

THE ETHNO-GENESIS OF THE MIXED-ANCESTRY POPULATION IN NEW CALEDONIA

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IN BRITISH COLUMBIA and elsewhere in Canada the question of which mixed-ancestry persons qualify for Métis status is a largely unresolved public policy issue. Whether this issue is eventually decided by legal decisions or by political accommodation, the historical background relating to British Columbia's mixed-ancestry population is an important element in the discussion and requires detailed exploration. Historical research conducted for the Department of Justice forms the basis of this study of the ethno-genesis of the mixed-ancestry population of central British Columbia.¹

To understand the parameters of this research, some background regarding the 2003 *R. v. Powley* decision in the Supreme Court of Canada is necessary. The Court ruled that Steve and Roddy Powley, two mixed-ancestry men from Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, qualified for Métis status. They thus enjoyed a constitutionally protected right to hunt for food under s. 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982.² In its decision, the Court also set out the criteria that succeeding mixed-ancestry applicants must meet to similarly qualify for Métis status. One important criterion was that Métis Aboriginal rights rest in the existence of a historic, self-

¹ For a summary of some of these legal and political issues, see Jean Barman and Mike Evans, "Reflections on Being, and Becoming, Métis in British Columbia," *BC Studies* 161 (Spring 2009): 59-91. New Caledonia is the region chosen by Barman and Evans in their attempt to show that a Métis community developed in British Columbia. Mike Evans, Jean Barman, and Gabrielle Legault with Erin Damage and Geoff Appleby continue the examination of mixed-ancestry families in "Métis Networks in British Columbia: Examples from the Central Interior," in *Contours of a People: Métis Family, Mobility and History*, ed. Nicole St-Onge, Carolyn Podruchny and Brenda Macdougall (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012): 331-367. In this latter study the authors focus on the Bouchers and Ogdens, examining the marriages of these large families into the second, third, and fourth generations, well beyond the time period discussed in this study.

² *R. v. Powley*, [2003] 2 S.C.R. 207, 2003 SCC 43. Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, provides: (1) The existing Aboriginal and treaty rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed and, (2) in this act, "aboriginal peoples of Canada" include the Indian, Inuit, and Métis peoples of Canada.

identifying Métis community. The court elaborated on the concept of being a Métis person:

The term “Métis” ... does not encompass all individuals with mixed Indian and European heritage; rather, it refers to distinctive peoples who, in addition to their mixed ancestry, developed their own customs, and recognizable group identity separate from their Indian or Inuit and European forebears. A Métis community is a group of Métis with a distinctive collective identity, living together in the same geographical area and sharing a common way of life.

A second criterion was that the particular Métis community to which an applicant for status belongs must have been established “prior to the time of effective European control.” Effective control occurred at different times in different parts of Canada due, in part, to the gradual nature of the colonization process. For example, in British Columbia, effective control was established on Vancouver Island before it was established on the mainland, and it was established on the Lower Mainland before it was established in the Interior. A third criterion was that Aboriginal rights of Métis persons are “contextual and site specific,” that is, successful applicants for Métis status may only claim Aboriginal rights in the specific territory in which their ancestral Métis community had exercised those rights.³

This case study begins with an examination of the host Indigenous society, the Carrier, including a brief description of Carrier territory, protection of their sovereignty, resource tenure regime, justice system, and marriage protocols. It also examines the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) and its policies with respect to company employees and protection of its business interests. It is within the context of these institutional factors that marriages between Indigenous women and fur trade employees and the status of their mixed-ancestry progeny are properly understood. The date of effective British control is then determined for the study area, and a detailed compilation of mixed-ancestry families within the region at that time is established in order to determine whether or not a community of mixed-ancestry families existed. The ethnicity or national identity of each of the marriage partners in each family, as well as their occupation, class, residence, religion and, languages, is examined.

The region examined in this case study, named the District of New Caledonia by both the North West Company (NWC) and its successor,

³ Concepts such as “community” and “contextual and site specific” are under constant legal review. See Jean Teillet, “Métis Law in Canada,” 2013, at <http://www.pstlaw.ca/resources/Métis-Law-in-Canada-2013.pdf>.

the HBC, roughly corresponds to the central interior of today's province of British Columbia. Because fur traders concentrated in this relatively isolated district west of the Rocky Mountains for over half a century prior to effective British control, it would seem possible that a mixed-ancestry community developed here. Intimate and sustained contact between Indigenous peoples and European fur traders on the Pacific slope began with the arrival of NWC traders under the command of Simon Fraser in 1805 and continued after the NWC merged with the HBC in 1821.⁴ From 1806 to 1827, the two companies built a series of posts in New Caledonia that they maintained and staffed well into the colonial era.⁵

Indigenous peoples in the District of New Caledonia, dominantly Athapaskan-speaking Carriers, occupied a huge territory and were dispersed among numerous villages. Margaret Tobey's map, shown below, indicates the distribution of nineteenth-century Carrier villages relative to the territories of other nations.⁶ These Carrier communities maintained more or less cordial relationships with each other, buttressed by a common language, mutual economic dependency, intermarriage, and alliance. Relations with neighbouring Athapaskan-speaking Sekani and Chilcotin and the Syilx-speaking Secwepemc villages, however, were more guarded and occasionally broke down into warfare.⁷ The Carrier occasionally protected their territory from exploitation by intruders. Daniel Harmon wrote from Stuart Lake on 13 October 1818:

A number of Iroquois have passed several summers on this side of the mountain, which circumstance they knew to be displeasing to the Indians here, who have often threatened to kill them, if they persisted in destroying the animals on their lands. These menaces were disregarded. A month since, an Iroquois with his wife and two children were killed, while asleep, by two Carriers of this village, which mel-

⁴ Alexander Mackenzie's initial foray into the Cordillera in 1793 was exploratory. He carried only enough goods to distribute as gifts and likely left no demographic impact. See W. Kaye Lamb, *The Journals and Letters of Alexander Mackenzie* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970), 256–57, 289.

⁵ These were Fort St. James on Stuart Lake (1806), Fort Fraser on Fraser Lake, Fort George at the junction of the Nechako and Fraser rivers (1807), and Fort Alexandria on the Fraser River (1821). After amalgamation, the HBC built Fort Babine, or Kilmaurs (1824), and Fort Connely (1827) on the Skeena River. See W. Kaye Lamb, ed., *Simon Fraser: Letters and Journals, 1806–1808* (Toronto: Pioneer Books, 1960), 181.

⁶ Margaret L. Tobey, "Carrier," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. June Helm, (Washington: Smithsonian, 1981), 12:413–32. Tobey's map does not show the location of the Syilx-speaking Secwepemc First Nation, which lies to the south of Carrier and east of Chilcotin territory.

⁷ The Athapaskan word for Syilx-speakers was "Atnah," or "Atena," meaning alien. For details of one inter-tribal conflict, see Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA), B.5/e/1, Alexandria District Report, 1827–28, 19–20.

ancholy event, I hope, will prevent any of the Iroquois from coming into this region again.⁸

At the time of first contact, the Carrier population numbered approximately five thousand people, a figure much reduced during the fur trade era by starvation and European-derived diseases.⁹ There is no nominal census for these villages in pre-colonial times, but the HBC recorded the names and activities of many Carrier men and women in fort journals when they traded or interacted periodically with company personnel.

Although NWC and HBC traders were welcomed in Carrier territory for the products that they imported and the improvement that these goods made to local standards of living,¹⁰ they were there “by sufferance”;¹¹ they were guests whose presence was conditional and sometimes tenuous. Fur traders in New Caledonia lived completely in Carrier space – militarily, economically, judicially, and socially.¹² HBC records provide a window through which to observe aspects of Carrier society in the decades following contact and ample evidence to observe this host-guest arrangement.

Militarily, the traders were vulnerable and almost completely reliant on their Carrier hosts for protection. A.C. Anderson, who spent most of his career in the interior, including in New Caledonia, wrote that, “although no serious trouble of any kind occurred with the natives, ...

⁸ Daniel Williams Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America* (New York: Barnes and Company, 1903), 173.

⁹ Father Nobili calculated the Indigenous population of New Caledonia at 4,138 in the mid-1840s. Cited in A.G. Morice, *The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia* (Smithers, BC: Standard Books, 1989), 195-96, 335. Harmon estimated the Indian population of New Caledonia as five thousand. See Harmon, *Journal of Voyages*, 240. The population was reliant on the inconsistent supply of anadromous salmon for winter food, and reports of shortages and starvation appear throughout the post journals. HBCA, B.5/a/2, Fort Alexandria Journal (hereafter FAJ), 1827-28, 28 December 1827, 22 January 1828, 8, 10, 14, 19, 21 February 1828; HBCA, B.5/a/6, FAJ 1844-45, 8 May 1845; and HBCA, B.5/a/7, FAJ 1845-48, 20 March 1848. Various diseases such as the measles periodically swept through Carrier country, taking the lives of numerous people. One report notes: «Baptiste reports that all the Indians of the Rapid + Barge who had gone down towards Kamloops in quest of food last Fall, are lying sick, dead or dying, along the Road.» HBCA, B.5/a/7 FAJ, 1845-48, 17 February 1848. See also entries for 8, 11, 19 January 1848 and 31 February 1848.

¹⁰ George McDougall provides an example of the reception given to the traders on the arrival of the annual trading outfit at the Alexandria post. See HBCA, B.5/a/1, FAJ, 1824-25, 26 November 1825.

¹¹ Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon*, ed. Milo Milton Quaife (New York: Citadel Press, 1969), 353.

¹² The HBC traders were treated as protected guests throughout the Pacific slope. The Salishan (Syilx)-speaking nations also retained effective control of their territories through the fur trade era. See Duane Thomson and Marianne Ignace, “‘They Made Themselves Our Guests’: Power Relationships in the Interior Plateau Region of the Cordillera in the Fur Trade Era,” *BC Studies* 146 (Summer 2005): 3-35.

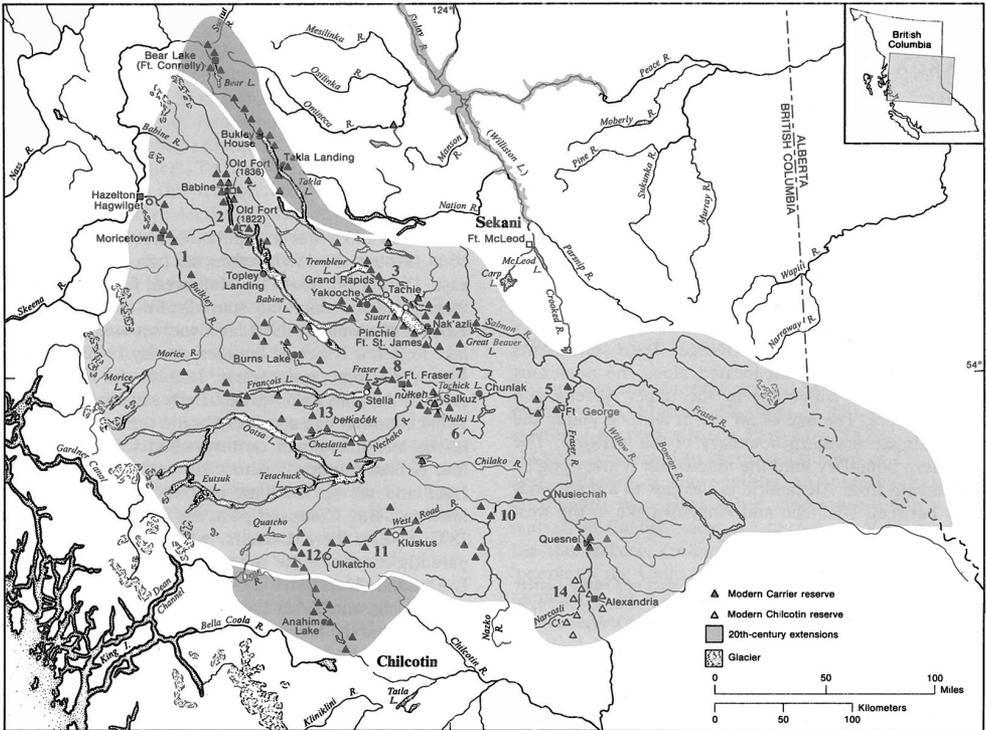


Figure 1. Late nineteenth-century tribal territory with regional subtribes: 1, Bulkley River; 2, Babine Lake; 3, Stuart-Trembleur Lake; 4, Stuart Lake; 5, Fort George; 6, Nulki; 7, Tachick; 8, Fraser Lake; 9, Stellaquo; 10, Nazko; 11, Kluskus; 12, Ulkatcho; 13, Cheslatta; 14, Alexandria.

the whites held the Indians in wholesome fear.”¹³ John McLean, who served as a clerk in New Caledonia from 1832 to 1838, was equally candid:

The Natives in those times were numerous and warlike, the trading posts were isolated and far apart, and in the summer season, when the managers proceeded to the depots with the greater part of their people, were entirely at the mercy of the Natives, who would not have failed to take advantage of such opportunities to avenge their wrongs, had they suffered any. The posts, in fact, were left entirely to their protection, and depended on them for support during the absence of the traders who, on their return in autumn, found themselves surrounded

¹³ British Columbia Archives (hereafter BcA), MS-0559, vol. 2, file 3; Alexander Caulfield Anderson, “History of the Northwest Coast,” 8

by hundreds of rejoicing Indians, greeting the “fathers” with every manifestation of delight.¹⁴

Traders necessarily submitted to local resource procurement regulations and protocols, especially with regard to access to anadromous salmon, the staple product critical to survival in the region. We have dealt with this issue elsewhere, but one example from Alexandria illustrates the degree to which the HBC conformed to Carrier resource tenure requirements. Simon MacGillivray wrote during the 1827 salmon-fishing season on the Fraser River:

Weir 35 salmon. The varveaux [conical fish trap] being in a bad situation, I determined on altering its position by removing [it] below the Point at an early hour. The men cut and brought the Pickets to the Fort and as they were about finishing off nearly all the Indians opposed our departure. The Capot Blue on this occasion distinguished himself in the eyes of his countrymen and Canadians by remarking our Weir should not be set below and raising the skin from one of his hands said the Chief, meaning me, was not invulnerable, but flesh and Blood like themselves. Giving a war hoop he got himself under arms, and this appeared to be the signal for Mischief. The most insignificant scoundrels showed a temper to second their Leader. I sent for the old Chief, Chin-las-ket and represented the absurdity of his countrymen in opposing us, in a cause where certainly there was no ground for open hostilities. The place was unoccupied (and not likely to be occupied this season) and I thought there could be no insuperable objections. Salmon we must have as the Indians would give us none. The noise was quieted, the Chief returned after having consulted with his friends and said we might set our weir below. Who-las-ket, being the proprietor of the spot would not come when I sent for him but returned a message [that] we might have the place.¹⁵

MacGillivray later wrote: “Who-las-ket, claiming the place where our varveaux is, asked [for] some ammunition this morning for granting us permission to set our weir there. I have already paid three individuals.”¹⁶ There is no evidence that employees of the HBC fished for salmon independently of the company, except in circumstances in which an employee was married to a local woman.

¹⁴ John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory* (n.p.: R. Bentley, 1849), 326 (CIHM microform).

¹⁵ HBCA, B.5/a/2, FAJ, 1827-28, 5 October 1827.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 11 October 1827.

The traders also lived under the Carrier justice system, which was based on the perpetrator's family providing negotiated compensation to the aggrieved family for crimes committed. If compensation could not be arranged, the family of the offender could expect retribution.¹⁷ In a celebrated incident, James Douglas took retribution and killed Tzoelhnolle, an Indian who allegedly, some years earlier, had killed two HBC employees at Fort George. Under Carrier justice, this act would normally have been within the rights of the HBC, but the circumstances under which Douglas killed the man were exceptional; the perpetrator was, at the time of his death, visiting in the village at Stuart Lake and therefore apparently living under the protection of his Indian hosts. Agitated by what they considered an illegal act, the local Indian people captured and bound Douglas and, according to the reminiscences of John Tod, would have taken his life if not for the intervention of Amelia Connelly and Nancy McDougall, two young mixed-ancestry women who understood the intricacies of the Carrier concepts of guest protection and retribution. The HBC was forced to pay compensation for the deed with trade goods that the Indians, in turn, paid to the kin of the alleged murderer.¹⁸ Douglas was transferred from the area, likely to lessen the chance of further aggravation to the host Carrier community.

To illustrate the extent to which fur traders operated in Carrier social space one need only look at marriage practices between fur traders and Carrier women. Fur traders typically came to New Caledonia as young men. Some remained there for their entire working lives and, for the Canadians and Europeans at least, far from the cultural or legal trappings of their homes.¹⁹ With no access to European women, fur traders frequently married Carrier women, or they may have married Indigenous or mixed-ancestry women from other districts in which they had been operating, mostly Rupert's Land and the Columbia District. For most of the period of study, even if they had wanted to marry ac-

¹⁷ For a description of a negotiated settlement over a murder between representatives of a Carrier and a Secwepemc village see HBCA, B.5/a/4 FAJ, 1837-39, 12, 17, and 25 September, 22 and 29 October, and 2-4 November 1837.

¹⁸ See BCA, Photocopy, John Tod, "History of New Caledonia and the Northwest Coast"; McLean, *Notes*, 162-64; and Morice, *History of the Northern Interior*, 140-47. Henry Connelly, who as a child was witness to the event, provided a slightly different interpretation, claiming some personal responsibility for defusing the situation. For this and other interpretations, see Frieda Esau Klippenstein, "The Challenge of James Douglas and Carrier Chief Kwah," in *Reading beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996), 124-55.

¹⁹ For further discussion of fur trader-Indian marriages, see Sylvia Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties": *Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing Ltd., 1980), 28-52. Van Kirk does not adequately recognize female agency during a divorce.

ording to European rites, no European civil or religious authorities were available to perform such unions. Consequently, traders took Indian or mixed-ancestry women as marriage partners *à la façon du pays*, or “by the custom of the country.”²⁰ The first recorded marriage in New Caledonia was between Jean Baptiste Boucher *dit* (called) Waccan and the daughter of a Carrier chief in 1811.²¹ In 1823, Fort St. James supported seven of the officers’ wives, “five half breeds and two Indian women” and six children.²² The mixed-ancestry women mentioned here could not have been daughters of local women because the fur traders had not resided in New Caledonia for long enough to produce daughters of marriageable age. The HBC necessarily supported these mixed-ancestry women and their children because they had neither resource extraction rights nor physical protection in the surrounding territory. If the two aforementioned Indian wives were Carrier, they likely enjoyed resource procurement and other privileges as their birthrights.²³

Among the Carrier and other Indigenous groups on the Pacific Slope, marriage clearly signified an alliance not between individuals alone but, rather, between individuals as members of social groups. As anthropologist James Teit notes with regard to the Secwepemc: “Friendship was cemented between families and feuds and quarrels sometimes settled by intermarriage. In the same way, intertribal peace was made and sustained by intermarriages between the families of chiefs.”²⁴ Marriages between fur traders and local women also held the potential for conflict. The Alexandria journalist reported on 6 May 1844 that “La Pierre’s beau pere [father-in-law] from Chilcotins took away his daughter yesterday evening.” The Chilcotin then threatened Jean Baptiste La Pierre, and he applied for

²⁰ There was a “striking similarity in forms, ceremonies, and usages among all the tribes and bands of North American Indians.” See “*Connolly vs. Woolrich and Johnson et al.*,” in *Canadian Native Law Cases: 1763–1869*, ed. Brian Slattery (Saskatoon: University of Saskatoon Native Law Centre, 1980), 1:104.

²¹ Harmon, *Journal of Voyages*, 137. Morice claims that this marriage took place in January 1811. See Morice, *History of the Northern Interior*, 253.

²² HBCA, B.188/e/1, Fort St. James District Statement (hereafter FSJDS), 1821–22, 10. Klippenstein reports that five of these were the wives of John Stuart, William Brown, James McDougall, John McDonell, and Thomas Hodgson (the boat builder), respectively.

²³ The number of dependents had increased in 1825, when the HBC supported the families of a chief trader, three clerks, a guide, two interpreters, and a labourer, a total of nine women and thirteen children. HBCA, B.188/e/3, FSJDS 24–25, fol. 12. In 1827, at Alexandria, the company supported the wives and children of Chief Trader Joseph McGillivray and labourer Etienne Gregoire and also, for a few months, the wives and children of Chief Trader P.C. Pambrun and mixed-ancestry interpreter Jean Baptiste Lolo. Lolo’s wife may have been somewhat self-sufficient as she was a local Indian.

²⁴ Teit, James, “The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus,” *The Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1927–1928*, ed. Franz Boas (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1930).

material support from Alexandria a few days later.²⁵ In another incident, Daniel Harmon reports:

While at Fraser's Lake, Mr. Stuart, our interpreter, and myself came near being massacred by the Indians of that place, on account of the interpreter's wife, who was a native of that village. Eighty or ninety of the Indians armed themselves, some with guns, some with bows and arrows, and others with axes and clubs, for the purpose of attacking us. By mild measures, however, which I generally found to be the best in the management of the Indians, we succeeded in appeasing their anger, so we suffered no injury; and finally we separate[d], to appearance good friends, as if nothing unpleasant had occurred.²⁶

Fur traders who served in New Caledonia have left a significant record of their attitudes towards their own marriages to Indian and mixed-ancestry women.²⁷ For example, Noël Annance, a former clerk in the HBC who had served at various posts west of the Rockies, including those in New Caledonia, spoke on the issue of marriage:

I can see no difference between the marriages contracted in the Patri-archal ages and those contracted in the present day, in the North-West, among the Indians: that is, buying the girl by giving presents to the father, mother, and brothers of the bride, and sometimes by exchanging presents; that is all the marriage rites that I know of in the North-West, among the Indians. The chief or the father will never give his consent to give away his daughter to any man, as a wife, without these marriage rites, because they consider it to be a disgrace for any girls, without her father, or her mother, or brother having received this token of marriage to live with any man. Chiefs of the tribes are generally first consulted, and any one selected, can give away the girls upon those conditions. The ceremony consists of giving away and acceptance. It is not necessary to have anything else ... A man cannot live quietly with a squaw, in that country, without the performance of the above ceremony, for, without it, the brother would even kill his sister, and it would be a disgrace for

²⁵ HBCA, B/5/a/5, FAJ 1842-43, 19 May 1843.

²⁶ Harmon, *Journal of Voyages*, 188-89.

²⁷ For the testimony of fur traders on marriages *à la façon du pays* see the excerpts of evidence given in the *Connolly v. Woolrich* court case. Noël Annance, Amable Dupras, Pierre Marois, Alexander Robertson, John E. Harriott, Joseph La Rocque, and others provide detailed and consistent testimony. See Slattery, *Canadian Native Law Cases*, 70-243. See also Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia*, ed. E.I. and J.R. Stewart (Norman, Okla., [1957], 172); and Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 322-25.

the whole family ... There were then no ministers nor priests and no register kept, and *the country was ruled by Indian law*.²⁸

Fur traders sometimes transferred from one district to another, and they often took their Indian wives with them. However, a woman living in the territory of another Indian nation or in the “civilized” world suffered loss of family privilege, independence, and security, and to avoid this loss, divorce was a viable option for either party. John Tod was married to an Indian woman, perhaps a Cree, when he served at Fort York; to another, likely a Sekani, while he lived at McLeod Lake; and to Sophia Lolo, a mixed-ancestry woman whose mother was Secwepemc.²⁹ Joseph La Rocque, nwc clerk while at Thompson’s River, was married to the daughter of an Okanagan chief, and, upon leaving the district, one or both decided to divorce, and he provided her with goods for some while afterward.³⁰ He explained: “[A man] took her by the consent of her parents or relations. There was no other ceremony, except the giving of a few presents. The man lived with her as long as he liked or she liked.”³¹ John E. Harriott, who served briefly in New Caledonia, testified: “The marriage was considered a marriage for life. I considered it so. I know of hundreds of people living and dying with the woman they took in this way, without any other formalities. According to my opinion, this marriage lasted the lifetime of the parties, in as binding a manner as if married by a clergyman.”³² In a celebrated court case in Lower Canada, *Connelly v. Woolrich*, marriages *à la façon du pays* were declared valid and the offspring of these unions legitimate.³³ Marriages *à la façon du pays* between fur traders and Carrier women were recognized both socially and legally.

Who were the young men who signed contracts to serve in Carrier territory and who married Carrier or mixed-ancestry women and became fathers of mixed-ancestry children? Although personnel records of the nwc are scarce, a complete list of the personnel serving the HBC in New Caledonia can be constructed through an examination of the company’s

²⁸ Slattery, *Canadian Native Law Cases*, 170, (emphasis added).

²⁹ Madge Wolfenden, “Tod, John” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. II, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, accessed July 10, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/tod_john_II.html.

³⁰ HBCA B.97/a/2, Archibald McDonald, “Journal of Occurrences at Thompson’s River, 1826-1827,” 15 September 1826.

³¹ Slattery, *Canadian Native Law Cases*, 174.

³² *Ibid.*, 172.

³³ This court case concerned the estate of William Connelly, the HBC chief factor responsible for the New Caledonia district until his retirement to Lower Canada.

employment records.³⁴ Every employee is listed annually in these records, detailing each servant's age, rank, terms of service, post assignments, transfers, desertions, deaths, and plans on leaving the service. Evidence from post and personal journals, official and private letters, and other sources, some dealing with family issues, allow for a very detailed portrayal of HBC employees. These men came from diverse backgrounds, the result of an intentional policy of the HBC that was designed to keep its costs down and to discourage collusion and rebellion at its posts.³⁵ Some employees stayed for only one year before transferring to another district, but others remained in the district for their entire working lives. In total, the HBC employed 465 fur traders, including officers and servants, in New Caledonia between 1821 and 1859. Of the 2,428 person-years of labour in New Caledonia provided to the HBC by these individuals in the decades before 1859, roughly one-half were provided by Canadians, mostly French Canadians, one-quarter by "Natives" (an HBC term referring to mixed-ancestry individuals born in New Caledonia, Rupert's Land, or the Columbia District), and just over 10 percent each by Europeans and Iroquois. Hawaiians and local Indians provided a small proportion of the labour force in New Caledonia. Canadians and Natives were the most enduring employees, residing in New Caledonia over seven years on average, while Iroquois and Europeans stayed in New Caledonia for an average of five and Hawaiians only two years.³⁶

In the 1860s, the pattern of HBC employment changed considerably from previous decades, mostly because of the changed circumstances associated with the discovery of gold at locations throughout the Pacific Northwest. The most obvious difference concerned the virtual absence of any new Iroquois or Hawaiian labourers, while Canadian-sourced employees shifted from roughly one-half the person-years served in previous decades to 14 percent in the 1860s. The reduction in participation by these groups was compensated for by increased representation from

³⁴ HBCA, B.188/e/1-11, Reports on Districts, 1822-1900; HBCA, B.223/g/1-17, Abstracts of Servants Accounts, Vancouver, 1827-62; HBCA, B.226/g/1-7, Abstracts of Servants Accounts, Victoria, 1853-72; HBCA, B.239/g/1-47, Abstracts of Servants Accounts, York Factory, 1821-71; HBCA, B.239/u/1-3, Servants' Engagement Registers, York Factory, 1823-51, 1846-77. It is impossible to construct a complete list of NWC employees because those records are incomplete. However, many officers and servants, such as Jean Baptiste Boucher, joined the HBC after the merger of the two companies.

³⁵ For a detailed description of HBC recruiting, see Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770-1879* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1997), 64-108.

³⁶ Two individuals, who remained, respectively, thirteen and fourteen years, skew the Hawaiian statistics. Not including these two, Hawaiians remained in New Caledonia an average of 1.6 years.

other sources: the mixed-ancestry Natives (23 to 38 percent), Europeans (10 to 23 percent), and local Carrier (1 to 11 percent).

Within this Carrier-dominated environment the HBC pursued its legal trading monopoly. The company prohibited any potential European competitor from entering New Caledonia, and it denied deserting or retiring employees the right to remain in the region. Fortunately for the HBC, the Carrier sense of sovereignty made these prohibitions relatively easy to enforce, so they were seldom transgressed. The only way for a deserting or retiring HBC employee to reside in New Caledonia was through marriage to a Carrier woman, and occasionally an HBC employee attempted to use this local support system in an attempt to live independently of the company. Four New Caledonia HBC employees are recorded as living “as Indians” temporarily outside of HBC employment. Baptiste Lolo, the French Canadian-Secwepemc mixed-ancestry interpreter at Alexandria, in a dispute over wages, briefly refused to re-engage with the HBC in the summer and autumn of 1824. He lived for some months hunting and trapping with his Indian wife, who owned a salmon cache a short distance downriver from the fort.³⁷ Louis Vandalle deserted in 1827 accompanied by “an old Secanie woman,” but the local Carrier who were commissioned to capture him returned him to HBC service.³⁸ Old Baptiste La Pierre deserted in 1841, and, although he was expected to return soon after he had “tasted the sweets and bitterness of Indian life,” he remained independent for some time, likely on the basis of his wife’s privileges.³⁹ In 1847, Joseph Jacques deserted “to join the relatives of his Indian wife in the vicinity of Fraser Lake,” until he was captured and brought in by the venerable Waccan.⁴⁰ None of these individuals remained outside of HBC control for more than a few months.⁴¹

Retiring and transferring employees always left New Caledonia. When an employee’s contract expired and he did not re-engage, he was usually returned home with the annual brigade or supply ship, as his contract demanded. At least 182 of the 457, or about 40 percent, of employees who left New Caledonia transferred to other HBC posts, mostly on the Pacific Slope. The McDougalls, Rois, and Larances transferred to Fort Colville before settling in that district. New Caledonia retirees choosing the Willamette included the Mansons, Bouchers, Gregoires, Belliques,

³⁷ HBCA, B.5/a/1, FAJ, 1824-25, 12 February 1825,

³⁸ HBCA, B.5/a/2, Fort Alexandria letters, Connelly to McGillivray, 23 August 1827.

³⁹ Morice, *History of the Northern Interior*, 205.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 255-56.

⁴¹ Occasionally, a deserter stole a horse and headed south, and one or two may have escaped, but they certainly did not return to New Caledonia.

Camerons, and Gagnons.⁴² After 1842, if a retired employee was not returned home, he was likely listed as a “Freeman,” or “Settler on the Willamette,” and after the 1849 California gold rush began, as a person who “Remained in the Country” or had “Gone to California.” Residing in New Caledonia was not an option.

The HBC restrictions on residence in New Caledonia extended to the wives and children of fur traders. Non-Carrier mixed-ancestry children could remain in New Caledonia only as long as they or their fathers worked for the HBC.⁴³ Fur traders who were married before being posted to New Caledonia often had wives, either Indian or Native, whose tribal affiliations were elsewhere, usually in Rupert’s Land or the Columbia. These men necessarily took their families with them when they retired or transferred out of the district because these dependents had neither access to resources nor physical protection in Carrier jurisdictions. A Carrier woman had more choices than an alien woman: she could choose to leave the district with her husband and adapt to life elsewhere, she could divorce him and remain with her extended family and retain her rights and Carrier identity, or she might marry an incoming HBC employee for the duration of his employment contract, at which point she would have to make another life decision. Mixed-ancestry children of Carrier women also had more varied opportunities than did their counterparts with alien parents: they did not have to leave the district but could live with their local kin. If a non-Carrier mixed-ancestry woman was to remain in New Caledonia she had to marry an HBC employee or a Carrier man. Because female children of fur traders were sought after as marriage partners by incoming European and/or mixed-ancestry fur traders, most young mixed-ancestry women took this first step towards leaving behind their Indian heritage. Mixed-ancestry males predominantly took local Indian wives if for no other reason than that they faced severe competition for mixed-ancestry wives. Two employment routes were open to mixed-ancestry males whose mothers had local familial connections: they could either operate in the Indian sphere with their mothers’ kin or they could obtain employment with the HBC, the only commercial

⁴² Jean Barman and Bruce M. Watson, “Fort Colvile’s Fur Trade Families and the Dynamics of Race in the Pacific Northwest,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 90, 3 (1999): 140–53. Barman and Watson use records of the HBC, Roman Catholic Church, censuses, and reminiscences of descendants to examine the settlers around Fort Colvile. The 1881 Canada Census lists thirty-year-old BC-born Pierre Roi, Jr. and his brother, Francois, living at Stuart Lake. These young men were infants when their father transferred to Fort Colvile; they returned to British Columbia in 1870 as adults, after the time of effective British control.

⁴³ Children of Sekani women and Secwepemc women would have held rights around Fort McLeod and Fort Alexandria, respectively.

enterprise operating in New Caledonia. Many male mixed-ancestry progeny of both the officer and servant classes found employment with the HBC.

The stable Carrier-dominated political and economic foundation of New Caledonia was changed dramatically by two events in the sixth decade of the century. First, the smallpox epidemic of 1862 had severe demographic consequences, although only fragmentary evidence is available to document the tragedy. Colonial official Thomas Elwyn reported that the Beaver Lake Band virtually disappeared with the loss of fifty members and that the Williams Lake Band barely survived after losing sixty members.⁴⁴ Various parties travelling both in the area under review and down the North Thompson River noted numerous dead Indians lying on the riverbanks and in their dwellings.⁴⁵ Father Morice, the Oblate priest who served in the region in the succeeding generation, reported that smallpox “played havoc among the Chilcotins” as well as among the southern Carrier in the valley of the Blackwater and at Peters, Hehn, St. Mary’s, and Morice Lakes, where “the vast majority of the Natives succumbed.”⁴⁶ The anguish and dispiritedness that accompanied this demographic disaster seriously affected the viability and confidence of these peoples. Their ability to withstand the intrusion of gold miners, accompanying colonial officials, new settlers, and missionaries all but disappeared.

The second and related factor that revolutionized the environment was the political impact of the gold rush. Until 1858, the HBC operated on the mainland under a Crown grant providing it with the exclusive right to trade,⁴⁷ and the company had little difficulty maintaining its

⁴⁴ BCA, GR-1372, F525, Elwyn to Colonial Secretary, Williams Lake, 17 December 1862 and 29 January 1863.

⁴⁵ W. Champness, *To Cariboo and Back in 1862* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1972), 92-93; William Fitzwilliam Milton and Walter Cheadle, *Cheadle’s The Northwest Passage by Land: Being the Narrative of an Expedition from the Atlantic to the Pacific*, 6th ed. (London: Fetter and Galpin, 1865); Mark S. Wade, *The Overlanders of ’62* (Victoria: Charles F. Banfield, by authority of the Legislative Assembly, 1931), 115-16; and Walter Moberly, “History of the Cariboo Wagon Road,” in *Art, Historical, and Scientific Association Historical Papers*, session 1907-08 (Vancouver: Clarke and Stuart Company, Ltd., 1908), 34-35.

⁴⁶ Morice, *History of the Northern Interior*, 307.

⁴⁷ The grant “prohibited every Subject of his Majesty, except ourselves, or persons authorized by Us, to trade with the Indians on the North West Coast of America to the westward of the Stony Mountains.” Cited in Richard Somerset Mackie, *Trading beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific, 1793-1843* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 331, n85; Margaret Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Vancouver: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1958), 149-53; BCA, Edward Ermatinger letters, 1818-74, Tod to Ermatinger, McLeod’s Lake, 27 February 1826; *Minutes of the Council Northern Department of Rupert’s Land, 1821-31*, ed. R. Harvey Fleming (London: Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1940), 25, 91.

“fur trade preserve.” A new era began when the Crown cancelled the HBC charter in 1858 in response to the inundation of gold seekers.⁴⁸ The British government created the colony of British Columbia on 19 November 1858 and named James Douglas its governor. British authority, including the application of civil and criminal law, was thus asserted on the mainland.⁴⁹ The British government lost no time in providing the machinery of government. By early 1859, it had created a civil list and appointed officers to the new colony: governor, judge of the supreme court, registrar, inspector of police, harbour master, collector of customs, treasurer, colonial secretary, and attorney general.⁵⁰ These officials were joined by a contingent of Royal Engineers (RE), that was charged with both military and civil engineering duties. In the lower Fraser River region, British authority became effective almost immediately.

The question, then, arises: When did British control become effective in New Caledonia? One of the first tasks the new authority faced was to persuade the various Indian bands to transfer authority from their jurisdictions to the colonial government, especially in the areas of military affairs, ownership and regulation of resources, and judicial practices. Governor Douglas made two trips to the southern interior in an attempt to effect this transfer, the first in June 1858 when he met with Indigenous bands at the fork of the Fraser and Thompson rivers, within Syilx-speaking territory. This meeting resulted in the Secwepemc around Thompson River giving up their exclusive jurisdiction over resources in their territory.⁵¹ On his second trip, in 1860, to Cayoosh (Lillooet) and other points in the southern interior, Douglas obtained Indian agreement to more comprehensive proposals. Indians would henceforth abide by and

⁴⁸ James Douglas, governor of Vancouver Island, had pre-emptively exerted his authority on the mainland to prevent lawlessness and to deny Americans any pretext of control of the territory. On 28 December 1857, he issued an ordinance declaring that all gold in the Fraser and Thompson Rivers belonged to the Crown, and he instituted a system of mining licences and fees. He attempted to maintain the HBC trading monopoly by issuing proclamations, first forbidding entry of American traders and then imposing a tariff and charging them a licence fee. The colonial secretary, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, disallowed these latter actions, writing that the HBC had “no right or privilege other than the right of exclusive trade with the Indians.” Douglas argued the point to no avail. See BCA, PRO Transcripts, CO 60, vol. 1, pt. 2, Douglas to Lytton, 16 July 1858, cited in Ormsby, *British Columbia*, 154.

⁴⁹ Ormsby, *British Columbia*, 162.

⁵⁰ For example, judge of the Supreme Court, Matthew Baillie Begbie, was appointed on 2 September 1858, and Registrar A.T. Bushby was appointed in January 1859. For a complete list of pre-1860 appointments, see BCA, PRO, CO 64/1 *Blue Book of Statistics, British Columbia*, 1860.

⁵¹ Before this visit, the HBC officers and men had honoured the long-standing policy of not exploiting resources of Indian bands without their express permission; however, in 1859, for the first time, the company began a variety of fishing ventures near the fort. See BCA, Kamloops Journal (TRJ), 1859-62, 24 and 27 July 1859.

obtain protection from British rather than Indian laws. Although they gave up exclusive jurisdiction over resources, they were free to pursue their traditional economies. They also received promises of protection and exclusive use of their villages and gardens as well as access, equal to whites, to mineral resources.⁵²

Douglas never personally visited Carrier or Chilcotin territory as governor, and the colony may have paid dearly for this neglect. In 1862, Douglas sent H.S. Palmer, RE, on an official reconnaissance to survey a route from North Bentinck Arm through Chilcotin territory to Fort Alexandria and on to the Cariboo goldfields and Fort George. On a similar mission, R.M. Parsons, RE, surveyed the Harrison Lake to Cariboo route.⁵³ Despite these official visits by imperial officers, permission to trespass on Chilcotin lands was obviously inadequate. The "Chilcotin War" erupted, with the loss of numerous lives. However one interprets the causes and results of the ensuing mayhem, it is clear that colonial authorities responded aggressively, captured the principals, tried them as criminals in the newly established Supreme Court of British Columbia, and hanged six of them, the last in 1864. No further military challenges threatened British control in British Columbia. Douglas had not negotiated with the Chilcotin or Carrier, but British military and judicial control prevailed.

British authority was extended when gold-mining activity reached the upper Fraser River and Cariboo. Officials were duly appointed there, often holding concurrent appointments as justices of the peace, stipendiary magistrates, assistant gold commissioners, assistant collectors of customs, or assistant commissioners of lands and works. In the area under investigation, this assertion of authority is documented in the letters of these field officers to the colonial secretary in Victoria.⁵⁴ They show that each official was supported by one or two constables and by regular visits from persons of higher judicial or civil authority. Colonial officers issued Free Miner Certificates; registered mining claims and water licences; issued pre-emption records for land; settled mining, water, or land disputes; issued arrest warrants; held small claims or police

⁵² BCA, GR-1486, Colonial Office correspondence with regard to British Columbia C.O. 60/1-60/44,: Douglas to Newcastle, 9 and 25 October 1860. For a detailed discussion of this agreement and its aftermath, see Duane Thomson, "The Response of the Okanagan Indians to European Settlement," *BC Studies* 101 (Spring 1994): 96-117.

⁵³ H. Spencer Palmer, *British Columbia, Williams Lake and Cariboo: Report on Portions of the Williams Lake and Cariboo Districts and on the Fraser River from Fort Alexandria to Fort George* (New Westminster: Royal Engineers, 1863), microform; R.M. Parsons, *Report of a Journey from New Westminster, BC to Lac La Hache* (New Westminster: Royal Engineer Press, 1862).

⁵⁴ See BCA, GR-1372, British Columbia, Colonial Correspondence (microfilm B1300-1372).

courts; convened inquests; held prisoners for trial in the Supreme Court; assigned Indian reserves; gave relief; issued contracts for bridge and road construction; laid out and auctioned town lots; represented citizens' concerns to Victoria; supervised constables; took censuses; supervised elections; and filed quarterly reports.⁵⁵ In short, the letters demonstrated effective British control of the goldfields.

Specific information from this correspondence confirms the date of effective British control. The first colonial official in the Upper Fraser region was Thomas Elwyn, who was appointed justice of the peace and stipendiary magistrate for British Columbia. He took up his post in Lillooet on 18 July 1859 and was transferred to Quesnel in May 1862.⁵⁶ During the winter of 1862 he wintered in Williams Lake, leaving one constable in Quesnel and another in the mining camps. Other colonial officers – Philip Nind,⁵⁷ Peter O'Reilly,⁵⁸ and George W. Cox⁵⁹ – followed or served concurrently with Elwyn. Together they submitted dozens of letters and returns, along with lists and schedules of recorded land pre-emptions, mining licences, contracts, and petitions. For example, Nind's first letter written from Williams Lake reads: "On 20 September last [1860] I started with my constable, in company with the Judge [Matthew Baillie Begbie] and Registrar [Arthur Bushby] of the Supreme Court, to visit the Forks of the Quesnel River and from thence to proceed to Caribou [*sic*] country."⁶⁰ Surveyors followed these officials closely, laying out Indian reserves in the southern region of New Caledonia by 1864.⁶¹ The colonial government dispatched officials wherever a significant number of miners congregated in New Caledonia and where civil authority was required. Consequently, when gold was discovered in the Omineca region in 1869, the government supported the Peace River Prospecting Party, which was to survey and report on the district. Peter

⁵⁵ Colonial officials' performance of these functions are apparent through the above cited Colonial Correspondence and through the dozens of account books kept by the officials. See BCA, GR-0216, British Columbia, Government Agency, Cariboo, 1860-1938.

⁵⁶ BCA, GR-1372, British Columbia, Colonial Correspondence, F525/12, Elwyn to Colonial Secretary, 15 June 1862.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, F1255.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, F1280. O'Reilly's land pre-emption records appear in BCA, GR-1182, British Columbia Department of Lands and Works, file 2.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, F378/14-39, F379/1-22, B355/1-2, F380/1-12, F380/1-3.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, F1255/1, Nind to Colonial Secretary, Williams Lake, 9 November 1860, MS-0811. See also Bushby's journal of this trip, BCA, MS-8011, Bushby, Arthur Thomas, 1835-75. The Summer Assizes of the Supreme Court were held periodically in Lillooet and Lightning Creek, dealing with charges of theft and murder by miners and by the Carrier and Secwepemc.

⁶¹ BCA, GR-0504, British Columbia, Provincial Secretary, 1861-1877. A letter from Smith (in Lillooet) to the provincial secretary, dated 3 October 1864, reported that Smith had surveyed Indian reserves at Fountain, Canoe Creek, Dog Creek, and Alkali Lake.

O'Reilly, dispatched to Omineca in 1871, discharged judicial functions and performed the tasks of tax collector and Indian agent.⁶² When gold was subsequently discovered in Cassiar, the provincial government quickly sent officials: John R. Adams arrived as government agent for the Cassiar region in 1873, followed by Judge J.H. Sullivan, who became the district's assistant gold commissioner. Thus, beginning in 1860 and continuing thereafter, the colonial and (later) provincial government administered this part of British Columbia efficiently and effectively whenever miners, settlers, or businesses established themselves.

To further establish control and to promote economic development, the colony of British Columbia paid particular attention to improving communications with the New Caledonia region. It organized the construction of the Seton and Anderson Lakes route from Harrison Lake to Lillooet in 1861.⁶³ It contracted and funded the massive public works project of building the Cariboo Road, completed in 1864 and used regularly thereafter. It gave the Western Union Telegraph Company enthusiastic support, allowing materials for the telegraph line to pass free of duties and tolls. Telegraph communication reached Quesnel by the end of 1865.⁶⁴ In 1866, the line was strung a further six hundred and thirty km from Quesnel, reaching Fort Fraser, the Bulkley River, and finally Hazelton on the Skeena River before construction was halted in February 1867.⁶⁵ Assistant Gold Commissioner Elwyn was assigned to the region of Fort St. James during construction of the telegraph line in 1866.⁶⁶ Although soon abandoned, the Western Union Telegraph project

⁶² David Ricardo Williams, "O'Reilly, Peter," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed July 10, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/o_reilly_peter_13E.html. O'Reilly was followed in Omineca by W.H. Fitzgerald and D. Ballentyne, who served the region as resident assistant gold commissioners and stipendiary magistrates, with duties similar to those described above.

⁶³ *Blue Book of Statistics, British Columbia, 1860 and 1861*. Public works expenditures in 1861 also show the construction of the portages on the route from Lillooet to Quesnel and Quesnel to Antler Creek trails, and the construction of a lockup at Alexandria.

⁶⁴ The diary of Assistant Engineer and Chief of Explorations Major Franklin Pope recounts the progress of his exploration party from the abandoned Fort Connelly on Bear Lake to the Stikine River in the winter of 1866. A typescript of the Pope diary is found in the "Russian American telegraph" entry in *Wikipedia*. Peter Leech, ex-Royal Engineer surveyor, was another prominent individual working for the Western Union Telegraph Company in northern British Columbia.

⁶⁵ "Russian American telegraph" entry in *Wikipedia*.

⁶⁶ Elwyn described the HBC posts at Fraser Lake and Stuart Lake, reporting that the Indians of both places were "peaceable and well disposed towards the whites." BCA, GR-1372, British Columbia, Colonial Correspondence, F525/, Elwyn to Col. Sec't, Fraser's Lake, 5 July 1866. See also Dorothy Blakey Smith, "Elwyn, Thomas," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed July 10, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/elwyn_thomas_11E.html.

left a legacy of telegraph communication between Victoria and Quesnel and an established trail from Quesnel to the Nechako, Bulkley, and Skeena rivers,⁶⁷ a key transportation link to points further north such as Fort St. James and Omineca. The pursuit of the telegraph project and the presence of a colonial official while it was under construction demonstrate the determination of Victoria to maintain effective control of the region.

The colonial government also welcomed church authorities to the region, thus re-enforcing effective control. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate constituted the main missionary order serving the population in New Caledonia in the colonial and early Confederation eras.⁶⁸ Immediately after the gold rush began, the Oblates transferred personnel from Oregon to British territory, where they found a more stable political environment. Father Charles Grandidier made a brief venture into the Cariboo in 1861, followed in 1864 and 1865 by Fathers Leon Fouquet and Florimond Gendre, respectively.⁶⁹ In 1866, Father James McGuckin arrived in the Cariboo, where he remained for a number of years in charge of St. Joseph's, the permanent Oblate mission and school at Williams Lake.⁷⁰ On his first trip to Quesnel, McGuckin met Indians from Stuart Lake and Fort George who requested that missionaries be assigned to their territories. In response to this invitation, Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez, bishop of Miletopolis, toured New Caledonia in 1868, establishing a "village council" system throughout the region with the tacit approval of the colonial government. The officers of the village councils, the Oblate-appointed chiefs, captains, watchmen, constables, bell ringers,

⁶⁷ "Russian American telegraph" entry in *Wikipedia*. One unforeseen legacy was the hundreds of kilometres of abandoned telegraph wire that was used for sundry purposes for years, including reinforcing the Indian bridge over the Hagwilgat Canyon on the Bulkley River.

⁶⁸ Catholic missionaries had visited New Caledonia in the 1840s, but they remained only a season or two. Modeste Demers, OMI, accompanied an HBC brigade as far as Fort St. James in 1842, where he spent the winter visiting and baptizing Indian people. He returned to Fort Alexandria in April 1843, where the Indians had built a chapel. From Alexandria he conducted missions to the Williams Lake and Chilcotin areas. Two years later John Nobili, SJ, reached Alexandria from Fort Colvile, and he returned in 1846, this time reaching Fort St. James. These early missionaries reportedly received an enthusiastic reception. See Reid Fowler, "The New Caledonia Mission: An Historical Sketch of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in North Central BC," in *Sa ts 'e: Historical Perspectives on Northern British Columbia*, ed. Thomas Thomer (Prince George: College of New Caledonia Press, 1989), 132. The best sources of information on Oblates are the letters written from the field to Bishop d'Herbomez. See Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Records of the Oblate Missions of British Columbia, selected from the Oblate Historical Archives, St. Peter's Province, Holy Rosary Scholasticate, Ottawa (hereafter Oblate Missions of British Columbia Records).

⁶⁹ Fowler, 132.

⁷⁰ In 1873, the Oblates established the "Mission de Notre-Dame de Bonne-Esperance" at Fort St. James with Fathers Lejacq and Blanchet as resident priests. Oblate priests stationed at St. Joseph's and Notre-Dame de Bonne-Esperance conducted annual missionary visits to villages throughout the region.

catechists, and others, held considerable judicial and civil authority in Indian villages. They operated according to Roman Catholic Church precepts and notions of authority, morality, crime, and punishment, thus supplanting traditional Indian band governance. Colonial (and later provincial) civil and judicial authorities accepted this system of indirect control, likely because these councils maintained law and order among the large Indian population at no cost to the state.⁷¹

Considering this evidence, effective British control was clearly established in New Caledonia by 1866, if not before. Colonial authorities efficiently regulated and promoted economic development, the colonial judicial system functioned effectively, transportation and communication lines linked the area to its metropolitan centre, remote Carrier communities had requested a missionary presence, and a fledgling church authority was established. As early as 1862, travel writer W. Champness observed:

The miners' rights and claims are clearly defined and protected in this colony. The law is administered promptly and equitably, and to the general satisfaction of all concerned ... Law and personal protection are no mere dead letters under the broad folds of the British flag, even in these distant regions of the empire.⁷²

Champness wrote a little prematurely – two years later the Chilcotin, objecting to trespassing on their territories, massacred a road-building crew. The colonial government, however, was there to stay.

The mixed-ancestry population that lived in this vast territory in 1866, at the time of effective British control, can be measured precisely. A few years earlier, on the eve of the gold rush, the entire non-Indigenous population of New Caledonia consisted of the forty-one officers and men working for the HBC and their mixed-ancestry dependents, and these were scattered around the several posts. An examination of the HBC's employment records for the period 1858 to 1866, the date of effective British control in New Caledonia, reveals a large turnover in the labour force during those years. Only eight employees continued

⁷¹ Dawson reported the system functioning in the area when he visited the upper Fraser River in 1876: "The whole of the Indians hereabouts ... are kept up to the mark by a system of watchmen, chiefs, soldiers, etc. appointed by the priest, who has succeeded in doing away with their own old feasts & dances ... For offences they are flogged by the appointed officers & with the consent of the tribe, or perhaps disgraced by being forbidden the church." Cited in Frieda Klippenstein, *The Role of the Carrier Indians in the Fur Trade at Fort St. James, 1816-1915* (Winnipeg: Canadian Parks Service, Western Regional Office, 1992), 50.

⁷² Champness, *Cariboo and Back*, 98.

in HBC employment throughout this period.⁷³ Most retiring employees undoubtedly left the district, as their names do not appear in any colonial documents pertaining to land pre-emption, mining or water licences, directories, censuses, vital statistics, court records, or educational records.⁷⁴ After the HBC charter was revoked in 1858, members of only ten mixed-ancestry families remained in New Caledonia upon the head of household's retirement from the HBC. These were the families of Chief Factor Peter Ogden, Chief Trader William Manson, Jean Baptiste Boucher, Alexander Tappage, Charles Touin, Joseph Allard, Charles Favel, Joseph Dusseau, Jean Baptiste Pacquette, and Joseph Lebrun. To assist in determining whether this mixed-ancestry population was of sufficient size and cohesion to meet the test of "community" set by the Supreme Court of Canada, the circumstances of each mixed-ancestry family remaining in the region after 1858 need to be closely examined.

The Ogden family descended from the famed Canadian chief factor Peter Skene Ogden, who served in New Caledonia from 1835 to 1838 and again from 1840 to 1843. In 1815, he had married a Native woman (Marie Comtois) from Rupert's Land, with whom he had one child, Peter, but on being posted to the Columbia he left them behind.⁷⁵ Peter Ogden was born in 1817, raised in Rupert's Land, attended the Red River school, and began his career with the HBC there, where he married Francine Brabant, a Rupert's Land mixed-ancestry woman.⁷⁶ He transferred to Fraser Lake in 1844 and rose to become chief factor in New Caledonia, a post he held until his death from influenza in 1870. Peter and Francine had one child, Peter Skene Ogden, Jr. (born in Rupert's Land) and five girls (born in New Caledonia). Peter Skene Ogden Jr. became a clerk in New Caledonia in 1861. He died of influenza along with his father

⁷³ Michel Deschamps, Pierre Pereau, John Sutherland, Joseph Vallette, Joseph Flett, Joseph Tappage, Murdoch Wassantoolin, and James and Jean Marie Boucher.

⁷⁴ Of the thirty-seven "servants" employed in 1858, five were Norwegians who had left New Caledonia by 1860: Carl Christenson, Johann Doring, Frederick Hansen, Matthew Morrison, and Andreas Olson. An Iroquois, Rene Selahoany, and a Hawaiian, Namhollow, both long-term employees, retired in 1860. John Hunter died. Four transferred out of New Caledonia before 1866: Kenneth Morrison transferred to Fort Langley in 1861, William Boucher to Thompson's River in 1861, James Sabiston to Thompson's River in 1865, and Michel Lacroix to Fort Simpson in 1867. Eight other servants retired and left New Caledonia, leaving no evidence in colonial records of their continuing presence: J.B. Brasconnier, Murdoch Matheson, John McIver, Robert Robertson, John Sabiston, Raphael Trembley, John Johnstone, and Baptiste Versailles.

⁷⁵ Gloria Griffen Cline, *Peter Skene Ogden and the Hudson's Bay Company* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 26. Peter Skene Ogden and Marie Comtois were married at Cumberland House in 1815. Peter was born in Ile-à-la-Crosse, Rupert's Land, in 18 January 1817. See <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=PED&db=kenskin39&id=I45826>.

⁷⁶ HBCA, "Biography of Peter Ogden" prepared by HBCA staff.

in 1870, but his younger sisters survived. Four Ogden girls eventually married incoming HBC officers, although by the time of their marriages they would have been able to remain in New Caledonia even had they remained single.⁷⁷ The Ogdens were a Protestant, bilingual, officer-class family whose entire Indian ancestry was alien to New Caledonia.

The second officer-class family was the Manson clan. Scottish-born Donald Manson worked for the HBC in New Caledonia beginning in 1843, and from 1845 to 1858 he served as a chief trader in the district. Donald Manson married Félicité Lucier, a Native woman from the lower Columbia.⁷⁸ Two of Donald Manson's Columbia-born Native sons followed him into HBC employment in New Caledonia. John was employed from 1855 to 1860, after which time he transferred to Fort Langley and then it is probable that he returned to Oregon. William joined the HBC in 1848 and served as a clerk in New Caledonia from 1851 to 1865.⁷⁹ In 1866, he was promoted to chief trader at Fort Simpson on the coast. He left HBC employment in 1867 and returned to the Cariboo, where he had pre-empted land in the Lac La Hache area.⁸⁰ William married Adelaide Ogden in 1861 and had six or seven children.⁸¹ Protestant, English-speaking, officer class, and with no Carrier parentage, the Manson children were all under ten in 1866.

One of the earliest servant-class employees in New Caledonia was Jean Baptiste "Waccan" Boucher (b. 1789), a Native of Rupert's Land. First employed in New Caledonia in 1805,⁸² he continued employment with

⁷⁷ Adelaide Victoria (b. 1847) married Native William Manson, Margaret (b. 1849) married Scottish-born Gavin Hamilton. They appear in the 1881 Canada census living with their thirteen children and Margaret's mother, Francine, and sister, Mary. Margaret is listed as being Scottish. Sarah (b. 1853) married Scottish-born HBC employee James M.L. Alexander, and they appear in the 1881 census with their five children. Rachel married HBC clerk Robert Hanley Hall in 1876. BCA, GR-2962, Marriage Registrations, 1872-1928 (microfilm B11387), no. 76-09-173035.

⁷⁸ Donald Manson eventually retired to Champoeg, Oregon. See John A. Hussey, *Champoeg: A Place of Transition; A Disputed History*, (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1967) 47-53.

⁷⁹ William worked in New Caledonia until 1859, at Thompson's River from 1860 to 1862, and at Alexandria from 1862 to 1865.

⁸⁰ BCA, GR-0216, British Columbia, Government Agency, Cariboo, 1860-1938, vol. 151.

⁸¹ He had originally married Elizabeth McLean, Donald McLean's mixed-ancestry daughter. His son, Donald, was born 12 September 1857, shortly before Elizabeth died. His children with Adelaide were Elizabeth (born in Alexandria, baptized 11 February 1864), William George Cox (baptized in Victoria, 19 January 1866), Charles Ogden F. (baptized 10 January 1867 in Metlakatla), Martha, Peter Ogden, Sarah, and Margaret. Elizabeth, aged eighteen, and Margaret Manson appear in the 1881 census living with or in close proximity to Archibald McKinley's family at Lac La Hache.

⁸² Waccan Boucher did not accompany Simon Fraser on his initial entrance to New Caledonia, but he was there on 31 August 1806 when he accompanied John Stuart to Fraser Lake. He also accompanied Simon Fraser on his exploratory trip down the Fraser River in 1808. Simon Fraser,

the HBC after the amalgamation until his death from measles in 1849.⁸³ He married a Carrier woman in 1811, with whom he had five children,⁸⁴ and he later wed Nancy McDougall, the mixed-ancestry daughter of James McDougall and a Sekani woman.⁸⁵ Waccan and Nancy, both mixed-ancestry Natives, had no kin connections in Carrier territory, except for Waccan's children by his first wife. Their offspring stayed in New Caledonia only as long as they were associated with the HBC.

The Boucher family had a remarkable employment history with the HBC. The Boucher men all joined the company as they came of age, some as well-paid multilingual interpreters. Jean Baptiste joined the HBC in 1827, Francois in 1834, and Louison in 1837. The younger male siblings, likely the children of Nancy McDougall, also worked for the HBC: James joined in 1840,⁸⁶ Jean Marie in 1844, Pierre in 1850, Joseph in 1857, William in 1859, George in 1860, and finally Charles in 1864. Louison drowned in 1842, and the following year Jean Baptiste, Francois, and James left New Caledonia to settle in the Willamette Valley.⁸⁷ The two eldest Boucher daughters married fur traders and also moved to the Columbia District.⁸⁸ So the five eldest Boucher children, with a Carrier mother, all moved south, some to pursue non-fur trade employment opportunities. James returned from Oregon in 1852 to work for the HBC in New Caledonia,

The Letters and Journals of Simon Fraser, 1806-1808, ed. W. Kaye Lamb (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1960), 23 and 237.

⁸³ Morice, *History of the Northern Interior*, 58.

⁸⁴ The Fort St. James journal entry for 18 March 1811 reads: "My Interpreter [Baptiste Boucher] has taken to wife the Daughter of one of the Carrier Chiefs & she is the first Woman of that tribe kept by any of the white people" (Harmon, *Journal of Voyages*, 165). Morice (*History of the Northern Interior*, 253) claims that this marriage took place in January 1811.

⁸⁵ James McDougall was the nwc clerk at McLeod Lake at the time of his marriage in 1806. Simon Fraser wrote: "I must here wish you Joy, as I understand that you have entered upon the Matrimonial State." See Fraser, *Letters and Journals*, 245. McDougall remained at Fort McLeod for a number of years as John Stuart wintered with him there during 1811 and 1812, and he reportedly had a good "knowledge of the Sekanais dialect" (Morice, *History of the Northern Interior*, 90-94). James McDougall's complete family history remains a mystery. Perhaps he married a third time as George McDougall claimed that he brought James's wife with him from the Columbia in 1827 (BCA, MS-2715 John McLeod Papers, George McDougall to John McLeod, 1827).

⁸⁶ James was born in 1821 and given Nancy's father's name (1901 Canada Census, British Columbia, District 6, Yale and Cariboo District, Sub-District A, Sub-Division 6, line 25).

⁸⁷ Jean Baptiste Boucher married Isabelle Mainville in Oregon. He died there in 1852. Francois Boucher may have farmed near Fort Vancouver as his son was baptized there on 23 December 1843.

⁸⁸ Jane, or Jeannie, married Native clerk William McBean, and they had at least four children: John (b. 1837), Nancy (b. 1839), Marie (b. 1844), and Charles Donald (b. 1846). McBean was employed at Fraser Lake until the spring of 1845 when he transferred to Fort Vancouver, then in 1846 to Fort Nez Perce where he remained until he left HBC employment in 1853. Sophie married Canadian Edouard Crête, middleman and boue, who was employed at Fort Alexandria until he transferred to Fort Nez Perce in 1848 before leaving HBC employment in 1850.

and he continued this employment through the 1860s.⁸⁹ Some of the younger Boucher children lived in New Caledonia in 1866. Jean Marie Boucher, employed by the HBC from 1844 until after effective British control, married a Carrier woman and had two sons who were young boys in 1866.⁹⁰ Pierre Boucher worked for the HBC from 1850 to 1859, the last year being at Thompson's River, and he later lived with his Indian wife, Nellie, with no children, in the Alexandria Indian village.⁹¹ Joseph Boucher worked for the HBC at Thompson's River from 1857 to 1860 and apparently did not return to New Caledonia.⁹² William Boucher (b. 1843) worked for the HBC only from 1859 to 1860 and was otherwise occupied for a few years before taking up farming on the west side of the Fraser River opposite Quesnel in 1869.⁹³ George worked for the HBC in 1860 at Fort Simpson. Charles Boucher worked for the HBC at Alexandria from 1864 to 1865.⁹⁴ Waccan and Nancy's two youngest daughters, Sally and Marie, married European HBC employees and resided at Stuart Lake.⁹⁵

In summary, of the five children of Waccan and his Carrier wife, one died and the other four left New Caledonia for Oregon in 1843. The three younger Boucher men who lived and established families in New

⁸⁹ James married "Tittnan" or "Marie," a Carrier woman, with whom he had numerous children, at least five of whom were daughters, all under the age of ten in 1866.

⁹⁰ In what was likely his second marriage, he married Julie Hinnatchu, a Carrier woman, at Fort George, in 1870. BCA, GR-3044, Pre-Confederation Marriage Records, 1859-72 (microfilm B09707), vol. A7, no. 8-B/A-1, p. 36. Jean Marie's son, Petit John Boucher, whose mother was an Indian woman named Nana, married Sophie Kenasseui, an Indian woman, in 1876. Jean Marie Boucher, Jr., at age thirty married a Carrier Indian woman, Sophie Ratai, in 1874.

⁹¹ Pierre Boucher may have been released from his HBC employment because of his drinking as the Thompson River Journal contains references to him being on light duty, being ill frequently, and abusing alcohol. Pierre took land near Alexandria on 20 August 1868 (BCA, GR-0216, British Columbia Agency, Cariboo, vol. 152) and he died in 1874 while living on the Alexandria Indian Reserve Oblate Missions of British Columbia Records, McGuckin to d'Herbomez, St. Joseph's Mission, 29 August 1874, (5355-66). His forty-five-year-old widow, Nellie Boucher, still lived in the Quesnel area in 1881.

⁹² He was employed by surveyor Walter Moberly in the Thompson River area in 1860 and likely found further work in the southern interior (Moberly, "History of the Cariboo Wagon Road," 34-35). In 1879, he married Marguerite Joyal-Lapratte, a mixed-ancestry daughter of George Joyal-Lapratte and Victoire Tepitsa, a Secwepemc woman from Kamloops. See BCA, GR-2962, Marriage Registrations, 1872-1928, (microfilm B11387) no. 79-09-137473. He likely died in Kamloops in 1885, aged forty-two years.

⁹³ Government Agency, Cariboo, 1860-1938. William Boucher is listed in the 1881 census as William Buschie, a thirty-eight-year-old, BC-born farmer married to thirty-year-old, BC-born, mixed-ancestry Lizette Allard, daughter of Joseph Allard and his Indian wife, along with their seven children. They married at St. Joseph's Mission in 1864.

⁹⁴ Charles was listed as a farmer in the 1887 *Williams Directory*.

⁹⁵ Sally Boucher married Charles Favel, a Native employee of the HBC in New Caledonia, and they had two sons, William and Duncan. BCA, GR-2962, Marriage Registrations, 1872-1928, (microfilm B11387) no. 76-09-173030. Marie married Canadian Michel Deschamps who worked for the HBC from 1845 to at least 1881.

Caledonia probably all married Carrier women, and the two younger Boucher girls married HBC men. Brothers Pierre, Joseph, George, and Charles worked for the HBC only briefly on the eve of effective British control. The second generation Bouchers who remained in New Caledonia had either not married or were just beginning family formation at the time of effective British control.

Rupert's Land Native Jean Baptiste Regnier *dit* Tappage served the HBC in New Caledonia from 1831 until his death in 1849. Tappage and his Carrier wife had three sons – Joseph, Alexander, and William – who remained in New Caledonia after 1849 and probably lived with their mother's family. Joseph Tappage was employed by the HBC from 1853 until at least 1868. He married BC-born Nellie, who was in all likelihood a Carrier woman.⁹⁶ The second son, Alexander, served as an HBC employee from 1856 until 1860. Alexander pre-empted land near Alexandria on 2 February 1869. He married Marie, also likely a Carrier woman, with whom he had at least one son, Baptiste, born in 1868 at Alexandria.⁹⁷ The third son, William, worked for the HBC from 1864 until at least 1869, but he drowned in 1875 at age twenty-seven while working for a railway survey party. At the time of his death, his residence was listed as the "Upper Fraser Ind. Reservation," which was probably the community in which he was raised. With the exception of the childless Joseph and Nellie Tappage, no references to Tappages are found either in the 1881 Canada census or in vital statistics records, which may mean that Alexander and his wife died, left the district, or assimilated into either the Secwepemc (Soda Creek) or Carrier (Alexandria) populations.

Montreal-born Charles Touin (Twan, Train) worked for the HBC in New Caledonia from 1833 to 1854 before transferring to the Thompson's River post, where he was employed until the spring of 1857. Charles remained in the area as he was referred to repeatedly in the colonial records as a trader, miner, and land pre-emptor.⁹⁸ He married an Alexandria

⁹⁶ In the 1881 census Joseph Toppag (Tappage) is shown to be a forty-five-year-old labourer living in Quesnel and married to twenty-eight-year-old, BC-born Nellie, but with no children. See also 1901 Canada Census, British Columbia, District 6, Yale and Cariboo, Sub-District A, Sub-Division 6, p. 1.

⁹⁷ Government Agency, Cariboo, 1860–1938. Baptiste Tapage was the son of Alexander Tappage and Marie, an Indian woman. Baptiste is identified as a "half-breed" on his 1886 marriage to Marianne Peuttsalinack in the Quesnel District. He was listed as a labourer in Soda Creek in the 1887 *Williams Directory*. See also 1901 Canada Census, British Columbia, District 6, Yale and Cariboo, Sub-District A, Sub-Division 4.

⁹⁸ C. Train (Touin) obtained a six-month trading licence near Alexandria on 13 September 1860, which he renewed on 12 June 1861 (BCA, GR-0216, British Columbia Agency, Cariboo, vol. 179) and he was reported by Phillip Nind as a settler in the Alexandria area (BCA F1255/9, Colonial Correspondence, 1857–72, Nind to Col. Sec't., Williams Lake, 22 April 1861).

Indian woman, Mary Chelsis, and they had at least two children, both very young in 1866.⁹⁹

Lachine-born Joseph Allard worked for the HBC at Fort George for twenty years, from 1839 to 1859, before retiring and pre-empting 160 acres near Chimney Creek. Allard is mentioned in the colonial records, on one occasion being hired to remove snow from a government-building roof.¹⁰⁰ He was married to a Carrier woman, Mary, and they had two girls, Lizette and Elizabeth. Lizette (b. 1851) married William Buschie (Boucher) and lived near Quesnel, with their first child, Edward, arriving in 1868. Elizabeth Allard married Thomas Cooney on 22 July 1873.¹⁰¹

Charles Favel, a Native from Rupert's Land, was an employee of the HBC in New Caledonia from 1844 to 1862. He married Sally Boucher and they had two sons, William (b. 1853) and Duncan (b. 1856), both young boys in 1866. Neither child had any Carrier heritage. After leaving HBC employment Charles Favel remained in the area, apparently labouring in the goldfields, as the account books of William Cox show that he paid C. Favel for road repair on 12 July 1867. William and Duncan attended the Oblate-run school at Williams Lake in 1870, after the time of effective British control.¹⁰²

Quebec-born Joseph Dusseau (Dusaux, Dusseault, Dussault) was employed by the HBC in New Caledonia and Thompson's River from 1850 to 1860. Dusseau married Aline (Ellen), who was probably a Secwepemc woman from Canoe Creek, in Lillooet in 1869, and they resided at Dog Creek, well within Secwepemc traditional territory.¹⁰³ This is the same Joseph Dusseau from Dog Creek who was employed to operate the Oblate farm in Williams Lake in 1875.¹⁰⁴ In 1881, the Joseph Dusseau household included seven mixed-ancestry children, all born after 1862.

Lachine-born Jean Baptiste Pacquette (Poquet, Pokett, Pocquette, Paquette) worked for the HBC in New Caledonia from 1847 to 1853 before

⁹⁹ Joseph Twan (Touin) was listed as a shoemaker at Soda Creek in the 1887 *Williams Directory*. Twenty-two-year-old John Touin married an Indian woman, Annie Oncouat, in 1881. Marriage Registrations, 1872-1928, no. 81-09-172951.

¹⁰⁰ BCA, GR-0824, Cariboo District Land Records, 1863-93, Account Book of W.G. Cox, 99.

¹⁰¹ Recorded on the marriage registration of his daughter, Elizabeth Allard to Thomas Cooney, 22 July 1873 (BCA, GR-2962, vol. 137, registration no. 73-09-137538).

¹⁰² Records of the Oblate Missions in British Columbia, McGuckin to Horris, Richfield, 5 January 1870, 507. McGuckin mentions the possibility of sending the boys to school in New Westminster.

¹⁰³ BCA, GR-3044, vol. A7 (microfilm B09707), p. 95. Dog Creek is eighty kilometres west of 100 Mile House.

¹⁰⁴ Records of the Oblate Missions in British Columbia, McGuckin to d'Herbomez, St. Joseph's Mission, 1 November 1975. Dusseau was reported to have had three children at the time, although the priest later reported that he had five children.

transferring to Thompson's River and completing his final contract in the spring of 1859. He is mentioned frequently in the early Cariboo records.¹⁰⁵ Batiste Pokett (Jean Baptiste Pacquette) took land near Soda Creek in 1868,¹⁰⁶ and he farmed there until his death in 1878.¹⁰⁷ Pacquette had a Carrier wife and at least one son, Duncan, who worked as a guide and who was described as a "half breed brought up and living as a native" when he guided Father Morice throughout northern New Caledonia.¹⁰⁸ Duncan apparently assimilated into the Carrier community.¹⁰⁹

Boucherville-born Joseph Lebrun served in New Caledonia from 1833 to 1858. No further evidence of Joseph Lebrun is found in either HBC or colonial records; he probably left the region but he may have died, laboured anonymously in the goldfields or lived with his wife's family at Stuart Lake. Lebrun's son, John, born at Stuart Lake in 1857, either remained in or returned to the area. He married an Indian woman, Marguerite Hompas, in 1881 at Quesnelmouth when he was twenty-four years old.¹¹⁰ In that marriage record John Lebrun's mother is listed as Louise Chenaka, likely a Stuart Lake Indian woman. Witnesses to the marriage were Francois and Charles Lebrun, who were probably other sons of Joseph and Louise. These mixed-ancestry Lebrun children, whether or not they had been raised in New Caledonia, were very young in 1866.

At the time of effective British control, the families listed above were the only mixed-ancestry people residing in New Caledonia.¹¹¹ Many had no Indian ancestry in New Caledonia but were immigrants from Rupert's Land or the lower Columbia. The mixed-ancestry women who

¹⁰⁵ J.B. Pacquette took a free miner's certificate and a mining claim on Ferguson's Bar in 1860, paid to the "Judge of the Supreme Court" (BCA, GR-0216, British Columbia Agency, Cariboo, vol. 179, 10 and 12 September 1860). Pacquette was an early miner on the bars of the Fraser River, with another claim, held in conjunction with five others, on a bar 35 miles (56.2 kilometres) below Fort George (ibid., vols. 5 and 12; ibid., vol. 151, 11 July 1868). He apparently continued to prospect as he took out a free miner's certificate as late as 1878 (ibid., vol. 94, 2 February 1878).

¹⁰⁶ BCA, GR-0216, British Columbia, Government Agency, Cariboo, 1860-1938, vol. 151, Batiste Pokett (Paquette) near Soda Creek, 11 July 1868.

¹⁰⁷ BCA, GR-2951. British Columbia Death Registrations, 1872-1983 (microfilm B13113), no. 1878-09-223186.

¹⁰⁸ A.G. Morice, *Fifty Years in Western Canada, Being the Abridged Memoirs of Rev. A.G. Morice*, OMI (Toronto: Ryerson, 1930), 77.

¹⁰⁹ Two Duncan Pocquettes appear in the Canada Census, 1901, one born 1854 and listed as a Carrier half-breed and the other born 1858 and listed as a Carrier fur hunter (British Columbia, District 6, Yale Cariboo, Sub-District A, Sub-Divisions 6, 4, and 18). This may be an error in the census.

¹¹⁰ BCA, GR-2962, Marriage Registrations, 1872-1928 (microfilm B11387), no. 81-09-172908.

¹¹¹ It is unlikely that any gold miners or settlers who eventually married Indigenous or mixed-ancestry women had begun family formation by 1866.

married European, Canadian, or Native employees of the HBC moved in different spheres than did their brothers, who mostly married Indian women. These few families were further divided by widely separated places of residence,¹¹² Indian heritage, occupations, class, language, literacy, and religion.

In conclusion, it is apparent that no mixed-ancestry community developed in New Caledonia prior to the time of effective British control, which occurred shortly after the gold rush. While the territory was under Carrier jurisdiction, the Carrier had refused residence in their territory to Indian or European intruders. They allowed only HBC personnel to trade and live on their lands, and to them the Carrier offered protection, on the condition that they abide by Carrier protocols and social norms. The Carrier prohibition on alien residence assisted the HBC in maintaining its commercial monopoly, and the result was that no retired HBC servant, independent trader, or settler resided in New Caledonia before 1858, when the HBC lost its monopoly on trade. By 1866, the time of effective British control, not enough time had lapsed for an Indian-European, mixed-ancestry community to develop. Without a self-identifying Métis community in situ at the time of effective British control, it will be difficult for a mixed-ancestry person from New Caledonia to successfully claim Métis status as defined by the Supreme Court in the *Powley* case.¹¹³

¹¹² Fort St. James is approximately 350 kilometres from Williams Lake and 480 kilometres from Dog Creek.

¹¹³ The issue of Métis rights is currently evolving. On 14 April 2016, the Supreme Court of Canada, in the case *Daniels v. Canada* (Indian Affairs and Northern Development), 2016 SCC 12, found that Métis and non-status Indians are “Indians” under s. 91(24) of the Constitution Act, 1867. This and further decisions may well affect whether or not mixed-ancestry people gain Aboriginal rights.