

**Canada's Other Newcomers: Aboriginal Interactions
with People from the Pacific**

By

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Abstract

Since the 1970s, historians of British Columbia representing various ideological schools and methodological approaches have debated the role of race in the province's history. Many of the earlier works discussed whether race or class was the primary determinant in social relations while more recent works have argued that factors such as race, class, and gender combined in different ways and in different situations to inform group interactions. However, the application of these terms in describing aspects of the thoughts and actions of non-Western peoples can be problematic. This thesis attempts to approach the question of "race" and its role in British Columbia's past from the perspective of the Indigenous population of the Lower Fraser River watershed from 1828 (the establishment of the first Hudson's Bay Company post on the Fraser River) to the 1920s, examining shifting notions of the way Aboriginal epistemologies have conceived of otherness through contact between Stó:lō people and Euro-Canadian and -American, Hawaiian, Chinese, and Japanese immigrants. The main contention is that, contrary to the historiography's depictions of unified and static interactions with newcomers, Stó:lō people held complex and dynamic notions of otherness when newcomers arrived with the fur trade, and that such concepts informed interactions with people from throughout the Pacific. Numerous factors informed the ways in which Stó:lō people approached and engaged in relationships with newcomers, but the strongest ones originated in Stó:lō cultural and historical understanding of others rather than in the racial ideas of Euro-Canadians.

Following a discussion of the historiography of race relations and Native-Newcomer interactions in British Columbia, this thesis examines relationships during the

fur trade between Hawaiian men employed at Fort Langley and Kwantlen people; the ways in which Stó:lō people grouped the miners who came to the Fraser Canyon in 1858; Stó:lō people's interactions with Chinese immigrants from the 1860s through the 1880s; and the ways in which the presence of Japanese and Chinese Canadians influenced how Stó:lō leaders articulated their claims to rights and title in the first decades of the twentieth century. It concludes that Aboriginal relations with non-Europeans took a different path than relations with Europeans. Several factors contributed to the branching of paths, including pre-contact views of "outsiders," kinship ties in the fur trade, economic competition, and the unsettled "Indian Land Question." Moreover, the different relationships must be seen as affecting the other, making understanding the nature of Aboriginal associations with non-Europeans an important part of making sense of aspects of Aboriginal relations with Europeans.

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to understand others.

Chapter One: Introduction

The historical relationships between Canada's indigenous populations and Asian immigrants sit in the margins of Native-Newcomer studies, passed over in the pursuit of interpreting Aboriginal interactions with European immigrants.¹ Recognition of non-Europeans as newcomers, however, and their interactions with Aboriginal peoples has become more important during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries as emigrants from around the world, especially from southern and south-east Asia, make their home in the southwest corner of British Columbia. The 2001 Census counted almost two million people from these regions living in Canada, with more than half arriving within the previous decade.² Such numbers, however, reflect more than simply contemporary trends. The people of British Columbia witnessed the arrival of high numbers of immigrants from throughout the Pacific Rim during the last half of the nineteenth century, with almost eleven percent of the population claiming Asian ancestry according to the 1901 census.³ Even earlier, during the Fraser River gold rush of the late 1850s and early 1860s, one account tells of how "there are more Chinese settlers than there are British settlers" living in the Lower Fraser Valley, while Euro-Canadian politicians and the Euro-Canadian public discussed the 'Oriental Question' throughout the late-nineteenth and well into the twentieth century to address their opposition to the rise in immigration from China and Japan.⁴ Given ongoing demographic trends throughout the Fraser River's valley and delta, it is not surprising to learn that the region's Aboriginal people engaged in meaningful interactions with non-European newcomers throughout the past one hundred eighty years – and that these relationships

have often charted courses distinct from either those between Canada's west coast Europeans and Asians or those between BC Natives and Asians.

Recently, some members of the Chinese Canadian community in Vancouver have reached out to the province's First Nations as they increasingly recognise the contribution they can make in addressing colonialism's legacy within Aboriginal communities. Bill Chu, the founder of "Canadians for Reconciliation" and a Canadian resident since the 1970s, has worked to establish positive relationships between Chinese Canadian and Aboriginal communities since the early 1990s. In one of his most recent efforts in 2004, Chu organised a banquet held in Vancouver's Chinatown that brought more than six hundred people together to assist the Lil'wat community living on the Mount Currie reserve north of Whistler with rebuilding after a forest fire damaged a number of houses. Supported by such groups as the First Nations Summit, the Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver, and the Greater Vancouver Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, the event served as a venue to build relationships between Asian Canadians and Aboriginal people, two groups that have experienced not dissimilar discrimination and marginalization at the hands of the European descent immigrants directing British Columbia's colonial enterprise.⁵

For others, recent interactions between Aboriginal people and Asian newcomers remain contentious. The decision of the Department of Fisheries and Oceans to introduce an Aboriginal fishery on the Fraser River in 1992 generated strong criticism from non-Native fishers. After police arrested a number people who protested the Aboriginal fishery, the matter went to provincial court at the behest of several European- and Asian-descent fishers where several Asian Canadians expressed their opposition to the fishery.

Richard Nomura, identified in Judge Kitchen's decision as "a third generation Canadian of Japanese ancestry," challenged the DFO's and Native people's understanding of Aboriginal rights to resources as both a furtherance of the prejudice experienced by his parents and grandparents during their internment during World War II and a betrayal of the apology given to the Japanese Canadian community by the federal government in 1988.⁶ Others, too, interpreted the Aboriginal fishery as yet another affront to Japanese Canadian fishers and other non-Native peoples who harvest the Fraser's salmon runs.⁷

When discussing matters of contemporary Native-Newcomer relations, the term 'newcomer' must be understood to include non-Europeans lest an important aspect of Aboriginal peoples' relationship with newcomers remain unheard. The arrival and settlement of both Asian and European newcomers to the south-western corner of British Columbia, long inhabited by Coast Salish people, make the region an ideal case study for Aboriginal people's relationships with immigrants from the Pacific. The area's Aboriginal people, who are known individually by nearly two dozen tribal designations or collectively today as "Stó:lō" or "River People," live in the Lower Fraser River watershed downriver of Sawmill Creek, five miles upstream from Yale, BC (See Figure 1.1). Moreover, Stó:lō people interacted with all groups of newcomers that entered their territory: Stó:lō women from Kwantlen and other locations welcomed, traded with, and married British, Canadian, and Hawaiian men at Fort Langley, the first permanent European establishment on the mainland's coast; Chinese and Euro-American gold miners competed and cooperated with Stó:lō people near the Fraser Canyon during the 1858 gold rush; and Stó:lō, Chinese, and Japanese people all sought employment in the Fraser River fishery from the 1870s through much of the twentieth century. From the

first British establishment on British Columbia's coast at Fort Langley to the rise of Vancouver and its industries at the turn of the twentieth century, people from throughout the Pacific have made their homes in Stó:lō territory and forged unique and dynamic relationships with Stó:lō people.

Beyond showing the import of relationships to the people involved, the study of Aboriginal people's interactions with Asians helps us better situate the history of colonialism within a uniquely Canadian context. Given the strongly racialised history of group interactions in British Columbia specifically, and the North American West in general, the study of these associations leads us to a greater understanding of how Aboriginal people appropriated, rejected, or integrated European categories of 'others' with their own understandings and how such developments affected the daily interactions between Natives and all newcomers. And this, in turn, reveals some of the ways colonized, indigenous people retained a unique worldview and through that view charted their own course of inter-group relations.

Important to this study is determining how to identify Stó:lō taxonomies of others; that is, how Stó:lō people grouped newcomers and what meanings they attached to those groups. Though scholars have generally placed such studies under the category of 'race relations,' the term 'race' proves problematic. From the view of the natural sciences, 'race' implies that humanity is divided into discrete sub-species of the *homo sapiens*. For the social scientist, it suggests that 'racial' groups are real to the extent that they affect human interaction. In both instances, physical variations between individuals become markers for differentiation. For this study, however, the important distinction is

whether Stó:lō people in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries employed physical differences to categorise others to such an extent that it shaped the way they interacted. Given the history of the race idea, it would seem that, at least upon the first meetings between Stó:lō people and European newcomers, the reification of racial categories was more prominent among those from Western Europe. The meanings associated with physical differences were very different among Stó:lō people than among newcomers.

Scientific racial classifications came about largely as a way for European commentators to explain and understand the range of human differences found during the so-called Age of Discovery. Through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the ideas of Aristotle and other classical authorities held sway among thinkers interested in physical differences. Humanity was considered to be a unity, with varieties in peoples' appearances resulting from environmental forces; for example, living in the Torrid, or Burning Zone, where the sun's heat was most powerful, was believed to have caused African peoples' skin to darken.⁸ Gradually, European thinkers came to refer to varieties of physical differences as 'races'. For example, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach incorporated the terms 'race' and 'racial' in later editions of his *De generis humani varietate nativae*, replacing the earlier use of 'varieties.'⁹ By the 1830s, at least one popular dictionary contained a definition of 'race' that would be familiar to contemporary readers, namely "A multitude of men who originate from the same country, and resemble each other by facial features and by exterior conformity."¹⁰ The race idea would remain popular through the nineteenth, and into the twentieth, century.

Since the middle of the twentieth century, however, commentators have increasingly questioned the motives behind the practice of dividing peoples into discrete races based on physical variations. The race idea, which became popularly accepted as a biological fact by the late nineteenth century, posited that humanity was comprised of a number of subspecies, each distinct from another not only in physical appearance, but also in intelligence. The race idea remained dominant in Western thought into the 1930s. However, as the Western World became more fully aware of the eugenic theories and racial policies of the German Nazi and Japanese fascists, the idea of race came under attack from scholars of both the sciences and the humanities. Anthropologist Ashley Montagu, who helped to draft the UNESCO Statement of Race in 1950 and whose 1942 publication *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* went into its sixth edition in 1997, is perhaps the scholar most widely associated with the fight against the race idea. Many of his arguments proved very influential among social scientists, especially the ideas that there are only slight genetic differences between populations and that virtually all peoples share common hunter-gatherer origins.¹¹ Researchers, especially anthropologists, increasingly criticised arguments in favour of the biological foundation for racial divisions.¹² In the place of race, scholars looked to understand the ways in which indigenous peoples ascribed others into categories and tried to recognize local divisions on their own terms. Fredrik Barth was among those anthropologists who moved beyond traditionally-accepted definitions that conflated race and culture to a more fluid understanding that viewed distinct cultures not as a cause of difference but as the result of maintaining boundaries between “insiders” and “outsiders.”¹³ By the 1970s, emphasis fell on a group’s self ascriptions more than on the academy’s traditional

categories, while postmodern and postcolonial methodologies have further problematised the construct of race.

It is widely held by scholars in the humanities that racial ideas are social constructions, but there is disagreement as to the metaphysical implications of those constructions. Some authors, like Kwame Anthony Appiah and David Theo Goldberg, hold that races are neither biological nor social realities but result from the way people conceive of human differences.¹⁴ Others argue that, while there is no biological basis for racial classifications, such categories are social realities that play an important role in shaping people's identities and affecting social relations.¹⁵ Leaving the validity of the biological basis to natural scientists, the conclusions of this study corroborate the notion that racial ideas affected strongly group interactions on the Fraser. While being influenced by the racial understandings of government officials and Euro-Canadian settlers, Stó:lō people did not systematically embrace ideas of race.¹⁶

Discussions of race and racial groups have played an important part in the telling of British Columbia's past. The earliest histories of the province by Hubert Howe Bancroft (1890), F.W. Howay (1928), Margaret Ormsby (1958), and others demonstrate how popular understandings of racial differences affected the study of the past, with Aboriginal people often relegated to the opening chapter, in the province's 'prehistory,' and Asian immigrants to one of the closing chapters, emphasising their difference from Euro-Canadian society.¹⁷ Amateur historians writing in the 1970s were among the first to incorporate non-European people as an integral part of the province's history. A number of accounts written by members of immigrant groups attempted to introduce their

respective group's interpretations of the past to Euro-Canadian readers, having had their presence in the province's past marginalised in previous provincial and local histories. Japanese Canadians were the most active in proclaiming their analysis of the province's history, with Ken Adachi's history of Japanese Canadians' experiences being one of the most enduring of these works.¹⁸ Most of these early works on the experiences of Asian immigrants in Canada emphasised government policies directed against non-Europeans, which shed more light on state practices than on immigrant responses to legislation and popular opinions.

As interest in social, labour, and women's histories became more prevalent in the late 1970s and 1980s ethnic community studies increasingly garnered the consideration of academic scholars, who were moving away from the themes of province- and nation-building that had dominated through to the 1960s.¹⁹ Though the first debates in the historiography of race relations in British Columbia continued the practice of the earlier ethnic community histories of emphasising the actions and responses of Euro-Canadians to Asian immigrants, they tried to look beyond the actions of the historical actors to identify the fundamental causes for inter-group animosity. Peter Ward's 1978 study of racial ideas in British Columbian society became the point of departure for many scholars of race relations in the province. Though generally well-received, some disputed Ward's argument that the basis of "racial animosity" was "fundamentally a problem in the social psychology of race relations."²⁰ When, in a later article, Ward argued that race, and not class, formed the basis of the divisions within the province's early social structure, labour historian Rennie Warburton accused him of "failing to examine social structure as involving process and change, and adopting an idealist approach to historical and

sociological explanation” rather than recognising that economic competition was central to social divisions.²¹ Both Ward and Warburton viewed race and class as mutually distinct, or, as Ward referred their respective positions, “two ships that pass in the night.”²²

Other academics continued to discuss the role of material and idealist concerns, but they followed the lead of American historians like David Roediger, who considered the dichotomisation of class and race to be unhelpful.²³ Instead, scholars became more interested in the relationship between race and class and how one affected the other.²⁴ Some, like sociologist Gillian Creese, continued to uphold the primacy of economics in social relations, but argued that the strong Marxist position taken by Warburton and others did little to make relationships between various groups in the fishery more intelligible. Rather, she argued that racial ideas were an important part of how British Columbians understood the world, but that they were also strongly affected by changing economic circumstances. Similarly, geographers Audrey Kobayashi and Peter Jackson applied Robert Miles’ theory of racialization to the place of Japanese Canadians in the province’s wage economy in an effort to show how Euro-Canadians justified to themselves offering low wages and poor working conditions to immigrants from Asia by upholding racial ideologies.²⁵ In a different vein, historian Patricia Roy has argued in a series of publications that ideas and economics affected relations differently at different times, with material concerns being dominant up to the twentieth century, when Euro-Canadian British Columbians increasingly feared losing their dominant position to Asian immigrants who had proven successful not only in the province’s labour economy, but also in BC’s schools, while Japan expanded their territory through military actions in the

Pacific.²⁶ Taken together, these works demonstrate the complex relationship between race ideas and economic status.

By the early 1990s, scholars began to apply discursive analyses and postcolonial critiques to their studies of British Columbia's past. While only a handful of writers have applied these analytical tools specifically to race relations in the province, these few studies have shown that both race and class affected and were affected by a number of other ideologies at work within colonial structures.²⁷ Integrating the ideas of a number of thinkers, including Gramsci, Barth, Miles, and Said, geographer Kay Anderson's study identified Vancouver's Chinatown as a construction of Euro-Canadian racial discourses that, more than simply a collection of ideas, has "shaped and justified the practices of powerful institutions toward [Chinatown] and toward people of Chinese origin."²⁸ She shows that Chinatown is a place where ideas of race became legitimised through legislation. What Anderson's study does well is demonstrate the dynamic interaction of racial discourses, power, institutional practices, and place. In addition to these forces, Adele Perry's work has investigated how notions of gender and race shaped colonial society in British Columbia, where the predominance of a male culture and common practice of European men marrying Aboriginal women challenged middle class Victorian norms desired by imperial observers.²⁹ Both Anderson and Perry have brought new ideas to the study of race relations in British Columbia that have shown the need to examine where race intersects and interacts with other dominant ideologies and social practices to create 'others.'

However, a study of Aboriginal peoples' thoughts on non-European newcomers, in which colonial parties play only secondary roles, must move beyond the traditional

emphasis on Euro-Canadians. For many people who lived in the province's Lower Mainland, whether Aboriginal or non-European, the practices and protocols of Euro-Canadian society had little daily impact on peoples' lives. That is, important aspects of the lives of non-European groups in British Columbia did not involve Euro-Canadians. Certainly, in some situations, the colonial presence was significant, but the history of Native-non-European relations must recognise both Aboriginal people and non-Europeans as primary actors, with European colonial parties often playing a secondary, if not tertiary, role.

Within the past decade, there has been an increasing interest in the formation of group identities among non-European immigrants in British Columbia, a focus which is an integral part of this study. These works differ from the ethnic histories written in the 1970s as they shift emphasis away from the influence of Euro-Canadians upon immigrant communities and toward an understanding of the interactions between the immigrant settlement, the culture of their country of origin, and the Euro-Canadian society around them. Newcomers' interactions with Europeans became secondary to the project of understanding non-Europeans and their history. Historians Timothy Stanley and Anne Doré have shown how immigrants from China and Japan, respectively, used the racialized categories applied to them by the province's Euro-Canadian majority to bolster their sense of community. Those from China living in BC in the latter-half of the nineteenth century came to see themselves as a distinct group rather than a random assortment of people holding an array of family, village, and clan loyalties. Through the creation of organisations separate from the Euro-Canadian society that excluded them from the most lucrative jobs and political offices, Chinese merchants fostered a Chinese

nationalism among immigrants in BC that “was just as ‘Canadian’ as it was ‘Chinese.’”³⁰ Doré stresses, too, that the group identity of Japanese immigrants residing in the Fraser Valley differed from that of the Japanese diaspora in Brazil and Peru as they accommodated to British Columbian society, especially by avoiding work on Sundays so as not to scandalise their Christian neighbours. However, they remained largely removed from other British Columbians by emphasising as positive those cultural practices that most Euro-Canadians attributed to Japanese immigrants’ “innate” abilities, including success at school and ability to succeed at farming.³¹ Rather than treating Asian groups as timeless, self-contained entities, these recent studies approach immigrant groups as historically constructed communities forged in syncretic relations with others. It is reasonable to assume, then, that meetings between non-Europeans and Aboriginal people affected reciprocal changes within the groups that shared interactions. Indeed, recent studies in Aboriginal-European relations have recognised the historically situated expressions of Aboriginal identities.³²

Over the past twenty years, historians have increasingly identified the field of study of interactions between Aboriginal and non-Native people as ‘Native-Newcomer relations,’ replacing the earlier term of ‘Indian-White.’ Despite the more inclusive title, the field is still dominated by studies of the effects of European colonialism and state expansion on Aboriginal communities and individuals, with ‘newcomer’ largely remaining a euphemism for ‘white’ – and corporate or institutional white power. This is not to denigrate the use of the term ‘newcomer’ or the emphasis of Euro-Canadian society; given the legacy of European colonialism North America, the emphasis on

Aboriginal people's relations with Euro-Canadian newcomers and federal and provincial governments is warranted, while patterns of non-Native immigration and settlement over the past five centuries have brought a greater number of European immigrants to Canada, especially eastern sections of the country, than from any other continent. Rather, it is a call to recognize that just as there is more than one Native history, so too are there multiple newcomer histories.

As the work of other historians has shown, and as this thesis hopes to show, Europeans in the 'New World' have shared space with people from Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. Moreover, they have shown that Aboriginal people have often interacted more frequently and intimately with the latter groups than is often recognised. Historians of the American South have long appreciated the importance of African people's relationships with Aboriginal people. Though not the first to give his attention to the topic, Kenneth Porter published a number of works on such interactions in the south and southwest reaches of the continent.³³ While his analysis demonstrated the changes in relationships across geography and time, the majority of Porter's studies focussed on crafting narrative accounts centred around European expansion in the Americas, warfare, and the racial marginalization of African peoples rather than developing sustained analyses of African-Aboriginal interactions.³⁴

More recent studies, however, focus exclusively on the relationships between these two groups and, important to this study, the changing meanings attached to them. Several authors have shown how the frequency of marriages and other sexual encounters of Aboriginal and African people in the American South and Northeast made differentiating between groups increasingly difficult.³⁵ Jack Forbes' *Africans and Native*

Americans aimed at laying a foundation for future studies by investigating the terminology used by European commentators to establish categories of race. Through his etymology of such terms as *negro* and *mulatto*, Forbes claims that these and similar words have been inaccurately defined by scholars, which has produced a gross underestimation of the degree to which Aboriginal North Americans and Africans interacted and produced children in the wake of population decimation in sixteenth and seventeenth century “circum-Caribbean region.”³⁶ More recently, Daniel Mandell’s work has demonstrated similar trends in Aboriginal-African interactions in eighteenth-century Massachusetts, emphasising that Aboriginal people looked to Africans for spouses to reform and repopulate communities that suffered heavy losses from the King Philip’s Wars in 1675-76, thereby fashioning new identities that European colonists mistook as “people of color,” demonstrating both the fluid and contested natures of ethnic categories and group affiliations.³⁷ A recent collection of essays has shown how Aboriginal people have incorporated their African background into their personal and group identities since the sixteenth century, and adds some discussion of how some contemporary African Americans approach their Aboriginal descent.³⁸

Surprisingly, treatments of Aboriginal encounters with non-Europeans in the American West have been virtually nonexistent. The prominence of “race relations” in Western American historiography has shown that a part of the region’s distinctiveness stems from the interactions of Euro-American, Aboriginal, Chinese, Japanese, African, and Chicano people during the expansion of American settlement.³⁹ However, scholars have yet to make a detailed examination of meetings between Aboriginal people and the host of non-European newcomers who moved to the West over the past three centuries.

As Daniel Liestman has noted, historians of the West have primarily discussed “the ethnic melange” of the West so far as their presence intersected with Euro-American society.⁴⁰ Liestman’s preliminary study demonstrates the frequency and the range of interactions between Aboriginal people and Chinese immigrants in the Western United States. However, further research is needed to show how groups interacted and how those series of meetings affected the dynamics of relations in various situations. Especially on the Pacific Coast, where Aboriginal people associated with European, Chinese, Hawaiian, and Japanese newcomers, the study of group interactions would benefit from investigating webs of relations rather than treating interactions between two specific groups as if they occurred within seemingly controlled conditions. The work of historian Chris Friday points beyond emphases on bilateral relations toward the investigation of the interactions of several groups in the wage economy. He argues that, in the fish canning industry of 1940s Alaska, the various Aboriginal, Asian, and Euro-American groups both competed and cooperated in ways that defied twentieth century rhetoric of racial conflict, demonstrating the variety of responses to ‘others’ in the American West while encouraging scholars “to develop a narrative that refuses to essentialize racial, class, or gender categories.”⁴¹ This study builds upon Friday’s work in recognising the importance of engaging the messiness of group relations in the West.

Given the diversity of British Columbia’s population since the establishment of Fort Langley in 1827, it is surprising that so little work has been done on Aboriginal people’s interactions with non-European immigrants.⁴² Virtually all studies of Native-Newcomer relations in the province have focused on Aboriginal interactions with

Europeans. The first scholarly analytical histories of Aboriginal people in the province by F.W. Howay argued that the arrival of Europeans to the Northwest Coast marked the beginning of the end of Aboriginal peoples' independence and sufficiency.⁴³ By the 1960s and 1970s, scholars recognised the active role played by Native peoples in early dealings with European traders. The work of anthropologists Joyce Wike and Wilson Duff, and later historian Robin Fisher extended Native agency through the fur trade period up to the 1850s and 1860s, when Euro-Canadian settlement and government strictures marginalised Aboriginal people's participation in provincial society.⁴⁴ Later studies challenged the Fisher's argument that Aboriginal people faded to the background after the 1870s, including: Rolf Knight's *Indians at Work*,⁴⁵ which showed how Aboriginal people formed a prominent segment of the province's labour force well into the twentieth century; Paul Tennant's *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*,⁴⁶ which demonstrated the various ways Aboriginal people challenged the state's attempts at marginalising them; and most recently Cole Harris' *Making Native Space*,⁴⁷ which shows that the process of establishing Aboriginal people on reserves was far more complex a process than Fisher's thesis recognised. Others have shown that Aboriginal people changed their approach to dealing with government representatives to best achieve their various goals in the many studies addressing both the role of the state in the lives of Aboriginal people and the lack of treaties and recognition of Aboriginal title in the province.⁴⁸

Recent studies of Aboriginal interactions with Euro-Canadian culture have attempted to show the ways in which Aboriginal people negotiated dealings with settlers. Similar to developments in the history of race relations in the province, scholars have

incorporated ethnological and anthropological methodologies in an attempt to understand Aboriginal peoples' motivations for rejecting or accepting certain aspects of newcomer practices. As historians have come to a greater understanding of the nuances of Aboriginal cultures, they have realised that Aboriginal identities are far more dynamic and complex than earlier scholars considered. Anthropologist Andrea Laforet's collaboration with Nlaka'pumx elder Annie York has shown how Nlaka'pamux people at Spuzzum, adjacent to and immediately north of Stó:lō territory along the Fraser, interacted with European and Euro-Canadian immigrants from Fraser's voyage down the Fraser River in 1808, demonstrating how they selectively adopted aspects of Euro-Canadian society that complemented upheld traditions.⁴⁹ Historians Alexandra Harmon and Keith Carlson took a similar approach to their studies of Aboriginal identities among the Puget Sound Salish of Washington state and the Stó:lō, respectively.⁵⁰ Harmon's work demonstrates that definitions of 'Indianness' have a history of their own; that is, the ways in which Aboriginal people have differentiated themselves from others have changed over time. Moreover, she shows that Euro-American racial concepts and portrayals of Aboriginal people have affected the ways in which Salish people understood themselves vis-à-vis others.

Carlson's dissertation takes Harmon's arguments one step further to demonstrate the importance of recognising Aboriginal historiographies (or historical consciousness) and the role they have played in shaping Aboriginal identities. Rather than beginning his project with the arrival of the fur trading companies, Carlson's study examines instances of flux among pre-contact group identities among the Stó:lō as transmitted in oral histories, arguing that accounts of various formations and dissolutions of Stó:lō groups in

legendary or myth-age accounts gave Stó:lō people context for other social upheaval in the late-eighteenth century. Carlson places the relocation of Stó:lō settlements to areas around Fort Langley in 1827 within population movements that began decades earlier with the smallpox epidemics rather than as a part of disruptions caused by the arrival of Europeans showing that “the most important feature of Aboriginal history has not always been indigenous people's relationship with newcomers.”⁵¹ The increasing presence of Euro-Canadians along the Fraser certainly affected Stó:lō group affiliations, but rarely along lines anticipated by missionaries and government officials. Even the newly forged identities of the mid- and late-nineteenth century that Carlson discusses were grounded in the knowledge and interpretation of Stó:lō histories.

These latter works greatly inform this study. If Stó:lō people grounded their understandings of themselves and other Stó:lō groups in their own historiography, it stands to reason that their understandings of others, too, had their basis in well-known Stó:lō histories and myths. Their categories for ‘others’, then, would be far different from those of European, or non-European, construction. As these categories were ever changing, interactions with non-European newcomers affected not only how Stó:lō people employed these categories but how they defined them in various situations. Certainly, the presence and influence of Euro-Canadians played an important part in how Stó:lō people viewed non-Europeans, but Stó:lō people’s opinions of non-Europeans also affected their opinions of Europeans and vice versa.

From the project’s beginnings, it was evident that locating sources that discussed Stó:lō interactions with, let alone opinions of, non-Europeans would prove at least as

difficult as analysing them. As historian Carlo Ginzburg has commented, the paucity of sources “about the behaviour and attitudes of the subordinate classes of the past is certainly the major, though not the only, obstacle faced by research of this type.”⁵²

Documentary and archival sources from the nineteenth century often made mention of Aboriginal people or Chinese and Japanese immigrants, but rarely in the same breath and even more rarely in any depth. The manuscripts that existed originated largely in government offices and so emphasised conflicts between individuals more than any other type of interaction. Adding to the difficulty was that most Stó:lō people remained illiterate through the nineteenth century, and those few non-Europeans who were literate did not leave behind documents in English, which meant that, for the most part, the intimate details of peoples’ lives were either not written down at all or remain largely inaccessible to monolingual historians of British Columbia.

A good deal of time, then, was spent locating and gathering what sources were available. In spite of two separate trips to the British Columbia Provincial Archives, the scope of my study prevented any systematic searching of the archive’s holdings, so I focussed my search in those records where I anticipated racial interactions would be most clearly documented: police and court records, anecdotes and reminiscences of early settlers, and taped interviews with people involved in the Fraser River fishery in the 1920s and 1930s. Visits to smaller community archives yielded fewer sources. Fortunately, a number of Royal Commissions passed through Stó:lō territory in the early twentieth century, recording the words of a number of Stó:lō leaders and representatives from most reserves along the Fraser. The minutes of the McKenna-McBride Commission were so rich that they formed the foundation for my fifth chapter. Travel

narratives composed during the 1850s and 1860s by tourists and adventurers following the gold rushes proved helpful, as did searches through the regions early newspapers. That the sources were so scattered throughout a range of materials proved to be a blessing, as they offered a number of perspectives on meetings between Stó:lō people and non-European in a variety of situations and settings, offering a greater understanding of the range of Stó:lō people's responses to newcomers than had materials been concentrated in a few specific archived collections.

There was a possibility that the existing oral records of Stó:lō people, both of those still living and of those who shared their experiences with ethnographers, anthropologists, and historians over the past century, might bring relevant materials to light. Unfortunately, most researchers were interested in topics that directly related to their academic audiences, even when they had little to do with what Aboriginal people considered important. A long conversation with contemporary Stó:lō *siyám* Sonny McHalsie made clear many aspects of Stó:lō people's relationships with non-Europeans. After giving very short answers to a long series of questions, Mr. McHalsie indicated that he knew very little about most of the specifics of historical topics I wanted to discuss and that "Yeah, this is a whole new subject that you're into, here."⁵³ Through the remainder of our talk, though, he made it clear that he had much to share about interactions between Stó:lō and non-European people. What he shared with me, which is spread throughout this thesis, demonstrated was that many Stó:lō people continue to hold strong positive and negative opinions about non-Europeans, opinions that are anchored in historical relationships and which continue to be debated within families and communities. There is no, and as this study will show there has never been, a unified Stó:lō response to non-

European newcomers. Stó:lō interpretations of Asians have been continually reinterpreted and revised, with each construction informed by gendered, tribal, and economic understandings.

This is a study of the ways in which Aboriginal people fit newcomers into categories that informed their interactions with others. Chapter two examines group relations along the Fraser from Fort Langley's establishment in 1827 through the Fraser River gold rush and into the early 1860s. Initial interactions with British, Canadian, and Hawaiian HBC employees followed familiar Stó:lō social protocols, with kinship and access to resources playing more prominent roles than Western notions of racial differences. As Stó:lō people became increasingly familiar with the newcomers in and around their territory, they fashioned new paradigms and expanded and redefined old ones so as to negotiate relations with non-Aboriginal groups and individuals. This chapter gives attention to the importance Stó:lō people placed upon marriages between Hawaiian men and Stó:lō women. The third chapter attempts to make sense of the various responses of Stó:lō people to the Euro-American and Chinese gold miners who came to the Lower Fraser Canyon in 1858. Rather than differentiating relationships as a matter of Aboriginal insiders and newcomer outsiders, many Stó:lō people viewed meetings with all newcomers as opportunities for spiritual, economic, and social advancement, all of which were entwined within the relationships of watershed affiliations and the dynamics of Stó:lō social protocols.

As the rise of colonial, and later provincial, structures became more prevalent along the Lower Fraser from the late 1860s, Stó:lō people had more frequent meetings

with Chinese and Japanese immigrants. Chapter four argues that, as lower status Stó:lō people found opportunities to bypass the social protocols enforced by traditional leadership, responses to Chinese men became more varied and complex, with status, employment, addiction, and gender each contributing to Aboriginal constructions of otherness. The final chapter considers how the presence of Japanese and Chinese newcomers affected Stó:lō understanding of the province's 'Indian Land Question.' While the rising challenge to Stó:lō people's place in the province's wage economy made Asian immigrants unpopular among Stó:lō leadership, Stó:lō people's calls for government action against Chinese and Japanese workers were more deeply rooted in Stó:lō people's understanding of Chinese, Japanese, and Euro-Canadians' attachment to the land and resources of the Fraser Valley.

Overall, this study reveals that future interpretations of British Columbia's past, specifically aspects of native-newcomer relations, would benefit from rethinking, or at least adjusting, familiar categories and taxonomies. Moreover, as influential as they have been, the emphasis that existing interpretations of 'race relations' in the province's history have placed on European notions of otherness demands that similar attention be given to the perspectives and views of the 'othered' to better understand the complexities of social interactions and group labels that existed, and continue to exist, on Canada's Pacific Coast. What has been presumed to be a hierarchy of relations, with meetings between Europeans and others of pinnacle importance to all involved, followed by interactions with Asian immigrants and, lastly, Aboriginal people, is really a web of interactions that held different meanings in different situations. In certain contexts, Aboriginal people were most concerned with what was happening within their own

settlements or families, while at other times they turned their attention to selling some of their salmon catch in nearby Chinatowns, or perhaps with an announcement from the local Indian Agent. Each of these types of experiences contributed to the formation of how Stó:lō people categorized newcomers. Historians have realised the benefits of considering Aboriginal peoples' relationships with Euro-Canadians when attempting to understand the past. They would do just as well to investigate how Aboriginal people interacted with other segments of the nation's population.

¹ Through this thesis, the terms 'Aboriginal', 'Indigenous', and 'First Nation' are used interchangeably to refer to those who identify themselves as descended from the first peoples living along the Pacific Coast before the arrival of Europeans. This thesis also uses such terms as 'Japanese', 'Chinese', 'Euro-American', and 'Hawaiian' not to emphasize discrete races but rather to emphasize the racialised groupings used frequently in the historical literature.

² Almost 70% of immigrants from southern, south-eastern, and eastern Asian live in Vancouver and Toronto. 'Immigrant population by place of birth and period of immigration,' as found at <http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/demo25.htm>.

³ Figure from Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia*. Revised Edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996, p.379.

⁴ Columbia Mission. "Report of the Columbia Mission," London: Rivingtons, ca.1860, p.14.

⁵ *Vancouver Sun*, 20 October 2004, B3; Press release found at Turning Point: Native Peoples and Newcomers On-Line, <http://www.turning-point.ca/index.php/article/articleview/459/1/17/>. Accessed 18 August 2005; CBC News.Reel, 31 January 2001, http://www.cbc.ca/cgi-bin/newsworld/viewer.cgi?FILE=NL20010131.html&TEMPLATE=newsreal_archive.ssi&SC=NL. Accessed 18 August 2005.

⁶ Reasons for Judgement of the Honourable W.J. Kitchen, R vs. Kapp, et al, para.124.

⁷ Leslie Budden, whose grandfather came from Japan in 1913 to fish the Fraser, likened pilot sales to the anti-Asian policies of the 1920s and 1930s and campaigned against the Aboriginal Fishing Strategy's program. See *Richmond News*, March 10, 2004.

⁸ Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1992, 7; J.H. Elliot, *The Old World and the New*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970, 39; Joyce E. Chaplin, "Natural Philosophy and an Early Racial Idiom in North American: Comparing English and Indian Bodies," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 54(1), January 1997, 229-252.

⁹ Eric Voegelin, "The Growth of the Race Idea," *The Review of Politics*, 2(3), 1940, 296-297.

¹⁰ Nicholas Hudson, "From 'Nation' to 'Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29(3), 1996, 247-264.

¹¹ Montagu first published his ideas of the "racial fallacy" in the late 1920s and 1930s in student journals, long before the notion of race became unpopular during the War, and received scholarly attention by the late 1930s. See "Intelligence Tests and the Negro in America," *Wasu* (Journal of the West African Students Union of Great Britain), 1(1), 1926, 57; "Race and Kindred Delusions," *Equality*, 1(7), 1939, 202-204; "The Concept of Race in the Light of Genetics," *Journal of Heredity*, 32, 1941, 243-247; *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942; *The Concept of Race*. New York: Free Press, 1964.

¹² Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

¹³ Fredrick Barth, "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries," in *Process and Form in Social Life: Selected Essays of Fredrick Barth: Volume I*. London, Boston, Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

¹⁴ Robin O. Andreasen, "A New Perspective on the Race Debate," *The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, 49(2), June 1998, 199-225. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. There are similar debates with the natural sciences over the relevance of racial differentiation, but the discussions fall outside this thesis' discussion. The work of biologist Armand Leroi, who argues that the genetic basis for human differences demands further research, has attracted both praise and condemnation. See Armand Leroi, *Mutants: On Genetic Variety and the Human Body*. London: Penguin, 2005, as well as commentary by a number of biologists on Armand's project in the journal *Edge: The Third Culture*, volume 156, http://www.edge.org/3rd_culture/leroi05/leroi05_index.html.

¹⁵ See for example W.E.B. DuBois, *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1940.

¹⁶ See Keith Thor Carlson, "The Power of Place, The Problem of Time: A Study of History and Aboriginal Identity," PhD Dissertation, UBC, 2003, especially chapters five and six.

¹⁷ Hubert Howe Bancroft. *History of British Columbia, 1792-1887*. San Francisco, California: History Co., 1890. Ethelbert Olaf Stuart Scholefield. *British Columbia from Earliest Times to the Present*. Vancouver, B.C.: S.J. Clarke, 1914. Frederic William Howay. *British Columbia: The Making of a Province*. Toronto, Ont.: Ryerson, 1928. Margaret A. Ormsby. *British Columbia: A History*. Toronto: Macmillans in Canada, 1958.

¹⁸ Ken Adachi, *The Enemy that Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991 [1976]. See also Roy Ito, *The Japanese Canadians*. Scarborough: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977; Ann Gomer Sunara, *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War*. Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1981. Journalist Barry Broadfoot also contributed to the histories with his *Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame: The Story of the Japanese Canadians in World War II*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1977. Many histories of the experience of Chinese immigrants appeared during the same period. See James Morton, *In the Sea of Sterile Mountains: The Chinese in British Columbia*. Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1974; David Chuen-Yan Lai, "Chinese Attempts to Discourage Emigration to Canada: Some Findings from the Chinese Archives in Victoria," *BC Studies*, 18, Summer 1973, 33-49; David Cheung-Yan Lai, "Home Country and Clan Origins of Overseas Chinese in Canada in the Early 1880s," *BC Studies*, Autumn 1975, 3-29, Carol Lee, "The Road to Enfranchisement: Chinese and Japanese in British Columbia," *BC Studies*, 44-76; Patricia E. Roy, "Educating the 'East': British Columbia and the Oriental Question in the Interwar Years," *BC Studies*, 18, Summer 1973, 50-69.

¹⁹ Take a look at Carl Berger's book. Also, cite Howay, Ormsby, etc.

²⁰ W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978, ix.

²¹ W. Peter Ward, "Class and Race in the Social Structure of British Columbia, 1870-1939," *BC Studies*, 45, Spring 1980, 17-35; Rennie Warburton, "Race and Class in British Columbia: A Comment," *BC Studies*, 49, Spring 1981, 79-85.

²² W. Peter Ward, "Race and Class in British Columbia: A Reply," *BC Studies*, 1981 (50): 52.

²³ David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London, New York: Verso, 1982.

²⁴ In a three-paragraph response to Warburton's comments, Ward noted that their disagreement "is at least as old as the first debate between Marxist and non-Marxist scholars." W. Peter Ward, "Race and Class in British Columbia: A Reply," *BC Studies*, 50, Summer 1981, 52.

²⁵ Audrey Kobayashi and Peter Jackson, "Japanese Canadians and the Racialization of Labour in the British Columbia Sawmill Industry," *BC Studies*, 103, Fall 1994, 33-58.

²⁶ Gillian Creese, "Exclusion or Solidarity?: Vancouver Workers Confront the 'Oriental Problem,'" *BC Studies*, 80, Winter 1988-89, 24-51; Patricia E. Roy, *White Man's Province: British Columbia politicians and Chinese and Japanese immigrants, 1858-1914*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989; Patricia E. Roy, "British Columbia's Fear of Asians, 1900-1950," *History Sociale*, 13(25), 1980, 161-172; Patricia E. Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914-41*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003.

²⁷ Adele Perry has lamented the dearth of historians who have applied postmodern and postcolonial critiques to the study of the past. See "The Historian and the Theorist Revisited," *Histoire Sociale*, 2000, 33(65), 145-151.

²⁸ Kay J. Anderson, "The Idea of Chinatown: The Power of Place and Institutional Practice in the Making of a Racial Category," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 77(4), December 1987, 581, Kay J. Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.

²⁹ Adele Perry, "'Oh I'm Just Sick of the Faces of Men': Gender Imbalance, Race, Sexuality, and Sociability in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia," *BC Studies*, 1995, 105-106, 27-43; "'Fair Ones of a Purer Caste': White Women and Colonialism in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia," *Feminist Studies*, 1997, 23(3), 501-524; "Hardy Backwoodsmen, Wholesome Women, and Steady Families: Immigration and the Construction of a White Society in Colonial British Columbia, 1849-1871," *Histoire Sociale*, 2000, 33(66), 343-360; *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

³⁰ Timothy J. Stanley, "'Chinamen, Wherever We Go': Chinese Nationalism and Guangdong Merchants in British Columbia, 1871-1911," *Canadian Historical Review*, 77(4), 1996, 475-503; the quoted passage comes from page 477. Writing about events just south of the border in Washington state, Daniel Liestman has written about how Chinese immigrants both applied and adapted their views of the environment to West Coast climate. See Daniel Liestman, "Nineteenth-Century Chinese and the Environment of the Pacific Northwest," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 1998-99, 90(1), 17-29.

³¹ Anne Doré, "Transnational Communities: Japanese Canadian of the Fraser Valley, 1904-1942," *BC Studies*, 134, Summer 2002, 35-70.

³² See Karen I. Blu, *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

³³ The essays in the journal included 'Association as Fellow Slaves,' 'Contacts in Warfare,' 'After the Removal to the West,' and 'Contacts as Allies.' See *The Journal of Negro History*, 17(3), July 1932.

³⁴ See *The Negro on the American Frontier*. New York: Arno Press, 1971; *The Black Seminoles: History of a Freedom-Seeking People*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996, 'Negroes and Indians on the Texas Frontier, 1831-1876,' *The Journal of Negro History*, 41(3-4), 185-214, 285-310. See also Stan Steiner, *Fusang: The Chinese Who Built America*. New York: Harper & Row, 1979, 150-164. Some of Porter's contemporaries continued his work on Aboriginal-African relations in the southern United States, notably William Loren Katz, whose popular works often gave credit to Porter's early works into the 1980s. William Loren Katz, *Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage*. New York: Atheneum, 1986. See also *The Black West*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc, 1971.

³⁵ Studies of Aboriginal-African relations are too numerous to discuss in full. For further titles on Aboriginal-African relations, see Lisa Bier, *American Indian and African American People, Communities, and Interactions: An Annotated Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004.

³⁶ Jack D. Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans: Colour, Race, and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*. Oxford, New York: Blackwell, 1988.

³⁷ Daniel R. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier: Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996, p.185. See also Mandell, "Shifting Boundaries of Race and Ethnicity: Indian-Black Inter-marriage in Southern New England, 1760-1880," *The Journal of American History*, 85(2), Sept. 1998, 466-501; Mandell, "The Saga of Sarah Muckamugg: Indian and African Inter-marriage in Colonial New England," in Martha Hodes (ed), *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*. New York: New York University Press, 1999, 72-90.

³⁸ James F. Brooks (ed). *Confounding the Color Line: The Indian-Black Experience in North America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.

³⁹ Sarah Deutsch, "Landscape of Enclaves: Race Relations in the West, 1865-1990," in William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (eds), *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992, pp.110-131. See also Richard White, "Race Relations in the American West," *American Quarterly*, 38, 1986, 396-416; Elliot West, "Expanding the Racial Frontier," *The Historian*, 66(3), Fall 2004, 552-556.

⁴⁰ Daniel Liestman, "Horizontal Inter-Ethnic Relations: Chinese and American Indians in the Nineteenth-Century American West," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 30, Autumn 1999, 327-349.

⁴¹ Chris Friday, "Competing Communities at Work: Asian Americans, European Americans, and Native Alaskans in the Pacific Northwest," in Valerie J. Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger (eds), *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, 307-328. See also his review essay "'In Due Time': Narratives of Race and Place in the Western United States," in Paul Wong (ed), *Race, Ethnicity, and Nationality in the United States: Toward the Twenty-First Century*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999, 102-152 in which he argues that, while other regions had similar diversity of groups, the West's unique racial narratives allowed for a more contested racial hierarchy than elsewhere.

⁴² Anthropologist George I. Quimby wrote a few short articles on Native-non-European relations in BC, but they contained very little analysis. See George I. Quimby, "Japanese Wrecks, Iron Tools, and Prehistoric Indians of the Northwest Coast," *Arctic Anthropology*, 22(2), 1985, 7-15; "Hawaiians in the Fur Trade of North-West America, 1785-1820," *Journal of Pacific History*, 7, 1972, 92-103; "Asians Among the Indians: In the Early Years," *Pacific Search*, 4, February 1970, Insert No. 25; "Culture Contact on the Northwest Coast, 1785-1795," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 50(2), April-June, 1948, 247-255. John Lutz presented a very preliminary study at the Stko:lo Nation Conference in 1997. It remains the only examination of Stko:lo people's relations with non-Europeans. See "Stko:lo Relations with Asian Immigrants in the Late 19th and Early 20th Century: The Licit and the Illicit," presented at The Stko:lo: People of the River Conference, May 1997. Copy available at Stko:lo Nation Archives. Many thanks to Dr. Lutz for giving permission to cite his speaking notes.

⁴³ F.W. Howay, "The Dog's Hair Blankets of the Coast Salish," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 9(1918), 83-92; "Indian Attacks Upon Maritime Fur Traders of the North-West Coast, 1785-1805," *Canadian Historical Review*, 6(1925), 287-309.

⁴⁴ Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1977; Wilson Duff, *The Impact of the White Man*. Victoria: British Columbia Dept. of Recreation and Conservation, Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology, 1964. More recently, Chris Arnett has shown that Aboriginal people on Vancouver Island successfully resisted military efforts to assert colonial controls in the 1850s and 1860s in *Terror of the Coast: Land Alienation and Colonial War on Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands, 1849-1863*. Burnaby: Talonbooks, 1999.

⁴⁵ Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Indian Labour in British Columbia, 1858-1930*. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1978.

⁴⁶ Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989; "Native Indian Political Organization in British Columbia, 1900-1989: A Response to Internal Colonialism," *BC Studies*, 55, Autumn 1982, 3-49.

⁴⁷ R. Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002.

⁴⁸ Lynn A. Blake, "Oblate Missionaries and the 'Indian Land Question,'" *BC Studies*, 119, Autumn 1998, 27-44; Kenneth Brealey, "Travels from Point Ellis: Peter O'Reilly and the Indian Reserve System in British Columbia," *BC Studies*, 15-116, Autumn/Winter '97/98, 180-236; Hamar Foster, "Letting Go the Bone: The Idea of Indian Title in British Columbia, 1849-1927" and "A Romance of the Lost: The Role of Tom MacInnes in the History of the British Columbia Indian Land Question," in David H. Flaherty (ed), *Essays in the History of Canadian Law. Volume Five: British Columbia and the Yukon*. Toronto: Published for the Osgoode Society by University of Toronto Press, 1995.

⁴⁹ Andrea Laforet and Annie York, *Spuzzum: Fraser Canyon Histories, 1808-1939*. Vancouver, UBC Press, 1998.

⁵⁰ Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities Around Puget Sound*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998; Carlson, "The Power of Place."

⁵¹ Carlson, "The Power of Place," 4.

⁵² Carlo Ginzburg. *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*. Translated by John and Anne Tedeschi. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1980.

⁵³ Conversation with Sonnie McHalsie, 1 March 2004.

Chapter Two: Kwantlen and Kanaka

Marriages between Stó:lō women and Hawaiian men of over a century ago still play important roles in how Stó:lō people interact with others. In one contemporary Stó:lō family, two brothers came to blows over the matter of acknowledging their Hawaiian lineage:

[M]y dad didn't like to talk about that part, I mean, he referred to it as black, but it was actually Hawaiian or Kanaka....I saw him and my uncle, my uncle didn't mind and he was like, "...you just got to, have to live with it. It's part of your history. There's nothing wrong with it." And my dad didn't want anything to do with it, so out the door they went and they'd go outside and have it out. And my uncle would go and beat my dad up.⁵⁴

Hawaiian ancestry, however, is less of a personal stigma for some than for others, especially among the younger generation. Members of the Roberts and McHalsie families, for example, attended the first Descendants Reunion in 2001 at the Fort Langley National Historic Site to celebrate their connection to Hawaiian HBC employee Wavicareea.⁵⁵ Historical records reveal that when in 1829 Como, a Hawaiian-born employee at Fort Langley, married the sister of the Kwantlen *siyá:m*, or highly respected person, Nicameus, "all hands had a half pint & a hop on the occasion."⁵⁶ The union was publicly celebrated, for it marked the beginning of an important relationship between not just individuals, or even two families, but between two groups of people. While the Hudson's Bay Company officers toasted the benefits of their connections with a high ranking Stó:lō family, Nicameus and his family observed the reaffirmation of their familial relationship with the men at the fort that began with the marriage of James Yale to Nicameus' daughter four months previous.⁵⁷ The relationships between Hawaiian men

and Stó:lō women that began over a century and a half ago, then, continue to play a part in the formation of personal and family identities within contemporary Stó:lō society.

The Kwantlen had a unique relationship with the men at the fort, and attempts to understand both their motivations for seeking marital alliances with Hawaiian men and the various meanings attached to these relationships set the groundwork for analysis of changing attitudes in the later period. Differing opinions on the place of Hawaiian ancestry in Stó:lō families reflect the contested and fluid nature of Coast Salish identity and notions of race. Historians and anthropologists have discussed relationships between Coast Salish women and HBC employees, but no one has addressed in a scholarly study how the Stó:lō grouped people at the fort and negotiated marriages that suited their needs.⁵⁸ Writer Tom Koppel and historian Jean Barman have provided important insights into many Coast Salish-Hawaiian relationships, but have approached the topic from the perspective of the Hawaiian men. This chapter argues that, at least in the 1820s, the Kwantlen did not differentiate the fort's employees based on physical differences, but rather followed existing protocols and interpreted interactions within established epistemologies. That is, the Kwantlen placed Hawaiian newcomers into familiar categories and followed social conventions used to negotiate relations with other groups with whom they interacted. More than physiology or 'racial' views, the Kwantlen emphasised kinship, status, and place of residence as central to their understanding of the place those descendants of Kwantlen-Hawaiian relationships.

In many situations, Kwantlen people who lived in settlements around Fort Langley in the early- and mid-nineteenth century considered themselves distinct from

other Coast Salish peoples along the Fraser and in the broader Coast Salish region. These differences between the groups directly affected their interactions. As the Kwantlen viewed matters, the existence of various groups reflected changes brought about by Xexá:ls, or the Transformers who brought order to the world, and by their first ancestors, who established each group.⁵⁹ Moreover, the spirits that dwelled in specific locations in and around each group's primary settlements set groups apart of each other.⁶⁰ Different locations were associated with difference groups, even between various Kwantlen settlements. The Kwantlen at Qiqá:yt, for instance, stood apart from other Stó:lō in their ability to obtain strong wolf spirits, a gift granted by Xexá:ls.⁶¹ The importance of place, however, did not prevent the Stó:lō from relocating their settlements and moving about the landscape. As historian Keith Carlson has shown, migrations were common following the smallpox epidemic of the late-eighteenth century and other significant events that had rendered a disruption in the spirit world.⁶² About this time, many Kwantlen left their main settlements near present-day New Westminster and moved into areas to the east, which had been largely vacated following heavy depopulation from disease.⁶³ Throughout these changes in Stó:lō society, the Kwantlen grounded their understandings of both themselves and others in the landscape.

That is not to suggest that the Kwantlen distanced themselves completely from other groups along the Fraser. Rather, the Stó:lō maintained various affiliations throughout the Fraser River watershed. Forging familial bonds with neighbouring or distant groups gave members of a family the right to access resources not available in their village's river system (See Figure 2.1). So, a family living near Chilliwack might desire a connection with a family at Musqueam so as to have access to shellfish or other

goods not available to upriver people. At other times, people sought out marriages with outsiders to end a feud or to atone for a family member's actions. As high status women predominantly moved to their husband's village, families gained access to resources through the movement of women up and down the Fraser, connecting distant families. In contrast to the emphasis women put on distant relations, men placed great importance to the area around their home village, largely because of their family-controlled resource sites as well as the Transformer sites that expressed their ancestors' connection to the location.⁶⁴

At times, the Kwantlen and others emphasised their unity and family connections, while at other times they emphasised their differences, but the Kwantlen understood their differences from other groups through their connections with them rather than through isolation from them. Peoples from along the Fraser and from Vancouver Island held established seasonal settlements within and adjacent to Kwantlen territory. When travelling along the Fraser in 1824, HBC travellers found that the southern bank of Lulu Island, located only a few miles downriver from Qiqá:yt and Skaiametl along the Fraser's south arm, had a population of "nearly 1500 souls" comprised of Cowichan people from Somenos in the Cowichan Valley, Penelakut on Kuper Island, and Quamichan on the Cowichan River who stayed on the Fraser during the summer months.⁶⁵ A few miles upriver from Barnston Island, and only three miles downstream from Fort Langley's original site at Derby, approximately four hundred Nanaimo people had a summer village, while people from Musqueam and Squamish both summered across from Derby.⁶⁶ It is likely that some of these distant people were *siyá:ye*, or "friends and family," if not consanguines, of Kwantlen in the area and, therefore, their presence in the

area was considered licit. However, it appears that the Kwantlen did not always appreciate the Cowichan presence on the river; the Kwantlen *siyá:m* Whittlekainum, a person the HBC officers determined to be of high status with respected leadership abilities,⁶⁷ told Alexander Mackenzie in 1825 that the Cowichan had “had no business with the *Quotlin* [Fraser] River” and that his people were “entirely distinct” from the Island visitors.⁶⁸

The Kwantlen, then, held established cultural practices for identifying others and integrating them into their world when the HBC traders arrived on the Fraser in the 1820s. Differences between the newcomers and others along the Fraser, however, made the incorporation into existing paradigms irregular. Kwantlen people at Qiqá:yt had a difficult time understanding the appearance of Simon Fraser in 1808. According to historian B.A. McKelvie’s expert on Stó:lō history, Jason Allard, Kwantlen *siyá:m* Staquist was present at Fraser’s arrival and made a strong distinction between Fraser’s party and other groups visiting Kwantlen territory: “They were not like any of the people who lived on the river, or like those who came when the salmon ran thick in the summer. The faces of some were pale; others had big beards. They wore strange clothes. They were the Sky-people, we thought.”⁶⁹ There were familiar aspects to the newcomers, as well. They travelled in the company of Nlaka’pamux men who served as guides and translators and who were likely familiar to the Kwantlen. The newcomers traded iron and manufactured goods, which the Kwantlen had likely received indirectly from maritime traders who intermittently entered the inland waters near the Fraser’s mouth. By 1824, when employees of the HBC reconnoitred the Fraser for the first time, the Kwantlen did not exhibit excitement at the sight of the HBC employees, though they

were greatly pleased to receive their gifts, demonstrating that these newcomers became associated with the exchange of goods.

Economic exchange served as a common ground for early interactions between the Kwantlen and the HBC traders. However, market exchange was not merely for the accumulation of wealth but rather to enable the distribution of wealth and thereby demonstrate an individual's possession of non-material gifts, such as proper instruction passed down within, or purchased from, high status families, and spirit power that aided in procuring wealth.⁷⁰ Trade with people outside of their kinship networks was, therefore, one way to bring outsiders into the Kwantlen's "known world."⁷¹ The *Fort Langley Journals* show the eagerness with which the Kwantlen and other Stó:lō people sought to trade with the men at the fort. For example, Whittlekainum intercepted and bartered with the contingent sent to build Fort Langley in 1827 before they had unloaded their supplies, while others pulled alongside the *Cadboro* during the fort's construction offering berries and sturgeon for exchange.⁷² Though both the Kwantlen and HBC traders understood the nature of their trade differently, it served as a helpful foundation for their relationship.

The newcomers' 'multicultural' composition also set the fort's employees apart from the Coast Salish groups familiar to the Kwantlen. Most historical works about Fort Langley and the HBC on the Pacific Coast have given only fleeting discussion of the origins of the Company's employees, giving most attention to British officers and Canadien labourers.⁷³ However, the crews of HBC men sent to the Fraser in 1824 and 1827 were polyglot amalgams of British, Canadien, Iroquois, Columbia River Chinook, and Hawaiian men; there were "nine Iroquois, three Hawaiians, two Abenaki, twenty

Canadiens, one American, and one Englishman” among the thirty-six crewmembers of the 1824 expedition, while, of the twenty-five men of the 1827 mission, there were two Iroquois, one Abenaki, one “Canadian Half Breed,” and two Hawaiians.⁷⁴ The following discussion emphasises the interactions of the latter group – Hawaiians – with the Kwantlen to examine how the Coast Salish responded to the men at Fort Langley and incorporated them into the Kwantlen world.

Hawaiians first came to North America’s Pacific Coast in the late eighteenth-century accompanying traders who stopped at the Hawaiian Islands on expeditions to markets in China. While initially considered passengers and curiosities by the European and American crews, Hawaiians (often referred to by Europeans as Owyhees or, more frequently as Kanakas after the Polynesian term for ‘person’) became crewmembers and labourers on traders’ ships.⁷⁵ These men increasingly enrolled with the various fur trading companies operating on North America’s Pacific coast and became highly desired as labourers by the major fur trading companies. Between 1829 and 1850, the Hudson’s Bay Company kept an agent in Honolulu to oversee trade there and to recruit local men to work on North America’s western coast.⁷⁶ By 1812, approximately forty Hawaiians lived and worked at the Pacific Fur Company’s Fort Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia, while six years later the same fort, renamed Fort George following its purchase by the Northwest Company, boasted a crew of more than twenty-five Hawaiians out of the fifty-man roster.⁷⁷ Many Hawaiian employees apparently preferred the option of working in the Northwest to conditions on the islands, where civil wars created an unstable political situation.⁷⁸ While indentured with the HBC, Hawaiians largely worked at menial tasks,

such as sawing wood and clearing land for farming, and received lower wages and paid higher tariffs at the company store than European employees. Some were eventually posted to a trade, such as cooper, after many years of service.⁷⁹ Whatever the reason for their desire to work and live in North America, Hawaiians were already recognized members of the Pacific fur trade in the years before the establishment of Fort Langley.

Hawaiian servants initially comprised a small part of the HBC's first fort on the Fraser River, but eventually formed a significant portion of Fort Langley's labour force. Employee rosters list Peopeo⁸⁰ and Como as the only Hawaiians at Fort Langley in 1827. Both men served with the Northwest Company before the companies' merger. Como stayed on at Fort Langley until the late 1830s when he returned to Fort Vancouver, working there until his death in 1850.⁸¹ Records tell more about Peopeo's background. According to Jason Allard, the son of an HBC clerk at Fort Langley and a Cowichan woman who grew up at the fort in the 1850s and 60s and later became an informant for both ethnographer Charles Hill-Tout and historian B.A. McKelvie, Peopeo had family connections to Hawaiian political leader Kamehameha and his descendants. Beginning his tenure with the Northwest Company at Fort Vancouver in 1820, Peopeo became the foreman of the Hawaiian servants at Fort Langley, where he stayed until his death in the 1850s.⁸² Three more Hawaiians joined Peopeo and Como at the fort in 1830—Ta Í, Toro, and Wavicareea, according to employee lists—while various others arrived in later years. Hawaiians quickly became a fixture at the fort, as their contingent grew as high as fifteen men, or sixty percent of all servants at the fort, in 1848-49.⁸³

One reason for the lasting presence of Hawaiian employees, and employees from all locations, at Fort Langley was the formation of marital relationships between the

HBCers and Coast Salish women from the areas around the fort. By 1830, every employee at the fort had “taken Women in this quarter” while most of them had signed on for at least one more year, if not two.⁸⁴ From the HBC officers’ perspective, the fort’s relationships with Kwantlen and other Coast Salish communities near the fort became formalized with the beginning of marriage negotiations between Stó:lō women and HBC employees. Chief Trader Archibald McDonald hoped both to retain the services of all his employees and serve the fort’s economic interests by arranging marriages with prominent Stó:lō families. McDonald’s policy encouraged unions between employees and Stó:lō women because of the hope that they would “reconcile the bucks [unmarried employees] to Fort Langley” and to encourage them to renew their contract for at least another year, though other factors influencing the policy included interests in protecting the fort and facilitating trade.⁸⁵ By the late-1850s, the men at the fort had such deep connections with Stó:lō families in the area that a gold miner from Nova Scotia passing through the area was compelled to comment on the relationships:

I...was not a little surprised at seeing the company composed of so heterogeneous a kind. There were the English, Scotch, French and Kanackas [sic] present, and their offspring, and all so thoroughly mixed with the native Indian blood, that it would take a well versed Zoologist to decide what class of people they were, and what relations they had to each other...⁸⁶

While this comment reveals the racial presumptions held by Western Europeans of the day and that pseudo-scientific terminology was popular among those who joined the gold rush, it is clear that McDonald’s strategy to keep his men at the fort proved successful.

Primarily, however, McDonald appears to have considered such marriages to be an economic bond, especially with the dominant groups around the fort, including the

Kwantlen, Musqueam, Cowitchan, and some Coast Salish people from Puget Sound. The first marriage McDonald orchestrated, that between James Murray Yale and the daughter of Nicameus, a Stó:lō *siyá:m*, was meant to encourage the local Kwantlen to barter with their Aboriginal neighbours and to trade with the fort. “[A]fter making them all liberal presents,” of two blankets and some traps, McDonald was satisfied and considered the marriage arrangement settled.⁸⁷ For the HBC traders, then, marriages with Coast Salish women established good trade relations by securing access to furs through Native hunters.

Many Kwantlen families were open to entering into marital relationships with the men at Fort Langley. However, as Keith Carlson has suggested, equating Coast Salish motivations with those of HBC employees “obscures potentially more subtle and complex exchange dynamics.”⁸⁸ Carlson’s analysis of Coast Salish exchange dynamics along the Fraser, and his comments relating to Stó:lō interactions with people at Fort Langley, offer valuable insights into Stó:lō rationale for forging marriage alliances. By marrying men from the fort, the Kwantlen and other Stó:lō peoples hoped to bring the fort’s employees into a “reciprocal exchange network” that followed different protocols than those necessary for the market exchange that characterised early relations with the fort.⁸⁹ Their close connections with families, whether through marriage or friendship, *siyá:ye* were socially obligated when visiting to give gifts, often times food, readily available from their resource sites to other family or close friends, who would then “thank” their guests by offering goods that were available from their resource sites – people from Musqueam, for example, would bring shellfish to relatives who lived too far upriver to access the delta’s clam beds.⁹⁰ The more generous a gift, the greater the

validity given to the giver's high status. Having highly productive in-laws was considered an asset to one's own status, as visiting family members would bring large gifts of food that allowed the recipient to host a feast at her or his own village and assert high status that way.⁹¹

The Kwantlen, then, likely anticipated that the gifts given at Yale's marriage were an affirmation of what Suttles called their newly forged "co-parent-in-law" relationship, with the married couple's parents holding reciprocal social responsibilities toward each other. It appears that the Chief Trader Archibald MacDonald was unprepared for the responsibilities of *siyá:ye* gift exchange, referring to Yale's wife as "his Lady that has Cost So much goods."⁹² Carlson suggests that the Stó:lō initially viewed the fort as a family-owned resource site controlled by the fort's *siyá:m*, or family leader. By marrying HBC employees, Kwantlen and Stó:lō families looked to have more open access to the goods available at Fort Langley through unions with the chief trader's employees, or 'family members.'⁹³ Moreover, as Stó:lō families married HBC employees for increased access to the fort as a resource site, family leaders who had kinship ties with the fort, like the Kwantlen *siyá:m* Nicameus and the Cowichan *siyá:m* Shashia, regulated access to the fort and acted as middlemen.⁹⁴

Among the early marriages at Fort Langley were unions between high status Kwantlen women and Hawaiian men. MacDonald celebrated the earliest of these marriages, that between Como and Nicameus' sister, as one that involved "one of our best men here."⁹⁵ The connection to Nicameus is significant. Not only was Nicameus, as the eldest brother, responsible to arrange his sister's marriage, but he also had interests of his own status to consider and his continued access to the fort's resources.⁹⁶ By

arranging for his sister to marry Como, he forfeited the option of marrying her into another prominent Aboriginal family. It is likely that Nicameus did not consider the HBC men's physical differences as affecting their status or their position in the fort. Rather, it appears that Nicameus approached the fort's employees as all members of one family rather than differentiating the men by their place in the HBC's hierarchy. As historian Alexandra Harmon observed among the Puget Sound Salish, though HBC employees descended from Hawaiians, Iroquois, and Canadiens, the Coast Salish understood them all to be 'King George men.'⁹⁷ Though not mentioned in the *Journals*, according to Jason Allard, Peopeo joined a high ranking Stó:lō family when he married "one of the Sub Chief's daughters," who later records identify only as "Catherine the Quyslen [Kwantlen] woman."⁹⁸ While it is unclear to which "Sub Chief" Allard referred, it appears that, in the fort's first years, marriages with Hawaiians offered to affirm, or even enhance, the status of Kwantlen *siyá:m*.

Kwantlen attitudes toward later marriages with Hawaiian men are more difficult to assess. Baptismal and marriage records compiled by early Oblate missionaries, and later Anglican clerics, comprise the vast majority of documents that mention such unions, though the information they offer about marriages and families is sparse considering not all couples felt their unions needed validation by the Church. However, the existing records do shed some light on the composition of some of the Kwantlen-Hawaiian families. Peopeo's Catholic marriage to Catherine in 1856 "legitimized" their son Joseph Maayo, who was almost thirty-years old at the time, as well as his older and younger sisters.⁹⁹ Wavikerea, another Hawaiian employee, who arrived at Fort Langley around 1830, had his marriage to "an Uiskwin [Musqueam] woman" blessed by Oblate

missionary Father Demers in 1841 along with their two sons.¹⁰⁰ His son, Robert, who was baptized on the same day at the age of six, was in a relationship with a “Quyslen” woman before 1856.¹⁰¹ Peter Ohule married Peopeo’s youngest daughter, Sophie, sometime after his arrival in 1848.¹⁰² Some Hawaiian men, then, married Aboriginal women from along the Fraser, while others married the daughters of other Stó:lō-Hawaiian unions, though the reasons behind these decisions remain unclear.

These later marriages demonstrate a change in the Kwantlen perception of Hawaiians. Marriage with Hawaiians became less desirable among status conscious Kwantlen. The clearest example comes from Jason Allard, who recalled the events of one Christmas celebration at the fort, during which the men’s Stó:lō wives received gifts of berries, cookies, and jams as well as “two or three shots of wine”:

As soon as the women got outside, the fun started as the wine had put the fighting spirit into them. The women who were married to white men were related to the chiefs and the line was drawn between them and the wives of the Kanakas. The Kanaka women were accused of passing remarks about their white sisters and then from one imagery [sic] insult or slight the fight was on. There was no prancing and sparring. It was run and grab for the hair of the head. A regular tug-of-war ensued. Finally they were separated by their husbands and all was peace and quietness.¹⁰³

If accurate, Allard’s description of relations at the fort demonstrates a change in the relationship between Coast Salish women, and Kwantlen in particular, and Hawaiian men.

From Allard’s comments it appears that, by the 1850s,¹⁰⁴ European-descended traders “were related to the chiefs,” or *siyá:m* while the Hawaiians were not. It is likely that “passing remarks” refers to “private knowledge,” which is Suttles’ term for

knowledge or gossip that would put a person's claims to high status in doubt, such as having slave ancestry.¹⁰⁵ The Stó:lō women at the fort actively battled one another over status to such a degree that one HBC employee, Augustine Willing, cited "a rupture between his wife and other tornadoes of the fort" as his reason for leaving the fort in 1856.¹⁰⁶ It is possible that Stó:lō people became increasingly familiar with the Hawaiian employees' place in the HBC hierarchy and equated their position with low status or slaves. More likely, however, is that, given the lower wages received by Hawaiian men and the reduced amount of food and goods received by Hawaiian employees, Stó:lō people considered Hawaiian men less able to meet the social requirements of a *siyá:ye* relationship.¹⁰⁷ It is likely, too, that Allard, who had family connections to Cowichan *siyá:ye* Shashia,¹⁰⁸ and who claimed high status for himself, highlighted the differences between the mens' wives as his own way of demonstrating his position.¹⁰⁹ It is fair to conclude, however, that within a generation of the first relationships at Fort Langley, Hawaiian men were considered less desirable as husbands by at least some high status Kwantlen women.

Residence locations of Kwantlen-Hawaiian couples reflect these changes in attitudes toward Hawaiians. As mentioned earlier, specific locations in the landscape were spiritual centres that "anchored" a people to a location.¹¹⁰ The Kwantlen centre moved toward McMillan Island and Fort Langley from New Westminster as their connections to the fort grew stronger. Outlying areas to the east, such as near Stave River and Hatzic slough, where members of the HBC's 1824 expedition met Kwantlen people, were increasingly considered backwaters to the area's new centre. The first couples lived

near the fort, but, by the end of the century, their descendants lived in more remote places to the east of their first settlements, reflecting their changing status among Stó:lō people.

By the early 1830s, a number of Aboriginal women lived in the fort with their husbands. Chief Trader McDonald apparently allowed married women to stay within the palisades in the fort's first years, as he complained of "a most unconscionable row" among "our Eleven women in the Fort" in March of 1829.¹¹¹ From the *Journals*, it is evident that Yale, Therrien, Ossin, Delannais, and Como all lived with Stó:lō wives in the fort, while HBC historian Morag MacLachlan presumes that Annance, Plamondon, Dominique Faron, Faniant, and Louis Satakarata brought Aboriginal wives from their previous postings on the Columbia River and east of the Rockies. John Kennedy, too, had a wife at the fort.¹¹² In later years, some Hawaiian and Kwantlen families lived within the fort's walls. When staying at the third Fort Langley in 1841, Oblate missionary Modeste Demers noted that "about twenty men are employed there at agricultural activities, of whom eight are Canadians, one an Iroquois, and the other Kanakas, inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands; all having wives and children after the fashion of the country."¹¹³ Plans for the third fort indicate one barracks for the bachelor Hawaiian employees and another one for Hawaiians and their wives.¹¹⁴

By 1858, only two Hawaiians served at the fort. Most who had left the company's employ had settled with their families along the Fraser rather than return to the Sandwich Islands.¹¹⁵ Members of the Northwest Boundary Survey met "a small settlement consisting of a few Kanakas & Indians" at Tsawwassen in 1857.¹¹⁶ Those who remained on the river worked occasionally for the HBC even though they had fulfilled their contracts. When returning to Fort Langley after a trip to Fort Victoria in

1857, Peter Ohule, one of the last Hawaiians employed at Fort Langley, was told by James Douglas to inform “the free Kanakas on the route, that you would require them for the trip to Fort Hope, and to go to you for that purpose. There are seven able men among the number.”¹¹⁷ Indeed, most “free Kanakas” remained in the Pacific Northwest after their tenure with the company, which demonstrates their lasting presence on the river.

After the initial adjustments associated with establishing a fort in a new area had been made, it was common practice at HBC forts on the Pacific coast for Hawaiian men to live outside of the fort’s bastion with their Aboriginal wives. At Fort Vancouver in the 1810s, company servants and their families remained outside of the stockade in the ‘Kanaka Village,’ which one commentator referred to, in the mid-nineteenth century, as a “boisterous little community...where the Company’s employees of lower rank—Iroquois, Scottish, Hawaiian, French and Metis—lived with their Indian wives and families.” That settlement housed over five hundred men, two hundred fifty wives, and three hundred children at its peak population.¹¹⁸ Blueprints for Fort George also indicate a separate “Sandwich Islanders residence” on the exterior of the fort’s southeast wall.¹¹⁹ Some European employees, too, built homes outside the forts. At Fort Langley, Mr. Cromarty, a cooper, had his home on the exterior of the west wall.¹²⁰

The first families of high status Kwantlen women and Hawaiian men, though, remained near to Fort Langley. Peopeo and Catherine’s family, along with “a number of Kanakas,” moved to the north side of the Fraser opposite the original fort site near Berry Creek, which was later renamed Kanaka Creek, some time in the 1830s.¹²¹ While the exact date is uncertain, the move likely did not occur until there were a number of Kwantlen-Hawaiian couples at Fort Langley. The relocation, then, probably took place

between 1830 or 1831, when the Hawaiian roster rose to five, and 1839, when the fort moved several kilometres upriver. Following the fort's move, the community occupied an area on the western bank of the Salmon River, likely so as to remain close to the HBC farms. It is also possible that Catherine or another of the women had family ties that connected them, or gave them rights of access, to what was formerly Snokomish territory. The settlement was still at Derby in 1859, when a gold miner travelling through the area came across "a large body of Kanakas—a mixed race half Indian half Sandwich Islander" at Derby, with Peopeo in a position of authority.¹²² It seems probable that Douglas referred to the "free Kanakas" living at Derby when ordering Ohule to find assistance for work at Fort Hope. As many other of the Hawaiian-born HBC employees moved away from the Fraser and either married elsewhere or brought their wives with them, especially to Salt Spring Island, it would seem that many of those who married Kwantlen women became connected to the area through their relationship with Stó:lō families.

The Derby settlement's families had an intimate association with the Kwantlen living nearby. While many of the men had married Kwantlen women, others had married the children of earlier Hawaiian-Kwantlen relationships, such as the offspring from Ohule's marriage to Sophie Peopeo. When forced to move, however, the people of the Derby settlement relocated to areas nearby other Stó:lō settlements. When the colonial government declared Derby a township and began to subdivide lots, the hamlet was ordered from their home on the former HBC lands. In the spring of 1859, "Pio Pio" sent a petition to Colonel Moody, the colony's Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works., requesting forty-seven acres near the "abandoned Katzie Indian Village" on the North bank of the Fraser, "3 or 4 miles below Langley" as compensation.¹²³ Peopeo, his son

Joseph Maayo, his two sons-in-law, Peter Ohule and Ohia, and three other Hawaiians, Tee (likely the “Ta Í” referred to in employee lists, who arrived at the fort in 1830), William Tokoa, and Peter Appnaut, eventually pre-empted 160 acres along the same location they requested previously, just east of the HBC sawmill near Kanaka Creek.¹²⁴ The location may have been near the original site of their first hamlet across from the first fort and may, in fact, be the former Katzie village mentioned in the petition.¹²⁵

Other descendants of Hawaiian-Kwantlen relationships emphasised their Stó:lō ancestry, as well. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Robert Wavikerea, or one of his children, Anglicized their family name to Cheer, which is the English equivalent of the Hawaiian ‘wavikerea,’ and relocated to the Whonnock Indian Reserves near the Stave River.¹²⁶ In 1915, an eighty-year-old Joseph Maayo was living with Charlie Pierre on a reserve “east of Derby,” likely the Kwantlen on McMillan Island near the later Fort Langley, or possibly further upriver near the Stave River. According to an article in the *Vancouver Daily World*, he “was reputed by the Indians to be the strongest man in the world” and was still fishing in his late age, abilities for which many Kwantlen people held him in high regard.¹²⁷ Many people of Hawaiian-Kwantlen descent, then, regardless of their distinctly Hawaiian heritage, remained in close proximity to other Stó:lō settlements, becoming accepted members of Stó:lō social circles.

Recognition of their Hawaiian lineage by the Kwantlen, however, was both fluid and contentious. While Kwantlen people esteemed Joseph Maayo for his physical strength, which most likely indicated that some believed that he had a strong spirit power that helped him accomplish feats of physical strength, by the beginning of the twentieth century, others denied that the connections of the children of Hawaiian-Stó:lō

relationships to Kwantlen people entitled them to live in Aboriginal settlements. Disputes over the recognition of those descended from Hawaiians had come to a head in 1905 when E.H. Heaps & Company made a request to the local Indian Agent for booming privileges on Langley Indian Reserve #1 on the Stave River, a reserve to which the Whonnock and the Kwantlen each asserted exclusive claims, a dispute exacerbated by Gilbert Sproat who demarked the area as common reserve.¹²⁸ *Siyá:m* from both Kwantlen and Whonnock met with Indian Agent McDonald in an attempt to settle the disagreement. However, the meeting succeeded only in heightening tensions. Following the meeting, Kwantlen *siyá:m* Cassimir wrote to McDonald requesting that he inform Superintendent Vowell of what transpired at the meeting. In his letter, Cassimir emphasised what he considered Whonnock *siyá:m* Fidell's bad manners, while drawing attention to what he considered the way the Kwantlen behaved "like good christians," illustrating what Cassimir saw as the Kwantlen's good upbringing and an acknowledgement of perceived European sensibilities and standards.¹²⁹

Cassimir identified the root of the problem between the two groups as the meddling of "a young man (Harry by name) son of Dan Cheer a half-breed Kanaka" who, with his father, "are the sole cause" of the Whonnock interest in the reserve. Cassimir directly challenged the Cheer family's right to identify themselves as 'Indian' by emphasising their non-Aboriginal ancestry and, therefore, undercutting their claims to the reserve. For Cassimir, if Dan Cheer was a registered Canadian voter and was not prohibited by the Indian Act from purchasing alcohol like other status Indians, "I cannot see how it is that they [sic] can interfere in matters which does not concern them [sic] on any Indian reserve whatever."¹³⁰ The Kwantlen *siyá:m* further criticised the Cheer family

by drawing attention to the fact that Harry Cheer had spent time in the provincial Penitentiary for “altering figures on a cheque to his advantage,” which demonstrated, in Cassimir’s opinion, the Cheer’s low standing.¹³¹ He went on to explain that only four men living on the reserve were descended from the original Whonnock people, and so only those four, including Fidell, could “legally” be called Whonnock. Not only did Cassimir consider the Cheer family outsiders, but so too did he view all those living on the reserve who had no connection to the area south of the Stave and its ancestral spirits as lacking the right to be considered Whonnock or Kwantlen.

As far as Cassimir was concerned, he and other Kwantlen leaders had demonstrated their attachment to the reserve south of the Stave River by showing their uncontested use of the reserve’s resources and by combating trespasses on the reserve over the preceding thirty years. He emphasised his concern for the area by explaining that he visited Reserve Commissioner Sproat near Cheam in 1879 explicitly mention the Kwantlen claims to the area and left the meeting not hearing of any claims made by the Whonnock leadership. In the intervening years, Kwantlen people had harvested timber from the reserve, in Cassimir’s view exercising their right to access resource sites on the reserve, while in later years challenging Euro-Canadian interests in the reserve’s timber stands.¹³² According to the Kwantlen leadership, then, the Whonnock of Hawaiian-descent lacked legitimate claims to the reserve near the Stave because of their lack of ancestral claims to the area’s resources, which was revealed by their apparent disinterest in the reserve until the turn of the twentieth century.

The inclusion of the descendents of Kwantlen-Hawaiian marriages into Kwantlen families depended on Stó:lō understandings of kinship, status, and place of residence rather than observable differences in physical features. As strongly as Nicameus had emphasised that his connections with Como granted him the right to access Fort Langley, Cassimir rejected the Cheers' claims to the Whonnock reserve because of their lack of connection to either the Whonnock people's progenitors or the location. The relationships between Hawaiian men and Kwantlen people illuminate the criteria through which Stó:lō people determined who was an 'insider,' or an accepted member of the communities. These criteria, however, were challenged in new ways in 1858 as hopeful European and Chinese miners flocked to the Lower Fraser Canyon in such overwhelming numbers that forging kinship affiliations was simply not a viable option and Stó:lō people had to adjust to the notion of strangers, outsiders, living within their territory and usurping their property rights.

⁵⁴ Personal Communication with Sonny McHalsie, March 1, 2004.

⁵⁵ 'The Children of Fort Langley' website, accessed May 17, 2004, <http://www.fortlangley.ca/hc2001.html>; Personal Communication with Sonny McHalsie, March 1, 2004.

⁵⁶ See entry for 7 March 1829 in Morag MacLachlan, *The Fort Langley Journals, 1827-30*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998, 100.

⁵⁷ See entry for 13 November 1828 in *Ibid*, 85.

⁵⁸ Keith Thor Carlson, "Stó:lō Exchange Dynamics," *Native Studies Review*, 11:1, 5-48; Wayne Suttles, "The Ethnographic Significance of the Fort Langley Journals," in Morag MacLachlan (ed), *The Fort Langley Journals, 1828-1830*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1998, 163-210.

⁵⁹ According to some recent accounts of stories about "when the world was not quite right," before the world had been made right and established in its present form by Xexá:ls, the sibling Transformers, a sky-born person named Swaniset, who the Katzie people hold as their first ancestor, established the Kwantlen people along a slough that stretched from the Alouette River to a point three hundred metres north of the Fraser at a site called Katzie. Time passed, and Swaniset moved another group of his people from along Pitt River to a location near the Kwantlen settlement, causing the Kwantlen to move to Skaiametl, the site of the old provincial penitentiary at New Westminster, and Qiqá:yt, on the Fraser's south bank across from New Westminster at Brownsville. Rather than believing that they share an ancestor with the Katzie, most people from Kwantlen apparently identify themselves as descendants of Skwelselem, an earth-born man whose name continues to be given to important Kwantlen leaders.

⁶⁰ Many Coast Salish peoples believed, and still believe, that ancestral and other spirits dwelled in specific locations. One of the initial responses to smallpox, according to oral traditions, was to send all of the women and half of their children, to their home settlement “so that every adult might die in the place where he or she was raised” where the family’s ancestral spirits resided and could offer some protection against the contagion (see Carlson, “Stó:lō...,” 34). Similarly, Annie York, a Nlaka’pamux woman from the Stó:lō-Nlakapamux border community of Spuzzum in the Lower Fraser Canyon, felt she lacked protection from spirits when travelling from her home for speaking engagements and preferred those interested in learning from her to meet her at her home in Spuzzum (Andrea Laforet and Annie York, *Spuzzum: Fraser Canyon Histories, 1808-1939*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998, 225, fn.23). Among the Puget Sound Salish living at Lummi, just south of the Canada-US border along the mainland, Lummi people who moved into areas depopulated following a series of raids in the late eighteenth century and married survivors of the decimated people to teach them to build and use the nearby fishing weirs. More than a matter learning a technology, the Lummi needed instruction about the necessary prayers and enchantments that the local immortals would acknowledge and so make the weir effective (Jay Miller, *Lushootseed Culture and the Shamanic Odyssey: An Anchored Radiance*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1999, 17-18).

⁶¹ According to Old Pierre of Katzie, when Xexá:ls came to Qiqá:yt, they found a man who wandered in the woods to the neglect of his family. As punishment, the entire family became wolves, stipulating that they would grant strong spirit power to men for hunting and to women for weaving mats and woollen garments, setting the Kwantlen apart from other groups who could receive only a weaker form of the power.⁶¹ While peoples in other locations could obtain wolf spirits, the strong spirit power available to those at Qiqá:yt was unique to their locale. See Jenness, *Faith*, 22, 48.

⁶² What had once been places of spirit protection could become places of spirit danger, or, in other cases, the positive spirit power of a particular place could be drained by overuse, as apparently happened to Cultus “worthless” Lake near Chilliwack after shaman had over used the site. See especially, Keith Thor Carlson, “The Power of Place, The Problem of Time: A Study of History and Aboriginal Identity,” PhD Dissertation, UBC, 2003, 149-162.

⁶³ In the 1930s, the esteemed shaman Old Pierre of Katzie told anthropologist Diamond Jenness about his great-grandfather’s experiences of the smallpox epidemic. He had been living in the mountains “for his wife had recently given birth to twins, and, according to custom, both parents and children had to remain in isolation for several months.” When he returned to his village near the entrance to Pitt Lake, “All his kinsmen and relatives lay dead inside their homes; only in one house did there survive a baby boy, who was vainly sucking at its dead mother’s breast.” Taking the child with him, and burning the bodies and houses, he established himself “several miles away” (See Jenness, 34). Anthropologist Wayne Suttles learned from Old Pierre’s son Simon Pierre that disease wiped out a number of groups in areas that later became Kwantlen village sites, including “the Q’ó:leq’ [Whonnock tribe] at the mouth of the Whonnock River, the sxá’yeqs [tribe] at Ruskin at the mouth of the Stave River, and the Xat’seq [tribe] at Hatzic” (The quote is from Suttles, *Katzie Ethnographic Notes*. Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir No. 2, 1955, 12, though the orthography and additions are from Carlson, “The Power of Place,” 126).

⁶⁴ See *Ibid.*, 50-97.

⁶⁵ In his diary of the 1824 reconnoiter of the Fraser, Francois Annance commented on the same settlement, noting that “we saw a deserted village nearly a mile long....This is a terrible [sic] large village!....This must contain not less than a thousand men.” See entry for 19 Dec 1824 in Nile Thompson (ed), “Journey Through the Land: A Journal of a Voyage from Fort George Columbia River to Fraser River in the Winter 1824 and 1825, by Francois N. Annance,” *Cowlitz Historical Quarterly*, 32:1, p.26-27.

⁶⁶ Entry for 23 July 1827. MacLachlan, *Fort Langley Journals*, 27; Suttles, “Ethnographic Significance,” 172-173.

⁶⁷ See discussion in Keith Thor Carlson, “Early Nineteenth Century Stó:lō Social Structures and Government Assimilation Policy,” in Keith Thor Carlson (ed), *You Are Asked to Witness: The Stó:lō in Canada’s Pacific Coast History*. Chilliwack, BC: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 1997, 90-94.

⁶⁸ Suttles, “Ethnographic,” 173.

⁶⁹ B.A. McKelvie, *Fort Langley: Outpost of Empire*. Toronto: Thos. Nelson & Sons (Canada) Ltd, 1957, 4. For other responses to European arrival in the Pacific Northwest, see Wendy Wickwire, “To See Ourselves as the Other’s Other: Nlaka’pamux Contact Narratives,” *Canadian Historical Review*, 75:1, 1994, pp.1-20;

Alexandra Harmon, "Lines in Sand: Shifting Boundaries Between Indians and Non-Indians in the Puget Sound Region," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 26:4 (1995): 428-453.

⁷⁰ See Wayne Suttles, "Post-Contact Culture Change among the Lummi Indian," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, 28:1&2, 34-35; Suttles, "Private Knowledge, Morality, and Social Classes among the Coast Salish," in *Coast Salish Essays*. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1987, 3-14.

⁷¹ See Keith Thor Carlson, "Exchange Dynamics," 10-12.

⁷² See 25 July and 5 August 1827, in Maclachlan, 27, 33.

⁷³ Denys Nelson, *Fort Langley, 1827-1927: A Century of Settlement in the Valley of the Lower Fraser River*. Vancouver: Evans & Hastings, 1927; Mary Cullen, "The History of Fort Langley, 1827-96," Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, 1979.

⁷⁴ Maclachlan, *Fort Langley Journals*, 7; Entry for 27 June 1827 in *Fort Langley Journals*, 23.

⁷⁵ Jean Barman, "New Land, New Lives: Hawaiian Settlement in British Columbia," *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 29 (1995), 1-2.

⁷⁶ Barman, "New Land," 2. Richard Mackie concludes that approximately 500 Hawaiians had found employment on the west coast by the 1840s. See Richard Somerset Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains: the British Fur Trade on the Pacific, 1793-1843*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997, 162-163.

⁷⁷ Ibid, pp.12-13, 18.

⁷⁸ See Ralph S. Kuykendall. *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Volume 1: 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1968, 44-51. George Quimby argued that the desire for wealth prompted most Hawaiians to travel to the Pacific Northwest, while educational and political advantages motivated high status Hawaiians like Tianna. See George I. Quimby, "Hawaiians in the Fur Trade of North-West America, 1785-1820," *Journal of Pacific History*, 7 (1972): 103.

⁷⁹ Morton, Jamie. *Fort Langley: An Overview of the Operations of a Diversified Fur Trade Post, 1848 to 1858 and the Physical Context in 1858*. Canadian Parks Service; microfiche report series no. 340. Ottawa: Canadian Parks Service, 1986, 250.

⁸⁰ Peopeo's name went through countless spellings in the documentary record, including Peon Peon, Piopio, Peshopuho, and Peohpeoh.

⁸¹ Maclachlan, *Fort Langley*, 244, fn.3; Koppel, Tom. *Kanaka: The Untold Story of Hawaiian Pioneers in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest*. Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1995, 42.

⁸² Jason Allard, "Reminiscences," 10-11, BCA, EC A1 5A as cited in Barman, "New Land...," 9; Koppel, *Kanaka*, 42.

⁸³ Cullen, Mary. "Appendices to 'The history of Fort Langley, 1827-96,'" Canadian Historic Sites No. 20. Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, 1973, 4-19. See also Koppel, *Kanaka*, 42-45.

⁸⁴ See entry for March 3, 1829, p.99 and "McDonald's Report to the Governor and Council, 25 February, 1830," in Maclachlan, *Fort Langley*, 218-227.

⁸⁵ Morton, *Fort Langley*, 277.

⁸⁶ Robie L. Reid, "To the Fraser River Mines in 1858," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, 1:4 (October 1937): 243-253.

⁸⁷ Entry for 13 November 1828 in Maclachlan, *Fort Langley*, 85. See also Mary K. Cullen, "The History of Fort Langley, 1827-96," Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, 1979, 19; Carlson, "Exchange Dynamics," 21; Maclachlan, *Fort Langley*, 16. Jason Allard, offering a related explanation, commented that "Mr. Yale was very particular about getting the men married into good families amongst the Indians for the protection of the fort." Jason O. Allard, "Christmas at Fort Langley Gay Time in Olden Days," Bruce A. McKelvie papers, BCA, MS-0001, copy of article in *Daily Province*, Saturday, October 25, 1924, 24.

⁸⁸ Carlson, "Exchange Dynamics," 32.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 32-33.

⁹⁰ See Wayne Suttles, "Affinal Ties, Subsistence, and Prestige among the Coast Salish," in *Coast Salish Essays*, 15-25; Carlson, "Exchange Dynamics," 15-17.

⁹¹ Carlson, "Exchange Dynamics," 20-21.

⁹² Entry for 20 December 1828 in Maclachlan, *Fort Langley*, 90.

⁹³ Carlson, "Exchange Dynamics," 32-33.

⁹⁴ Suttles, "Ethnographic," 186; Carlson, "Exchange Dynamics," 33.

⁹⁵ Entry for 7 March 1829, Maclachlan, *Fort Langley*, 100.

- ⁹⁶ June Collins, *Valley of the Spirits: The Upper Skagit Indians of Western Washington*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974, 91.
- ⁹⁷ Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998, 10.
- ⁹⁸ Jason Allard, BCA, Verticle Files, 'Kanakan Creek'; Munnick, Harriet Duncan (ed). *Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Vancouver, Volumes I and II, and Stellamaris Mission*. Translated by Mikell de Lores Wormell Warner. St. Paul, OR: French Prairie Press, 1972, 67; Parish records at St Andrew's Cathedral in Victoria, British Columbia as cited at 'Children of Fort Langley' website, accessed 8 March 2005, <http://www.fortlangley.ca/Peopeoh.html>.
- ⁹⁹ Morton, *Fort Langley*, 264-265.
- ¹⁰⁰ Duncan, "Appendices," Outfit 1830-31.
- ¹⁰¹ Morton, *Fort Langley*, 270.
- ¹⁰² Ibid., 269.
- ¹⁰³ Jason O. Allard, 'Christmas at Fort Langley Gay Time in Olden Days,' Bruce A. McKelvie papers, BCA, MS-0001, copy of article in *Daily Province*, Saturday, October 25, 1924, 24.
- ¹⁰⁴ Allard grew up at Fort Langley until 1854, when his father, HBC clerk Ovid Allard, took his family to Vancouver Island. The Allards returned to the Fraser in 1858, moving to Fort Yale at the request of Chief Factor James Douglas. See B. A. McKelvie, "Jason Allard: Fur-Trader, Prince, and Gentleman," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, 9:4 (1945), 246-247.
- ¹⁰⁵ Suttles, "Private Knowledge," 3-14.
- ¹⁰⁶ Morton, *Fort Langley*, 279.
- ¹⁰⁷ Morton, *Fort Langley*, 250.
- ¹⁰⁸ For more information on Shaisha, see MacLachlan, *Fort Langley*, 228-230.
- ¹⁰⁹ McKelvie, "Jason Allard," 243-244.
- ¹¹⁰ See Jay Miller. *Lushootseed Culture and the Shamanic Odyssey: An Anchored Radiance*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1999, especially chapters one and two.
- ¹¹¹ See entry for 20 March 1829 in MacLachlan, *Fort Langley*, 102.
- ¹¹² See Ibid, 253 fn.5.
- ¹¹³ Barman, "New Land," 10.
- ¹¹⁴ Morton, *Fort Langley*, 446.
- ¹¹⁵ Others relocated to the Puget Sound, as did Como with his Kwantlen wife. For employee numbers, see Ibid., 288.
- ¹¹⁶ R. Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy, "Tsawwassen Ethnography and Ethnohistory," report for BC Ministry of Highways, 38 as found in Koppel, *Kanaka*, 86.
- ¹¹⁷ Morton, *Fort Langley*, 288.
- ¹¹⁸ Koppel, *Kanaka*, 23-24.
- ¹¹⁹ A copy of the floor plan can be found in Cole Harris, 'Strategies of power in the Cordilleran Fur Trade,' in Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997, p.38. Also in Morton, *Fort Langley*, 446.
- ¹²⁰ Morton, *Fort Langley*, 258.
- ¹²¹ Jason O. Allard, "Reminiscences," Howay Collection, UBC Rare Books and Special Collections; Captain Aemilius Simpson's 1827 sounding chart of the Fraser names the stream 'Berry Creek.' See MacLachlan, *Fort Langley*, 9.
- ¹²² Dorothy Blakey Smith (ed), "The Journal of Arthur Thomas Bushby 1858-1859," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, (January-October 1957-58), 127.
- ¹²³ Department of Lands and Works. BCA, GR-0767.
- ¹²⁴ Koppel, *Kanaka*, 86. See also Morton, *Fort Langley*, 288.
- ¹²⁵ Simon Pierre told Suttles that the Katzie had a settlement near Kanaka Creek. See Suttles, "Katzie Ethnographic Notes," 12.
- ¹²⁶ Charles A. Miller, *Valley of the Stave*. Surrey, BC: Hancock House, 1981, 29-33; Barman, "New Land," 18.
- ¹²⁷ *Vancouver Daily World*, 10 August 1915.
- ¹²⁸ R.C. McDonald to A.W. Vowell, 12 January 1905, in RG 10, Volume 3749, File 29858-4.
- ¹²⁹ Chief Cassimere and other Langley Indians to R.C. McDonald, 27 January, 1905, in *ibid*.

¹³⁰ Chief Cassimere and other Langley Indians to R.C. McDonald, 17 January, 1905, in *ibid.* The Indian Affairs department had no difficulty accepting the legality of the Cheers' residence on the reserve as they had lived on the reserve "for upwards twenty years, no doubt with the consent of the Department..." McDonald to Vowell, 11 February 1905, in *ibid.*

¹³¹ Chief Cassimir and other Langley Indians to R.C. McDonald, 17 January 1905, in *ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

Chapter Three: Organising the Ore-hunters

Over thirty thousand men, and dozens of women, from around the world inundated the Lower Fraser Canyon in the summer of 1858 in search of gold and adventure. Upon their arrival, those European observers on the Fraser commented on what they considered to be the diversity of people vying for their stake in the gold rush. The majority of non-Native commentators divided the newly arrived miners into mutually exclusive groups based either on people's nation-state of origin (i.e. German or Swedish), or by their racial grouping (i.e. 'Chinese' or 'African'). One miner who came to the Fraser Canyon noted that

It would be difficult to find in one place a greater mixture of different nationalities. Americans were in the majority – an especially large contingent of veterans of [the California rush of] '49. Then followed the Germans, French, and the Chinese. Next come Italians, Spaniards, Poles, etc.¹³³

Subsequent commentators and historians assumed that everyone on the Fraser, including Stó:lō people, shared these particular groupings and that interactions during the gold rush were affected by the presence of these categories. From Hubert Howe Bancroft's voluminous works of the 1880s, to F.W. Howay's writings in the early twentieth century, to Robin Fisher's *Contact and Conflict* (1977), through Cole Harris *Re-Settlement of British Columbia* (1997), and Daniel Marshall recent historical studies have reinforced the use of either nation-state or racial groupings by distinguishing between the British, that is, those associated with the HBC and colonial interests, Americans, and Aboriginal people, especially those living in the interior, emphasising the conflict over mineral

resources and territorial sovereignty.¹³⁴ Such classifications, however, were not necessarily meaningful or intelligible to indigenous observers and participants.

The European-style racial and national groupings gloss over the complexities of Aboriginal motivations for relating with newcomers. Moreover, they marginalize the involvement of people from China in the rush and their interactions with Aboriginal populations.¹³⁵ As discussed in the preceding chapter, Stó:lō people did not use familiar western racial categories. Rather, they followed their own protocols derived from their own historical interactions with ‘outsiders’ and brought others ‘inside’ the Stó:lō world. This chapter focuses on the role of economic and familial relationships, as these categories allow for a greater explanation of the varieties of responses to the presence and actions of newcomers during the gold rush than the employment of Western categories. In some instances, Stó:lō people differentiated between the newcomers based upon their *places* of origin rather than their nation-state of origin. However, more often Stó:lō people based their understanding of newcomers upon the degree of intimacy in their relationships, often expressed through economic exchange, but always informed by familiar social protocols. That is to say, what was important to Stó:lō people was whether a newcomer was integrated into a kith and kin network or remained a stranger – and therefore potential enemy.

The central difficulty in interpreting interactions between miners and Stó:lō people is that the criteria by which Stó:lō people grouped “others” is not always clear; that is to say, whether they divided people according to phenotype, place of residence, or some other characteristic. The Stó:lō did not share the same taxonomies as the British

and Euro-American people who more strongly asserted their presence on the Fraser after 1858.¹³⁶ Anthropologists have discussed several forms of group identity that Coast Salish people employed to differentiate themselves from others, two of which are helpful to this study. The first of these emphasises the geographical distinctiveness of groups within a specific river watershed. Initially put forward in scholarly literature by Marian Smith, the notion of watershed affiliations argues that “from...the drainage system they derived their major concept of unity. Thus, peoples living near a single drainage system were considered to be knit together by that fact if by no other.”¹³⁷ Those living within the local watershed tended to have the closest connections as they were most likely to share a common dialect, while high status families likely shared common descent from one of the sky-born, earth-born, and transformed ancestors, such as the well documented *Ts’ilxwéyeqw* (Chilliwack) elite who share descent from the original black-bear-with-white-chest-spot.¹³⁸ Typically, each watershed had an ‘urban potlatch centre’ located at or near a river mouth or where a stream met the river. These “towns” served as the primary dwelling during the autumn potlatches and subsequent winter dancing season. Several smaller, affiliated tributary settlements were scattered throughout the river systems – often closer to resource sites, and a third category of campsite hamlets were located at summer gathering sites.¹³⁹

The residents of each watershed cluster of settlements derived a common “tribal” name from either the central village, such as the Scowlitz (*ska’wlic*) or the Nicomen (*lək’ε’məl*), or from a characteristic of the group’s territory, like the Chehalis (“running aground on a sandbar”), the Kwantlen (“tireless runners” referring to the wolf spirit power prevalent around New Westminster), and the Katzie (many-coloured moss).¹⁴⁰

Some groups were associated with particular spirit powers, like the wolf power available to the Kwantlen, though it spoke more of the resident spirits than the people living there. Entire communities, therefore, were considered as having certain shared characteristics derived from common descent from a mythical ancestor, resident spirit helpers, or certain geographic features. The associations were not always positive – at least in the eyes of rivals. In his Katzie ethnogenesis, for example, Old Pierre twice derides people from Musqueam, once commenting that the *sxwó:yxwey* mask was “[t]he one gift, and one only, did they bequeath to mankind,” and also emphasising that a Musqueam man did not know to give the proper respect to the steelhead salmon, ruining their fishing expedition.¹⁴¹

When miners from the United States, China, and Europe arrived on the Fraser’s sandbars, then, it is possible that Stó:lō people placed them into familiar categories and gave them names reflecting what they believed to be characteristics of the newcomer’s home watershed. Accounts by European traders and tourists of the 1850s recorded three appellations that many Coast Salish people used during the gold rush to distinguish between the newcomers: ‘King George men,’ ‘Bostons’ or ‘Boston men,’ and ‘Chinamen.’ As there has yet to be a sustained analysis of these terms, it appears that each came into popular use in the late eighteenth century during the maritime fur trade and then quickly became a part of Chinook jargon, the trade language used by both Aboriginal people and newcomers along the Pacific Coast north of the Columbia River. Many Lushootseed-speakers in and around Puget Sound, and likely their Stó:lō family members and trading partners, understood that ‘*kingchauch*’ (King George), or ‘*kingchauchman*’ (King George Man) , as well as ‘*pested*’ (Boston), referred to the home

origin of those affiliated with employees of the HBC and Americans respectively.¹⁴²

Stó:lō people would have assumed that Bostons and King George men had different abilities and characteristics derived in large part from the spirit powers available to them in their place of origin. For instance, King George men were considered to have a special ability to make high quality goods, far better than Bostons, whose goods were considered second rate.¹⁴³ The meaning attached to these three categories was perhaps the most basic component to Stó:lō understandings of the newcomers.

‘Watershed affiliation’, however, was only one factor that informed a group’s identity. Anthropologist Wayne Suttles has argued that localised geographic-based identities were secondary to the kinship networks that spanned the Fraser River system. As discussed in the previous chapter, marriages with distant watershed groups secured access to resources available in only a few locations and created bonds between co-parents-in-law that demanded continued relationship and exchange of goods. Carlson has recently expanded upon the various economic relationships that connected both affines and non-affines, employing the Halkomelem terms *xwélmexw* and *latsumexw*.¹⁴⁴ As mentioned in the previous chapter, *xwélmexw* were (and are) people ‘known to exist,’ that is, people who were a part of the social and economic systems that spanned the communities living within the same local watershed or in outlying watersheds connected by marriage. People who lived in a distant watershed, while still *xwélmexw*, had a less intimate relationship and may only have met at a distant relative’s potlatch.¹⁴⁵ One did not need marital connections to be *xwélmexw*; the term *siyá:ye* included people related by marriage and those non-kin with whom people felt a close connection. There were different protocols involved in relations with non-*siyá:ye*; it was, and is, considered

highly inappropriate to turn a profit in exchanges with *siyá:ye*, however, selling one's labour to trusted non-*siyá:ye* was considered proper.¹⁴⁶

As with those who lived outside of the *xwélmexw* system and beyond the Fraser River watershed, the first miners to the Fraser were likely considered *latsumexw*. Such people had neither ancestral connection to local peoples' ancestors nor affinal connection to resources in the area, and they followed unfamiliar social practices and their behaviour and actions made little sense to *xwélmexw* people. Before the late-eighteenth century, Kwakwak'wakw attackers, called 'Coastal Raiders' by twentieth-century Stó:lō people, were the most infamous *latsumexw*, as they frequently attacked Stó:lō settlements as far upriver as Sailor's Bar, seven kilometres above Yale, killing men and taking women and children as slaves. Not all *latsumexw* were as profoundly distanced as the Coastal Raiders. Before establishing themselves within the Fraser River-centred system in the early- and mid-nineteenth century, the Chilliwack migrated from a transition zone between the Chilliwack and Skagit river watersheds to the Fraser River proper and then ceased to speak Nooksack as they adopted Halkomelem.. While the Chilliwack have subsequently become *xwélmexw* for most Stó:lō people, tension between the Chilliwack and other Stó:lō groups continued well into the twentieth century.¹⁴⁷

None of this is to suggest that Stó:lō people explicitly referred to newcomers as either *xwélmexw* or *latsumexw*. These categories were, and are, only loosely defined fluid categories, and are, therefore, unsuitable to establish a codified system of relations between Stó:lō people and newcomers. However, these categories are useful for what they reveal about the way Stó:lō people differentiated types of relations between Natives

and newcomers while offering insights into what motivated Stó:lō people to respond to the presence of miners in the Lower Fraser Canyon.

Stó:lō people were well acquainted with King George men when the gold rush broke in early 1858. From the Coast Salish perspective, representatives of the HBC were evidently powerful as the goods they offered for trade were of the highest quality and the traders often made appropriately generous gifts when interacting with Aboriginal people. With the marriages between King George men and Kwantlen women at Fort Langley, men of the HBC were included in Stó:lō social and economic networks. The King George men became increasingly well-known throughout the Fraser, establishing fishing stations on the Chilliwack and Harrison rivers in the 1830s, and trading posts at Forts Hope and Yale in the 1840s. During the 1858 gold rush miners from the United States complained frequently of the favouritism Stó:lō people showed toward King George men, alleging that, while they had their movement limited or resisted, people associated with the HBC could move about freely. Some Euro-American miners even donned a red capote so as to pass as King George men.¹⁴⁸

The intimacy of Stó:lō peoples' connections with King George men contrasted starkly with early relationships with 'Boston men' and 'Chinamen', both of whom, based on ethnographic contextualization, must have been considered *latsumexw* at the beginning of the gold rush. 'Boston men' or 'Bostons' originally signified those affiliated with the Boston-based trading companies who visited the Central Coast Salish in the early- and mid-nineteenth century, though the term eventually signified the settlers, government officials, and military personnel that became increasingly common in

Washington territory in the early 1850s. Stó:lō people had limited interactions with Bostons when the British and American governments signed the Treaty of Washington in 1846 and established the 49th parallel as the international boundary in the Pacific Northwest. That year the HBC moved their operations north of the parallel, while Americans consolidated their presence in the southern area. While Stó:lō people continued to visit family members among Nooksack- and Lushootseed-speakers in what was suddenly Washington Territory, indicating that they did not ascribe the same meanings to the new national demarcations as the British and Americans, the formalisation of the boundary affected the frequency and types of relationships Stó:lō and Lushootseed people had with King George and Boston.¹⁴⁹ Stó:lō people interacted and forged closer bonds with King George men, Lushootseed people increasingly came into contact with Bostons, which is likely the reason that in later years most Lushootseed-speakers eventually came to refer to all newcomers, whether they were from the United States, China, or Philippines, as ‘Bostons’ or *pested*.¹⁵⁰

Word of the American government’s Indian policy preceded the mass migration of Euro-Americans miners to the Fraser goldfields. Washington Territory Governor Isaac Stevens received permission from Congress late in 1854 to purchase lands from Puget Salish peoples so as to open land for settlement. Stevens planned to relocate “dispersed, mobile, loosely organized, and interrelated” Puget Salish peoples onto small, centrally located reservations far enough away from the imminent Euro-American settlers yet close enough to still provide the labour necessary to support the local economy.¹⁵¹ Though Stevens and his officers successfully negotiated treaties with most Puget Salish settlements by the spring of 1855, most signatories were greatly displeased with the lands

allotted to them, the delay in receiving the promised payments as Congress took months to ratify the treaties, and the lack of protection from increasingly malevolent settlers. Stó:lō people heard accounts of events from Washington Territory, as an American newspaper reported, via the “Indians of Washington Territory,” who purportedly sent couriers to both Stó:lō and Nlaka’pamux settlements, not only to warn of the aggressive practices of both American soldiers and settlers, but also to encourage their neighbours to force the Bostons from their territory.¹⁵²

At the height of the rush in 1858, many Stó:lō people feared the overwhelming presence of Bostons. Euro-American miners, especially those with years of experience from the California rush, brought with them the prejudices and racial constructions common on the American frontier. Approximately fifty thousand of California’s Aboriginal people died between 1848 and 1870 as a result of disease, starvation, and murder at the hands of miners who believed that those Aboriginals who refused to live on government-ascribed reservations “should be killed or driven out of the country.” Others held a more expansive desire “to root out the whole red race.”¹⁵³ As early as May 1858, there was an account from the Fraser of a Californian miner shooting a Stó:lō man for charging what the miner considered an exorbitant price for the use of his canoe.¹⁵⁴ Commenting on the actions of American miners, the *London Times*’ correspondent to the Fraser reported that near Yale “Indians complain that the whites abuse them badly, take their squaws away, shoot their children, and take their salmon by force.”¹⁵⁵

The violence perpetrated by Euro-American miners induced a degree of fear among the local Aboriginal populations. During the summer of 1858, Ovid Allard wrote to Chief Trader James Yale that the salmon trade near Fort Yale had temporarily stopped

because Aboriginal labourers refused to transport goods to Fort Langley as “the Indians are so much afraid” of the violent actions of the miners.¹⁵⁶ Some Aboriginal people reportedly asked for guns and ammunition from HBC posts to better “drive out the whites,” but were refused them.¹⁵⁷ Distrust of Bostons was common among the Nlaka’pamux, as well, as the miners increasingly moved upriver in search of larger gold deposits. When some Nlaka’pamux women asked with anxious expressions whether Anglican Bishop George Hills and his entourage were Boston men, Hills’ reassured them that they were King George men and “their faces brightened & all seemed pleased.”¹⁵⁸ Many of the Euro-American miners grew jealous of the favoured position that HBC employees held with the region’s Aboriginal population. A number of miners echoed the complaint of one correspondent to the *San Francisco Times* who wrote that “members and employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company could go everywhere through all parts of this Indian country, and can still do so with safety, but it is different with the gold [hunters]. The natives have a dread on them and will oppose their entry as the forerunners of their own destruction.”¹⁵⁹ For some Stó:lō, then, Bostons’ actions were so strange that they could only signify that the newcomers were *latsumexw* in the same sense as the deadly Coastal Raiders.

For some Stó:lō people, the fear of Bostons stemmed from concerns about the attempted application of American Indian policy in their territory. In his travels through the Fraser River watershed in the first months of the gold rush, traveller R.C. Mayne inquired about Aboriginal population’s “intense hatred” for Boston men and was told that

[t]his hatred, although caused chiefly by the cruelty with which they are treated by them, is also owing in a great measure to the system adopted by the Americans at moving them away from their own villages when their sites became

settled by whites. The Indians often express dread lest we should adopt the same course and have lately petitioned Governor Douglas on the subject.¹⁶⁰

Similarly, a Boston miner, also from California, recalled that the HBC had spread rumours among the “Indians” that “they should be over run by Boston men who would take from them their territory, destroy their game, and take away their fishing grounds.”¹⁶¹ If the American government’s Indian policies were put in place north of the border, many Stó:lō feared they would not only be coerced to move not only from hereditary resource sites but also from landscapes that were the home of ancestral spirits and the Transformer sites that anchored the history and identity of many high status men to specific locations. In many Stó:lō peoples’ minds, Bostons proved themselves sufficiently powerful to relocate Lushootseed speakers onto group reserves, and so believed there was a real possibility of the same happening along the Fraser, likely reinforcing negative perceptions of Bostons.

As strongly as many Stó:lō people resented the arrival of Bostons, some equally disliked the presence of Chinese miners. It is interesting to speculate whether Stó:lō people considered the first Chinese miners to be ‘Bostons’ as many of them came from the California goldfields and scoured the Fraser’s banks and sandbars for gold. We know, however, that the Stó:lō quickly adopted the term ‘Chinamen,’ a term that originated in the California gold fields where Chinese miners with a poor understanding of English referred to all Euro-Americans as “John.” As it was in California, “John Chinaman” was the accepted shorthand used by Euro-American, British, and Stó:lō populations on the Fraser.¹⁶² Most European sources agree that the Stó:lō, and their Nlaka’pamux neighbours, resisted the first influx of *latsumexw* miners from Guangdong

province, (via California). One newspaper account informed California's mining communities that, while the Stó:lō disliked white Americans entering their territory, they held similar feelings toward Chinese miners, who "will no doubt suffer severely from the Indians, would they come into this country in large numbers....These races despise the Chinese, and will shoot them as soon as they would a deer."¹⁶³ Even if the American correspondent exaggerated so as to deter more Chinese people from travelling north, others on the Fraser attested to the resistance faced by hopeful Chinese miners. Jason Allard, who was a boy living at Fort Yale when the rush began, told B.A. McKelvie that when "[the] Chinese joined in the gold rush from California....the Indians resented their coming and wanted to put them all out of the way."¹⁶⁴ Some attempted to do just that: the *Canadian News*, a London-based newspaper that had a correspondent along the Fraser, reported in January 1860 that "[l]arge numbers of Chinese" arrived at Fort Victoria from the mainland's goldfields, as they had been "driven off by the Indians."¹⁶⁵

Historians have offered little analysis of interactions between Aboriginal people and Chinese miners during the gold rush, a surprising oversight given the significant presence of Guangdong expatriates on the Fraser in the late 1850s and 1860s. While it is unclear how many Chinese miners left California for the Fraser, the rush's first year had approximately fifteen Euro-American miners for every Chinese miner in the Fraser Canyon. By early 1859, most European miners had moved further north and east to capitalise on new discoveries along the Quesnel River and into the Okanagan. According to one early history of British Columbia, following the exodus of miners "both bar and bench along the lower Fraser were...practically given over to the Chinese."¹⁶⁶ Indeed, when almost ninety percent of the non-Native population between Hope and Yale left the

area in 1859, the population plummeted from 5,000 to a mere 600: of the remaining miners, 500 were of Chinese extraction. By 1861, as Chinese immigration to the area increased, more than two thousand Chinese miners worked the bars in the Lower Fraser Canyon, with 530 living around Fort Yale, which had an overall non-Native population of 590.¹⁶⁷ By 1860, at least 4,000 Chinese expatriates lived on the mainland of the newest British colony, with almost twelve hundred of them working claims in the lower Fraser Valley, sparking complaints from Euro-American miners working between Forts Hope and Yale, one of whom complained that “we call this country New China,” while one newspaper’s correspondent at Yale commented that he had nothing to report because he could not speak Chinese.¹⁶⁸

These demographic shifts suggest more frequent and intimate contact between men from Guangdong province and Stó:lō people in the lower Fraser Canyon. Certainly, into the 1860s and later, some Stó:lō people near the goldfields treated Chinese miners like *latsumexw*. Many Bostons and King George men who hired Stó:lō men to pilot canoes up and down the Fraser found it amusing that their guides chided the Chinese miners on the river banks. On his first trip up the Fraser after arriving at Fort Victoria in late 1859, Bishop Hills noted the opinions of his Stó:lō stewards of the Chinese miners working between Forts Hope and Yale:

All along the River at the mining Bars & in Boats were Chinese. Our Indians seemed to hold them in great contempt. They called out continually John John & having arrested John Chinaman’s attention imitated some Chinese expression, soundly Hah, ah, war. It was all done in good nature. The Chinese are evidently afraid of the Indians, who regard them with contempt.¹⁶⁹

Another miner travelling the same section of the river two years after Bishop Hills agreed that his Stó:lō boatmen hurled “contemptuous remarks at the Chinese miners,” demonstrating that, while the relationship between some Stó:lō people and Chinese miners were often less than intimate, the former held enough knowledge of the latter to “imitate some Chinese expression” and tease them, treatment Stó:lō people appear to have reserved for Chinese people.¹⁷⁰

Given the mockery of Chinese miners and their distant relationship from many Stó:lō people, it is possible that some Stó:lō people, especially between Forts Hope and Yale, considered the Chinese men on the Fraser to be of low status. The clearest example of this opinion comes from Bishop Hill’s journal of his tour between the HBC outposts in 1865. He and his Stó:lō guides “observed Chinese at work gold trimming upon the Banks of the River. I remarked they did not seem to regard the Sunday. The Indian said ‘They are wrong they ought not to work on Sunday’ and he added ‘The Chinaman has got no heart.’ Chinaman halo tum tum.”¹⁷¹ Hill’s translation of ‘halo tum tum’ is very literal and does not capture the idiomatic nature of the expression, which is understandable given his relatively recent arrival to the area and his infrequent interactions with the Aboriginal people. ‘Tum tum’ refers to either the mind or the heart, the “seat of the intelligence” and even the dwelling place of the person’s spirit.¹⁷² People who had no intelligence were foolish and needed to be led about like children, unable to make decisions of their own or form their own opinions, while people lacking spirits were either simply not Christian or lacked an essential part of being human.

Given such a description, it is likely that some Stó:lō people grouped Chinese miners with *st’éxem*, or people of lower status. Old Pierre told Jenness that, before

Swaniset began completing the work of He Who Dwells Above by making the sloughs and waterways, the settlements surrounding his ancestor Thelhatsstan (“clothed with power”) “were so stupid that he [Thelhatsstan] made them serfs (*st'éxem*)” and divided them into three separate settlements around him.¹⁷³ Not all Stó:lō held that *st'éxem* communities were a part of the ordering of the world. A man from Nanaimo told Jenness that *st'éxem* descended from the orphans of a severe winter famine possibly associated with the smallpox epidemic of the late-eighteenth century who, because they were infants when others found them “sucking on their dead mothers’ breasts,” had ‘lost their history’ and could not claim a family connection to transformer sites or sky-born ancestors as could families claiming high status.¹⁷⁴ There were other tributary villages, including Coquitlam, who were subject to the Kwantlen at New Westminster, and Ioco, who served the Squamish.¹⁷⁵ Some *st'éxem* lived within the same village as high status families, but in separate dwellings.¹⁷⁶ *St'éxem* were distinct from *skw'iyéth*, or slaves, who were regarded as personal property and as less than fully human. Low status people were certainly *xwélmexw*—“people of life”—and though they often lived among the high-born Stó:lō, they also sometimes occupied independent settlements. Families claiming high status would not marry *st'éxem* for fear of sullyng their reputation.¹⁷⁷ Chinese miners living and working on the Fraser certainly had no claims to descent from local sky-born people, and therefore no rights to prestigious resource-gathering sites. Moreover, Bostons’ and Britons’ compelling Chinese to relocate on demand likely appeared similar to the relationship between high status and low status villages.¹⁷⁸

It is possible that some Stó:lō people thought so poorly of the Chinese men because of how Boston men treated them. Having suffered from attacks in the California

rush, many Chinese miners abandoned richer claims when challenged by Boston miners, choosing the relative safety of working poorer diggings where they were less likely to be bothered.¹⁷⁹ Boston miners also challenged some Chinese miners who tried to enter the nearby forts. For instance, in June of 1858, a ship of prospective Chinese miners aboard a boat heading upriver was refused landing by American miners at Fort Hope. J.C. Bryant, a Cornish miner travelling through British Columbia, watched the scene unfold, writing later that “as the boat with the Chinese crew came alongside of the bank, a crowd of Californians lined the top and declared that no Chinese would land there. The white man [the boat’s captain] pleaded that he had been paid to transport these Chinese to Fort Hope. ‘We’ll see who is going to have the say about whether Chinese come here or not. We say they shall not,’ said the Californian crowd.”¹⁸⁰ Given their relatively small numbers, and their experiences of violence at the hands of American miners during the California gold rush, many Chinese miners avoided conflict rather than retaliating against the Bostons. Some Stó:lō people likely garnered some of their opinions of Chinese miners by observing how they related with Bostons.

It is unlikely, however, that Stó:lō people mocked Chinese miners only in imitation of Bostons or had only limited interaction with Chinese miners upon which to base their estimation of them. Some of their negative experiences with Chinese newcomers were often first hand rather than judged from afar. In the summer of 1858, following the first rush of miners, a group of Chinese miners started panning for gold on what became known as American Bar as the Stó:lō family who lived nearby were preparing to visit relatives at the mouth of the Fraser. When the family returned from their trip a month later, they discovered that the Chinese undertaking had grown to

include a flat field two hundred feet from the bank. The family's longhouse had been replaced by a twelve-foot deep quarry scar.¹⁸¹ It is likely that many Stó:lō people were upset by the changes Chinese and other newcomers made to the landscape. Similarly, Chinese operations threatened the salmon runs that sustained Stó:lō people both nutritionally and economically. The reasons for Stó:lō mistrust and mockery of Chinese miners cannot be traced to a single cause.

While some Stó:lō people were wary of the newcomers, others embraced their arrival, even if only for the economic prosperity they brought. Stó:lō people had established themselves as gold miners at least a year before the arrival of the first miners in 1858 and had made a significant profit from trade with the HBC.¹⁸² When Governor James Douglas made his first tour of the goldfields between Fort Hope and the falls several miles above Fort Yale in May of 1858, there were twice as many Stó:lō miners at work as there were Boston men and Chinamen.¹⁸³ A few miles above Fort Yale at Hill's Bar, Douglas learned that there were eighty Stó:lō miners working alongside thirty Boston miners. By June, the number of miners increased dramatically; the *San Francisco Herald* reported that "There were from sixty to seventy white men at work on Hill's Bar, and from four to five hundred Indians, men, women, and children."¹⁸⁴ Even if these latter figures are exaggerated, they accurately reflect the strong contingent of Stó:lō miners and their interest in taking advantage of European interest in trading for gold. The HBC had difficulties employing Stó:lō people "as they are all busy mining, and make between two and three dollars a day each man."¹⁸⁵

When not engaged in mining, Stó:lō people earned high wages from Boston and Chinese miners for piloting canoes, catching and selling salmon, packing goods along the

river, and other tasks.¹⁸⁶ Some Stó:lō men charged one dollar per day, plus provisions, to bring people upriver from Fort Hope, while later in the rush, “having learned the full value of their labour,” they charged upwards of eight dollars per day for the same work.¹⁸⁷ One Stó:lō man, Speel-set, who was hired at Fort Langley to pilot the steamship ‘Surprise’ safely to Fort Hope in the June of 1858, received one hundred sixty dollars, some expensive clothes for his labour, and a new name, Captain John.¹⁸⁸ The practice of hiring Stó:lō men for work was sufficiently prevalent that Alexander Anderson, a former HBC employee, included in his handbook to the goldfields an example dialogue in Chinook jargon to teach prospective miners how to hire Stó:lō people.¹⁸⁹

Having secured such economic advantages from the arrival of newcomers and participating in the gold rush, some Stó:lō were disposed to allowing Boston men and Chinamen to remain on the river. Many Stó:lō people increasingly accepted the miners as *xwélmexw* by incorporating them into local economic systems. The Stó:lō at Hill’s Bar, where Stó:lō and Boston miners worked side-by-side, held ambivalent feelings toward the newcomers:

The Indians are divided in opinion with regard to Americans; the more numerous party, headed by Pobork [Pallack?], a chief, are disposed to receive them favourably, because they obtain more money for their labor [sic] from the ‘Bostons’ than from the ‘King George men,’ as they style the English....Another portion of the Indians are in favour of driving off the ‘Bostons,’ being fearful of having their country overrun by them.¹⁹⁰

Many other Stó:lō people in the Fraser Canyon agreed with the “more numerous party” even in the wake of the Fraser River War of 1858. When Nlaka’pamux and some Stó:lō people prevented Boston miners from moving upriver and killed others already above the rapids, the American miners at Fort Yale formed militias that moved upriver and burned

down several villages and killed dozens of people. In mid-August 1858, a delegation of Stó:lō *siyá:m* from “the head of the lower canon” travelled to Fort Yale to prevent the mercenary miners from harming the people at their villages. Addressing a crowd of people at Fort Yale, the *siyá:m* distanced themselves from the “Indians above,” that is the Nlaka’pamux, who had resisted the movement of Boston miners. After a series of statements that emphasised how they and those from their villages had acted properly by welcoming their visitors and sharing meals with them, the *siyá:m* told of their great poverty and lowly state before the Bostons’ arrival and the opportunities and economic stability that came with the Bostons. The delegation’s speeches concluded with an offer to ally with the militias moving against the Nlaka’pamux, or to at least pack the Bostons goods on the next campaign upriver.¹⁹¹ The introductory comments, even if only a part of the ritualistic self-deprecation expected of Stó:lō people who had received the proper training, demonstrate the degree to which many Stó:lō people emphasised the economic benefits brought by Boston men over the drawbacks. Moreover, if we can trust the newspaper reports, these *siyá:m* were willing to fight their neighbours in order to ensure the continued benefits for their people.

Given the response of the *siyá:m* delegation, Stó:lō did not always consider Bostons as *latsumexw*; it appears that some Bostons followed local protocols in order to achieve a peaceful relationship and become recognised as *xwélmexw*. Miners at Washington Bar, a few miles upriver from Fort Yale, came to an understanding with the Stó:lō people living nearby: “in a short time an amicable understanding was entered into, by which the miners agreed to faithfully pay for everything they obtained from the Indians, and not to disturb their fisheries. These fisheries were carried on...in the early

mornings, and in the evenings from about 4 o'clock till dark."¹⁹² Nearby at Sailor's Diggings, the *Puget Sound Herald* claimed that Stó:lō people required that Boston and Chinese miners make restitution for the gold they removed from the bars, "imposing a tax of a blanket or a shirt on each miner who worked on the ground the Indians claimed."¹⁹³ One Stó:lō community near Fort Yale collected a tribute of approximately half of the earnings of the Chinese miners working a nearby claim, while others charged nearby Euro-American miners provisions and shirts.¹⁹⁴ Though at least one miner considered such "blackmail" as an imitation of HBC practices of levying taxes on goods moving up the river, these demands were a part of the accepted Stó:lō protocols involved in allowing non-*siyá:ye* to access local resources.¹⁹⁵ Some miners considered such "taxes" as gifts that were necessary to maintain favourable relations with Stó:lō people, who "will be satisfied with an old shirt, or anything you are pleased to give them."¹⁹⁶ Regardless, those Stó:lō people enforcing those payments deemed them sufficient to permit the miners to take gold from areas where they had no previous right to access, suggesting at least an acceptance of the newcomers' presence if not a welcoming of the economic opportunities the newcomers offered to Stó:lō people.

As some Stó:lō people accepted some of the newcomers as *xwélmexw*, others invited miners to become *siyá:ye* by marrying them. Church records from Yale and Hope reveal that dozens of Stó:lō women married Chinese, European, and Euro-American men in the 1860s.¹⁹⁷ Successful miners who amassed small fortunes from their gold discoveries demonstrated to nearby Stó:lō people a strong spirit power that enabled their success, and so would likely have been attractive marriage candidates for high status families. Similarly, merchants with businesses in the lower canyon's urban centres who

capitalised on the miners' need for goods by charging extraordinary prices more than likely caught the attention of high status Stó:lō families who hoped to enhance their status among their family members. Lower status families who hoped for greater prestige probably viewed successful miners similarly, though some may have entered into marriage to escape their low social standing in Stó:lō circles by entering the households of European and Chinese miners. More than anomalous instances of intimacy, these marriages demonstrate the wide range of responses of Stó:lō people to the newcomers. Moreover, they indicate that Stó:lō women related to the miners very differently than did Stó:lō men, an aspect of the gold rush that would benefit from further study.

Basing one's interpretation of Aboriginal interactions with newcomers during the Fraser River gold rush on Western notions of national identities or racial categories glosses over the diversity of Stó:lō peoples' understandings of others. The situational application of watershed and social affiliations illustrates the complexities of both Stó:lō and newcomer societies and avoids deterministic systems that presume racial or national identifications. At times, Stó:lō people grouped others according to their place of origin, correlating to a limited degree with European notions of national identities, which allowed previous scholars to offer insights into Aboriginal reactions to newcomers. However, understanding the social affiliations that connected local groups with other settlements throughout the Fraser River system more fully accommodates the variety of responses and relationships of Stó:lō people and others.

¹³³ Robie Reid, 'Two Narratives of the Fraser River Gold-Rush,' *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, 5:3 (July 1941): 227.

¹³⁴ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of British Columbia, 1792-1887*. San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1887; Ethelbert Olaf Stuart Scholefield and F.W. Howay, *British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present*. 4 vols. Vancouver, BC: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914; Frederic William Howay, *British Columbia: The Making of a Province*. Toronto, Ont.: Ryerson, 1928; Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1977; Daniel P. Marshall, "Claiming the Land: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to British Columbia," PhD Dissertation, UBC, 2000.

¹³⁵ Cultural histories emphasize the Chinese presence in the gold rush, but do so in conjunction with the discrimination they faced from European miners. The exception to this statement is the frequent inclusion of an anecdote from the Fraser River War in which Chinese miners downriver from Boston Bar were accused by militiamen of supplying Aboriginal people with guns and ammunition. This story is the usual extent of discussions of Native-non-European during the Fraser River gold rush. See, for example, Bancroft, *British Columbia*, 397-98; Robert Edward Wynne, "Reaction to the Chinese in the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia, 1859 to 1910," PhD Dissertation, University of Washington, 1964, 108-109.

¹³⁶ Names that Halkomelem-speakers used to differentiate groups of miners remain largely unknown today, or at least, it is unclear when they entered common parlance. Historian Keith Carlson has discussed the contemporary Stó:lō usage of 'xwelitem' as having a folk etymology linking it to European miners in general, though it remains unclear whether the term originated in the gold rush and whether it referred to all European miners or only to the Euro-American miners, who initially comprised the majority of the miners (Keith Thor Carlson (ed), *You Are Asked to Witness: The Stó:lō in Canada's Pacific Coast History*. Chilliwack, BC: Stó:lō Heritage Trust, 1997, 51, 54; Carlson, "The Power of Place," 201.). We do know, however, that today the former differentiation between 'Boston men' and 'King George Men' that persisted from the late-eighteenth century through to the early twentieth (through Chinook Jargon) has been replaced by the all encompassing "xwelitem" for all people of European descent. Annie York told anthropologist Andrea Laforet that near Spuzzum, just above rapids a few mile upriver from Yale that marked upper boundary of Stó:lō territory, Nlaka'pamux people called the first Chinese miners "men with sticks on their shoulders," a comment describing the yoke-like pole the miners used to carry heavy loads (Andrea Laforet, "Folk History in a Small Canadian Community," PhD Dissertation, UBC, 1974, 301). This information is helpful in that it demonstrates an emphasis on cultural practices and tools used rather than on physical differences and may be similar to categories among the Stó:lō, but it remains unclear whether Stó:lō people shared the term with their Nlaka'pamux neighbours. More importantly, the term does little to clarify how the designation might have affected how Stó:lō people approached other people from China and other newcomers.

¹³⁷ Marian W. Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually*. New York: AMS Press, 1940 [1969], 2-3.

¹³⁸ Carlson, *Atlas*, 24-25.

¹³⁹ Homer Barnett, "The Coast Salish of Canada," *American Anthropologist*, 40:1 (January-March 1938):119; Carlson, *Atlas*, 36-37.

¹⁴⁰ Wilson Duff, *The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia*. Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, Anthropology in BC, Memoir No. 1, 1952, 21-27.

¹⁴¹ Jenness, *Faith*, 11, 25.

¹⁴² See Harmon, *Indians in the Making*, 15.

¹⁴³ John Emmerson, *British Columbia and Vancouver Island: voyages, travels & adventure*. Durham, England: W. Ainsley, c1865, 67-68. For an example from Washington Territory, see James G. Swan, *The Northwest Coast, or, Three years' residence in Washington Territory*. New York: Harper, 1857, 383.

¹⁴⁴ Carlson, "Exchange Dynamics," 5-48.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 10-14.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 31-33.

¹⁴⁷ See Carlson, "The Power of Place," 149-162.

¹⁴⁸ See *San Francisco Times*, 7 June 1858 as quoted in Swindle, *California Newspapers*, 106 and Reminiscences of Lucius Samuel Edelblute, BC Archives as quoted in Marshall, "Claiming," 210.

¹⁴⁹ Bruce G. Miller, "The 'Really Real' Border and the Divided Salish Community," *BC Studies*, 112 (1996-97): 63-79.

¹⁵⁰ Harmon, *Indians in the Making*, 15. Harmon argues that ‘Bostons’ became a more inclusive term that eventually came to refer to all non-Aboriginal newcomers, including those from South and South-east Asia. See Harmon, “Lines in Sand,” 428-53.

¹⁵¹ Harmon, *Indians in the Making*, 77-87.

¹⁵² “Indian Difficulties on Fraser River,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, 1 September 1858, 3, as quoted in Marshall, “Claiming,” 208.

¹⁵³ See “Indian Difficulties on Fraser River,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, 1 September 1858, 3, as quoted in Marshall, “Claiming...,” 208. “Thomas J. Peters thinks the new mines a humbug,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, 23 April 1858, 2 and “Woe to the Indians and their white protectors in Tehama County!” *San Francisco Bulletin*, 1 June 1858, 3 both quoted in Marshall, “Claiming,” 124.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 208-9.

¹⁵⁵ *London Times*, 1 December 1858.

¹⁵⁶ Allard to Yale, 20 August 1858. Fort Langley. Correspondence In. 1844-1870. Hudson’s Bay Archives as cited in Marshall, “Claiming,” 253 fn.92.

¹⁵⁷ See “Thomas J. Peters thinks the new mines a humbug,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, 23 April 1858, 2 and “Woe to the Indians and their white protectors in Tehama County!” *San Francisco Bulletin*, 1 June 1858, 3 both quoted in Marshall, “Claiming,” 124.

¹⁵⁸ Diary of Bishop George Hills, 3 July 1860, transcript in UBC Special Collections, George Hills fonds, Box 1, File 2.

¹⁵⁹ *San Francisco Times*, 7 June 1858 as quoted in Swindle, et al, *The Fraser...*, 106.

¹⁶⁰ RC Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island: An Account of their Forests, Rivers, Coasts, Gold Fields and Resources for Colonisation*. London: J. Murray, 1862, 279.

¹⁶¹ Marshall, “Claiming,” 80.

¹⁶² When canoeing down the Fraser, Bishop Hills’ porters “called out continually [“]John[,] John[,]” & having arrested John Chinaman’s attention imitated some Chinese expression.” See Hills’ Diary, 23 June 1860, transcript, UBC Special Collections, Box 1 File 1.

¹⁶³ *San Francisco Times*, 17 May, 1858 as quoted in Swindle, et al, *The Fraser...*, 78.

¹⁶⁴ ‘B.C.’s First Chinese,’ unknown newspaper, Casey Wells fond, Chilliwack Archives, Add.MSS.1, Box 3, File 159.

¹⁶⁵ “Vancouver’s Island,” *Canadian News*, 2 January 1860, p.7.

¹⁶⁶ Schofield, et al, *British Columbia...*, v.2, 74. An article from the 23 October 1862 issue of the *Canadian News*, page 266, commented that “the attractions of the Cariboo have left us none but Chinamen to work the diggings which for three years supported the trade and commerce of the country...”

¹⁶⁷ Bancroft, *British Columbia*, 444; also David Chuen-yan Lai, *Chinatowns: Towns within Cities in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988, 21-22.

¹⁶⁸ Patricia E. Roy, *A White Man’s Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989, 5; *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 26 Jan 1860 as cited in Peter S. Li, *The Chinese in Canada*. Second Edition. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998, 16. The miner’s quote comes from Columbia Mission, *Report of the Columbia Mission*. London: Rivingtons, ca.1860, 41 while the journalist’s comments are from Robert Edward Wynne, ‘Reaction to the Chinese in the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia, 1850-1910,’ PhD Dissertation, University of Washington, 1964, 123. Even French Catholic missionaries were astonished at the number of Chinese miners on the Fraser. Fouquet commented that “Here, one might think oneself in China; there are several thousand of those strangers here. I have often travelled with them; they are not as barbarous here as in their own lands and posed no threat.” 21 December 1860, *Missions*, 1864, typescript copy in possession of Keith Thor Carlson, 41.

¹⁶⁹ Bishop Hills’ Diary, 23 June 1860, 124, typescript, UBC Special Collections, 1-1.

¹⁷⁰ A.J. Langley, *A Glance at British Columbia and Vancouver’s Island in 1861*. London: Robert Hardwicke, 1862, 24

¹⁷¹ Hills, 18 June 1865, 2-3, 67

¹⁷² Jenness argued that “The Katzie Indians occasionally employed the term ‘brain’ (sma’cəqən) to mean the seat of the intelligence, and even the intelligence itself...” in Jenness, *Faith*, 36.

¹⁷³ Jenness, *Faith*, 12; Carlson, “The Power of Place,” 172-174.

¹⁷⁴ Jenness, *Faith*, 86. Carlson has suggested the connection between the famine and the smallpox outbreak. See “The Power of Place,” 177.

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- ¹⁷⁵ Hill-Tout, *Mainland Halkomelem*, 68-69; Jenness, *Faith*, 86.
- ¹⁷⁶ Carlson, "The Power of Place," 175
- ¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 174.
- ¹⁷⁸ It is likely, too, that the rise of Chinatowns at Fort Yale and New Westminster likely confirmed Chinese men as *st'émex*, as their "separate settlements" set them apart from the rest of the town.
- ¹⁷⁹ Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000, 81-87.
- ¹⁸⁰ Story retold in W.W. Walken, *Stories of Early British Columbia*. Vancouver: News-Advertiser, 1914, 123.
- ¹⁸¹ Harold Wells, in conversation with Keith Carlson and Brian Thom at Mr. Wells' home, near Hope, (21 February 1995) as discussed in Carlson, "The Power of Place," 203.
- ¹⁸² See Marshall, "Claiming the Land," and "Rickard Revisited".
- ¹⁸³ Douglas to Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley, M.P., 10 June 1858, in British Columbia, *Papers Relative to the Affairs of British Columbia, Part I: copies of despatches from the secretary of state for the colonies to the governor of British Columbia, and from the governor to the secretary of state relative to the government of the colony...*, London : G.E. Eyre : W. Spottiswoode, 1859, 13.
- ¹⁸⁴ 7 June 1858, *San Francisco Herald*, as cited in Swindle, 108.
- ¹⁸⁵ Governor James Douglas as cited in Marshall, "Rickard," 13.
- ¹⁸⁶ Langley, *A Glance*, 32.
- ¹⁸⁷ See *Stockton Daily Argus*, 2 June 1858, *San Francisco Bulletin*, 13 May 1858, and *San Francisco Herald*, 7 June 1858 as cited in Swindle, 103, 75, 108.
- ¹⁸⁸ Denys Nelson, *Fort Langley, 1827-1927: A Century of Settlement in the Valley of the Lower Fraser River*. Vancouver: Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, 1927, 24.
- ¹⁸⁹ Alexander Caulfield Anderson, *Hand-book and map of the gold region of Frazer's and Thompson's rivers : with table of distances ; to which is appended Chinook jargon--language used, etc.* San Francisco, California: J.J. LeCount, 1857, 30.
- ¹⁹⁰ Ballantyne, Robert Michael. *Handbook to the New Gold Fields: A Full Account of the Richness and Extent of the Fraser and Thompson River Gold Mines, with a Geographical and Physical Account of the Country and its Inhabitants, Routes, etc., etc.* Edinburgh: Alexander Stahan; London, Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1858, 18.
- ¹⁹¹ 'An Indian War Broken Out,' *San Francisco Bulletin*, 1 September 1858, 2 as cited in Marshall, "Claiming the Land," 383.
- ¹⁹² "Life on the Fraser: Personal Narrative of a Miner – Adventures in the Snow" (Captain B.C. Donellan), *Bulletin*, 30 December 1858, p. 3 as cited in Marshall, "Claiming," 86.
- ¹⁹³ *Puget Sound Herald*, 4 June 1858 as cited in *Ibid.*, 94, fn.86.
- ¹⁹⁴ William Wymond Walkem, *Stories of Early British Columbia*. Vancouver : News-Advertiser, 1914, 9; *San Joaquin Republican*, 5 August, 1858 as quoted in Swindle, *The Fraser*, 224; "An Indian War Broken Out," *San Francisco Bulletin*, 1 September 1858, 2 as quoted in Marshall, "Claiming," 383.
- ¹⁹⁵ "The Position of American Traders in Victoria and Fraser River," *San Francisco Bulliten*, 21 June 1858, p.2 as cited in Marshall, "Rickard Revisited," 101.
- ¹⁹⁶ "Letters from the New Mines," *San Francisco Herald*, 17 June 1858 as cited in Swindle, *Humbug*, 122.
- ¹⁹⁷ Personal communication with Alice Marwood, Stó:lō Nation Genealogist, March 2004.

Chapter Four: After the Rush

In the decades following the 1858 gold rush, interactions between newcomers and Stó:lō people assumed new and more complex forms as immigrants turned their gaze to other resources in the Lower Fraser Valley. The number of miners in the Lower Fraser Canyon dropped from tens of thousands to less than one thousand. Most miners who remained came from China, while an increasing number of newcomers relocated to the arable lands of the Lower Fraser Valley and the province's growing urban centres such as New Westminster, Langley, and Chilliwack. The various pressures caused by growing settlement and a state-enforced legal system contributed to the increasing tendency of Stó:lō people to identify newcomers by their respective racial group, differentiating between "whites" and "Chinese." However, this does not mean that Stó:lō people did not classify people principally as *latsumexw* and *xwélmexw*. It is tempting to assume that Stó:lō people responded to Chinese people during the latter half of the nineteenth century in ways consistent with those observed during the Gold Rush, but the paucity of evidence renders any such suppositions mere speculation. What we do know is that during this period, the transformative forces associated with various colonial and provincial initiatives challenged classic Stó:lō world views and compelled them to try and see how they fit into an increasingly foreign world that was emerging within their traditional territory.

Sufficient evidence exists to support the supposition that during the colonial period relationships with Chinese people remained contested in Stó:lō communities and families, with various individuals and groups alternatively distancing themselves from

and associating with men from China. Adding to the complexities of Stó:lō responses was the presence of the colonial and provincial authorities, whose involvement in the daily lives of both Aboriginal and, to a lesser extent, Chinese people in BC came increasingly to bear on interactions between Stó:lō and newcomers from China. More than an outside force determining these groups' responses, the state's actions often set boundaries on Stó:lō-Chinese dealings, especially in classifying certain interactions as illegal. Although certain Stó:lō groups used colonial structures for their own purposes, their use was not necessarily an affirmation of the Euro-centric principles that rationalised the state action.

The presence of a significant Chinese population in the Lower Fraser Canyon at the end of the gold rush continued into the 1860s and 1870s. Whereas during the gold rush the majority of the Chinese population on the Fraser lived and worked in or near the Lower Canyon, especially in the region between forts Hope and Yale, from the early 1860s, Chinese men comprised the greatest part of the non-Native population in the Lower Canyon. When touring the province as Indian Reserve Commissioner in the late 1870s, Gilbert Malcolm Sproat had difficulties finding sufficient suitable land in the Fraser Canyon to set aside as reserves because he did not want to disturb the small-scale mining operations headed by Chinese men between the lower Canyon's two urban centres.¹⁹⁸ The 1881 census recorded 540 Chinese men living between Hope and Yale. The latter's Chinatown experienced a resurgence during construction of the CPR and remained vibrant into the early 1890s, when it was described as "a town of some three hundred inhabitants, a mixed population of Indians, Chinese, and whites."¹⁹⁹ Arthur

Urquhart, who was born around 1900 and grew up near Spuzzum, remembered the remnants of Yale's Chinatown during his childhood, which served as "their great meeting place...In fact, they had a place of worship there – I believe it was a Buddhist temple, actually....and quite a settlement of Chinese all located on the waterfront part of town."²⁰⁰

Chinese men maintained their presence in the Lower Canyon throughout the century, coming into frequent contact, and occasional conflict, with the Stó:lō people living nearby. The proximity of the Indian Reserve and Chinatown at Yale increased the interactions between members of both groups (See Figure 4.1). At one point, the Chinese population grew beyond the informal boundaries of Front Street, Douglas Street, and Regent Street, taking up space on the western edges of the adjacent Indian Reserve.²⁰¹ A century after the fact, it is difficult to find information describing how the Stó:lō population responded to this infringement on their reserve's boundaries, though an incident upriver at Spuzzum suggests that such trespasses were strongly contested. In early 1898, the district's Gold Commissioner granted a group of Chinese miners a mining lease for a stretch of land along the river in front of the Indian Reserve, apparently unaware that the site was within the reserve's boundaries. When the local Indian Agent demanded that the men be removed, a County Court judge disagreed and allowed the men to continue mining.²⁰² According to Urquhart, the people at Spuzzum took exception to their presence:

The chief he just lost no time in getting over there with a good retainer force of his own, young men with him. And of course there was a pitched battle then and it's just a wonder that it wasn't more serious. When it was all over the Chinese wasn't in there, it was only their tools that was [sic] left behind, which the Indians confiscated on them.²⁰³

Despite such clashes, generally relationships remained friendly. Many Chinese people obtained their salmon from Stó:lō fishers, learned about the medicinal value of the local flora, and used baskets purchased from Stó:lō people for gathering and selling berries.²⁰⁴ Cultural exchanges were mutual; Chinese people taught some Nlaka'pamux at Spuzzum to eat nettles and wild spinach.²⁰⁵

Stó:lō people came into more regular contact with men from China as Chinese settlements spread beyond the Fraser Canyon. Chinese men residing in the colony formed settlements further downriver in search of more varied work as mining became a smaller part of the local economy in the 1870s and 1880s. Many Chinese labourers were unable to earn a living sluicing for gold and so moved downriver or to Vancouver Island to find work on farms or in coal mines. By 1867, New Westminster had a permanent Chinese population of 103, or about one tenth of the total non-Native residents. However, the population of the city's growing Chinatown, located along the western end of Front Street on the Fraser's banks, fluctuated with the seasons as it increasingly became a winter hospice for many other miners working in the canyon.²⁰⁶ In 1878, local Indian Agent James Lenihan estimated that one thousand "whites", another thousand Aboriginal people, and 1500 "Chinamen" comprised New Westminster's population, whereas the 1881 census reported a Chinese populace of only 485.²⁰⁷ While the popular disdain for Chinese immigrants likely affected Lenihan's estimation, it is also likely that his high approximation reflected the transient nature of the colony's labour force. The influx of Chinese immigrants that arrived in the mid-1880s to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway increased the Chinese population to almost 1700 by 1884.²⁰⁸ As at Yale, the Chinatown at New Westminster was situated within a few city blocks of the nearby

Indian Reserves, which were surveyed in 1879. In addition, smaller Chinatowns established themselves in several other urban centres by the 1890s, including Fort Hope and Chilliwack, as railway construction became the primary occupation of Chinese immigrants.

Members of these Chinese communities interacted frequently with nearby Stó:lō people, becoming sufficiently familiar with their neighbours to learn a common language. When possible, people from both groups communicated with each other largely through the Chinook Jargon, which increasingly served as the region's *lingua franca* in the later nineteenth century. Gordon Cumyow's father, who is reputed as the first child born to Chinese immigrants in British Columbia, learned Chinook from Cumyow's grandfather, who owned a shop at Port Douglas in the early 1860s that was frequented by the nearby Stó:lō and Lil'wat populations. Spending his adult years in New Westminster, Cumyow's father often served as a translator for the local police court interpreting the testimony of Stó:lō and other Aboriginal people on trial.²⁰⁹ Other Chinese men learned to speak with Stó:lō people through more intimate relationships. Josephine Ling's step father was born in Burma, raised in China, and lived with his Stó:lō family near Chilliwack in the 1890s. He eventually learned to speak English, Chinese, and Chinook, and to understand both the Chilliwack and Nlaka'pamux languages.²¹⁰ Arthur Urquhart, who grew up at Spuzzum at the turn of the century, remembered his childhood affection for the local Chinese miners and the conversations they shared:

They spoke a mixture of Cantonese, Indian and Chinook...In fact, Chinook at that time was fairly well a standard, key language at that time. Although they spoke just that mixture of Chinook and intermixed with a few words of Cantonese – which is a tribe of Chinese – and broken English, of course.²¹¹

Having a shared language flavoured some Stó:lō people's earliest interactions with Chinese people along the Fraser. Henry Pennier, who grew up on a homestead adjacent to the Chehalis Reserve on the Harrison River and whose wife, Margaret Leon, had "a little Chinese in her some where back a piece," went with his step father to Hope, where they visited "a Chinaman's shop." The shop owners and other Chinese patrons would reach out and feel his arms and jokingly ask Pennier's step father "How much for the boy?"²¹² Though the teasing was likely made in passing as young Harry entered the shop, it is clear that Chinese and Stó:lō people shared a common language and could, and did, communicate with each other.

Sharing a common language likely made the possibility of marriages between Stó:lō and Chinese people more appealing, or at least made such arrangements more straightforward. Indeed, as with Josephine Ling's family, such marriages facilitated the increased sharing and learning of languages. As during the gold rush, some Chinese men were the *siyá:ye* of Stó:lō families as they shared a close bond, often, but not necessarily, formalised through marriage. Such unions were common; in 1879, Edgar Dewdney testified to the Select Committee on Chinese Labour and Immigration that "a good many of them [Chinese men] live with Indian women," though he disapproved of the absence of formal Christian ceremonies to bless the unions.²¹³ Though Dewdney was likely correct to assume that there were common-law relationships between Chinese men and Stó:lō women, marriage records indicate that a significant proportion of couples did have their relationships blessed by Christian clergy. Chinese men likely pursued relationships with Stó:lō women because of the dearth of Chinese women living along the Lower Fraser, and the general disparity between the number of men and women in the area and

the social distance between Chinese men and European women.²¹⁴ Many Chinese men lacked the financial means to bring their wives and children from Guangdong Province, especially as most served as labourers rather than merchants. It is possible that many women did not want, or lacked the option, to cross the Pacific; Bishop Hills recorded being told by one Chinese man living around Yale in 1860 that “This country was no place for China Ladies – their feet were too small – they were too fine for this place.”²¹⁵ The gross sex imbalance among the Chinese immigrant population likely moved many Chinese men to look for female companionship among the Stó:lō population, though, undoubtedly, many entered into marriage for more complex reasons than companionship.

More than simply a matter of physical and emotional support, such relationships likely proved advantageous for both parties involved. Given the restrictions placed upon Chinese men’s ability to pre-empt land, especially after the 1880s, it is reasonable to assume that at least some men hoped to obtain access to land by marrying Stó:lō women just as HBC officers at Fort Langley forty years earlier had hoped to benefit from marriage alliances.²¹⁶ One couple, Lucy Aleck from Popkum and Ah Yuen, lived together on Seabird Island for about seventeen years during a time when many hopeful settlers squatted on reserve land.²¹⁷ Yuen apparently moved to Seabird Island for the first time around 1874, and cleared enough for a house and a small garden. By 1885, however, Chief Likwetem considered Yuen a trespasser and complained to Indian Agent McTiernan, who promptly evicted him. Likwetem’s reasons for expelling Yuen are unclear. A number of Euro-Canadian newcomers had squatted on the island for years and many Stó:lō *siyá:m* demanded that they be evicted and likely some considered Yuen as merely another newcomer living illicitly on the island. It is also possible that

Likwetem did not approve of Yuen's presence simply on the grounds of his Asian origins, though it is more likely, given that many of those Stó:lō people living on Seabird Island came from the Fraser Canyon, that Likwetem's sentiments were grounded in experiences with Chinese and Euro-American people during the gold rush. It may even have been that one of his relatives laid claim to the location where Yuen and Aleck lived. Regardless, Yuen and Aleck were not prevented from returning intermittently over the next ten months when in the company of Lucy's father, who lived nearby at Popkum, which suggests that Aleck's father was able to successfully express his daughter's and son-in-law's right to remain on the island, or at least was able to settle the matter for a time. Yuen's presence on the island, however, remained contested by other Stó:lō people, who repeatedly requested that McTiernan have Yuen removed or arrested. Yuen was able to convince the DIA authorities that he had the right to stay, but his presence among the Stó:lō remained controversial.²¹⁸

If some of the marriages between Stó:lō women and Chinese men remained contentious, so too did the children of these relationships. When seeking marriages with other Stó:lō people, it seems that many of both Stó:lō and Chinese descent married people with similar backgrounds. Lucy Aleck and her five children remained on Seabird Island after Ah Yuen's death in the summer of 1891. Two of her sons, Fred and Henry, remained on DIA band lists through to the 1920s, though their family name was eventually anglicized from 'Yuen' to 'Ewen', whether as a later clerk's error or as a later family member's phonetic association with a New Westminster fish cannery of the same name or by family members to avoid the stigma of a Chinese name. A report submitted to the McKenna-McBride Commission in 1914 named Fred as one of the heads of the

family, having married a Stó:lō woman, Josephine Aleck from Cheam who was also descended from a Stó:lō-Chinese relationship, and sired two children, while cultivating fifteen acres of land.²¹⁹ A number of his relatives married either people of mixed descent or people from China.²²⁰ Similarly, in 1924, Henry Pennier of Chehalis married Margaret Leon, who had at least one Chinese ancestor.²²¹ It remains unclear whether these marriages were typical. Moreover, it is difficult to determine whether people of mixed descent were limited in their options by social conventions within both Stó:lō and Chinese cultures or if they preferred to marry those with similar backgrounds. The importance that Stó:lō people placed on one's lineage, and its connection to accessing valued resource sites, may have deterred some high status families from allowing their sons and daughters to marry people of mixed descent. The same factors may have encouraged lower status women to engage in such marriages. Already limited in their options for spouse, lower status women may have viewed men of mixed descent as an opportunity for social mobility by moving out of Stó:lō social circles and their protocols.

Most Stó:lō people's relationships with Chinese people were very familiar, even if they lacked the intimacy of marriages. As already mentioned, Stó:lō people frequented stores and businesses operated by Chinese families and established important, though limited, relationships. These interactions were likely the most common, though among the least documented, and formed the basis of understanding between the groups. Stó:lō hunters near New Westminster knew enough of the needs of local Chinese doctors to sell the claws and gall bladder of the bears they killed.²²² At times, some Stó:lō people actively sought out Chinese doctors to cure illnesses, whether because of a belief in their possessing a spirit power associated with Stó:lō healers, or from a lack of access to other

doctors. In one instance near Ben Young's cannery at New Westminster, an ailing woman named Josephine received the attention of a Chinese doctor after being ill for almost a week. The doctor attempted to heal the woman with what might have been a form of acupuncture ("stabbing" her in the chest with needles), while also bleeding her from the artery under her tongue. The doctor and his assistants, who held down Josephine during the procedures while her mother and uncle looked on, left their patient's tent assuring them that "she'll be all-right tomorrow," only to learn that Josephine had in fact died within an hour from a loss of blood. Though she claimed she did not give consent to the procedure, Josephine's mother, Mary, said she thought "the Chinaman might do something for the girl."²²³ That a Chinese doctor attended to a Stó:lō woman's sick daughter demonstrates that some Stó:lō people entrusted the lives and health of their children to Chinese immigrants, revealing a great degree of familiarity between the two groups. It is possible that Chinese medical practices appeared more familiar to Stó:lō people than Western medicine and was therefore a more appealing alternative.

While accounts of Chinese doctoring Stó:lō people are illustrative, they are all too infrequent. Better documented is the more controversial matter of Aboriginal alcohol abuse and Chinese bootlegging. Alcohol abuse within Stó:lō communities became widespread during and following the arrival of gold miners. In 1858, Governor Douglas officially prohibited the sale of alcohol to Aboriginal people within the mainland colony, believing that drunkenness among the Stó:lō population was the principal source of conflict between Aboriginal and non-Native miners. Oblate missionary Father Leon Fouquet, who was among the first of the Oblate missionaries to establish a mission in the Lower Fraser Valley in 1860, observed that "it seemed that out of a thousand, fewer than

one hundred [Stó:lō people] were ever sober, and there were many who were never sober,” having imbibed the bootleggers’ mixture of alcohol, camphor, and tobacco juice.²²⁴ The problem was so pervasive that Oblate missionaries identified alcohol abuse, and not paganism, as the primary target of their missions among the Stó:lō.²²⁵ As historian Keith Carlson has mentioned, the Oblates’ comments on Stó:lō alcohol abuse reflect the difficulties of alcohol addiction in Stó:lō communities rather than missionary rhetoric used to exaggerate their success and to justify their endeavours.²²⁶

Stó:lō communities welcomed the missionaries’ efforts to eliminate alcohol abuse and interactions with both Chinese and European bootleggers. On a tour along the Lower Fraser, Oblate missionaries Brothers Blanchet and Janin accompanied Fouquet as they visited Stó:lō settlements to speak against alcohol abuse. The local leadership appear to have welcomed the Oblates as shaman, with a customary shaking of hands, and accepted the missionaries’ aid in ousting alcohol sellers from their midst. At Cheam, Fouquet and local *siyá:m* Alexis collaborated to chase away a bootlegger and his followers who operated in the community. After an address from Fouquet, who spoke alongside Alexis, about two hundred rallied against the bootleggers and forced them out of the community. Alexis and other leaders then called for their followers to chase out all bootleggers and burn down their *lome* [rum] houses, an idea which the missionaries thwarted in favour of legal channels. As the Oblate missionaries continued their tour along the Fraser, “countless Indians enrolled in the Temperance Society... By the time we completed our first tour, over a thousand men had enrolled.”²²⁷ While Fouquet and his party played an important role in limiting alcohol’s effects, theirs was only a secondary role as their efforts succeeded only with the help of the local Aboriginal leadership.²²⁸ In the first

years of work, the Oblates' teaching of the Gospel brought only a few conversions from among the Stó:lō while their fight for sobriety found an eager audience.²²⁹ Stó:lō people, then, were pleased to accept assistance in keeping alcohol from their communities, but on their own terms.

Government officials joined the Oblate missionaries' campaign against alcohol by the late 1870s. The state's representatives became adamant about preventing the sale of alcohol to Stó:lō people, as Chinese bootleggers became the group primarily charged with selling hooch in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The officials' attitudes toward both Chinese and Stó:lō people reflected popular ideas about both groups. In the minds of most Euro-Canadian society in British Columbia, Chinese immigrants were not only morally corrupt, but actively sought to lure unsuspecting victims to take part in their depravity. The dominant perspective in Euro-Canadians, propagated by most newspapers and popular publications of the day, and commonly asserted by government bureaucrats, assumed that most Chinese women were prostitutes and that opium addiction and gambling were a fundamental part of life for Chinese immigrants.²³⁰ Such stereotypes of Chinese people moved government agents to be concerned for Aboriginal people in British Columbia, their "wards" who, they believed, lacked the physical, mental, and moral capacity to maintain their own affairs.²³¹ With Chinese men and Stó:lō people meeting more frequently on the Lower Fraser, state officials involved themselves to ensure that the Stó:lō were protected, Chinese perpetrators convicted, and Euro-Canadian society kept safe from harm.

Though Stó:lō people had purchased alcohol and opium from Chinese sellers in New Westminster since the early 1860s,²³² the growing Chinese population of the 1870s

and 1880s made government officials increasingly concerned for the moral welfare of Stó:lō people. In his report for 1878, Indian Agent James Lenihan decried the limited police force in New Westminster and their inability to prevent Chinese merchants from trafficking alcohol to Stó:lō and other Aboriginal peoples visiting the area. He explained to his superiors that two policemen patrolled a population of approximately one thousand Europeans, one thousand Aboriginal, and fifteen hundred Chinese, while the city supported ten “wholesale and retail liquor establishments.” He attributed much of the alcohol distribution to the Chinese, who “as a class, drink very little, but some of them sell and distribute liquor amongst the Indians,” though five years later he clarified that the merchants carried on most of the trade.²³³ The Stó:lō leadership continued to oppose the illicit alcohol trafficking, including Alexis from Cheam, who McTiernan considered “a very good man” due in part to enforcement of temperance by the Catholic Temperance Society on the Cheam reserve.²³⁴ As they had with the Oblates, Stó:lō people and leadership were willing to accept the assistance of government officials in combating Chinese bootleggers.

Indian agents in the New Westminster districts adopted, or more accurately appropriated, mechanisms already at work in Stó:lō settlements to counteract Chinese bootleggers operating on reserves. The agency appointed Indian constables to monitor activity on reserves and report alcohol trafficking to the Indian Agent: “The Indian constables are, with few exceptions, very good constables, the other Indians are afraid of them, and very seldom take any liquor on to the reserves. The constables inform me when anything is wrong which they do not wish to interfere with themselves.”²³⁵ While the motivations of those Stó:lō people appointed as constables remain unclear, some

constables likely joined the force in support of the DIA's opposition to alcohol addiction among the Stó:lō, while those without recourse to high status lineages likely saw the position as an opportunity for influence with other Stó:lō people, thereby bypassing familiar social protocols.

The position of Indian constable likely built upon the practice began by Oblate missionaries of appointing "chiefs, captains, and watchmen" when establishing Temperance societies in Stó:lō communities. In the absence of the missionaries, who were established in New Westminster, these new Stó:lō authorities both monitored those who had made a pledge and instructed the community in the Christian faith.²³⁶ The first chiefs and captains likely were overlaid upon Stó:lō authority systems, taking the place of, or at least challenging, the local *siyá:m* and fulfilled similar, if not identical, roles. The position of watchman, however, was a new authority figure in the community who reported to the missionaries any infraction of Temperance pledges or any other behaviour that countered the Oblates' teachings. At the Temperance societies' "Indian Courts," a negative report from a watchman could have a member's Temperance ticket taken away and the violator ejected from the society by the missionary and chief.²³⁷ These tribunals distinguished between "good" Catholic Indians and "bad" Indians who continued in the superstitions of Stó:lō culture and the evils of Western society, creating novel categories of insiders and outsiders. It is possible that Stó:lō people put forward the idea of constable-watchmen as they were familiar positions of authority, which would suggest that Stó:lō people were actively involved in, rather than passively accepting of, DIA actions keeping Chinese bootleggers off of reserves.

The creation of the DIA's Indian constables put Stó:lō people into conflict with Chinese bootleggers. In some instances, constables were posted for the explicit purpose of confronting Chinese bootleggers. In 1882 at Hope, for instance, Indian Agent McTiernan appointed "two very good men as constables" with the hope that they would "bring to justice some of the Chinamen who are selling Chinese brandy to the Indians in the vicinity."²³⁸ According to McTiernan, the constables proved effective in countering the on-reserve liquor sales by Chinese sellers.²³⁹ Constables made two significant busts on separate reserves in 1883, finding and destroying "thirty-seven cases of Chinese brandy hid away on the Harrison River Reserve, and nineteen cases on the Squab [Squah?] Reserve."²⁴⁰ Though the perpetrator was never discovered, McTiernan was convinced that the seizure of the hidden hooch sufficiently intimidated Chinese bootleggers to focus their efforts on trade in urban centres rather than reserves.²⁴¹ Prosecuting Chinese bootleggers in or near predominantly-Chinese districts proved a difficult, and often dangerous, task. Not surprisingly, on occasion, Chinese people resisted arrest by the Indian constable with the assistance of nearby friends.²⁴² In 1884, when trying to apprehend a Chinese suspect, three Indian constables "were set upon by a large number of Chinamen, who rescued the prisoner, and beat the constables unmercifully with sticks and stones," allowing the man to escape to his house.²⁴³ Though violent altercations between constables and bootleggers were relatively infrequent, such tussles likely shaded some Stó:lō views of Chinese people.

More typically, however, alcohol addiction led Stó:lō people to seek out Chinese bootleggers. Most of the court cases against Chinese bootleggers in the 1870s and 1880s were on charges of sales made to Stó:lō people in towns, which, though not negating the

presence of on-reserve trading, illustrates the pervasive urban alcohol trade. Newspaper accounts of court proceedings show that a Stó:lō woman living near New Westminster, Mary Basil, obtained opium from one Chinese man's house, purchased alcohol from shops in New Westminster's Chinatown a number of times, and appeared in court on several occasions both as a defendant and as a witness for the Crown.²⁴⁴ In many cases, as in one of the cases involving Mary Basil, the Stó:lō person in question propositioned the bootlegger to purchase the alcohol on their behalf, as it was illegal for Canada's Aboriginal population to possess alcohol, as per the Indian Act (1876), section 79. In other instances, Stó:lō people went to the homes of Chinese men in hopes of making a purchase. Mary, a Stó:lō woman from near Chilliwack, received a small amount of whiskey from Lan Sing at the latter's store while she was in town with her husband. The next day, when her husband was fishing, she went to Sing's house and purchased four more bottles, drinking half of one of the bottles before her husband found her.²⁴⁵ Addiction, then, more than organised operations, instigated alcohol-related relationships between Stó:lō and Chinese people, bringing Stó:lō constables and *siyá:m*, as well as the county court judges, into conflict with Stó:lō people in search of a drink.

The rise in Chinese immigration that increased the incidence of bootlegging to Stó:lō people also contributed to more frequent interactions between Stó:lō and Chinese people in the wage economy. Between 1881 and 1884, over 15 000 Chinese men hoping to earn wages building the western stretches of the Canadian Pacific Railway came to Victoria from American and Chinese ports.²⁴⁶ Euro-Canadian and Chinese labourers worked together along certain stretches of the line, but a predominantly Chinese workforce graded the section between Port Moody and Yale, creating settlements of up to

one thousand people at points along the line.²⁴⁷ The CPR employed Stó:lō people, as well, and many Stó:lō living in or near the Fraser Canyon earned a wage from the railway project.²⁴⁸ The nature of relationships between Stó:lō and Chinese labourers remains unclear as the documentary record sheds little light on the day-to-day meetings of Stó:lō and Chinese people involved in the railway's construction. It is possible that the rapid influx of a large Chinese population to the Lower Fraser Canyon reminded some Stó:lō people of events during the gold rush, prompting a similarly wide range of responses from the canyon's Stó:lō residents. Moreover, Stó:lō men earned slightly higher wages than their Chinese counterparts, with Indian agents reporting to their superiors that railway managers preferred Stó:lō workers to Chinese labourers.²⁴⁹ While the reasons for managers' preferences remain unclear, it is likely that availability of work caused some animosity between Chinese workers and Stó:lō residents. On a number of occasions, Chinese labourers refused to work because of dangerous conditions and the required purchase of goods from the company store, which suggests the possibility of Chinese protest against wage discrepancies.²⁵⁰ More research is needed for a fuller understanding of working relations on the CPR.

Stó:lō people living in and around the canyon's railway construction sites, but not directly employed by the railway, held opinions of Chinese people even when they had limited interactions with them. Stó:lō people likely encountered Chinese labourers when travelling to other Stó:lō settlements, as "Indian farms or villages alternate[d] with the groups of huts of the Chinese."²⁵¹ The size of the settlements of Chinese men must have made a strong impression on the local Stó:lō residents as the camps often accommodated over one thousand Chinese men. There was likely some trade between the Chinese

labourers living in these camps and Stó:lō people, establishing connections that likely led to marriages in some instances. Some Stó:lō women set up tents near construction sites and sold meals to men working on the railroad, likely interacting with Chinese men in the process.²⁵²

Meetings in railway camps were sufficiently important that the deaths of Chinese labourers had some impact for the local Stó:lō population. Many Chinese labourers died while at work in the lower Fraser Canyon and from the harsh living conditions in the camps themselves. The canvas tents offered inadequate shelter during the winter months, which, when combined with poor nutrition, resulted in the death of hundreds of Chinese men.²⁵³ These deaths did not go unnoticed by Stó:lō people living nearby. Matilda Guitierrez, a contemporary Stó:lō elder, has noted that a place on the north bank of the Fraser about five kilometres downriver from Hope carries the name *sxwóxwiymelh*, which means “a lot of people died at once” and indicates a place where Chinese railway workers died of the flu.²⁵⁴ More than simply a commemoration of the dead, the name likely serves as a warning for others to avoid the dangers associated with the spiritual disruption that occurred at the location. Chinese labourers in the Fraser Canyon, then, touched the daily lives of many Stó:lō people.

Relations in the fisheries proved to be somewhat more tense than in railway construction, as Chinese men increasingly challenged Stó:lō women in the labour market. Most Chinese labourers were laid off in 1883 and 1884 when the need for unskilled labour in the Fraser Canyon ended, sparking an exodus from the Canyon and British Columbia’s interior to the province’s urban centres in search of shelter and work. Some were unable to find either – at least two Chinese men died of starvation in the Fraser

Valley while others received free meals from churches and charities in New Westminster and Victoria.²⁵⁵ Many others, however, managed to earn a living doing odd jobs for European settlers or making and filling tin cans in New Westminster's fish canneries. Statistics from the 1885 Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration indicate that almost four hundred Chinese men worked in canneries, while another four hundred worked on nearby farms, and over one hundred served as cooks, house servants, retail employees, laundry operators, and vegetable sellers.²⁵⁶

By the 1880s, these tasks had become regular occupations for Stó:lō women, especially those in the fish canning industry. Previously, Stó:lō women earned a dollar a day "at the fisheries during the fishing season, making nets and cleaning fish for the canneries," while earning money doing other light labour, such as working as housekeepers for European settlers.²⁵⁷ However, McTiernan reported that Stó:lō people complained to him that Chinese men had taken opportunities from women, children, and the elderly:

Although many of them have come [sic] long distances this season to the fish canneries, very few of them got employment, as their places had been taken by Chinamen, in cleaning and canning the fish; they are also doing all the washing and ironing in private families, what Indian women used to do heretofore. The poor Indian women and old men, and their boys and girls, used to make considerable money every summer picking berries and selling them to white people. This summer large numbers of Chinamen went into that business too, and almost completely ruined the Indians.²⁵⁸

These jobs brought Chinese men into direct competition with Stó:lō women, who had incorporated similar tasks into their seasonal rounds.²⁵⁹ The "bad feelings" came from those Stó:lō women who had in previous seasons cleaned and canned salmon in the

canneries.²⁶⁰ These protests against the loss of resource sites valued by Stó:lō women represent one of only a few petitions demanding the protection of women's claims.²⁶¹

Chinese men posed little or no threat to Stó:lō men's place in the wage economy. There is no record of discontent among Stó:lō men, likely because of the relative ease with which they sought and found employment (See Figure 4.2). Employers clamoured for strong labourers to staff the saw mills, mines, and construction projects in the Fraser Valley, and Stó:lō men had several options when looking for seasonal employment. Stó:lō men living near Hope, for instance, had the luxury of remaining near the canyon to work on the railway rather than travel to the Fraser's mouth to catch fish for the canneries, while those living near New Westminster and the growing city of Vancouver found available work in the area's saw mills.²⁶² In the fisheries, Stó:lō men, as well as Aboriginal men from further north, made up a strong majority of the canneries' fishing fleets, positions either unavailable to, or undesired by, Chinese men, who worked almost exclusively inside the canneries. The loss of work for Stó:lō women would have affected Stó:lō men, as they would then have been required to make up the difference to feed their family, whether by finding more wage work, hunting for game, or by accruing debts with family members and neighbours. The matter was considered important enough for Stó:lō men, who exclusively comprised the leadership recognised by the DIA, to mention the matter to McTiernan. Stó:lō women, too, had to compensate for their lost wages, but with fewer employment options available to them, they likely developed a different attitude toward Chinese men than did Stó:lō men.

The range of Stó:lō people's responses to Chinese people in the late-nineteenth century were affected by an increasing number of factors, including Stó:lō social protocols, gender, regional variations, proximity to urban centres, and colonial government policies and practices. The marriages between Stó:lō women and Chinese men often resulted in conflicts within Stó:lō communities, as various parties labelled these men either "insiders" or "outsiders," categories that the children of such marriages negotiated throughout their lives. Many of those who challenged the presence of Chinese men turned to the government's legal structures to settle their differences with Chinese neighbours, especially as they became economic competitors in the fisheries. Others used the state's structures to confront the alcoholism prevalent on many Stó:lō reserves that Chinese bootleggers exploited. While the ways in which Stó:lō people responded to the presence of newcomers had changed since the gold rush, interactions with Chinese immigrants remained multifaceted. As immigration from China continued, and as movement from Japan increased in the early twentieth century, Stó:lō leadership recognised immigrants from Asia as a threat to Stó:lō livelihood. Just as they did with regard to the "Indian Land Question," Stó:lō leaders collaborated to challenge the increasing presence of newcomers coming to the Fraser River, especially in the fishery. However, long-established divisions and differences within Stó:lō society contributed to the variety and situational responses to the presence of non-European immigrants.

¹⁹⁸ Hilary Kathleen Blair, "Settling Seabird Island: Land, Resources, and a British Columbia Indian Reserve," MA Thesis, SFU, 1999, 24-25.

¹⁹⁹ Mrs. Arthur Sprague, *From Ontario to the Pacific*, Toronto: C.B. Robinson, 1887, 175

²⁰⁰ See his interview with CBC correspondent Imbert Orchard, BCA, Tape 678:2, transcript, 6-12.

- ²⁰¹ David Chuenyan Lai, *Chinatowns: Towns within Cities in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988, 48. The Stó:lō at Yale had long claimed the east end of the town as a reserve from the 1850s, and early maps indicate the section as an Indian Reserve. It was not formally surveyed until 1881 by Peter O'Reilly. See Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1881, 176.
- ²⁰² Clipping from a [5 May?] 1898 account from the *Vancouver News-Advertiser* attached to page 59 of the New Westminster County Court Complaint Book, BCA, GR 581, Vol 2.
- ²⁰³ Arthur Urquhart to Imbert Orchard, BCA, Tape 678:2, transcript, 9. Urquhart dated his story "around 1868 or 1870," and it is possible that the newspaper account relates a different event. However, given the similarity in the detail, it is reasonable to assume that Urquhart had his dates confused.
- ²⁰⁴ "We had a very good rapport with the Indians and they used to give us a lot of fish. One day I cut my hand severely and father put this weed on it that the Indians had given him and the bleeding stopped immediately." Bevan Jangze, *Cheng Foo: Yale, BC, 1881-1930*. 1998, 7-8. Manuscript at Yale Museum.
- ²⁰⁵ Andrea Laforet, "Folk History in a Small Canadian Community," PhD Dissertation, UBC, 1974, 301. York's assertion is likely accurate. Ethnobotanist Nancy Turner noted that, while Nlaka'pamux people had long used nettles for relief of arthritis pains, the addition of nettles to their diet was a recent development. See Nancy Turner, et al, *Thompson Ethnobotany: Knowledge and Usage of Plants by the Thompson Indians of British Columbia*. Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 1990, 21, 289.
- ²⁰⁶ Lai, *Chinatowns*, 40.
- ²⁰⁷ Canada, *Annual Report, 1878*, 78; Lai, *Chinatowns*, 49.
- ²⁰⁸ Canada. Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration. *Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration: Report and Evidence*. Ottawa: Printed by order of the Commission, 1885, 363.
- ²⁰⁹ Daphne Marlatt and Carole Itter (eds), "Chinatown and the Chinese," in Saeko Usukawa, et al, (eds), *Sound Heritage: Voices from British Columbia*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984, 143-144. See also Edgar Wickberg (ed), *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982, 14.
- ²¹⁰ Ethnic Communities Collection. CA, Add.MSS.455.
- ²¹¹ Imbert Orchard conversation with Annie York and Arthur Urquhart, BCA, Tape 678:2, transcript, 6-7.
- ²¹² Henry Pennier, *Chiefly Indian: The Warm and Witty Story of a British Columbia Half Breed Logger*. Vancouver: Graydonald Graphics, Ltd, 1972, p 12, 17.
- ²¹³ Canada. Select Committee on Chinese Labour and Immigration. *First Report of the Select Committee on Chinese Labour and Immigration*. Sessional Papers, 1879, Appendix No.4, 48.
- ²¹⁴ According to reports submitted by various polling district officers to the Provincial Secretary of British Columbia during the fall and winter of 1879-80, there were 4030 Chinese men and 124 Chinese women in the entire province. In New Westminster, there were thirty men for each of the ten women, while Yale exhibited similar ratios, with 41 men and 4 women. Lai, *Chinatowns*, 26.
- ²¹⁵ George Hills' Diaries, entry for 13 June 1860, typescript copy in UBC Special Collections, Box 1, File 1, 114-115.
- ²¹⁶ A special act in 1884 made it illegal for Chinese men to pre-empt land or to divert streams for irrigation or mining. Robert E. Cail, *Land, Man and the Law: The Disposal of Crown Lands in British Columbia, 1871-1913*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1974, 36.
- ²¹⁷ See Blair, "Settling," 36-48.
- ²¹⁸ A.J. Cotton to H.B.W. Aikman, 31 October 1887; Peter McTiernan to A.W. Vowell, 18 May 1891, RG10, Reel 10137, Vol.3795, 46607-1.
- ²¹⁹ "Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, 1913-16," Lytton Agency, transcript, NAC RG 33/104, vol.1, microfilm no.459, as cited in Blair, 121.
- ²²⁰ Smith, Marian. Fieldnotes. Unpublished (Summer 1945), RAI, MS 268. Microfilm copy, BCA, MS 268:2:5, 27.
- ²²¹ Pennier, *Chiefly Indian*, 12.
- ²²² *Pacific Canadian*, 21 October 1893, 1.
- ²²³ *Mainland Guardian*, 21 November 1888.
- ²²⁴ Oblats de Marie Immaculée. Reports and Letters published in the annual series, *Missions de la Congregation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée*. Translated transcript held by Keith Thor Carlson, Fouquet, *Missions*, 8 June 1863 (typescript, 45).
- ²²⁵ Vincent J. McNally, *The Lord's Distant Vineyard: A History of the blates and the Catholic Community in British Columbia*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Western Canadian Publishers, 2000, 50.

²²⁶ Carlson, "Power of Place," 230-231.

²²⁷ Oblats de Marie Immaculée. Reports and Letters published in the annual series, *Missions de la Congregation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée*. Translated transcript held by Keith Thor Carlson. Oblate Missions, 1864, 201 (typescript, 45).

²²⁸ See entries from the journals Oblats de Marie Immaculée, *Missions de la congrégation des missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée*. Rome, Maison générale O.M.I. Manuscript translation in possession of Keith Thor Carlson.

²²⁹ Ibid., Fouquet, 8 June 1863 (typescript, 50).

²³⁰ For more on stereotypes of Chinese immigrants, see especially W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia*. Third Edition. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002, 3-22 as well as Kay Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991, 73-105.

²³¹ See, for instance, Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992.

²³² *Mainland Guardian*, 26 November 1864.

²³³ Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1878, 73.

²³⁴ Ibid., 1882, 59.

²³⁵ Ibid., 1883, 45-46.

²³⁶ Oblats de Marie Immaculée, *Missions*, Fouquet, 8 June 1863 (typescript, 45).

²³⁷ All of this from Carlson, "Power of Place," 234-235.

²³⁸ Canada, *Annual Report*, 1882, 58.

²³⁹ McTiernan was not impressed by all of the constables he appointed. At Yale, he appointed four constables, "two proved to be of no use, one is pretty good, and one is a very excellent constable. He has done good service since his appointment; the magistrate and people of Yale speak highly of him." Canada, *Annual Report*, 1883, 58.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 1883, 45-46.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 1884, 104.

²⁴² "On several occasions lately the Indians have arrested persons attempting to sell them liquor; the Indians cannot always do so where Chinamen are too numerous, they would not allow the Indians to arrest any of their friends." Ibid., 1883, 45-46.

²⁴³ Ibid., 1884, 104. New Westminster jailer William Morseby report a similar, if not the same, incident to the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration in 1885. See Canada, et al, *Report*, 109.

²⁴⁴ *Mainland Guardian*, 14 June 1884; 21 June 1884.

²⁴⁵ British Columbia. County Court (Chilliwack), Bench Books, BCA, GR-2085, 11-21.

²⁴⁶ Lai, *Chinatowns*, 32. Patricia Roy suggests that many of these men must have crossed the border to live and work in the United States as the railway could not employ all these men and the remainder would not all have found work in the province. See Patricia Roy, "A Choice Between Evils: The Chinese and the Construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in British Columbia," in Hugh A. Dempsey (ed), *The CPR West: The Iron Road and the Making of a Nation*. Vancouver, Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984, 15.

²⁴⁷ Edgar Wickberg (ed), *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982, 21-22.

²⁴⁸ Lenihan reported in 1883 that "The Indians on these, Reserves can earn \$2 per diem by working on the railway, and many of them, therefore engage in railway work," (Canada, *Annual Report*, 1883, lxiii), noting the previous year that Stó:lō people living near Hope preferred to work on the railway than to travel downriver to work in the canneries for the summer (Canada, *Annual Report*, 1882, 58). See also, Canada, *Annual Report*, 1883, 107.

²⁴⁹ See, for instance, Ibid., 1882, 58.

²⁵⁰ See Roy, "A Choice Between Evils," 17-18; Wickberg, *From China to Canada*, 22.

²⁵¹ William Henry Withrow, *Our Own Country: Canada, scenic and descriptive: being an account of the extent, resources, physical aspect, industries, cities and chief towns of the provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, the North-West Territories and British Columbia, with sketches of travel and adventure*. Toronto: W. Briggs, 1889, 544-545

²⁵² Canada, *Annual Report*, 1882, 58

²⁵³ Roy, "A Choice Between Evils," 15-17.

²⁵⁴ Stó:lō Nation Archives, Oral History Collection, Tape 88-39, #3. Sonny McHalsie had never heard of this interpretation of the place name, understanding the name to refer to a Stó:lō village that was wiped out by smallpox. Personal Communication, 1 March 2004.

²⁵⁵ Roy, *White Man's*, 70; Roy, "A Choice Between Evils," 29-30.

²⁵⁶ Canada, *Report*, 363.

²⁵⁷ Canada, *Annual Report*, 1881, 166.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1884, 104-105

²⁵⁹ John Lutz, "Seasonal Rounds in an Industrial World," in Carlson, *Atlas*, 64-67.

²⁶⁰ Canada, *Annual Report*, 184, lx, 104-105.

²⁶¹ Fraser Valley Chiefs, "Petition of Fraser Valley Chiefs to Governor Musgrave Regarding Sale of Cranberry Patches," in Holbrook to Musgrave, 7 January 1870, Colonial Correspondence, F778/38, Reel B-1334, BCA. Copy also in Carlson, *Atlas*, 172.

²⁶² Canada, *Annual Report*, 1882, 58; *Ibid.*, 1883, 107.

The Fifth Chapter: By Land and Sea

Kwantlen *siyá:m* Cassimir spoke strongly against the presence of Japanese immigrants in the Fraser River fishery when he addressed the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration in 1902:

The Japanese are getting too many. We cannot get work and cannot get any money because of the Japanese. Very few of us can get any food because of the Japanese. I am very glad that you are all taking stock of this, and that you will take it to Ottawa before the head men. That is all I have to say. I wish to express my sorrow; if the government does not look after them they will soon control the land.²⁶³

Indeed, many Stó:lō leaders at the turn of the twentieth century actively campaigned against Japanese fishermen. The Japanese had become the dominant group in the Fraser River fishery, and in an attempt to convince government officials to change existing immigration policies and put an end to further migration from across the Pacific, a delegation of seven Stó:lō and Squamish *siyá:m* gave testimony to the 1902 Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration. Concerned about the difficulties their people experienced finding employment in the fishery, the Stó:lō leadership argued that the Japanese were becoming “too thick altogether” on the river, and that they were “getting too many” of the salmon. Speaking in terms that might have been stated to encourage Euro-Canadian solidarity with Aboriginal people, Chief Harry from Squamish explained that “The Japanese know they don’t belong to this country.... They make their country good on our money.”²⁶⁴ At first glance, these comments might be taken as expressions of the economic racism voiced by the province’s Euro-Canadian population. However, even when borrowing English terminology, these *siyá:m*’s statements were

rooted in a Stó:lō context that encompassed more than the immediate economic conflict in the fishery. They reflect the historical nature of their grievances with all groups of the newcomers – whether Chinese, Japanese, or Anglo Canadian – with regard to the access and use of the region’s resources.

Though never central to their discussions, tensions between Stó:lō and Japanese fishers formed a part in several studies, including Dianne Newell’s work on legal definitions of the Aboriginal fishery in British Columbia, Keith Ralston’s much-cited MA thesis on the fishermen’s strike of 1900, as well as a number of studies by economists Percy Gladstone and Stuart Jamieson.²⁶⁵ The work of the latter three scholars has emphasised the economic underpinnings of the conflict between the fishers. Jamieson stated the point succinctly, noting “More than any other single factor during the early period of organization, competition created a common hostility to the Japanese that transcended the various other racial, language and occupational divisions among white and Indian fishermen and drew them together into the same unions.”²⁶⁶ His statement is accurate, as far as it goes. Certainly, economic tensions brought Native and non-Native fishermen under the same unions and the importance of economics to the matter cannot be doubted. However, Jamieson and his fellow scholars passed over the question of *why* Native fishermen chose to side with their Euro-Canadian counterparts rather than form their own Aboriginal union, which several north coast Nations did in the 1940s, or side with the Japanese fishermen against Euro-Canadian fishers. The emphasis on collaborations in the wage economy, however, gives the appearance of a syncretism of Stó:lō and Euro-Canadian understandings of group relations. Stó:lō people’s interactions

with both Asian and Euro-Canadian newcomers were far more dynamic and nuanced than these early studies recognised.

Ultimately, many Stó:lō people's relationships with Japanese immigrants informed their understanding of the province's 'Indian land question.' Stó:lō people's relationship with Chinese and Japanese immigrants affected how they approached relationships with the Crown and Euro-Canadians at large. Both Chinese and Japanese immigrants became important characters in the petitions and arguments put forward by Stó:lō *siyá:m* to federal and provincial officials. The economic pressure on Stó:lō people caused by the ascendancy of Japanese fishermen and Chinese labourers made clear to the Stó:lō leadership the federal and provincial governments' failure to fulfill the promises to actively work for the well-being of all Stó:lō people made by the Crown's representatives sixty years earlier. While pressing home the importance of State recognition of Aboriginal title, Stó:lō leadership kept their dialogue with government officials grounded in their understanding of, and respect for, each group's attachment to the area.

British Columbia's 'Indian Land Question' became of particular interest to both the federal and provincial governments during the first decade of the twentieth century, as well as to Stó:lō leadership, who were concerned about the arrival of newcomers to their territory. Confusion and disagreement about the existence and nature of Aboriginal title on the Pacific Coast was perennial from James Douglas' first years as governor of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia in the 1850s through the province's entry into Confederation in 1871 and into the twentieth century.²⁶⁷ By the turn of the century, the arrival of tens of thousands of newcomers to the Lower Mainland increased

tensions between federal representatives, provincial officials, Stó:lō people, and the newly-landed immigrants who came in search of property and an income. The exponential non-Native population growth of the Lower Fraser Valley intensified conflict over the region's land and resources; whereas almost eight thousand newcomers settled in the Lower Mainland by 1881, only thirty years later, that number increased to over one hundred eighty thousand.²⁶⁸ The region's fertile soil, abundant fishery, mild climate, and booming economy attracted people from both the North Atlantic and Pacific oceans while businessmen came to take advantage of Vancouver's ports and CPR terminus. Provincial governments felt the increasing need to open up land to allow for a large number of tax payers while sufficiently protecting their Crown reserves so as to reap the benefits of a timber boom that began around 1905 and lasted for almost a decade. Under Premier Richard McBride, unexploited crown lands quickly became the province's economic linchpin as revenues from lumber and other resources fuelled the province's unprecedented growth. As the provincial economy began generating surpluses, McBride asserted the province's reversionary right to Indian reserves so as to generate further returns from resources on "unused" portions of reserves, much to the chagrin of both the federal government, who claimed to hold jurisdiction over both their Aboriginal wards and all reserve lands, and Stó:lō people, who lived with the implications of a decreased and uncertain land base.²⁶⁹

Meetings between government representatives eventually led to the formation of a Royal Commission to deal with matters of Indian reserves in British Columbia. By the end of September 1912, the two sides agreed to the principles that would govern the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia (more

commonly known as the McKenna-McBride Commission) which the parties intended to “settle all differences between the Governments of the Dominion and the Province respecting Indian lands and Indian Affairs,’ by providing “a final adjustment of all matters relating to Indian Affairs in the Province.”²⁷⁰ The commission had the authority to adjust reserve acreage throughout the province by ‘cutting off’ unneeded lands (with the consent of the Indians), to enlarge existing reserves where necessary, or to allocate new reserves. Proceeds from cut-off lands sold at public auctions were to be divided evenly between the Province and the Dominion, with the latter holding funds in trust for the Indians. The province agreed to abandon its reversionary interest and granted authority over all reserves to the Dominion, though the Province claimed the reserve land if a band became extinct.²⁷¹ Though intended as the final settlement of the Land Question, the Commissioners had neither authority nor inclination to discuss matters of Aboriginal title, leaving the matter out of their meetings with First Nations and Newcomers. They spent several weeks in Stó:lō territory, stopping at most reserves in the Fraser River watershed and speaking with Stó:lō leaders, town officials, Euro-Canadian citizens, and the local Indian agent to learn which reserves required expanded boundaries and which reserve lands might be reallocated for use by Euro-Canadian settlers and businesses.

As the reserves’ boundaries shifted and lands formerly used by Stó:lō people became the private property of the growing settler population in the 1870s and 1880s, Stó:lō had their access to many of their resources sites either limited or denied. Local Indian agents received numerous formal petitions and other correspondence from Stó:lō people concerning the frustrations they faced in accessing the region’s resources.

Moreover, government restrictions, such as regulated hunting seasons and fishery locations, came under attack from Stó:lō spokesmen in the more rural areas of the Fraser Valley whenever they met with local Indian agents. People of the Sumas band, who lived near one of the province's most fertile floodplains and wetlands around Sumas Lake,²⁷² had their access to the area's abundant fish and game stocks repeatedly decreased through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, thus blocking them from their food supply.²⁷³ Chief Selesmlton, a widely respected Stó:lō elder known popularly as "Ned," expressed his frustration with the provincial restrictions to the McKenna-McBride Commission, telling the commissioners how, "If I go out and take my gun there is always someone to round me up and have me arrested. If I go out and catch a fish the policeman comes out after me with a gun. Every year that we use a net they come out and take it away from us; and that is what worried me all the time....I don't get satisfactory [sic] to get food for my children to eat."²⁷⁴ More than preventing the access of resources required for spiritual and ritualistic needs, though they certainly did that, the restrictions and licensing limited Stó:lō people's ability to properly nourish their families. As far as *siyá:m* were concerned, access to resources was an integral part of the land question.²⁷⁵

In the midst of the debate over land and resource use in the Lower Mainland came a wave of immigration from Japan. While the majority of immigrants to British Columbia were of Anglo-Canadian descent, an increasing number of Japanese expatriates made homes along the Fraser. The first arrivals from Japan apparently did not attract special Stó:lō attention. Few in number, the earliest arrivals from Japan in the 1870s and 1880s found work in the lumber mills, coal mines, and fishery. However, immigration from Japan mushroomed in the 1890s and 1900s. The earliest available figures of

Japanese immigration exist for the years between 1897 and 1901, when over fifteen thousand Japanese emigrants passed through Canadian ports. Most of these quickly relocated to the United States' Pacific coast, but approximately forty-five hundred remained along the Fraser by 1901.²⁷⁶ The majority of emigrants from Japan were impoverished fishers and farmers, and many quickly found a niche working in the Fraser's fishing and canning industries. Most lived at Steveston and other fishing settlements near the mouth of the Fraser's south arm both to remain in close proximity to the almost two dozen canneries and because of the limited options available for housing and employment imposed upon them by the Euro-Canadian populous; the river's delta soon housed the largest concentration of Japanese immigrants in Canada.²⁷⁷ Other Japanese immigrants established themselves further up river near Mission, Haney, and Maple Ridge to practice agriculture, though these settlements' populations remained relatively small until the 1930s and 1940s when less stringent immigration regulations came into effect.²⁷⁸

It took little time before Japanese fishers were the dominant group among fishermen, challenging Stó:lō people's former leading position in the fishery. While only twenty-five of the five hundred available fishing licences in 1890 went to Japanese fishermen, that number doubled each of the following four years to a total of 417 out of the 1667 licences issued.²⁷⁹ With the support of canneries, and in spite of opposition from other fishermen, Japanese fishermen held almost fourteen hundred of the available twenty-six hundred licences in 1899.²⁸⁰ The ascendancy of Japanese fishers can be attributed to a number of causes, including the continuing decline of the Stó:lō population into the 1920s and the increasing presence of newcomers who came by the tens of

thousands and took occupations previously held by Stó:lō people. Unlike Stó:lō and Euro-Canadian fishermen who changed jobs with the seasons, Japanese immigrants made fishing their sole, full-time occupation due to the limited access to employment available to them due to the prevalent anti-Asian sentiment throughout the Lower Mainland, making them more desirable for cannery owners looking for a “stable” workforce. Many Japanese fishers became dependant upon the canneries, taking cash advances for the following year’s work and living in cannery houses throughout the year.²⁸¹

Subsequently, cannery owners preferred Japanese fishers to their Native and Euro-Canadian counterparts because Japanese fishermen worked longer hours, fished under more difficult weather conditions, and remained at work for the entire season rather than quitting to find work elsewhere.²⁸² Euro-Canadian fishermen, too, received a greater proportion of licenses for the Fraser River fishery than Stó:lō people throughout the same period but to a much smaller degree. However, the economic threat posed by Asian immigrants received far more attention from Stó:lō people as well as government officials. BC’s Indian Superintendent A.W. Vowell argued that Stó:lō people’s greatest competitors were

the Chinese and Japanese. The former have been co-labourers at the canneries for years, and did not so very much interfere with the natives as they found employment chiefly within the canneries, whilst the latter, who of late have been entering the country in hordes, and who compete with the Indians as fishermen, are reducing the earnings by over-competition, & c., to such an extent as to make it no longer a source of profit to the Indians.²⁸³

Vowell’s understanding of the situation in the fishery accorded with that of many Stó:lō *siyá:m*, namely that the presence of Japanese immigrants on the Fraser threatened the

economic stability of those Stó:lō people who depended on the fishery as their chief source of income.

Stó:lō people limited their interactions with Japanese immigrants, partly because of the activities of each group in the fishery. Stó:lō men competed with Japanese men on the water, which offered limited opportunity for interaction and, therefore, prevented meaningful exchange between the two groups. However, it seems reasonable to suppose that Stó:lō people preferred to avoid the Japanese by maintaining a social distance, treating Japanese immigrants similarly to those whom they considered *latsumexw*. In the fishing camps, Stó:lō people camped together, keeping their distance from Asians as well as other First Nations from along the North Coast. One Stó:lō man who grew up on the New Westminster reserves across the river from dozens of canneries remembered that Stó:lō people had little contact with Japanese immigrants, commenting that “They’re kind of an odd people....A proud people.”²⁸⁴ Japanese fishers reciprocated the sentiment. As others have commented, Japanese immigrants removed themselves from contact with others around them out of a sense of cultural and moral superiority.²⁸⁵ While most authors have discussed this primarily in terms of Japanese immigrants withdrawing from Euro-Canadian society, it is important to note that many Japanese fishermen “looked down upon [Aboriginal people] as being inferior”.²⁸⁶ And at least a certain degree of contempt was reciprocated by the Stó:lō. According to Sweetie Malloway, who worked in the canneries in the 1930s, many young people in the fishery “had nicknames for each one [Japanese immigrant]. You know, if somebody looked like a skeleton we called ‘im, you know, we had names for each one and they probably had names for us, too.”²⁸⁷

Stó:lō people, then, kept Japanese immigrants at arm's length, staying away from the newcomers, reflecting their disapproval of the newcomers' presence on the Fraser.

Relations between Stó:lō people and Japanese newcomers, however, were more dynamic and varied than simply the impetus for the creation of social space. There were instances of intimate relationships between Stó:lō and Japanese people. Some Stó:lō women lived with Japanese men at Steveston during the fishing season, relationships that ended only with the expulsion of the Japanese in 1942.²⁸⁸ Moreover, relationships between Stó:lō and Japanese people appear to have been more amicable in the central valley away from the river's mouth. In Haney and Maple Ridge many Japanese established themselves as berry farmers in 1920s and 1930s and employed Stó:lō people as farm hands. That is to say, as might be expected, relations improved when Japanese people were year-round neighbours who offered employment rather than competitors for jobs. Sweetie Malloway remembered staying in a cabin on the farmers' property and being fed "from their kitchen." In some cases, Japanese families monitored Stó:lō children's behaviour and disciplined them when appropriate "probably because our parents told them, you know, to keep us in line. Cause they did, they looked after us, kept an eye on us."²⁸⁹ Other Stó:lō people living near Mission looked to Japanese people to supply bootlegged liquor. Similar to conflicts within Stó:lō communities over the work of Chinese bootleggers in the 1880s, Stó:lō constables in the 1910s arrested Japanese bootleggers on several occasions. In one instance, two constables apprehended a Japanese man for selling alcohol on a reserve near Mission after chasing him and his associate.²⁹⁰ Further away, on Burrard Inlet's north shore, Chief Joseph Capilano complained to the Chief Constable of the district police that Japanese bootleggers were

frequenting his reserve, indicating that at least a few Aboriginal people appreciated the presence of Japanese immigrants, even if only to satisfy their desire for alcohol.²⁹¹ It appears, then, that the desire for Stó:lō and Japanese people to remain distant from each other was more common in the fishery than near other Japanese communities on the Fraser. The economic competition between the fishery's racialised groups fostered the need for Stó:lō people to assert their group's distinctiveness from newcomers by avoiding social contact with others.²⁹²

Relations with Chinese men differed significantly from those with the Japanese. Chinese Canadians' relations with Stó:lō people were for the most part peaceful and at times cordial, possibly because of earlier associations developed during the gold rush but more likely due to the lack of competition between Chinese men and Stó:lō men for primacy as fishers in the canneries. Discussions of canneries by other historians have emphasised the racially-segregated labour crews, focussing on the isolation of Native women from other Chinese and Euro-Canadian workers, effectively marginalising the importance of what relationships existed.²⁹³ Many cannery operators hired Chinese labour bosses to contract their own crews, of which Stó:lō women comprised a large component. It is unclear how the Chinese contractors selected their crews, but it appears that bosses tended to hire the same women each year. For example, one summer after Aggie Victor had finished working in the cannery that season, a Chinese contractor came to her farm and hired her to clean the cannery from the season's use, indicating some degree of familiarity between the two of them.²⁹⁴ Chinese men also served as supervisors of the Stó:lō women filling the cans, often assigning them to other tasks as needed or even working along side them to complete the task at hand.²⁹⁵ Moreover, Stó:lō women

received their wages directly from the Chinese contractor, who paid them from his own wages.²⁹⁶ When not working in the cannery, many Stó:lō women found work on Chinese vegetable gardens near the canneries, sacking potatoes and carrots, and were often paid in vegetables rather than cash.²⁹⁷ The relationship between Chinese men and Stó:lō women, however, remained largely professional; Aggie Victor also remembers that she was allowed to converse with Chinese men while at work in the cannery, but they were not permitted to come to Stó:lō camps.²⁹⁸ That Stó:lō women shared a closer relationship with Chinese men than with Japanese men suggests that, at least in some instances, Stó:lō people made important distinctions between Chinese and Japanese immigrants and their respective rights to being on the Fraser.

Stó:lō people had a very different relationship with Japanese newcomers. Moreover, these differences were largely divided along gendered lines. As far as most *siyá:m* were concerned, the presence of Japanese fishermen in the wage economy prevented Stó:lō men from getting work in the fishery to such a degree that most could not “make bread and butter” and had “no chance to go to work; they [Japanese fishermen] are all over; they work for nothing.”²⁹⁹ For others, Japanese fishermen were regarded as having glutted the market, bringing down the price of fish.³⁰⁰ For still others, they were underhanded competitors who “will take charge of the drift” and “take all the fish in front of the Indian by letting their net down in front of ours,”³⁰¹ a technique pejoratively referred to as ‘corking.’ To an extent, the petitioners used a rhetorical style that emphasised the difficulties faced by Stó:lō men. While Stó:lō men had difficulty finding employment catching fish, Stó:lō women were in great demand as labourers inside the canneries. Indian Agent Byrne told the McKenna-McBride Commission that

canners considered Stó:lō women “expert workers in regard to the filling of the cans of fish and that being the case they get employment very readily, and being good wives they simply say to the cannerymen[,] ‘I can't work for you if you don't give my husband a job[,]’ and in that way the whole family is employed.”³⁰² In some instances, Stó:lō women held sufficient sway that they refused to clean fish caught by non-Native fishermen.³⁰³ It is possible that Stó:lō men considered that Chinese men did women's work and so posed little or no threat to either their employment or masculinity whereas Japanese men directly challenged both.

At times, cannery operators also put Stó:lō people's seasonal income in jeopardy. Especially in years where the fishing industry expected large salmon runs, cannery owners collaborated to reduce the price offered to fishermen for their catch. As a result, the Fraser River fishery experienced a series of fishermen's strikes throughout the 1890s and 1900s. In a few of these, Aboriginal people from the Fraser and the North Coast, Japanese fishermen, and Euro-Canadian immigrants formed a united front in opposition to the canneries. However, in most instances, Native fishers formally sided with Euro-Canadian unions rather than join forces with Japanese fishers.³⁰⁴ During the fishermen's strike of 1900, Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian fishermen not only picketed against the canners, but attacked Japanese fishers who made separate agreements with canneries and broke the strike. There were several instances of mobs of Native and Euro-Canadian fishers boarding Japanese boats, cutting their nets adrift and forcing the crews from their vessels at gunpoint onto gulf islands, actions repeated in subsequent strikes.³⁰⁵ Moreover, Aboriginal fishers remained allied with the unions even when such solidarity threatened the fishing season.³⁰⁶ While economic factors certainly played a part in

Aboriginal fishers' persistence in the strikes, their alliance with Euro-Canadian unions demonstrates an antipathy toward Japanese fishermen.

The nature of the sources make it difficult to ascertain in what ways Stó:lō people became involved in the fishery strikes. That Stó:lō people participated in the job action is undoubted, though it appears that they played a less prominent role than other Aboriginal people, at least according to media reports. Newspapers and government reports mention the actions and responses of "Indians" with only sporadic indication of from where each group hailed. Those most often mentioned came from "the North Coast," probably referring to Haida, Kwakiutl, and other groups. Natives from Port Simpson formed a Fisherman's Union local in 1899 and, during the 1900 strike at Steveston, had the youth brass band play in front of mass demonstrations against canners and Japanese fishermen who broke the strike.³⁰⁷ Native people from all up and down the coast generally had a strong aversion to Asian immigrants. For example, over six hundred "upcoast Indians" refused to work at two hop yards in Agassiz until the owners dismissed all the Chinese labourers, a demand the owners obliged. One newspaper suggested that the boycott came about because those from the North Coast "had not been thrown into contact with the Orientals to any great extent before their advent at Aggasiz [sic]."³⁰⁸ In the fishery, Vowell praised Indian Agent Devlin for his actions that prevented "some of the Indians of the Northwest Coast agency from asserting their hostility to the Japanese....which perhaps prevented a resort to brute force" during a strike on the Fraser in 1901.³⁰⁹ It is difficult to know, from newspaper sources, how the actions of Stó:lō people compared to those from further north as they referred to all First Nations generically as "Indians", but it is clear that Stó:lō *siyá:m* played an important part in the labour negotiations. In one

instance, thirty-three Aboriginal leaders “from Port Simpson to the Fraser River [mouth] and inland to Harrison Hot Springs” conferred and refused to break with their unions and sign a deal with cannery owners during the 1901 fishery strike.³¹⁰ Aboriginal people from various parts of the coast had old and ancient differences that limited inter-tribal tensions to a simmer whenever they came together at the canneries and hop yards, but what they all had in common was a resentment and aversion to the Japanese.

Fundamental to Stó:lō leadership’s claim to their use of resources and access to work was their ancestral entrenchment in the local landscape. In the early twentieth century, all newcomers were judged as to their legitimate connection to places throughout the Fraser River and its watershed. The earliest extant petitions from Stó:lō people decrying the expansion of newcomer settlement from the 1860s through the 1880s make specific reference to their rightful claims to the land and its resources. One petition sent by “the Indians of Snatt’s Village” on Burrard Inlet to the Chief Commissioner of Land and Works in 1869 made clear that “before any white people settled at Burrard Inlet, and before Moody’s Mill was erected, your Memorialists had their camp at the same place they now occupy.”³¹¹ Those from Snatt’s Village believed and asserted that their long-time occupancy at their present site justified their presence on Burrard Inlet. Others looked back much further than the preceding generation. Twenty-five years later, when the Indian Superintendent came to inaugurate the Coqualeetza Industrial Institute in Chilliwack, a group of *siyá:m* representing “the Indians of the Valley” asked the Reverend Mr. Tate to read a letter to those gathered for the ceremony. Their petition reminded government officials of the needs of the local Stó:lō population and was critical

of fishing and hunting restrictions, the frequent demands for reserves to be cleared for farming, and the withholding of medicine from Stó:lō people. Before mentioning these concerns, however, the petition affirmed that the foundation for their requests was the Stó:lō people's ability to "trace our ancestry back for many generations and it has been handed down to us that this land always belonged to the Indians."³¹² Ultimately, the newcomers occupying the land lacked legitimate claims to the places they had cleared and the farms and homes they had established because they could not demonstrate any connection to the place through their ancestors.

Arguments made in the early twentieth century demonstrate even more clearly a continuity between claims to high status made by Stó:lō people marrying HBC employees at the first Fort Langley in the 1820s and Stó:lō assertions of rights to land and resources voiced in the late nineteenth century. As demonstrated earlier in chapter two, Stó:lō people grounded their claims to high status in their descent from both sky-born and earth-born leaders associated with specific places, with men especially emphasising their connection to local transformer sites where their ancestors became a part of the landscape. The McKenna-McBride Commission heard similar statements from numerous Stó:lō *siyá:m* as it made its way through Stó:lō territory in early 1915. At Tsawassen, for instance, Chief Harry Joe informed the commissions that "I am going to explain to you gentlemen how our ancestors were created in this place right over at the high land here known as Scale-Up or English Bluff."³¹³ Other Stó:lō leaders grounded their claims in continued use of local resources. When Chief Charlie of Matsqui thanked the commissioners for visiting his reserve, he told of how "Our forefathers have been stopping here and that is the reason we have been living here from time immemorial. I

used to hear my grandfather talking about how long he had been here in this province, that is the reason I think that I am the right owner of this Reserve.”³¹⁴ Many Stó:lō leaders, especially those living near larger centres but even those in rural areas, gained a greater awareness of developments in legal understandings of Aboriginal title from lawyers offering their services, equating their ancestral connection to places with the legal jargon of Aboriginal title.³¹⁵ Chief Johnnie who lived along the Harrison River argued that “our title and rights is [sic] sacred in which is called aboriginal title. From time immemorial various tribes of Indians exclusively possessed, occupied and used exercised [sic] sovereignty over the territory now forming the Province of British Columbia.”³¹⁶ Emphasis on occupancy “from time immemorial” resonated with Stó:lō understandings of their own claims for status and access to resources, and so became a readily understood concept that Stó:lō leadership used to further their claims. Though expressions of ancestral claims to the land and its resources differed with a change in location, each leader emphasised their historic connection to the place.

Stó:lō people’s arguments asserting connections to lands both within and without reserve boundaries contrasted sharply with what they understood of newcomers’ rights to the land. Many Stó:lō leaders emphasised the foreignness of newcomers and their lack of grounding along the Fraser. For instance, Chief Johnnie of the Harrison band pointed out that, as God gave the people of Europe, Africa, and the like, their own territory, “God created us Indians in this territory in a good many tribes....therefore we claim that we are the real ownership of this territory,” an argument echoed by Matsqui’s Chief Charlie.³¹⁷ Petitions against Japanese immigrants contained the same language as those in opposition to Euro-Canadian settlers. Each member of the delegation of Stó:lō *siyá:m* who spoke

before the 1902 Immigration Commission highlighted Japanese immigrants' lack of connection to the area. Chief Cassimir of Kwantlen, who had less than a decade earlier defended Kwantlen claims to a reserve near Whonnock from people he regarded as Hawaiian interlopers, was emphatic about the Kwantlen people's connection to the Fraser, arguing that "We belong to this country; it is our country. I was born in this country. My fathers have been here long before; that is I am a citizen of this country."³¹⁸ Chief Joseph of Capilano, who was more commonly known as Joe Capilano, held that Japanese immigrants were fully aware that they had no licit claim to the fish they caught, a point made even more scandalous by the fact they sent to their home country the wages earned from harvesting resources that rightly belonged to Stó:lō people, making their own families rich while robbing Stó:lō people of income.³¹⁹ Euro-Canadians had long made similar accusations against Asian immigrants in general, and Joseph likely borrowed the terminology from Euro-Canadian polemicists, but the ideas behind the words Native leaders used had their basis in Stó:lō understandings of who had valid connections to places along the Fraser. Each group of people held certain rights to local resources in their home location, and only Stó:lō people held legitimate ancestral-based ownership of the land and resources in the Fraser River watershed.

Euro-Canadians, however, had certain privileges beyond those of Japanese and Chinese immigrants in spite of their foreign origins. Though they lacked ancestral claims to land and resources along the Fraser, Euro-Canadians apparently were allowed to remain in the area because of as yet unfulfilled promises made to Stó:lō *siyá:m* in the 1850s and 1860s by representatives of the Crown that created a covenant between British and Stó:lō. James Douglas was most frequently named as the Crown's spokesperson who

voiced the benevolence of Queen Victoria and “told the Indians that he did not come to steal the land away from them but was only doing what the Queen wanted him to do.”³²⁰

According to all Stó:lō accounts, Douglas promised to respect the original reserve boundaries as chosen by Stó:lō people and to make compensation for what became Crown lands. According to many *siyá:m*, later representatives made more explicit promises to ensure the continued provision of Stó:lō people. As Chief Johnnie of Harrison told the McKenna-McBride commissioners,

And the second governor, Seymour by name, he also had a verbally [sic] promise in his speech. He said Her Majesty the Queen will divide the revenues in three parts. One third shall remain for the Crown, one third will be spent to the public for roads and other things, and one third shall go to the Indians, the owners of the lands for their lasting support and benefit, and that we shall hold just as much privilege as a white man, and that we must treat the white man the best way possible, and that we shall be treated the same way as if we were brothers.³²¹

While Chief Charlie at Matsqui put the amount of compensation at one fourth of revenues from the land, other *siyá:m* mention only the Crown’s promise of compensation and provision.³²² Though the exact amount of reparation was of no small importance to Stó:lō *siyá:m*, they all agreed that the Crown offered pledges of fidelity that was still binding.

The delay in the promises’ fulfillment appeared to have had little effect on Stó:lō *siyá:m*’s stated affection for the Crown and its desire to make good on its word. At Musqueam, Chief Johnnie presented to the commissioners a staff which a former chief, “Tsomealano”, received from the Queen in exchange for a photo of himself. The “valuable” gift demonstrated the munificence of Queen Victoria “whom we all, both whiteman and Indian loved so much.”³²³ Rather than questioning the Crown’s integrity,

siyá:m accused the provincial government of lying to the Crown so as to prevent the Crown's promises from being fulfilled. In speaking against the provincial government's claim to the reversionary right to Indian reserves, Chief Johnnie stood firmly on the side of the Crown: "The late Queen Victoria told Sir James Douglas that only one person would look after the Indians and that is the Dominion Government."³²⁴ Others, like Chief Johnnie at Harrison, were more frank in stating that "for this [sic] last many years standing we have been expecting to receive those good promises in the name of Queen Victoria, but it yet has never come, becuasw [sic] the...government of the province has concealed it and buried it and worked all kinds of schemes around it to keep it hidden."³²⁵ That is not to suggest a preference for the federal government. A delegation of Salish leaders had travelled to London to meet with King Edward VII with explicit purpose of bypassing both levels of government in Canada so as to meet directly with the Crown, returning satisfied that King Edward would ensure that the Crown would honour its previous promises.³²⁶ Stó:lō *siyá:m*'s affirmations of their faith in the Crown and their statements against the provincial government were calls for officials in both Victoria and Ottawa to acknowledge and carry out their responsibilities to Stó:lō people.

When talking with representatives of the Crown, Stó:lō *siyá:m* used the presence of Chinese and Japanese immigrants on the Fraser as leverage to convince government officials to honour their position as the Crown's representatives. Most held the federal and provincial governments responsible for addressing their needs, especially the matter of loss of employment caused by increased immigration. At Coquitlam, Chief David Bailey asked that the Department of Fisheries and Oceans drop the restrictions on the personal sale of fish because those at Coquitlam needed the additional income because

“the whites [demand] the orientals [sic] labourers such as Chinese, Japs and Hindoes [sic]” for building public roads, clearing potential farm land, and cutting farm land.”³²⁷

According to Chief Bailey, the loss of employment was more a matter of wage discrepancy than sheer numbers of immigrants, noting that “we ask the whiteman's wages, and the whiteman says it is a little bit too high, and the whitemen wants to give the Indians just the same as they pay the Chinamen, Japs and Hindoes, and the Indians won't stand for it.”³²⁸ With the understanding that those immigrants were without recognised connections to the area, Chief Bailey's statement shows that some Stó:lō people believed that they deserved to earn a higher wage from the use of the land and its resources. Stó:lō people further upriver at Matsqui shared similar experiences with non-European newcomers, having difficulty securing work at the local sawmills and at nearby farms when newcomers “such as Hindoes, Japs and Chinese” people “got thick around here” and received work before Stó:lō people, which, in Chief Charlie's opinion, necessitated the lifting of sanctions against hunting out of season.³²⁹

In other instances, *siyá:m* used the example of Asian immigrants to show to government officials that Stó:lō people's claims deserved additional consideration from the state. Some Stó:lō people allowed Chinese truck farmers onto their reserves so as to learn agricultural methods and to demonstrate to DIA officials their desire to fulfill the department's demands that Stó:lō people become agriculturalists.³³⁰ People at Musqueam made earnest requests to the local Indian agent that Chinese farmers be brought onto Musqueam Reserve No. 2 to clear approximately thirty acres of land and “to learn [sic] the Indians the art of agriculture.” Chief Charlie reassured the Commissioners that, when the farmers' term came up the following year, “the young men of this reserve

will go right at the land and cultivate and improve it the same as what they have seen” and that others, including himself, had taken up agriculture as a full-time occupation. Their desire to show officials that they truly wanted to clear the land and become farmers prompted Chief Charlie to clarify that, while there was some land available for cultivation,

This land here is not enough. We are anxious indeed to cultivate the land - Just like as if I am between two persons, one person is on my right and one person is on my left saying "I have a share of your reserve" and I want those two persons to let my hands go and give me the control of my own land - I don't want anyone to bother me. Even if it was only one man holding on to me it would be better, but when two men are holding me it is hard to cultivate the land.³³¹

The steps they had taken toward becoming agriculturalists could only bear fruit if state officials recognised Stó:lō rights to use the land rather than squabble over jurisdictional issues that, in most Stó:lō people’s minds, had little credence. Rather than protesting the presence of newcomers, some Stó:lō people looked to take advantage of Chinese immigrants’ presence by showing officials their desire to meet state standards.

There were differences in opinion between Stó:lō people as to how best to approach relationships with Japanese and Chinese immigrants, affecting interactions between Stó:lō people as well. When the McKenna-McBride commissioners arrived at Seymour Creek No.2 reserve, Chief Jimmy Harry made it clear that people living on the reserve wanted to “move...along modern lines of civilization” and were willing to sell their lands to Euro-Canadian companies who would improve the land provided that “the whitepeople [sic] heal what sickness there is among the Indians,” that is, address their grievances. In making his offering of land, Harry made it clear that “I don’t want to sell

any portion of my land to any Orientals, such as Chinese and Japanese [sic].”³³² A part of his statement was likely intended to demonstrate an aversion to Asian immigrants that might have resonated with the Commissioners. Simultaneously, Harry’s rejection of selling land to Chinese or Japanese immigrants likely served as a condemnation of the leasing of lands on the Musqueam reserve to Chinese farmers. Many people at Musqueam made ancestral claims to areas on the north shore that those on the Seymour Creek reserve opposed.³³³ By condemning the leasing of reserve lands to Asian immigrants, it is possible that Chief Harry was attempting to elevate his own status and to cast doubt upon the credibility of Musqueam claims in the area. If this was Harry’s understanding, it is probable that some Stó:lō people condemned others, whether publicly or privately,³³⁴ for their relationships with Chinese immigrants.

Economic competition in the fishery and other industries heightened tensions between Stó:lō people and Asian immigrants, but the dominant role that Japanese fishers played on the Fraser merely demonstrated to Stó:lō people what many already believed. Newcomers without familial attachments to the region had little or no justifiable claim to area’s resources and so were wrongfully reaping the benefits from what rightfully belonged to others. However, Stó:lō people’s opinions of Chinese and Japanese immigrants were greatly affected by both economic situations and gendered perceptions, as Stó:lō men’s and women’s relationships with newcomers varied with experiences of competition in the labour force. Moreover, the negligence of federal and provincial governments in addressing the “problems” arising from Asian immigration exemplified their distortion of the Crown’s promises and their abdication of their responsibilities. For

Stó:lō *siyá:m*, the Land Question included far more than legal definitions and acreage of reserves, being inseparable from their understanding of peoples' origins in specific locations. By the early twentieth century, Japanese and Chinese immigrants greatly affected the lives of Stó:lō people and had become entwined in debates within Stó:lō communities and families over claims to places in the landscape along the Fraser.

²⁶³ Testimony of Chief Casimil [Cassimir] in Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration*, 346-347.

²⁶⁴ Testimony of Chief Harry in *ibid*, 346.

²⁶⁵ H. Keith Ralston, "1900 Strike of Fraser River Sockeye Salmon Fishermen," MA Thesis, UBC, 1965; Dianne Newell, *Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada's Pacific Coast Fisheries*. Toronto: McGill-Queen's Press, 1993; Stuart Jamieson, "Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-66," Ottawa: Institute of Industrial Relations, 1968; Percy Gladstone.

²⁶⁶ Jamieson, "Times of Trouble," 134.

²⁶⁷ Though perhaps the most discussed historical character from British Columbia's past, James Douglas' intentions toward the possible recognition of Aboriginal title and allotting reserves remain a matter of academic debate. The confusion centres on his inconsistent treatment of First Nations' rights. As governor of the Vancouver Island colony, Douglas signed a series of fourteen agreements with the Natives living around Fort Victoria, recognising and extinguishing aboriginal title. When the Crown extended its colony to include the mainland in 1858, however, Douglas neither recognised title nor made attempts to make treaties with First Nations. The traditional explanation, garnered from various correspondences between Douglas and the colonial secretary Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, declared the governor intended to continue the purchase of Native rights and title, but he stopped the practice when, having stepped down as chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company, he was unable to draw from company stores to make treaty payments and the Imperial government refused to offer assistance. See Wilson Duff, *The Indian History of British Columbia: The Impact of the White Man*. New Edition. Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 1997, 84-87; Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*. Second Edition. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992, 146-157; Cail, *Land*, 171-180. Political scientist Paul Tennant offers a different interpretation of Douglas' policies. Tennant argues that Douglas believed treaty negotiations created more frustration and disturbance than they settled, as the benefits of the agreements vanished "once the treaty blankets had worn out" (Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal People and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990, p.20). . See also Hamar Foster, 'Letting Go the Bone: The Idea of Indian Title in British Columbia, 1849-1927', in Hamar Foster and John McLaren (eds), *Essays in the History of Canadian Law: British Columbia and the Yukon; Volume Six*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995, 44). In place of treaties Douglas wrote to Lytton explaining his plan to appease settlers and Natives alike: anticipatory reserves of land for the benefit and support of the Indian races will be made for that purpose in all the districts of British Columbia inhabited by native tribes. Those reserves should in all cases include their cultivated fields and village sites, for which from habit and association they invariably conceive a strong attachment, and prize more, for that reason, than for the extent or value of the land. Once protected from European settlement on their reserves, Douglas continued, missionaries and educators would teach Natives the European agrarian lifestyle and Christian values in preparation for their immanent entrance into an imported European society as British subjects (Tennant, *Aboriginal...*, 28-30). Assimilation, then, in Tennant's view, and the loss of any exclusive rights or title, was the only way, as far as Douglas could determine, for Natives to survive.

²⁶⁸ Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia*. Revised Edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996, 387.

²⁶⁹ See Barman, *Beyond*, 176-201; Cail, *Land*, 227-240; Martin Robin, *Rush for Spoils: The Company Province, 1871-1918*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976, 87-106; Gordon Hak, *Turning Trees into*

Dollars: The British Columbia Coastal Lumber Industry, 1858-1913. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000, 65-79.

²⁷⁰ Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples*, 88.

²⁷¹ Harris, *Making*, 228-229.

²⁷² See Laura Cameron, *Openings: A Meditation on History, Method, and Sumas Lake*. Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997, chapters 1 and 2.

²⁷³ In an attempt to open land for returning soldiers, as well as to increase the province's agricultural output, a federal scheme drained the lake in 1923-4, creating over 30 000 acres of rich farmland at the expense of the wildlife habitat.

²⁷⁴ British Columbia, "Evidence Submitted to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia," Volume VI: New Westminster District, UBC Special Collections, 152.

²⁷⁵ Diane Newell was one of the first authors to explicitly comment on the connection between reserves and resources. See Newell, *Tangled Webs*, 55-62.

²⁷⁶ Adachi, *The Enemy*, 13. The Japanese population in BC increased to 8587 by 1911. Audrey Kobayashi and Peter Jackson, "Japanese Canadians and the Racialization of Labour in the British Columbia Sawmill Industry," *BC Studies*, 103, Fall 1994, 41.

²⁷⁷ Mitsuo Yesaki, *Sutebusuton: A Japanese Village on the British Columbia Coast*. Vancouver: Peninsula Publishing Company, 2003, 9-12.

²⁷⁸ Anne Doré, "Transnational Communities: Japanese Canadians of the Fraser Valley, 1904-1942," *BC Studies*, 134, Summer 2002, 43.

²⁷⁹ Ralston, "The 1900 Strike," 48.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁸¹ Newell, *Tangled Webs*, 85; Yesaki, *Sutebusuton*, 16-17.

²⁸² See, for example, Newell, *Tangled Webs*, 83-85; Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration*. 150, 342.

²⁸³ Canada, *Annual Report, 1900*, 298.

²⁸⁴ Jimmy Charlie, Gulf of Georgia Cannery Project, SNA, 98-SR6-7.

²⁸⁵ Dore, "Transnational," 39-41; Adachi, *Enemy*, 109-113; see also Christopher A. Reichl, "Stages in the Historical Processes of Ethnicity: The Japanese in Brazil, 1908-1988," *Ethnohistory*, 42, 1 (Winter 1995): 31-62.

²⁸⁶ Buck Suzuki, BCA Aural History, 103:5-6.

²⁸⁷ Sweetie Malloway, 14 Nov 1997, Gulf of Georgia Cannery Project, SNA, 98-SR5.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ Vancouver-Westminster Police District Daily Record Book, BCA, GR-0311. v.21, 19 Jan 1903.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 30 October 1901; and RG 10, vol.1455, letter 204, 11 September 1900.

²⁹² Friday uses the term "racialised groups" rather than "races" to emphasize the constructed nature of the racial categories, especially as they are used in industrial settings (Friday, "In Due Time"). See Barth, "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries," for a discussion of the maintenance of group mentalities.

²⁹³ For example, see Newell, *Tangled Webs*, 53; Jody R. Woods, "The Salmon Canneries: Making Room for Families," in Carlson, *Atlas*, 72; Alicija Muszynski, Cheap Wage Labour: Race and Gender in the Fisheries of British Columbia. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1996.

²⁹⁴ Aggie Victor, Gulf of Georgia Cannery Project, SNA, 98-SR3

²⁹⁵ "When we're finished washing fish, if the Chinaman's any good, he makes me go somewhere else to do pile cans, you know....Sometime the Chinamen feel sorry for me. One young Chinaman come pack it all for me." Aggie Victor, Gulf of Georgia Cannery Project, SNA, 98-SR3.

²⁹⁶ Canada, *Chinese and Japanese Immigration*, 143. "[Mr. Bell-Irving] gave in his evidence a statement of the total wage expenditure at one of these canneries for the season of 1900 at \$50,872, of which he assigned \$33500 to white labour against \$17000, in round figures, for Chinese labour, and out of this the Chinese paid their Indian hands. The Indians being about 60 percent of the number of the Chinese, or putting it at fifty percent, one-third of the above amount would represent Indian labour, so that this cannery less that @12000 represents the amount actually paid for Chinese labour." *Ibid.*, 302.

²⁹⁷ Sweetie Malloway, 14 Nov 1997, Gulf of Georgia Cannery Project, SNA, 98-SR5.

²⁹⁸ Aggie Victor, Gulf of Georgia Cannery Project, SNA, 98-SR3.

- ²⁹⁹ Both Cassimir and James Harry at 1902 Commission. See Canada, *Chinese and Japanese Commission*, 347.
- ³⁰⁰ Joseph of Capilano, Canada, *Chinese and Japanese Immigration*, 347.
- ³⁰¹ Chief Joe Isaac, British Columbia, "Evidence," 99.
- ³⁰² *Ibid.*, 644.
- ³⁰³ Testimony of John Scott to the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration as cited in Newell, *Tangled Webs*, 85.
- ³⁰⁴ By and large, Euro-Canadian fishermen encouraged Aboriginal people to join their unions but, generally, refused membership to Chinese and Japanese newcomers. See Creese, "Exclusion or Solidarity?" for discussion of inter-racial unions in the Fraser River fishery.
- ³⁰⁵ Stuart Marshall Jamieson, "Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-66," Ottawa: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of British Columbia, 1968, 139-140; Percy Gladstone and Stuart Jamieson, "Unionism in the Fishing Industry of British Columbia," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 16(2), May 1950, 155-156.
- ³⁰⁶ Ralston, "1900 Strike," 144-145.
- ³⁰⁷ Percy Gladstone, "Native Indians and the Fishing Industry of British Columbia," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 19(1), 29.
- ³⁰⁸ *Chilliwack Progress*, 20 September 1905.
- ³⁰⁹ Canada, *Annual Report*, 1901, 287.
- ³¹⁰ Aboriginal people held firm to their position in spite of threats that Japanese women would be hired to work in the canneries, as "Without the [Aboriginal] women it is said that the Indians [men] are not of special value at the canneries." *Vancouver Daily Province*, 20 and 22 June 1901, p.1; see also Gladstone, "Native Indians," 29.
- ³¹¹ Burrard Inlet Petition to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, 19 August 1869, RG 10, vol. 1001, reel T-1455 as cited in Carlson, *Atlas*, 171.
- ³¹² Letter to the Indian Superintendent from Various Stó:lō Chiefs, presented to the Indian Superintendent on 26 April 1894 and published in the *Chilliwack Progress*, 2 May 1894, 1 as found in Carlson, *Atlas*, 175.
- ³¹³ British Columbia, "Evidence," 84.
- ³¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³¹⁵ See "The Protection of Native Races: Rev. Dr. Tucker's Appeal on Behalf of the Indians of British Columbia," a lecture presented in Toronto on 18 March, 1914, RG 10, Volume 3822, File 59, 335-2; "The British Columbia Indian Land Question from a Canadian Point of View: An Appeal to the People of Canada", published by the Conference of Friends of the Indians of British Columbia, 1914, RG 10, Volume 3822, File 59, 335-2; Arthur O'Meara, 'The British Columbia Indian Land Situation: A Great Question to be Settled', 1910, RG 10, Volume 3822, File 59, 335-2; British Columbia, "Evidence," 460.
- ³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 231.
- ³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 231-232. Chief Charlie argued that "For we are the real owners of the land from time immemorial as God create us Indians in this territory, so as God created the white people and other nations in their own territories in Europe; therefore we claim a permanent compensation for the enormous body of land known as the Province of British Columbia, in which taking by the British Columbia Government and sale to our white brothers and occupied by them." *Ibid.*, 141.
- ³¹⁸ Canada, *Chinese and Japanese Immigration*, 347.
- ³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 347.
- ³²⁰ British Columbia, "Evidence," 61.
- ³²¹ *Ibid.*, 231-232.
- ³²² Chief Charlie told the commissioners that "Also Governor Seymour the second Governor. He also made a lasting promise to us Indians in New Westminster that we will receive or deserving one fourth from all taxes this money for our support and to improve our land." *Ibid.*, 141. Chief Johnnie at Musqueam mentions that Queen Victoria promised that the people at Musqueam would be "looked after," while Cassimir at Langley stated that Governor Seymour said in a speech at one of the Queen's Birthday celebrations that "the Government was going to pay the Indians for the outside lands." See *Ibid.*, 61, 119. The Queen's Birthday celebration mentioned by Cassimir might refer to Seymour's first speech after Douglas' retirement. For a full description of the circumstances surrounding Seymour's speech, see Carlson, "The Power," 274-287.
- ³²³ British Columbia, "Evidence," 62.

³²⁴ Ibid., 64.

³²⁵ Ibid., 232.

³²⁶ See Carlson, "The Power," 328-332; Robert Galois, "The Indian Rights Association, Native Protest Activity and the 'Land Question' in British Columbia, 1903-1916," *Native Studies Review*, 8:2 (1992): 1-34; Keith Thor Carlson, "Rethinking Dialogue and History: The King's Promise and the 1906 Aboriginal Delegation to London," *Native Studies Review*, 16:2 (2005), 1-39.

³²⁷ British Columbia, "Evidence," 104, 113.

³²⁸ Ibid., 104, 113.

³²⁹ Ibid., 143.

³³⁰ Tilly Gutierrez told Sonny McHalsie that she understood that the Department of Indian Affairs placed Chinese farmers on the Chowathil reserve to teach Stó:lō people how to farm. Personal communication with Sonny McHalsie, 1 March 2004.

³³¹ See British Columbia, "Evidence," 62-64, 522-524.

³³² Ibid., 44-45.

³³³ Homer Barnett's informants told him that people from Musqueam had summer village sites along Capilano Creek. See Homer G. Barnett, *The Coast Salish of British Columbia*. Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon Press, 1955, 33.

³³⁴ Suttles, Private Knowledge.

Conclusion

Stó:lō people today continue to interact in new ways with people from the Pacific. Many continue their relationships with newcomers in BC by participating in functions organised with Bill Chu and other members of Chinese and Japanese Canadian communities and by fishing alongside, and in competition with, Asian Canadians and others. Some Stó:lō people are making connection with people living throughout the Pacific Rim. In the summer of 2000, five Stó:lō people accepted an invitation from representatives of the Maisin people of Papua New Guinea to participate in an exchange, where Stó:lō people stayed in Maisin villages in anticipation of Maisin people later visiting the Lower Fraser Valley.³³⁵ The purpose of the exchange was to discuss common challenges the two indigenous peoples face in the twenty-first century. The Maisin people have held continuous, though recently precarious, control over their lands and hoped to learn from those who worked for the Stó:lō Nation how, among other things, to initiate and execute local development strategies. Stó:lō people, on the other hand, sought insights into the benefits and pitfalls of communal land ownership as they worked toward a land claim agreement with the provincial and federal governments. In spite of their different experiences of colonial forces – Stó:lō people interacting with predominantly British officials and settlers since the 1850s and losing control over their territory while Maisin people remained distant from Spanish, French, and British colonisers until the 1890s and have largely retained their lands and utilise older technologies – Stó:lō and Maisin people viewed their relationship as an opportunity to exchange ideas and to grow in awareness of others.

As the Maisin exchange shows, and as this thesis argues, Stó:lō people's interactions with groups from the Pacific have been far more important and complex than previous scholarship has recognised. While historians have demonstrated the responses of Aboriginal people to European newcomers, similar commentary on relations with newcomers from the Pacific emphasise hostility and conflict. Moreover, studies of Native-newcomer relationships mainly have focussed on Aboriginal interactions with Euro-Canadians to the near-exclusion of meetings between Aboriginal people and those from the Pacific Rim. Yet, since the establishment of Fort Langley in 1827, people from Southern- and South-Eastern Asia and Hawaii have played an important part in how Stó:lō people understood themselves and all other newcomers. The complexities involved in Aboriginal people's relations with non-Europeans are worthy of study.

As this study shows, Stó:lō people who arranged the first marriages with the men at the first Fort Langley did not differentiate between Hawaiians, Canadiens, and British employees as such categories were alien to Coast Salish society. In time, however, the social hierarchy within the fort became apparent to Stó:lō people, who increasingly preferred marriages with the British and Canadien employees who could best satisfy the *siyá:ye* obligations and thereby enhance their family's status. During the gold rush, too, Stó:lō people expanded upon their understandings of newcomers to accommodate the influx of miners from all parts of the world, with Chinese (and Euro-American) miners initially considered as trespassers but later viewed as potential family members and rent payers, bringing them into closer relationships. As Stó:lō women married Chinese men, disputes arose within Stó:lō communities as to who was an accepted member of a family, especially as reserve lands became smaller and access to resources more difficult as the

state asserted its authority in the region. Economic competition in the fisheries between Stó:lō men and Japanese men, and between Stó:lō women and Chinese men, heightened tensions in the early twentieth-century. Stó:lō leaders challenged the dominance of Japanese fishermen in the province's economy, not because of xenophobic feelings, but out of frustration with what they perceived as an abandonment by the provincial and federal governments of their covenant relationship with Stó:lō people. To focus on any one of these aspects would bring some understanding of Aboriginal perceptions of others, but analysing how and why these tensions interacted within and between Aboriginal families offers greater insight into how Aboriginal people grouped others and how those ascriptions affected interactions with others. Future studies of race relations need to look beyond instances of conflict to examine how disdain, disinterest, and mutual discovery interacted within group relations.

Furthermore, future studies of race relations need to recognise the limited applicability of racial categories. Recent studies have shown various ways in which people have constructed racial groupings. Indeed, Stó:lō people engaged in the racialisation of both Japanese and Chinese Canadians during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. However, in early Aboriginal encounters with newcomers, there were no "racial" constructions to analyse, at least from Native people's perspective. As during the Fraser Gold Rush, when Stó:lō categorised newcomers based more on familiarity than physical differences, the ways in which Aboriginal people grouped others had little if any symmetry with European racial ascriptions. Further study would shed light onto the ways in which Aboriginal people differentiated themselves from others, distinguished between other groups, and how these understandings of others shifted as

colonial forces became embedded on the Pacific coast. That is not to suggest that colonial forces dictated changes to Stó:lō people's categories of otherness. Rather, Stó:lō people incorporated newcomers into their existing taxonomies, categories that were well established but also flexible enough to accommodate new situations. Stó:lō people's racialisation of Japanese and Chinese Canadians speaks more of dynamics operating with Stó:lō culture than of forces acting upon Stó:lō culture.

More than illuminating aspects of Aboriginal people's intellectual history, the study of Native-Asian interactions offers insights into the dynamics within Canadian society. In spite of the significant role of Europeans and Euro-Canadians in the history of North America, it is incorrect to assume their presence was always of central importance to Aboriginal people. At least one historian has pointed out the need for his colleagues to reconsider past approaches that placed newcomers (read as "Euro-Canadians") at the locus of Aboriginal people's world in favour of recognising how tensions within local First Nations influenced peoples' understanding of both themselves and others.³³⁶ It is helpful to remember that at times non-Europeans played central roles in how Aboriginal people understood themselves and their place vis-à-vis other newcomers. One only need look to instances where demographics favoured Asian immigrants' interactions with Aboriginal people, as in the Lower Fraser Canyon during the early 1860s. Understanding how so-called minorities viewed each other and how attitudes affected dynamics within and between communities highlights not only the limitations of colonialist actions in affecting desired outcomes among colonised groups but also the range of responses of the racialised and the colonised to each other beyond the gaze of colonisers.

British Columbia's place as the 'gateway to the Pacific' makes it a prime location for future studies of Aboriginal interactions with non-Europeans. Moreover, the unevenness of settlement and the often haphazard enforcement of federal protocols throughout the rest of Canada, as well as the varied composition of immigrant groups, make analyses of Aboriginal understandings of non-Europeans, or perhaps non-British, relevant to the writing of the country's history. Much could be done to enhance understanding of relations between Aboriginal, Japanese Canadian, and Chinese Canadian people in the fisheries that dotted the Pacific Coast, meetings between Interior Salish people and Chinese miners in the mid-nineteenth century, and the differences in Aboriginal people's attitudes toward the Japanese Canadian internment. Furthermore, situations east of the Rocky Mountains make similar studies both applicable and potentially rewarding. While immigration to other parts of the country largely precluded people from the Pacific, Aboriginal people likely interacted with, or at least had opinions of, the large number of Mennonite and Ukrainian people who took up homesteads on the Prairies (and later in the Fraser Valley), as well as the African Canadian populations in Nova Scotia and BC's Saltspring Island. Studies of Aboriginal interactions with non-Europeans emerge from and affect all of Canada.

Over the past two decades, the study of Native-Newcomer relations has become one of the most vibrant fields of study among Canadian historians. One way for historians to continue to challenge and inform how both academics and the laity view the country's past is to broaden what is commonly understood by the term 'newcomer.' Historians have benefited from trying to understand Aboriginal people's perspectives on past experiences with others. More might be gained from considering incidents and

attitudes that had strong influence among Aboriginal people, especially those that had little immediate bearing on Euro-Canadian society.

³³⁵ "Changing Ground," directed by John Walker, 2001.

³³⁶ Carlson, "Power," 4.



FIGURE 1.1
Stó:lō Territory

Figure 1.1

Stó:lō Territory.

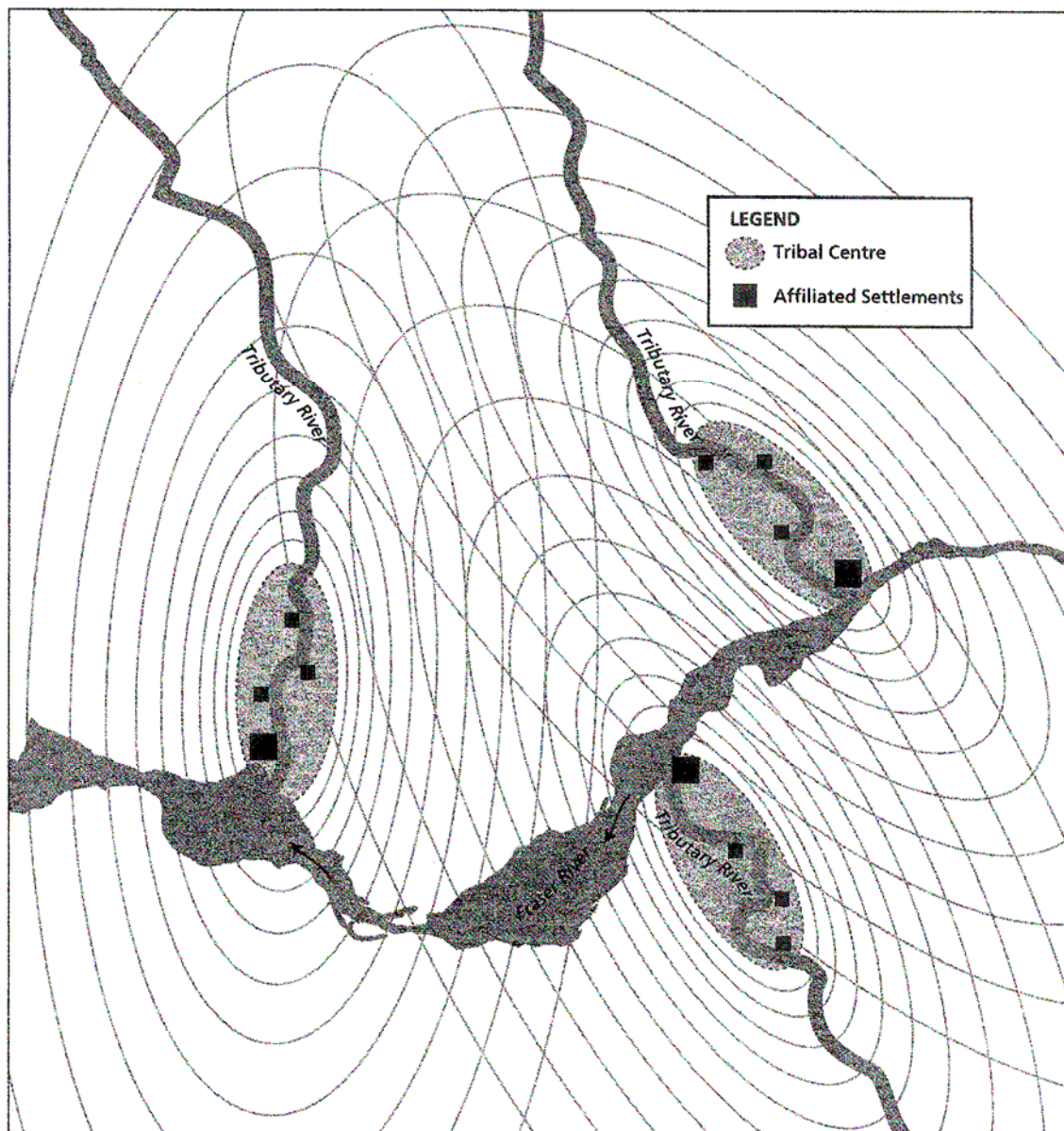


Figure 2.1

The shaded areas along the tributary rivers indicate the centre of tribal territory. Though control over surrounding resources diminished further away from the tribal centre, a family could secure access to their territorial periphery by establishing relationships with the group that exerted control over the area.

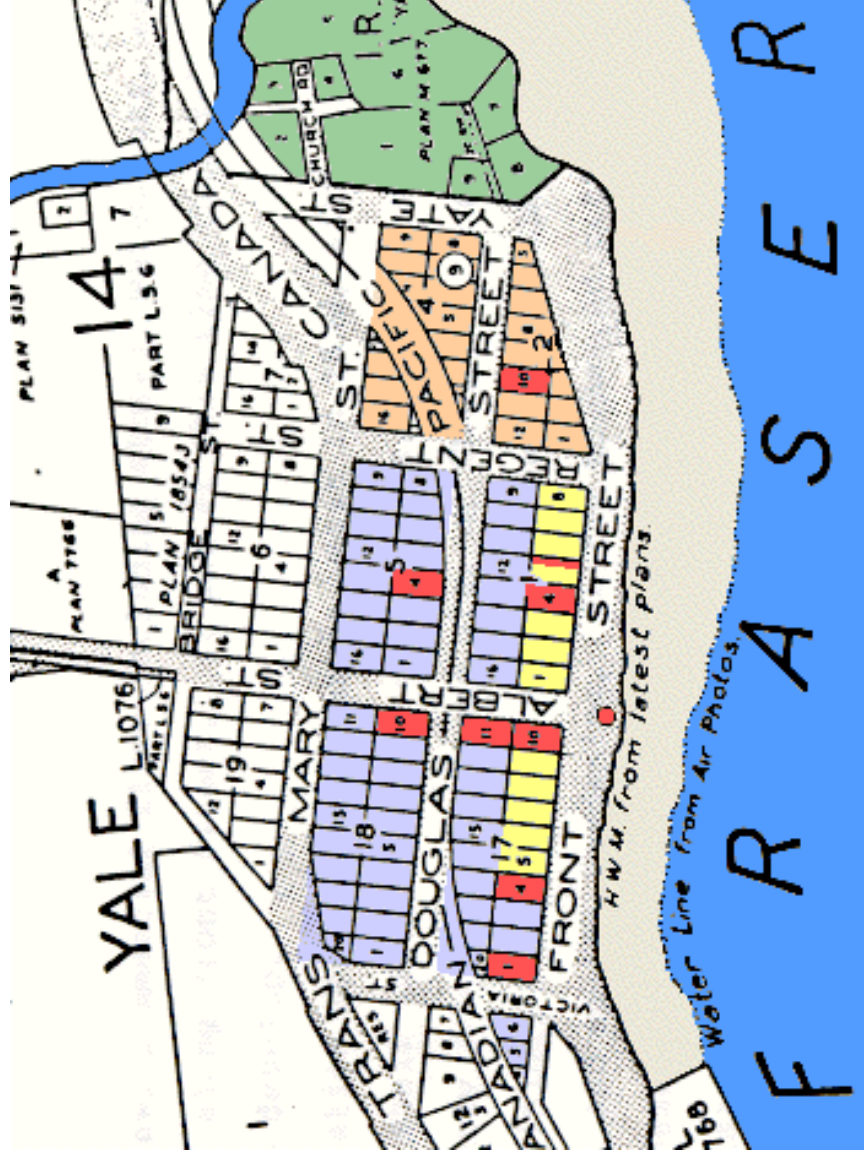


Figure 4.1

Contemporary map of Yale showing the proximity of the original Chinatown (bounded by Regent, Mary, and Yate Streets) and the Indian Reserve (east of Yate Street) established in 1858.



Figure 4.2
Chinese and Stó:lō men mingle on the docks at Moodyville. (Vancouver City Archives, Photo #, Mi P2)

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Museums and Archives Abbreviations

British Columbia Archives (Victoria, British Columbia)	BCA
Chilliwack Archives (Chilliwack, British Columbia)	CA
National Archives of Canada (Ottawa, Ontario)	NAC
Royal Anthropological Institute (London, Great Britain)	RAI
Stó:lō Nation Archives (Chilliwack, British Columbia)	SNA
Historic Yale Museum (Yale, BC)	YM

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