

THIS SPACE HERE

Telri7 re Semséme7 m-Neq'wci7.s te Tmicws-kucw

*The Unfolding of Dispossession during the
Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*

MARIANNE IGNACE AND RONALD E. IGNACE

The following is an excerpt from Ron and Marianne Ignace's award-winning 2017 book *Secwépemc People, Land, and Laws: Yeri7 re Stsqéy's-kucw*. This excerpt comes from chapter 12, "Telri7 re Semséme7 m-Neq'wci7.s te Tmicws-kucw: The Unfolding of Dispossession during the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." The direct translation for the phrase "Telri7 re Semséme7 m-Neq'wci7.s te Tmicws-kucw" is "this is how the white people stole our lands" (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 429-439.

FOLLOWING THE 1821 merger of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies, when Governor George Simpson travelled to the posts of the newly merged company to carry out a feasibility study of HBC posts, it became clear that the principal purpose of the Thompson River post or Fort Kamloops was not the trade in furbearing animals. Instead, the rolling hills of bunchgrass surrounding the fort provided ample pasture for brigade horses and allowed the company to keep and breed a good number of them. Of equal importance was the fact that the salmon bought from the Secwépemc at Tk'emlúps and from surrounding nations who came there to trade, as well as the salmon brought to Tk'emlúps by brigade from the Fraser and lower Thompson Rivers, ensured the sustenance of the HBC personnel. This trade in salmon was extensive. Between 1822 and the 1850s, as witnessed by surviving HBC journals, the company annually traded between 12,000 and 20,000 fresh and dried salmon from the Secwépemc and surrounding nations. About one-half to two-thirds of this amount was obtained from the large-scale fisheries at Fountain and Thompson Landing (Nicoamen) in Nlaka'pamux country; the remainder was obtained fresh or dried from local Secwépemc communities on the North Thompson, at the head of

Kamloops Lake, at Tk'emlúps itself, and on the "Upper Lake" (Adams Lake and Shuswap Lakes).

Dried salmon became the staple food for HBC personnel throughout the northwest. As trader Archibald McDonald's (1827) report to Governor George Simpson tells us, it was rationed at the rate of three dried salmon per day per man, two per woman, and one per child. Much of the salmon bought at Tk'emlúps was redistributed among posts in the whole district, including Fort Okanogan, Fort St James, Fort George, and so on. The overwhelming evidence from HBC trading post journals recorded in Interior Salish country shows that the company abided by the Secwépemc's and other Interior Salish peoples' sense of resource ownership within their own territories. Duane Thomson and Marianne Ignace (2005, 6) show that, "With the HBC operating 'by sufferance' – as Alexander Ross had termed it – among the Salish, company personnel necessarily either submitted to local resource tenure regimes or negotiated exceptions to local regulations." As we pointed out in chapter 6, the Secwépemc laws and protocols of resource ownership and access excluded all people not related to Secwépemc. Traders and *séxlítémc* (visitors) were thus not automatically entitled to harvest valued resources in Secwepemcúlécw, except those who married Secwépemc women. The HBC records show that the company in all cases bought salmon rather than catching and processing it themselves. This practice could be explained by the fact that the traders not only lacked the Secwépemc's and other Interior peoples' expertise in fishing and processing fish, as well as the related technology, but also had few women available to slice and dry the salmon. However, as the work by Thomson and Ignace (*ibid.*) on the fur trade era on the Plateau shows, the Secwépemc continued to assert their ownership of the river and of salmon.

In one instance at Fort Alexandria on the Fraser River just above Soda Creek, local Aboriginal people – Secwépemc, judging by their names – confronted the traders on the river as the latter were trying to harvest salmon with a weir they had set up. It was only after the HBC personnel agreed to pay for the salmon that they were allowed to keep their weir in the river:

On October 5, 1827, after the HBC men had finished moving the weir to a better and unoccupied position in the Fraser River, 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 we might have the place. (Traders George McDougall and J. McGillivray, 1827, quoted in Thomson and M. Ignace 2005, 19)

In this instance, Who-las-ket's subsequent permission to the traders to carry out some fishing was on the condition that the traders provide him with ammunition. However, still dissatisfied with the arrangement, members of Who-las-ket's group eventually cut a 4.5-metre hole in the company's weir. As Thomson and Ignace note in discussing this series of events, Who-las-ket and Chin-las-ket, described as supplying "his countrymen with Salmon but the whites he seems to consider as of no account" (*ibid.*), only "did what was expected of him in Secwépemc law (i.e., supply fish to his own people, for whom he was the caretaker, and thus maintain his own social and political standing)" (*ibid.*, 18).

As the HBC's presence continued at the Thompson River post from the 1830s to 1850s, the company continued to rely on foods bought from the Indigenous peoples. Archibald McDonald's (1827) dispatch to George Simpson shows the quantities and types of Indigenous foods purchased by the company from the Secwépemc. It includes not only salmon but also deer meat, beaver meat, bear grease, hazelnuts, ducks, geese, and a number of gallons of unspecified native "roots" – the Indigenous root plants described in chapter 5 – along with garden potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*), which were apparently already grown by Secwépemc at that time (see table 12.1).

Hudson's Bay Company records show that throughout the 1830s and 1840s, the Secwépemc continued to grow garden potatoes at Ck'emqenétkwe, at Neskonlith, in the Adams Lake area, and probably in other locations, selling significant quantities to the company (see

Black 1836; and Tod and Manson 1841, 1842, 1843).¹ Until the 1850s the HBC annually continued to trade in the range of 10,000 to 20,000 salmon, fresh or dried, from the “Upper Lake” (Adams Lake and Shuswap Lakes), from the “Lower Lake,” or “Bout du Lac” (Sk'emqin at the outlet of Kamloops Lake), and from the Nlaka'pamux and Fraser River Lillooet fisheries near Fountain and Bridge Lake, all of which had to pass through Secwépemc territory by brigade.

What held for salmon fishing, namely that “the surviving Thompson’s River journals from 1822 to 1858 contain not one reference to an HBC employee fishing [for salmon]” (Thomson and M. Ignace 2005, 21), also appears to hold for hunting, at least at the Thompson River post, since aside from a few instances of HBC employees shooting a few ducks near the post, there is no indication that the HBC personnel at the post hunted for their own meat. At HBC posts that were in the territory of peoples with different resource tenure regimes, the company routinely had a “hunter” who provided meat for the post’s employees. In fact, like many HBC posts in the Northwest and on the Prairies, the Jasper House post on the margins of Secwépemc, Stony, and Cree territory had its own hunter. By contrast, the HBC records for the Thompson River post mention neither company hunters nor significant hunting activity on the part of the traders. This fact provides further evidence of the continuing enforcement of Secwépemc ownership and control of resources. Although HBC personnel planted potato and vegetable gardens starting in at least the 1840s, it was only in the early 1860s that the HBC was finally successful in providing for itself by operating a dairy farm and growing larger gardens north of Kamloops.

¹ It is not fully clear at this time whether the potatoes grown at Ck'emqenétkwe and Neskonlith were indeed potatoes brought in by fur traders. As has been shown through genetic research on varieties of *Solanum tuberosum* grown by Makah, Tlingit, and Haida peoples (Zhang et al. 2010), these varieties are most closely related to Mexican and Chilean varieties rather than to varieties of *Solanum tuberosum* introduced to Europe and then brought to North America by traders and settlers since the 1700s. It appears that the Tsilhqot'in, aside from harvesting “wild potatoes” (*Claytonia lanceolata*) in great quantities at Potato Mountain, grew a variety of this Indigenous *Solanum tuberosum* garden potato (Nancy J. Turner, personal communication, 2015). Secwépemc elder Mary Thomas grew a variety that she called petak7úw'i (“real garden potato”), and it is possible that this potato was another such variety. Skeetchestn elder Christine Simon remembered a small, longish, “ugly-looking,” but delicious variety that her own elders grew in gardens and baked in the oven, which they called yecyéyect (many long things). Simpcw elder Lizette Donald had a similar name, yecyéy'ce (root like a potato), for a variety that was grown in Chu Chua when she grew up and “came to her senses” (early 1920s), which Nancy J. Turner and Marianne Ignace have not been able to identify as any of the Indigenous “wild” roots and bulbs used by the Simpcwemc. For more information on Indigenous growing of potatoes on the Northwest Coast, see Suttles (1987a), Moss (2005), and J. McDonald (2005).

As we saw in chapter 10, throughout the Hudson's Bay Company trade era during the first half of the nineteenth century, Secwépemc laws also prevailed in matters pertaining to criminal justice and social order in interactions between traders and Secwépemc. "Indian courts" – apparently derived from Indigenous traditions before missionaries and settlers arrived – were ways of settling criminal justice matters, and the authority of chiefs and councillors played a crucial role in this process. As Thomson and Ignace (2005, 29) maintain, a close look at actual instances of criminal justice show that the HBC invariably followed Indigenous legal protocols between the Secwépemc hosts and the traders as *sexlítémc* (guests) in *Secwepemcúlcw*.

AFTER 1858: CHANGE IN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

If a person takes possession of something belonging to you, surely you know it, and he knows it, and land is a thing which cannot be taken away, and hidden. We see it constantly, and everything done with it must be more or less in view. If we had nothing, or the British Columbia Government had taken nothing from us, then there would be nothing to settle, but we had lands, and the British Columbia Government has taken them, and we want a settlement from them. (Chiefs of the Shuswap, Couteau, and Thompson Tribes et al. 1911)

Although the Secwépemc and other Interior chiefs remembered their dealings with the fur traders, the *seme7úw'i* ("real whites"), in a positive light, the 1858 gold rush and events it set in motion profoundly changed the relationship between Indigenous peoples, settlers, and the Crown. In the "Memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier" (Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan, and Couteau Tribes 1910), the Interior chiefs told of their memories of the coming of the "other whites" after the initial period of the fur trade, when their lands, resources, social fabric, and laws had been respected by the newcomers and had largely remained intact:

Just 52 years ago the other whites came to this country. They found us the same as the first or "real whites" had found us, only we had larger bands of horses, some cattle and in many places we cultivated the land. They found us happy, healthy, strong and numerous. Each tribe was still living in its own "house" or in other words on its own "ranch." No one interfered with our rights or disputed our possession of our own "houses" and "ranches," vis., our homes and lives.

We were friendly and helped these whites also, for had we not learned the first whites had done us no harm? Only when some of them killed us we revenged on them. Then we thought there are some bad ones among them, but surely on the whole they must be good. Besides they are the queen's people. And we had already heard great things about the queen from the "real whites." We expected her subjects would do us no harm, but rather improve us by giving us knowledge, and enabling us to do some of the wonderful things they could do.

At first they looked only for gold. We knew the latter was our property, but as we did not use it much, [and did] not need [it] to live by, we did not object to their searching for it. They told us, "your country is rich and you will be made wealthy by our coming. We wish just to pass over your lands in quest of gold."

Soon they saw the country was good and some made up their mind to settle it. They took up pieces of land here and there. They told us they wanted only the use of these pieces of land for a few years and then would hand them back to us in an improved condition; meanwhile they would give us some of the products they raised for the loan of our land.

Thus they commenced to enter our "houses," or live on our "ranches." With us when a person enters our house he becomes our guest and we must treat him hospitably as long as he shows no hostile intentions. At the same time we expect him to return to us equal treatment for what he receives.

Some of our Chiefs said, "These people wish to be partners with us in our country. We must, therefore, be the same as brothers to them, and live as one family. We will share equally in everything half and half in land, water and timber, etc. What is ours will be theirs, and what is theirs will be ours. We will help each other to be great and good."

The whites made a government in Victoria – or maybe the queen made it. We heard it stated both ways. Their chiefs dwelt there. At this time they did not deny the Indian tribes owned the whole country and everything in it. They told us we did. We were hopeful.

We trusted the whites and waited patiently for their chiefs to declare their intentions toward us and our lands. We knew what had been

done in the neighboring states, and we remembered what we heard about the queen being so good to the Indians and that her laws carried out by her chiefs were always just and better than the American laws.

Presently chiefs (government officials) commenced to visit us and had talks with some of our chiefs. They told us to have no fear, the queen's laws would prevail in this country, and everything would be well for the Indians.

They said a very large reservation would be staked off for us (southern interior tribes) and the tribal lands outside of this reservation the government would buy from us for white settlement. They let us think this would be done soon. Until this reserve was set apart and our lands settled for they assured us we would have perfect freedom of traveling and camping and the same liberties as from time immemorial to hunt, fish, graze and gather our food supplies where we desired; also that all trails, land, water, timber and so on would be as free to access as formerly.

Our chiefs were agreeable to these propositions, so we waited for treaties to be made, and everything settled.

In 1846, without the input or participation of Aboriginal peoples, the United States and British governments established the 49th parallel as the boundary between US-claimed and British-claimed territories west of the Rocky Mountains, with the exception of Vancouver Island, which stayed under British control as the chief trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the early 1850s, after a British royal charter had granted Vancouver Island to the HBC in 1849 and after it had been established as a British Crown colony in the same year, Governor James Douglas engaged in a series of fourteen treaties with Aboriginal groups on Vancouver Island. Dated 1851–54, the Douglas Treaties were in line with the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which was aimed not only at purchasing lands in Aboriginal peoples' recognized possession for the purpose of non-Aboriginal settlement but also at protecting Aboriginal village sites as well as ongoing hunting and fishing rights from encroachment by incoming European traders and settlers. Under the terms of the fourteen Douglas Treaties, Governor Douglas, representing the British Crown, bought 930 square kilometres of land for white settlement in exchange for cash, clothing, blankets, and other trade goods, while guaranteeing the

Aboriginal groups their continuing right to hunt and fish on unoccupied Crown lands and ensuring that they could retain existing settlements.

During the time of the Douglas Treaties, the Mainland was not yet a colony, and after the initial treaties, the British Crown purported to run out of money to settle further treaties. However, the 1858 gold rush played a key role in the pace of settlement of the Interior, not only transforming its physical landscape but also having profound impacts on the political, social, and economic history of the area.

Gold was initially found by Indigenous miners on Nicomen River near Lytton in 1857 and subsequently at the mouth of Tranquille River near Tk'emlúps. The finds were reported to Governor James Douglas (1857a), who noted the Indigenous peoples' resistance to white miners' intrusion into territory and taking of minerals:

A new element of difficulty in exploring the gold country has been interposed through the opposition of the native Indian tribes of Thompson's River, who have lately taken the high-handed, though probably not unwise, course of expelling all the parties of gold diggers, composed chiefly of personnel from the American territories, who had forced an entrance into their country. They have also openly expressed the determination to resist all attempts at working gold in any of the streams flowing into the Thompson's River, both from a desire to monopolize the precious metal for their own benefit and from a well-founded impression that shoals of salmon which usually ascend those rivers and furnish the principal food of the inhabitants, will be driven off and prevented from making their annual migration to the sea.

Similarly, Douglas (1857b) expressed to Hudson's Bay Company governor George Simpson,

The Indians object to the entrance of white men into their country and will not permit them to work the auriferous streams, partly with the view of monopolizing the precious metal for their own benefit, and partly from an impression that the salmon will leave the rivers, and be prevented from making migrations from the sea. That disposition on their part is altogether in favor of our interests and I cannot help admiring the wisdom and foresight of the Indians; and have given directions to the officers in charge of the Company's Posts to respect their feelings and to permit them to work the gold for their own benefit and to bring it in as an article of trade.

Douglas thus not only took note of the Indigenous assertion over lands and minerals but at the time also thought of our peoples' actions as protecting the trade monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company and the interests of the British Crown vis-à-vis American intruders.

In 1858, when gold was discovered on the Fraser River near Yale, it was Douglas himself, ironically, who passed the news on to California about the find. Throughout the spring and summer of 1858 – with Douglas being instructed by the Colonial Office not to impede the influx of foreign miners as long as they abided by British law – several thousand miners poured onto the Fraser River, coming up from the Okanagan inland, up from the coast, or through the Lillooet area. As Robin Fisher (1992, 97) states, “hundreds of bustling miners came to get rich, and to do so quickly. They were intolerant of anything that stood in their way.” By late 1858 the number of miners invading the Fraser River had increased to between 20,000 and 30,000, prompting the British to establish the Mainland as a colony that same year. As the gold rush unfolded in the Fraser Canyon, it became what historian Daniel Marshall (2000) has called the “Fraser Canyon War.”

As the influx of foreign miners unfolded, not only did the gold seekers' mining operations on the Fraser River interfere with Aboriginal salmon fishing, but gold seekers also plundered Nlaka'pamux villages, and a number of Nlaka'pamux from the area were killed. Another party of miners on their way to the Fraser River ate and destroyed Okanagan villagers' stored winter provisions and then brutally killed a group of unarmed Syilx (Marshall 2000, 205). When gold seekers raped a Nlaka'pamux woman, the Nlaka'pamux retaliated by killing several miners in the Kanaka Bar area, throwing their bodies in the river (*ibid.*). As thousands of miners retreated to Spuzzum and Yale, they formed militia brigades of miners from the United States and other regions who had previously fought in Indian wars, many of them being of the persuasion that “a good Indian is a dead Indian.” Many of them voiced their intent to annex the Interior of British Columbia, even though the Oregon Treaty had established the 49th parallel as the boundary between the British Crown and the United States. As Marshall (*ibid.*, 233ff) recounts, the Nlaka'pamux, led by Chief Spin' tlam (Cexpe'ntlEm, Sexpínlhemx), were holding a war council to beat back the miners at Nk'emtsín (the confluence of the Thompson and Fraser Rivers) in company with allied

chiefs from the Secwépemc and Okanagan nations.² With Spintlam urging that they make peace rather than go to war, the chiefs and their people who had gathered at Nk'emtsín were approached by the American captain of the Pike Guards, H.M. Snyder, accompanied by another militia leader, John Centras, heading up a large, more peace-minded militia. As Snyder recounted in 1858,

[W]e ware on our march by sunrise. This day we made pease with 4 different Chiefs and camped within seven miles of the Thompson River. Here we was met by Spintlum. The war chief of all the tribes for some distance up & down Frazer [sic] River ... Here I proceded at once to hold our grand counsil which consisted of Eleven Chiefs and a very large number of other Indians that had gathered from above and below. We stated to them that this time we came for pease, but if we had to come againe, that we would not come by hundreds, but by thousands and drive them from the river forever. They ware much supprised and frightened to see so many men with guns & revolvers. For marching along in single file they looked to be three times the number their was ... I feel well satisfied that the Treaty was the best that could be made under the circumstances, and think it will be held sacred by the Indians. (Quoted in *ibid.*, 199)

From Snyder's narrative, it appears that as many as eleven treaties – none of which exist in written form – were made with the chiefs of local Indigenous communities as he worked his way up the Fraser River from Spuzzum to Lytton (*ibid.*, 230–4; see also Hauka 2003, 89–90; and Harris 1997, 112).

The importance of the Fraser Canyon War and subsequent treaties lies in the fact that the British colony abdicated its duty to defend its boundary and all but let Americans annex the Fraser Canyon area. Because of the peace treaty that the Nlaka'pamux, together with their Interior Salish allies, including the Secwépemc and Nsilx, entered into with the Americans, law and order was restored. It was thus the action

² Teit (1912a, 410) reports on this event as an "Account of the Lytton Chiefs," mentioning war parties from Kamloops, Bonaparte, and Savona. Interestingly, the Lytton chiefs' account (*ibid.*, 412) mentions Governor James Douglas as being present during the treaty making at Lytton; however, as Marshall (2000) and Harris (1997) show, there is no record of Douglas being in the area in August 1858, when the treaties were made.

and intervention of the Indigenous peoples of the area that maintained the Crown's sovereignty.³

Governor Douglas eventually arrived in the area, horrified and embarrassed that it could have been annexed by the American militias and embarrassed that the Crown itself was late to avert this possibility, instead leaving it to the Indigenous people to solve the issue. In the end, the Mainland became a colony in 1858, being joined to Vancouver Island as the Colony of British Columbia. From 1862 to 1867 another large gold rush unfolded in the Cariboo region, which precipitated the construction of the Cariboo Wagon Road, built at least partially on the bed of already existing Indigenous trails (see chapter 6), and a small gold rush occurred on the Big Bend of the Columbia River, an area now beneath the reservoir of Mica Dam.

Within a year or two of arriving in the gold fields, miners became eager to pre-empt land, realizing the potential for farm and ranch land that Nlaka'pamux and Secwépemc territory held, specifically the Fraser and Thompson Valleys. Additional settlers came on the heels of gold seekers. The Aboriginal trails east of the Fraser River and along the Thompson River became the new wagon "super highways" of the Interior. With the British Crown refusing to allocate further funds for treaties, and the new joint colony of Vancouver Island and the Mainland being devoid of funds, Douglas did not enter into additional treaties but instead opted to establish reserves on the Mainland in order to protect Aboriginal interests in land, instructing his surveyor, William Cox, who was the assistant commissioner of lands and works, to lay out reserves "as severally pointed out by the Indians themselves," providing them with as much land as they wanted (quoted in Fisher 1992, 153). Specifically, the reserves were intended to protect Indian settlements, cultivated fields, fishing stations, and graveyards, along with "every piece of land to which they had acquired equitable title through continuous occupation, tillage, or other investment of labour" (Canada, Indian Claims Commission 2008, 21).⁴

³ The Fraser Canyon War, its implications, and the fact that it was all but wiped from the narrative of British Columbia colonial history are detailed in the 2009 documentary *Canyon War: The Untold Story*, written by Don Hauka and directed by Eva Wunderman. For written accounts of the Canyon War, see Hauka (2003), Marshall (2000), and a brief account by Harris (1997).

⁴ Douglas set acreage limits for reserves in his instructions to the commissioner of lands and works, Richard Clement Moody, and to other colonial officials. In a January 1864 address to the colonial Legislative Council, he referred to reserves that were not to exceed 10 acres per family, yet ten years later, he clarified that he had no specific number of acres in mind (Canada, Indian Claims Commission 2008, 21).

Although Douglas's "pro-Indian" attitude in the negotiation of treaties and subsequent intent to establish "Douglas Reserves" has been hailed as well intended, the downfall for British Columbia Aboriginal peoples was Douglas's neglect to codify his intents in the form of laws that protected Aboriginal title (see Canada, Indian Claims Commission 2001; Harris 1997; and Tennant 1990). In addition, as we will see with regard to the Douglas Reserves in Secwépemc territory, Cox made the fatal error of not following through on reserve designations, in violation of Douglas's instructions. The first colonial land ordinance of 1861 legislated under Douglas did not exclude Aboriginal people from pre-empting land but instead stipulated that "from and after the date hereof, British subjects and aliens who shall take the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty and Her successors, may acquire the right to hold and purchase in fee simple unoccupied, and unsurveyed, and unreserved Crown Lands in British Columbia, not being the site of an existent or proposed town, or auriferous land available for mining purposes, or an Indian Reserve or Settlement" (Pre-emption Consolidation Act of 1861, sec. 3, emphasis added).

Significantly, this acquisition of land through pre-emption permitted settlers to get land almost for free by simply living on the land and making "improvements" like tilling the soil, erecting fences and buildings, and planting crops. In the Interior, a settler could pre-empt up to 320 acres of unsurveyed Crown land, as long as the land was not an "Indian Reserve or settlement." Despite Douglas's proposal to set aside reserves for Aboriginal people, the racist and appalling action of the colonial government initiated at this time resulted in land that had never been ceded by Aboriginal people being given away to settlers without treaties and without any follow-up on imperial policy to acquire land by treaties and purchase, as the Royal Proclamation of 1763 had legislated. As strangers invaded Secwepemcúlecw, the chiefs of our communities took whatever measures they could to protect our lands and made their objections known to colonial personnel who traveled through Secwépemc territory. In response, the assistant commissioner of land and works, William Cox, was sent to the area to investigate matters, to set aside any lands claimed by the Indians, and to inform the settlers not to interfere with Native land.

REFERENCES

- Black, Samuel. 1836. "Hudson's Bay Company Journal." Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Typescript on file at Kamloops Museum and Archives, Kamloops, BC.
- Canada, Indian Claims Commission. 2001. *Esketemc First Nation Inquiry: IR 15, 17, and 18 Claim*. <http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/RC31-10-2001E.pdf>.
- . 2008. *Neskonlith, Adams Lake, and Little Shuswap Indian Bands: Neskonlith Douglas Reserve Inquiry*. http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2009/indianclaims/RC31-80-2008E.pdf.
- Chiefs of the Shuswap, Couteau, and Thompson Tribes et al. 1911. "Memorial to the Hon. Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior." Library and Archives Canada, RG 10, vol. 7780, file 27150-3-1.
- Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan, and Couteau Tribes. 1910. "Memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada, from the Chiefs of the Shuswap, Okanagan, and Couteau Tribes of British Columbia, Kamloops, 25 August 1910." Library and Archives Canada, Laurier Papers, Series A Correspondence, 22 July to 30 August 1910, MG 26-G, vol. 641, files 174,070 to 174,077.
- Douglas, James. 1857a. Letter to Henry Labouchere, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 15 July. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, AII/76, fol. 655.
- . 1857b. Letter to George Simpson, 17 July. In "Fort Victoria, Western Department Letterbook, 1855-57." Hudson's Bay Company Archives, A-11/74.
- Fisher, Robin. 1992. *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*. 2nd ed. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Harris, Cole. 1997. *The Resettlement of British Columbia*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Hauka, Don. 2003. *McGowan's War*. Vancouver: New Star Books.
- Marshall, Daniel P. 2000. "Claiming the Land: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to British Columbia." PhD diss., University of British Columbia.
- McDonald, Archibald. 1827. "Thompson River District Report." In George Simpson, *Part of a Dispatch from George Simpson*, ed. E.E. Rich, 224-33. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947.
- McDonald, James. 2005. "Cultivating in the Northwest: Early Accounts of Tsimshian Horticulture." In *Keeping It Living: Traditions of Plant Use and Cultivation on the Northwest Coast of North America*, ed. Douglas Deur and Nancy J. Turner, 240-73. Seattle: University of Washington Press; Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Moss, Madonna. 2005. "Tlingit Horticulture: An Indigenous or Introduced Development?" In *Keeping It Living: Traditions of Plant Use and Cultivation on the Northwest Coast of North America*, ed. Douglas Deur and Nancy J. Turner, 274-95. Seattle: University of Washington Press; Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Suttles, Wayne. 1987a. "The Early Diffusion of the Potato among the Coast Salish." In *Coast Salish Essays*, ed. Wayne Suttles, 137-51. Vancouver: Talonbooks; Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Teit, James Alexander. 1912a. "Mythology of the Thompson Indians." Ed. Franz Boas. *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History* 8, part 2.

- Tennant, Paul. 1990. *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Land Question in British Columbia, 1849–1989*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Thomson, Duane, and Marianne Ignace. 2005. “They Made Themselves Our Guests: Power Relationships in the Interior Plateau Region of the Cordillera in the FufTrade Era.” *BC Studies* 146: 3–35.
- Tod, John, and Donald Manson. 1841, 1842, 1843. “Thompson’s River Post Journal, Hudson’s Bay Company.” Typescript on file at Kamloops Museum and Archives, Kamloops, BC.
- Zhang, Linhai, Charles R. Brown, David Culley, Barbara Baker, Elizabeth Kunibe, Hazel Denney, Cassandra Smith, Neuce Ward, Tia Beavert, Julie Coburn, J.J. Pavek, Nora Dauenhauer, and Richard Dauenhauer. 2010. “Inferred Origin of Several Native American Potatoes from the Pacific Northwest and Southeast Alaska Using SSR Markers.” *Euphytica* 174, no. 1: 15–29.