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The Role of the Carrier Indians in the Fur Trade at Fort St. James, 1806-1915

by Frieda Esau Klippenstein

1992

THE ROLE OF THE CARRIER INDIANS IN THE FUR TRADE AT FORT ST JAMES, 1806-1915

A REPORT FROM HISTORICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOURCES

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PREFACE

This research project is intended to aid in interpreting the story of the local native peoples' involvement in the nineteenth century fur trade at Fort St James, British Columbia, presently a National Historic Site. It is limited in scope, being a report from the available historical and anthropological sources. The perspectives, oral traditions, and traditional knowledge of contemporary native people around Fort St James are essential to a more complete study of this topic, and efforts are being made to develop a working relationship with them and to encourage their involvement at the Historic Site, both in telling the story and interpreting the meaning of the events.

This report focusses on the specific topic of the role of the Carrier Indians in the fur trade at Fort St James. As such, it is a case study of a particular fur trade site, a unique community. It is also primarily a labour study, focussing on the roles the Carrier took on in the fur trade as provisioners, trappers, and as formal and informal labourers around the post. With its look at local seasonal and day labour west of the Rockies, this report is breaking some new ground. Existing studies looking at the role of native peoples in the fur trade (Ray 1974, 1990) and at the Hudson's Bay Company labour system (Goldring 1979, 1980, 1982; Judd 1980a, 1980b; Payne 1989; Burley n.d.) are limited to the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern Department -- that great expanse of land draining into the Hudson's Bay. The labour studies largely focus on the makeup and dynamics of the labour force, on the structure of the HBC hierarchy and on how various ethnic groups functioned in the system. None look specifically at day labourers, at the New Caledonia district, or at the post-1870 time period. Except for references to "homeguard Indians," any "native" labourers mentioned in these works generally refer to Iroquois imported from the East or Métis from places like Red River on contract rather than the natives residing near the posts.

There are many people who I would like to acknowledge as contributing significantly to this effort. I am grateful to Canadian Parks Service personnel Jim

Taylor, Head of Historical Research; Bill Yeo, Chief of Archeological and Historical Research; and Pat Inglis, Superintendent, Fort St James NHS. Others who read this report and contributed valuable comments are Wendy Aasen, Sharon Bird and Norman Klippenstein. I would like to thank Judith Beattie and the archivists at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (Winnipeg), and the archivists and reading room staff of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia (Victoria) for their aid. My discussions with members of the contemporary Carrier community were also of great benefit, and I hope that much more dialogue will develop. I would especially like to thank Virginia Alexander for her valuable tours around the community and for introducing me to many of the Carrier elders. I am also grateful to Nick Prince for his willingness to share his knowledge by commenting on historical photos and identifying names on the native labour lists.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTE ON CITATIONS, QUOTATIONS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

DIA	Department of Indian Affairs
HBCA	Hudson's Bay Company Archives
PABC	Provincial Museum of British Columbia
PAM	Provincial Archives of Manitoba

In this report, citations of archival documents begin with the above abbreviations, followed by the standard numbering systems of the respective institutions.

In quoting brief passages from the primary papers, I have attempted to be as true as possible to the originals, with the exception of occasionally adding periods and capitals in square brackets to show the beginning of a new sentence. This change is made to help clarify the meaning of passages with "run-on" sentences. I have inserted question marks where I have been unable to decifer handwriting or where I am not sure about my reading of a word.

Photographs have been distributed in all three sections of this report, although they are all from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The photo descriptions are not my own, but those supplied by the various archival repositories.

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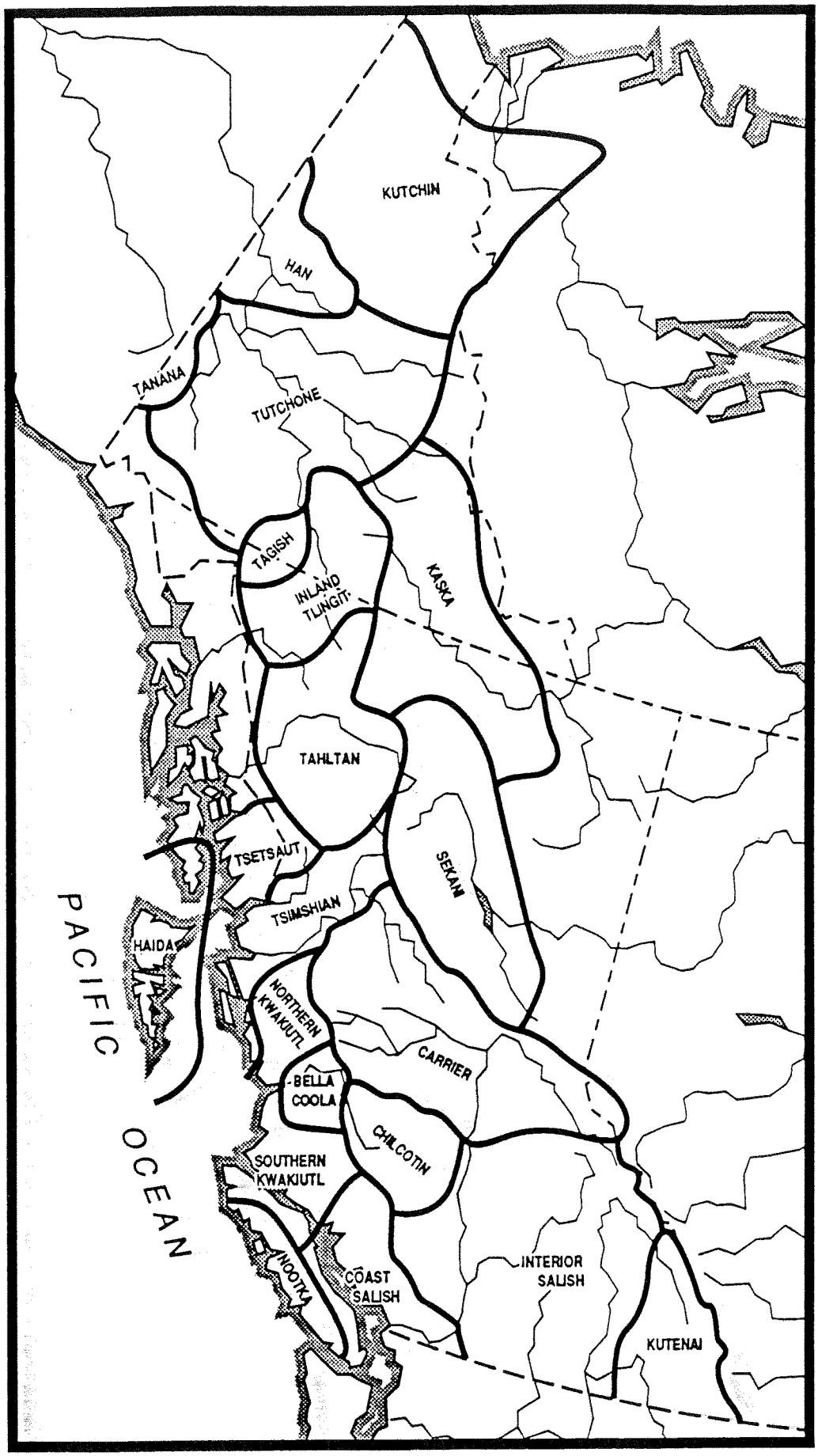
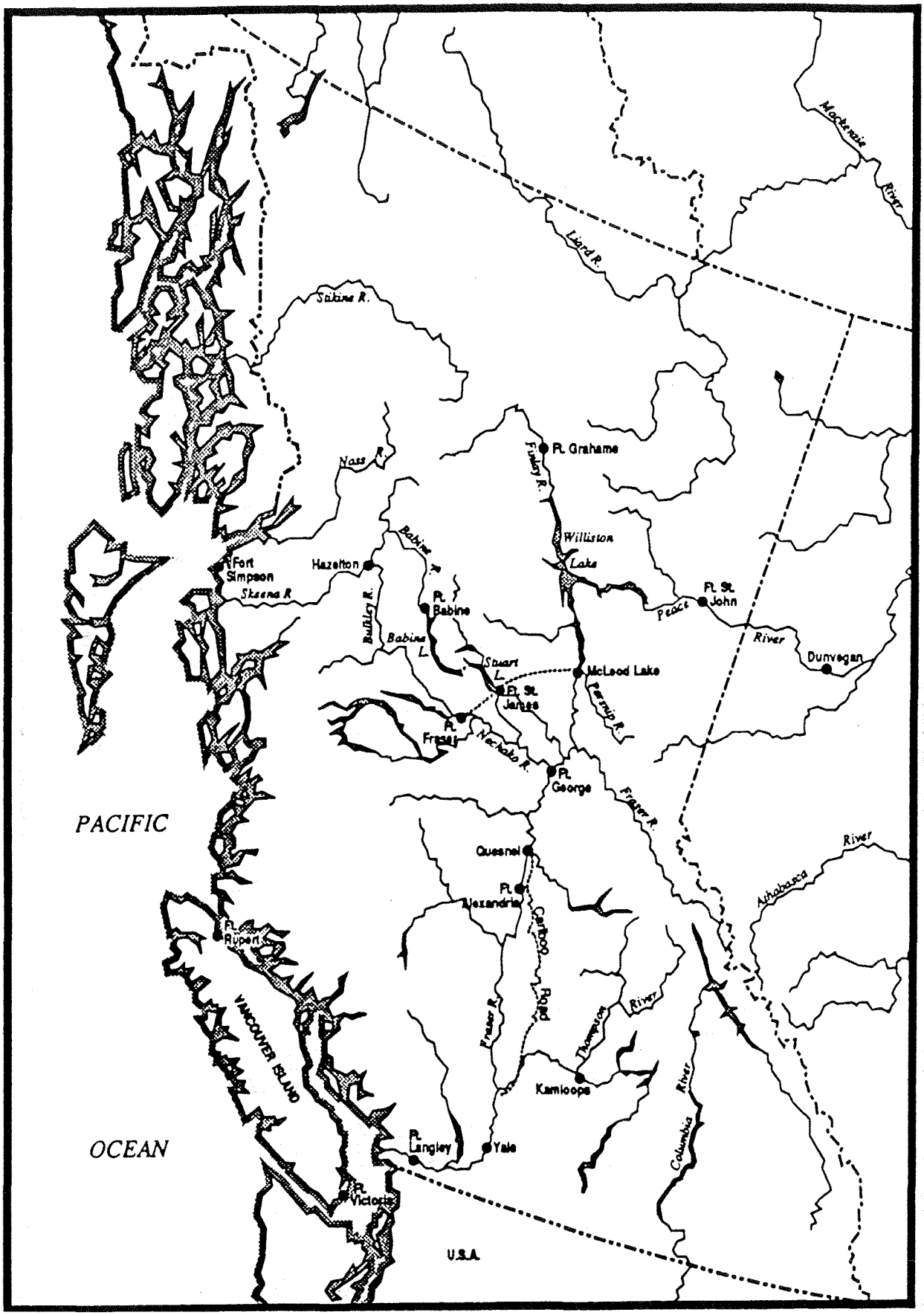


MAP 1:

NATIVE PEOPLES ON THE PACIFIC COAST



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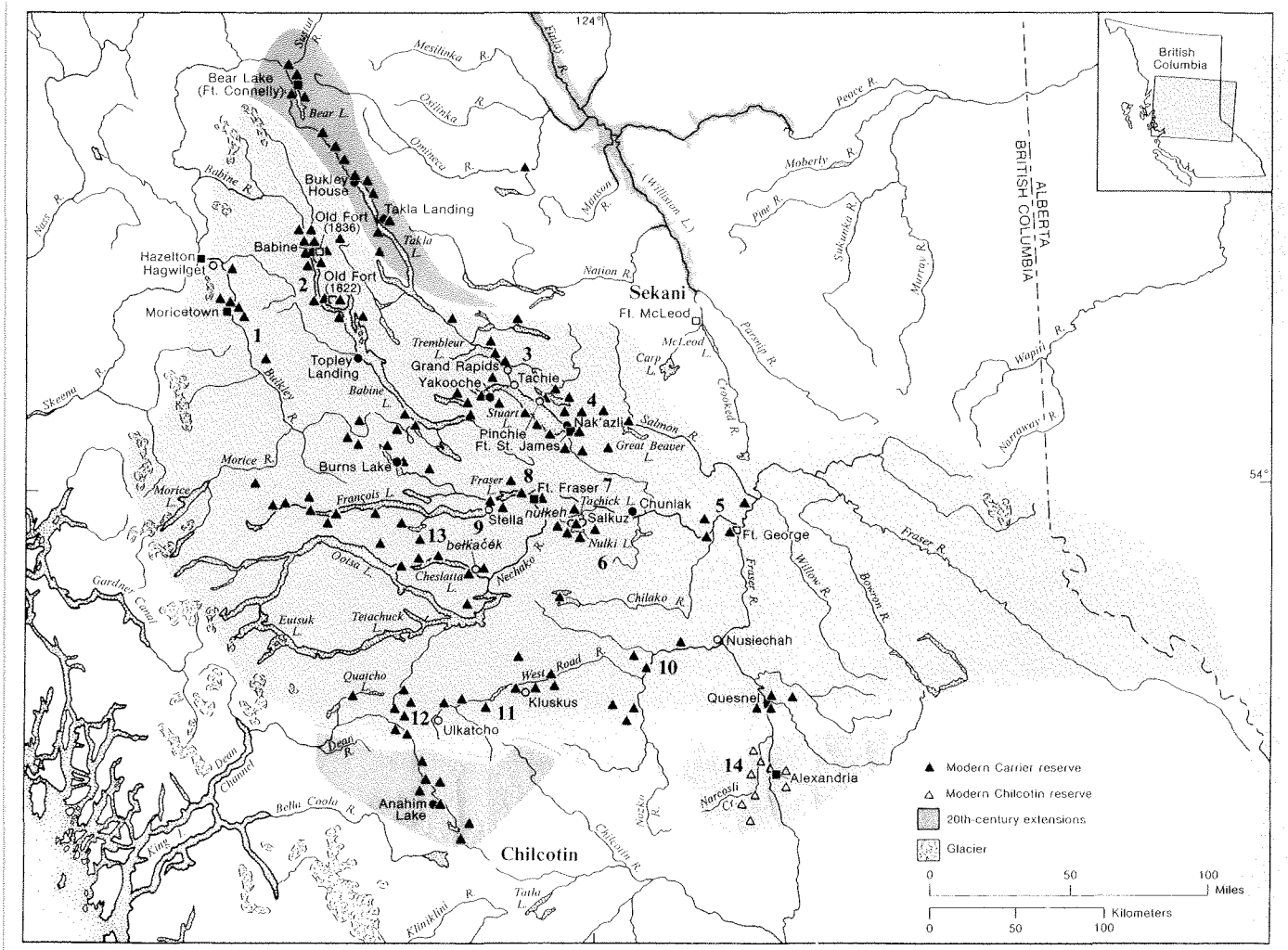
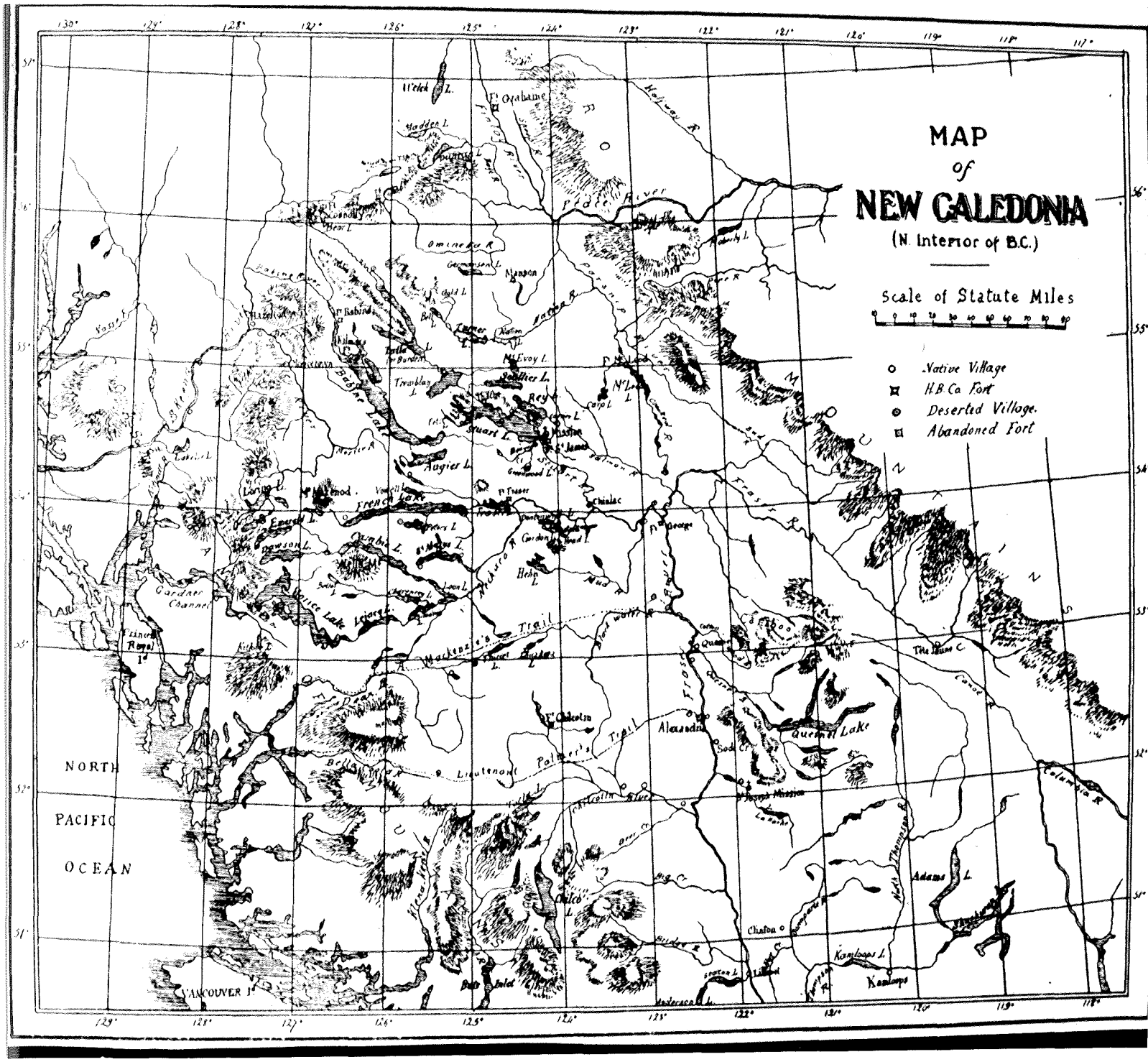


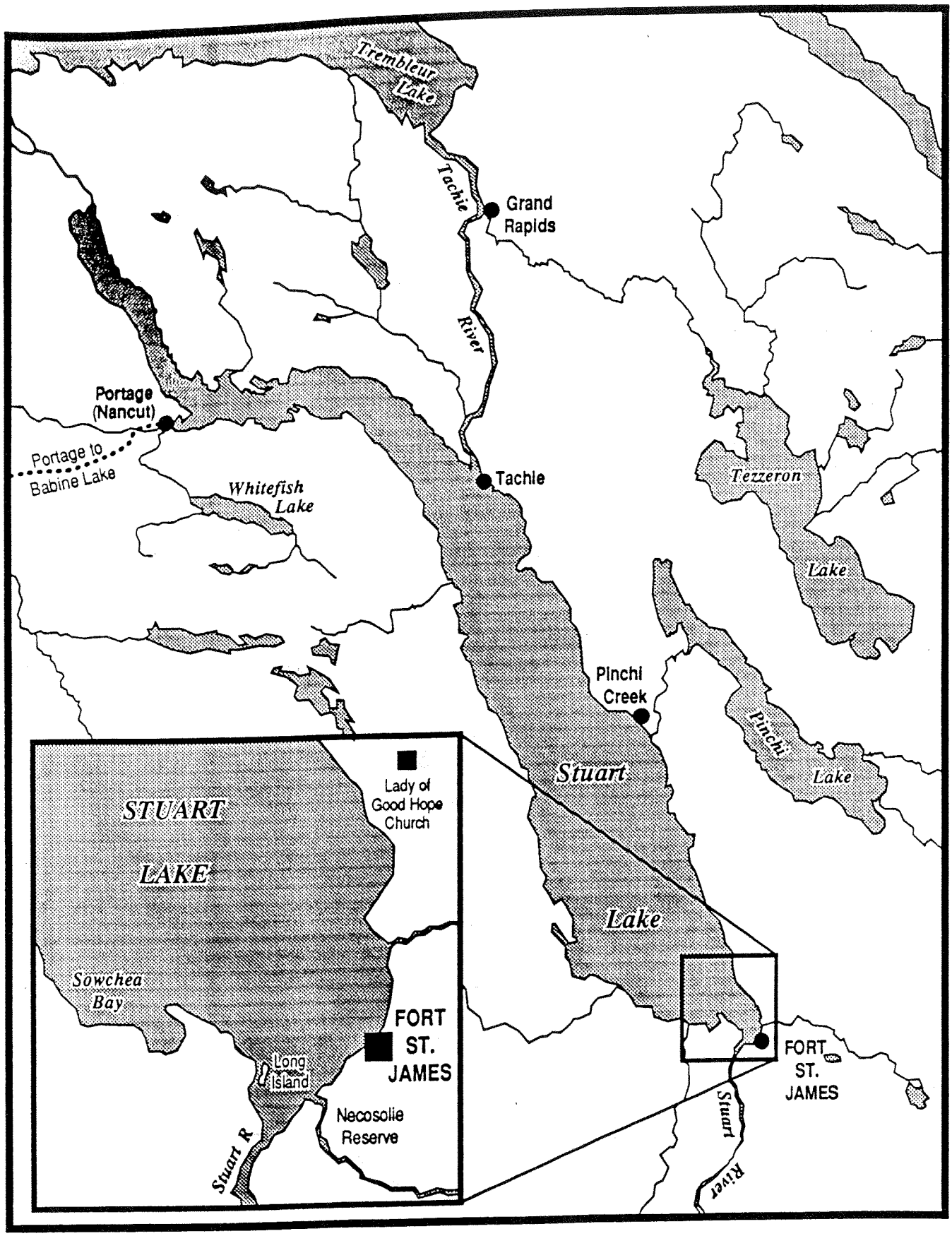
Fig. 1. Late 19th-century tribal territory with regional subtribes: 1, Bulkley River; 2, Babine Lake; 3, Stuart-Trembleur Lake; 4, Stuart Lake; 5, Fort George; 6, Nulki; 7, Tachick; 8, Fraser Lake; 9, Stellaquo; 10, Nazko; 11, Kluskus; 12, Ulkatcho; 13, Cheslatta; 14, Alexandria. For a discussion of subtribe names see the Synonymy; the locations and affiliations of modern reserves are given in Canada. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (1978), which also gives their names.

(From Margaret L. Tobey "Carrier," in *Handbook of North America Indians*, vol. 6 Subarctic, Washington: Smithsonian Institute.

MAP 4:

A.G. MORICE'S MAP OF NEW CALEDONIA, ca.1890s





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INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose and Approach

Several themes are presently portrayed at Fort St James National Historical Site, the key one being the role of the post in the fur trade history of the Pacific slope. A supporting theme is "The importance of Fort St James as an early point of continuing contact between European commercial activity and the native people of the northern interior of British Columbia." [1] In establishing the basis on which to interpret the "native theme" at the site, research is an important component. This report represents an initial step in this effort. From the available historical and anthropological sources it focusses on the role of the Carrier Indians in the nineteenth century fur trade, i.e., the nature and extent of their involvement in the trade from 1806 to 1915.

Carrier Indians are the focus of this study because, at the usual complement of between five to nine New Caledonia posts, the Carrier significantly outnumbered the Chilcotin, Sekanie, Nahanie and Beaver trappers.[2] The Carrier are members of the Athapaskan language group and live in the mountainous north central interior of British Columbia on lake and river tributaries of the upper Skeena and Fraser rivers. Observers have usually divided the Carrier by "subtribes" (also called "septs," or "bands") according to socioterritorial units (see Map 3). More generally, the Carrier are often identified as belonging to three major groups. "Upper" or "northern" Carrier are those around Stuart and Trembleur Lakes, "Babines" include the Carrier from the villages on the Bulkley River and around Babine Lake, and "Lower" (or "southern") Carrier are the remaining groups to the south (Tobey 1981:414-5). In the early accounts, the

[1] In 1948, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada recognized this site to be of national historic significance because of its role in the fur trade history of the Pacific slope and because of the importance of the fur trade structures on site. See *Plan Concept, Fort St James NHS,* May 1990.

[2] The exceptions are the posts on the outer limits of New Caledonia -- for example Alexandria which was near the Chilcotin lands; McLeod's Lake which served mostly Sekanie; and Bear Lake on the edge of the Tsimshian territory. In the Fort St James District Report for 1825-6 the writer estimated that the Carrier made up at least nine tenths of the population of the district (HBCA: B 188/a/5, p.140).

Carrier have several names: "Tacullies," which Daniel Harmon translated "people who go on the water," "Porteurs," the French name for Carrier, "Dakelh" the name the Carrier call themselves, and "Carrier" itself, which is explained in various ways, most often referring to the custom whereby women carried the ashes of their deceased husbands for a period of time until a feast marked the end of the death ritual. [3]

In this phase of the project, I have examined existing, available sources, which are, for the most part, written sources. They include primary sources such as travel accounts, correspondence, reports and memoirs of nineteenth century fur traders, surveyors, missionaries and government agents, and secondary studies by historians working mainly from these documents. They also include the writings of anthropologists who did "fieldwork" to gather primary material from first hand observations and from oral testimony. For instance, A.G. Morice (1978) in his *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia* claimed to have recorded the history of the area from 1600 onward. Besides using documents from the Provincial Archives in Victoria and the fur trade papers he borrowed from the attic of the Fort St James trade store, Morice relied heavily on native oral accounts of life before the first European arrived in the region in the late 1700s.

The written records can tell us a good deal about the extent of native involvement at Fort St James. For instance, the fur trade papers contain details on the HBC and native trade practices, the number of individuals coming in to trade in commodities, in provisions, and in skins, the number and identity of local workers, the type of work they did, the rate of pay they received, etc. In the academic writings, some of the most prevalent debates about native peoples in the fur trade are about the nature and implications of culture contact. They often focus on the internal workings of the communities' social structures, and ask when and why changes occurred. They investigate such questions as how seasonal cycles and

[3] I have heard several Carrier maintain that this custom never existed. According to Carrier John Prince in an interview in the 1960s, the whites gave them the name "Carrier" on the first trip the traders made on foot from Fort McLeod to Fort St James, when they had some fifty Indians packing for them (PABC: tape 1061). Carrier writer Lizette Hall (1992:4,34) says the name originates from the Sekanie (who are from the Ft McLeod region) who called them "Aghelh Ne," meaning "Ones who pack."

land use patterns changed, who shaped the trade and by what principles.

What these documentary records have in common, however, is that they are almost exclusively from a Euro-Canadian perspective[4]. They are a description and analysis of native life by non-native observers. This doesn't make them unuseful, but it does mean that the particular biases of the writers need to be recognized. One example of the ethnocentrism inherent in the traders' writings is the recurrent description of the Indians as "lazy." It becomes clear from these same sources that no matter how busy the Indians were, they were seen as lazy when they were not specifically engaged in trapping furs. Another example is the evolutionary bias predominant in much of the nineteenth century writing about native peoples: European / Native culture contact is usually presented as an example of "inferior" cultures crumbling in the wake of superior technologies and civilizations. Seen uncritically the written sources could enforce some familiar stereotypes: for example, a picture of HBC employees as representatives of an advanced industrial/commercial society and native people as hunters and food gatherers, who enthusiastically incorporated European material, social, economic and religious culture into their own. The Euro-Canadian sources naturally lead researchers to adopt the same ethnocentricity -- that is, to see native history simply as an aspect of fur trade history (Ray 1978).

To balance and complete this work requires developing a working relationship with members of the contemporary Carrier community, whose historical knowledge and direction on how this knowledge should be preserved and communicated is an essential component to the interpretation of the native theme at Fort St James. The Carrier tell of the fur trade and their interaction at Fort St James as an aspect of their history. It would be interesting to hear, for instance, whether the trade was central or peripheral in their lives. How much of their time was spent in fur trade activities? How would they describe the effect of this interaction on their lives? We have many statements about what the Europeans thought of the Carrier, but what did the Carrier think of the newcomers? When

[4] The exception to this is a book which came out near the end of this research project: *The Carrrier, My People,* by Lizette Hall, 1992.

exploring the nature of Carrier involvement at Fort St James, I expect that the written and the oral sources will tell quite different stories.

In this project, my approach is to research written sources for reference to the roles the Carrier took on at Fort St James and the nature of the interaction between the local natives and the post. The sources that I am consulting will be briefly reviewed in this introduction. The chapters themselves will be divided chronologically. For each time period, the major and other roles the Carrier were taking on at the post will be described. Events generally seen as influential are outlined as background to the time period. These sections are not very detailed, as it is not my intention to repeat much of the narrative history by Jamie Morton, *Fort St James 1806-1914: A Century of Fur Trade on Stuart Lake,* (1988). I will report on what the literature says about the Carrier roles at Fort St James over time, point out the main arguments and the relevant questions in the literature, and make some tentative conclusions.

B. The Literature

1. Primary Sources

The first eye-witness written accounts of contacts between the Carrier and European newcomers are the journals of Alexander Mackenzie (1801), Simon Fraser (1960) and John Stuart (PABC: A B 40/St9.1A). They give clues to the degree to which the native peoples were already involved in the fur trade and document the initial response of the Carrier to the newcomers. Mackenzie's first face-to-face meeting in 1793 is described as one where the Carrier expressed some fear and animosity. Simon Fraser in 1805 and 1806 (1960:230,242) had a much friendlier meeting and recorded that the first posts in Carrier territory, at Stuart and Fraser Lakes, were initiated by direct Carrier invitation.

Once the North West Fur Trading Company established a presence in New Caledonia, written records were kept, but it was not until the coalition with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 that the trade was very systematically documented

and papers preserved. The earliest records include some correspondence, minute books, servants' contracts, accounts and journals. A valuable journal from this time period, by Daniel Harmon (1957), has been published. In it Harmon described his experiences in New Caledonia from 1810-19. Especially interesting is his version of the confrontation he had with Carrier chief, Qua, and his chapter, "Account of Indians on the West Side of the Mountains," containing his observations on Carrier fishing technology, "intertribal warfare," and death customs. These early records show how trade relations with the Carrier developed in these earliest years of direct contact.

The journals, correspondence and account books kept by the Hudson's Bay Company after 1821 reveal much about everyday life at the New Caledonia posts. For Fort St James, the records from the 1820s are most complete, with some gaps in the 1830s. Because it was relevant to the trade, the HBC men recorded details on the seasonal cycle of the local native peoples, as well as their subsistence and general health, trading patterns, population and social relations. In the district reports in the 1820s, for instance, besides lengthy descriptions of the Carrier, the chiefs of the various groups are often named, population numbers are broken down in the specific villages of the various regions. One of the early Babine Lake reports lists the chiefs according to rank as they were placed at their feasts (HBCA: B 11/e/1/fo.2d). Another lists 107 Indians and gives the amount of debt they owed, their general place of residence and character remarks (HBCA: B 11/e/3 fos.9-10). This kind of detail provides clues on such topics as leadership, social structure and trade relations.

Available primary sources for section two (1840-82) include fur trade papers, church documents, and federal Indian Affairs papers from the 1870s. The fur trade papers for this time period have a large gap in them: the Fort St James journals are complete for the years 1840-56, but those from 1856 to 1884 have disappeared. As well, almost no daily journals survive from the other posts in New Caledonia for those years, the exception being Fort Alexandria (1851-67). Some district correspondence and administrative records survive and help to fill this gap, but cannot replace the valuable daily writings of the post masters. Resident priest, A.G. Morice's writings are also helpful, as he had access to these manuscripts before they were lost. While he was writing his history, Morice received permission from post master A.C. Murray to

borrow the papers, which constituted the key source for the last five chapters in his book, covering the years 1856 to 1880. It is unclear what happened to the records after that. They may have been lost in a fire at Fort St James in 1915, or they may never have been returned by Morice, who also experienced a house fire in Saskatchewan 1910-11. Or they may simply be lost rather than destroyed.

For the third section (1882-1915) the fur trade papers are most complete, including daily journals for most of the years and voluminous correspondence. The daily journals are a revealing source of detail on which individual natives were working for the post, and what tasks they were doing. For statistics, however, labour books which systematically recorded this information are required. Such books were kept but most have not survived. A rare exception to this is a labour book from Fort St James in 1888, which will be looked at in detail as an indication of the extent to which local native peoples were taking on the role of day labourers at the post.

Some relevant government papers from this period also exist. In 1914 a Royal Commission travelled throughout British Columbia and recorded details about virtually all the native groups in the province. The Commission was in response to the disagreement between the federal and provincial governments on the size of reserves. These records include interviews and presentations by Carrier groups and contain, often in their own words, the natives' perceptions of their changing lands and economies. Department of Indian Affairs records for this time period include correspondence and annual reports from the "Hoquel-get Division" starting in 1893 and specifically from the Stuart Lake Agency in 1911, as it was separated from the Babine and Upper Skeena Agency in 1910.

Other useful primary sources include the diaries, journals and correspondence of newcomers not linked to the fur trade: surveyors, missionaries, miners and entrepreneurs. For instance surveyor George M. Dawson (1989), who visited Fort St James, Fraser Lake, and Fort George in 1876, recorded his interactions with the New Caledonia native peoples, recorded some of their stories as well as details about the HBC posts. Several Oblate missionaries wrote letters and reports on the Carrier. Besides A.G. Morice's work, N. Coccola's memoirs are available in

published form (Whitehead 1988).

2. Anthropological Sources

Descriptions of the New Caledonia native peoples prior to contact with the first explorers and traders arise from native oral sources, from archaeological findings and from anthropological generalizations on cultural constructs such as language and social structure. Several anthropologists have presented theories on Carrier life before contact with European newcomers. The first of them was A.G. Morice, who wrote largely from native oral tradition, from eighteen years of anthropological observation, and from his interaction with the Carrier as a missionary based at Fort St James and travelling widely in their villages (1885-1904). In the twentieth century, the Carrier received the "scientific" attention of several others. Diamond Jenness (1929, 1934, 1943) focussed on the Carrier of the Bulkley River, recording their myths and details on their social and religious life. John Grant, for the National Museum of Canada (1936), took a physical anthropology approach of making inferences about descent and adaptation from detailed measurements of facial features. The "crest prerogatives" of the Alkatcho Carrier were examined by Irving Goldman (1940, 1941, 1963) as indicators of traditional social structure. In 1951 Wilson Duff sumarized the previous studies and did additional fieldwork on Carrier social organization. Later in the 1950s, Julian Steward (1955, 1960) and James Hackler (1958a, 1958b) studied Carrier culture change, the latter taking a sociological approach to his study of the Babine Carrier, linking their "social disorganization" to the fur trade and Catholic mission work. Vernon Kobrinsky (1973, 1977) also studied the Babine Carrier, focussing on their potlatch ceremony and connecting them with their Tsimshian neighbours. And most recently, Micheal Cranny (1986) studied archeological evidence related to settlement and subsistance of Carrier in the Chinlac/Cluculz Lake area.

Most of this scholarly interest has centred around the characteristics of the Carrier social structure: the internal organization of the community and the connections between its members. Social structure is characterized by observable aspects of kinship, for instance, lineage, locality and descent patterns, and is

generally considered by anthropologists to be a key indicator of a group's identity (Keesing 1975:212-4).[5] In this structure was contained the mechanisms by which Carrier hunting territories could be owned and passed down, and by which resources could be shared and distributed. Because of their language, the Carrier are grouped with Athapaskans such as the Beaver, Chilcotin, Slavey and Chipewyan. But their social structure, especially notable in the western groups like the Babines, is very different from the usual Athapaskan composite band formation. It is characterized by classes, ranks, crests and potlatches which have much in common with the northwest coast cultures. The scholarship has largely followed the argument that these northwest coast characteristics were not part of precontact Carrier culture. Most scholars trace them to the "protocontact" time period (just before direct contact with European traders), when the trade from the coast into the interior of such goods as ironworks and Russian and European trade goods intensified the previous interaction the Carrier had with neighbours to the west in the oolachan and other trade (Tobey 1981:417).

Morice (1892) argued that like other Athapaskan groups, the Carrier were quick to incorporate characteristics from their neighbours, and that they borrowed these social institutions primarily from the Gitksan of the Upper Skeena and the Coast Tsimshian of the lower Skeena. Jenness (1943) agreed with Morice about the features being borrowed, he documented the Carrier / coast trade connection and suggested that the present location of the Carrier is not their original homeland -- that they drew geographically closer to their western neighbours from somewhere northeast of the present locations. Both Kobrinsky (1973:1) and Steward (1960) argue that originally the Carrier lived in simple bands amid fellow Athapskan-speaking people of the Yukon-Mackenzie woodlands. This social structure gave way to a "sept stage" when they moved to their present location in the salmon-spawning headwaters of the Skeena and Fraser system, during the burgeoning coastal fur trade at the turn of the eighteenth century. This developed into a "sept/phratry stage" (observed and described by Jenness in the 1930s and Goldman in the 1940s), a coast-derived, territory-claiming system of matrilineal crest divisions, classes, ranks

[5] Kathleen Gough (1961) goes so far as to suggest that disintegration of the social structure leads to disintegration of the society.

and a potlatch cycle which ceremonially articulated these various catagories of social structure. From evidence including Morice's writings, Kobrinsky argued that adoption of this structure was directly connected to the fur trade: that the phratry territories arose out of a wish to control access specifically to fur bearing animals (1973:6).

What these writers have in common is that they see the fur trade as a powerful force of change in the lives of the Carrier. Using social structure as an indicator, this change is understood to have occurred very rapidly, being well underway even before the onset of direct trade. This view of Carrier culture change brought Julian Steward to argue that the Carrier history following contact is an example of diffusion and acculturation -- that by 1940s the Carrier were materially, socially and ideologically acculturated, and little, if anything, remained of prior economic activities and social institutions. As evidence of this, he pointed out that the Carrier lived in communities of nuclear families with an emphasis on individual wealth accumulation, and the holding of private property.

Some more recent anthropological studies on the Carrier challenge the older studies on how and when significant culture changes occurred (Joanne Fiske 1980, Douglas Hudson 1983, David Mulhall 1986). Douglas Hudson, from fieldwork in the Carrier villages around Stuart Lake, maintains that the historical factors affected change in a much less cataclismic way. He points out the persistance of the bush economy and its attendent ties of reciprocity. He argues that not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did material changes occur which led to the change in the function of the matrilineal clan system controlled by head men, and the emergence of patrilocal groups controlling trapping territories (Hudson 1983:1,4).

3. Secondary Sources

Much of the secondary literature on northwest coast native peoples, the history of British Columbia and on the fur trade in general is relevant to the story of the Carrier. One of the many topics of debate in the secondary literature is the nature of the European / native trade relations. While many anthropologists have focussed on the social links in the trade, various other writers have attempted to understand,

describe and compare the economic motivations of the traders and trappers. Central in fueling this discussion is E.E. Rich (1990:166), who argued that the Indians were "not logical" in their trade relations. By "not logical" he seems to mean not profit motivated. He concluded that the price mechanism did not work, because, for instance, lowering prices did not result in the Indians bringing more furs, but less, as they could get the goods they needed with less. Ray and Freeman (1978) challenged the idea that the native motivations were not logical. From their study of the pre-1763 trade they investigated how the specialized trade system between the fur companies and band societies worked,and investigated such mechanisms as the trade ceremonies and the traders' use of the 'over-plus system.' Frank Tough (1990), who studied Indian economic behaviour, exchange and profits in northern Manitoba 1870-1930, also challenged Rich's perspectives on native / trade post relationships. Tough showed that in the late 19th century the Indians encouraged the formation of competitive markets, understood high and low fur prices and often acted in a collective way, refusing to pay debts and struggling against monopolies which restricted their trapping incomes.

One common explanation of why native peoples involved themselves in the trade in the first place is that the superiority of the European technology was self-evident to the Indians, and acquiring it was the irresistable motivator for their involvement in trade. E.E. Rich (1990:157) wrote "however independent his nature might be, he was not economically independent.... There was no doubt at all that, despite his savagery and despite his independence, the Indian would trade for European goods as soon as they were brought within his grasp." This view has been called the "formalist" theory of economic motivation. It maintains that human wants "are insatiable and the means to satisfy these wants are invariably in short supply." This is opposed to a "substantivist theory" which maintains that there is no such thing as economics in a non-Western, pre-industrial society, only "provisioning," and that economic process is embedded in the non-economic institutions: political, religious, social and kinship (Martin 1978:51). Calvin Martin (1978:53), for one, points out that scholars have looked at Indian motivations in the trade as purely secular. He suggests the possibility of a spiritual dimension to Indian motivations in the trade. As for the Carrier's "insatiable" desire for European technology, it is also

clear that the Carrier technology for salmon fishing was far superior to the white man's nets and that their methods of hunting game and small fur bearers also had distinct advantages over heavy steel traps and guns.

Specifically on the Carrier involvement in the trade, David Mulhall (1978:102-3) describes the Carrier as motivated by their avaricious desire for the luxuries available by trade and by a hope to gain "the European's power and wealth." He connects the Carrier motivations in the fur trade with their motivations in welcoming the Catholic priests into their communities: the Carrier had an "ardent desire for the White man's wealth" and they tended "to see the practice of Christianity as the surest and quickest means to that end." This explanation ignores coercive factors such as the interference of the traders, the state and the church with the traditional leadership structures. It also overlooks the significant number of incidents suggesting a power struggle between the traders and Carrier throughout much of their relationship. Surely more than simple acquisitiveness is necessary to explain Carrier participation in the trade.

In searching the existing literature for clues to the nature of the relationship between the Fort St James post and the Carrier groups trading there, I found that at times the records suggest an interdependent, symbiotic relationship. Periodic, intense episodes of a power struggle are also evident. The forces tying together the native peoples and traders are both fragile and enduring. Through a great deal of the history of interaction, the post was in a position of relying on the Carrier for salmon, the "staff of life" in New Caledonia. This gave the natives more control over the trade than the traders liked. The significant provisioning role of the Carrier was also recognized as rivalling their role as trappers. To become independent of the local natives was an expressed goal of the post, but this goal was only partially realized over the years. The gold rushes starting in the mid-1800s, brought new markets and new market competitors. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the Company's difficulties in recruiting and keeping labourers led them to count on the Carrier to take on a variety of roles other than provisioning and trapping. Besides essential roles in the transport system, towards the late nineteenth century, the records show a heavy reliance on local native day labour in

agriculture, carpentry, boatbuilding, and in the general maintenance of the post.

Over the years, there is a clear change in the roles the Carrier took on -- they changed from providing mostly goods to providing mostly services. The relationship became more and more businesslike as the post transformed from having a traditional fur trade function to a retail store function.

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SECTION 1: 1806-1840

In the early 1800s, a direct trade relationship was established betwen the native peoples of New Caledonia and European traders of the North West Company (NWC). Fur trade posts were built on lakes with rivers where the Carrier made their fisheries -- McLeod, Stuart, Fraser and Babine Lakes. The traders' ambitious goal was, against all odds, to transport goods into the region from clear across the continent, and furs the same distance back to the NWC headquarters in Montreal.

The nature of the relationship which developed between the native peoples and the newcomers was complex, and clearly of both an economic and a social nature. At Stuart Lake, probably the single most important factor shaping the trade was the relationship established between the traders and the most prominent Carrier chief of that region, Qua. The traders recognized him as a man of great influence and worked to build an alliance with him, and thereby win the cooperation both of Qua and his extensive family.

The traders at Stuart Lake gave Qua the new title of "fur trade chief," which came with the expectations that he would fulfill the role of supervising and heading efforts to supply the post with provisions, and to encourage his countrymen to bring furs to the new posts instead of continuing the previous trade connections with the coast. A relationship developed whereby the traders counted on the Carrier for provisions essential for survival, and in return, the Carrier received easy access to items that made life easier and more comfortable such as leather, kettles, knives, and amunition. Because of the significance of Qua in influencing the nature of the Carriers' role and relationship to the post, this section ends in 1840, the year when Qua died and a new fur trade chief was sought.

A. Background

Written accounts of the fur trade in New Caledonia generally begin with Sir Alexander Mackenize. In 1793, while in the employ of the Northwest Fur Trading Company, Mackenzie became the first European to reach the Pacific Ocean overland

across the Rocky Mountains, and the first foreigner to meet the Indians of New Caledonia in person. By this time, ships from across the ocean and from the Americas had established regular trade connections on the Pacific Coast (Fraser 1960:170; Harmon 1957:150; Mackenzie 1970). The imported goods passed into the interior along the native trade routes.

Twelve years after Mackenzie's journey, John Stuart, Simon Fraser and James McDougall followed the same route through the mountains and built posts at McLeod's Lake and then at Stuart and Fraser Lakes. Simon Fraser (1960:231-2) described the Carrier as "Indolent," "of a mild disposition," and "amazing fond of goods." The traders were optimistic that a promising trade relationship could be developed.

The early traders described the Carrier as all "fishmongers" with "in proportion but few beaver hunters among them." They were "distinguished by the name of the different fishing places they have for Salmon." Besides women and children, the villages had "chiefs," "men of note," and "other married men." "Great numbers" of natives were said to "frequently collect together" (HBCA: B 188/a/1,2,3). These descriptions give clues to the social structures of the Carrier. Anthropologists have tried to understand these structures as a key to how resources were owned and distributed. Douglas Hudson (1983:71-3) describes these functions as follows. Carrier clans differentiated internally between 'noblemen' and 'commoners': the 'noblemen' possessed titles which in turn were associated with specific resource areas. Resource areas in turn were associated with local segments of matrilineal descent groups. Each clan had several of these title-holders, or *deneza*,[1] who in essence controlled the means of production of the clan. To have a title meant having the right to use a particular resource area, but bringing that land into production meant drawing on the labour of others --- those who lacked a title, but still were members of the clan. Other groups then gained access to the resources through the clan system. The titles were transferred matrilineally, so that a man's title usually went to his sister's son (See also Morice 1892:112 1932:xix).

[1] Deneza are also known by the Chinook term "Die-ee-cho."

The clan system, then, had an important distributive function. In each watershed were several local village groups located at fish weir sites which were occupied for part of the year. When the salmon failed, groups were forced to seek assistance from others in adjacent watersheds (Hudson 1983:57). A ceremonial network, which involved potlatching, joined all the villages in the region's watersheds, and it was this network, plus the system of cross-cousin marriage, that provided the framework for movements between resource areas. In economic terms, potlatches were basically exchanges between the *deneza* to validate succession to titles. 'Common' people participated and quantities of food were served, but the main function of feasts was to maintain alliances between *deneza,* which in turn kept intact the existing relations of production (Hudson 1983:80-1).

The Carrier were well adapted to the rigours of life in New Caledonia and had an economy that was built upon their understanding of the land. This was in great contrast with the newcomers. In the fur trade papers and the secondary writings, the picture of life at the New Caledonia posts is one of gruelling and relentless labour, authoritarian leadership, and precarious subsistence. New Caledonia became known as "the Siberia of the fur trade," a reputation which it would not shake for most of the century. The hardships of the district are often and well expressed. In 1825 John Stuart reported that because of the lack of horses, and the shortage of sledges and dogs, the "immense labour" of transporting of goods and provisions to and from every post requires "almost exclusively" the efforts of " the whole of the people in the district from their arrival in autumn to their departure in the Spring for the depot" (HBCA: B 188/e/3 fo.11). Added to this was the fact that salmon runs were almost the only source of subsistance and these regularly failed. Stuart wrote that these salmon average ten pounds each, but when dry, "they have little more substance than a piece of rotten wood and do not exceed a pound in weight." Such "miserable stuff is dried salmon," he asserted, that "the most robust and the very best of our Men are every spring so much reduced that two of them cannot perform usual tasks of one" (HBCA: B 188/e/1/fo.4). The dried salmon was so difficult to chew that people's teeth became worn, and the fish diet was so monotonous, precarious and inadequate that there are many descriptions of Company men starving or suffering from lack of proper nutrition. In fact, wrote Stuart, "seldom any man, even the most robust, without

destroying his constitution, can remain in New Caledonia more than two or three years" (HBCA: B 188/e/1 fo.3).

Because New Caledonia was such an unattractive place to establish posts, the intense competition of the trading companies that occurred in the other regions never directly reached this remote district. When the the competition was finally resolved through a coalition in 1821, and the Hudson's Bay Company could reorganize to take advantage of the new monopoly conditions, there were less changes for the posts in New Caledonia than in other districts -- no redundant buildings to consolidate, and basic continuity of the personnel. It did mean a conversion to the more rigid heirarchical structure characteristic of the Hudson's Bay Company. It also meant changes in line with new policies of economy and efficiency originating from the influential Governor George Simpson who quickly became the key architect of the trade. But the problems of transportation, subsistence, and labour recruitment that had previously plagued the trade continued throughout this time period and on into the next.

B. Major Roles

1. Trapping

Several days after his arrival at Stuart Lake in 1806, Simon Fraser (1960:231-2) speculated that the Carriers' "fondness" of goods "might lead one to imagine that they would work well to get what they seem to be so fond of." He added, however, that they were "independent" as they got their "necessaries" from their neighbors with connections to the coastal trade. The NWC traders, of course, expected that trapping fur would be the natives' key role in their new relationship. However, from the first winter on, compared to other districts there was a disproportionate amount of goods necessarily being traded for provisions rather than furs. The traders found themselves dependent upon the local natives for their basic foodstuffs. This was very undesirable to them because it meant the natives had two marketable products -- fish and furs. They could get a good amount of the trade goods they desired without ever bringing fur to the shop.

The Carrier did not wholeheartedly involve themselves in the trade during the first decades of the European presence on their lands. Instead, they continued to order their seasonal cycle around the priorities of their subsistance economy. William Harmon, master of the Stuart Lake post 1811 - 1919, said from his trade-centered perspective that the Carrier were "much adicted to pilfering" and to "gambling," and were "too lazy to cultivate the ground" (1957:164). The "laziness" of the Carrier and their tendency to concentrate their energies on fishing, on gambling and on feasting is a recurring picture in the journals.

How these activities worked to form the basis of Carrier economy was not well described and likely even less understood. The traders usually referred to the gambling as a great time waster, because it kept natives from trapping. Gambling, they thought, encouraged the idea that furs could be obtained without work. It allowed goods to enter the communities without any furs being exchanged at the posts. Moreover, those who lost their possessions at gambling would sometimes approach the posts for necessities -- and the traders would often feel compelled to oblige, as only with this aid could more "productive" activities resume. The frequent feasting was also looked down upon and discouraged for many of the same reasons. Travelling to and attending the feasts required much time, and large amounts of goods and furs were ceremonially given away with the posts having no role in the transfers. However, far from being "idle" activities, these feasts were held to commemorate the dead and to validate inherited titles (Bishop 1980:197). The traditional gambling game too had important social and economic functions, specifically in the distribution of property between individuals, households and clans.

DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE RELATIONS

The usual strategy of the Europeans in establishing trade with native peoples was to build some alliance with a powerful or influential leader. Early in 1806, when James McDougall visited Stuart Lake, he gave an Indian called "Toeyen" or "Shaman" a piece of red cloth in order to invest him with some authority. He was appointing this Indian as the "white man's chief." Soon after Simon Fraser's arrival in July of that year, another man was appointed chief, but he in turn stepped aside and

yielded his rank to "Kwah" (Qua), who had apparently become the leading member of the Nak'azdli Carrier (those who gathered to fish in the area where Fort St James was built). Qua held the rank of nobleman, and the title of A'ke'toes (or agetas), which was the highest potlatch title (Hackler 1958:78,83).

The fur traders generally described the Carrier as not having powerful chiefs -- the chiefs were said to have little authority or even influence beyond their families (HBCA: B 188/e/3, fo.8d). Compared to their own authoritarian structures, that is indeed how it may have seemed. David Mulhall (1978: 99) asserts that even the most influential of the nobles were not authoritarian chiefs, but depended upon persuasion and liberality to ensure compliance with their decisions. Qua had a large family with four wives, many children, and a considerable extended family. He had acquired control of several main tracts of land around Fort St James. Many other Carrier chiefs were mentioned in the early New Caledonia records, but Qua seems to be more prominent than the others.[2] Julian Steward (1960) maintains that Qua was both village chief and the highest ranking noble in the region. The nobles held inherited title to lands. The village chiefs in Carrier communities took on the duties of "exhorting people to provide for their own needs, arbitrating disputes over hunting territories, and settling disagreements among villages." A village chief could also be, but was not necessarily, a noble.[3]

As already mentioned, the traders gave Qua another title with another set of duties and privileges. They named him fur trade chief. In doing so, they attempted to boost Qua's authority and influence, a standard method to obtain cooperation and perhaps also to help finance the generosity expected of native leaders. The trade chiefs benefitted in status because they became responsible for redistributing trade goods in their communities. The traders paid chiefs substantial annual gratuities, which included special clothing, a visible sign of the position. The Stuart Lake journal for 1821 records that on December 10th Qua received "his Chiefs Cloathing,

[2] Fur trade records from the 1820s identify five villages of Carrier around Stuart Lake: "Nakazley, Pinche, Teschy, Ey-a-ko, and Clisgeh." In 1823 the fur traders recorded these villages as having 7 chiefs. At Nak'azdli itself, there were identified "two chiefs and 4 other men of note" (HBCA: B 188/e/1).

[3] From oral interviews Steward (1960) constructed genealogies and maps showing how titles and lands around Fort St James were inherited.

Coat, Shirt & pr Leggins." The chiefs were reported to be "in the habit of receiving a Capot and shirt annually as a present if their conduct throughout the year has made them deserving" (HBCA: B 188/e/3 fo.10d). At the end of December 1830, Qua was presented with a Capot, a Handkerchief and a dressed Moose skin and small gifts for his eldest and youngest sons (HBCA: B 188/a/16/fo.7).[4] The Company also recognized chiefs by showing deference to them and by participating in their ceremonial feasts (See Morice 1978: 113). The HBC officers and men treated the Carrier chiefs with some respect, and Morice suggested that at Fort St James Qua and the Chief Factor were "almost on the same footing in the establishment" (Mulhall 1978:193, see also Morice 1978:197-8,186).

The fur trade chiefs were expected to take on several specific roles: to encourage the others to trade, to coordinate the effort to provision the post, and play a mediatory role in disputes between the post and the local community. Through Qua, and the chiefs who followed him, the traders negotiated for food supplies, encouraged hunting and trapping expeditions, hired labourers and negotiated trading prices (Fiske 1980:81). Qua's ability to provide for others, his ability to mediate disputes among his clansmen, and his choice of conciliatory actions in two very important conflicts with the traders -- once with Daniel Harmon in 1811 (Harmon 1857:143-6) and also with James Douglas in 1828 -- solidified his status as leader in the eyes of both his people and the trading companies.

What the Carrier expected of the post is also significant. One expectation was inherant to their society -- reciprocity, which in their relationship with the traders took the form of expecting gratuities and goods on credit, especially during lean times.[5] Apparently, despite "an old standing [HBC] Rule against giving much gratuities," the Indians' "Habit" of getting Gratuities was impossible to curtail (HBCA: B 188/a/2 fo.57). Harmon's version of what the Carrier thought of the traders suggested some other expectations. He insisted that the Carrier had "so exalted an opinion" of them,

[4] Small gratuities were also given to other incoming traders: "a small quantity of Tobacco or ammunition and occassionally a knife, flints and some other trifle" (HBCA: B 188/e/3 fo.10d).

[5] Perhaps this expectation also had to do with patterns established in the pre-existing aboriginal and maritime trade.

> that they firmly believe, though I have often assured them of the contrary, that any of the Traders or Chiefs, as they call us, can, at pleasure, make it fair or foul weather. And even yet when they are preparing to set out on an excursion, they will come and offer to pay us, provided we will make or allow it to be fair weather, during their absense from their homes. They often inquire of us whether salmon, that year, will be in plenty in their rivers. They also think, that by merely looking into our books, we can cause a sick person to recover, let the distance which he may be from us be ever so great. In short, they look upon those who can read and write, as a kind of supernatural beings, who know all that is past, and who can see into futurity (1957:252).

Charles Bishop (1980:199) described the growing trade relationship,

> In the early years after the Fort St James post was opened, the traders frequently complained that Kwah was not trapping beaver as he had been instructed to do. No doubt this was because other matters took precedence. But as time passed, Kwah became a more regular trapper because trade goods were growing more important to the Indian economy and because these goods were attaining greater significance in the potlatch feasts. As their significance grew, so did proprietary rights pertaining to the lands from which fur bearers were obtained. As the years went by an increasing number of Kwah's male relatives, and especially his own offspring, came to engage in trapping under his guidance.

The account books document the amount of fur returns in New Caledonia in the 1820s, which, according to the 1825 district report, was the maximum amount that could be expected, given the difficulty of the transportation route then being used -- York Factory was the depot which meant that trade goods and furs were being hauled overland by dogsled from Fort McLeod in the winters (HBCA: B 188/e/3, fo. 11).

TYPE OF FUR	*NUMBER OBTAINED*		
	1822	*1823*	*1826*
Large fine beaver	2558	2812	2514
Small Fine Beaver	939	1102	1326
Large Common beaver	1463	1523	916
Small Common beaver	486	559	598
Cub common beaver	82		
Large Dressed Beaver	46		
Small Dressed beaver	37		
Beaver robes (coating)	49	295 lbs	76 lbs
Muskrats	3438	2721	2104
Martins	1062	4035	5022

It is interesting that the only furs the Carrier were trapping in any great number were beaver, muskrat and martins -- furs that were traditionally trapped for food, clothing and ceremonial giving in potlatches (Hall 1992:36,18-19).

PROPRIETARY LAWS REGARDING TRAPPING TERRITORIES

The Carrier had laws regarding trapping territories, laws usually described in negative terms by the traders, as they restricted the numbers of trappers. James McDougall, in the New Caledonia report for 1823-4, complained: "[The Carrier] hunting grounds may be said to be extensive as there are in proportion but few beaver hunters among them, young men reluctant to go hunting because of fear of displeasing the old men who will not allow them that privilege unless they go with themselves" (HBCA: B 188/a/2/fo.57d). The following year, the report elaborated:

> the Laws existing amongst them also tend very materially to nourish their natural indolence.... The country is shared amongst a certain number of Families who will not permit others to work upon their lots which respectively belong to them. Those without hunting grounds must necessarily remain idle and those whose lands are poorly stocked with Beaver, however well inclined they may be, can kill but few (HBCA: B 188/e/3 fo.8).

The journal writer at Fort St James in 1826 described the Carrier proprietary trapping rights as follows:

> The country being parcelled amongst certain families to whom it descends by inheritance and the portions of many it may be supposed being but poorly stocked with Beaver they therefore kill but few and a number who have no lands at all and are not permitted to hunt the animals on those belonging to others if they do not procure small furs such as marten which are numerous throughout the country and common to all they must avoidably be deprived of the means of providing themselves with the furs necessary they require - Beaver, independent of the benefit they derive from the skins, they will always endeavor to kill, it being a favorite article of food and in places where large amounts cannot be found are indispensible for the purpose of celebrating their feasts (HBCA: B 188/a/5 fo.141).

This description suggests that the proprietary rights were regarding beaver but not "small furs such as marten." It also points out that the beaver was valued by the Carrier as an important food at the feasts. Given the importance of the feasts -- that

title was validated by a person giving a series of potlatches -- it is logical that access to beaver was proprietary. According to Bishop (1980:198): "Not all Indians were eligible to trap beaver . . . . [The] chiefs, including Kwah, prevented the others from trapping beaver except through express permission. Beaver at this date were important both for the funeral feasts and as a means of acquiring trade goods, and so control by the nobles prevented others from giving feasts and thereby usurping their status. Marten trapping, however, could be done by anyone and so was encouraged by the traders."

George Simpson (1947:19) in his report from his 1828 visit to Stuart Lake, described the Carrier territorial laws in a positive light, as a measure of preservation:

> The Hunting Grounds of [the Carrier] are not extensive, nor are they well stocked in beaver; but if they were common to all the Natives, would very soon be destroyed as the population here is considerable. The Hunting Grounds, as regards Beaver, however, belong to particular Families, who merely take from time to time such quantity as they require, and any encroachment, even by their next door neighbours, is tantamount to a declaration of hostilities, and frequently punished by Death; but the small Furs are common to all: they have not, however, until lately, directed much of their attention to small Furs, which are not numerous in this part of the Country.

According to the journal references, the chiefs obtained their furs through gaming, feasting and trading. As already mentioned, the nobles had rights to the surplus from certain tracts of land, and the common people who subsisted on this land contributed furs and certain foods to the nobles (Steward 1960:736-7, 741). According to Julian Steward (1960:736, 743) the fur trade "brought about a concentration of the new surplus in the hands of a few men." The half dozen or so title holders among one of the two phratries in the Stuart Lake area "helped one another potlatch, and especially they helped the holder of the principal title, *agetas*." The traders expressed suspicion and dissatisfaction that the natives were obtaining furs through gaming and their own illusive networks. In 1822 John Stuart expressed dismay at the mediocre Carrier trade, and even contemplated closing the post. He wrote in exasperation, "if you can convince me that the Indians of Nacuslah for these five years back have of their own hunt averaged five Packs yearly, I am willing to own

myself a Dunce.... but if it be true that the Indians of this place Kill no more Beaver than I imagine, they of themselves cannot be worthy of a Fort" (HBCA: B 188/b/1p.23).

The traders tried to use incentives to get the Carrier to trade furs. Although the Carrier had been described as "amazing fond of goods," they also exhibited clear preference for certain types and quality of goods. For instance, William Brown, making his first visit to a Babine village, met chiefs who gave him presents of furs. In return he gave them cloth, blankets, shirts, etc. The next day they brought all the goods back and said that "it was not to receive such articles as these that they had given me their Furs." One had given twenty skins. The trader reportedly took back the trade goods and gave him two "Middling Moose skins" and the man was happy (HBCA: B 11/e/2 fo.17d). The 1826 report says that the HBC traders could use three to four hundred hides of leather per year for the trade at Babine alone. At the other posts as well, it was found that leather was considered a most valuable trade article by the Carrier. Apparently the Indians of Stuart Lake and Fraser Lake purchased rough leather "for shoes, leggins etc.", while the Babine Indians were anxious to buy fine, large white skins, "not for present use, but to save for the death of a relations: each skin is cut into 3 or 4 pieces and given away in presents at the burning of the body or when they make the Grand feast finally to deposit the bones and ashes, then the Skins are given away whole" (HBCA: B 11/e/3/fo.7d).

The trade relationship at Fort St James was more stable than some of the other posts in New Caledonia. At Babine, for instance, the relationship throughout this period was marked by growing hostility (Hackler 1958:92-6). At Fort George in 1824 two Carrier killed two post men, provoking a series of events with repercussions throughout the district for many years.

COASTAL TRADE

The fact that the North West Company did not have a monopoly in the trade was a major obstacle to their establishing trade with the Carrier. In January 1812, Daniel Harmon, James McDougall, twelve HBC men and two Carriers set out for the land of the "Nate-ote-tains" (Babines). On this trip, the Carrier / coast connections became

clear to them.[6] The Carrier were in regular contact with their Tsimshian neighbours, who had a monopoly of trade on the Skeena River. Every year a large number of Carrier Indians met the Tsimshian at the junction of the Skeena and Bulkley Rivers, an area called "Fallen Rock" or "Hagwilgate." Then these Carrier of the Bulkley River exchanged the trade goods with groups further inland (Morice 1906:209). These trade routes probably passed through Babine Lake to Stuart Lake as well as through Bear Lake down the Driftwood River to Takla, Trembleur, and Stuart Lakes (Hackler 1958:78).

Not until after the coalition of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company was Fort Kilmaurs established on Babine Lake in 1822, as much to capitalize on the more stable salmon supply as to compete more successfully with the Tsimshian traders. In 1826 Fort Connolly was established on Bear Lake bringing the HBC to the edge of the Tsimshian territory. The HBC men who tried to establish trade with the Babines, found that they were unwanted. The Carrier were happy with their existing link to European goods. Even when permanent HBC posts were established, the Indians of New Caledonia did not abandon their old relationship with the Coast. In 1823 William Brown wrote from Fort Kilmaurs that "three quarters of the furs procured by the Indians of Simpson's River were carried below and traded with the Indians of the Sea Coast," and that "the distance from the Forks of the Simpsons and McDougall's River to the sea is so short that they make three trips in the course of the summer" (HBCA: B 11/e/1/fo.3d-4). In 1826 the report writer stated that the sea coast traders "can afford to give high price for furs because they work their own crafts coming up the river, they understand the language and have no expence re provisions." He gave an example of the coast traders' methods:

> They go to a village, ascertain who has furs and how many, go to the person's Lodge, blow a parcel of Swans down upon his head which is reckoned a mark of great honor, both among the Carriers and Atnahs, and then commence dancing and singing a song in his praise. After which they make him a present and treat him with something to eat. When he according to the Custom of his country, makes them in return a present of his Furs, which if not equal to what he has received, he adds sifflue Robes and dressed skins to make up the Value (HBCA: B 11/e/2/fo.11d, 12).

[6] See Robin Fisher's "Indian Control of the Marritime Fur Trade and the Northwest Coast," in *Sweet Primises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada,* J.R. Miller (ed.), Toronto: U of T Press, 1991.

This coast trade continued to be considered a major interference by the traders throughout the time period studied here, 1806-1840.

SEASONAL CYCLE OF THE CARRIER INCORPORATING THE FUR TRADE

A.G. Morice (1978), when describing the seasonal cycle of the Carrier before the inland posts were established, says that beaver constituted an important source of food and that the Carrier took beaver in the early summer and fall. The traders gave the Carrier incentives to change their seasonal cycle in line with the priorities of the trade -- to adjust the times of feasting to summer instead of winter, for instance, so as not to interfere with the trapping season. (Furs were of the best quality and color in the winter.)

Around 1811, Harmon (1957:247-48) described the seasonal round of the Carrier, a cycle which may already have been adjusted to incorporate the interests of the trade:

> The Carriers reside a part of the year in villages, built at convenient places for taking and drying salmon, as they come up the rivers. These fish they take in abundance, with little labour; and they constitute the principal food, during the whole year. ... Toward the middle of April, and sometimes sooner, they leave their villages, to go and pass about two months at the small lakes, from which, at that season, they take white fish, trout, carp &c. in considerable numbers. But when these begin to fail, they return to their villages, and subsist on the small fish, which they dried when at the lakes, or on salmon, should they have been so provident as to have kept any until that late season; or they eat herbs, the inner bark or sap of the cypress tree, berries, &c. At this season, few fish of any kind are to be taken out of the lakes or rivers of New Caledonia. In this manner the Natives barely subsist, until about the middle of August, when salmon again begin to make their appearance, in all the rivers of any considerable magnitude; and they have them at most of their villages in plenty, until the latter end of September, or the beginning of October.

Clearly centered on subsistence activities around river and lake fisheries, the Carrier appear to be "barely subsisting" in the summer, the time at which they used to hunt beaver. This may have been because of the strong directives of the traders not to hunt beaver "out of season," when the pelts were not as thick and dark. Strong

scoldings were the only reward the trappers received for bringing the thinner, lighter "summer fur" to the posts.

A decade after Harmon's description, the 1825-6 district report described the Carrier annual cycle as including two seasons for beaver hunting: "Their season for hunting beaver is from March to the beginning of June and from early October to end of November. In spring and summer they go to two large lakes to the northward for trout, carp and whitefish." The report adds that besides the two months labour in the salmon season, the rest of the year was spent "in idleness or in occupations not benefitting to us" (HBCA: B 188/a/5 p.140-1).

The journals also show that fishing was a clear priority over trapping. When the salmon fishery failed or when food ran short, the systems of reciprocity are evident -- trapping was abandoned and the Stuart Lake Carrier would visit Babine or Fraser Lake groups. They also resorted to alternatives to salmon. As Harmon (1957:174) noted, key sources of food were the whitefish, trout and carp found in the many small lakes in the district in spring and sumnmer. After fish, small game were most important. A variety of small animals, especially beaver, was taken in traps and snares of babiche wrapped in willow bark. Deadfalls and pits were used for larger animals, such as bear. Hudson points out a conspicuous absense of large game throughout much of the nineteenth century -- moose did not move into the region until the early 1900s, while caribou seemed to have disappeared from the Stuart Lake area fifty years before that.[7]

Although the fur trade journals give the impression that there was virtually no food besides salmon in the Stuart Lake area, A.G. Morice's description from Carrier sources reveals a varied diet. He described an extensive inventory of plants used by the Carrier, including six species of roots and bulbs, twelve species of berries, two kinds of plant stalks, three types of leaves, lichen, and twenty-seven herbs for medicinal purposes. Berries were dried and made into cakes. In the spring, when food supplies had run low, the inner bark, or cambium, of jack pine was collected

[7] Hudson (1983:65) writes that no references to caribou appear in the fur trade journals after 1851. He suggests that the movement of the caribou out of the Stuart Lake area is likely associated with climatic shifts and an increasing disturbance of their natural habitat by substantial number of gold seekers after 1860.

(Morice 1893:125-32,76. See also Hall 1992:11-6).

This variety was evident at the feasts. John McLean (1932:157) described a feast he attended at the Carrier village near Fort St James in the 1830s:

> Immense quantities of roasted meat, bear, beaver, siffleu or marmot, were piled up at intervals, the whole length of the building; berries mixed up with rancid salmon oil, fish roe that had been buried underground a twelve-month, in order to give it an agreeable flavour, were the good things presented at this feast of gluttony and flow of oil.

2. Provisioning

THE FUR TRADERS' PROBLEMS WITH ACQUIRING LOCAL PROVISIONS

The traders had few options to acquiring their subsistence locally. The long and difficult transport of goods into New Caledonia allowed only a minimum of foodstuffs to be imported. In the district, there was almost no large game besides some bear and, in the early years, some caribou. Gardening was persistently tried, but with very little sucess because of the soil type and the early frosts. According to James McDougall in 1824, "The soil in most places is not cultivable more than six inches deep, being a hard clayish substance mixed with gravel. Potatoes are planted annually, but never productive. Some years they don't yield the seed sown. Turnips used to thrive, but not lately" (HBCA: B 188/a/2/fo.56). Simon Fraser's report in 1806 (1960: 231-2) mentioned that waterfowl were plentiful in the spring. But the swans, geese and ducks, that significantly contributed to the fur traders' diet in several other districts, were never available in significant numbers around Stuart Lake (HBCA: B 188/a/5 p.143).

That left the salmon. The problem with salmon as a resource staple was its cyclical nature. In many years, including the first the Europeans spent at Stuart Lake, the failures in the salmon runs presented a serious threat. From the Carrier's way of handing this problem the newcomers quickly realized they needed to establish posts on various lakes and rivers of both the Fraser and the Skeena watersheds, because when one area experienced failure, salmon could often still be obtained on another.

Besides the tenuous nature of the salmon runs, the traders faced the problem of how to establish both independence and good relations with the surrounding native communities. This was difficult for two reasons: obtaining salmon required very specialized technology and skill, which the newcomers did not have, and the salmon fisheries were subject to proprietary laws.

CARRIER FISHING TECHNOLOGY

While acquiring provisions was difficult for the newcomers, it was described as "easy" for the Carrier. According to Harmon, when the salmon was running, "These fish they take in abundance, with little labour; and they constitute the principal food, during the whole year" (1957:247-8). Carrier fishing technology was highly specialized and sophisticated. Fish were appropriated with seven different types of weirs and traps, depending on water conditions. The Carrier also used an assortment of lures, hooks and spears, as well as nets, made of fibre from the inner bark of willows, nettle, or wild hemp, for snaring sturgeon, grebs and beaver. One type of basket trap could be used for fish, beaver or muskrat (Hudson 1983:61).

The fish weir, also called "verveaux," was described by Harmon as follows (1957:248):

> The Carriers take Salmon in the following manner. All the Indians of the village assist in making a dam across the river, in which they occasionally leave places, to insert their baskets or nets of wicker work. These baskets are generally from fifteen to eighteen feet in length, and from twelve to fifteen feet in circumference. The end at which the salmon enters is made with twigs, in the form of the entrance of a wire mouse trap. When four or five hundred salmon have entered this basket, they either take it to the shore to empty out the fish; or they take them out at a door in the top, and transport them to the shore in their large wooden canoes, which are convenient for this purpose.

The weirs were lattice work constructed across, or partially across, a stream with traps set at intervals. The traps were conical baskets, with narrow tubular baskets at its end, or boxes. They were constructed from pieces of Douglas fir, spruce, and spruce root (Hudson 1983: 61). Joseph McGillivray, describing the Native "vorveauxe" in his district report from Alexandria in 1828, wrote that when Salmon were abundant, the

natives could catch between eight hundred to one thousand fish daily with these "Cylindrical Machines" (HBCA: B 5 e/1/fo.6d). There are many other descriptions of this fishing technology, many expressing of wonder and praise for the technology.

The way the Carrier processed the thousands of salmon they needed to last them through the winter was described by Harmon as follows (1957:248):

> When the salmon are thrown upon the beach, the women take out their entrails, and hang them by their tails on poles, in the open air. After remaining in this situation for a day or two, they take them down and cut them thinner, and then leave them to hang for about a month in the open air, when they will have become entirely dry. They are then put into their store houses, which are built on four posts, about ten feet from the ground, to prevent animals from destroying them and provided they are preserved dry, they will remain good for several years.

PROPRIETARY LAWS REGARDING FISHING TRAPS

From their first winter at Fort St James, the traders resorted to purchasing the fish they needed from the natives. Huge quantities were needed. The traders tried not only to get what they needed for one, but for two seasons, as a backup to a lean year. The 1824-5 district report recorded, "The quantity of Salmon consumed at Fort St James for the General Business of the district is 36,450" (HBCA: 188/e/3 fo.5). Sometimes the stock was much larger, as in early February 1837 when there were still 69,112 dried salmon on hand (HBCA: B 188/d/15 fo.17d). In 1823 John Stuart wrote that each salmon cost the Company "about a penny. If you include the expence of collecting them, the cost is 1 farthing each" (HBCA: B 188/e/1/fo.3d). The dried salmon, although much complained about, was a precious commodity. The men at Fort St James in 1820-21 had a daily allowance of four fish per man. While doing work in the winter a man and dog together got eight per day.

In many other fur trade districts, besides "buying" fresh and dried meat from native people, an important method for obtaining local food was appointing HBC men to fish or to hunt small game or waterfowl, which they did alone or in conjuntion with natives who regularly took on such tasks. At Fort Churchill, for instance, the natives often identified as "home guards" were regularly employed to hunt geese, and groups

of Inuit were recruited to hunt whales. In the New Caledonia region, however, the Carrier had strict proprietary laws surrounding the main source of food. The mouths of the rivers and streams were controlled by specific Carrier who acquired that right by hereditary title. Anthropologist Douglas Hudson (1983:17) explained: "Matrilineal descent groups and potlatching provided the basis for the ownership of the means of production and the redistribution of resources throughout the community." Morice (1978:21) suggested that women were also included in the ownership of fishing rights. He wrote that the women "caught whitefish and trout in preserves allotted to them by hereditary right."

These proprietary rights included laws about who could build and obtain fish from the weirs. According to Morice (1910:139,426), "Among the Carriers and Babines, even the setting of the salmon traps is regulated by traditional usage. No person will dare infringe on a family's rights to a better place in the weir. Likewise, important parties may enjoy the hereditary privilege of having their traps in operation, while others could not find room for one." Everyone who had a hereditary right to set a trap in the stream was prevailed upon to contribute his share of labour towards erecting the weir. In Alexandria in 1827-8, a verveux was described as "made by three or four of the elderly men assisted by a few of their friends, but the whole village of say 50 men, every individual comes for a share of the fish" (HBCA: B 5/e/1 fo.18d).

ESTABLISHMENT OF PROVISION TRADE

Through Qua and the chiefs who followed him, the traders negotiated for food supplies. The relationship between Qua and the post men seems to be one where Qua assumed some responsibility to provide for them, both in times of plenty and times of need. On August 20, 1820 the journal writer reports that an incoming Indian "says there is no Salmon as yet & I am really apprehensive of there being none again this Year. [I]f so God almighty Knows what will become of us in this Quarter & the Natives of this place will certainly Starve to death." Yet, that day, he received twenty fish from Qua (HBCA: B 188/a/1/fo.16d). That kind of anxiety was all too common in the August and September months when the salmon runs were late. On August 18, 1827, the journal recorded, "Our nets produced fourteen Salmon; and the Indians gave us six altho they scarcely take a sufficiency for their own subsistance" (HBCA: B

188/a/10 fo.18). This is repeated many times throughout this period -- during times of deprivation, when the local Carrier could surely find use for their scant provisions, supplies were being brought to the post, especially by members of Qua's family. (See Appendix A for excerpts from the 1820-21 journal, as an example of the frequency of provisioning carried out by Qua's family in a very difficult season.)

In 1826 the Fort St James traders reported that they procured most of their fish from Indians, and asserted that "upon them we will be dependent until we have the means for providing for ourselves" (HBCA: B 188/a/5 fo.146). The fur traders' recognized "dependence" upon the local natives for their food supply was seen as dangerous to the trade relations. These concerns were summarized in the 1825 report, along with the suggestion that an excellent white fishery could be established at Stuart's Lake: "an object not unworthy of attention, as it would not only lessen our dependence upon the Natives, as well as the expenses perpetually incurred in purchasing food, but might also be the means of adding something to the returns by obliging them to Hunt Furs in order to procure the means of purchasing such necessaries as they can now obtain for Fish" (HBCA: B 188/e/3 fo.13). For instance, Harold Innis (1956:336) pointed out that in 1836 the Carrier paid off 1500 Made Beaver in debt -- almost a quarter of the total returns -- by provisioning Fort St James with 67,510 salmon, 11,941 smaller fish, 781 sturgeon and other items. The traders feared that their dependence upon the Carrier for fish meant the Carrier would have the upper hand in negotiations. This was the experience at Lake Babine in 1822, when the Carrier there refused to trade their larger salmon and would only trade their smaller ones. They had other markets for their salmon, namely their southwestern neighbours, and, as they told William Brown, "they were accustomed to receive their own prices" (HBCA: B 11/a/1. Also see Aguayo1990:16).

Several schemes were tried by the traders to become more self sufficient. Appointing fort fishermen was tried, sometimes with great success. In November of 1811 Harmon's (1957:147) fishermen reported having taken seven thousand white fish in nine 60 fathom nets. This fishery did not become established, however, and in 1824 the journal writer at Fort St James suggested the idea of establishing a white fish fishery to "lessen" their dependence on the natives (HBCA: B 188/e/3 fo.13).

Apparently it was the "want of good fishermen" that kept them from taking advantage of the lake fisheries (HBCA: B 188/a/5, p. 146). The 1823 Servants List mentions James Taylor, age 28, as "a hired fisherman but known nothing of fishing" (HBCA: B 18/d/3). By 1836 it appears that a full fledged fisherman was on the salary role -- the Servants List identifies Joseph Latendre as a fisherman, with a wage of 22 pounds a year (HBCA: B 188/d/15 fo.5d-9).

While lake fish often sustained the post men through the summer, it was not a major or reliable food source. Thus, some efforts were made to cut into the proprietary salmon fisheries. At Alexandria, Joseph McGillivray in his 1828 report described the attempt to get local natives to make a verveaux for the exclusive use of the post. With L5 /18 / 1/2 (five pounds, 18 shillings and 1/2 pence) they paid for "a Vorveaux Station, Whatappe, Willows, Setting the Weir and Fishermen." The report says, "We have felt the good consequences resulting from having a Vorveaux and it is recommended for the future - two ought exclusively to be appropriated for the Fort - as it would not only give you a daily supply of Fish, but a means of collecting a sufficiency for an annual Stock." However, McGillivray emphasized that before a fisherman could be engaged for the whole season it would be "of primary consequence to get the Indians of the Village removed to their usual places of habitation" (HBCA: B 5/e/1 fo.18d).

McGillivray's optimistic report did not tell the whole story. The journal for that year reveals difficulties, even to the point where fire arms were resorted to. The HBC men found that the more they pursued building their own weir, the less cooperation they received from the natives in trading fish. Even while they paid each of the parties they hired to work on the weir, they were troubled by persistant demands for compensation. On October 11, 1827 the journal says, "Who-las-ket claiming the Place where our Varveaux is, asked some ammunition this Morning, for granting us permission to set our Weir there. I have already paid three Individuals...." Apparently the post weir was not far from that of the Chief, (Chin-las-ket) so the traders were often accused of taking fish out of his weir. The post's fish store was robbed at night, necessitating assigning a watchman to sleep there. Even then it was found that "the Indians are taking our fish in the Shed between the Logs. [T]hey have Small Spears

very Convenient for the occasion." Several times the natives cut holes in the wier at night, making an opening of about 15 feet. The exasperated writer exclaimed, "Most Infamous Scoundrals. [T]hey will not give us fish nor will they permit us to take any." He went on, "[T]he fact is if their proceedings are continued. . . it were much better we Should drop all Idea of fishing for Ourselves." His conclusion was, "indeed all our troubles and anxieties originated from having a Vorveux" (HBCA: B 5/a/2).

At Fort St James, the traders did not attempt their own salmon fishery. But they got into trouble, nevertheless, because of their efforts to fish sturgeon. On July 4, 1820, the journal records the Indians confiscating nets the post had set for Sturgeon (HBCA: B 188/a/1/fo.11). Another conflict on the same topic is recorded years later. On July 30, 1831 the journal records, "Jose on visiting our Sturgeon Net this morning found that Quaw had sett his net above ours. [T]his is very unfair as there is plenty of room at the end of our net and in the chanel the old fellow must be aware that by so doing he would prevent us from taking any. I shall represent the unpropriety of his doing so and should he not take up his net I shall certainly set our old one above his." The next day the journal continues, "On Jose Porteur's visiting our Sturgeon net this morning found that a Sturgeon had been in it in course of the night and as there is no meshes broken and the early hour that the Indians went to there and from the rottenness of their net we suspect much from the size of the fish they took that they had robbed our net. If this should be the case the thieves if found out they certainly ought to pay smartly for their theft. (HBCA: B 188/a/16 fo.35d). The September 5th entry says,

> this being the first time I saw Quaws Son Ahtshul who is suspected of having robbed our Sturgeon net I told him thus from Indian reports and circumstances we suspected he had rob our Net of a Sturgeon and nothing but the want of positive proof prevented me from punishing him on the spot. [H]e firmly denied the accusations. I further told should we hear in future of his having stole it that he would have to pay for it by his hunt or a equivalent in the commodity (HBCA: B 188/a/16 fo.40d).

Whether they were reacting out of protest to the infringement of property laws, or whether they were resisting the traders' attempts to become independent of them for provisions, the Carrier were clearly challenging the traders on their efforts to provide

for themselves.

Thus, although it was not cost effective, great efforts were made to import food into New Caledonia. Some records survive showing the amounts and kinds of imported provisions. The records from 1822-24 show that New Caledonia was receiving a considerable amount of provisions from the Columbia Department, from the Athabasca (Fort Vermillion, Fort Chipewyan, Dunvegan, Fort St John) and even from as far away as Ile a la Crosse, Cumberland House and Norway House.

FOOD IMPORTS: NEW CALEDONIA (B 188/d/2).

	1822	*1823*
Dried meat,	2170 lbs	1172 lbs
fresh meat	230 lbs	3254 lbs
pounded meat,	30 lbs	
pemmican	590 lbs	2332 lbs
salted beef		42 lbs
potatoes	some	
grease	some	
Buffaloe tongues		60

Whether these food imports continued in the following years is unclear. The official Company rations and provisions for the 1836 season at Fort St James show largely locally obtainable foods:

23,455 dried salmon
595 Fish of Sorts
781 sturgeon
346 trout
21 beaver
10 lynxes
925 rabbits
48 ducks
58 geese
1 swan[8]

The records for 1837 show the renewed efforts to farm the land. The country produce on hand in New Caledonia Feb 1, 1837 was: 90 kegs potatoes, 26 kegs

[8]HBCA: B 188/d/15, fo.13d, "Expenditure of Provisions," Outfit 1836.

turnips, 100 kegs wheat, 25 kegs oats, besides the 69,112 dried salmon, 398 whitefish, and 80 lbs dried meat (HBCA: B 188/d/15). However, the difficulty in successfully producing crops and the high cost of importing food left the HBC traders looking to the local salmon fisheries for their food staple.

C. Other Roles

The written sources comment on roles besides trapping and provisioning taken on by the Carrier at Fort St James. Harmon (1957:248) mentioned their skill in making canoes and nets, carrying messages and contributing to the traders' knowledge of the country. He also wrote: "Whenever we employ any of them, either to work about the fort or in voyaging, they are sufficiently laborious and active; and they appear to be pleased, when we thus furnish them with employment" (Harmon, 1957:242-3). Some took on roles in the transport of leather from Peace River, from Dunvegan, other posts in Athabasca, Lesser Slave Lake, and Isle a la Crosse (HBCA: B 188/e/3 fo.3d). The daily journals also show that women and children, often mentioned to be connected with Qua, made regular trips to the post with a variety of supplies, hand crafted products and country produce such as pitch for canoes and babiche for snowshoes. There is some suggestion that Qua's family, in fact, began to reside closer to the post for a greater part of the year (See Morton 1988:94-5).[9]

It appears that employment of the Carrier at the posts was sporadic and usually brief. The 1824 report said "an Indian lad was employed and maintained at the fort from July 18, 1823 to January 1824, since which none have remained though several employed to beat robes[?] and carry letters. But as soon as they return they are paid and remain with their Relations" (HBCA: B 188/a/2/fo.57d). The 1826 report had on its list of men working in the district a "Native Carrier" who apparently was dismissed for bad conduct (HBCA: B 188/a/5 fo.150). On June 1, 1820, the Fort St James journal recorded Mr Fleming's request from Fraser Lake for "a Woman to do the work of the Fort for the one he had is gone." "Old Jose" was sent to the "Carriers Lake to

[9] Harmon in 1811 described the village of Nak'azdli as "a few small huts made of wood where they remain during the salmon season (1957:134). Over the years the village clearly became more substantial and permanent.

endeavour to get a Woman to go to Fraser Lake." By June the 6th, he returned to report that he found a woman, and four days later he and this woman were sent to Fraser Lake (HBCA: B 188/a/1/fo.6-7).

At least one Carrier who was hired by the traders as an interpeter for a significant period of time on contract is noted in the Stuart Lake journals. Interpreters were described as useful because "they understand the language and also make the canoes, trains, snow shoes," and were "in general the most handy about the Establishments." Of the five interpreters identified in the 1822 season, three were "half breeds" and two Indians. One of the Indians was a Carrier, Jos Porteur, "in the service since 1808" and "most useful" (HBCA: B 188/e/1 fo.5d, 4). That more than one Carrier employees may have been given this rather generic name (Porteur is the French word for Carrier) is suggested by the fact that Joseph Porteur was listed as only 22 years old on the 1822-23 list, which would have made this individual only 8 years old in 1808. In 1822 Joseph Porteur was listed as "a native Carrier Industrious and faithful interpreter" (HBCA: B 188/d/3). His name reappeared on the 1824 list at a wage of 20 pounds per year, and a contract to expire in 1827 (HBCA: B 188/d/7). The next year's list, however, had the note, "dismissed the Company's service 12 Nov 1825" (HBCA: B 188/d/10). The name continued to show up in the journal over the next years, however, as he apparently continued labouring for the post on an occasional basis.

In the Alexandria 1827-8 report, Joseph McGillivray wrote that the Carrier had no respect for the HBC labourers, but "hold them in greatest derision." He suggested that perhaps this contempt arose from the Indians seeing the officers punish misconduct, so that the Natives associate labourers with slaves (HBCA: B 5/e/1, fo.17). This may partly explain why so few Carrier took on roles at the fort at this time.

1. Wives and Families of Traders

In March, 1811, Harmon (1957:137) reported that Jean Baptiste Boucher had "taken a Carrier wife." He identified Boucher as the first of the newcomers to marry a Carrier woman. The woman's name is unknown, but Harmon described her as the

daughter of one of the Carrier chiefs. In 1823, the district supported seven wives (five "half breeds, and two native women") with six children (HBCA: B 119/e/1/p.10). Specifically "attached" to the Stuart Lake post, according to John Stuart's 1822-23 report, were three children from three "half breed" and two native women. These were his own wife and the wives of officers Mr Brown, Mr James McDougall, Mr John McDonell, and Hodgson, the boat builder (HBCA: B 188/e/1 fo.4d). In 1825, the Company was supporting the families of eight men in New Caledonia: a Chief Trader, three clerks, a guide, two interpreters, and a general labourer. Their families were made up of eight women and eleven children (up to 14 years), one widow and two orphans (HBCA: B 188/e/3 fo.6).

It is interesting that not only officers' families but also those of the servant class were being "supported" by the Company at this time. It is also interesting that wives described as "half breed" outnumbered the "native" wives. Perhaps this was partly because the country born daughters of older Company men were seen as more desirable and better suited to the life at the posts. Perhaps it was in response to the NWC policy of 1806 which officially forbade men from taking native wives, except for those who were daughters of "white" men, within the forts at the expense of the Company (a policy which clearly was not strictly enforced) (Wallace 1934:211). After the coalition of the companies in 1821 Simpson initially encouraged the men to take local native women as wives, for the advantages and benefits that could be achieved. Later, however, he too became concerned about the burden these dependencies could be upon the posts, and the support of the families of the officer class only was officially permitted (See Brown 1980:126-7).

Besides the official Company ambiguity towards the marriage attachments, perhaps there were so few marriages with Carrier women at this time because the Carrier protested to them. Almost two years after Boucher's marriage alliance "according to the custom of the country" Harmon (1904:188-9) wrote:

> While at Frazer'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 is 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 have generally found to be the best in the management of the Indians, we succeeded in appeasing their anger, so that we suffered no injury; and we finally separated to appearance, as good friends, as if nothing unpleasant had occurred.

Though the account is unclear on why the woman's countrymen were so angry, other writings confirm that the newcomers' connections with the Carrier women were a source of tension between the communities. Boucher's marriage did not last long, possibly because of death. Sylvia Van Kirk (1980:30,111,113,269) records that by the early 1820s, Boucher had a different country wife, Nancy, mixed blood daughter of James McDougall. Perhaps the Carrier were reluctant to have newcomers marrying in. They may have seen the newcomers as their rivals or have seen them as mistreating the women. Perhaps they found no place in their social system for these marriages -- the apparent wealth of these newcomers was independent of the title system and may have been perceived as a potential challenge to it. Other factors like the transience of the men or the custom they had of removing their children to distant places such as Europe for education may also have contributed to this.

In her study of fur trade families, Jennifer Brown (1980:19,20,146) noted that the NWC posts became "a focus for domestic life as well as a place of work." In fact they took the shape of a large-scale "household," a unit of social and economic organization, isolated, yet British in their dominent values. She described the native wives as fullfilling the roles of alliance builders, companions, and interpreters. The economic value of these relationships is also well documented. For instance, while in charge of the post at Alexandria in August of 1802, Harmon (1957:62-3) received a marriage proposal from a Cree chief and was almost tempted to accept, for, he explained, "I was sure that while I had the Daughter I should not only have the Fathers hunts but those of his relations also."

The support for the fur traders' families involved the Company providing rations for them. This allowed the women and children to be situated at the post. It appears that with these privileges came some clearcut expectations. In 1824 John Stuart wrote: "The number of women maintained at the Company's establishments were never great but rather too few for the labour necessarily required from them" (HBCA:

B 119/e/1/p.10). The journals make incidental references to the roles the women and children undertook for the post. For instance, the 1825 district report said, "should Salmon be abundant, as much as possible ought to be purchased from the Indians in a fresh state which can be cured by the women belonging to the establishment" (HBCA: B 188/e/3 fo.4). The "women of the post" are also documented as doing other diverse jobs, such as picking berries for the post and repairing snowshoes. The lists of country provisions include various items that may have been obtained from the women of the post or other local women. For instance, the 1822-3 list of stock on hand includes 351 fathoms of willow net, 2 3/4 lbs of willow thread, 6 lbs of babiche, and 40 pairs of "Shoes, Indian without tops", apparently purchased for 6 shillings each. The 1825 District Report mentions that attempts were being made to obtain as many "Robes and especially Brown Nets and materials for making them" as possible from the local natives without interfering with the fur hunts, as these items were in "great demand at the other posts where the Indians have not the means of providing themselves with those articles" (HBCA: B 188/e/3, fo. 3d).

D. Summary

Over this time period, the basis for relationship was established between the Carrier and the fur traders. The cooperation required adaptations on both sides. Some writers have argued that the arrival of direct trade in New Caledonia increased the importance of the beaver hunting territories and the salmon fisheries (Hudson 1983). Julian Steward, for instance, maintained that before direct trade was established in their territories, the Carrier derived perhaps only 50 percent of their subsistence from annual salmon runs. The traders, however, expected them to process enough salmon during the late summer runs to provide for themselves all winter so they would be free to trap. In addition, they were to provision, in exchange for goods, the personnel stationed at the posts (Tobey 1981:417). The Carrier protested when the traders disregarded their proprietary laws to the fisheries. They were enforcing their traditional law and protecting a valuable resource. They may also have been resisting the traders' attempts to become independent of them.

The process of building the alliances was often a rocky road. The traders aimed

for a relationship of reciprocity based on the exchange of goods for furs or provisions. They seemed either to disregard or be oblivious to the centrality of the Carrier concept of more general reciprocity. While they went so far as to give goods as gratuities or on credit to the promising fishers and trappers, the traders generally resisted any sharing of food resources. For instance, in July of 1820, the Fort St James journal records, "Took a Sturgeon of seven and a half feet long. [A]ll the Indians of the Village came in hopes to get a share but as we are short of Provisions & it is a bad custom I gave them none" (HBCA: B188/a/1/fo.11).

Although the relationship over more than thirty years included times of stress and even crisis points, Qua generally maintained the respect of the traders as well as of his people. Trader James McDougall wrote of him on April 17, 1821, "[Qua] is the only Indian who can and Will give fish, and on whom we Must depend in a great Measure. It behoves us to endeavour to Keep friends with him, for Unfortunately he too well Knows our extreme Poverty" (in Bishop 1980:196). McDougall's description in August 1823 is an interesting expression of the role Qua played for the traders and for his community:

> He is really such a Beggar that I believe it is impossible to come to the house without wanting something. But on the other hand he is an industrious Indian and the poor fellow has worked hard to put the Weir in order, which is hard labour when the water is so high and by his good example the other Indians are induced to work, but unless he began not one would do anything and though he is in want he is too poor to buy....

It seems that Qua was approaching McDougall with expectations appropriate to a relationship other than McDougall was attempting to maintain -- one of strict business. McDougall, nevertheless, was clearly interested and concerned about Qua's work at the fishery and his status among the others. The economic, social and political ties the Carrier developed with the traders were of a nature difficult to ascertain from the written records alone. But clearly some privileges and expectations came with marriage relationships and with the traders' recognition of fur trade chiefs.

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PHOTO 1 - 1: Women Picking Berries.
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP96776).

PHOTO 1 - 2: *Man Poling Traditional Dugout Canoe.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP96781).

PHOTO 1 - 3: *Carrier Guide.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP96298).

PHOTO 1 - 4: *Fish Trap and Weir, Island at Mouth of Stuart Lake.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP59801).

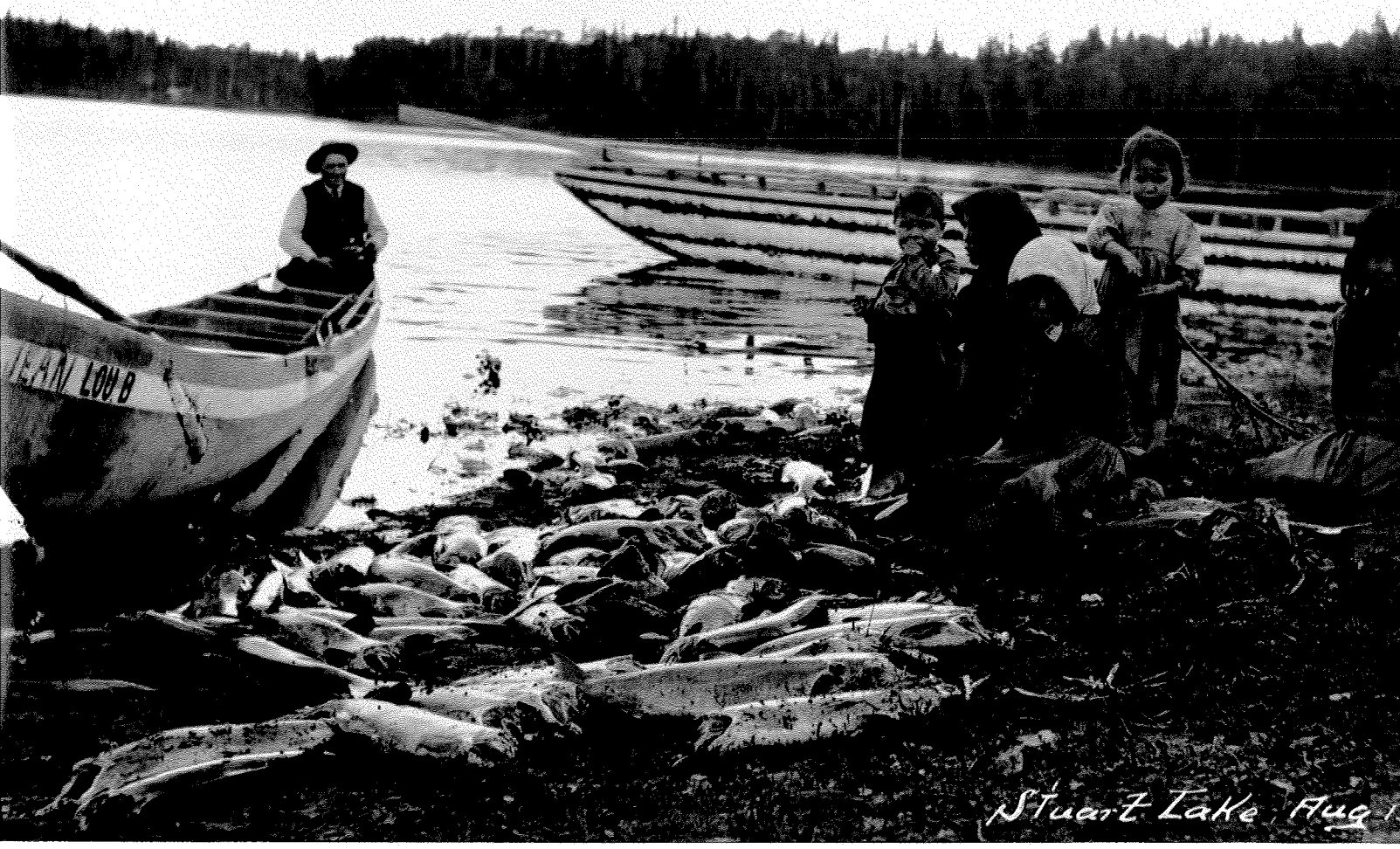

PHOTO 1 - 5: *Cleaning Salmon at Stuart Lake, Aug 1909.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, Swannell Coll. #4259).

PHOTO 1 - 6: *Salmon Trap, outlet of Stuart Lake, 1891.*
(Hudson's Bay Company Archives, James McDougall Collection 1987/13/122).

PHOTO 1 - 7: *Cleaning Salmon at Stuart Lake, Aug 1909.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP96770).

PHOTO 1 - 8: *Drying Cooked Berries under Salmon Cache, Babine Lake, Aug 1906? (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, SHP16766).*

PHOTO 1 - 9: *Smoking Salmon Heads, Stuart Lake, 1909?*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP96783).

PHOTO 1 - 10: *Dog Train.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP8774)

SECTION 2: 1840-1882

The years 1840 to 1882 saw many changes in the dynamics of the trade relationship and the role the Carrier took on at Fort St James. A new fur trade chief grew to take Qua's place -- Qua's son Simeon who the traders named "Prince," or "Le Prince." The trade records suggest that during this period the traders efforts to "improve" the trade relationship by making it more "businesslike" were actually counterproductive, weakening the interdependency that had largely characterized the relationship between Qua and the post. The relentless efforts on the part of the Company to obtain access to subsistence staples other than salmon reduced the posts' dependence on the Carrier. In turn, the Carrier took advantage of new trade options during this time weakening their attachment to the HBC posts.

The relationship between Prince and the Fort St James traders was precarious, especially following a conflict between Prince and post master William Manson in 1854. The HBC posts were attempting to "keep" their local trappers by fighting the trade competition, advancing debt, and rewarding good hunts. But indications show they were not succeeding. In the Carrier culture the strongest ties were kin ties and the ties of obligation and reciprocity arising from ceremonial trade and gift giving. It may well have seemed strange to the Carrier that while, in times of starvation, they gave a portion of their food to the posts, the traders could not be relied upon for the same treatment.

Could the Carrier "take" or "leave" trade with the HBC posts? How was their seasonal cycle affected by involvement in the trade? Were their social structures and the functions they fulfilled affected by the changing resource strategies? These are all important questions to which the written sources only suggest answers. What is apparent is that the Carrier were diversifying their role in the trade, continuing their involvement as trappers and fishermen, but also taking on casual labour directly for the post, and becoming increasingly prominent in freighting, both for the Hudson's Bay Company and for the great variety of new parties making their way into the country.

A. Background

The years studied here, 1840 to 1882, were a significant time of transition. Pivotal events were the rush for gold on the Fraser River in 1858, and again on the Skeena and Omenica Rivers in the 1870s causing the mass movement of people from California and from east of the mountains into the country. The rush started with the arrival in Victoria of 450 men from San Francisco destined for the Fraser River gold fields in 1858. Over the next eight months an estimated 25,000 miners passed through Victoria to the mainland (See Mackie 1984:1). Though many of these were transient fortune seekers, many became permanent settlers. Robin Fisher (1989) has pointed out that the significant difference between these newcomers and the traders that had earlier made their way inland was that the gold seekers did not require any kind of relationship with the native peoples to achieve their goal -- to get rich and to get rich quickly. He wrote, "The reciprocity of interest between Indians and Europeans broke down.... Rather than economic co-operation, there was now economic rivalry between the races.... With the coming of the gold miners, Indians and Europeans were, for the first time, competing for the resources of the country" (Fisher 1989:25, 1977:100-1).

By August 2nd, 1858 the havoc of the gold rush prompted the British government to pass an Act establishing direct rule on the mainland, so that New Caledonia became part of British Columbia. In the same year the exclusive trading privileges of the Hudson's Bay Company were revoked. Competition instead of the previous monopoly changed the rules of the game in the fur trade. James Douglas, former governor of the Western Department for the Hudson's Bay Company, became governor of the new colony. The exclusive trading rights of the Company ended.

There are various perspectives on the effects of this time period on native peoples. Jean Barman (1990) in her recent book *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* argues that the dominant motif in British Columbia in the century from 1858 to the Second World War was disregard of native peoples. Because of being largely ignored, the indigenous peoples were able to retain

elements of their earlier ways of life while adjusting to the new social and economic order. The fur trade, says Barman, may have eased the way. In contrast, Fisher (1977: 25-6, 48) emphasizes the conflict between the groups, beginning with the gold miners. The gold rushes, he says, destroyed the balance of relations developed in the fur trade. The combined impact of the miners, missionaries and administrators was "to force the pace of cultural change and to take the initiative out of Indian hands." Rolf Knight (1975), like Barman, argues for a much later marginalization of natives in the B.C. economy. In his book, *Indians at Work,* Knight documents the contribution of the native peoples in the building of the province of British Columbia. With this evidence he challenges the image of Indians as peripheral to British Columbia's story, and as unable to adapt to change, or fit into the "white man's work world."

New values were communicated by the colonizers and, more systematically, by the missionaries who streamed into the country dividing it between the Oblate, Anglicans, Methodist and other concerns. In 1841 Oblate missionaries were invited to the Carrier lands in response to P.S. Ogden's appeal to officials in New Caledonia for financial support toward Catholic mission work (Morice 1910:286). The Fort St James natives were visited only three times before 1873: by Demers for three days in 1842, Nobili for five days in 1845, and Bishop Herbomez for eight days in 1867. In 1873 the first two longer-term missionaries, Jean-Marie Le Jacq and Georges Blanchet, arrived at Fort St James which became their base for mission work in the neighbouring villages. Blanchet supervised the building of a permanent church at Fort St James, which according to the oral tradition at Fort St James, involved forty or fifty of the local Indians -- men and women -- hauling logs with ropes over ice for a distance of four miles (PABC: tapes 1044, 2453, 1061). The church, built by local Carrier without pay, was not completed until Christmas 1878 (O'Hara 1992). The Oblates had the specific goal of introducing a new religion to native peoples of the New Caledonia area, and they hoped that discouraging traditional beliefs and customs would be a step towards achieving this goal.

With the colonizers came European racist beliefs in white superiority, fueled by the popular ideas of biologist Charles Darwin being applied to human societies. The

complex social organizations of the native groups, the hunting, trapping and fishing economies, and the cultural activities such as potlatch were incomprehensible to the newcomers and diametrically opposed to ideas about what constituted "civilized" life. Civilized life was agrarian, and marked by a capitalist ethic grounded in individualism, private ownership of property and the profit motive (Barman 1990:153-4). The newcomers were confident of the superiority and ascendancy of "civilization" over "barbarism." The Social Darwinist concepts of natural selection and survival of the fittest, led to the conclusion that the native peoples were a dying race. Jean Barman (1990) maintains that this mindset, especially strong in the Victorian ruling classes, was central in fueling the attitudes of disregard for B.C.'s native peoples, as opposed to the decidedly assimilationist and acculturation programs of the federal policy effected in the prairie provinces.

Especially good at articulating the dominant attitudes of the colonizers towards native peoples in British Columbia was Amor de Cosmos in 1861, then editor of the *British Colonist:*

> Shall we allow a few vagrants to prevent forever industrious settlers from settling on the unoccupied lands? Not at all.... Locate reservations for them on which to earn their own living, and if they trespass on white settlers punish them severely. A few lessons would enable them to form a correct estimation of their own inferiority (in Barman 1990:153).

In 1871 the colony joined Confederation, an event which fundamentally altered the legal position of B.C.'s indigenous population and brought into their lives new powers or authorities to deal with. Indian lands became "Crown lands," and Section 91 of the British North America Act made Indian peoples the responsibility of the federal government. They became subject to the laws and regulations of the Indian Act, which after 1880, was administered by the Department of Indian Affairs. The federal policy was implemented by the division of the provinces into districts, or agencies, each with its own Indian agent. Eventually there were twenty of these agencies in British Columbia, including the Stuart Lake and the Babine Lake Agencies.

The various new players in the power structures of the area were problematic for everyone. From the start the federal government and province could not agree on treatment of the native peoples. The province saw its colonial policy as paramount over federal government methods of extinguishing land title by treaty, while the federal government saw dealings with native peoples welfare and lands to be their jurisdiction. Elsewhere in Canada, the federal government and the native peoples were entering into formal treaties whereby land was relinquished for compensation or land reserves. But in B.C., the two governments decided that the priority was to set out reserves quickly, even though they could not agree on how they should be set out. While the federal government was thinking in terms of precedent on the prairies where a minimum of 160 acres per family was being reserved, the B.C. government in 1873 offered four, then eight acres per family. In the mid -1870s a federal land commission began drawing up boundaries for reserves, generally including village sites, hunting grounds, and fishing stations[1]. Native discontent about losing rights to their lands without treaty, negotiation, or consent, grew into hostilities against the newcomers. This only caused officials to demarcate reserves with more urgency, leaving the dispute about how *much* land to fester until it was finally addressed again some forty to fifty years later with a Royal Commission investigation in 1914-15.

The written sources suggest that the years between 1850 and 1870 were especially difficult for the B.C. native populations. For the Carrier it was a time marked by disease, high infant mortality and famine (See Morice, n.d.: 38). In 1862 a smallpox epidemic decimated the native populations of British Columbia. To what extent it affected New Caledonia is difficult to know, but some sources say that it struck the Carrier south of Frasers Lake (See Hudson 1983:99-100, Morice 1978:307-9). Around Stuart Lake measles, venereal diseases and influenza took their toll. In addition, there were chronic failures in the salmon runs in the late 1850s and the 1860s, which largely be responsible for the shift in economic activities of the Carrier during this period from trapping to other activities such as packing for the miners.

[1] Apparently in the Stuart Lake area the initial surveys of the 1870s were forgotten and the area was surveyed a second time beginning in 1892 (Hudson 1983:122).

This time period was also marked by new and powerful forces of political and religious change for the Carrier. During this time Oblate missionaries established permanent mission establishments in Carrier territory. In 1876, surveyor George M. Dawson wrote while passing through the country, "it is extraordinary what a hold they [the Oblate missionaries] have got on the Indians." Dawson described the Carrier as "in the main amenable to the priests teachings" though "not Always & altogether under subjection." He added that some of the Indians of the "Forks of Skeena or Rocher de Bouler"

> laugh at those of Fraser & Stewarts Lakes for their extreme devotion, & ... contrast the state of "Mr Duncans Indians" [referring to the Anglican mission at Metlakatla] with theirs. The priest they say has taught us prayers &c. & now we know them all but learn nothing else, while Mr Duncans Indians learn to read, & have always plenty of money & plenty to eat! (Dawson 1989:284).

For the fur traders, this was a time complicated by new trade competition and by competition for its labour force. The frontier mentality where a man of any class could, through his own efforts rather than painstaking system of promotions, become a wealthy man overnight affected the discipline and attitudes of men. Men deserting for more attractive opportunities became epidemic, and the problems this created in the essential transport of furs, provisions and trade goods were severe. Besides this, a depression in fur prices in Europe meant that the value of fur returns dropped while the expenses of the district remained the same. Increasingly throughout this time period the Company was revising and adjusting its labour system to the rapid changes and new realities. They made efforts to decrease the costs of operations, and introduced policy in the late 1870s to change the structure of the Company. The previously strict hierarchical ranking of men into gentlemen and servant classes was relaxed somewhat, as the Company responded to the increasing difficulty of recruiting and keeping men in this system, and to the practicalities of the trade where getting a job done was becoming more important than whose job it was.[2] The new challenges of this time period meant that much more than before the local native people were looked toward as a potential labour force.

[2] Phil Goldring (1982:24-5) points out that the Company deliberately used a policy of "dispersed recruitment," hiring workers from a diversity of backgrounds, for the purpose of keeping wages down and keeping one ethnic group from dominating in an area and therefore becoming too bold or powerful.

B. Major Roles

1. Trapping

By 1840 when chief Qua died, the traders had come to refer to him as "king of the Carriers." Julian Steward (1960:735) maintained that Qua's potlatch title of "agetas" was, in accordance with tradition, passed on to his nephew "Yuwani," probably his sister's son. The traditional Carrier "village chief" position, which Qua had held, was strongly patrilineal, and was to pass to the chief's brother or son or to someone chosen by the retiring chief for his ability. According to Steward it went to Qua's son, Simeon, whom the traders named "the Prince" or "Le Prince". However, the Fort St James journal indicates that it was Qua's brother, Hoolson, who came to the post in November, days before Qua's internment, to receive his brother's annual chief's clothing:

> Hoolson Old Quas Brother was this day considerably disappointed as he expected to receive his Brothers annual clothing but before I can grant him this he must prove himself worthy of it. [A]t all events neither his hunt nor his conduct this year entitles him to it. [H]owever as he has now become the Chief of the Nakaslians I made him a present of a middling[?] moose Skin this can do no harm (HBCA: B 188/a/19 fo.7).

According to Charles Bishop (1980: 199), Hoolson came to control most of Qua's lands, but he died a few years later, after which Qua's third son, "Prince", was recognized as chief of the Stuart Lake Indians. The journals suggest that while the traders didn't meddle with the choice of the new village chief, they also didn't consider his recognition as *fur trade chief* to be automatic. It was connected to his ability to assume a specific role.

Hoolson appeared to take on his role with enthusiasm. A few days after being refused the chief's clothes, Hoolson and his two sons, Tlung and Yestah, together with Dechamaye[3] went beaver hunting together. By December 3rd, two weeks later, they delivered their hunts of a dozen beaver skins.

[3] Prince had a brother, "Techenea." Perhaps this is the same person.

DYNAMICS OF THE TRADE

By the mid 1840s, the journal writer was using the term "Home Guards" to describe a group of the Fort St James natives. These are likely the same natives also referred to "Indians of the Fort" and "Indians of the Village."[4] These Indians brought in a significant portion of the fur returns, rewarded with gratuities and advances of ammunition and tobacco, "to each according to his ability as a hunter" (HBCA: B 188/a/20, fo.6d). In mid-July of 1847 the journal records, "Returned from McLeods Lake . . . when I found the greatest part of the Home Guards collected from whom I received nearly 12 Packs of Prime Furs" (HBCA: B 188/a/20, fo.24). Usually, however, the journal reports the comings and goings of individual trappers. In the 1846 journal, the natives who are named as bringing in furs are Kelcho, Kelcho's Brother, Ashtuil ("one of our best Hunters"), Tlung (also prominent in the journals), Tsanu, and Alex Bellanger.[5] Prince is mentioned, but very infrequently. At the end of 1846 there is no mention of gratuities given to a chief at New Years, and it may be that no one was in that role.

In the ten years that followed, Prince's name became much more prominent in the records. Many other names of trappers were mentioned as well: Ocock, Kelcho, Mal de Gorge,Yabay, Asthuil, Tootah, Taya, Laysell, Questah, Kaze, Techenea and Gross Tete (the last two were Prince's brothers) (HBCA: B 188/a/20). Some of them were specifically noted to bring in beaver, while others brought in martens and other furs. Between 1840 and 1856 those specifically noted as bringing in beaver were Prince, Hoolson (in the early years) and his sons Tlung and Yestah, Ocock, Kelcho, Mal de Gorge, Yabay, Ashtuil, Tootah, and Tayah. Likely, these beaver hunters were the ones who had title to lands, as rights to hunt beaver were proprietary.

[4] It would be interesting to know whether the large family of Waccan, interpreter for the HBC who arrived in Fort St James in 1806, is included in the designation of "home guard." Apparently by 1847, the post's daily support of Waccan and family were the equivalent of the rations of five men (HBCA: B 188/a/20 fo.28).

[5] Morice (1978) writes a chapter on events surrounding the death of Alexis Belanger, a HBC servant (son of a "French Canadian adventurer" and a Cree woman) who married a Carrier wife in 1837. The Alexr Bellanger I found referred to in the journal does not fit Morice's description. He seems to be a Carrier, as he lived with, hunted and travelled with Carrier, often with Prince. For example, on July 17, 1847 the journal says, "Prince, Bellenger etc went down the River hunting they are entirely out of Salmon and Starving" (HBCA: B 188/a/20 fo.17).

During these decades the ceremonial network of inter-village feasting and gambling continued, working as a mechanism whereby wealth changed hands and whereby ownership of lands, or rights to lands, was established or validated. In November 1852 the Fort St James master expressed the usual disgust for the Babine Indians' "Mania for gambling" they apparently were exhibiting in the previous few years. He described this as "passing their time in idleness" rather than hunting in winter, and resolved to appoint Mr Ogden to the Babine post to "bring matters to a proper state again" (HBCA: B 188/a/21, fo.49-49d).

The Carrier potlatches were also thriving. The 1840s and 50s journals frequently mention feasting, as the Fort St James Carrier were invited to Fort George, Tachie, Grand Rapid, Pinche, Babines and elsewhere. Feasts were sometimes held at Fort St James -- for instance December 1846, June 1850, June 1851, and June 1852. Hosting potlatches were "the principal natives of this Post in memory of some of their deceased relatives" (December 1846), Prince (June 1852), and Ocock and the other Indians of Pinche (December 1853). To Prince's feast in 1852 came Pinche and Tachie natives, "the whole majority of Babines" as well as those from Grand Rapid, Fort George and Frasers Lake.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NEW FUR TRADE CHIEF AND THE POST

By the late 1840s, Prince was distinguishing himself as an excellent hunter, and, it appears, was assuming the role of fur trade chief. Prince often hunted with "his followers," or "his young men," and on December 20, 1849, the journal says, "received a fine little assortment of furs today, chiefly from the Prince, who is decidedly the best hunter among the Porters and in every other respect, he has always conducted himself well" (HBCA: B 188/a/20 fo.93). Some years later, Prince had a confrontation with the Fort St James men, reminiscent of those that Chief Qua had experienced (e.g. with William Harmon in 1811 and with James Douglas in 1828). On March 25, 1854, the journal records that the Prince with two of his brothers came into the hall "apparently with no bad intention." While the trader was in the "Indians shop" attending to another customer, the Prince "tried to pick a quarrel" with Jean Marie Bouche, who was acting as Interpreter. Mr Manson wrote that:

> on observing I immediately interfered & told him he must not make disturbance in my house and as he persisted I ordered him to walk out, and when I got up to enforce my order he put himself in a pretence of defence & threatened by his gestures to strike me. I of course at once closed? with him, and gave him a good hammering, but at the expence of receiving? a heavy blow from him which I received above the ear, and which staggered me for a little time. [B]y this time, however, he had received enough and was turned out. It is proper to state here that neither of his brothers attempted to join him, their endeavours were all confined to pacifying their brother taking him out of the House (HBCA: B 188/a/21, fo.82d).

The incident, however, was not over, as a few days later some visitors to the post declared that the Prince had "forbaden them to give in their furs, unless I consent to make a change of Tariff in their favor." On April 3rd, a day when the post received about 200 martens, Prince reportedly sent a message, "that he was sorry for what have occurred and that he would have visited me but was ashamed of himself." After staying away for a month, Prince sent in a few beaver skins, and the writer commented, "Prince keeps his distance and will wait a long time before I'll invite him to come in." He finally arrived at the post March 18th, giving a few Beaver skins, and "seems to behave himself." Distrust continued however, and when on June 28th Prince returned from a visit to Babines, the writer expressed suspicion that he was attempting to prevent others from "giving Salmon to the Fort both here & at every post in the District where he thinks he has any influence, this is only my judgement I may be wrong however time will tell" (HBCA: B 188/a/21 fo.90). A few days later, when one of the post's young heifers was lost, the writer's response reveals the deteriorating relationship:

> I cannot scarcely move beyond the precincts of the Establishments for the number of Indians about the establishments and the Indians informs me that the prince is always threatening to do something.... as he seems inclined to do some mischief before he stops. [H]e has been I learn last summer from camp to Camp as far as babine preventing Indians from giving in their furs during summer and more particularly during winter threatening to kill the first man that will dispose of his furs to the whites. [H]e has I am aware of having prevented the grand rapid Indians from giving in their salmon as they promised Mr Manson previous to his departure as they informed us of this themselves when last here (HBCA: B 18/a/21 fo.92).

Whether the "mischief" was really on the part of Prince or those who spread the news

about his actions and intentions is hard to tell. But on December 10th the Prince and his followers were back at the post with their hunts.

Because of the lost journals it is difficult to know how Prince and the HBC men related in the decades that followed. However, this was addressed by Morice, who had access to those journals. Morice (1978:284) sheds some light on why the altercation between Prince and Jean Marie Boucher occurred in the first place, attributing it to reports of improprieties between Prince's older of his two wives and Bouche. Morice (1978:284) asserts that after Prince's beating "he sent couriers to the neighbouring villages with messages asking the men to come and help him annihilate the whites, and for three days Indians were seen pouring in from all quarters." Prince's brother apparently tried to diffuse the anger, and the post repeatedly offered gifts of tobacco and other compensation which Prince finally accepted. "But," wrote Morice, "from that day forth there never was any great friendship between him and the representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company.... Once [Prince] went so far as to construct to himself a sort of native fort on the banks of the Stuart River, intending thence to shoot Manson as he left with his brigade" (1978:285-6). Morice (1978:286) quotes journal entries from the mid-1860s, showing the continuing animosity that came to mark the relationship -- for example, the journal writer records, "The Prince of Darkness dispatched his imps to seek for prey," and "Prince on hand. Gave in about seventeen martens; grumbled as usual and made himself disagreeable." More incidents of wounded post animals in 1862 were blamed on Prince, with the comment by the writer, "If they [the incidents] go on at this rate there will be soon an end to all amicable feeling between the whites and the aboriginals." It is difficult to know when Prince stopped being fur trade chief, but it seems that he was not replaced until after his death in 1882 (Mulhall 1978:193).[6]

FACTORS AFFECTING TRAPPING

The key factors affecting the trapping economy of the Carrier during this time were the encroachment of newcomers on their land, more opportunities to trade with

[6] On his travels for the Geological Survey of Canada, George M. Dawson met Prince between Fort George and Quesnel in 1876. Dawson recorded Prince's version of a part of the "Us-tass" story, an important Carrier story about their origins and place in the world (Dawson 1989:287-90).

free traders, and the sharp drop in fur prices in England in the 1870s. With gold miners came destruction of salmon spawning channels and the dislocation of fur mammals, which retreated away from streams (Fisher 1977:100-1). As well, some substantial fires occurred in the 1870s due to actions by passing parties of gold seekers (Dawson 1881:31b). By 1875 the town of Quesnel had emerged as the emporium of the district, attracting natives from their usual trade shops and causing frustration for the HBC traders who complained often about "bad debts."[7] The trappers reportedly received advances from them, yet brought the furs to Quesnel instead of paying their debts. Liquor, outlawed to Indians when B.C. became a province in 1871, was readily available at Quesnel. Also attractive were the more varied selection of goods and the lower prices. The problem of how to keep the Stuart Lake Carrier trading at home continued to challenge the Hudson's Bay Company into the twentieth century.

It appears that in the 1840s and 1850s, the numbers of individuals trapping had increased. This may support Steward's argument that after Qua's time as chief a significant transition occurred in the Carrier land ownership pattern. Traditionally, he says, among the Stuart Lake and Babine Lake Carrier the system of nobility and potlatching involved individual men holding titles which gave them rights to the surplus from certain tracts of land which they used to potlatch. The common people who subsisted on this land contributed furs and certain foods to the nobles (deneza). They were said to be of the same "company," or "phratry," as the nobles. Apparently the chiefs after Qua subdivided communal village trapping territories and claimed them as private property in the names of their sons and grandsons. Specifically, Steward says, Qua's son Prince initiated the breakdown of nobility and their tracts. He was village chief, but not *agetas,* a title traditionally inherited through one's mother's side. But because the fur traders were also recognizing Prince as fur trade chief, there was new and great potential for him to gain in status and in ability to acquire wealth by which to host potlatches, and thereby assume potlatch titles and land privileges. Steward says that Prince divided the land previously recognized as Qua's among his own sons and grandsons (1960:736-7, 741).

[7] Quesnel was established in the 1860s as a supply depot for the Cariboo gold mines (Hudson 1983:92).

Bishop (1980:199) also described a partitioning of lands occurring around this time: "the lands were partitioned among Kwah's offspring into family hunting territories not unlike those possessed by Algonkians in the eastern subarctic. Matrilineal inheritance rules pertaining to land gave way to patrilineal ones at this point." It is difficult to know if this was truly the case, as there is little to be found on this topic in the written sources. But there are many references to white trappers pressing in from the east who were preempting the former territories of Qua, perhaps further eroding traditional land ownership during this time.

2. Provisioning

The Carriers' role as provisioners continued to be essential through the 1840s and 1850s. It is interesting that the Carrier brought the first salmon of the season to the post (HBCA: B 188/a/20 fo.107d). Journal entries provide clues as to which Carrier had rights to fish barriers or weirs. For example, Tlung and Prince are named as having weirs. The August 4th, 1850 entry says, "Tlung sent me two [salmon].... [H]e caught fourteen in his Verveux which he has set somewhere in the River" (HBCA: B 188/a/20, fo.108). Likewise, the July 2nd, 1851 entry says, "this evening the Prince took a Sturgeon in his verveux & of which we received a portion" (HBCA: B 188/a.20, fo.139d). Fisheries other than salmon fisheries were important, especially those of trout and carp from the lakes in spring. The Carrier brought significant supplies of these lake fish to the post.

The Carrier also brought whole beavers, bear and caribou to the post. Like Qua before him, Prince took on a good deal of the responsibility of providing the post with these provisions, at least until his falling out with Mr Manson. Entries such as the following are scattered throughout the journals:

October 3, 1846: "Prince with Kelcho's Brother arrived from below and gave in a few furs, with a few Geese."

Oct 26, 1850: "Prince arrived from his hunting excursion and gave in 2 Geese and 13 ducks."

April 24, 1851: "Athuil and Questah arrived from an hunting excursion, gave in 18 bustards."

April 28, 1851: "Prince arrived from below with 7 bustards.

By mid century, references to large game appear more frequently:

March 11, 1850: "an Indian arrived from the Prince's camp and states that they have killed 10 Deer."

Mar 6, 1851: "Carriboo are reported to be numerous in the Mountains opposite Tache."

March 17, 1852: "[T]he Prince and brother also arrived from an excursion. [T]hey I believe have made a good hunt of Carriboux and a few furs."

Oct 1, 1852: "Indians gave in a few Bustards they also Killed a Carribeaux at the Village along the Lake."

Provisioning the post appears to be a priority and an obligation for certain Carrier. Some of the principal hunters seem to have given a portion of their hunts even when they and the people around them are clearly suffering deprivation. For instance, in August of 1847, the local natives were completely out of food because of the failure of the salmon run. The post men, too, were hungry and contemplating killing one of their oxen for food. Significantly, on August 24th when Tlung caught two beaver in his traps, he gave the meat of one to the post. Two days later when the writer reported, "Tlung caught a large Beaver and the Princes Young Men two Beavers," he added "[T]he poor Indians are really Starving" (HBCA: B 188/a/20 fo.27d-28).

Receiving a part of the hunts was expected by the post men. For instance, on August 21, 1851, the Fort St James journal says, "Athuil I learn killed three bears with his snares but so far gave in nothing of his hunt the beggar." Also, on August 15, 1850, the journal says, "Mal de Gorge arrived today from some Lake on the Road to McLeods Lake, reports Beaver & Bears numerous, so much so, that he fed his dogs on the meat of the former, but brought <u>none</u> to the Fort" (HBCA: B 188/a/20 fo.109).

THE POST'S EFFORTS TO BECOME MORE SELF-SUFFICIENT

The HBC men continued their attempts to develop successful fisheries of their own, both of lake fish and, it appears, of salmon. As well, they continued to trade

dried fish from the natives around the posts and especially from the Babines where the salmon runs were the most predictable and successful. The appointed fishermen at Fort St James regularly set nets for salmon without the opposition which seems to have characterized such attempts in the first decades of HBC presence on Stuart Lake.[8] Perhaps they had obtained legitimate rights to fish through their marriages to Carrier women, who inherited these rights. Or perhaps they were limiting their fishing for salmon to nets in the Lake, which was not considered an interference to the Carrier weir fishing at the mouths of the streams and rivers.

While the salmon resource had always been somewhat precarious, during the late 1850s and throughout the 1860s there were chronic failures in the runs. Developing independence from this resource and finding new ways to acquire steady supplies of provisions became an urgent priority. Emergency supplies were imported, new transportation routes investigated and energies poured into agricultural pursuits. In spring of 1861, 70 horse loads of provisions were sent from Victoria to Alexandria, including 11,000 lbs of flour, 2,000 lbs of bacon, and 1,000 lbs of beans, to alleviate starvation in the district and to keep the natives from leaving the area with their furs in search of food.[9] The heavy consumption of imported food seriously cut into the profits of New Caledonia. One source suggests that by the time trade goods and supplies reached Fort St James, their cost was 43.66% higher than at York Factory (Smith 1972:17).

Efforts to succeed in agriculture were renewed, even to the extent of experimenting with keeping the New Caledonia men inland for most of the summer, both to farm and to prepare supplies of fish themselves "without depending on the Indians for it."[10] Roderick Finlayson, in fact, saw agriculture as the key to "dispense with salmon altogether as a main article of food within the district," and to gain an advantage over the trade competitors, who needed to import their provisions.[11] A report printed in *The British Colonist,* in 1862 (Dec 23, p.3), presented a hopeful picture of the prospects for agriculture at Fort St James:

[8] In 1850 Baptiste Lapierre is named as looking after the post fishery.

[9] HBCA: B 226/b/22, pp115-7, Mactavish to Ogden, April 2, 1861.

[10] HBCA: B 226/b/27 pp.18-25, Finlayson to Board of Management, July 17, 1862.

[11] HBCA: B 226/b/23, pp.5-8, Finlayson to Ogden, Oct 8, 1863.

> Mr. Peter Ogden, chief trader, is in charge, assisted by two clerks, Mr. McKenzie and Mr. Hamilton, and about a dozen men. Vegetables of all kinds with barley, are raised there, and mature well. They have about 30 head of cattle, and a dozen horses.

On September 4, 1866, Thomas Elwyn a visitor to Fort St James wrote: "At this post . . . from fifty to sixty acres of land have been fenced in; potatoes and barley are cultivated about twenty head of cattle, fed on hay during the winter, are kept at this place" [12]

As for improvements in the transport system, by the early 1840s the freighting of supplies to New Caledonia by north canoe had apparently ended, as the canoes were replaced by "Columbia Boat" (Cullen 1980:245-6). Cullen (1980:242) writes that between 1846 and 1848 three more supply routes were explored: the Fraser itself, a route by the banks to by-pass the rapids of Fraser Canyon, and a trail southeast of the river which avoided mountain and river travel and joined the Fraser 25 miles above Fort Langley. The Fraser River was again confirmed as unfeasible, the southern route was dismissed, as it lacked food for horses, leaving the option of transporting on the banks of the Fraser. The New Caledonia brigade journey over this trail in the summer of 1848 was a disaster, so the Coquihalla route with some changes became within two years New Caledonia's supply line (Cullen 1980:244). In 1862 the last trip of the legendary brigade was made over the Alexandria-Kamloops-Fort Hope trail. Goods began to be forwarded by public pack train to Alexandria until 1864, after which the Company used its own wagons on the road from Yale to Alexandria (See Cullen 1980: 245).

Becoming independent of the Carrier had its costs. Bonds of interdependence and obligation which likely sustained the relationship in the earlier years were weakened, and the Carrier increasingly looked after their own interests. For instance, on September 16th, 1851, Mr Griffin arrived at Fort St James from the Babine Portage with no salmon and the report that "the Indians of the post there would not dispose of their Salmon at the old standard but wished that Mr Griffin would lower the price of Salmon say from 90 thick to 50 per Made Beaver" (HBCA: B 188/a/21 fo.44).

[12] PABC: F526/8, Colonial Correspondence, Thomas Elwyn to Colonial Secretary, Sept 4, 1866.

Whether the Company complied to these demands is unclear, but it is significant that the Carrier would bargain in this way.

PROVISION SHORTAGES

For the trade to show profits, the posts as well as the natives had to be well supplied with provisions. During the years when the natives were suffering from scarcity of salmon, returns suffered as the Indians concentrated on food gathering rather than trapping. During difficult years, they depended on their distribution networks, which involved groups travelling for help from distant, better off communities. For instance, in the fall of 1846 the journal writer noted that a party of natives from Frasers lake had arrived destitute of salmon. He added, "indeed I understand the whole Tribe intend passing the winter among the Indians of this Place & Tatchy" (HBCA: B 188/a/20, fo.4). In those difficult years the Carrier also typically requested heavy advances of "necessaries" from the Hudson's Bay Company, and, as free traders became more common in the country, from them as well.

Flour became a predominant item demanded in exchange for furs. In fact by 1864, flour, rice, sugar and tea were described as "being the staple articles" for the Indian trade (HBCA: B 226/b/23, pp. 173-4). This was detrimental to the trade because flour was very heavy and thus cost a great deal to transport. The high volume of these imports are indicated by records showing that in the 1876 outfit the following amounts of flour, tallow and beans were required:[13]

	Stuart's Lake	*Total in District*
Flour, sfine:	17,000 lbs	26,400 lbs
Flour, extra:	2,000 lbs	11,300 lbs
Tallow:	600 lbs	800 lbs
Beans:	500 lbs	1,100 lbs

NEW TRADE COMPETITION

James A. Grahame wrote in 1872, "the influx of strangers etc has disorganized

[13] William Charles June 1, 1876, HBCA: B 188/z/2.

the Indians and raised the price of Furs"[14] With the prolification of petty traders in New Caledonia, paying cash for furs became increasingly common. This was a significant shift from the longstanding HBC tradition of goods for furs, as this kind of trade did not involve the direct link of reciprocity -- the cash could be spent on goods from other shops than those of the fur buyer. By 1867 the HBC were valuing their furs by a cash tariff as well.[15] Predictably, natives were accused of taking advances from the Company, and then selling the furs to competitors for cash. Whenever competition in the district was present, the Company complained about the huge "bad debts" of the Indians. The Company resisted paying cash for furs, because their profits were higher when the whole transaction stayed in their own shop. That way they gained on both their fur tariffs and shop prices. But when they had to, the Company gave in to the Indians' requests both for cash and for debt, as these could be obtained from competitors. In 1875, $5,000 worth of provisions were allowed to the natives on credit in the New Caledonia District.[16]

Having a near monopoly of trade previously allowed the HBC to have certain controls over the local natives and to use debt and gratuities as rewards and retraction of them as discipline. For example, in 1847, the journal writer resolved that several trappers of Fort St James and Fond du Lac "should not be advanced Goods on debt for Some time," because they had "disposed of" 47 beaver at a feast in Babine, when many of them were indebted to the Company (HBCA: B 188/a/20, fo.24d). This control was notably diminished when there were trade competitors in the country.

CONTINUING IMPORTANCE OF SALMON

The Company continued to purchase salmon from the natives when they could. In 1842 Peter S. Ogden, in his "Notes on Western Caledonia," advised his successor on how to handle the Indian trade: "Salmon are bartered at the rate of 90 for one Beaver and are paid for in the most valuable goods. [T]he Carriers know too well their own interest to take any other. [F]ormerly at this place 60 were equal to a skin

[14] HBCA: B 226/b/44, p.938, Grahame to Williams, Aug 22, 1872.

[15] HBCA: B 226/b/34, pp.90-2, Finlayson to Smith, Mar 14, 1867.

[16] HBCA: B 226/b/48, pp.328-336, Charles to Armit, Sept 30, 1876.

as an inducement to them to trade more and to save transportation in the winter" (Ogden 1937:50?). In fall of 1865, the Company purchased over 20,000 dried salmon at the Babine fishery which cost them $1000 in trade.[17] At that time, it was reported that the "men around the Fort" were still seldom getting "anything to eat except salmon and what they can procure with their guns. A Clerk in charge of a fort is only allowed 100 lbs of flour and a small supply of Tea and Sugar Yearly."[18]

3. Freighters

PROBLEMS KEEPING AND RECRUITING CONTRACTED SERVANTS

Keeping and recruiting contracted servants was one of the Company's greatest challenges during these decades. Not only did the reputation of New Caledonia as a "Siberia of the fur trade" discourage recruits, but the privations experienced by servants in the district, the harsh disciplinary code effected by some HBC officers and the attractions of the California and, later, the B.C. gold fields caused increasing numbers of men to desert. In 1846 alone, six men deserted the New Caledonia brigade, apparently because of the food. In the years following 1858, desertions from the brigade increased, as the Fraser gold fields provided enticement for an alternate life-style and reduced the likelihood of recapture. Abandoning the service was seen as a serious offence and punished accordingly. The treatment of two Sandwich Islanders who left the inland bound brigade in 1847 is described by Paul Kane (1968:181):

> The next thing was to punish the deserters.... Our guide, a tall, powerful Iroquois, took one of them and Mr. Lewis seized the other.... [T]he punishment consisted in simply knocking the men down, kicking them until they got up, and knocking them down again until they could not get up any more, when they finished them off with a few more kicks.[19]

[17] PABC: film 91A (5), Edmund Conway to Col. Chas Bulkley, Dec 20,1865.

[18] PABC: film 91A (5), Edmund Conway to Col. Chas Bulkley, Dec 20,1865.

[19] The problem of desertions was not limited to New Caledonia alone. Phil Goldring (1982:56) points out that between 1858 and 1869 the Company engaged 618 new hands inland for the Northern Department. Of these 71 (11.5%) deserted before the end of outfit 1870, and a further 18 were discharged or dismised during the course of a countract. Goldring maintains that these desertions point to a weakening of discipline as well as to the arrival of economic opportunities outside of the HBC.

The Company answered these challenges by active recruitment and by seeking new labour pools. While references to "Sandwich Islanders" (Hawaiians, a.k.a "Kanakas") can be found in New Caledonia servant lists and journals in the 1820s to 40s, it appears that the greatest numbers of them worked in the mid nineteenth century. In 1846-7 five were on the New Caledonia servants list, in 1847-8 there were nine, in 1848-9 seven, and 1850-1 three.[20] The district also continued to look to the Northern Department for its crews (1980: 240). But some previous labour sources were drying up. For instance, in the early years William Connolly maintained that the best recruits for New Caledonia were 'young Men from Canada.' In 1842, however, Ogden told his successor that in later years he had been sent from Canada "the refuse of brothels and Gaols" (see Cullen 1980:240).

The New Caledonia district was severely shorthanded in 1853 with only 37 labourers. By 1855 the usual complement of 56 to 58 labourers had been restored by the addition of 'halfwhite lads' brought up in the country. In 1857 Douglas pleaded with Simpson that Canadian recruits were absolutely necessary "as we cannot find a man in this part of the world, who could be induced, upon any terms to winter in new Caledonia." At the height of the Fraser River gold rush in the summer of 1858, the annual pay of a brigade man compared unfavourably to one week's earnings at the gold mines. The Company responded by raising wages. Scarcely any "white" men were left in the district by 1858 and four of six Norwegian recruits sent from the Northern Department deserted. "English half breeds" from Red River were now requested for the service of New Caledonia since they were "more tractable and trustworthy and better servants than other natives" (Cullen 1980:244).

EFFORTS TO HIRE LOCAL NATIVES AS FREIGHTERS

In spite of pay raises in 1863, the labour problems persisted. The idea to hire more local natives arose as a way to combat the problem of recruits signing on with the Company merely to get a free trip inland, and then deserting for the mines.[21] In 1870 Grahame reported on the labour problems that "over here we have no voyageur community either good or bad," and that "the Transport Service of New

[20] HBCA: B 223/d/169,176,184,195, also personal communication with Tom Koppel.

[21] HBCA: B 226/b/23, pp.202-3 Finlayson to Ogden, Mar 23, 1864.

Caledonia has been a struggle to us only overcome so far through the able management of Chief Trader Ogden. His boatmen consist partly of the failing remnant of our old servants, who are tied to New Caledonia by their Indian connexions, and partly of the best of the Indians around the Forts who are collected at Stuart's Lake every Spring for the purpose of manning the boats." About these local freighters, Grahame reported, "These crews he [Ogden] cannot easily increase in number even should the District require more supplies. . . . None can be engaged here where labour is so high, and the old source of supply from York Factory has for many years dried up."[22]

Grahame's reference to the cost of labour being "so high," is supported by surveyor George M. Dawson (1989:277) who complained that his native packers between Fort St James and Fort George were insisting on higher wages than "many white men, in other Parts of the world" would expect for the same work. On the way from Fort St James to Fort George in 1976, Dawson's native packers argued for better pay, saying that the HBC gave them $20 in goods for the trip there & back. Dawson finally settled on paying them $1.50 a day, as previously, with an additional $1.00 for the canoe and 6 days pay plus some provisions for their return trip (Dawson 1989:277). This gives some idea of the going rates for transport. Dawson was working for the Geological Survey of Canada, but he was in the company of railway survey teams. He recorded the wages paid for pack trains by the Canadian Pacific Railway Surveys as follows:

Carjadores [teamsters] $80 per month
White Packers not Carjadores $60
Indian packers & assistant packers $60
Axemen and Indians not packers $45

Dawson added the comment, "Paying Indian packers $60 seems absurd as they do not Get such wages elsewhere. $40 I believe given by private packers on the Waggon Road" (Dawson 1989:272).

[22] HBCA: B 226/b/45, pp.8-13, Grahame to Smith, May 10, 1870.

"Indian Packers" does not always refer to Indians packing with pack horses. Much of the transport with Indian carriers during the middle of the century was done by Indians packing on their backs. In 1886 J.M.L. Alexander wrote to Victoria arguing that the Company operating their own pack train on the trail between Hazelton and Babine would be less expensive than hiring natives to carry the packs. He writes that "by Indian Carriers" it would require 100 Indians packing each 100 lbs at a time: "[They] could not possibly make a round trip in less than 8 days, returning with the furs would take 96 days to complete the work across the portage." This, he says, "makes no allowance for loss of time or stoppages which always have, and probably always will occur when indians alone are depended upon."

Alexander argued that even if they could obtain 100 Indians who would all work steadily for that length of time, "what guarantee would there be against loss by theft or damage to the goods or furs?" He pointed out that by pack train 40 horses could deliver 10,000 lbs every eight days: "the Furs going west by returning would take 88 days to deliver 110,0000 lbs at Babine and 10,000 lbs furs at Hazelton...." In his "Estimate of work to be preformed by the District" Alexander listed the volume of the goods that needed transporting:

Stuart Lake:	40,000 lbs Four, 40,000 lbs general goods
McLeods Lake:	5,000 lbs Flour, 10,000 lbs general goods
Babine:	14,000 lbs Flour, 10,000 lbs general goods
	1,000 lbs odds & ends
	120,000 lbs going east into the district
	12,000 lbs furs and meat out of district

The costs of a pack train he lists as follows:

Pack train:	40 horses & rigging complete @ $62.50:	$2500
Cargador	6 month working season @ $60 per month:	$360
	and for 6 month close season @ $30:	$180
Four packers	5 month working season @ $30 per month:	$750
Provisions	$1 per day per man:	$1110
Hay	for horses wintering	$100
TOTAL cost for one year:		$3125.00

Alexander does not itemize in as much detail what the native carriers would require, but he concludes that the "difference in favor of packtrain" is $1135.00. [23]

By 1871 it appears that the native people were involved in freighting to the extent that it was affecting the fur returns. Finlayson wrote: "Mr. Hamilton [in charge of Fort St James] also alludes to the decline of the fur trade in New Caledonia, owing to the native hunters being now employed so much in the transport of supplies to the mines: in order to make up for this decline, it would be desirable to send forward a much larger stock of provisions than usual for sale to the natives who are now well supplied with cash"[24]

That the Hudson's Bay Company were reluctant to hire local native freighters, is partly explained by their not wanting to pay high prices to native freighters, but perhaps was also influenced by the situation in the Northern District. There, as Phil Goldring points out, the Company had heavily depended upon native freighters, especially Métis from Red River area. But the native seasonal workers were found to be independent enough to hold out for the best possible terms as well as to organize and act as a group in protest to conditions or payment. With such a uniform group on the brigades, discipline was difficult to maintain. George Simpson said in 1855, "it being of importance, with a view to the maintenance of order and subordination, that the servants at the Company's posts should be of different races." (in Goldring, 1982:268). For instance the boat brigades which carried freight between York Factory and Lake Winnipeg and between Red River and the gateway to the far north, Portage La Loche came to depend heavily on the casual local employees (Goldring 1982:181). During the summer of 1869 the boat crews from Red River mutinied on the Saskatchewan River, and a year later eight of nine Red River crews did likewise. Although these strikes largely by the Red River Métis were politically motivated, they demonstrated to the Company their vulnerability to its native labour force (Ray 1990:6).

[23] PABC: J.M. L. Alexander to Victoria, Alexander Correspondence, 1886.

[24] HBCA: B 226/b/43, pp.87-8, Finlayson to Armit, Sept 4, 1871.

C. Other Roles

1. Labourers

References to the post resorting to local labour are rare, but those that exist suggest it was in the 1850s that the Company first turned in any significant way to local natives to compensate for shortages in workers around the post. On October 6, 1853, the journal writer recorded,

> The few hands now at this Post are insufficient for the duties of the fall and without the assistance of Indians we could not get through with the work. [C]onsequently the two past days we have had the help of several Indian women to take up our Potatoes, which job was completed this evening.... (HBCA: B 188/a/21, fo.73).

On the 12th of April, 1854, James Douglas wrote to Manson: "In your letter of the 2nd of October allusion is made to the employment of Indians to make up for the deficiency of white servants, a very proper measure, and you must provide Goods for the payment of such service" (HBCA: B 226/b/10 pp.109d-111. See also Morice 1978:113).

A surviving account book of "Fort Expenses," lists tasks which appear to have been done by casual labourers, likely the local natives, in 1869, 1871 and 1872. The work was paid for in goods which are also itemized. For instance, in summer 1871, Fort St James paid $2.79 in Sugar, Tea and Flour "for bringing horses from Fraser's Lake." On October 10th, they paid $10.40 in clothes and food for "Salmon Transport." On October 16th, they paid $7.91 in flour, beef and other food for "cattle driving." Other tasks paid for in goods that fall include "bringing Stoves," "fixing stove pipes," "boating salmon on the Babine Lake," "Carrying the Salmon from Portage to Fort," "Horse Hunting," and "hauling up Boats" (See Appendix D for partial transcription of this document).

2. Women's Roles

The journals from 1840s to 1856 have few indications of the roles that women were playing. Clearly, however, some were wives and mothers of HBC men. In this role, they took on certain tasks about the post. The are most often mentioned in the role of harvesting in the autumn. For instance in early October of 1850, "Deschamp with the women" were digging up potatoes (HBCA: B 188/a/20 fo.113d). The journal entry of October 1st, 1852 says a few of the men "with two of the Woman digging Potatoes dug up 53 Kegs today" (HBCA: B 188/a/21 fo.46)[25] On July 7, 1850, "Deschamp old Baptiste with the Woman" are "weeding and hoeing the Potatoes" (HBCA: B 188/a/20, fo.105).

The women had other tasks as well. An entry from Sept 1847, says "House washed by the women and the Salmon hung up" (HBCA: B 188/a/20, fo.29d). That year there had been a rare salmon harvest of "an Immense quantity." The "Fort Mens Wives" were reported to be "separating Salmon," and "splitting salmon," while the fort men arranged them on scaffolds to dry. The post received dry Salmon by the thousands from the natives but also, as the journal writer noted, "fresh Salmon by Canoes full, indeed too many for the great work we have to perform at this place at present and I am obliged to stop the bringing in of fresh Salmon as I have no man to attend the same." "Women of the Village" were called upon in October of that year, for "carting the remainder of the Salmon to the New Store" (HBCA: B 188/a/20, fo.115). By 1853 they were also being called upon to assist with the traders' wives in the potatoe harvest.

In describing the roles taken on by the wives and children of fur traders in general, Phil Goldring (1982:171) writes that they helped with "domestic chores, gardening, and tasks like sewing enormous numbers of tracking shoes for voyageurs." Another duty they took on was the cooking. While officers were allowed to employ a cook for the "mess" (where gentlemen took meals together), the labourers probably had no communal eating facilities except what they and their

[25] One of the more successful crops, in 1852 the 44 kegs of potatoes planted yielded a harvest of 787 kegs (HBCA: B 188/a/21, pp.31-2,46d-47).

wives arranged in their homes (Goldring 1982:169). These roles the women took on about the post amounted to part time employment and were rewarded by board and lodging. This form of compensation was a very long tradition, and arose early in the nineteenth century as recognition of the women's part in the smooth running of the posts.[26]

Balancing the expenses that came with supporting large families, however, was a concern of the Company whenever it had financially troubled times. Goldring records that in the 1870s the Company tried to forbid marriages without a district officer's permission, and in 1872 rations were cut off except to a "lawful wife" and one or two children (1982:171,265). The policy was, "Families so provided for [are] understood to give any assistance required, about Posts", with extra dependents "being supported entirely on private account." While this reform was enforceable in such places as the new province of Manitoba, further afield it was not necessarily enforced (Goldring 1982:265).

It is unclear what status the Carrier wives of HBC men had amongst their own people. Did they retain their family connections? Or were they somehow dispossessed or alienated from their previous kin network? In early November 1840, during a time of great deprivation, the Fort St James journal writer recorded, "Our expenditure of Salmon is now eighteen per day and our numbers exclusive of Children amount to 11 Men and Women, of the latter we have now less than 5 and in the present scarcity could well dispose of them. [A]s it is the poor creatures must be fed" (HBCA: B 188/a/19 fo.3d).

Women did trade at the post, but these mentions are very rare. They are sometimes noted as bringing in berries or kegs of gum to trade (see HBCA: B 188/a/20 fos. 98,115d). Some references suggest that women and children hunted martin and muskrat, but it is unclear whether women actually came to the post to trade furs or whether they came as companions to the male traders. On April 9th, 1851 the journal recorded, "Prince and Tlung's wife arrived from down the River with

[26] In 1802 a letter from York Factory to the London Committee argued for recognition of the essential tasks done by the native wives: ". . . In short they are virtually your honors' servants and as such we hope you will consider them" (HBCA: B 239/b/79 fos. 40d-41).

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a tolerable good hunt for the time they were absent. [A]lso gave in 2 Bustards, the first this year" (HBCA: B 188/a/20 fo.133). Although the numbers of children "attached to the post" were mentioned in regards to provisioning, references in the records to roles they played around the establishments are very rare.

Rolf Knight (1978:245) maintains that throughout B.C. both native women and native men sought new employment opportunities that came with the gold rushes. He wrote that women, like men, were involved in guiding and packing for the miners. Robin Fisher (1977), on this point however, says that it was mostly men who sought migrant labour while women and children carried on subsistence bush activities.

3. Prince's Role in the HBC's System of Law and Order

There is an interesting role that certain prominent natives were called upon by the HBC to do -- that of participating in the disciplining of offenders. On June 2nd, 1847, the journal says, "This morning Waccan with one Indian off to Frasers Lake for the purpose of assisting Mr Ogden to lay hands on Jas Jocque the deserter who I am informed is camped with the Indians of that place a short distance from the Establishment." On July 2nd, 1851 we read, "On turning out the men to work this morning it was discovered that Joseph Lebrun had deserted during the night." The man had taken a few Company goods, including carrying an axe, a pair of Compasses, a new padlock, and a file. The writer responded: "Dispatched the Interpreter with the prince, & four of his young men, in pursuit of the rascule, with instructions to proceed with every dispatch to the commencement of the rapids, should they not capture him above and there watch his passing." The search party returned two days later with the deserter (HBCA: B 188/a/20 fo.139d).

Prince was sometimes looked to for approval, or perhaps permission, in the punishment of native offenders. In mid-November, 1853 an Indian appeared at Fort St James who was recognized to have stolen a few articles, mostly clothing, from an HBC man two years earlier. The writers says:

Several Indians were present . . . and on my asking what punishment the Thief

> deserved the principal man, and Chief of this place, replied that if the thief had belonged to his Tribe, he would in the first place give him a good beating himself & then hand him over to me to be dealt with as I might think proper. I therefore tied the fellow up and gave him a good flogging with a day whip (HBCA: B 188/a/21 fo.75d-76).

That this role was taken seriously is indicated in an incident in May 1850 when Prince arrived at Fort St James in charge of the deserter Mayoo with a letter from Mr Manson that the man was already punished but that he should be put in irons for his conduct and as an example to others. However, as the journal writer records, "the Prince assured me that the man was very unwell," and as a result the post master declined putting the man in irons, giving him a "severe reprimand" instead (HBCA: B 188/a/20 fo.100d).

Local Carrier also did occasional tasks about the post, such as carrying messages, repairing dog harnesses, gumming boats or making oars and poles.[27] Occasionally individuals were also recruited to guide HBC men on trips to the other posts in the district, especially in winter or when, for example in November of 1850, ten "green hands" arrived from the East side of the Mountains. It appears that local natives were also occupied in providing goods or services to individual HBC men, rather than to the Company. In 1853 George Simpson instructed that "private orders," (goods individual officers and servants were allowed to order at special prices) were to be limited to "absolute personal necessaries." Apparently, this policy was to curtail the practice of employees purchasing large quantities of goods at these favourable prices to pay natives on private account.[28]

D. Summary

The notable change in the relationship between the Carrier and the Fort St James post during this period is a weakening of ties. The relationship between Prince and the Fort St James post during the 1850s and 60s was often a power struggle. As village chief and nobleman, Prince's role was to be a successful hunter,

[27] For example, Jan 27, 1851, August of 1847.

[28] HBCA: B 226/c/1, Simpson to Board of Management, June 18, 1853.

settle disputes in his community, host potlatches, and give his followers sound direction on provisioning strategies. As fur trade chief he was to encourage loyalty to the Hudson's Bay Company. But increasingly the Carrier pursued the newly available options in trade outlets and employment opportunities.

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PHOTO 2 - 1: *Potatoe Patch, Fort St James (?)*
(Vanderhoof Historical Society, R22-7A,8).

PHOTO 2 - 2: *Gardens, Fort St James.*
(Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 1987/363-F-61/16).

PHOTO 2 - 3: *The HBC post at Fraser Lake with barley field in foreground, ca. 1905. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP10800).*

PHOTO 2 - 4: *Packing up in front of Fort St James Warehouse, August 24, 1891. (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, James McDougall Collection 1987/13/131).*

PHOTO 2 - 5: *Freighting on the Finlay River in dugout canoe.*
(Canadian Parks Service, Fort St James NHP)

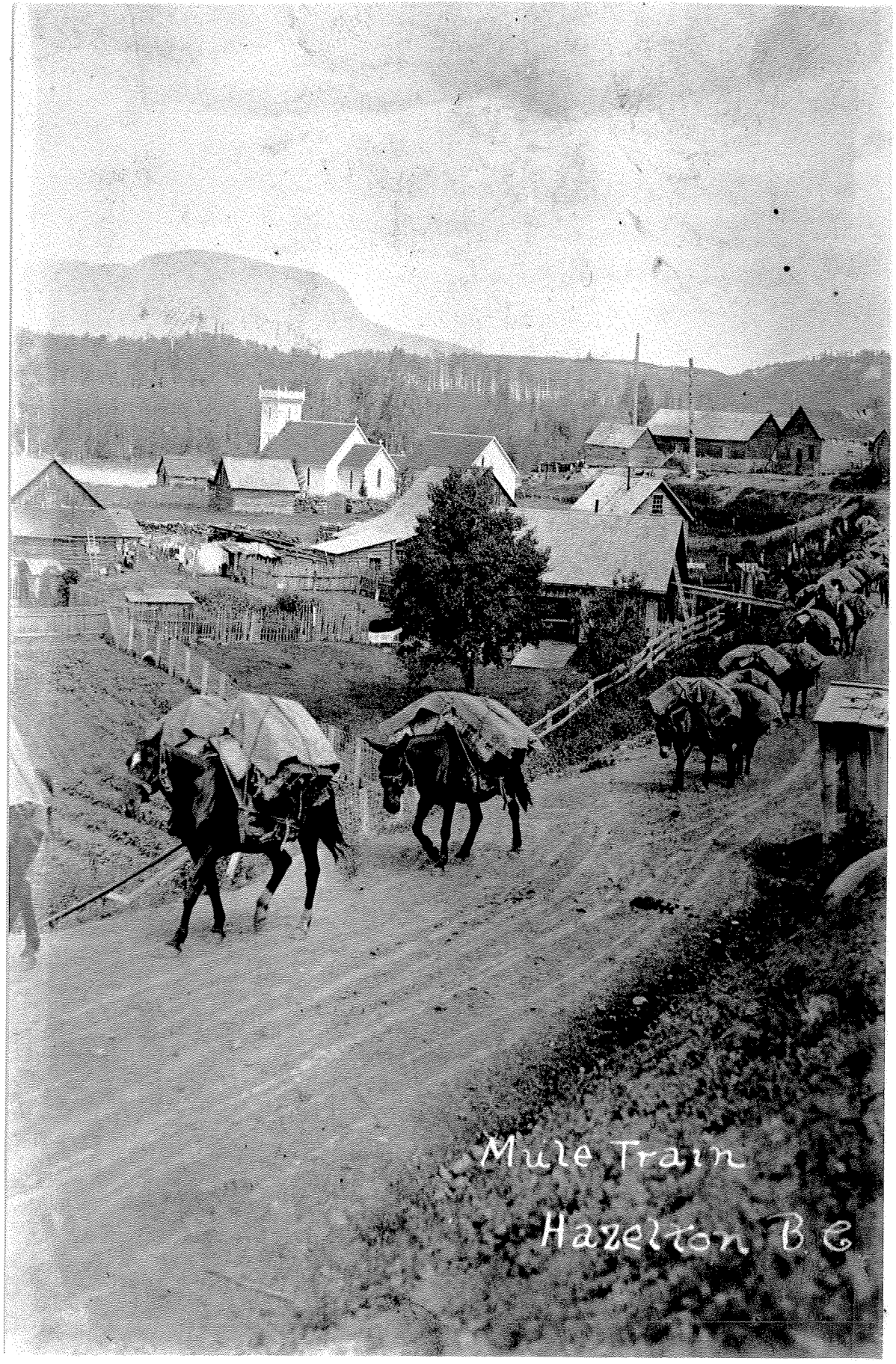

PHOTO 2 - 6: *Mule Train, Hazelton, B.C., Ca. 1904.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP61270

PHOTO 2 - 7: *Jean Caux's (Cataline's) pack train loading for Babine Lake, 1897. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP8760).*

PHOTO 2 - 8: *Cataline's pack train leaving for McLeod's Lake, 1905. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP69960).*

PHOTO 2 - 9: *Cataline's pack train near Burn's Lake, Oct. 1909.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP69992).

PHOTO 2 - 10: Winter freighting from Fort St James to Manson Creek mines. (Canadian Parks Service, Fort St James NHP).

PHOTO 2 - 11: *District boats on Finlay River.*
(Canadian Parks Service, Fort St James NHP).

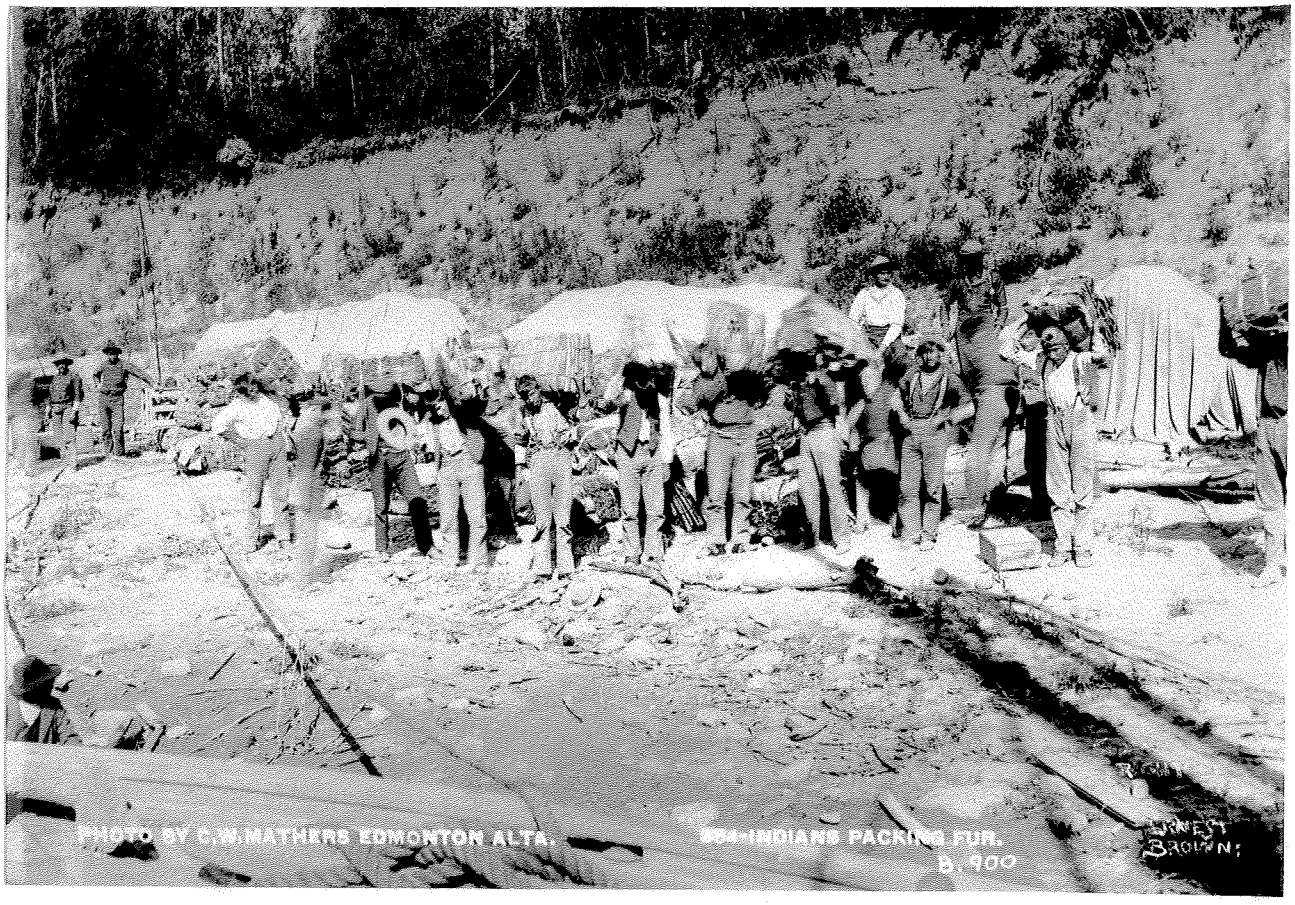

PHOTO 2 - 12: Natives packing furs, c.1891-1904.
(Provincial Archives of Alberta, E. Brown Collection #B900)

SECTION 3: 1882-1915

This section begins with Prince's death in 1882 and continues to 1915, when a Royal Commission on native land questions circulated in British Columbia, recording submissions by the natives on their living conditions, their subsistance bases and land usage. During this period the Carriers' role in the trade became most diversified as the natives of New Caledonia responded and adapted to the rapidly changing landscape. Their previously essential provisioning role became increasingly irrelevant because of the growing ease with which food goods were imported, and because of increasing difficulty in obtaining salmon -- new laws were passed forbidding first the traditional weir fishing technology, then the sale of salmon. Then, in 1914, an explosion during the building of the Great Northern Railway blocked the Fraser River at "Hells Gate," some 200 kilometres from the city of Vancouver, completely obstructing the salmon migration with devastating results for the Carrier resource base. While the Stuart Lake Carrier attempted to compensate for this loss by developing new fishing stations on the head of Babine Lake[1] together these factors brought the virtual collapse of the salmon fishery in New Caledonia. The fishery was not effectively restored until the 1940s.

The Carrier continued in their role as trappers, perhaps with increased intensity as they became significant consumers of imported foods, which they bought with moneys from their fur hunts and their wage labour.[2] At the same time, however, it is clear that these years were marked by the depletion of fur bearers and the fluctuation of fur prices, which would have discouraged trapping. This contributed to the local native peoples of Stuart Lake taking on unprecedented roles as employees of the posts. The written sources show that by the 1880s, the HBC labour force, previously imported from Lower Canada, Scotland, Rupert's Land and elsewhere, was essentially being replaced by the Carrier.

[1] Hudson (1983:209) notes that this crisis precipitated a good number of Nak'azdli Carrier to relocate to the village of Portage, which was closer to Babine Lake.

[2] In 1890 the Fort St James factor reported, "The great quantity of flour and other provisions required for the trade of this District is the chief cause of the unprofitableness of the trade. The trouble is that the Indians cannot do without the provisions and sugar, the latter being the most profitable" (HBCA: B 188/b/15 fo. 291). Flour was considered unprofitable because it was so heavy and expensive to transport, yet it was becoming an essential commodity for the natives, and competitors were challenging the HBC with price wars on flour.

A. Background

1. Changes in the Trade

Many factors effected changes in the trade during this period. The Hudson's Bay Company initiated new "cutbacks" in the face of rising costs and decreasing profits. In 1891 HBC inspector James McDougall visited each of the New Caledonia posts and in his reports pointed out every possibility for further retrenchment. As well, the hierarchical structure of the Hudson's Bay Company was further eroded -- instead of Chief Factors or Chief Traders, the posts were largely run by clerks who did a whole range of work, from keeping the accounts to harvesting turnips. Shortages of HBC personnel and efforts to save money resulted in new efforts to hire local natives as labourers.[3]

One of the most influential changes during this time period was the stiff competition of various trading concerns. The many rivals to the Hudson's Bay Company presented trade options and competitive prices. Natives as well as Chinese, Americans and other newcomers were setting up shops at Quesnel and Hazelton and, in a more transitory way, throughout New Caledonia. The new traders paid cash for furs. The Hudson's Bay Company followed suit when they had to, but the changes were gradual, and as late as 1899 A.C. McNab wrote from Stuarts Lake to Victoria recommending the complete switch from the Made Beaver system.[4] The Hudson's Bay Company was extremely reluctant to give money for goods and services, as paying in shop goods was more profitable. They experimented with a

[3] Phil Goldring's study of the HBC labour system shows that these trends were not unique to New Caledonia but were happening elsewhere in the trade. The movement was from an overwhelmingly European workforce to a mainly North American one. In the 1840s the numbers of Métis in the Northern Department's work force began to overtake Scots and English -- in labouring jobs, skilled trades and in the administrative and trading elite. This was partly because of the tradition of hiring the native off-spring of earlier generations of European or Euro-Canadians, and partly because external labour markets were becoming more costly and less reliable (Goldring 1982: 39-40). After 1857, however, the HBC were concerned that the Métis were becoming too strong, so they attempted to boost recruiting in Europe and Lower Canada by raising pay rates. Nevertheless, by the 1860s the HBC workforce in the Northern Department had become a predominantly native one and remained so (Goldring 1982:182,195). The native workers were not equally represented in all the ranks of the Hudson's Bay Company, though. In the 1860s the Company began the trend toward not promoting Métis to the officer level, apparently, in part, to avoid becoming a training ground for future free traders.

[4] Jan 14, 1899, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 F.

system whereby native goods and services were paid for with tokens redeemable only in HBC shops. In this way the Company attempted to tie natives to HBC shops, and recover the money lost from paying higher prices for the furs. A.C. Murray explained this in a letter to his superiors at Victoria in January 1905,

> Although some of the prices may still appear high we should remember that we get about all the money back in trade. For instance we may pay $5.00 to an Indian for a large Beaver, but he turns right around and buys five dollars worth of Goods from us with the money, so that perhaps actually the Beaver only cost the Company $3.50 or $3.00.[5]

Previously the debt system was used in a similar way -- advances were given, and the trapper was obligated to bring his furs in payment for debts. There had always been "bad debts," but never so many as during these years[6]. Because of this, there were renewed attempts to quit the debt system. In 1899 R.H. Hall warned A.C. McNab at Stuart's Lake, "... our Officers have, one after another, violated instructions and given Debts of large amount to the Indians, which have been repeatedly written off as bad with such serious loss to the Company.... This general principle must now govern you at all your Posts, and the Indians must and will accept our terms of prompt trade, 'Goods in exchange for Furs.'"[7] The records show that previously although post managers reported that they were doing all they could to curb or eliminate gratuities and debts, in fact the natives insisted upon them and, on the whole, they did continue. At Fort St James in 1893 for instance the list of "Advances given to Indians" show that the debt sytem was a regular feature of the trade relationships: January - $167.07 was given in debt, February - $246.66, April - $159.49, June & July - $188.13, August $60.79, October $281.94, November $339.85, December - $483.42. The December list has 45 individuals receiving debt, including women (PABC AD 20 St9.1).

During the 1900 outfit, the New Caledonia posts had a loss on Indian debts of

[5] Jan 7, 1905, A.C. Murray to Jas Thomson HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 F.

[6] Irrecoverable debts may have sometimes been added to the list of "gratuities." A statement of expenses for the New Caledonia District, Outfit 1889 (PABC: A/D/20/N42.3), showed that "Gratuities" at Stuart Lake added to $343.48, and the total in the district added to $781.68.

[7] HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 A.

$1,093.[8] At McLeod Lake post, where there were 1,516 Made Beaver in debts in 1891, Mr Ware, argued in 1900 that they could not discontinue debts or they would lose the native trappers to Quesnel and the Peace River district (HBCA: B 119/e/2 fo.5, B 119/e/4 p.11). It was apparent that *not* giving debts could prove to be even more costly than giving debts. For instance, at Fort George in 1902 giving "debt" had "absolutely been stopped," with the result that "the loss in this connection" for the year was $3,500.[9] That same year A.C. Murray stopped giving credit at Fort St James, with the result, that "there has been much talk of Quesnel lately, and a few skins are being held back."[10] It is clear that efforts to simply discontinue giving debt failed. In 1904 Murray received instruction from Victoria to try discontinuing credit gradually rather than abruptly. [11]

Arthur Ray (1990) in his study, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* comments on this time period. Looking at the whole of the trade territory north of the 49th parallel (except for most of British Columbia), Ray argues that the Canadian fur trade from 1870 to 1945 was one in which market forces came to operate much more freely in the arena of a flourishing competitive environment of independent traders, consignment buyers and fur dealers of every stripe, and in which the ever-increasing role of the state in such developments as government regulation of traplines had great impact. The Hudson's Bay Company is described as in steady decline, a lumbering, conservative, faltering entity, unable to respond fast enough to the changes. By the end of this period, Ray believes that most of the Hudson's Bay Company's old bonds with its native customers, social as well as economic, had been broken, and the groundwork for the modern welfare state in the North had been laid (1990:226-7).

2. Imposition of Government Controls in New Caledonia

During these decades the Carrier felt the imposing new presence of the Federal

[8] Nov 1, 1901 report to the Commisioner, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 A.

[9] Jan 16, 1903, Manger to A.C. Murray, Fort St James, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 F.

[10] April 8, 1902, A.C. Murray, Fort St James, to Jas Thomson, Victoria, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 G.

[11] Mar 22, 1904 Jas Thomson to A.C. Murray HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 U.

Government in their affairs. From 1880 on the Indian Act was administered by a Federal Department of Indian Affairs. By 1881, British Columbia was divided into six agencies (eventually to be expanded into twenty agencies) under the jurisdiction of Indian agents who had the authority to settle disputes, encourage appropriate economic activity and dispense welfare. The agents ensured that the rules of the department and the provisions of the Indian Act were complied with. They were authorized to preside over band council meetings and to work as justices of the peace (Titley 1986:13-14). However, in the Stuart Lake area it is clear that the agent, living in Hazelton in the 1890s and early 1900s, depended a great deal on both the church and the Hudson's Bay Company for reports, appointments and other work.

The functions of the Indian agents and the imposition of government laws and policies directly usurped the authority of the chiefs, and undermined their leadership. Because the chiefs were subject to outside authority like everyone else, they lost respect among their people. Two prominent examples of this are the anti-potlatch law which came into effect in 1884 making the traditional potlatch meetings illegal[12] and the law of 1904 forbidding the use of traditional fish weirs. These laws were a devastating blow to the basis of the Carrier system of resource ownership and distribution. In New Caledonia, as elsewhere, potlaching continued in secret, but the fish weirs were more difficult to hide, and over the next decade they virtually disappeared.

The Carrier did not give up the weirs without a fight. At Babine two government officials arrived on September 14th, 1904, the day before the Carrier planned to raise the barriers, with instructions from the Fishery Department "to prevent the obstruction of the passage of salmon to the lake." The officials destroyed weirs on the various rivers and creeks to communicate and enforce the new law (HBCA: B 11/a/7 fo.39-39d). Some fish nets were unsystematically distributed in response to reports of starvation, but they apparently were ineffectual in catching the salmon. In his memoirs, Oblate priest N. Coccola recorded the reaction of the Babine Carrier to the law against salmon weirs:

[12] This law was in effect for 67 years till it was rescinded in 1951.

> In 1905, the Babine depending on the promised nets built no barricades, the nets came too late for the fishing and when nets came at last they were too old, breaking through, consequently the following winter the Indians nearly starved and had no bait for the traps. So next summer they resolved to go back to the barricades. The officers came to Babine to stop them in their work. The Indians not minding them went to work and at last infuriated threw one of them in the stream, a woman of 200 lbs jumping on him pretending to help him out. Those troubles were reported and 9 Indians were under arrest. But instead of surrendering they took to the woods well armed for protection.

The arrested Carrier were sent to jail in New Westminster for "6 months and hard labor." But, after two Babine chiefs and Father Coccola spoke at hearings in Ottawa with the Minister of the Interior and Fisheries officials, some concessions were gained (See Whitehead, 1988:144-8, Hudson 1983:108).[13]

In the 1880s the provincial government passed another law imposing a closed season on beaver and bear. The "Game Act" made it illegal for Carrier to take beaver or bear from their lands during certain times. Besides affecting an important food source, the law likely also worked to undermine the traditional Carrier leadership, as beaver had a vital ceremonial function in the potlatches. In 1902 A.C. McNab at Fort St James wrote, "I will do my best to keep the Indians from killing furs out of Season. In this regard, the Indians of this Post do not hunt much for Furs during the Summer, with the exception of Bear which they snare for food."[14] Other references, however, indicate that this closed season was a serious hardship, as the salmon fisheries repeatedly failed. In September 1905 the Fort St James master reported, "The Indians are greatly excited about the close season for Beaver and unless the order in council excepting this section is passed there will be trouble. Beaver represents half the Fur collection and consequently the principal source of the Indians livelihood."[15]

Added to the protests of the Hudson's Bay Company A.G. Morice too wrote a series of letters to government arguing for the Carrier to be excepted from the law.

[13] In 1915 the Fraser Lake chiefs reported that they were using nets supplied by government, but they were not working. They asked that twine be supplied instead of nets so they could make nets for themselves (PABC: Add Mss 1056 Box 3, p.70).

[14] Dec 8, 1902 A.C. McNab to Jas Thomson , Victoria, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 F.

[15] Sept 5, 1905 Fort St James to the Manager, Victoria, HBCA: B 226/.b/53.3 G.

He repeated the Carrier complaint -- that it was white trappers who were wrecking their lands. The result of such petitions is revealed in a letter by James Thomson of October 20, 1908: "...[L]argely upon the representations of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Provincial Government has, during the past three years, by Order-in-Council exempted the Indians in the Northern part of British Columbia from the operation of the Game Act in regard to Beaver." However, Thomson continued, "the decision was arrived at in each year, too late to be of much service, as the Indians had gone out to hunt and could not be communicated with" (HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 N).

In 1907, both the salmon and whitefish fisheries had failed, and on January 11, 1908 A.C. Murray reported from Fort St James, "this is one of the hardest Winters for the Indians that I have noticed during my long experience in this part of the country. The Indians have no dry salmon, while rabbits and grouse are very scarce.... Up to date we have given food only to widows, aged men, etc. but it is not unlikely that before Spring we may have to help able bodied men."[16] That winter there were reports from various parties that some 200 Sekanie near Fort Grahame were "in danger of absolute starvation." Inspector A.E. Green's report to A.W. Vowell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Victoria, on October 24, 1908, attributed the hardship largely to the law against beaver hunting, as well as the law (ca. 1906) forbidding the sale of salmon: "This season they are not able to purchase any dry salmon from the Stewart Lake Indians as formerly, as the Indians are not permitted to sell, and indeed, there is a shortage of salmon at Stewart Lake..." (HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 N). Clearly the government laws were threatening not only the traditional survival strategies but, for some of the New Caledonia natives, survival itself.

Another key government intervention in New Caledonia was the definition of Indian reserves. With the reserves came a greatly decreased land base and a new way of defining land ownership. Indian Reserve Commissioner Judge O'Reily and a surveyor, Mr Green arrived at McLeod's lake to lay out a reserve in September of 1892, then moved on to Stuart Lake, Fort George and elsewhere (HBCA: B 119/a/5 fo.12). O'Reilly reported to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in Ottawa in November of that year,

[16] Jan 11, 1908, A.C. Murray to Jas Thomson, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 N.

> I made in all thirty-eight allotments, representing twenty-three thousand two hundred and seventy acres. The villages, fisheries, gardens, meadows and pastoral lands actually occupied by the various bands, and a sufficient quantity of timber lands for every practical purpose, are comprehended in the above acreage.... I am glad to be able to inform you that I experienced no difficulty in arranging with the Indians inhabiting this region as to the extent of their reserves; in every case they were satisfied with the allotments decided on, and I do not believe that the lands set apart for them will interfere with the ultimate progress of the country, as they are not likely to clash with the claims of intending settlers.[17]

O'Reilly was overly optimistic when he reported, "The allotment of reserves therein is now completed...." In fact, he returned in 1894 to do more surveying at Fort St James and areas, and noted that even more work needed to be done.[18] Mr Devereux, of the Indian Reserve Survey, came through again in 1895 to survey the reserves at Stuart's Lake, Frasers Lake and McLeods Lake.[19] The town site of Fort St James was surveyed in October of 1913 (Whitehead 1988:169).

How the Carrier felt about the reserves was articulated to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in 1915. Chief Jimmy of the Nak'azdli Carrier with his captain Sam Prince reminded the commissioners that "long ago the Indians considered this their own land but still they had never got any money for it. The Government had sold the land and made money...." They also pointed out that "in the old days, the game and the fish never ran short." Besides other compensations they asked for the rights to fish and hunt where they wanted (PABC: Add Mss 1056, Box 3, p.96). In response to the requests for certain of their choice lands to be protected as reserves, the commissioner clearly indicated that priority would be given to recent or even potential claims of "white men" (PABC: Add Mss 1056, p.86).

Officially, government became responsible for the emergency aid "for the destitute" often required by New Caledonia natives -- needs often directly resulting

[17] DIAND Papers: P. O'Reilly, Indian Reserve Commissioner, Victoria, to Superintendent-genian Affairs, Ottawa, November 12, 1892.

[18] DIAND Papers: P. O'Reilly, Indian Reserve Commissioner, Victoria, to Superintendent-genian Affairs, Ottawa, November 12, 1892.

[19] Dec 12, 1894, R.H. Hall, Victoria to A.C. Murray, Stuart's Lake.

from the new laws they were required to obey. But it was only in response to the HBC post masters petitioning government in early 1900s about the serious need of the natives in their vicinities. In September 1900 A.C. McNab wrote from Stuart Lake to Victoria saying he expected a hard winter in which the government would need to be called upon to feed some of the natives. At this time, the emergency aid the HBC provided was being charged to the government, rather than appearing as gratuities or bad debts.[20] Many of the years between 1900 and 1914 saw complete failures in the salmon runs. The government's "Form 59: Account of Supplies to Sick and Destitute Indians," was well used by the HBC as they gave emergency aid to New Caledonia natives and looked for reimbursement from the Department of Indian Affairs.[21] In 1908 the Indian Agent, R.E. Loring received word that the relief given to Indians at Fraser's Lake alone for the year amounted to $1087.

Government also made itself responsible for the education of native children in New Caledonia. Schools were introduced, often initially by the request of the native families. As early as 1904 the request for a government school was rewarded by the opening of "an assisted school" at Stuart Lake with teacher Mr H.B. Marchant arriving at in August of that year (HBCA: B 226/b/53.3/U). Beginning in the fall of 1907, Father Coccola supervised the building of a school near the church at Fort St James. When the Carrier gathered for All Saints Day (November 1 holy day) he got them to cut and haul more than 200 logs. Apparently that school was first opened to pupils in 1911 (Whitehead 1988: 148-9,162-3).[22] In 1915 the Nak'azdli chief reported to the Royal Commission that it was a day school with about 40 children attending. Eventually the residential school at Lejac, on Fraser Lake opened (in 1922) and became an institution where Carrier children of the next two generations spent years of their lives, far from the contact and influences of their families. Joanne Fiske (1980), who studied acculturation of Carrier women, argues that the government-funded, Oblate-run residential schools were key agents of social change. Besides reading and writing, girls received instruction in family duties while boys were given many outdoor chores and instructed in agriculture. New rules for

[20] Sept 30, 1900, A.C. McNab to R.H. Hall, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 F.

[21] Sept 28, 1904, A.C. Murray, Fort St James, to Jas Thomson, Victoria, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 N.

[22] Some sources say the first school opened at Fort St James in 1914 (See Hudson 1983:118).

family organization and social behavior were introduced in these schools, as the church frowned upon matriliny, potlatching, shamanism, and marriages not formalized by the church. Fiske argues that the position of Carrier women was undermined by the specific attempts of the church to influence the Carrier to male oriented leadership and Carrier women to traditional homemaking roles -- potatoe gardening, cottage crafts, food preservation. Government policy, too, favoured patriliny, as men were appointed to positions such as policemen and as traplines were registered in accordance with government regulations with father-son succession the rule. Women were denied the right to political office, the right to attend band meetings, as well as to inherit real estate and resource areas (Fiske 1980:99,103).

The role of the federal government in the lives of the Carrier and other native peoples was institutionalized by the Indian Act. E.B. Titley in his book, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada,* argues that the Indian Act of 1876

> ensured that Indians were increasingly subjected to bureaucratic regulation. The act was amended over the years, but in its general thrust and intent, it changed little. It was designed to protect the Indians until they acquired the trappings of white civilization. At that point, they were supposed to abandon their reserves and their special status and disappear into the general population.

3. Alternative Resource Bases

The Carrier made changes in their resource base during these years. Hunting, fishing and trapping was no longer viable for some, because of such factors as the new laws and newcomers exploiting their lands. As well, the depression of fur prices in Europe before World War I worked to discourage trappers and force them to look for alternative occupations. During this time, the Carrier could acquire better wages doing work other than trapping. Changes brought by new transportation routes and technologies, e.g. the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and the introduction of steamers on the Skeena River, gave new oportunities to native peoples to work as guides and as labourers in freighting, boat building, and packing.

Along with the encouragements of missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company these factors led the natives of New Caledonia to become more sedentary and to turn increasingly to farming and wage labour.

Evidence of the movement towards alternative livelihoods can be seen in the Annual Reports of the Department of Indian Affairs. The Indian Agent, Mr Loring, whose agency included the territories of the Stuart Lake Indians, made only sporadic visits to Fort St James in the 1890s. Clearly unfamiliar with the lands east of Hazelton in 1890, he reported, "The Indians of Fraser's and Stuart's Lakes, Stony Creek and Fort George own bands of horses and cattle, but I am not able to state, even approximately, the number."[23] In his report of 1893, Mr Loring describes the Fort St James band as numbering 152 and "making a living by fishing, hunting and trapping." They had 24 houses and 3 acres of land under cultivation.[24] The next year Loring mentioned their potatoe crops, which were suffering.[25] By 1895 he reported a population of 159, with 32 houses, 6 acres of land under cultivation and occupied at "boating about the lakes, packing, fishing, hunting and trapping."[26] In 1902 Loring emphasized the Carriers' involvement in packing: "At Stuart's Lake and Fort George, the Indians earn some money by canoeing and packing with their horses; the latter as an occupation."[27] Loring also added, "All of the bands are, especially of late, taking much interest in working their gardens." It appears from Loring's 1906 report that packing was becoming more widespread: "The people of Rocher Deboule, Moricetown, Fort Babine, Stuart Lake, and Stoney Creek largely engage in packing with their horses." He again noted, "As a whole, they attend more and more to their gardens."[28] In 1897 he reported "This band has nine frame and thirty-three log houses and nine stables; of stock, fifty-six horses, thirty-four cows, three oxen, two bulls, and six of young stock."[29]

[23] D.I.A.N.D. Annual Report, 1890.
[24] D.I.A.N.D. Annual Report, 1893, p.122.
[25] D.I.A.N.D. Annual Report, 1892.
[26] D.I.A.N.D. Annual Report, 1895.
[27] D.I.A.N.D. Annual Report, 1902.
[28] D.I.A.N.D. Annual Report, 1906.
[29] D.I.A.N.D. Papers, 1897.

In 1911 the Agent for the new Stuart Lake Agency, W.J. McAllan, reported some new activities. Besides fishing, hunting and packing with horses, he added that, "working on survey parties and for the Hudson's Bay Company" were the "principle occupations during the year." It would appear, however, that the Fort St James Carrier were not jumping at opportunities to earn money at surveying. McAllan reported, "This band lost valuable opportunities to make much money in wages. Survey parties were often undermanned, and sometimes tied up entirely for want of help during the past season."[30] Another wage labour opportunity was mentioned in the 1913 report: "Indian labour under a white foreman was largely used in the construction of a telephone line from Stuart Lake to Fraser Lake, with good results."[31]

One of the wage labour opportunities for the Stuart Lake natives in the first years of the twentieth century was freighting wire and telegraph supplies from Quesnel for the proposed Manson Creek branch of the Quesnel-Atlin line, starting from Fort Fraser and running through Fort St James to Manson Creek.[32] On their insistence, the Stuart Lake Indians were paid in cash and not in drafts upon delivery of the freight.[33] On July 21, 1900 J.C. Boyd wrote from Quesnel, "Two scow loads of wire left here day before yesterday and Indians with 25 pack animals will load in the morning."[34]

B. Major Roles

1. Trapping

As noted in the previous chapter, Julian Steward (1960) argued that after the

[30] D.I.A.N.D. Annual Report, 1911.

[31] D.I.A.N.D. Annual Report, 1913.

[32] Aug 7, 1901, A.C. McNab, Fort St James to Jas Thomson, Victoria, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 A.

[33] July 10, 1900 J.C. Boyd, Quesnel to R. H. Hall, Victoria, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 U.

[34] J.C. Boyd to R.H. Hall, Victoria, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 U. Acquiring wage labour was not necessarily easy for the New Caledonia natives. The Nak'azdli spokesman at the Royal Commission hearings in 1915 argued that the "whites in this locality would only hire other white men" (See PABC: Add Mss 1056 Box 3, p.96). Prejudicial hiring practises may have increased when the new railway was completed in 1914 making the region dramatically more accessible to outside labourers.

mid-1850s the Carrier developed family hunting territories inherited through the patrilineal line. Douglas Hudson (1983), however, maintains that not until the collapse of the salmon fishery in the early twentieth century did this transition occur. The fur trade journals do not pinpoint when, but they do suggest that the Carrier were undergoing this transition from the beaver hunters being a small number of titled men, to being general heads of families hunting for themselves and dealing directly with the post. This is a significant change because it is a diversion from the social structure whereby rights to hunting / fishing areas were held by nobles who received them along matrilineal lines and whereby the others supported these nobles and benefitted from the network of rights and obligations. Diamond Jenness (1943:489), who did fieldwork among the most westerly of the Carrier (those of the Bulkley River) in 1924-5, wrote, "Doubtless Carrier society, like many others, placed obstacles in the path of an aspiring nobody, and it was only through exceptional circumstances that a commoner could amass enough goods to give the one or more potlatches necessary for his elevation." With the new wage labour options, the traditional chiefs could no longer protect their positions, and aspiring and hard working Carrier could indeed rise in status.

Jenness (1943:487) wrote that traditionally, "all the hunting territory of the subtribe was partitioned among the different phratries -- trespassing without consent of the chief led to quarrels and bloodshed." From his fieldwork observations, Jenness described the 1924-5 Carrier, "At the present time, individual noblemen who are not even clan chiefs claim possession of one or two small hunting grounds, and their claims are recognized even though they admitedly violate the principle of phratry and clan ownership. But the clans and phratry chiefs have lost their authority and game has become scarce...." (1943:487). He surmised, "The very distinction between nobles and commoners has broken down, for any one who wishes may now become a noble, and the chiefs are often poorer and less esteemed than the nobody who has pushed the past behind him and is successfully carving out a career under the new economic conditions" (1943:513). While this was written of the more westerly Carrier, it may well also reflect the situation of the Stuart Lake Carrier.

The fur trade journals don't give statistics, but they do give general impressions

of the number of individuals coming in to trade, the number of visits they make per year, etc. The volume of furs during this time were not always decreasing, but profits in many of these years dived into losses. This was because costs were so much higher than profits, because of trade competition, fluctuations in the fur prices in Europe, and because of depletion of fur bearing animals. In his report in 1885 J.M.L. Alexander wrote, "Beaver within reasonable distance of the posts are gone. Indians have to go far for hunts" (HBCA: B 188/e/6 fo/1d). A report from the Babine post in the mid 1890s notes, "Many mining and travel operations in area. Therefore the Indians are having to go further to hunt fur bearers" (HBCA: B 11/e/6 p.4).

The free-for-all atmosphere of the fur business, the finiteness of the fur resource and the fickelness of the markets made trapping an unreliable business. In 1915 the fur trapping industry was unusually depressed. When the Royal Commission visited Fort St James, the Trembleur Lake band spokesman, "Trembleur Lake Joe," reported that his pack of furs from the previous season sold for less than $40. The Tache band chief had sold only $30 worth of fur. Chief Jimmy, of the Nak'azdli band confirmed that the Indians hunted very little because fur prices were very low, and because of the bad methods of the "white men" in the district, who were poisoning the furbearers. Apparently they were causing much harm as well as waste, by leaving the meat and taking only the skins (PABC: Add Mss 1056 Box 3, p.96). At the Royal Commission hearings the Tacla Lake "Headman Teejee" complained about the white man hunting the beaver everywhere. The Commissioner responded that the white man had rights under law and that the beaver on non-reserve lands were "as much the property of the white man as that of the Indian" (PABC: Add MSS 1056, Box 3, p. 79).

2. Role as Consumers

During the decades from the 1880s to 1915, the Carrier role as consumers in the fur trade increased in importance. The Carrier had gone from trading for articles such as leather, ammunition and twine in the 1820s to becoming major consumers of basic provisioning items such as flour and luxury items such as watches, and music boxes. With the existence of competing shops, the Carrier power as consumers was

enough to force the HBC posts to scramble to understand and comply with consumer demands. They used many strategies to protect their business against the "well equipped opposition." In the 1880s Roderick MacFarlane noted that the HBC posts sometimes had certain items out of stock for weeks and months at a time, and that the selection of goods in the store did not reflect customer preferences.[35] One of the resulting changes was to stock the kinds of goods which the natives were purchasing at Quesnel and Hazelton.[36] In 1900 the Fraser Lake Report recommended that the officer in charge of the district make a buying trip to the coast to select new goods, so the HBC shops would be more attractive (HBCA: B 74/e/3 p.3). Efforts were also made to discover and match competitors' prices and fur tarrifs. The HBC sent men to certain portages to intercept trappers on their way to competitors' shops. The Company also sometimes went so far as to buy out their competitors. For example, in 1887 they paid about $600 for house and goods to Frank Gui to withdraw from Stony Creek.[37] In one case, on the basis that a trader, Castillion, was trespassing, A.C. Murray had his shack torn down and had him arrested for resisting.[38]

To become more competitive, the Hudson's Bay Company also made considerable efforts to "special order" items for local native consumers. For example, in 1887-8 MacFarlane's special orders included 3 dozen straps of horse sleigh bells from Winnipeg, a music box "from Quesnell or Victoria" for Sam Prince, "2 good Silver Watches with Guards for excellent Indian hunters who have bespoken same," "a long light Summer tweed Coat for the Indian 'Chief Trader'," "a Pit Saw complete for the old Chief 'Tayah,'" and two "Silver Watch Guards" for Joseph Prince (HBCA: B 188/b/10 vol.2).

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[35] R. MacFarlane, Dec 19, 1884, HBCA: B 188/b/10, vol. 1, p.60.

[36] See letters from R. MacFarlane to Mr Clifford Hazelton, Oct 22 and to Mr Alexander Quesnelle Oct 21 of 1887, HBCA: B 188/b/10.

[37] R. MacFarlane to Thomas Smith, Victoria, Dec 24, 1887.

[38] June 16, 1902, A.C. Murray, Fort St James, to Jas Thomson, Victoria, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 U. The case was dismissed as there was no evidence that his shack was actually on HBC land. The HBC offered a settlement of $300 to avoid a law suit (Oct 1, 1902, Fort St James to the Commissioner, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 U.) Castillion rebuilt his shack next to Fort St James and promised the Indians to return Spring 1903 (Dec 11, 1902, Murray to Thomson, Victoria, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 U.)

The competition gave the Carrier some leverage in their negotiation at the HBC sales shops. In February 1888, MacFarlane wrote in a memo to Victoria: "The Sabre and Revolvers are particularly wanted by good Indians, who naturally feel offended if they are disappointed. If they even ask once for a special article, they consider it as virtually promised, as soon as a note is made thereof, and with so much opposition about, it is not advisable to give unnecessary unbrage...." (HBCA: B 188/b/10, vol.2). In another letter to Victoria McFarlane noted that the natives at Stony Creek and Fraser Lake were buying bacon and groceries from an opposition party, and the Stuart Lake Indians were reportedly inviting them to establish a post in their neighbourhood.[39] In October 1899 R. H. Hall wrote of the Stuart Lake Indians, "The Indians are considerably advanced in civilization, are well acquainted with market values, and are very keen traders." For this reason, he said, "Furs will never be secured at this Post except by paying the Indians good, fair prices for them, and by selling them goods in exchange at moderate prices. Any attempt to alter the policy, under which the Fur Trade is conducted, would at once result in wholesale diversion of the Fur Trade to Quesnelle, or to the establishment of opposition at Stuart's Lake."[40]

This "leverage" is also seen in the incidents where the Carrier protested against the Hudson's Bay Company's prices and policies. For instance in the mid-1890s the Babine Lake report said, "The Chief and some of the Indians" paid the master a visit complaining about the retail price of flour and threatening to buy their flour at Hazelton and freight it in themselves if it was not remedied (HBCA: B 11/e/6 p.6). On January 25th, 1905 the Babine journal describes,

> The Indians today, commenced a systematic boycott of the store. For about a year past, there had been various rumours that such a course would be taken. Things came to a climax yesterday morning at church, when the people were warned by Big George & Jock William two of the local policemen, not to come to the store under various penalties, and notices to that effect were placarded in town. The leaders in the movement are undoubtedly the local storekeepers, who desire to secure all or most of the trade (HBCA: B 11/a/7, fo.42d-43).

[39] R. MacFarlane to Thomas Smith, Victoria, July 2, 1887, HBCA: B 188/b/10, vol.1.

[40] Oct 19, 1899, R. H. Hall, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 A.

The boycott lasted approximately two weeks.

At Fort St James the protest took the form of taking advantage of and initiating competition to the HBC shop. Some attempts of natives to set up their own trade business are referred to in the papers. For instance on August 31, 1906 A.C. Murray wrote to Victoria "I have an idea that neither Dong Hoy or Jos Prince have trade licenses and if they make things too disagreeable, I may some future time have a chance to have them taken up for trading without a license."[41] Apparently "Chief Joseph Prince and the Chinese Dong Hoy" opened up for business in the summer of 1906. A.C. Murray reported, "They brought up a scow load of about 9,000 lbs, which is divided between them. I heard that Dong Hoy is going to get up some more goods from Quesnel with horses. These traders are going to hurt us much in business, and to prevent some of the Indians from Pincha, Tatcha, The Portage, Cross Lake and Nisbette(?) river villages from coming here." Murray countered the opposition by sending Louis Grostete to trade for the HBC up the lake with a small outfit of $250, in order to meet trappers before they reached the opposition.[42]

3. General Labour for the Post

There are many indications that the Carrier were increasingly taking on essential roles other than trapping and provisioning for the Fort St James post. For instance, in the 1880s the staff of imported HBC servants was reduced to a small fraction of earlier years. The official personnel list of 1887 says that Fort St James was run by R. MacFarlane (Chief Factor), two clerks: Alex C. Murray and John McDonald, with three engages and four temporary servants. The next year Murray was in charge with McDonald (Accountant), James Bouche (Interpreter) with two engaged and three temporary servants. In 1889 William Traill (Chief Trader) was in charge with Murray as "clerk and Indian trader," McDonald as district accountant, Bouche as interpreter and two engaged and one or two temporary servants. The "Indian temporary servant" who with a clerk and an "engaged servant" made up the

[41] A.C. Murray to Jas Thomson, HBCA: B 2265/b/53.3 G.

[42] Aug 31, 1906, A.C. Murray to Jas Thomson, Victoria, HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 G.

staff at Fraser Lake post in 1891, was making 30 Made Beaver per month (equivalent to $13.92) and supplies at trade prices (HBCA: B 74/e/1 pp.7). The following shows a comparison of the HBC personnel in New Caledonia over time:

New Caledonia Personnel

Year	*Total*	*Posts in District*
1821-2	56 (incl. 40 labourers)	Six posts: Stuart Lk, McLeod Lake Fraser Lk, Babines, Fort George, Alexandria
1824-5	58 (incl. 46 labourers)	
1825-6	68 (incl. __ labourers)	
1853	? (incl. 37 labourers)	Seven posts: Fort St James, McLeod Lk, Fraser Lk, Babine Lk, Ft George, Alexandria, Bear Lk.
1855	? (incl. 56 labourers)	
1887	19 (6 temporary servants, 7 engaged servants)	Eight posts: Fort St James, McLeod Lk, Fraser Lk, Babine Lk, Fort George, Connolly's (Bear) Lk, Stony Creek, Ft Grahame.
1889	16 (plus an average of 10 monthly servants)	
1892	12 (plus an average of 6 monthly servants)	Four posts: Fort St James, Fraser Lk, Fort George, McLeod's Lk.

The skeleton staffs in the late nineteenth centuries depended on a labour pool of local day labourers who filled the essential roles of temporary help. The journals from the 1890s show that local natives -- men, women and children -- were doing a wide range of essential tasks. In 1889 at Stuart Lake, $946.44 was paid for "Monthly Labour and Assistance" as well as $343.48 for Gratuities. The clerks' and servants' wages for that time totalled $1,719.28 with an additional $1,176.82 for "Mess expenses." In the entire district the cost of monthly labour and assistance was $2183.17, almost half of the wages of clerks & servants, which added to $4774.78 (PABC: A/D/20/N42.3). The daily journals and a surviving labour book from 1888 show that the Carrier took on the daily and seasonal labour of the post to

such a great extent that without them the post functions would have ground to a halt (See Appendices C and D).

The Carrier were more available than previously to take on roles as labourers at Fort St James because they were more settled, being centred on the Nak'azdli reserve and the "mission reserve," some having houses in both locations. They formed an available labour pool both for the Hudson's Bay Company and the church's activities. Recruitment was most successful, of course when the fisheries were failing and the trapping was in decline.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

As the Carrier began to own significant herds of pack animals and cattle and to search for alternative sources of food they began to cultivate their own crops. These efforts were encouraged by the church and the Department of Indian Affairs, which saw agricultural pursuits as a mark of civilization. The Indian Department shipped cases of seeds to Stuart Lake for the Carrier gardens.[43] The records from the 1915 Royal Commission itemize the number of acres the natives had under cultivation, the number of acres hay fields, numbers of livestock, etc. Most of the Carrier communities were attempting to pursue agriculture, and some asked for government to sent them a man to act as a practical instructor in farming, as well as for more equipment to get started. The Royal Commission records show that these requests arose from the Carrier holding the government responsible for the disappearance of salmon, and seeing the agricultural aid as compensation.[44] The Nak'azdli band chief reported that the 40 families of the band had only 1 plough. They had 51 cayuses altogether, also 40 head of cattle, but no pigs, sheep, poultry or plough horses. They asked for 4 more ploughs, 6 harrows, mattocks, shovels, hand rakes, disk harrows, stump pullers, mowing machines, hay rakes, hay forks, scythes and wagons -- the basic tools with which to succeed in farming (PABC: Add Mss 1056 Box 3).

[43] For example seeds were shipped to Stuart Lake in the spring of 1909. See HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 G, April 3, 1909 and June 3, 1909.

[44] See for instance PABC: Add MSS 1056 Box 3, pp. 75 & 96.

As the Carrier became involved in agricultural activities for themselves they also took on more of the farming roles at the New Caledonia posts. The 1888 labour book shows, for instance, that in autumn 56 natives put in 242 1/2 days of paid "hay" labour for the Hudson's Bay Company. The haying activities listed in the labour book are "Hay cutting," "Hay cocking," "Hay stacking," and some "Hay fencing" and "Killing fire at hay." Food was provided for the hay workers as part of the wage. Other agricultural tasks specifically listed for day labourers were cutting and cocking barley, working at potatoes, working at byres, and looking for horses. In 1888, 8 natives worked 32 days at potatoes, 6 worked 12 days at hunting horses, 11 worked 35 days at barley and 4 spent 16 days at the horse agrets. Women and children are specifically mentioned as involved in the agricultural activities.

CONSTRUCTION / CARPENTRY / BOAT BUILDING

In 1886-9 Roderic MacFarlane undertook the rebuilding of the entire fort. The labour book shows that in 1888 18 natives worked 63 days at "building," 4 spent 13 days at "Shakes," (for roofing), 10 men spent 47 1/2 days at wood sawing & planing and 1 labourer spent 1 day "Fixing Canoe." In February 1892 the journal records, "I measured 333 cords of cotton wood this evening all cut by Indian, men, women and children. [P]aid them off during the afternoon half the amount going to old Jawbone [debt]" (HBCA: B 188/a/22 fo.3). The enormous volume of cottonwood was partly for two schooners, the *Ethel* and the *Jessie.*, which were built at Fort St James, also with much help from local native workers.

The many tasks in the construction of the schooners include: "sawing roots," packing supplies to the boat camp, building, "hauling up schooner," "putting in masts rigging painting & caulking," pulling oakum (for tarring ropes, etc.), getting and squaring 40 foot logs required for the launching of the schooner, piling up rocks for balast, transporting the Steam boat anchor from Cross Lake, tying Irons together to make heavier anchors, and launching the schooner (HBCA: B 188/a/22). A statement from December 26, 1892 shows that the amount paid for hired labour for the two schooners was $2002.33, provisions supplied were $1364.93, materials and tools $728.92, two sets schooner rigging $1948.58, expenses getting boat builder up $40.36, and amounts paid trips to and from boat camp with supplies,

builder up $40.36, and amounts paid trips to and from boat camp with supplies, $65.62. The total costs were $6150.64. Further research could ascertain approximately how much went to local natives for their involvement.

GENERAL AND DOMESTIC MAINTENANCE

Local native day labourers also took on many essential general maintenance tasks around the post itself. These tasks ranged from building and repairing fences, transporting materials to the boat camp, clearing the warehouse, getting the mail, squaring logs, rafting plank, grinding axes and gumming boats. The labour book of 1888 itemizes the following specific tasks and their payment:

TASK	*# PERSONS*	*# DAYS*	*PAY*
Removing House	6	26	
Fur press & flagstaff	1	6	
Inside Fort	2	3	
Babine Portage road & house	?	?	paid goods to 11 skins
Work	6	21	
Sundries	1	4	
Platforms	4	15 1/2	
Store	11	72 1/2	

Some other tasks local people did around the post were pulling up the boats, marking and crosslashing fur packs, chopping wood, mowing the grass in the yard, building fences, butchering oxen, washing windows, and cleaning out the mens house. In fact, a glance at the journals from the 1890s to early 1900s reveals the Carrier involved in virtually every aspect of the daily work of the fort.

TRANSPORT

By the turn of the century, native crews were essential to transport the HBC freight in and out of New Caledonia on the rivers and overland. Whereas throughout most of the earlier decades, the goods and furs were transported via the Columbia River route or east to the Hudson's Bay, the outfit by the turn of the century was brought from the west coast down the Skeena River by steamer to Hazelton, and from there by packtrain to Babine. Goods also were imported from the south on

through Quesnel. Though it would not have represented all the transport activities, those listed in the Fort St James labour book for 1888 were 5 men working an unspecified number of days (paid 40 skins) for "Trip," 4 working 13 days at "Apperagos", 1 working 2 days on "pack Trains" and 1 working 1 day on "Ferrying." The 1891 Fort George report mentions that its outfit was conveyed from Quesnel by a decked boat of 18,000 lbs capacity manned by a native crew (HBCA: B 280/e/1, p.11). The Babine Carrier were very involved in packing freight between Babine and Hazelton, a distance of 50 to 60 miles. At Stuart Lake there were opportunities to pack to McLeod's Lake, about 70-90 miles northeast, Fraser Lake about 35-45 miles south, and to work the schooners and boats between Fort St James and Babines, a distance of 145 miles by water with a 9 mile portage between Stuart and Babine Lakes. Louis Grostete was appointed by A.C. Murray in 1896 to the position of schooner master at $2.00 per day (HBCA: B 188/b/11 vol.2 fo.72). Others worked unloading the schooners and transporting the boxes and barrels between the wharf and warehouse via a wheeled cart on a tramway.

Correspondence shows that by the 1880s a pattern developed where Fort St James Carrier would be hired seasonally to pack goods to Quesnel. This "freighting contract" was given as a reward to certain Carrier.[45] Mulhall points out that some of the Fort St James masters, Traill, Murray and Camsell, allowed Father Morice to choose the freighters. The following shows which individuals were making the HBC trips to Quesnell during a selection of years. Their jobs including freighting goods, guiding and delivering mail:

1892	Louis Prince & Felix
	Siccanie Sam
	Sagalan
	Bazil and Frederick Naquon
1893	Louis Prince & Thomas Julian
	Louis Prince
	Joseph Prince
1894	Joseph Prince with his son

[45] There was precedent for this in the Northern District as well. In 1844 a regulation was instituted allowing only those Indians who had trapped furs equal to the value of at least 20 MB the previous winter to be employed in the transport system. The rule was to apply to Indians of Norway House, Oxford House and York Factory (Judd 1980:306).

	Sam Prince & D. Michel
1895	Sagalau & Chaqon
	Stanislous
	Donald Prince and Louis Matess
1897	Thomas Julian & Benoit Prince
	Francis Prince
1898	Bazel and Donald Prince
	Lizard and Patrick

For the 200 mile round trip the packers were paid $40 often conditional on them having to pay off part of their Company debt from the fee.[46] An indication that the freighting contracts were considered proprietary, is an incident in July of 1896. The journal records, "A fight occured between the Tayah, Sam Prince & family against John Prince family because Lizard was engaged to ferry the packtrain across" (HBCA: B 188/a/23 fo.52).

The Hudson's Bay Company experimented with many different pack train arrangements, often contracting out, as well as keeping its own horses and mules. William Traill in his 1892 report wrote that there was too much livestock at Fort St James and suggested that the number of pack horses be limited to 35 (HBCA: B 188/e/8 p.5). R.H. Hall's description of the transport in New Caledonia showed that the cost of transport was almost as high as the value of the goods. He wrote in October 1899: "The Transport account for the District amounts to $15,373.93, an amount not much less than the prime cost of the supplies at Victoria and Winnipeg ($16,542.01)." Yet, he reported, "these rates are a great reduction on those of 10 - 12 years ago" (HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 A). The most often mentioned of the packers in the country were Veith & Borland, Aguayo, Sanchez and Cataline (Jean Caux). The Mexicans and the natives were most predominant in the packing business.[47] The completion of the railway to Vanderhoof in 1914 made the mass import of goods relatively inexpensive and brought a host of settlers, as well as bringing wage opportunities for the Carrier, particularly in the logging business (Hudson and Wilson 1986:444).

[46] PABC: Morice to Traill Feb 19/1893, Morice Correspondence.

[47] Many stories have been recorded about the packing industry in northern British Columbia. See, for instance, Imbert Orchard collection, PABC, tapes 2440 and 3263.

IDENTITY OF THE NATIVE LABOURERS AT FORT ST JAMES

It would be interesting to discover what the native labourers working at Fort St James during these decades had in common: whether they were of the same clan or family, whether they had kin connections to people at the Fort, whether the labourers were of a common age group, whether they were people without title to trap lines, whether they were residents of the reserve or of the village surrounding the church, whether they were newcomers to the area, etc.

From his study including fieldwork in Carrier communities in the 1970s, David Mulhall (1986) contributed some remarks on the day labourers. He asserts that the HBC labourers were members of a particular group. Joseph, one of Prince's sons, and his brothers and their families were regular workers for the Fort St James post in a variety of roles, including responsibility for the privileged freighting contract to Quesnel. Mulhall argued that this connection with the post arose out of a dispute about who should rightfully be the fur trade chief, successor to Prince. Apparently, Joseph, Prince's older son, expected to become chief after his father's death, but the resident missionary of that time, Father Marchal, chose Taya, Prince's brother who was Joseph's uncle and father-in-law.[48]

According to Mulhall, this had significant repercussions in the community, because a segment of the community resented the way Taya had received his position. It resulted in general feuding in the Fort St James band as they split into two "warring factions" (Mulhall 1986:78). The factions took on different roles in relation to the post. The older Taya and his adherants stuck to the more traditional trapping activities. Joseph, according to Mulhall, became an important HBC employee, and a foreman. He was supported by his four brothers, together referred to as "the Prince Boys." They regularly worked for the post, in jobs considered prestigious, as they were given as rewards.

Both Mulhall and Margaret Whitehead attempt profiles of Joseph Prince. They describe him as speaking English, French, Carrier and perhaps Sekani (Mulhall

[48] Lizette Hall's (1992:86-7) version of how Taya was chosen by the church is that the bishop first recognized Simeon Le Prince as church chief. But when Prince insisted on officially marrying Letitia, his second wife, rather than his first, the bishop removed him as church chief and replaced him with Taya.

1986:133, Whitehead 1988:135-6). He was a protegé of the Oblate pioneers Father McGuckin and Lejac, who had taken him down to Williams Lake when he was twelve to be taught farming and "mechanics" as well as Catholicism. Father Lejac learned the Carrier language from him, and Joseph became fluent in English and French. Mulhall suggests that his knowledge of the white man's languages and skills, together with the fact that his mother was a Métis, may have given him a feeling of superiority and increased his resentment against Taya.

Mulhall suggests that the Prince brothers -- Joseph, Donald, Francis, Louis Billy, and Leon -- probably lived nearby the Fort, while Taya and his supporters lived in the village that grew up around the church (1978:484-5). This, however, must be tested with local oral evidence, as one Fort St James elder mentioned in passing that there used to be many Carrier houses around the old church and named Joseph Prince as one of the residents there.

The Fort St James journals support the existence of on ongoing dispute in the community. The Indian Affairs correspondence also shows that when Indian Agent Loring finally visited Fort St James in 1892, what principally needed his attention was the factionalism among the Fort Indians, which was precipitated by the bringing of liquor from Quesnel and questions of control over economic resources like the hay meadows (Mulhall, 1978:218). The factionalism may have been rooted in the above complex of power struggles. Especially from 1885-1906 when A.G. Morice was the resident missionary, the post and the priest were often walking a kind of tightrope. Instead of the post choosing the fur trade chief, the church now took that role and imposed its own criteria -- one being that the chief not have more than one wife. The priest was seen as challenging the Company by defending Carrier interests in the trade, teaching them not to work on Sundays, to treat Catholic holy days as priorities and to participate in church projects (often requiring free Carrier labour). The growing power and influence of the missionaries was recognized by the Company. Correspondence shows that the post paid the resident priest $50 a year to keep the Indians from going to Quesnel with the furs and to trade only at Fort St James. A.C. Murray wrote in March of 1895:

> This Fellow [Morice]... has much influence with all the Indians of the district. If it was not for this I believe I would split with him but on this account I must try and keep on the right side of him as long as possible or until he interferes for the worse with the business of which I am in charge at present. I hope for the good of the concern that I may never have a disagreement with him (HBCA: B 226/c/16 fo.110 Murray to Hall).

The Oblates had gained their influence in many of the Carrier communities through their system of indirect rule (called the "Durieu system," after Bishop Paul Durieu), by which the missionaries attempted to replace native customs and beliefs with the teachings of Catholicism. The Durieu system involved the appointment of members of the native community to positions of control so that the missionaries' influences could be felt even though they could only periodically visit the many villages in the large areas to which they were appointed. Dawson wrote in 1876: "The whole of the Indians hereabouts... are Kept up to the mark by a system of watchmen, chiefs, soldiers &c. 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" (Dawson 1989:284).

According to Mulhall, the resident Oblate missionaries were largely responsible for the existence of "rival chiefs" -- they chose Taya as chief and they chose Joseph both as recipient of the freighting contract to Quesnel and as government's Indian constable. This was a sure recipe for conflict. For instance, in January 1898 Taya's watchmen attempted to "arrest" and tie up Joseph Prince, for a breach of the liquor law -- Indians were not allowed access to liquor. Some of Joseph's brothers came to the rescue, and the watchmen reportedly got the worst of the ensuing fight (HBCA: 188/a/23 fo.76d). Joseph, who was the government's Indian constable at the fort, protested to his superior Constable Anderson, claiming, according to Mulhall, "the privileges of a white man." That Camsell supported Joseph is clear in his letter to Anderson, where he argued that Joseph was "entitled to the rights of one," meaning that he was Métis and exempt from the law prohibiting liquor for Indians, and thus should not be tied and whipped. This incident also illustrates the power struggle between the HBC master and Morice. Camsell apparently resented the priest's

power and pretensions. He used the incident to argue for the end of "priest rule" and the appointment of a resident Indian agent at Fort St James. He was convinced that the Oblate system of spying watchmen provoked conflict in the community, especially when force was used.

When Traill was the master at Fort St James, he too got into conflict with Morice because he took the side of his Carrier employees, particular the Prince brothers who regarded themselves as Métis and exempt from "Indian punishment." (Mulhall 1978: 203-4) Apparently Traill's native workers were being seized at the fort for church-designated wrongdoings. In January 23, 1893 Traill wrote that he wouldn't complain about whippings as long as the watchmen didn't seize Company employees at the Fort; if delinquents were caught and whipped at the Indian village he would not protest (HBCA: B 188/b/18).

According to Mulhall (1978: 312), the very existance of new economic opportunities probably aggravated the chronic rivalry between factions, and led to a neglect of trapping and fishing. He writes that "At Fort Saint James every adult male was engaged in the fall to take miners down in canoes to Quesnel. They returned with liquor and this stimulated outbreaks of factional violence." The coming of the miners, he says, accelerated the tradition for many of the Fort St James Indians to become a "Home Guard" of wage earners and petty contractors.

As official fur trade chief, Taya was to ensure the loyalty of his people to the Company. However, he himself was not loyal, and probably would not have been capable of keeping the others away from the temptations of the trade competitors. Taya developed the reputation of persistantly visiting rivaling traders, a major point of complaint for the HBC traders at Fort St James. In July of 1892, the journal records, "Old Tyah left for Quesnelle with furs which he must have been saving up for some time, at the same time he has been running up an account. He will repent in sackcloth & Ashes before he is a year older" (HBCA: B 188/a/22 fo.14d). Again in late October of that year, "Tyah , Satsan(?) & some others started with their furs to Quesnelle. Hope they may get frozen in on their return" (HBCA: B 188/a/22 fo.24d). Such expressions continued. In 1896 the writer said, "Tayah & party arrived. Traded

enough fur to supply him with enough grub to take him to Quesnelle. [F]rom account he has made a magnificent hunt of Beaver & wishes to show his spleen with the Co[mpany]. Hope to goodness he will get cinched at Quesnelle with low prices" (HBCA: B 188/a/23 fo.57d). Mulhall (1978: 201,232) wrote that for these acts of disloyalty he lost most of the $200 worth of gratuities which the Company gave him each year and in 1895 Taya lost his recognition as fur trade chief.[49]

In his book *Will to Power: The Missionary Career of Father Morice,* David Mulhall (1978, 1986) developed the argument that a key motivation of A.G. Morice was to become "king of the country" among the Carrier. Mulhall (1978: 230) maintained that in a matter of a few years after his arrival in 1885, Morice was taking over some of the previous function of the fur trade chief by functioning as a "broker" between the traders and the Carrier, in a manner very much like the role of Qua, Prince, Taya and others.[50]

C. Other Roles

1. Provisioners

The 1904 law forbidding building of fish weirs was first enforced at Babine Lake and, in 1911, at Stuart Lake.[51] It was extremely problematic for the Carrier and other New Caledonia native peoples, as no other method was as efficient for catching the volume of salmon required for the needs of the native communities. In 1914 a blast from the railway construction in the Fraser Canyon threw a great mass of rocks in the river preventing the salmon going up (Hudson & Wilson 1986:444). Chief Jimmy of the Nak'azdli band reported that no man there put up as many as ten salmon in 1914 (PABC: Add Mss 1056, Box 3).

As for the Fort, the fisheries continued, but salmon was no longer the major food

[49] Taya is still referred to as "Chief Tayah" in the 1895 journal (HBCA: B 188/a/23 fo.24d).

[50] Mulhall is basing his concept of "broker" on Robert Paine's "A Theory of Patronage and Brokerage," in *Patrons and Brokers in the Eastern Arctic.* Robert Paine (ed.), Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers, no. 2, St John's : Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971.

[51] Apparently the Nak'azdli Carrier received thirty-five nets in compensation for dismantling their weirs.

staple by the turn of the century. The relationship of dependence on the local natives for fish was effectively over. Dried fish are often mentioned for feeding the dogs, and were used in transport in the winter. The posts continued to hire fishermen. In July of 1892 a local native referred to as "Old Man Naquon" was hired as a temporary fisherman at Fort St James. He brought in sturgeon for the post by setting nets, but did not work at weirs (HBCA: B 188/a/22, fo.14). At Babines, the master wrote in March 30, 1893, "Thomas Bazil and I working at Barrier in the river intending to put in fish basket." They did so the next day (HBCA: B 119/a/5, fo.28d). The HBC men themselves did much of their own provisioning during these years. William Traill in 1892 hunted geese and ducks. For instance in February and March of 1896, a time when "Indians are positively starving", "all hands" at the post resorted to rabbit hunting. Mr and Mrs Murray regularly went duck hunting, and mention is also made of Mr Murray "spearing fish with flambeau" at night (HBCA: B 188/a/23 fo.47-47d). Mrs Murray is recorded as milking the cows, taking up the onions, cutting seed potatoes, attending the chickens etc (HBCA: B 188/a/22, fo.37). Mr Camsell in the late 1890s also went spear fishing at night and hunting fowl. Some of the various provisioning activities of wives of the HBC men mentioned in the McLeod's Lake journals throughout the 1890s are catching trout, picking berries, setting rabbit snares and baking cakes for the Christmas gratuity (HBCA: B 119/a/5-8).

2. Roles Given by Church and Government

Diamond Jenness (1943:518), after a few short months of observation and interviewing in 1924-25, attempted this description of a chief's responsibilities: "... a chief had to expend much labor and wealth to gain his position. Even after he had established himself firmly in his seat, he had to keep open house, as it were, to all members of his phratry, to relieve the wants of the poor etc." Jenness elaborated that the chief's dwelling had to shelter immediate family, families of nearest kin and visitors from all the districts and serve as an entertainment hall at feasts and ceremonies. Clearly, generosity rated high as a characteristic of a chief.[52] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, what constituted the characteristics of a

[52] This is confirmed by Lizette Hall, (PABC, tape 1044), interviewed in 1965, who described chief Qua as having "a big trapline" and "the biggest house." He had four wives, was "a great leader," and "looked after orphans."

chief were increasingly being redefined by outsiders.

As already mentioned, church and government took the authority to appoint natives into the old chief position and into new positions as well. At Babine, for instance, two months after the chief "Big George" died in May of 1909, Father Coccola appointed "Jock Williams" as chief (HBCA: B 11/a/9,l fo.6,8d). Government officials often with the help of the HBC men also made appointments. For example in 1902, A.C. Murray swore in Francis Prince as constable in order for him to assist in arresting the free trader "Castilion" and bringing him to Quesnel on the basis of his trespassing on HBC land (HBCA: B 226/b/53.3/U). Both Joseph and Francis Prince were appointed Indian Constables by Indian Agent Loring, likely with Morice's approval (Mulhall 1978: 435). The native community at Stuart Lake refer to Louis Billy, fifth son of Simeon Le Prince, as chief following the death of his brother Joseph in 1931 (Hall 1992:105). Louis Billy's daughter, Lizette Hall (1992:105-6), calls him the last of the hereditary chiefs and notes that he was not a nobleman, because out of respect for the church he never participated in potlatching.

3. Roles Taken on By Women and Children

Women and children took on increasingly visible roles at Fort St James. Of course their mention in the fur trade papers remains incidental, and it is safe to say that their presence went well beyond what was said of them. For instance, the1894 journal mentions in passing that "Old Indian woman Margeret Yawholah who for a number of years had been a servant to the officers wives here died this morning" (HBCA: B 188/a/23, fo. 14). Carrier women are mentioned in the fur trade papers as having their own accounts with the posts, receiving their own credit and coming in alone with furs and fish to trade. In May of 1896 at McLeod's Lake, for instance, William Ware wrote, "Busy nearly all day trading with the Kloochmen.[53] I got paid in full mostly all of their debts" (B 119/a/7 fo. 32). They are often noted to be lake fishing, apparently while the men were hunting. Intermarriage with the HBC men continued, as in previous years, although it increasingly became the trend for the men to retire or remain in the country after their contracts expired. The Company also came to

[53] "Kloochman" was a Chinook term meaning woman.

enforce strict code on their workers, especially those in charge of posts, to formally marry their wives. For instance in February, 1901 Commissioner Chipmann wrote from Winnipeg to the officer in charge at Victoria that before Mr William Ware should take up "the important charge of Fort St James," he was to visit Hazelton and become formally married to the woman he was living with (HBCA: B 226/b/53.3/S.)

Native children are occasionally mentioned as having a role in the life of the posts. In spring of 1894 the journal recorded, "Got a girl to help Mrs Murray to wash windows and clean out mens house etc." (HBCA: B 188/a/23, fo.13). Again in 1895 we read, "Got two girls to help Mrs Mrray to scrub out the trade shop" (HBCA 188/ a/23, fo.32). In October 1902 the directors in Victoria instructed the HBC men in New Caledonia to encourage the boys and girls to trap ermine, for which "Twelve and a half cents is not too much to pay" (HBCA: B 226/b/53.3 F, Oct 24, 1902).

C. Summary

The records show that the late nineteenth century was a time when the Hudson's Bay Company in New Caledonia changed from having a traditional fur trade function to a general retail function.

For the Carrier it was a time of some deterioration to the traditional hereditary and community chief system, and the diffusion of leadership roles, as outsiders worked to appoint and build up leaders according to their own purposes. Besides the "fur trade chiefs" appointed by the trading post, "church chiefs," watchmen and others were appointed by the local Oblate missionaries, and native police and constables were appointed by the government Indian agents (sometimes with the advice of the HBC men or the priests). Added to this, in time, was another leadership system of elected chief and band council according to the dictates of the Indian Act.[54] According to David Mulhall (1986), these impositions diffused the leadership in Carrier communities, and encouraged factionalism in the Fort St James community.

It is conceivable that simply the separate standard for the treatment of "Indians"

[54] In 1931 the government decided there would be elected chiefs, who were known as "chief Counsellors" in the Carrier communities. Apparently Thomas Julian was the first chief counsellor at Fort St James (Hall 1992: 108).

and "Half-breeds" would be enough to spark such factionalism. For instance, "Half-breeds" were legally allowed to buy liquor, whereas "Indians" were not. "Half-breeds" were served a drink at the HBC house at New Years, whereas it was illegal to treat "Indians" the same way. Meanwhile, the church-appointed "Watchmen" were encouraged to discipline any of their community who drank liquor -- on moral rather than legal grounds. "Half-breeds" were more likely to get responsible jobs as constables or as foremen in wage jobs. "Indians" were eligible to receive government aid in a year of starvation, whereas "Half-breeds" were not. These imposed segregations must have sat uneasily in a society that had very different ways of defining kin relations.

With the newcomers into the region -- the miners, free traders, surveyors and others -- came more options for individual Carrier to do wage labour. It seems reasonable that these changes could have undermined the traditional leadership and the system of matrilineal descent. The Carrier now had the possibility of supporting themselves independently from the old systems of leadership where the economic well being was based on fish and game and tied to the social and political mechanisms for acquisition and distribution of these resources.

Exactly how significant the changes were in Carrier life continues to be a topic of debate. For instance, Douglas Hudson played down the changes in Carrier society before 1914. He argued that the moneys from wage labour went back into the kin system through potlatch, so that traditional leaders and matrilineal descent were retained, although they came to serve different functions. In any case, whether or not the Carrier continued to manage and adapt well to the changes, the changes were certainly pervasive. It appears that between the 1880s and 1915 the environment the Carrier found themselves in was no longer one in which the newcomers were a small minority providing an option for social and economic exchange that could be incorporated into existing patterns and structures. It became one in which the newcomers had dispersed authority in the Carrier communities and brought a prevalent new order to the land that affected all areas of Carrier social, religious and economic life.

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PHOTO 3 - 1: *Hauling wood, Fort St James, November 1912.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, Swannell Collection #966).

PHOTO 3 - 2: *Donald Todd, his wife Elizabeth Naquon and their children hauling wood. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP70007).*

PHOTO 3 - 3: *Cooking berries in birch bark baskets with hot stones at Fraser Lake, 1905. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP88699)*

PHOTO 3 - 4: *Making nets from twine, Carrier women at Fort St James, n.d. (Glenbow Alberta Institute, Photographic Archives, NA-1164-3).*

PHOTO 3 - 5: *Hunting Party Near Fort St James, n.d.*
(Canadian Parks Service, Fort St James NHP).

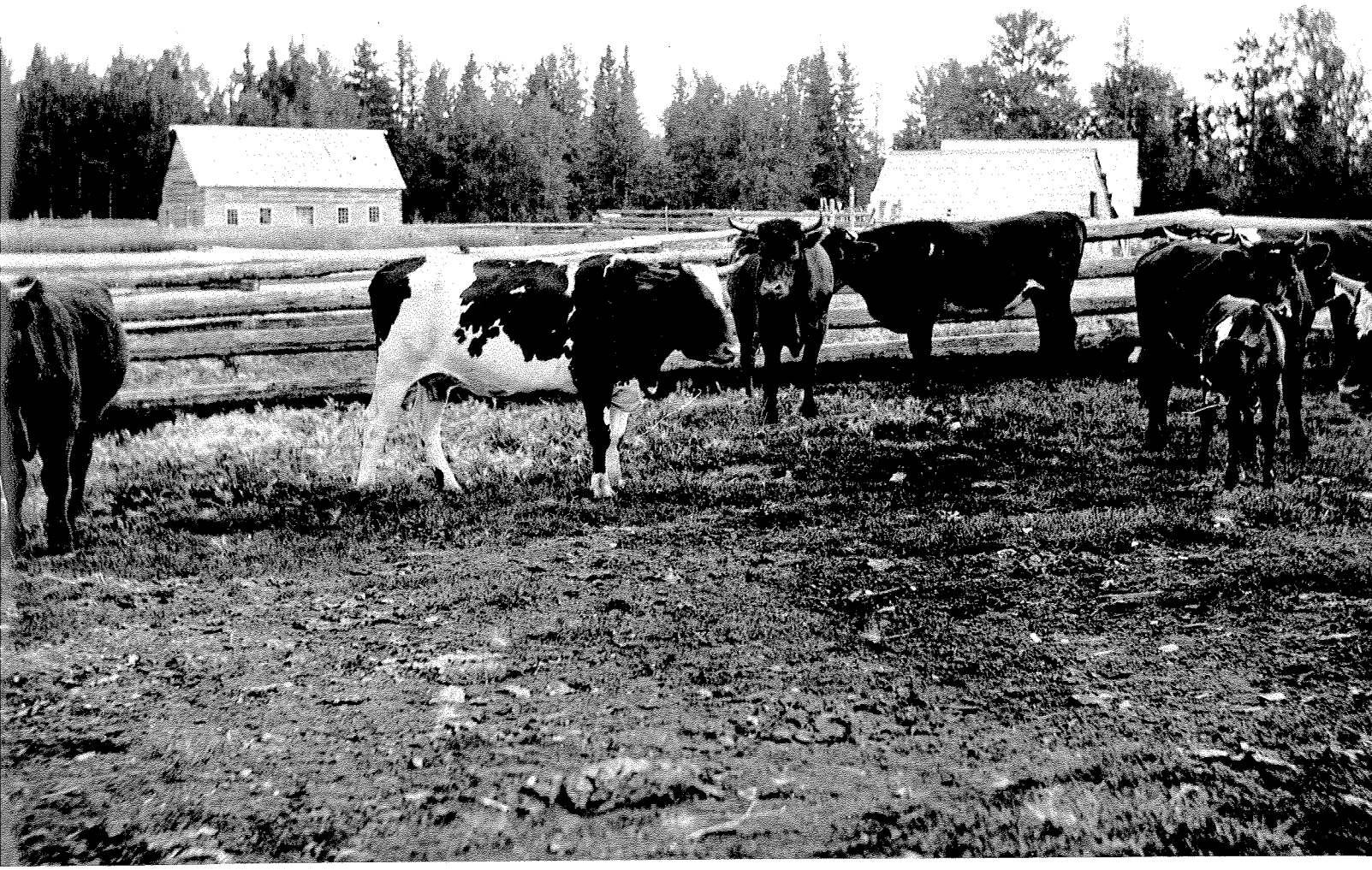

PHOTO 3 - 6: *Cattle at Fort St James, 1911.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP69959).

PHOTO 3 - 7: *Farm in Fort St James area, n.d.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP10830).

PHOTO 3 - 8: *Loading pack horses onto the Stuart Lake Ferry, November 1912. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP70017).*

PHOTO 3 - 9: *Stuart River Ferry, Nov. 1912.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP69969).

PHOTO 3 - 10: *Freighting on Stuart River.*
(Canadian Parks Service, Fort St James NHP).

PHOTO 3 - 11: Babine Portage, eastern end of portage between Stuart and Babine Lakes, 1891. (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 1987/13/127).

PHOTO 3 - 12: *Village and church, Fort St James, 1905.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP13378).

PHOTO 3 - 13: Hudson's Bay Company Scow on Babine Lake, n.d.
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP13833)

PHOTO 3 - 14: Village near Church, Fort St James, n.d.
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, HP10836).

PHOTO 3 - 15: *Landing Freight, Fort St James, August 1909.*
(Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, Swannell Coll. #4256)

PHOTO 3-16: Women Sawing, n.d.
(Canadian Parks Service, Fort St James NHS).

CONCLUSIONS

Over more than a century of fur trade in New Caledonia, the written sources reveal many changes in the role of the Carrier in the trade. It appears that the early decades of direct trade (1806-40) were characterized by a symbiotic working relationship between the post and the local Carrier, under the leadership of Chief Qua. The Carrier took on the roles of trapping furbearers and supplying the posts with the provisions they needed to remain in the country. The Carrier incorporated the new trade opportunities into their existing economies. Their cooperation appears to be based on the expectation that the relationship would be characterized by reciprocity and mutuality. The help the Carrier gave in provisioning the posts -- sometimes at considerable cost to their own welfare -- suggests that they were including the traders in their system of distribution, perhaps not only because of the trade relationship but because of the kin relationships that developed as many of the Company men married Carrier women. In turn, of course, this inclusion held the expectation that the traders would be obligated to them for similar generosities. The fur trade journals record many expressions of this expectation. Debt and gift giving was insisted upon by the Carrier from the beginning of the trade. As well, instances are plentiful where natives came to the post for medicine, leather or supplies such as traps, ammunition and especially for food during difficult times.

The traders, it appears, were not aiming for reciprocity but advantage. They were uncomfortable with their dependence upon the Carrier for provisions and tried from the beginning to acquire food independently. It appears from the traders' writings that "advantage" rotated, especially during the early decades of direct trade. When the salmon failed in the early years, the Carriers' advantage was clearly evident. They had the advantage of a well adapted distribution systems and superior knowledge of provisioning alternatives. However, because of the post's vigorous efforts to preserve, store and import provisions, the traders frequently described serious starvation among the local Indians while they themselves were still comfortably stocked. Their response was usually to provide ammunition or supplies, as gratuities or on credit, to enable people to continue hunting or fishing. Sometimes people in need were given salmon or, more often, sold salmon -- in effect buying

back in winter the fish they had sold in the autumn[1]. But rarely did the newcomers distribute fish or other provisions to their native neighbours unless these resources were clearly in excess of the short-term and even long-term needs of the posts.

The notable change in the role of the Carrier at Fort St James between 1840 and 1882 was the addition of freighting to the continuing trapping and provisioning roles. In terms of the relationship of the Carrier to the post, this period was characterized by a weakening of ties. Expressions of protest against the Company were increasingly evident. For instance, on August 15th, 1851 the journal recorded: "Tayah when finding that his summer beaver was taken for each 5 Rats refused giving them up and took them back to his lodge." In September of 1851, the Babine Indians refused to sell their salmon without a rise in the price. In August of 1851, a Fort St James native Quistah refused to lend his canoe to an HBC man departing for Fraser Lake. According to the journal,

> the Indian Quistah refused lending his Canoe for Mr William notwithstanding this beggar has the loan of the Company's tools for building his House, with Alhuil. [B]ut on the point of his not lending his Canoe to us I sent for all the tools and now let him finish his house the best he can (HBCA: B 188/a/21 fo.40).

The post's policies likely contributed to the ties being weakened. Post masters came and went, which diminished possibilities of developing trust over time or lasting ties through marriage. The post's provisioning strategies were likely also a factor. The policy established by Peter Skene Ogden in 1842 was to store not less than 20,000 fish more than needed in a good year, as insurance against a bad year (1937:52-3). In December 1840, when many of the natives were ill and hungry, the Fort St James Factor directed the men at the Babine portage to "keep a good look out that the Indians do not steal our Salmon," a cache of 1300 fish (HBCA: B 188/a/19 fo.11d-12d). Again, in late August of 1851, the Fort St James Indians had "departed in different directions, with the view of hunting," as the salmon fishery had failed, and "not one mouthful of provisions have the poor creatures yet laid up for the winter." Meanwhile the HBC posts were stockpiling for its own use some 36,000 salmon

[1] The traders seem to have encouraged this, as the natives were less likely to lose trapping time that way than if they journeyed to their relatives in other watersheds for provisions.

traded at Lake Babine.

During the years from the 1880s to 1915, the Carriers' role in the fur trade turned increasingly from a provisioning role to a labour role, as some of the Carrier came to take on the basic tasks necessary in running the HBC posts while others continued in the trapping roles. The boundaries between the newcomers "inside" the posts and the natives on the "outside" effectively disappeared. The Carrier had always been the lifeblood of the trading posts -- bringing the furs and providing the essential foodstuffs. By the turn of the century they were also in the forefront of the very visible transportation, agricultural and general labouring roles in the fur trade.

While, from the limited research done for this project, it is premature to make conclusions about the reasons for and significance of these changes, it may be helpful to note the observations made in other studies. There are varying theories about what events were critical ones and when they happened. Arthur Ray developed the argument that a critical event affecting native peoples in the fur trade was a change in the trade relationship. Through evaluating the fur trade at the turn of the early twentieth century, Ray (1990:226-7) pointed out that the Hudson's Bay Company gave up its longstanding role of giving relief and debt to the Indians, effectively turning it over to government. Ray asserted that before Confederation the fur trade generally operated as a codependent, equal partnership with natives:

> The company depended on the native people for furs, a portion of the food its men consumed at trading posts, and seasonal labour. Its native clients, on the other hand, became dependent on the company for their basic hunting, trapping, and fishing equipment, a substantial portion of their clothing, and in the late nineteenth century, increasingly, even food.

Ray goes on to say that it was in the Company's interests to make sure that the natives always had the basic necessities, so they provided essential goods as relief, gifts and uncollectable debts. But after Confederation the market competition led the Company to cut back on relief and debt in order to trim operating expenses. They tried to pass on to the government an increasing share of the relief costs to natives, actions which were ultimately counter-productive, because they weakened the ties

of reciprocity, and thus the natives' loyalties to the Company.

Three other scholars, writing specifically about the Carrier, are interesting to compare on the topic of critical changes. While they disagree on whether historical factors or cultural ecological factors were the basis of the change, they do seem to agree on one point -- that the critical change affecting the Carrier (and, we could add, their activities and role in the trade) was the undermining of the traditional leadership, that is, the system of deneza or traditional headmen. These writers disagree, however, on when and how this change occurred. David Mulhall (1986) insisted that it was contact with Oblate missionaries -- and especially the particular missionary, Father Morice -- that introduced an external form of authority, undermining traditional Carrier leadership and causing disorientation particularly noticeable by the late nineteenth century. Julian Steward argued that the critical change to the traditional system occurred from the mid-nineteenth century on and he attributed its cause to new economic opportunities, specifically noting that individuals of any status had access to wealth in the trade and the cash economy. This allowed them the ability to support themselves apart from the old systems of leadership. Douglas Hudson, however, takes this idea to task, saying that despite Carrier involvement in the wage economy during the nineteenth century, their economic well-being continued to be based on fish and game and tied to the traditional social and political mechanisms for acquisition and distribution of these resources. According to Hudson it was not until the occurrence of two key events in the early twentieth century that critical change occurred to the Carrier economic and social system:

> First, under pressure from operators of coastal canneries, the federal government eliminated the weirs. In exchange the people were given nets, one per family, thereby individualizing the primary economic activity. Secondly, in 1913 [1914?], debris from railway construction in the Fraser Canyon virtually closed the river to salmon, forcing major economic shifts simply for survival (Hudson and Wilson 1986:444).

Hudson argues that the resources and technology (i.e. weirs) which had formed the basis of the power of the deneza had largely been dissolved by the early 1900s, and

the economy which developed in the early 1900s drew on resources outside the traditional power of the deneza -- resources such as moose and wage labour (Hudson 1983:42).

Many outstanding questions remain to be answered. For instance, to what extent did changes in the roles the Carrier took on at the post affect their traditional seasonal cycle and their hereditary rights to fishing and to hunting beaver? What did the changes in roles -- from provisioners and trappers to freighters and labourers -- mean in the lives of those who took on those tasks? To follow up on these questions, further research is needed, especially focussing on the contemporary oral sources which have much to contribute to this discussion.

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APPENDIX A:

Excerpts from the Fort Saint James Journal, 1820-21, Showing the Interaction of the Local Native People with the Post.

(HBCA: B 188/a/1)

1820

April

2d) 21 Carriers off from this place excepting Qua.

22 Qua this morning brought us a small Beaver whole.

23 Quas Son gave me two Geese (or Grebe)

3) 26 Qua paid me a visit & brought me a few fresh fish.

(The Indians are mentioned in the role of bringing furs or food -- fish, ducks, partridges, bustards, whole beaver -- except an Indian lad bringing letter from Fraser Lake. Sometimes women or children bring provisions: "the little widow's Son (Quinyah) gave me two Ducks a Partridge & a Muskrat " (fo.4), and "Qua's woman brought me Eleven small Trout" (fo.4).

4d) May 16 sent to the village to indeavour to get some fresh fish, but could get none. really starving with the Salmon we have.

17 Qua's women brought me a few fish.

18 Qua's eldest woman brought a few more fish

(this goes on almost daily from Qua or others).

5) 22 Took up our Sturgeon nets this morning found nothing in them. Sent Aze to see if the little Widow was taking any fish, at the small Lakes behind as we are much in want.... Aze returned with him (the little widows son Quinyah) in the evening, they say they take no fish, brought but 18 Small Carps.

27 Qua this morning came to see us. was very unwell, gave him a little Peppermint the only thing we have.

6) June 1 (Mr Faries left for the Columbia with J. Bt Bouche their only Interpreter & seven men in three canoes... Writer complains that they do not have enough goods in their shop to answer the demands of half the natives that will come in this month. "I remain for the Summer with two

men, 3 women & 2 children and only 500 odd very indifferent Salmon, therefore we must entirely depend upon Kind Providence and the Natives for our Subsistance untill [the boat] comes up this River. Got 25 fresh fish from Qua who is the only Indian hereabouts, he is now unwell and has been so these some days back... This Evening Qua's Woman brought 13 fresh fish & another Woman brought Sap... In the Evening Old Jose arrived from F. Lake with letters from Mr Fleming.

7) 9 Lundrie began to cut Pickets... Got the Indians to take the Bark off 60 Pickets. Gave about 15 Inches Cloth to a woman for Watap? & Sap.

10 Sent old Jose to F. Lake with a Woman [who will work at the house there]

7d) 11 Qua sent us 22 Carp, he is very unwell & has sent two messengers for Doctors, at Fond du Lac & Carrier's Lake... In the Evening Tozetne & several other Carriers cast up from the Carrier's Lake, the first brought 3 Large Beaver & 2 fine Otters, the other brought nothing having come to see the Chief who is sick.

8) 14 Qua left us have 33 fresh fish, he asked for a Blkt [blanket] for fish which I let him have as we want him this Year more than ever and God only Knows how we will do if we take no Sturgeon for the few Salmon we have are not fit for the Dogs even.

8d) 15 Qua's Eldest Son brought us a Whole Beaver. Got some Sap from the Women for Tobacco & 2 awl.

17 A Young man came from Carrier's Lake for the things which I wish to send to McLeod's Lake & I have settled with him to go there with the things for a Pair of Leggins & Shoes, he will leave this tomorrow morning with the following property....

9) 19 Received 21 Large Beaver from Qua, his Brother & Nedzun, which they Got from the Indians that came Yesterday, our Store is so empty that I apprehend it will prevent the Natives from working and coming to the fort with their Hunts, it is now we will feel the want of the Dressed Skins we expected by the men we sent down to Dunvegan in Feby last and if a Canoe does not come from the Lake I really am afraid the Returns will diminish unstead of augmenting.... Got 27 fish from Qua.

20 traded some Wattap for Tobacco with Women of the Village.

11) July 4 The Indians ... took 2 of our nets but, having spoken to them, the Old Doctor and Kaze promised to get them put back where they were, sent the men to Sleep on the Sturgeon nets in case they should take it in their heads to take them.

5 Got the Nets back that were Stolen Yesterday.

6 Took a Sturgeon of seven and a half feet long, all the Indians of the Village came in hopes to get a share but as we are short of Provisions & it is a bad custom I gave them none.

11d) 8 Got 6 fish from Tlung. (he is reguarly bringing in fish now).

12) 14 In the Forenoon an Indian lad & Woman arrived from Fr. Lake, the first brought me a few lines from Mr Fleming.

13d) 27 Early this morning three Indians came from Pinche with a Quantity of small Salmon, which they bartered for Amn, Shoes & Babince, they say that the Small Salmon is very plentiful & promise to come with more soon.

28 The Indians are all splitting timber to Dam the River & seem determined to work the Salmon well.

14) 30 All the Indians here busy preparing to Dam the River, but I apprehend unless Qua comes to do that Job well that it will be done very indifferently.

31 Berries begin to ripen. This Evening Qua arrived from Fon du Lac but he has not come to the Fort however I understand he has a few Furs which he gained at play.

14d) Aug 2 Qua and the other Indians busy wroking at the Dam.

15) 6 Got 40 fresh fish from Qua, who went back in the Mountain for timber for Canoes with several young men, the Indians are all gone in differing directions to live & prepare for the taking of Salmon.

15d) 9 Got 30 fish from Qua but was under the necessity of giving him a ? of Leather Gratis, as he is the only one about the Village that can afford to give us something now and they for the others are all starving and if Salmon does not come up soon we will be in the same condition for our Stores are empty and nothing is taken in the nets.

11 (old Jose & co from Frasers Lake with a letter from Mr Fleming with news:) "the Indians are dying fast at that place and are Starving. Qua busy preparing for Salmon, he is never Idle but can hardly get any to follow his example."

16) 14 Sent a young man to Frasers Lake and one of the Women who arrived from there on Friday last. The men returned this Evening with about 600 small Salmon all fresh. Say the Natives take them in abundance, they also brought 1 Beaver Skin and about half a Keg of Berries, the Indians take some Small Salmon, they are very fond of them and ask most extravagent Prices for what they give, which in our present circumstances we are obliged to put up with & give them what they ask, indeed it has been the case all Summer, always has & will be when we do not remain independent of them... for as the Natives far & Near Know our poverty, they [that] have Furs they will not come in with them.

16d) 17 The Women are gone for Berries.

18 The poor Indians are working hard to take Salmon but I am much afraid they will again be disappointed, the Salmon has not come up so late since the Year 1811 which Year the first

that was taken at the village was on the 22nd of this month, and the Salmon was plentyful that year.

19 (Some women in with a few berries -- not many because not completely ripe yet. Traded them for amunition and old clothes.)

Aug 20 (An Indian Sycuss in with news:) "says there is no Salmon as yet & I am really apprehensive of there being none again this Year if so God almighty Knows what will become of us in this Quarter & the Natives of this place will certainly Starve to death. Got 20 fish from Qua.

18) 27 At long last the Natives at the Village took a Salmon this morning altho they have not damed the River properly yet and on account of the wind they could not work at it to Day but I hope they will tomorrow & with the Blessing of God I trust we will a Supply of provisions to enable to Keep soul & Body together & make the men (who have done nothing hardly for this month and a half back).

18d) 29 (Still worried there will be no Salmon. One of the problems is that several Indians have died -- talk of dissentry and measles -- and others deserted Villages where the deaths occurred "to avoid the same Fate".)

30 The Indians took another Salmon & say it is excellent but they bring none to the Fort as they take so few. Got a Carriboux Parchment Skin boiled for the Dogs.

31 Another of our Dogs died....

19) Sept 2 Qua let us have a Salmon two pieces of two Bears he took in his Snares. there is no Salmon as yet however, the Indians say they saw a few in the River, but I apprehend much that this will be another year that Salmon will fail here.

(moving dogs to river in hopes that some salmon can be found for them.)

mid Sept (still starvation till 14th when they a good many were taken. got 25 from the natives.)

23) 23 The Natives took no Salmon nor did we in our nets. Qua being afraid of Starvation and having as he says a strong family to support, has determined on going to work the Salmon below therefore went off with his family & ?, he let me have 30 half dry Salmon, I have warned him to hunt and endeavour to pay his debt for he might depend upon getting nothing from us untill he pays his debt.

23d) 24 Most of the Indians are about leaving the Village as they take nothing.

24d) Oct19 I was busy mounting a net when I was agreeably suprised by the arrival of Paul LaLonde with two men informing me of his having safely arrived at McLeod's Lake on the 14th Instant with 3 Canoes Contining each 23 Pieces, consisting of such an Outfit as was ordered by the Agents from the Columbia.....

27d) Nov 4 Qua & all his band arrived....

28d) 17 Old Jose came over with the little girl Che ke & Candrie & LeVine will be over tomorrow take very few fish.

18 The most of the Indians of this place returned last night from Pincy where they had been to a feast. Hoolson brought me the tail of a Beaver.

29d) 24 late in the evening a Carrier lad Tzatro? arrived from Frasers Lake with a letter & some Berries sent by Mr McDougall, he writes me, he traded upwards of 13,000 Salmon, far short of what he expected.

27 I sent Pierre Kasswita? & Michel Kishittia? for wood for showshoes. four or five young men came from Pinchy Vagabonds that are running about playing.

30d) Dec 9 (Several Indians of this place left for Frasers Lake)

10 Qua, Hoolson, Malle de Gorge Capsienne? & several followers left this on their way to the Babines set of Vagabonds they were so obliging before they left this to steal a small Axe of mine... the only Indian remaining here at present is Belthoeste? he is going to Frasers Lake as soon as his wife, who is sick recovers. Gave Qua his Chiefs Cloathing, Coat, Shirt & pr Leggins.

APPENDIX B:

Excerpts from Fort St James List of Expenses, 1869, Showing Services Rendered by Natives

(PABC: AC 20 St9.4)

DATE	*TASK AND PAYMENT*	*VALUE OF PAYMENT*
1869		
May 16	**For saving one of the cattle from dogs:**	
	2/3 lb L.B. Tobacco	$.48
May 22	**For saving a Calf from Dogs:**	
	5 lb L.C. Flour	$.76
July 30	**For Gratuity to Prince:**	
	1/2 lb Shot, 1/4 lb powder,	$.26
	1/2 lb Ball.	$.11
1871		
May 2	**Paid for seed Potatoes:**	
	40 lbs C.M. Flour	$5.60
"	Present to Prince: 1/2 lb Tea	$.34
	3 lb S.I. Sugar	$.72
June 1	**Paid Express to McLeod's Lake:**	
	1 ea ? Mooseskin	$4.14,
	21 ins S. Cloth	$1.37
	for bringing horses from Fraser's Lake:	
	3 lbs Sugar	$.77
	1/2 lb Tea	$.34
	12 lb Flour	$1.68
Sept 7	**Paid for bringing Stoves: (stones?)**	
	1 lb J.R. Tobacco	$.74
Oct 10	**Paid for Salmon Transport:**	
	1 ea 3 pt green Blanket	$3.11

	1/2 lb P. Tobacco	$.32
	1 pr Mole Trousers	$1.94
	1 grey serge Shirt	$1.61
	10 lbs Beans	$1.65
	8 lbs Flour	$1.20
	3 lbs c. Tallow	$.57
Oct 16	**Paid for cattle driving:**	
	25 lbs Flour	$3.75
	15 lbs Beef	$.90
	4 lbs Sugar	$.98
	3/4 lbs Tea	$.48
	1 lb Salt	$.17
	1 box Yeastpowder	$.23
	4 lbs Bacon	$1.40
Oct 24	**for fixing stove pipes:** 14 lbs Flour	$2.10
	3 lbs Sugar	$.73
Nov 16	**for carrying up Salmon**	
	1 ea Mooseskin	$4.11
	1 1/2 lb Sugar	$.36
	1 ea B.S. Shirt	$1.68
	1 ea clasp Knife	$.41
	1 yd S. Cloth	$2.29
	1/4 gro goffd Braid	$.17
	2 1/2 lbs G. Soap	$.53
	1 ea lookg Glass	$.19
	2 prs Mocassins	$.80
	1 ea Lg H. Comb	$.05
	1/2 ea 2 pt Blanket	$.74
Nov 16	**Paid for driving horses to Fraser's Lake:**	
	10 lbs Flour	$1.50
	3 lbs Sugar	$.73
	1 lb Tea	$.64
	5 ea Salmon	$.11
	4 lbs Bacon	$1.37
Nov 16	**Paid for boating salmon on the Babine Lake**	
	8 yds B. Flannel	$2.48
	1/2 lb Gunpowder	$.21
	1 lb Shot	$.24
	2 ea comp Traps	$4.74
	3 ea baltic Shirts	$5.82
	1 ea B.S. Shirts	$1.68
	1 ea G.S. Shirts	$1.61
	16 yds printd Cotton	$2.00
	4 ea 3 ft Guns	$44.00
	1 ea B. 3pt Blanket	$2.78

	1 ea stripd Frock	$1.69
	13 yds 36 in G. Cotton	$2.86
	5 box Matches	$.30
	1 lb P. Tobacco	$.64
	2 ea 3 pt P. Blankets	$5.40
	1 ea Lain Skirt	$1.67
	1 ea felt Hat	$1.69
	1 pr mole Trowsers	$1.94
Nov 25	**Paid for carrying the Salmon from Portage to Fort**	
	1 ea B.S. Shirt	$1.68
	1/2 yd S. Cloth	$1.15
	1 ea butcher's Knife	$.24
	15 lbs Flour	$2.25
	10 lbs C. Tallow	$1.80
	1/2 lb Tea	$.32
	2 lbs Sugar	$.49
	1 ea Kettle	$1.48
	1 pr shet Drawers	$1.38
	1 ea merino Frock	$1.69
Nov 25	**Paid for Gum**	
	12 yds M. Braid	$.15
	3 lbs Tallow	$.54
	1/5 bun? S. Twine	$.17
	Paid Horse Hunting	
	1 ea regatta Shirt	$.80
	Paid for hauling up Boats	
	1 lb St Tobacco	$.64
	20 ea thk Salmon	$.35
Dec 10	**Salmon Transport**	
	4 lbs Bacon	$1.36
	4 yds G. Flannel	$1.40
	1/3 lb Tea	$.20
	2 lbs S.I. Sugar	$.49
1872		
Mar 6	**Salmon Transport from Portage to Fort**	
	1/2 yd HBW Strouds	$.56
	4 1/2 lbs Sugar	$1.12
	1 1/2 lbs Tea	$.96
	7 1/2 lbs Bacon	$2.70
	15 lbs Flour	$2.25

APPENDIX C

Excerpt from Fort St James "Labour Account Book," 1887-1888

Naming Local Day Workers, Tasks and Payment.

(PABC: ADD MSS 2648)

Catagories:

Hay Labor (Late July & August)			**Payment in "Skins"**
Thomas		3 days cutting	4 1/2
	(Aug 6)	6 days work, 4 cutting, 2 cocking	8
Selestah	(Jul 30)	3 days cutting hay	4 1/2
	(Aug 6)	6 days - 4 cutting, 2 stacking	8
		5 1/2 days - 4 1/2 cutting 1/2 cocking	7
	(Aug 20)	6 days cutting	9
Antoine Prince	(Jul30)	3 days cutting	4 1/2
I-at-see	(Aug 6)	4 1/2 days - 2 1/2 cutting 2 stacking	5 3/4
High-ah-lee		2 days cocking	2
Raul	(Aug 6)	4 days cutting	6
		6 days	6
	(Aug 20)	6 days - 3 days cutting 3 cocking	7 1/2
	(Aug)	5 days work - 4 cocking, 1 cutting	5 1/2
Somme			
Sarrow Hawl	(Aug)	4 days - 3 days cutting, 1 stacking	5 1/2
		2 days stacking	2
		4 days	4
	(Aug 20)	6 days stacking	6
	(Aug 27)	5 days - 4 stacking, 1 cutting	5 1/2
		trip to Portage	5
		3 days killing fire at hay	3
Tibit		4 days cutting	6
		2 days cutting	3
		------ paid hay labour -------	
Vitale		work	3 1/2

Gorge (Stony Creek)		work	3 1/2
Philip	(Aug)	2 days	2
Bazil		6 days cocking	6
	(Aug 20)	6 days cocking	6
	(Aug 27)	By 5 days Killing fire	5
	(Sept)	4 days building stacks	4
Abraham	(Aug 20)	6 days - 3 days, 3 days cocking	8
	(Aug 27)	By 4 days cutting	6
		6 days - 1 day cutting, 5 fencing	6 1/2
Jimmy Ahoul	(Aug 20)	By 1 day cutting Barley	1 1/2
Julian		By 6 days at Hay	6
John Prince	(Aug 20)	By 1 day cutting Barley	1 1/2
		By 6 days cutting barley	9
His Boy		1 days work at Barley	1
John Bull	(Oct)	By 2 days work	2
		1 day work at Barley	1
		3 days work at Byres	3
		By 2 days Work	2
		3 days work at barley	3
Philip	(Oct)	2 days looking for horses	2
Lobel		By 2 days work cutting poles	2
		1 day work at Barley	1
		3 days work at Barley	3
Toma	(Aug 20)	5 days cocking	5
Neduke	(Aug 20)	By 4 1/2 days cutting	6 3/4
		1 day cutting	1 1/2
Sam		1 day cutting	1 1/2
		1 day cutting	1 1/2
Pierre Roi		1 day cutting	1 1/2
Sagalan	(Aug 20)	By 3 days cutting	4 1/2
	(Aug 27)	5 days cutting	7 1/2
His Boy		1 day Killing fish(?)	3/4
Chaquon	(Aug 27)	6 days cocking Barley	6
Hoolah	(Aug 27)	By 6 days - 2 cutting 4 stacking	7

Stephen	(Aug 27)	By 6 days - 2 cutting, 4 stacking	7
Little Thomas		5 days work at hay	5
Charloo		2 days at Hay	2
John Nahoneyale Thomas	(Oct)	1 day work with horses	1

OUTFIT 1888

Jim Alexander	(March)	5 cords	5
Pierre Rois	(Feb 27?)	By 25 cords wood	25

Bouchie's order

Matise		Work on Babine Portage, Road & House	goods add to 3 1/2
Joseph Tass		Work on Babine Portage & Road & House	goods add to 7 1/2
Sam Prince		By Trip to F.L & St Cr	9
		By 2 days at Pack Trains	3
	(July 27)	By 5 days cutting hay	6 3/4
	(Aug5)	By 5 days work Hay	7 1/2
		By 2 days hay	3
	(Aug 13)	By 1 day at Interpreter's house	1 1/2
		By 3 days at Apperagos	4
	(Aug 25)	By 6 days Apperagos	9
	(Aug 31)	By 4 days at Horse Agrets	6
	(Sept 7)	By 6 days at Agrets	9
	(Sept 12)	By 2 days at Agrets	3
Francis Prince			(Starts with 16 credit brot fwd)
	(July 27)	By 4 1/2 days cutting	6 3/4
	(Aug 4)	By 5 days at hay	7 1/2
	(Aug 11)	By 6 days (Hay)	9
	(Aug 18)	By 6 days (Hay)	9
Selistah	(July 27)	By 4 1/2 days cutting Hay	6 3/4
		By 5 days work hay	7 1/2
Chimmy John		Work on Shakes	1
Siccanie Sam	(July)	By 4 1/2 days cutting Hay	6 3/4
	(Aug)	By 5 days Hay	5
	(Aug 7)	By 2 days Hay	2
		2 days at Furs and Shakes	1 1/2

Lomas	(Sept 1)	By 2 days at Hay	2 1/4
Antoine Prince	(Aug)	By 6 days at Platforms	9
	(Sept 1)	By 6 days at House (Int[rs])	9
	(Sept 8)	6 days Int House	9
	(Sept 15)	By 6 days Int's House	9
Thomas	(Aug 11)	By 6 days at Store	6 1/2
		By 6 days sawing	9
	(Aug 25)	By 6 days Sawing	9

--New Store--

Antoine Prince		By 5 Window Sashes	20
		By 4 days working	6
	(11th)	By 6 days at Store	9
	(18th)	1 1/2 days Platforms	2 1/4
John Prince	(July 27)	5 days sawing & squaring	7 1/2
	(Aug 4)	6 days Working	9
	(Aug 11)	6 days at Staff & Store	9
	(Aug 25)	5 days Work	7 1/2
	(Sept 18)	By 6 days Store	9
Louis Grostete			
	(July 27)	By 4 1/2 days cutting & making raks	6 3/4
	(Aug 4)	5 days at Hay	7 1/2
	(Aug 11)	By 6 days at Hay	8 1/2
Killah	(July 27)	2 days new store	2
	(Aug 4)	5 1/2 days sawing & squaring	7 1/2
Magon		New Store	2 1/2
Louis Grostete		By 6 days cutting	9
	(Aug 22)	By 2 days fencing hay	3

Repairs & Improvements

Simon Charles			(13 credit brot forward)
	(July 28)	By 6 days at Store	12
		Flag Staff & platforms	6
	(Aug 4)	By 6 days at Store & press	12
	(Aug 11)	6 days at Press & flag Staff	12
	(Aug 18)	6 days - 3 Jem's house, 1 Stairs,	
		2 Store	12
		Inters house	6
Pierre Rois		Shakes	6

Paul	(Aug)	By 2 days Hay	2
	(Aug 11)	By 6 days at Hay	8
	(Aug 18)	By 6 days, 3 cutting Hay	7 1/2
		5 days at Hay	6
	(Sept 3)	By 2 days at Hay	2
	(Sept 22)	By 2 days at Potatoes	2
	(Sept 29)	By 5 days at Potatoes	5
	(Oct 10)	By 2 days at Potatoes	2
		By 2 days New Men's House	2
		By 4 days removing house	4
John Bull	(Aug 4)	By 2 days at hay	3
		By 1 day cutting Hay	1
	(Oct 10)	By 5 days at Potatoes	5
		By 2 days Boat Store Potatoes	2
	(Oct 13)	By 1 day New Men's House	1
		By 4 days Removing house	4
Ch Favel			
Matise	(1 week)	6 days at Hay	8
	(Sept)	By 6 days - 2 cutting hay	7 1/4
Louis Prince	(Aug)	2 days at Hay	2 1/2
	(Aug)	By 6 days at Hay	9
		By 6 days Work hay	9
	(Aug 22)	By 2 days fencing hay	3
	(July)	By Labor at hay (6 days)	8 3/4
Joseph Tass		6 days at Hay	7 1/2
	(Aug 18)	6 days - 1 day cutting	7
Felix	(Aug 11)	6 days at Hay	9
	(Aug 18)	6 days at Hay	9
	(Aug 22)	By 2 days Fencing hay	3
	(Sept 1)	By 4 days at Hay	6
		By 2 days at hay	2 1/2
		2 days hunting horses	2
John Prince	(Sept 1)	By 6 days 4 Barley 2 House	9
	(Sept 6)	By 6 at Barley	9
Dominick	(Aug 11)	6 days at Hay	9
	(Aug 18)	By 6 days at hay	8 1/2
	(Aug 22)	By 2 days fencing	3
		By 1 day at Barley	1 1/2
	(Sept 5)	By 3 days at Barley	3 1/2
		1 day Chimney Int's house	1
Austin	(Aug 11)	By 6 days at Hay - 2 cutting 3 cocking	7 1/2
		By 6 days work (hay - 3cut, 3cockg)	7 1/2

Joseph Naquon			
	(Aug 11)	By 5 days at Hay	7
		By 4 days at Hay	6
		work 2 days	3
	(Sept 11)	2 days Cocking Hay	2
Bazil Sagalon			
	(Aug 11)	6 days at Hay (cocking)	6
Donald Prince			
	(Aug 11)	By 3 days at Hay	4 1/2
	(Aug 25)	By 6 days sawing (store)	9
	(Sept 1)	4 days sawing (store)	6
	(Sept 4)	3 days Sawing Int House	4 1/2
Toma (Aug 11)		By 5 days at Hay	5 1/2
	(Aug 18)	By 6 days, 2 cutting	7
	(Aug 22)	By 2 days cutting	3
Agrame	(Aug 18)	By 5 days, 2 cutting	6
	(Aug 29)	4 days Half	5
	(Sept 4)	By 2 days at hay	2
		By 6 days at Potaotes	6
Chaloocha		5 days hay (2cuts)	6
	(Aug 22)	By 2 days fencing hay	3
	(Sept 1)	By 4 days Chimney	5
Altah			
Somme	(Aug 22)	By 2 days fencing Hay	3
		4 days at Hay	6
	(Sept 6)	By 2 days at Hay 1 day cocking	2 1/2
Ziah	(Aug 22)	By 6 days at Hay cut & cocking	9
Sundries around Fort			
Stephen		By 4 days Sundries	3
		1 day ferrying Cataline	1
Joseph Naquon		5 days cutting	7 1/2
Yelthnelow		trip from Portage & canoe	goods add to 7
Alexis	(Aug)	4 days Pulling down fur Store	5
	(Sept)	7 days Hay cutting all week	10
Pierre Rois		By 4 days at shakes	9

	(Sept 15)	6 days Int's house	9
	(Sept 18)	By 2 days Knifing Shakes	3
	(Oct 31)	By 10 days hunting ducks	10
Louis Grostete			(4 credit)
		By 4 days at Hay	6
		By 2 days apperagos	3
		By 2 days hunting horses	2
Jos Prince	(Aug 25)	By 5 days work at Fence & store	7 1/2
	(Aug 17)	By 1 day fixing canoe	1
		By 6 days planing boards Int house	9
Louis Prince		(2 brot forward)	
	(Sept 1)	4 days at Hay	5
		By 2 days hunting horses	2
	(Sept 21)	Paid trip to M.L. see blotter	5
Solonas	(Sept)	By 1 day at Barley	1
		By 2 days at Chimney	3
Jim Ahoul	(Sept?)	By 4 days cutting Barley	6
		3 days at Barley	3 1/2
Ahquon		By 2 days at Apperajos	2
		By 2 days at Barley cut & cock	2 1/2
Thomas	(Sept 1)	By 6 days - 4 sawing 2 at House	9
		By 6 dyas - 2 sawing, 4 Agrets	8
	(Sept 12)	By 2 days hunting horses	2
	(Sept 18)	By Trip to F. L. & St Ck	9
	(Sept 21)	By 2 days hunting horses	2
		Transferred to Blotter trip to M.L.	10
Chaloocha	(Sept 18)	2 days hunting horses (on top it says trip to M.L.)	2
Alexis	(Oct 13)	By 3 days L I F. New Mens House	3
	(Oct 18)	By 6 days removing house	6
Antoine Prince			
	(Sept 21)	By 8 days Int House	12
	(Oct 8)	By 2 days Platforms	3
Bazil	(Sept 27)	By 3 days at Mr Ogden's House	5
	(Oct 10)	3 days Boat Store, Potatoes, Boat	3
	(Oct 13)	3 days L.I.T., New Men's House	3
	(Oct 18)	By 4 (days) removing house	4
Felix	(Sept 29)	By 5 days at Potatoes	5

Chaquon	(Oct 13)	2 days New Mens House	2
		By 4 days removing hosue	4
Sam (Siccanie)			
	(Oct 4)	By 4 days taking up Potaotes	4
Little Thomas	(Oct 8)	By 2 days inside fort	1
Agrame	(Oct 6)	By 6 days Potatoes	6
	(Oct 11)	By 4 days - 2 Potatoes, 1 Fort, 1 old Store	4

Debts for Provisions

Susan - Grostete's daughter		By 9 Trout	1
Grostete	(Dec)	By 30 white Fish	1 1/2
		By 5 Trout	1/2
		20 White Fish	1
Chaloochas Wife Yakay	(Jan '88)	By 30 Trout	3/4
		60 Trout	1 1/2
Lucy		30 Trout	3/4
		60 Trout	1 1/2
Prince's Widow		By 30 Trout	3/4
		10 Trout	1/4
Tootah		For Salmon	Goods add to 1
Grostete	(Oct 25)	By Trout	1
		By 85 Wh Fish	3 1/2
		45 Wh Fish	1 1/2
		By 60 Wh Fish	2
Michels Wife			
Joseph Prince Mother			
Ahoul's wife	(Oct 29)	By 20 Wh Fish	3/4
		20 Wh Fish	3/4
	(Nov 19)	10 Wh Fish	1/4
Tech shun			
	(April 18)	By 11 Trout	1 1/10
		4 Trout	1/10

Jimmy Ahoul's wife			
	(Nov 7)	By 20 wh Fish	3/4
Yakko	(Nov 7)	By 30 wh Fish	1
	(Apr 6)	By 3 Trout	3/10
	(Apr 18)	By 7 trout	7/10
		By 10 trout	1

Grostete
Chaloocha's wife
Thachau's wife
Zulian
Tatchan
Ticlie
Tootah

Ration Haymen (1888)

Aug 6	113 lbs Flour
	33 Bacon
	7 Tallow
	2/3 Tea
	4 Sugar
	108 w Salmon
Aug 13	106 lbs Flour
	28 Bacon
	2/3 Tea
	4 Sugar
	97 Salmon
Aug 21	82 Flour
	18 Bacon
	1 Tea
	4 Sugar
	25 Salmon
Aug 29	72 lbs Flour
	16 Bacon
	2/3 Tea
	4 Sugar
	10 Salmon
Sept 3	45 lbs Flour
	12 Bacon
	1/3 Tea
	4 Sugar

SOME PRICES FROM THE 1888 LABOUR BOOK (in "Skins") :

1 in 3 point blanket	5
1 1/2 lbs candles	1
4 yds white cotton	1
14 lbs flour	2
1 grind stone	7
1 Corrah Silk Handchief	2
1 cambrie Handkf	1/2
1 bottle hair oil	1/4
1 Hide	3
1 butcher knife	1
5 lbs Lard	2 1/2
2 boxes matches	1/2
1 pr tweed Pants	8
1 wood pipe	1
3 tin plates	1 1/2
1 pocket knife	1 1/2
8 yds ribbon	1
1 boys reg Shirt	1
1 reg shirt	1 1/2
1 pr shoes	1
1 lb shot	1/2
3 lbs sugar	1
3 lbs tallow	1
1 lb Tea	1
2/3 lb Tobacco	1
1 pr cotton cord trousers	4
1 tin yeast powder	1/2

Common purchases are tobacco, shirts, matches cloth, sugar, flour, coffee, soap, powder shot, silk handkerchiefs, thread, twine

APPENDIX D:
Excerpts from Fort St James Journal, 1892, Showing Relationship and Interaction of Local Natives with the Post.

(HBCA: B 188/a/22)

1892

1)	Jan 1	all the Indians came up to the Fort for their usual treat of Tobacco, Tea etc.
	6	lots of Indians going back to Fraser Lake & Fort George
	8	Samaluke in from McLeods Lake with his Son's body.
	9	A good many Indians sick at the Mission.
2)	25	Charles Somme & Donald Prince commenced Sawing for New Boat. Louis Prince & Charles Murdoch to square Lumber for the New Boat. (continues)
	26	Indians in from Tachey.
2d)	Feb 2	Chaquon brought 1 load of hay for Sale today.
	3	John Tylie hauled one single load of hay for Cellestin today & Jas Ahoul also made one team load for the Post.
	4	Old Chaquon & John Tylie made 1 trip each of hay for this place. (continues in following days).
3)	8	Joseph Prince, James Alexander and ? Julian arrived from the Babine Portage this evening.
	12	I measured 333 cords of cotton wood this evening all cut by Indians, men, women & children. paid them off during the afternoon half the amount going to old Jawbone. Louis Prince in from Stoney Creek with 1 keg Gunpowder & 3 Halters.
3d)	13	Bussy getting Louis Prince ready for Quesnelle with the Express on Monday.
	15	The Express left this afternoon for Quesnelle. Louis Prince & Felix were the Expressmen they had a train of dogs. Joseph Prince & Jim Alexander sawing up the mountain behind the Mission.
	17	Fox & Old Tootah off for a load of hay. bought from Alexe's Wife. Fox cut his foot bad this evening.
4)	23	Mr Traill & I set a net under the ice this forenoon. Mr Murray & Willie set Rabbitsnares

4d)	26	Jas Alexander cut his face bad this evening with an axe.
Mar	5	The Express arrived from Quesnelle this afternoon with only two dogs.
5)	8	Sinclair sawing with Jas Alexander.
	12	Bussy advancing Indians who are to leave on Monday for their hunting grounds.
6)	29	Fox making nets for Out Posts.
April	2	Old Jim back from his Beaver hunt.
6d)	4	Fox fixing a ladys riding saddle.
	10	Indians arriving for Easter.
7)	15	This being a Holy-day (Good Friday) the men were not at work.
	21	Sam repairing fence. Lizard assisting him. Old Jim doing as he likes.
7d)	28	Sam & I took 6 horses & Cattle out to pasture on the Indians hay grounds & in the afternoon manuring the field.
	29	W.E. Traill Esqr & Mr Murray all arrived this evening with 42 Geese & lots of Ducks.
	30	Sam & I tried to take 1000 shakes to Boat Camp but could only reach the point with the Canoe.
8)	May 5	Joseph & Sam Princes in also Jas Ahoul all with a few skins each. Bazil will commence to work as a boat hand tommorrow.
	6	Chief Tayah & party in this evening.
	7	Sam still ploughing.
8d)	9	Sam ploughing & sowing & working at fence.
	10	Men all employed as formerly except Bazil Sagalaw who swept the Fort yesterday & today besides helping Sam at fence at times.
	12	Todd arrived from Fraser Lake this forenoon accompanied by a Scotch Sailor from Quesnelle in search of <u>work</u>. (looks like he got some:)
	13	I went to Boat Camp with Wm Brown, who arrived yesterday. in afternoon went to the Mission counted 1000 shakes & sent 700 over to Boat Camp.
9)	18	finished planting potatoes
	19	Fox and Jos Naquon working at pickets.
9d)	20	Bazil alloes to plant his potatoes this forenoon & crossed to Boat Camp in the afternoon. Old Nadeezee, Monsieur Adam and Dominick arrived from Pincha with pretty good returns. they report the Whooping Cough pretty bad amongst themselves.
	21	John Prince in from his hunting with nothing. lost 7 Beaver & some Bear skins also all his worldly possession by fire.
	23	Joseph Prince clearing up the Warehouse. ... Jas Alexander, Bazil & Joseph Naquon all

working at Boatcamp.

10) 24 This being a General holiday, All hands off work, to enjoy themselves as they best can.

25 Fox ... returned this morning putting up a hen yard today.

26 Sam & Leon Prince left about noon for the mail. (returned 28th) Fox finished the fence. Jim Bouche castrated 3 young Bulls.

10d) 30 2 canoes with boat materials & Provisions to boat camp.

31 The Fort George Boat started this morning with 3000 lbs Four for Fort George. Two Canoes arrived from Babine.... They report the Whooping cough still very badly raging amongst the children at Pincha.

11) June 2 Pere Morice returned this evening from his missionary tour. Siccannie Sam, Louis Prince & others in they will trade tomorrow. Francis & James Alexander sawing roots for schooner at Todds River.

4 Donald Todd with one Indian returned from Fraser Lake with 16 Pack horses.

11d) 6 Messrs Ross & Traill junior got the old Indian Neopye to go on with them to Babine.... Mr Traill made a start for the boat camp today with Bazil & Jos Naquon Todd with John Ball & Leon Prince tied load for the packtrain & stuffed some apperajos. Fox & Francis Prince building fence & otherwise employed around fort. Traded a few furs. Most of the Indians getting ready for another beaver hunt.

8 Jimmie Alexander & Francis Prince only left today for the camp at Todd's river.

12) 11 Joseph Naquon & Bazil Sagalan rafting Plank over to Todd's River. Bought 4 horses from the Chinamen at $30.00 each.

12d) 15 Bazil & Joseph looking up some of the Horses. Two Indians came over from Fraser Lake with a couple of horses loaded with some supplies from Stoney Creek & F. Lake.

16 Samaluke & Donald Prince arrived form McLeod.

18 Several Indians came in today & paid up quite a lot of old Jawbone & some new.

13) 21 A Babine Indian arrived with letters. He brought a canoe load of goods to portage but the horses not being at hand he came on. The news from Hazelton is discouraging. The steamer only made one trip to H. bringing scarcely any of the N C D Outfit, since the time owing to high water She has been unable to ascend. I fear it will be a repetition of last years failure. I wish they had left the building of the schooners until the navigation of the Skeena was assured.

22 Fox with Joseph Naquon commenced packing furs.

13d) 24 Fox & Joseph Naquon grinding axes & setting Sturgeon net. Bazil looking for horses in the afternoon.

25 Several Indians arrived and traded.

27 Took in quiet a few skins today a good proportion of which is for old & new Jawbone.

31 Fort Grahame returns are not so goods as anticipated as they Indians failed in their Spring hunt & some did not visit the Post.

14) July 1 Fox returned from the Boat Camps bringing with him 4 Indians with two Canoes for the trip to Connolly Lake.

4 Started the Packtrain to McLeod late in afternoon. .... Old Man Naquon who is hired as temporary fisherman brought three Sturgeon - the first we have had altho we have been setting nets for some time.

14d) 5 Old Tyah left for Quesnelle with furs which he must have been saving up for some time, at the same time he has been running up an account. He will repent in sackcloth & Ashes before he is a year older.

15) 15 Tibet with 2 of the road cutters Jimmie Alexander and Samaluke got back here from McLeod Lake.

15d) 16 Engaged the man Logan, who says he is a blacksmith, to help Todd shoeing the wagon horses. This man came in with the Packtrain from McLeod today. Paul & Bazil returned from the portage and report the new Boat about ready to sail.

18 Several young fellows looking for horses which could not be found.

16) 19 Sanchez finished tying his loads after which he repaired rigging. ... It is a regular nuisance that we cannot keep the horses together. When the weather is hot & flies bad they come to the smoke but in cold windy weather they cannot be found.

20 Jack Sutherland and another arrived from Fraser Lake with 11 horses six of which were packing flour. five of these horses will go back again loaded with 900 lbs sugar belonging to F. L. the balance 600 lbs having been assumed at S. L. This sugar belonged to our 1891 & wintered at B. .... Sent off Antoine Prince to Portage with Harness & provisions.

21 Started the packtrain with 20 loads as some of the horses escaped during the night. Tibbet Alexander also made a start for Toms Creek with Six Steers. I am quite relieved to get them off as they have been shilly shallying a long time. ... Also 5 horses with loads of sugar for Fraser. They will return with loads of flour.

16d) 22 Mexican Joe turned up from Q. loaded with 7300 lbs Flour, but could not cross on account of high wind.

23 L. Prince who I sent to Fraser with a load of Sugar returned today with a load of Flour & Sundries having made the trip in little better than 3 days. These fellows are quite untrustworthy. It will be a while before I send any one of them with my horses without an engaged Servant in charge.

17) 30 Bought a silver Fox & 2 Beaver from D. Prince for one of our horses & bought another Horse from J. Aguayo for $50.00 making $12.00 on the transaction.

17d) Aug 2 Todd & Attoll making hay.

3 1st Salmon taken.

4 The Packtrain horses all scattered again owing to the weakness of Park fence. Great difficulty in getting men for any purpose.

5 Several young fellows looking up horses but only found 20.

18) 7 Joe Aguayo arrived across from Fraser's Lake but being Sunday did not get across.

8 Joe Aguayo crossed his loads. Made a bargain with him to take his loads on to McLeod at the rate of 2 1/2 c. I don't think he can make his fortune on the trip. (left on the 9th with 7000 lbs.)

18d) 15 A crowd about the shop all day.

18 Several Lake Indians arrived brought little but bills.

19 Sanchez returned with packtrain & began tying loads....

19) The Salmon fishery is a failure. There appears to be none.

20 Sanchez & two boys tying cargo & attending the horses which we cannot let go or we would again be delayed. Murray balancing the accounts which will show a horrible loss $11,000 odd. Every Post in the District shows a loss.

23 Joe Aguayo crossed on his way home to Quesnelle but lost his horses, so is still in the neighborhood.

24 A party of 4 Indians repairing fence of Park as we are at great expense collecting the horses every trip of the Packtrain. This party began work yesterday. Siccanie Sam arrived from Quesnelle with a large mail bringing the horse "Frank"....

25 4 men working at Park fence. 2 Indians and Geo Halder at Hay. Indians talking of shutting the river now that the Salmon run is over such as it has been.

19d) 29 McBeth, C. McKenzie, Bazil & 2 Indians sawing & working at Schooner.

30 Got in the band of wild mares this evening. they were found down at the ferry.

Sept 1 Jim Alexander & Th Charles training wild horses to take out for sale at the mines. Alquon's wife got in tonight with the body of one of her children who had died from whooping cough.

3 Started Sagalan with the accounts for Victoria, to Quesnelle.

20) 5 Sanchez tying up loads for another trip to McLeod Lake with 3 Indians. McBeth, McKenzie, Bazil & 2 Indians sawyers working over at the boat camp. George Holder with 2 Indians making hay. Messrs. O'Rielly, Loring, Green with several servants arrived here today to hear Indian grievances and portion out reserves for them.

6 Mr O'Rielly had a talk with the Indians in the trade shop. we could not get the packtrain away

today I suppose the boys were anxious to know what Mr O'Rielly had to say to them.

7 Father Morice left to visit the Indians at Fraser Lake. I sent some Tobacco & overalls to that place by his Indians.

9 Sent a man by the name of Clarke who says he is a carpenter, and seems in rather bad circumstances to work on new schooner. Started out to Grand prairie to get some fresh water salmon to send to the Smith Institution.

20d) 10 Men returned from boat camp and Hay making. Two of the Indians also who left with packtrain came in looking for horses. The horses got scattered and lost at Governor's River.

12 G Holder with 2 Indians Joe Naquon and Bazil Sagalon off to work at Hay.

21) 15 Engaged Indian boy Attol to pull pease. Mr Traill with his two men Louis Prince and Lonas returned from their trip to B.L.O. Mr O'Rielly and his party also returned from McLeod Lake. He (word missing?) some of the Indians at that Place.

16 Sent Attol to take the place of the man Clarke cooking at the boat camp.

17 Mr O'Reilly and Mr Green went to see the place the Indians work Kass (big Salmon) and staked off a reserve there. Todd arrived from Fraser Lake also Sagalan who brought the packet from Quesnelle.

19 Mr O'Rielly had another talk with the Indians in the trade shop. He started today up the lake to visit the Indians at the several villages.... Mr Traill gave some advances to Indians who intend to take a trip hunting furs.

21d) 22 Mr Traill & I went spearing Kass below the rapid, but got but one poor one.

24 I shot a few ducks at Anderson's Lake.

22) 26 Sanchez with 2 Indians tying loads for Fort McLeod.
Sanchez got away with the balance of outfit for McLoed Lake and B.L.O. ..... Mr O'Rielly got back from visiting the Indians up the Lake and at Trombly Lake.

28 Mr Green got cash from us and paid off the Indians who accompanied him & Mr O'Rielly up the lake.

29 Three Indians taking up potatoes. .... Mr Green left with Felix to look out an Indian reserve about Noonlah.

30 Mr O'Rielly left with his men & 4 Indians with 2 canoes.

22d) Oct 1 Had Celestin & Thomas Zulian to go to William's Prairie to repair the Hay fences as I heard the cattle were getting in again & if no cattle get in between this and Xmas they are to be awarded 4 skins each. John Tylie & Leon Prince taking up Potatoes.

2 Thomas Towtel got here from Fraser Lake and says he is ready to work for the Company.

4 Busy all day in shop. Paying tripmen ?ing Jawbone & trading a little.

	5	Two Indian boys taking up Potatoes 26 Kegs.... No Indians about.
23)	6	The Transport on the Lake is over & when we get the load over our work on this end will be over.
	7	(Making plans to have schooner hauled up.)
	8	Took a turn to the hay grounds to see that it was safe & found it so. All the Indians being off there is no one stirring.
	11	Sanchez with the Packtrain arrived after dark.
23d)	12	Sent the horses to the park until we can lead? them off to Fraser Lake.
	13	Murray returned toward night. He killed 83 Ducks & 15 Geese.
	18	The Boat arrived bringing Yarwood & Joe Gordon, Sam & his wife & Thomas Budd. The work on the Portage is all over..... Some of the men crossed over to Boat Camp this evening. The others will follow in the morning.
24)	20	Sent off two young fellows with 23 horses for Fraser lake, but two will be coming back as they have to drive some cattle. Traded quite a few Beaver from Samaluke & Ziahs? wife & boy.
	24	The Boat also arrived just at dark. They left about half the Salmon as they could not store it. This will necessitate another trip, which is unfortunate.
	25	Tyah & others intend starting tomorrow for Quesnelle. Hard work to find four men to man boat to portage.
24d)	26	Tyah Satsan & some others started with their furs to Quesnelle. Hope they may get frozen in on their return.
	29	Took in a few Beaver.
	31	Killed the Fraser Lake Bull. (920 lbs).
25)	Nov 1	Being all Saints could not get the boat unloaded until after all the services were over... Quite a busy afternoon in shop. Had not time to count last months trade, but it is very far below last Octr Trade.
	2	We killed 2 steers, one from Borland 396 lbs, one from J. Ahoul 700 lbs. The total of Beef killed this fall is 2366 lbs.
	5	Advanced a good many Indians who desire to go hunting.
25d)	7	The Indians got here from McLeod.
	9	Bouche with an Indian boy hanging up Bacon & piling salmon... Stony Creek Johnny also left for Quesnelle for letters for the Priest. Engaged him for 10 skins to fetch up all the mail.
	14	Mr & Mrs Traill making rabbit snares.
26)	16	The chief and first party of Indians got back from Quesnelle. Sagalon brought up the mail and a bale of Goods.

17 Sent Chaquon & Agrame to look for horses.

19 Men returned form the boat camp. Discharged Murdock & F. Prince.
(Many mentions of what "Paul" is doing, e.g.: thrashing barley, hauling cordwood, attending house. He is identified in Nov 7 entry as "Paul the Kitchen boy." I don't know if he is Carrier or not. Homick says he is.)

26d) 29 Men as yesterday, also got Francis Prince & Bazil to saw roots for Knees in schooner. Agrame & Bazil Sagalan got on some horses which hope to start for Fraser Lake tomorrow.

30 The horses got away today but Bazil & Agrame got them in and put them over the lake this evening.

Dec 2 Bazil and Francis Prince finished sawing roots for new schooner.

27) 6 Traded a few furs from some Tatch-chay Indians.

7 Mr Traill returned from Fraser Lake with the 2 Indian boys.

10 Men came over from the boat camp. the schooner is approaching completion. But we are short of nails and iron.

15 Julian and some others arrived but did not trade.

27d) 16 Samaluke and some others got back from hunting.

17 Two Indians reached here from Fraser Lake to take Pere Morice over there.

19 McKenzie Budd, Holder and Antoine Prince went to work on the schooner.

24 ...the schooner is now complete, all but putting in masts rigging painting & caulking. Holder and Anotine Prince discharged.

28) 26 A holiday for the people of the fort. A Xmas tree displayed in Mr Traill's room, and a dance given the men in my room in the evening.

29 Started Bazil and Frederick Naquon for Quesnelle with the packet. They are likely to have a hard trip as we have had a very heavy fall of snow..... Budd cooked up two sacks Flour (100 lbs) to be given gratis to the Indians on New Year.

31 McKenzie helping in trade shop were the Indians have been bothering a great deal. Some Indians got here from Tatch-chay but brought no furs to speak about. Pere Morice got back from Fraser Lake. Four Indians brought him over.

1893

28d) Jan 2 (Jan 1 was Sunday.) The Indians were all up and got their usual piece of tobacco and few cakes with a cup of lime juice. There was a dance for the men and Indians in Sinclairs house.

29d) 26 Engaged Celestin to meet the two expressmen who are now so long behind time.

30) Feb 1 On acc't of the severe cold no Indians will do any hunting and some of them are getting hard

up. (43 and 51 degrees below zero recorded Feb 1 & 2).

4 Indians bothering for debt.

31) 20 Louis Prince & Thomas Julian started about midday for Quesnelle with the packet.

31d) 25 Sinclair, Budd, & Jimmie Ahoul went for Mrs Murrays hay.

28 Advanced some Indians to go hunting.

32d) Mar 25 Some Indians arrived last evening but they have killed very little.

34) 17 Mr Traill left with Naquon to have a Goose & duck Hunt. Old Indian Neopye came in from the portage with one of the horses and brought in Sam Sinclair sick with a swollen face.

18 George Holder & Bazil started for McL Lake on the B.L.O. trip.

19 Most of the Indians away hunting.

20 Engaged Hanson and Frederick Naquon to start with Francis Prince for McLeod Lake and B.L.O. tonight.

34d) 29 Mr Murray returned with Mrs Murray from duck shooting. He brought 13 Geese and 67 Ducks. Men allowed time to shoot ducks for themselves this afternoon.

30 (Sunday) Indians doing much shooting of Grebs.

34d) May 1 The April receipts of furs are in excess of last April's receipts by over $600.00.

35) 7 Two Indians from Stony Creek got here. they came to take Pere Morice there.

8 We were obliged to engage an Indian to help Budd to pack the stuff from the Point to the camp as Williams and McKenzie say they will not pack.

9 Sent an Indian across to the boat camp with some supplies asked by Williams.

10 Hired Charlie Murdock to work with the others at New Schooner, also Naquon and wife to clean out old boat.

35d) 14 The Chief, Lonas, Chaquon & Benjamin arrived from hunting.

15 Naquon gumming old boat.

17 Sinclair done some ploughing for Indians and some grading on road.

36) 19 The Indians busy gardening.

21 The men from the boat camp returned last evening as McKenzie's time will be up on the 1 June. He appears to want to make himself awkward about staying to complete the new Schooner.

22 Sinclair..... also help Mr Traill & 3 indian boys to pull up old boat as she is leaky.... Some Indians came in from Tachay and say the lake is clear of ice.

23 A number of Indians left for hunting.

36d) 29 (This is the day that Traill & family left Ft St J. Journal also says, "Samuel Sinclair and family also left for Manitoba. He could not be induced to remain in the service.")

Engaged Patrick Michel to work at the Schooner instead of Budd who is to return.

31 Colin C. McKenzie returned form working on the Babine sSchooner. He wanted much to leave the district, and would not engage for $50.00 pr month to work on until the schooner is finished. He however agreed to complete the work on the schooner on condition that he is paid $3.00 pr day, and his passage to Winnipeg afterwards.

37) June 2 Mrs Murray doing the cooking, milking the cows, attending the chickens etc. Bouche has left the fort and moved over to live at his own house.

5 Thomas Budd returned from the boat camp with old Musqua who will take back some supplies to Capt. Williams.

37d) 7 Made an attempt to re-engage Budd to continue in the service but he would not decide.

9 Mr Hall left today for Fraser Lake he took Bazil Sagalan along with him.

10 Old Indian Tootah died last night about 10 p.m. (nothing is said about funeral).

12 Made another attempt to engage Thomas Budd but without success. I will let him go out with Louis Prince who leaves for Quesnelle tomorrow. (Budd went on to Winnipeg says Journal June 13).

38) 13 The men who took Mr Trail down to Quesnelle returned today exept two who engaged to work on some survey party.

17 Besides the chief and party who have gone to Quesnelle I hear quite a number of others will soon follow.

18 Donald Todd got here yesterday with the Company's pack horses. Stony Creek Johnny came over with him.

38d) 19 ...Stony Ck Johnny repaired the fence around the old byre. .... Mr Hall also made a start with Sam Prince to visit McLeod Lake. Samaluke & Aquon arrived from hunting. Satsan, Louis Grostete, and some other Indians made a start for Quesnelle where they will trade their furs.

20 I hear that Samaluke & other will shortly be going to Quesnelle too.

21 Bouche left for Babine with some Tatchay Indians. Engaged a boy to take gum over to the schooner but failed because of the heavy wind.

22 Sailor Williams came over here with the tarred rope and said that the boy who had it would take a month to pull it. So I engaged a number of Indians to pull oakum today it is a very slow job. The Indians making great preparations to go to Quesnelle. Todd and Stony Ck Johnny repairing the fence at the park.

23 Todd and Johnny finished work on horse park got all the oakum pulled.

24 About 12 Indians left for Quesnelle with the most of their furs. Man got here from the schooner "Ethel" with the oakum and reports that boat as ashore.

	25	The Indian Bazil returned from Quesnelle and says Sanchez will be here tomorrow.
39)	28	Joe Aguayo got here from Quesnelle and delivered the freight he had for us.
	29	Engaged Bazil to go and work over at the schooner. he took over 3 bales of oakum.
39d)	30	Todd and St Creek Johnny left with 12 pack horses to get the Fraser Lake furs. Mr Hall re-engaged R.T. Alexander for L75 pr annum to take charge of McLeods Lake.
July	1	Sam Prince got one of the 40 ft logs required for the launching of the new schooner.
	3	Mr Peters and Leon Prince commenced making fur packs. Sam Prince & Attol squaring logs to be used for launching of schooner.
	5	Todd and Sony Creek Johnny got here from Fraser Lake with the furs of that Post.
	6	Mr Peters & Leon Prince covering and marking and crosslashing Fur packs. Todd & St CK Johnny shoeing horses.
40)	8	Sam Prince, Attol & Leon Prince squaring logs for ways. Francis Prince & Lizard hunting up horses but 6 cannot be recovered.
	9	Though Sunday we had Sam Prince Leon, Attol, and David to try and cross the logs for ways over to the boat camp but on acc't of the wind nothing could be done.
	10	Capt Williams, McKenzie, Holder, & 6 hired Indians left for the boat camp where they hope to complete and launch schooner this week.
	11	Hired 2 Indians to pile up rocks for balast on schooner. Bazil & Todd looking still for the 3 miss[ing] wagon horses. Pacquette got here with the Steam boat anchor from Cross Lake to be used on the schooner here.
	12	Todd & Bazil shoeing horses.
40d)	13	Todd, Bazil, & Frederick Naquon left with the horses for the portage.
	14	A number of Indians got back from Quesnelle. The schooner was launched today and 3 Indians working over there quit work.
	15	Had 2 Indians to hoe all the potatoes.
	17	Sent boy over to Fraser Lake with a horse to get Harness, nails & some other small things required. Capt Williams McKenzie, Holder & two Indians working on schooner and unloading timber & tools.
	19	sent 2 Indians to get some stuff left at boat camp. Got Leon & Lizard to saw lumber to build scow. Boy returned from Fraser Lake with the goods asked for.
41)	21	Capt Williams with 2 Indians loaded all the furs we have packed on to schooner.
	22	Two Indians cording wood.
	23	Pack train got here from McLeods Lake with the B.L.O. & McLeod Lake Furs.
	24	Receipted for McLeod & B.L.O. furs and commenced baling up some for Victoria. Williams,

McKenzie, Holder & Louis Grostete helping me at this work.

26 Men loaded furs on schooner & we made a start for Babine Portage.... Jimmy Alexander got here from Quesnelle with the mail.

30 I believe Jimmy Alexander, Francis Prince and some others had a great drunk after his return from Quesnelle.

31 Holder & one Indian started out to make hay. one Indian looking for the missing grey horse which is badly required for hay making.

August

41d) 1 I paid 2 visits to the priest Morice and had much talk about the carrying up of the mission mail which I at first refused to carry up unless he paid for it. Finally I consented to have the mail brought up free of charge on condition that he would do his utmost to keep the Indians from going below with their furs. I further agreed that if no Indian took their furs down to Quesnelle during the time from date to close of outfit 1893 I would credit the mission with $50.00. If we did not carry up his mail he would get the Indians to go for his mail at Quesnelle spring & fall and also get his supplies from that place which the Indians would carry up free of charge. When they would assuredly take down their furs & the furs of others while at the same time it would encourage all to go.

42) 2 David Michel hunting up horse "Grey." (finds it next day)

4 David Michel went out with the horse "Grey" to join Holder & Stauaslas making hay.

42d) 8 Engaged Louis Grostete and Cyprian to work at scow etc. (caulked scow and dried sails, etc.)

11 Good run of salmon apparently the Indians caught quite a lot in nets last night. They commenced work on the barrier. Louis Grostete fixing up 3 Apperagos, Cyprian grading road to come up the hill.

42d-43) 14 Saw Capt Williams. one of his men (Louis Prince) left him as he complained about the work being too hard. Todd & Bazil doing very well but the rats damaging the provisions very much. David Michel took Louis Prince's place in the schooner "Ethel."

21 (Schooner from the Point in.) Stopped Geroge Holder & the other 2 hay men from going out to help unloading the schooner.

23 Had Louis Grostete taking the Bacon out from the Gunnies there is a very big loss over 500 lbs on the Bacon received!

24 Blew a hurricane last night and the schooner very near came ashore. Tried to pole her out to deeper water this morning but could not do it with only 6 poles. .... The schooner came right ashore and was obliged to get all the Indians procurable, 19 in all and after 3 hours very hard work we got her out where we could hoist the main & jib sails and sailed her to deep water.

43d) 25 Louis Grostete & Bazil working at potatoe cellar.

26 Wanted Bazil to start for the Portage but I heard he was still at the fishery. sent him word that he was discharged.

27 I believe there is a great run of Salmon.

28 Started Holder & 2 Indians again for the hay. I also engaged Felix to go as one of the teamsters to the Portage. he left today. Louis Grostete & Cyprian cutting barley.... Traded about 700 dried salmon today. (more in the following days.)

31 Louis & Cyprian baling salmon for McLeod Lake.

September

1 Fraser Lake Chief & boy came over for Father Morice from Fraser Lake. Louis & Cyprian cocking barley.

2 Cyprian & Louis made a stack of barley and put some in barn.

44) 4 Holder, Cyprian & Jos Naquon off to make hay at the middle prairie. Louis Grostete working around fort.

5 Jimmie Alexander and Toma left today for McLeods Lake.

11 Got Louis Grostete to finish the oars for scow and done some other work around. Engaged John Tylie to go out to B.L.O. instead of Matise.

44d) gave Jos Prince all the accounts and mail to start early tomorrow for Quesnelle.

14 Terribly windy all last night and here is the schooner beached across the lake.... This is the worst accident yet. I had the 3 Indians tying Irons together in anchor shape all day and we now have two one of 270 lbs & the other 185 lbs weight.

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Western Regional Office, Calgary, Alberta, March 1992

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		332/1b	1906
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B 188/b/2	1822-23
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B 119/a/7	1895-96
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MG 19, A15	Copy of a narrative by Daniel W. Harmon.
MG 19 A23	John MacLeod, Fur trader and Explorer, Letters and misc journals 1823-96).
MG 19 A31	John Stuart, Journal kept at Rocky Mt House, 1805-6 (photostat)
MG 19 A33	Lord Strathcona Collection 1791-1866 (photostats: HBC trappers journals, McLeod's Lk 1824, Stuart's Lake Journal 1840-2 Columbia Dist docs, 1844-66.
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Constance Cox	313: 8
Mr Walter Dagenais	1060: 1
Mr Laurence R. Dickenson	1038: 2
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Lizette Hall	1044: 1

Mr Hank Dressler & Mr Al Jarvis	1065: 1
John Prince	1043: 2
Annie Rottacker	1039: 2
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