is when land is bought outright by one individual from another. The opportunity to obtain the occasional job provides availability of a certain amount of money to the people of this area, a fact which adds a new and significant dimension to the question of acquiring
ownership of land. Payment for such transfer of rights often was in the form of both cash and kind, and could extend over a considerable period of time. Most of these transactions took place some years ago, with only one being recorded recently, and this was to an individual who lived in the village of Klickumcheen. This method of acquiring land by payment has been essentially for productive use of the plot; however, houses often are on land so acquired and may occasionally be used by the owner.

(e) Area "C"

(i) Economic activity and use of land

The reserve land designated by C on the map is approximately forty acres in extent, half of which is flat and half of which is a rolling side hill. To the Band unit as a whole a limited amount of capital monies have been afforded by the surrender of six and one-half acres of land to the Canadian Pacific Railway for their right-of-way. Another acre has been surrendered to the Department of Highways for the right-of-way of the highway leading north out of the town of Lytton. A very limited amount of revenue monies has been furnished by the lease of a third of an acre of land to the elementary school of Lytton for the purpose of providing a playground and a site for one of the school buildings.
Twenty acres of the land of this area is used primarily as residential sites for the 140 inhabitants of the village of Klickumcheen, which is situated there. Aside from the undertaking of some in growing a vegetable garden, the application for government assistance in the off season, and the benefaction of six old age and disability pensions, the economic ventures of the people of the village are of an individual wage-earning nature. This is due to the fact that Klickumcheen is conveniently situated next to the town of Lytton and at the junction of the Trans-Canada and Lytton-Lillooet highways. These two factors are significant in boosting the possibility of an individual obtaining wage-earning labour, for the proximity of the village to the town provides the town with an immediate supply of cheap unskilled labour, which from time to time is utilized. Also to the members of the village the two highways bring news of and afford immediate accessibility to jobs offered in surrounding areas.

Most of the male population of Klickumcheen who are capable of working are unskilled, and as a result they are suited to a number of different kinds of work. For the most part they are occupied in part-time employment with lumber mills and in logging camps. Because there is only one lumber mill and two logging operations in the immediate vicinity (within ten miles) these men often have to live in camps away from home, coming back each or every other weekend.
Work of this sort takes the men as far away as Merritt, Lillooet and Yale. In the winter months most of these men must come home to stay, for work of this sort slows down in the wet months, and in the leanest months of January and February many find it necessary to go on assistance. However, cases were recorded of men not wishing to stop work going down to the coast to log, or travelling as far north as Prince George. Some men even go as far away as Alaska and stay six months to a year before returning home.

There are two other unskilled jobs which have employed men from the village. One individual is employed by the town of Lytton as a public utility man, and he performs odd jobs such as sweeping the streets, working on public buildings and erecting signs. The other is hired by the village to maintain the water supply for Klickumcheen. He must go up and clear out the intake periodically and also see that each public tap in the village is unfrozen in the winter.

The only permanent jobs available in the immediate vicinity for male unskilled labour is work on the two major railways which run through Lytton, as a section man or a patrolman. This has given jobs to four men from Klickumcheen, a number considerably reduced in the last few years due to the introduction of a motorized "speeder" which allows one man to do the patrol work of what previously would have taken three men to accomplish. Certain individuals in this
work are discouraged from accepting advancement to foreman because it means that they must travel about for at least five years relieving other permanent foremen before they can obtain permanent positions. It is also highly likely that they will not be permanently stationed where they would like to live.

There are two men in Klickumcheen who have acquired a skill; one is a carpenter and the other is an electrician. Both work mostly out of the immediate vicinity, for the various jobs which are available in the village and in the town of Lytton are not enough to occupy them on a full-time basis.

Opportunities for women are narrowed by the fact that most of them must look after children and, as a result, it would be very inconvenient to go looking for work away from home. Two women have found part-time cleaning jobs with a few private houses in Lytton. Two others have found fairly permanent work, one in the hotel in Lytton and the other in the laundry room at St. George's, an Anglican-run Indian school about three miles from Lytton. Another woman has acquired a small revenue from leasing some land across the Thompson River from Lytton, for a commercial enterprise. The same woman also runs a small store in the village, where she sells second-hand clothing which she has cleaned and mended, and also cedar bark baskets, some of which she makes herself and some which have been given to her by others in the
village and surrounding area to sell for them.

(ii) The household and patterns of residence
(See Appendix, Table 2)

The residential sites of Klickumcheen are aligned along the highway which leads north out of Lytton to connect with the Trans-Canada Highway. They are unevenly arrayed, ranging from ten to sixty yards from the main thoroughfare. Street lights and public water taps are evenly spaced through the length of the village, and some houses have private connections to those facilities which they have, at their own expense, acquired. With the exception of two households, all of the twenty-five houses use out-house latrines. Those households which grow their vegetable gardens in the village have fenced in their lots, whereas the majority of the others have not.

The pattern of residence sites in the village is roughly in the form of groupings of relatives, usually siblings, who have inherited their portion from a common ancestor. This pattern, however, for reasons which will be commented on shortly, is quickly beginning to disintegrate.

Under 25 per cent of the households in Klickumcheen have three generations present, whereas nearly 60 per cent involve only two generations. The remaining households consist of only one generation and concern over 20 per cent of the total. Those households which have three generations
have the members related as follows: the senior generation consists of an elderly couple or individual, the second generation consists of an individual who is a direct relation of the first or second descending generation of a member of the senior generation, and often present is the spouse of that individual. The third generation contains the children of the second.

The households with two generations involve a couple and their children. There is one instance which includes the spouse of one of the children. Households with only one generation concern an elderly couple or a single elderly individual.

Individuals may gain acceptance to a household in which they were not born usually by marrying a related member in one of the above described situations; however, two cases were observed on consanguineal relatives of the affine in the household, who were no more remotely related than siblings or parents of that individual, moving into the household; and one case of adoption was also observed.  

(iii) Communities other than the household

(See Appendix Table 5)

The elements of a predominance in individual wage labour, small allotments due to the crowded population, and land being valued primarily for its quality as a site, have contributed to the fact that there is minimal necessity and
opportunity for corporate activity of an economic nature to take place outside the household unit. However, activity of a non-economical nature does take place and it involves the use of certain lands by groups other than the household unit.

There is an Anglican church in the village of Klickumcheen in which a service is held every week for any of those Indians on the east side of the Fraser River who wish to avail themselves of this ministration. Few people use the church at present except for purposes of funeral services and the occasional wedding. However, what little religious community there is in the village and surrounding area have rights of use in common of the church property.

Related to the activities of the church regarding funerals, is the Indian custom of holding a "potlatch" and this, as it has been described, involves in an active way certain members of the deceased's bilateral kin group. In the comparatively individualistic economic activity of individuals in this area there seems to be considerable emphasis on disintegration of one's kin group in general, especially with regard to potlatching. Those in the village who have more opportunity to make money tend to be made the spenders on such an occasion. Very often they resent being made to feel obliged to do so, for in many cases the individuals have migrated to the village from other areas and have long since felt to be on their own. The temporary prestige afforded to an individual by his kin group in such
a situation is becoming of less consequence when compared to the feeling that it is a poor investment of what little money he may have at the time.

The "Native Hall" which has been built in Klickumcheen is officially owned by the Band and is used for the purpose of housing public dances, bazaars, and winter sports activities. For any activities other than commercial ventures such as public dances, the hall is used without any charge by the Indians within the surrounding area.

(iv) Land tenure system (Area "C")

All the holdings in Klickumcheen have been officially allotted to individuals by the superintendent and the Band Council. The Indian office has a master plan for the residence sites of each house in the village, which, it is hoped, will some day be realized by the gradual process of replacing all houses in the village with new ones, in accordance with the plan. The present allotments are not delineated specifically on the legal survey which has been done on the area; only the actual residence itself has been located. Some individual households have built fences around what they consider to be their property; however, this is only a very general notion concerning the exact limits of the lot. A fence is built usually because the household wishes to secure a private water supply and/or because it wishes to prevent marauding children from easy access to a vegetable garden.
Because the use of land is primarily for residential purposes, the major methods of acquiring rights of usufructory have already been described in the above discussion of methods of gaining acceptance to a household. There is, however, one exception to these techniques and that is the case observed of two households renting residences from the owners. In one case, permission to reside in a certain house was obtained from an individual who was a member of a Band in Spence's Bridge. This individual had acquired the land and house through marriage to a member of the Lytton Band. Since the death of the spouse, the Spence's Bridge Indian has been credited with owning the land by the members of the Lytton Band. The rent in this case was paid in improvements to the house and property, and these took the form of painting, fencing and plumbing. The other case of a house being rented was instigated because the original house of the group was condemned and torn down, and, as a result, the group moved into part of another house on the Reserve. Because the members of this household were destitute, their rent, which was paid in cash, was absorbed by the government. 22

Many of the households in the village inherited their lots from a member of the first or second ascending generation, and the present owners are either male or female. Previously, only a few individual heads of families owned large segments of the present village area. However,
individuals, who, on their marriage had elected to move into the village for various reasons, were given a portion of the land and reside there now. This has resulted in groups of houses, the owners of which are usually no more remotely related than first cousins, being situated in proximity. Many of the original owners of the land in Klickumcheen also owned property in the surrounding area, and this has resulted in many of the present owners of property in the village also owning plots elsewhere. Some who find themselves in possession of land elsewhere use it on which to grow their vegetable garden.

There are a growing number of instances in which acquisition to land in the village is becoming a matter of purchase. A number of households have acquired their sites by buying them in cash from individuals who had room to spare, or from individuals who had no heir. Subsequent to the Second World War, the Veterans' Land Act was put into effect, and this provided all those Indians who had served in the war with money to build a house and acquire land if they did not already possess some. One household in the village was provided with a house and land by this means.

The desirability of the land is reflected in the amount of migrants from other Bands who have asked to be accepted into the Band, and have then bought land in the
village. There are cases of individuals being transferred from the Skuppah, Siska, and Boothroyd Bands buying land in Klickumchein.

Rights of usufructory are not granted with any degree of enthusiasm by many, except to those who are established and permanent members of the household. There is a tendency to be more lenient with one's close consanguines rather than with any degree of one's affines other than one's spouse. Strong feelings have been produced as a result of relatives thinking they could stay the weekend in the household of their nephew or their child or grandchild's spouse.

(f) Area "D"

(i) Economic activity and use of land

The reserve land of this area consists of approximately 7,600 acres which represent extremes in topography and altitude, the latter ranging between 500 and 5,000 feet above sea level. Most of the land has no streams running through it; however, water is supplied to many by an adequate system of ditches which has its source on the Botanie Creek. Concerning the cash income of the Lytton Band, this area is the most significant of all. For the purpose of providing right-of-ways for the Trans-Canada and Lytton-Lillooet highways and also for various access roads in the area, about 120 acres of reserve land has been
surrendered. Another forty acres has been surrendered to the two railways, the C.N.R. and C.P.R., for their respective right-of-way. These surrenders also have provided a certain compensation to the individuals using the land at the time. However, by far the greater part of the land dealt with in this manner had neither been previously allotted to anyone nor had anyone been using it at the time of surrender. There has been leased over 150 acres of land for logging and another seven acres had been leased for other purposes, such as a log-loading area, a drive-in theatre, and for a number of electric power units. With respect to a potential in the area for supplying an income to the Band, by far the most important resource is the timber. There are over 3,000 acres of mature merchantable trees, which are relatively accessible by road.²³

The majority of the population with which we are concerned is situated in a region across the Thompson River from Lytton. This area is accessible by the Lytton-Lillooet highway and the numerous access roads leading off it; for the most part, it is within six miles of the town of Lytton. There are a number of similarities in the economic activity here with that which was described in Area "C", for the people here are subject to very nearly the same conditions. However, the one main difference is that these people have land adjacent to their residential site which is extensive enough to farm if they wish.
Individual part-time employment is obtained by some of the men in mills and logging camps. One individual works periodically as an assistant in the various department stores in town and another has found occasional maintenance work at the hospital in Lytton. There are a few in the area fortunate enough to have found full-time employment. One individual works on the C.N.R. as a patrolman, and another has worked for the last ten years running the ferry across the Fraser River for the Department of Highways. One young man works in the hospital as an orderly. St. George's School has employed a janitor and a night watchman from the area.

Among the female population six women have been able to find full-time work. The hotel in Lytton has hired a maid and a kitchen assistant, two restaurants in town have employed a waitress each, the hospital has also employed a kitchen assistant, and St. George's School has hired two women to help with the laundry. These women are often the only ones in their respective households who are employed.

Because of the opportunity to obtain money, at least half a dozen households in the area are provided with automobiles. Many households also own horses; however, except for two households, they are never used and are allowed to range freely all the year round, as they are in Area "B". Two households also own tractors.
Two households are actively involved in farming, with a recent interest in grape growing. Five other households are involved in haying; however, this is not for the purpose of feeding their own stock as it has been in the other area described. Because of the extreme shortage of fodder for dairy cows in the lower Fraser Valley, many farmers of this area go into the interior with their mowing machines, and often their bailers, and buy hay by the ton as they take it off the fields. Until recently many hay-fields in this area had not been used for many years. However, this new demand has stimulated interest and, as a result, the households mentioned have been activated to take advantage of it. They have also been able to increase their income by being able to hire themselves as labourers to these hay buyers.

(ii) The household and patterns of residence
(As in Appendix, Table 2)

The greatest number of households in this area consist of not more than two generations of people, the amount being nearly 70 per cent of the total. Just over 20 per cent of the households have three generations and about 10 per cent have one generation only. All those households with three generations consist of a couple or an individual, the children and a spouse of one of the children of the senior generation, and the children of the second generation. Those households with two generations have a
couple and often a sibling of one of the couple forming the senior generation, and the children of the couple. The households with only one generation constitute an elderly couple or individual.

The residence pattern is similar to that which was found in Area "C". Closely related individuals live in proximity to one another. There is a series of flat lands in the area which originally was owned by one or, at the most, two individuals; now the children, grandchildren or first descending generation of collaterals of the original owners are living on the land. The ability to obtain money and the assistance of the easily accessible Indian office have combined to produce the funds necessary to build a separate house for each couple and their children. This has resulted in the breakdown of what was previously an area predominant in three generation households.

(iii) Communities other than the household
(See Appendix, Table 6)
Those households which participate in haying in this area cooperate with each other; for often the hay buyer pays less if the hay is not cut from the field beforehand. The households concerned in this activity do not have allotments distantly separated and, for the most part, they are immediately adjacent to each other. The properties adjoin as a result of the fact that the land was all owned at one time by one individual, who was a common
ancestor to all the present owners. In disposing of the property it was merely divided as the various nieces, nephews and children of the individual concerned married, and needed a place in which they could live and, in previous years, on which they could work. As a result, the senior generation of the households concerned have members who are no more distantly related than first cousins and their spouses. One of the individuals concerned in this haying venture does not contribute any labour to the cause, as he works all week at Boston Bar in a logging camp. However, he owns a tractor which he lends to the others involved and they use it to mow his fields, as well as their own.

There is a necessity in this area to maintain the water system for, with the exception of some very small springs, most of the populated area has no natural supply of water. The households take turns at keeping the contrived water system in operation. In winter there is also corporate activity between those households who have chain saws and they cut and buck up logs to sell for firewood in Lytton and Klickumcheen, and also to use themselves.

(iv) Land tenure system (Area "D")

The numerous surrenders of land in the area for the purposes of right-of-ways have had the effect of having most of the households and the land which is associated with them being allotted to individuals in the land location files in the Indian office in Lytton. Very few of even the
isolated plots which are not being used for residential purposes but are nevertheless claimed by individuals, have not been officially allotted to someone in the area. Fencing is found around most of the fields which are claimed in this way, the exception being with some residential sites which are occasionally situated just outside the confines of the fence which delimits the holding of a hay-field. There are also exceptions to fences being built around some of the plots which are officially allotted to someone, but which have not been used for anything for such a long time, that even if an original fence did exist, it has since disappeared. Some allotments which involve one hay-field but several owners, are usually delimited by one fence, because it is far easier and more efficient not to have constant interruptions.

There are two main ways in which individuals were observed to acquire rights of disposition in land in this area. The first and most common method of acquisition was by inheriting such rights from a member of the first ascending generation, who was in the person of a collateral in some instances. There was one instance of an affine of the original owner being given the land in lieu of the spouse, who was a consanguine of the original owner. There was an instance of attempt at acquisition being observed when an individual who lived in Klickumcheen wished to try farming but had no land. He eventually arranged that he could gain possession of some land if he brought an old lady up from
Seattle and looked after her until she died. The old lady was a collateral of the second ascending generation to the individual and originally the land had been given to her sons. However, they were not interested in farming and as a result had agreed to relinquish their hold on the property providing the individual fulfilled his part of the bargain. Such methods of disposing of land were by word of mouth in most instances; however, very occasionally a will was written.

Land was also acquired by purchase. Certain allotments in the area have been bought by either private arrangement between individuals or as a result of the Veterans' Land Act which has been alluded to earlier.

Rights of usufructory were obtained for the most part through consanguineal connections. One instance observed was when the individual who requested permission to build a house on another's property was allowed to do so even when that individual owned considerable property not far away. The reason for this was that the property was up a steep hill and in the winter time it was impossible to take the car up to the house that was situated there. For some years the car had to be left at the bottom of the hill, on the land where the new house is now situated.

Another instance of rights in usufructory being obtained was observed when a brother of the individual who
had acquired the land through marriage, now lived on the land, the owner having since remarried and gone to live elsewhere.
CHAPTER VII

COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In the precis of the official rules of land tenure and the presentation of the indigenous system of land tenure which was in use in pre-administration days, there are some obvious distinctions in evidence; perhaps the most significant in the official rules is that in which there is provision for a supreme voice of authority in the person of the Minister. The official rules also provide a fairly precise articulation as to who is to have priority in the acquisition of a deceased individual's property. However, any property in the form of land which an individual has acquired, may be usurped by the Minister if he believes it to be to the interests of the whole band. In the original indigenous system of land tenure, the only exclusive rights to land that an individual could acquire were limited to the occasional hunting or fishing stations in the area of his winter residence; the rest of the land in the vicinity was held in common by the whole tribe, with little or no distinction between band areas. The pre-White society was acephalous in structure and with respect to land of which an individual or limited group, such as a household or number of households in proximity could acquire tenure, its disposition was determined by discussion and the subsequent mutual agreement of the male individuals who were involved.
The current study of the region reveals both the official rules and the indigenous system as being neither in complete operation nor as being totally non-existent. According to the tenure vested, there exist three types of land in the reserve lands of the Lytton Band: (1) lands which are held privately by individuals or small groups; (2) leased and surrendered lands; and (3) Band commonage reserve lands which are officially held by Her Majesty. Each of these types has been considered with respect to the system of land tenure in operation in different areas of the region.

The administerial system of land tenure in practice today is focused on those lands which provide an income of Indian monies to the Band. The major portion of reserve land which has been utilized and is valued for this purpose is uninhabited and as a result attempts to establish a firm system of individual tenure of land among the people of the area has in the past been minimal. What concern there is with individual land tenure has been kept, for the most part, within the superintendent's immediate ministration, so far as that is necessary, for no Certificates of Possession have been granted, to necessitate the involvement of the Minister. This indifference as to whether or not the people utilize an administratively engendered system of land tenure, has recently changed to an active endeavor on the part of the administration to dissuade the Band Council from granting
individual allotments to those who might desire them. The administrators have become aware of numerous examples of the increasing value of many reserve lands within the Province. They have also learned that certain difficulties have been experienced in other agencies with regard to individual claimants desiring a high percentage of the remunerations afforded by the lease or surrender of their land. Both these factors have made the administrators of the Lytton Band reluctant to allow an "official" connotation to be attributed to an individual's holding. To date the Indian office has not been adamant in this regard and such policy has been activated to the extent of advising the Band Council, who have as yet paid little heed to this counsel.

The situation described above has resulted in the Indians of the Lytton Band devising a system of land tenure which is neither coincident with the official rules, nor, due to changing circumstances, similar to the indigenous system of their ancestors. The primary concern of this system is directed at establishing the tenure of those lands which an individual may find useful as a residential site, or for purposes of yielding produce through his own efforts. Due to the factor of minimal official constraint combining with the diverse conditions presented to the people in different areas of the region, the considerable variations
in the Indian system of land tenure have been allowed to evolve. The observed variations are not extreme from area to area; however, when considering the region as a whole, there are some distinctions which may be appreciated as fashioning a patterned deviation of a common theme. The most relevant transpiration in this regard is the observed fluctuation from area to area of an individual's effective kin group, with regard to acquiring tenure of land. The range extends from one's own or one's spouse's bilateral kin group, taken to the second ascending generation and extended collaterally where necessary, in Area A, to Area D where acquisition is obtained either through one's kin of the first ascending generation, or it is purchased. These variations are not articulated normative distinctions by the Indians themselves; rather, they have been observed as methods of behaving with respect to changing sets of facts, such as availability to individual wage labour, accessibility of the Indian to the administrator, and vice-versa, and the relative proximity of the various residential sites to the town of Lytton. The disposition of these facts, among others, has been instrumental in effecting both the extent of the groups which have tenure of land in the region, as well as the nature of the affective significance associated with land. The prevailing form of land tenure is contingent on the nature of the synthesis of these two elements.
1. It is necessary, I believe, to point out that the exact wording and planning of this chapter was not attempted in exactly this form until after the body of the thesis was written. Although not re-written as a rationalization of the finished product, on re-reading it seems that in parts this may be the case and it should be considered in the light of this being a possibility. I say this not to make any excuses but because I have come to realize the prime necessity of knowing how and where an individual stands when making an analysis and naturally it is of prime importance to make qualifications in the very crucial introductory statements.


5. I say "so-called" structure here for the reason that it is by no means obvious precisely what is being structured in many of the studies presented. It is the contention here that it is futile to speak of structure unless one means by it a convergence of structural theory and phenomenology.


Sub-subsection 2(g) "Indian" means a person who pursuant to this Act is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as Indian.


The term Nlak’a’pamux is the phonetic rendition by J. Teit of the general name for the people of the area, used to designate themselves.

Footnotes to Chapter III


3. Ibid., p. 39.


Footnotes to Chapter IV


Footnotes to Chapter V

1. The Indian Act, RSC 1952, Subsection 20(2), The Minister may issue to an Indian who is lawfully in possession of land in a reserve a certificate, to be called the Certificate of Possession, as evidence of his right to possession of the land described therein.
2. There is considerable ambiguity in The Indian Act concerning the distribution of property on intestacy. In subsection 48(7) the Act states that: "Where an intestate dies leaving no widow, issue, father, mother, brother or sister, and no children of any deceased brother or sister, his estate shall go to his next-of-kin"; however, in subsection 48(8) the Act goes on to state that "... in no case shall representation (or next-of-kin) be admitted after brothers' and sisters' children, and any interest in land in a reserve shall vest in Her Majesty for the benefit of the band if the nearest of kin of the intestate is more remote than a brother or sister. The confusion engendered by the seemingly contradictory contents of these two statements is compounded by subsection 48(9) which describes how degrees of kindred are to be computed. They are "counted upward from the intestate to the nearest common relative and then downward to the relative." Ambiguity is perhaps warranted to some degree in these statutes, for in the various situations which the administrator may find himself, room for "interpretation" is of the utmost necessity. However, for purposes of extracting an official rule from these statutes the precis has subscribed to the limitation described in subsection 48(8). Compare this interpretation of official rules in this respect to that given by Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, The Indians of British Columbia, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1960, p. 414.


4. Ibid., copy of a "Report of the Government of British Columbia on the subject Indian Reserves."

5. In carrying out a "meets and bounds" survey there are various methods which, for purposes of efficiency and convenience, are adhered to whenever possible. An individual is allotted to a single portion of land where convenient because the fragmented allotments take much longer to survey and are also harder to file than a single large allotment. When an individual claims a piece of land on a reserve and there are no others around him, the whole reserve is allotted to the individual.
6. There have been no Certificates of Possession granted among the Lytton Band. All the allotments of the reserve lands which have been granted have been enacted by the Band Council and although they serve the same purpose as a Certificate of Possession might, they do not hold the force of ultimate legal endorsement.

7. This has been alluded to already in the notes of this Chapter. There is considerable discussion on the flexible nature of administration in R. W. Dunning, "Some Aspects of Governmental Indian Policy and Administration," Anthropologica, 1962, n.s. vol. iv, no. 2.

8. This does not suggest that nepotic behavior and favoritism do not take place; however, such concerns are relevant with respect to the operation of the Band Council as a whole.

9. The Indian Act, RSC 1952, sub-subsection 2, (1), q. "surrendered lands" means a reserve or part of a reserve or any interest therein, the legal title to which remains vested in Her Majesty, that has been released or surrendered by the band for whose use and benefit it was set apart.

10. The Indian Act, RSC 1952, section 62. All Indian monies derived from the sale of surrendered lands or the sale of capital assets of a band shall be deemed to be capital monies of the band and all Indian monies other than capital monies shall be deemed to be revenue monies of the band.

11. There are in fact a series of communities within the Lytton Band to be considered. For a recent consideration of some of the problems involved here, see R. W. Dunning, "Reserve Indian Communities," Anthropologica, 1964, n.s. vol. VI, no. 1, 1964.

Footnotes to Chapter VI

1. The material for this precis of the pre-administrative Indian way of life was gleaned from the Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11 (whole series): Publication of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1898-1900, ed. by Franz Boas, vol. 1 and vol. 11.
2. The combined term of "patrilocal-virilocal" residence refers exclusively to the residence site of the marital couple and alludes to a situation where a man stays in the vicinity of his father and his wife comes to stay with him there.


4. Ibid., p. 325.

5. Loc. cit.

6. It seems that the land tenure system was still, in part at least, in operation at the turn of the 19th century. J. Teit, op. cit., p. 192, recorded that only a portion of the Indian population lived on the reserve land allotted to them and engaged in agricultural pursuits. The rest of the Indian population still hunted, dug for roots and fished throughout the year. Some also searched for gold.

7. The Indian Act, RSC 1952, sub-subsection 2, (1), (o).

8. Ibid., section 2,

(1)(a) "band" means a body of Indians

- (i) for whose use and benefit in common, lands, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty, have been set apart before or after the coming into force of this Act,

- (ii) for whose use and benefit in common, monies are held by Her Majesty, or

- (iii) declared by the Governor-in-Council to be a band for the purposes of this Act;

and

(2) The expression "band" with reference to a reserve or surrendered land means the band for whose use and benefit the reserve or surrendered lands were set apart.
9. The Lytton Band as considered by the administration is slightly off-centred from the area inhabited by the Nlak'a'pamux as they were recorded by J. Teit in "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," op. cit., p. 170. The Nlak'a'pamux inhabited the area from about twelve miles above Lytton on the Fraser River to a rather undecided point eight to ten miles below Lytton. The official Lytton Band delineation of today encompasses a definite area extending from three miles below Lytton to a point on the Fraser River about thirty miles above. The upper part of the official Lytton Band was previously differentiated as the Slaxa'yux, or as Teit designated them, the Upper Fraser Band.

10. There was a case observed of a member of the Lytton Band not successfully being able to acquire a holding. The individual concerned married into the Lytton Band from another region and lived with his spouse on land which she had acquired usufructory rights of from her mother. When the individual's spouse left him, his mother-in-law would not let him stay on the land any longer and although he could have theoretically gone and homesteaded a portion of commonage reserve it would have been too far from town where he worked. As a result this individual rents a room in town.

11. Aside from the inaccessible fifty individuals in Area E, 180 individuals were accounted for but no intercourse took place because they lived away from their reserve permanently. The greatest percentage of these 180 individuals were women, who were not legally married, and their children and who, because of their official status, were still assigned to the Band in which they were born. Another 100 individuals could not be accounted for at all.


13. There are two households which have use of automobiles in the area. Frequently they are used by other households as a taxi service for a quick trip to town and back and occasionally they are paid for their services.

14. There is reason to suspect, from remarks made by both Indian and Forest Ranger, that the periodic firing of the land in order to gain an immediate supply of cash is a purposeful use to which land is put by some Indians.
15. In the lucid consideration of the literature dealing with the question of classifying residence patterns, P. Bohannan in *Social Anthropology*, Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963, deals with at length the first two questions presented here; however, it seems that in dealing with a situation involving comparisons the third question asked will be useful in illustrating trends and rationalizing migration patterns if any are apparent.

16. Women who were no longer members of the Lytton Band but who had returned to the area, usually did so because they had not acquired any land in the reserve lands of the band into which they had married. Through death or separation a woman could lose all accepted affiliation with her spouse's kin and find it necessary to return to her natal land. It was observed that this does not occur in the Lytton Band if a woman's spouse had acquired rights of disposition of the land which he used; however, it was also observed that women often returned to their own band and natal household if their deceased spouse only held rights of usufructory in the land.

17. For this reason the classification of households could not be in terms of residence. In other words one could not say that the individuals lived on their father's land or their wife's land or their parents' land for in every household an individual different in sex and generation could hold the land; even within a household this matter was difficult to assess. In a limited period of time due to death and the passing of rights of disposition by word of mouth, an instance was observed of three sisters who remained in their natal residence on marrying, whose residence could have been classified as each got married as being patrilocal, matrilocal and sororilocal, and in that order.

18. A case was recorded of an individual attempting to acquire land strictly through the terms laid down in the Act. The situation was such that this individual's mother-in-law remarried in her old age. Soon after her marriage her husband died and she invited her daughter and son-in-law to come and live with her in her newly acquired house. Not many years after this occurred the old woman herself died leaving the house and land to her daughter and son-in-law. The adopted son of the original owner of the land and the first cousins of this man then by various means attempted to oust the couple which they felt had no right to the land. The adopted son of the original owner wished the
land for himself. Eventually by boycotting and by cutting of the irrigation water supply time and again they did force the would-be usurper off the land; however, not until they had paid a price in cash to get it back.

19. There was an example recorded of $650 being paid for a piece of land which was paid with $400 and two cows. Another example of land being acquired by this method in this area is recorded in the land location files of the Indian Office in Lytton. The price purportedly paid was $200.

20. This instance is an exceptional case and the woman concerned inherited the land and the store from her deceased husband.

21. The adoption concerned a couple who had been living for fifty years together and never produced children. They had adopted a child from the second descending generation taken collaterally of the woman. The two cases of gaining access to a household through affineal ties involved, (a) parents gaining access to the house of their son-in-law and, (b) a man and his family acquiring use in common in the house of his brother-in-law.

22. It is interesting to note in this instance that the members of the household concerned owned a house and land about six miles out of town. However, there were no adult males in the group and the women said that it would be too difficult to live out of town without a man around to do various chores. Another reason for not going out was that it would be inconvenient for the children to have to walk all the way in each day in order to go to school.

23. F. J. G. Johnson and Associate Industrial Foresters, op. cit.
APPENDIX

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIALLY ALLOTTED LANDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Allotments to Individuals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2
COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN HOUSEHOLDS AND HOUSEHOLD CLUSTERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Household</th>
<th>Household Clusters</th>
<th>Population per Household</th>
<th>Population per Region</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Amnt. 10, Rnge. 2-5</td>
<td>Aver. 7, Rnge. 3-14</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Amnt. 7, Rnge. 2-4</td>
<td>Amnt. 5, Rnge. 1-10</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Amnt. 7, Rnge. 2-3</td>
<td>Aver. 5, Rnge. 1-17</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Amnt. 4, Rnge. 2-3</td>
<td>Aver. 8, Rnge. 1-12</td>
<td>110</td>
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</table>
# TABLE 3

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS AND HOUSEHOLD CLUSTERS
IN AREA A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Relationships</th>
<th>Households</th>
<th>Household Clusters</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Kin</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu. Wi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.So</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.So</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.Da</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary Kin:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.Sib-Br.Ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.Sib-Si.Ch</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.Sib.Ch-Pa.Si.Ch</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.Pa-So.Ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.Pa-Da.Ch</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.Pa.Sib-Sib.So.Ch</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Kin:</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The unorthodox abbreviations for the secondary kin relations have been used because there was no emphasis observed to warrant a further differentiation. They designate: Sibling - Sib, Parent - Pa, Child - Ch.
## Table 4

**Composition of Households and Household Clusters in Area B**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Relationships</th>
<th>Households</th>
<th>Household Clusters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary Kin:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu.Wi</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.So</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.So</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.Da</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.Da</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary Kin:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.Sib-Br.Ch</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.Sib-Si.Ch</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.Sib.Ch-Pa.Si.Ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.Pa-So.Ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.Pa-Da.Ch</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Non Kin:</strong></td>
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### TABLE 5

**COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS AND HOUSEHOLD CLUSTERS IN AREA C**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Relationships</th>
<th>Households</th>
<th>Household Clusters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td><strong>Primary Kin:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hu.Wi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.So</td>
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<td>Mo.So</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mo.Da</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Siblings</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary Kin:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.Sib-Br.Ch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mo.Sib-Si.Ch</td>
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<td>Mo.Sib.Ch-Pa.Si.Ch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fa.Pa-So.Ch</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Mo.Pa-Da.Ch</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Non Kin:</strong></td>
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TABLE 6
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS AND HOUSEHOLD CLUSTERS
IN AREA D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Relationships</th>
<th>Households</th>
<th>Household Clusters</th>
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<td><strong>Primary Kin:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hu.Wi</td>
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<td>Fa.So</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mo.So</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Fa.Da</td>
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<td>Mo.Da</td>
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<td><strong>Secondary Kin:</strong></td>
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<td>Fa.Sib-Br.Ch</td>
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<td>Mo.Sib-Si.Ch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fa.Pa.-So.Ch</td>
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<td>Mo.Pa-Da.Ch</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Non Kin:</strong></td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
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</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Dunning, R. W. "Reserve Indian Communities." Anthropologica, 1964, n.s. vol. VI, no. 1.


