Enrolment Officer's Reply Report made in response to Submissions at the Tribunal hearing:

Report Regarding Ancestors Frederick Ferris and Walter Ferris (RIN #5208 and RIN #2196) dated May 25, 2023



Joan Holmes, Enrolment Officer for AOO Prepared for the Algonquin Tribunal May 2023

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1. Introduction

The Tribunal received documents regarding the ancestors Frederick Ferris (RIN #5208) and his son Walter Ferris (RIN #2196). The documents and follow-up materials are attached to this report which is posted on the Tribunal's website at:

https://www.tanakiwin.com/tribunal/frederick-ferris-and-walter-ferris-3/

The Documents appear on the website as:

- Document 14 Enrolment Officer's Supplemental presentation for Frederick Ferris and Walter Ferris
- Document 15 Supplement to Oral Submission from Chief C. Bastien:

This responding report addresses the content of recently submitted documents that are relevant to the Tribunal's inquiry, which is to determine whether Frederick Ferris and Walter Ferris are identified in a historic record or document dated on or before December 31, 1921, in such a way that it would be reasonable to conclude that either or both of them were considered to be an Algonquin or Nipissing, or a sibling of such a person. A "sibling of such a person" means a person with a common Algonquin parent.

This reply report refers to documents that are contained in the Enrolment Officer's Report. As noted in the Enrolment Officer's Report, archival documents recording a family's life events have been assigned ALG document numbers; RIN numbers have been assigned to individuals discussed in the report to aid in identification. Both RIN numbers and ALG numbers will be referenced in this report for ease of discussion.

2. Documents supplied to the Tribunal and additional research

Prior to the Tribunal Hearing for Frederick and Walter Ferris on the May 12, 2023 an additional document, being an Article by John S. Long, was submitted to the Tribunal regarding the siblings and parentage of Fredericks Ferris/Faries. The document, discussed in section 2.1, is attached to this report. This document prompted the Enrolment Officer to conduct additional research. This additional research yielded additional documents that provide further context. The documents are discussed and appended to this report.

2.1 Article by John S. Long

A 22-page article written by John S. Long entitled "The 1859 New Year's Day Fight: Race, Place, Marriage, Gender, and Status in Western James Bay," was submitted to the Tribunal. This article is based on oral history testimonies from descendants of fur trade men who were based at Moose Factory. One of the testimonials was given by William Richard Faries, the great-grandson of Hugh Faries Jr. This article purported to provide the names of Hugh's parents, and the previously unknown name of Hugh Faries "country" wife, Josepht Mainville. Hugh Faries Jr. is believed to be the father of ancestor Frederick Ferris (RIN #2196).

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¹ ALG-40610

2.2 Bethune et al. 1867:249-50

The reference provided in the article which names Hugh Faries Jr.'s wife as being Josepht Mainville was taken from *The Lower Canada Jurist*. *Collection decisions du Bas Canada*, a periodical published from 1857 to 1891 which summarized the results of civil government and administration of justice in the Province of Quebec.

The reference relating to Hugh Faries and Josepht Mainville was found in Volume 11, and discusses a legal proceeding by Charles Faris, a nephew of Hugh, against "Loucie Faris" wife of Montferrant. Loucie was described as the daughter of Hugh Faris and Josepht Mainville, who was identified as "a half breed or 'Metis' Indian." The record states that Hugh and Josepht were married according to the custom of the country before 1810.²

Further research found a baptism record for "Loucie Faris" at Berthier dated November 1827 upon which her name is given as Lucie Helene Faris. Only one parent was named on the document: Sir Hugues Faris. She was said to be 15 years of age at baptism and born 'dans les Pays Hauts' (i.e. in the Upper Country). Her mother's name was not provided on this record. Lucie was married in 1845 at Berthier to Edouard Montferrand. On the marriage document she was identified as the adult daughter of Sir Hugues Faris. Again, no mother's name was provided on this record.

Additional research was undertaken to provide additional information on Frederick's parentage. A dissertation by Denise Fuchs entitled *Native Sons of Rupert's Land 1760 to the 1860s* included a table naming "Frederick Faries" as the son of Hugh Faries and Josephte, having joined the NWC/HBC in 1829. The source for this information was listed as being taken from various sources including HBCA Servants' Ledgers (A. 16), Servants' Lists (A.30), Servants' Contracts (A.32), Officers' and Servants' Wills (A.36), Red River Parish Registers (E.411), and Search Files. The Servants' Contract for Frederick Faries has not yet been received by the Enrolment Officer in order to verify this information.

A baptism for a "Frederic Ferisse" son of "Ferisse & de Etabite" at Ste. Anne, Detroit was located by the Enrolment Office; however, this copy is largely illegible and a more complete copy could not be located.⁶ We could not confirm this record as being the baptism of ancestor Frederick Ferris (RIN #5208), nor was it possible to confirm the name of the parents given on this record.

The documents discussed above are not conclusive as to the identity of Frederick Ferris' mother, who is purported to be the mixed-ancestry woman Josepht Mainville. These documents do not provide any specific information as to her tribal affiliation.

² ALG-40614

⁴ ALG-40616

ALG-40618

³ ALG-40615

ALG-40617 p. 36

3. Reply submission by Chief C. Bastien on behalf of his community

Additional documents were supplied to the Tribunal and the Enrolment Office with regards to the parentage of Hugh Faries Jr., the purported father of ancestor Frederick Ferris (RIN #5208). These documents included baptism records at Montreal for:

- Eleanor Ferris born 1764 daughter of Hugh Ferris and Margaret Taylor⁷
- Eleanor Faries born 1767 daughter of Hugh and Margaret Faries⁸
- Hugh Faries born 1768 son of Hugh and Margaret Faries⁹
- Joseph Faries born 1770 son of Hugh and Margaret Faries¹⁰

A marriage record for Hugh Faries (Sr.) and Mary Warfinger in 1778 at Montreal was also provided. ¹¹ Hugh and Mary are the purported parents of Hugh Faries Jr. A baptism for their daughter "Lusey" in 1779 was also submitted. ¹²

These records ostensibly pertain to the siblings of Hugh Faries Jr., making them the aunts and uncles of ancestor Frederick Ferris (RIN #5208). These records would suggest that Hugh Faries Sr. was married to Margaret Taylor prior to his marriage to Mary Warfinger, however a search to find a burial record for Margaret Taylor proved to be unsuccessful. These documents add no conclusive information as the parentage or tribal affiliation of ancestor Frederick Ferris (RIN #5208).

Other documents included in this submission were Notarial Records of the Engagement of Hugh Faries Jr. in 1797 by the McTavish and Frobisher Companies, ¹³ and in 1815 to the North West Company as a Clerk for three years. ¹⁴ These Notarial records corroborate the known occupation and locations of Hugh Faries Jr. whilst working for the North West Company. A burial record for Hugh Faries Jr. in 1851 at Sorel was also provided giving his age as 70 years old at the time of his death. ¹⁵ These documents provide no conclusive information with regards to the origins or tribal affiliation of ancestor Frederick Ferris (RIN #5208).

The submission also included the baptism and marriage of Hugh Faries Jr.'s daughter Lucey in 1827 and 1845, as discussed above, and a Notary Document of Ratification for Lucey, although it is unclear what this document relates to. ¹⁶ A baptism record for a son John in 1838 and a daughter Victoria in 1838, children of Hugh Faries Jr., were also included in this submission.

John was baptized at Sorel on January 9, 1838, having been born on August 12, 1829 the son of Hugh Feries, Esquire, and Josette.¹⁷ Sorel is located on the south side of the St. Lawrence River across from Berthierville, where John's sister Lucey was baptized and married.

⁷ ALG-40619

⁸ ALG-40620

⁹ ALG-40621

¹⁰ ALG-40622

¹¹ ALG-40623

¹² ALG-40624

¹³ ALG-40625

¹⁴ ALG-40626

¹⁵ ALG-40629

¹⁶ ALG-40630

¹⁷ ALG-40627

A daughter, Victoria Laura, was baptized at Berthierville on July 15, 1838, at the age of 10 years and 10 months to Hugues Faries, ecuyer and "d'une femme des pays hauts". ¹⁸ The godmother for Victoria was named as Lucie Helene Faries, the known daughter of Hugh Faries Jr. and therefore the sister of Victoria.

The two baptisms corroborate the <u>given</u> name of the mother of Lucey Helene Faries, named in the *Lower Canada Jurist* document as being Josepht Mainville, as also being the mother of John, Victoria, and ancestor Frederick Ferris (RIN #5208). While these documents add additional information regarding the first name of Frederick Ferris' mother, they do not directly comment on Josepht's family name, indigeneity, or tribal affiliation.

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¹⁸ ALG-40628

Appendix A: Supporting Document List for Frederick and Walter Ferris

The documents in this table are listed by ALG number and appended in Appendix B

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40610	2012-00-00	Article, "The 1859 New Year's Day Fight: Race, Place, Marriage, Gender, and Status in Western James Bay"	John S. Long, "The 1859 New Year's Day Fight: Race, Place, Marriage, Gender, and Status in Western James Bay" in Papers of the 40th Algonquian Conference, Eds. Monica Macaulay, Margaret Noodin & J. Randolph Valentine (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012), pgs 288-309.
ALG-40614	1867-00-00	The Lower Canada Jurist	Bethune, Strachan, P. R. Lafrenaye, F. W. Torrance, and J. L. Morris, eds. <i>The Lower Canada Jurist</i> . Collection de Décisions du Bas Canada, Vol. XI. Montreal: John Lovell, 1867.
ALG-40615	1827-11-05	Baptism record for Lucie Helene Faries	Banq; www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979 Sainte-Geneviève-de-Berthier > Sainte-Geneviève-de-Berthier > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1823-1835 > image 246 of 704;
ALG-40616	1845-10-15	Marriage of Edward Montferand and Lucie Helene Faris	Banq; www.familysearch.org Canada, Québec, registres paroissiaux catholiques, 1621-1979 Sainte-Geneviève-de-Berthier > Sainte-Geneviève-de-Berthier > Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1835-1845 > image 666 of 673;
ALG-40617	2000-00-00	Thesis, Native Sons of Rupert's Land 1760 to the 1860s	Fuchs, Denise. <i>Native Sons of Rupert's Land 1760 to the 1860s</i> . PhD Thesis, University of Manitoba, 2000.
ALG-40618	1827-02-10	Baptism of Frederic Ferisse	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal. Ancestry.ca U.S., French Catholic Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1695-1954 D > Détroit, Ste-Anne; Autre Registres > 1810-1831 p. 40
ALG-40619	1764-07-08	Baptism of Eleanor Ferris	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal. Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 M > Montréal > Protestants > 1760-1764 p. 13
ALG-40620	1767-11-21	Baptism of Eleanor Faries	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal. Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 M > Montréal > Anglican Christ Church Cathedral, Actes > 1766-1784 p. 44

Document Number	Document Date	Document Description	Reference
ALG-40621	1768-11-22	Baptism of Hugh Faries	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal. Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 M > Montréal > Anglican Christ Church Cathedral, Actes > 1766-1784 p. 45
ALG-40622	1770-04-23	Baptism of Joseph Faries	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal. Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 M > Montréal > Anglican Christ Church Cathedral, Actes > 1766-1784 p. 47
ALG-40623	1778-04-00	Marriage of Hugh Farries and Mary Warfinger	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal. Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 M > Montréal > Protestants > 1765-1787 p. 117
ALG-40624	1779-03-21	Baptism of Lusey Faries	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal. Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 M > Montréal > Anglican Christ Church Cathedral, Actes > 1766-1784 p. 47
ALG-40625	1797-08-30	Notary Document of Engagement of Hugh Faries by McTavish & Frobisher	Banq, Montreal; Original data:Fonds Cour Supérieure. Greffes de notaires. Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Notarial Records, 1637-1935 Répertoires De Notaires (Notarial Catalogs) > Montréal > Chaboillez, Louis (1787-1801) p. 218
ALG-40626	1815-12-22	Notary Document of Engagement of Hugh Faries by the North West Company	Banq, Montreal; Original data:Fonds Cour Supérieure. Greffes de notaires. Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Notarial Records, 1637-1935 Répertoires De Notaires (Notarial Catalogs) > Montréal > Beek, John Gerbrand (1795-1821) p. 137
ALG-40627	1838-01-09	Baptism of John Faries	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal. Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 S > Sorel > Anglican Christ Church > 1838 p. 2
ALG-40628	1838-07-15	Baptism of Victoria Faries	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal. Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 B > Berthierville > ALL > 1838 p. 34
ALG-40629	1851-02-21	Burial of Hugh Faries	Institut Généalogique Drouin, Montreal. Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1968 S > Sorel > Anglican Christ Church > 1851 p. 5

Document	Document	Document Description	Reference
Number	Date		
ALG-40630	1855-01-08	Notary Document for Ratification by	Banq, Montreal; Original data:Fonds Cour Supérieure. Greffes de notaires.
		Dame Lucee Helene Faries	Ancestry.ca Quebec, Canada, Notarial Records, 1637-1935
			Répertoires Et Index De Notaires > Montréal > Coutu, Joseph-Francois-Gilbert
			(1840-1880) p. 162

Appendix B: Supporting Document Package for Frederick and Walter Ferris

The documents are organized by ALG document number.

They appear in the same order as in the list in Appendix A and are bookmarked for ease of reference.

The 1859 New Year's Day Fight: Race, Place, Marriage, Gender, and Status in Western James Bay

JOHN S. LONG
Nipissing University

Many a dance was held in Moose Factory's old carpentry shop, where Hudson's Bay Company ships were built and, later, treaty gatherings were sometimes held. Wedding dances and special holidays provided an occasion to celebrate and relax at this trading post, established by the HBC in 1673. The 1859 New Year's Day dance was an especially memorable one, for simmering tensions between local HBC employees of Indigenous-European ancestry and their transient Norwegian co-workers erupted in violence. I will examine two oral accounts of this event, along with the corresponding archival records, and comment on Métis ethnogenesis, place and gender in western James Bay from the mid-nineteenth century.

WILLIE FARIES' ACCOUNT

William Richard Faries (whose surname is pronounced Ferris) was born at Fort Albany, now known as Albany Island (or, locally, Old Post), on 17 July 1895. He was the second of four children of HBC cooper George Faries Sr. (1869–1901) and his wife Mary (née Wesley 1873–?). When George died, his widow and children lived for four years with Willie's paternal grandparents, 65-year-old HBC laborer Patrick Faries (1836–1924) and his 63-year-old wife Jane (née Mark 1838–?). When Willie's

^{1.} His siblings were Jane (eldest), James Walter, and George Edgar.

^{2.} The 1901 census lists Cree English Breed Patrick Faries, color red; his wife Jane and daughter-in-law Mary, both Cree and red; and the four Cree English Breed, red grandchildren living in Fort Albany dwelling number 15 (Canada 1901; see also MNC). On census categories see Long 2008.

mother remarried in 1905, he and his siblings continued to reside with these grandparents.³

When I met him at Moose Factory in the 1970s, Willie was a retired HBC servant who had worked throughout the James and Hudson Bay region and eastern arctic, a veteran of World War I, an active man with a blind, bedridden wife (Maggie, née Wesley).⁴ He was proud that their only surviving child, George, represented the fifth Faries generation to work for the HBC, even as the Company's hegemony was being challenged at Moose Factory by his nephew's son, Donald.⁵ I knew Willie as a kind and generous man (see Illustration 1). I never used a tape recorder during our visits but among the memories I treasure of Willie's friendship is his account, written for me in 1978, of ethnic conflict at Moose Factory 120 years earlier. It is a written version of an oral account that he had heard, recounted to him perhaps half a century earlier, recorded by my 83-year-old friend as if his paternal grandfather were recounting an event that took place when Pat was in his early twenties.

^{3.} Widow Mary Wesley-Faries married HBC servant and widower Peter B. Louttit (1861–?) in 1905. The 1901 census lists Peter as a Cree French Breed, color red, but he would be Cree Scotch Breed, if Peter Louttit Sr. was his father. Peter B's first wife, Jane Wynne (–1903), was recorded as Cree, color red, and their children (Willie Faries' half-siblings) included James, Sophia, Margaret, Ann Elizabeth, Peter Harry and two others who died in infancy. Peter B's parents were Peter Senior (?–1903), categorized as a Cree French Breed (but perhaps Scots-Cree?), color red and his wife Jane (née Mariette?), red and Cree—but perhaps French-Cree (Canada 1901).

^{4.} Willie started his 42-year career with the HBC at Fort Albany in 1914. After the war he was carpenter at Attawapiskat, outpost manager at Ghost River, and interpreter at Eastmain and Winisk. In 1948 he was assigned to the Arctic Division as a carpenter at Arctic Bay, Fort Chimo, Port Harrison, Povungnituk, Cape Dorset, Perry River, and Cape Parry (*Moccasin Telegraph* Winter 1960, 8; Winter 1970, 83).

^{5.} Pat Faries' parents were Walter Faries, a steersman, guide and laborer in the Kenogumisse district, and Jenny Robertson. His paternal grandfather was Hugh Faries Jr., a former Northwest Company trader and, following the 1821 union, a chief trader with the HBC. Hugh Jr.'s parents were Hugh Faries Sr. and Mary Warfinger. Angus and William Faries were Pat's half-brothers through his father and Hannah Hardisty, and Frederick Faries was Pat's uncle (personal communication with Willie Faries; HBCABS Faries). Don, a son of Willie's nephew Gilbert George Faries, was starting his own store, "GG's," part of what is now a highly successful commercial conglomerate. Willie told me that he had cautioned Don about advancing credit to Indians. Gilbert's mother was Willie's sister Jane.



Figure 1. Willie Faries (author's photo).

An Early 1[9]th Century Tale as Told to Us Boys by My Grandfather, Pat Faries

The Hudson's Bay Company had Norwegians as Post Servants in them days, maybe because they thought they were harder or tougher as they were from Norway. The tale is as follows, as told by my grandfather:

During ship time, sailing barges and smaller vessels were used for unloading goods from ship to Post, and landed at the dock. I had the job of seeing [that] everything came ashore dry and in good shape.

All of a sudden I heard shouts; a fight was going on! Big Jim Linklater and Rutherford were fighting in front of the warehouse. This Big Jim Linklater was the son of an Englishman, and Rutherford was a Norwegian blacksmith. Someone shouted to me, "Come up, Pat, and see the fight."

As I was running up, I heard Big Jim cuss and swear, "If this one don't get you, I don't know what will!" Just as I was getting there, Jim gave him one square on the chin. That laid Rutherford out cold, so they had to wheel him back home in a wheelbarrow.

This affair seems to have hurt the other Norwegians. There were twenty of these Norwegians [employed] as Post Servants, and we Halfbreeds were also Post Servants.

So then everything went fine after the fight was settled and forgotten. Or so it seemed.

New Year's came. The Company usually gave a feast and a dance for two nights. The New Year's Eve dance was fine. But the next dance, New Year's Night, this was where the devil came in.

First I will tell you boys that these Norwegians made wrist bands with a piece of lead fixed or tied on the wrist under the sleeve of their shirts, to use as a weapon.

Big Jim Linklater and Jimmy King Jr. were grand pals. They were step dancing, and while they were dancing the Norwegians piled on them. We didn't sit there to watch. We young Breeds jumped in!

I was playing the fiddle at the time, and my pal [George or James] Elson was the drummer. I went in with my fiddle in my hand, and broke it on the head of the first one I came on. Smashed it in a hundred pieces! And so, with Elson and his drum (which he didn't smash), in no time we had them lying all over the floor—smashed noses, broken arms, and black eyes. We didn't give them time to use the weapons they made. When it was over, there wasn't anyone else in the building, just ourselves. I never seen a man so mad as was old Jimmy King Sr. He was jumping round the floor shouting, "Is there any more Norwegians standing around?"

Yes, it was a humdinger of a night. The Chief Factor came in, and his staff, to see all things were quiet. The doctor sure had his hands full that night, in bandaging and pulling noses straight!

Well, that ended the dance. All we fighters went home with the Kings to their "butt and bens" where they lived. This old Jim King Sr. was the son of a Scotchman from Montreal. As we were all sitting around hitting the remains of the Scotch and so on, Jim's dog was barking. Out went old Jim King, gun in hand, and shouted, "Who goes there?"

"A friend," someone shouted. It was Isaac Hunter, who was staying in the Men's House (where the Norwegians also stayed).

^{6.} Willie Faries explained this was a "dwelling house." In the case of a modest two-room HBC servant's home, the inner room was "ben" and the outer one "but." See the *Oxford English Dictionary* explanation of "ben" as adverb, preposition, adjective, and noun online at www.oed.com.

Old Jim King [Sr.] shook his hands and told him, "Good thing you're a Scotchman, ma laddie, or else you would ha' been a dead man!"

This old Jim King was the bully that night, and he was a bareknuckled fighter too.

And so, the Boss called us over to the Carpenters Shed [see Illustration 2]. When we went in the building, most of the Norwegians were inside already. Then Mr. Miles, the Chief Factor, gave us a real good talking to. "First I want you men to know that what I say goes. All you Norwegians are going home this summer, and all you Breeds stay where you are 'til transferred to other posts. And none of this monkey stuff again." Then, as the bell hadn't rung for over a week, he said, "Tom, go ring the bell now."

We were about ten Breeds in that fight, and none had any broken limbs. Maybe black eyes only.

Then summer came. Isaac Hunter, Big Jim Linklater and I were sent to Albany Post. Before leaving, we got married, and behaved the rest



Figure 2. Looking out to sea (north[east]) from the District Manager's residence, Moose Factory 1934. Photographer: H. Bassett. Credit: Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba HBCA 1987/363-M-110/47 (N79-125). George and Emma Moore's residence with dormers, carpentry shop with bell, servant homes far below, and James Bay in distance. In earlier photographs the bell tower is freestanding.

of our days. Hunter was sent up the Albany River to be Post Manager at Mammaweemattawow (which means 'all branches in one' in Cree, later renamed English River). I myself became a voyageur on the Albany River, and Big Jim was skipper of the Albany sailing barge. Out of all the Norwegians, two was kept back; the blacksmith Rutherford, and Gunner Udgarten (who was cook for the gentry or officers).

Gunner Udgarten was the great grandfather of the present Gunners. Isaac Hunter was the granddad of the present Hunters. The Linklaters are descendents of Big Jim, and all we Faries are from old Pat.

Such was the old days.

WILLIE MOORE'S ACCOUNT

William Edwin Moore was born at Moose Factory in 1897, the youngest of four children born to George Moore III and his wife Emma. Little Willie was a short man, a bachelor who had worked for the HBC in Moosonee and Moose Factory for much of his life, the fifth generation of Moores in James Bay. Willie was twelve years old when his father died, and it fell to him to care for Emma until her own death, thirty-six years later.

When I met him, Willie was retired and living in the senior citizen's building in Moosonee, always a gracious host [see Illustration 3].



Figure 3. Willie Moore (author's photo).

In June of 1984, 87-year-old Willie played his accordion for me and answered numerous questions in his soft, gentle voice. He gave me additional information concerning the same New Year's incident in this excerpt from a taped interview. Willie Moore's account, told to him by his mother, "a baby . . . in a cradle" at the time, originated with his maternal grandmother, Mary (Turner), wife of HBC boat builder James Morrison, Jr.:

JL: You heard that story from your mother?

WM: Yes, my mother used to tell me about it. Her mother [Mary] told her; she [Emma] was only a baby when they had that fight. She was tied in a cradle, she said [see Illustration 4]. She was at this dance; her mother had her there. And they took all the young fellows' caps, she says. Her father's [James Morrison Jr.] cap got mixed up with them and they took his too. He went to get it and boy was he ever looking mad, eh. He says they give him his cap, all right.

JL: Did she say what started the fight?



Figure 4. Christmas Ball in Bachelor's Hall (York Factory). Sketch by Bayard in Ballantyne's *Hudson Bay*, p. 198.

WM: Well, . . . that [Norwegian] guy that was dancing over, in and out among the women when the Moose Factory boys were dancing. And the girls wouldn't dance with them, wouldn't dance their dance, you know. Waltzing, I guess. Then this guy started dancing in and out among the women, when they wouldn't dance with him I guess. This old Linklater hit him, she said, and that's what started the fight. They put the lights out and a bunch of them must have piled on him [the Norwegian].

JL: And that's when they stabbed him?

WM: And they were stabbing him, she said. Stabbing him with knives, only so much. Small cuts, eh. All over his body, I guess.

JL: What happened to them after that?

WM: I don't know what happened after that. They didn't mix up with them, I guess. They kept away from them. That was the New Year dance, eh, that they were having . . . My mother said the young fellows didn't walk [home] on the main road [that night], they walked down through the bush. They didn't want to let them catch them, I guess. If they caught one they'd have piled on him, I guess. They had to send them away to different posts. . . . That old Linklater was quite a fighter too, eh. That's what they used to say about him.

More than a century after the incident, Willie Faries and Willie Moore provided us with the names of several participants or observers in the New Year's fracas. We can supplement this information by examining church and HBC archival documents from the 1850s.

Norway House, in present-day Manitoba, attests to the employment of Norwegian prisoners-of-war by the HBC in 1814–17, clearing the winter road from York Factory to Lake Winnipeg (Burley 1997:85–6.). Others worked at Moose Factory (ibid., 187). Four decades after this initial and

largely unsuccessful venture, HBC Governor Sir George Simpson proposed that the Company again recruit Scandinavians. Historian Elizabeth Hurley notes that

Mid-nineteenth-century Norway, like northern Scotland, was underdeveloped and poor, populated by cottars who mixed subsistence agriculture with other occupations, such as working aboard ships and in fishing and lumbering. Presumably, its belief in the desirability of workers from such a society overwhelmed any memories of the unruly and insubordinate Norwegians it had hired in 1814 (ibid., 85, 100).

At Moose Factory, Orkneyman Isaac Hunter and Norwegian Gunder or Gundar H. Udgaarden were relative newcomers to James Bay, each in his third year of HBC service by 1858. James Rutherford was a man of Scottish, not Norwegian, ancestry and a comparative veteran in his fifteenth year of employment. Patrick Faries, Jim Linklater, Jim King, James Morrison and the Elsons were men of Indigenous-European ancestry who had been born in the territory and apprenticed to the Company in their early teens (HBCA 1858–9a). Tom cannot be identified and oral tradition errs in assigning Englishman Robert Miles (1795–1870), chief factor at Moose Factory from 1843–57, a role in this incident. Scotsman John George McKenzie had just replaced him (HBCABS Miles and McKenzie).

Our oral accounts have given us an excellent understanding of the New Year's conflict. We can summarize the sequence of events as follows. There was a fight involving Jim Linklater when the ship was unloading. The New Year's Eve dance was uneventful (WF). There was a second fight at the New Year's night dance. When Linklater was jumped upon, his fellow half-breeds retaliated. The Norwegians had weapons made of lead weights, while the half-breeds used their fists (WF). There was teasing, involving caps, and there was rivalry over women. Linklater initiated the fight, and knives were used (WM). Afterward there was a drinking celebration at the King residence (WF). Half-breeds avoided the path along the river (WM). The HBC doctor attended the injured. The chief factor investigated, called a meeting, and reprimanded those involved. All the Norwegians returned to Britain, except for Udgaarden (WF), and the quarrelsome half-breeds were apparently dispersed (WF, WM).

The Reverend John Horden, Moose Factory's resident clergyman at the time, reported a drunken brawl in the fall of 1857 (Horden 1858, 23

March). Horden, who had arrived from England in 1851 to replace the Wesleyan Methodist George Barnley, ministered to the resident English-speaking population as well as the more mobile Cree. "I am afraid," he wrote soon after arriving, "that my fellow whites will prove the greatest hindrance to the Mission . . . their example may prove prejudicial to the Indians but I hope not" (Horden 1851). Six years later he reported that many of the Company's servants were "drunkards," and knives were often drawn when they fought (Horden 1857a, 20 January). During the winter of 1857–8 he studied Norwegian and held classes and services in that language, aided by apprentice HBC clerk and Norwegian Charles Crowe (Horden 1857b, 24–25 December; 1858, 31 January and 2–25 March; HBCABS Crowe).

January of 1858 brought dramatic signs that some of this second wave of Norwegians, like their predecessors, were dissatisfied with working and living conditions. First, Gustaf Lundquist deserted from Fort Albany, arriving at Moose Factory in early January (HBCA 1858a, 9 January). On the same day, eleven other Norwegians sent chief factor John Mackenzie a letter outlining their grievances: "Sir we beg your pardon for taking this opportunity, but compelled of necessity we must write these few lines to let you know that we all wish to go home the next Ship time" (HBCA 1858b). They complained about their accommodations, their food, and their fellow workers. Before leaving Norway, they had been promised "free house and boarding." Instead, they were housed in the Company men's house at Moose Factory, "where wind and snow goes right through from one end to the other" and had to purchase their own bedclothes (ibid.).

Their food consisted of "a piece of pork or sometimes equal peas, beef so salt[y] & rusty as it is not eatable and many half rotten geese and on top of that, we must drink cold water." Although they had signed four-year contracts, they no longer considered themselves bound: "we are sure the Company have broken their Contract already from the first day we came on shore here" (ibid.; see also Burley 1997:170).

The Norwegians' fellow servants were another source of grievance, and their letter gives us a different perspective on ethnic tensions at Moose Factory, thirty-six years after the Hannah Bay murders (Long 2000; Chabot 2001): "[M]ost of us have been attacked by the natives of this country, yes some of us almost killed or at least spoiled for their whole life." They wrote that they had "not come here for to be killed one way nor yet the other" and gave notice of their intent to return home by ship—with or

without permission. Their letter was signed "with one wish and will" (HBCA 1858b).

Later in the month the Reverend Thomas Hamilton Fleming, Horden's associate, took a four-day return snowshoe trip to the "Log tent"—evidently a moss-covered log tipi or *askiigan*—known as "Fort Magnus," named for its Scottish foreman Magnus Linklater. For several months each winter some of the Company's servants were sent some twenty-seven miles upriver to cut wood, which would be floated down to Moose Factory in rafts after spring break-up (Fleming 1858). In mid-February, Magnus reported the desertion of two Norwegian servants, N. Olsen and C. Hindmarsh. Search parties failed to locate them that winter (HBCA 1858a, fos. 47d–49).

Two months later, on the evening of St. George's Day, ⁷ James Linklater became intoxicated and during a fight "got all the Norwegians upon him." It was apparently not Rutherford but Gustaf Lunquist, the only Norwegian to use a weapon, who stabbed Linklater—the victim, not the victor, in HBC records—"in several places" (ibid., 35d–36). In May, Mackenzie reported that even Lundquist's countrymen were afraid of him, requesting that he "be put in irons as he had threatened the lives of several of them, and that unless I did so they would refuse to work." This was not the first time that Lundquist had come to Mackenzie's attention, and the chief factor wrote that he "was glad to comply with Mens request." James Linklater, the Company blacksmith, was instructed to forge a set of handcuffs, and Lundquist was imprisoned for the night "in one of the Rooms in the Factory" (ibid., 34d-36). Next morning Lundquist was moved to another location, to remain there until ship time in August, and security measures were increased. In addition to the handcuffs, "his feet were manacled" and he was guarded by fellow Norwegian Gunder Udgaarden, the "Mens Cook," who was promised a gratuity once Lundquist was "safely put on board Ship" (ibid., fos. 35d-36).

June brought tragic news. The two Norwegians who had escaped in February were found by an Indian named *Quawecheeshik*:

He one day was following up an Otter and before his sight was one of these men dead from starvation along the bank of the [Abitibi] River. . . . [O]n his way up to the Post he found another Body of the said Norwegians at the mouth of the fredrick branch [Frederick House River]. It [appears] by what he Saw that this one must had died before the other left him as the Body was covered with a Blanket & Surrounded with Sticks, he supposed

^{7.} St. George, the patron saint of England, is celebrated on April 23.

to prevent the animals from destroying the Body. [A]long the bank of the River was hung up a pair of Snow Shoes & a Bell as a Sign to any one who might pass (ibid., fos. 51d–52).

This disturbing news must have shocked the other Norwegians, although the climate was often unforgiving in their homeland as well. It prompted Horden to comment that "Moose as a place of confinement for Europeans is much more secure than Pentonville Prison" in England (Horden 1858, 13 June).⁸

As ship time approached, Lundquist was allowed a little freedom "in the afternoons but he [was] put in Irons again towards Evening" (HBCA 1858a, 29 July, f.6d). Five Norwegians were sent home on the Company ship *Prince Arthur*, their contracts terminated (HBCA 1858–9b, 26–28 August, f.9d).

There were 17 Norwegians at Moose Factory in 1858–9, sixteen servants and officer Crowe (HBCA 1858-9a). Lundquist's departure did not end the labor troubles at Moose Factory, but things proceeded peacefully for a time (HBCA 1858-9b, 16 and 30 October, 15 November, fos. 13-14d). During Christmas week the servants were given a holiday and each received "3 Gallons Porter" (ibid., 27 December). This was a challenging season for Horden, who provided this description of Christmas holidays at Moose Factory soon after his arrival: "many of my white brethren hav[e] no doubt sore heads as the effect of last night's revelry, when cups were passed around rapidly, and blows dealt freely, and oaths of course uttered constantly" (Horden 1852, 25 December). He soon noticed a change in the men's behavior and was able to state that nearly all had tried to prevent liquor from gaining mastery of them. This, he realized, was an amazing feat when there was no work for a week and thirty to forty men were crowded together in one room with no restriction on the sale of liquor (Horden 1853, 31 December). Not everyone was sober, of course, but they learned to avoid the clergyman.

At 6 p.m. on Monday, the 27th of December, 1858, a "disturbance arose among the Norwegians and Half Breeds which however was soon quelled." The following day "No liquor was sold to the Men . . . in consequence of the disturbance last night." On Wednesday each man was given "I quart Porter." Thursday passed without any difficulties, and "some of the married Men [were] employed hauling home wood for their families." On Friday the year ended, and each of the men received his customary "Regale" or ration

^{8.} On Pentonville Prison, see Duncan 2000.

of liquor (HBCA 1858–9b, 27–31 December). New Year's Eve was celebrated without any major problems, just as Willie Faries was told by his grandfather.

On New Year's Day it was customary for Company employees to visit the chief factor. Mackenzie reports: "Saturday. Nearly all the Company's Servants called this morning & had each a Glass of Wine & the day passed over quietly." That night, however, "the Men had a dance in the Carpenters Shed & about 7 P.M. a serious disturbance took place between the Half Breeds & Norwegians." The unhappy Norwegians were "more in liquor than the others," and so they "got the worst of it & ran to the Mens House & took Guns threatening to shoot any Half Breeds who came near them." Mackenzie attempted to calm the Norwegians and left George Brown, a servant from Fort Albany, "as a Watch to prevent the entrance of any of the Half Breeds." Dr. W. Cowan, a Scotsman who had replaced Alexander Long as the Company's surgeon, was kept busy tending "3 or 4 Norwegians . . . badly cut," among them Christian Swendsen and Martin Johansen. Only two were injured "on the other side," James Linklater and John King (ibid., 1 January 1859).9

Sunday passed, Mackenzie apparently taking it as a day of rest. He then spent all of Monday investigating the affair. Willie Moore's account was correct: every witness agreed that James Linklater was to blame. He had struck one of the Norwegians "who was in liquor & interrupting him in the dance." Bilingual men of Indigenous-European ancestry were valuable commodities, but Linklater had proven to be a troublemaker. "As he has been in every row we have had since I came to Moose," wrote Mackenzie, "I intend removing him to Albany first opportunity" (ibid., 3 January 1859).

On Tuesday, January 4th, a second day was occupied "adjusting the difficulties between the Norwegians & Half Breeds." Linklater was banished to Albany on the 5th, escorted there by George Brown and Willie Moore's grandfather, James Morrison Jr. The servants resumed their normal tasks, except for those on the sick list. Starting on the 12th, the men were given their "drams" twice a week but no liquor was allowed to be sold until the Company's Governor, Sir George Simpson, could be consulted (ibid., 4–12 January 1859).

Later in January, many of the Norwegians were on the sick list (ibid., 19–21 January 1859), although their ailments were perhaps unrelated to the

^{9.} Cowan, who was married to Hariette Sinclair and placed under house arrest by Louis Riel in 1869–70, retired to St. Paul, Minnesota (HBCABS Cowan).

New Year's revolt. Burial records confirm Horden's gloomy observation that nearly every European lost a child during the winter of 1858–59 (Horden 1859; LUA 1851–1906). Labor troubles resumed. Mackenzie reports: "we had much trouble with the Norwegians today, about settling the question of an allowance of Tea & Sugar which they maintain was promised them by the Company at home, after some time I agreed to allow them 1/2 lb Tea & 3 lbs Sugar p[er] Man p[er] Month, having had previously Sir Geo. Simpsons sanction." As we might expect, the other employees wanted the same treatment—but this "was refused as they had no right to it" (HBCA 1858–9b, 17 February; Horden 1859; Burley 1997:170).

When two of the injured Norwegians, Swendsen and Johansen, were released by Dr. Cowan after six weeks of care, they then "refused to do any more work" and were put on reduced rations in February (HBCA 1858–9b, 22 February). A month later they, and another man who had refused to work since New Year's, had a change of heart and "commenced working." In April, after repeatedly refusing to work before breakfast "& being taken to task for it," Knud Waaler and Johansen stormed out of the "Carpenter's Shed" and again "refused to work any more" (ibid., 14 March and 6 April 1859).

On May 20th the Norwegians were allowed to celebrate Constitution Day, their national holiday (ibid., 20 May 1859; Loken 1980:5). Next month six of the men "refused to work . . . under the pretence that it [too] was a Norwegian Holiday." Mackenzie suspected this, and the earlier holiday, were simply "a got up scheme between them." He suspended Swendsen, Waaler, and four others from work (HBCA 1858–9b, 2 June; Horden 1859).

Ship time came again. Six of the Norwegians cancelled their contracts. These plus one more countryman left for England on the *Prince Arthur* (HBCA 1858–9b, 6 September). Within a short time, Gunder H. Udgaarden was the only one who remained. Horden spoke for many when he wrote of the others: "I by no means regret their departure; with the exception of a few honourable men, they conducted themselves very discreditably, engaging in frequent quarrels, in which the knife was on almost all occasions resorted to, and their general conduct being such as set a very improper example before my people" (Horden 1860).

The story of the New Years fight at Moose Factory is more complicated than oral tradition suggests. The earlier confrontation, told to Willie Faries, involved the stabbing of big Jim Linklater by Lundquist during the St. George's day celebrations. The New Year's dance did involve knives, as Willie Moore heard, but three or four Norwegians were very badly cut.

Willie Faries indicates that the "half-breed" participants married and led more settled lives, but we can now appreciate the reason: married men had their own living quarters, and some of these perhaps did not indulge to the same extent as single men in holiday carousing because they had to cut and haul firewood—a cooperative activity (Anderson 1961:26).

Archival documents inform us of the Norwegians' general dissatisfaction with their living and working conditions, a situation that prompted some of them to refuse to work (see also Burley 1997:187). They reveal Lundquist's desertion, his incarceration (in handcuffs forged by his victim) and eventual deportation. And we learn from these same sources of the deaths, through starvation or freezing, of his countrymen Olsen and Hindmarsh.

The documents and the oral tradition agree that the monotonous life of a Company servant living in the drafty men's house with its poor food was occasionally relieved by celebrations. When alcohol flowed freely, they could step dance to the sound of the fiddle and drum in the old carpenter's shop, or in the private homes of those HBC servants who had established families. But simmering tensions could be expected to explode occasionally into violence involving fists and knives.

The oral traditions, passed down from participants and observers to their grandchildren, provide an exciting record of events, involving what Dick Preston (n.d.) calls "known people in known places"—the Linklaters, Faries, Hunters, Udgaardens—and about the limits of misbehavior and their consequences for Company servants of Indigenous-European ancestry in the 1850s. Unfortunately, we cannot say what significance these winter events may have had for the inland Cree and Ojibwe who visited Moose Factory only for a few weeks each summer to trade their furs, or for the coasters, who formed a large summer workforce and sometimes visited the post at Christmas. In the 1850s, they were denied access to alcohol. It is clear, however, that those who decried the "less desirable" working-class model provided by transient construction workers in Canada's north during the second half of the twentieth century (Fried 1968:199–200) were unaware that working-class drinking was a well-established tradition a century earlier (Burley 1997:131–9).

HBC Governor Simpson soon realized that the Norwegian experiment of 1850s had failed, but he hoped that in smaller numbers they would "accommodate themselves to the habits of the country" and assimilate (Burley 1997:142). Gunder Udgaarden married Harriet Turner, thereby

becoming an uncle to Willie Moore's mother. Gunder raised six daughters and three sons, retiring in 1902, when the HBC reduced the size of its workforce at Moose Factory (Long 1985). 10 One of his sons, Augustine or Gustavus, produced eleven children and ensured that the family name variously spelled and now contracted to Gunner, a mispronunciation of the patronymic Gunder—would continue at Moose Factory and beyond.¹¹ Another moved to northeastern James and Hudson Bay, where he married an Inuk woman (HBCABS Udgaarden). The HBC service was not, of course, the only way for Norwegians to reach Canada. Over 28,000 Norwegians arrived at Quebec during the 1850s. Gunder Udgaarden was typical of many who became "scattered so far and wide . . . that they could establish no meaningful contact with their own ethnic group" and became assimilated into the Canadian mosaic, no longer identifiable as Norwegians (Loken 1980:14, 52). Many of his descendents at Moose Factory became identified as "half-breed" Company servants who were proud of their Indigenous-European ancestry, while others—since Bill C-31 amended the Indian Act—acquired Indian status if one of ancestors happened to have married an Indian. Since the 1970s the term "half-breed" has largely been replaced by "Métis" at Moose Factory and Moosonee.

When "ethnostatus distinctions" (Waldrum 1987) arose in western James Bay at the signing of Treaty No. 9 in 1905, the Moores and other HBC servants at Moose Factory, were denied Indian status, while further north and west the Linklaters, Faries, and Hunters were admitted to the treaty (Long 1985; Manore 1988). The family histories of Willie Faries, Willie Moore, and others involved in the 1858–9 New Year's festivities suggest a new reason why the treaty commissioners made these distinctions.

^{10.} In June of that year, Brian Gettler (2007) reports that "the HBC eliminated twelve Moose Factory servants from its payroll in order to lower the post's expenses." However, given that these men were "deeply in debt to the Company" and thus "on arrival at the front [the railway] will find themselves totally destitute," the HBC's James Bay district manager, George McKenzie, foreseeing this problem, had suggested several months earlier "to give each party say a ten Dollar Bill as a bonus. Even this would be a saving in order to get rid of them." The men were: Kenneth McLeod Sr., K. McLeod Jr., Malcolm McLeod, M[?] Linklater, Walter Ritchie, Geo Turner, Jas Turner, Gunder Udgarden, James Udgarden, Wm. Bain, Tom Bain, and R. Swanson.

^{11.} Gus, a resident of Moosonee, died on 23 January 1942 and was buried on the 28th. LUA Moose Factory Burials.

At Moose Factory, headquarters of the HBC's southern department, fur trade exogamy—whereby descendents of old Company officers married others of similar class and race, a practice which was perhaps beginning to reach its limits by 1900—was still possible, at least for men, at midnineteenth century. Willie Moore's grandfather, Joseph Moore, had married Helen Alder. Willie Moore's father, George Moore III, had married Emma Morrison, whose mother was a Turner. The Moores and Turners were descended from what Company officers and servants would have considered the fur trade elite (Long 2008).

Willie Faries' grandfather, Pat, was also descended from fur trade elites. Pat was a great-grandson of Hugh Faries Sr. and Mary Warfinger (Wallace 1948:319) and a grandson of Hugh Faries Jr.—whose marriage à la façon du pays to the "half-breed or 'Metis' Indian" woman Josepht Mainville was posthumously recognized by Montreal's Superior Court (Bethune et al. 1867:249–50). Pat's parents were Walter Faries and his first wife, Jenny or Jane Robertson, a daughter of Orkneyman John Robertson (HBCABS Robertson). Pat married Jane Mark of Moose Factory, a descendent of

Mark Apitatakiishikaw (Half a Day) and his wife Mary Moar; Mary was a woman of Indigenous-European ancestry from eastern James Bay, while Fred was apparently a Cree and a seasonal HBC employee (Long 2008). Willie's father, George Faries, married Mary Wesley; Wesley is a surname that Barnley first assigned to Wapunewoetum and his wife Shkwashesh, renaming them John and Suzannah Wesley, and to Malotaskitan, baptized Charles Wesley (Long 1986:319). Willie's widowed mother married another HBC man of Indigenous-European ancestry, Peter B. Louttit. And Willie, like his father, married a Wesley.

In 1905, at Moose Factory, the Marks were included in Treaty No. 9 and Fred Mark was chosen as the first treaty chief. The Moores, however, like the Udgaardens, Morrisons—and others like the McLeods, Taylors and Turners—were denied Indian status and petitioned unsuccessfully for half-breed scrip (Long 1985). Through fur trade endogamy (half-breed with half-breed) and marriage to incoming Europeans, the treaty commissioners may

^{12.} Eight years after Pat's birth, Barnley officiated at the marriage of Walter Faries and Hannah Hardisty, who had been united by contract since 1841. AO Moose Factory Marriages 1826–56, 26 May 1844.



Figure 5. Mary Turner Morrison (author's collection).

have felt that any Indigenous "blood" had been almost entirely displaced in these families. Their appearance may have confirmed this—Willie Moore's grandmother had snow white hair (see Illustration 5). Most of these families did not apparently desire Indian status; they petitioned, unsuccessfully, for half-breed scrip.

At Fort Albany, big Jim Linklater's descendents, Pat Faries (with his grandchildren Willie and Jane), along with the Wesleys and Louttits were classified as Indians. Even though the commissioners likely knew that the Faries, Linklaters, and Louttits were half-breeds, they likely thought that exogamy (half-breed with Cree) had increased their Indigenous blood quantum and watered down their white or European blood. Willie Faries, like his sister Jane, became Indians, a status that meant very little in the early years of the twentieth century, aside from the \$4.00 annuity which their grandfather would have received while they were his dependents.

Jane's first children also qualified for Indian status, for she wasn't married to the Scotsman who was their father. An HBC clerk, he enlisted in

1917 (when Robert Renison recruited Crees and half-breeds for the Foresty Depot's Indian draft) and never returned (Renison 1957:100-2).¹³ Had she married him, Jane and their children would have lost Indian status. Jane eventually married Walter Chum, a member of the Moose Factory band, in whom she found a dependable life-long partner. Her first son, Gilbert, after attending the residential school at Moose Factory, married Nellie McLeod of Moose Factory, a descendent of one of the half-breed petitioners. 14 Nellie acquired Indian status by marriage and later became Moose Factory's first female chief. (Gilbert also served as chief.) Gilbert's sister Daisy also attended residential school, worked for the Anglican minister for a while, and then married Bill Turner (see Illustration 6)—whose father Robert would have been a young boy at Moose Factory at the time of the New Year's Night fight. Daisy lost her Indian status through marriage. Bill—like the Moores, McLeods, Morrisons, Taylors, and Udgaardens did not have Indian status—so his wife and children couldn't have it either (until Bill C-31 amended the Indian Act in 1985).15 Place, gender, marital status, and marriage partner determined Indian status.

Willie Faries died in 1979, a few months after writing his grandfather's narrative for me. Although he had become an Indian at the age of twelve, Willie voluntarily enfranchised, rejecting Indian status. He showed me his certificate of enfranchisement, signed by him on 20 June 1952, 16 and explained that he took this step after two of his three children died as a result

^{13.} Vincent Martin Macdonald of Aberdeen, born 18 May 1896, "freckles all over body," signed his attestation papers in Toronto on 30 July 1917, listing his marital status as "single." (http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/cef/001042-119.02-e. php?image_url=http://data2.archives.ca/cef/gpc011/519900a.gif&id_nbr=148739).

^{14.} Nellie's father, Thomas Hamilton McLeod (son of petitioner William), was evidently named after the Reverend Fleming.

^{15.} Those born in northern Quebec also qualify as potential beneficiaries under section 3.2 the 1975 *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement*, but there are residency requirements.

^{16.} The certificate, which he allowed me to photograph, stated that "the provisions of the Indian Act and of any other act or law making any distinction between the legal rights, privileges, disabilities and liabilities of Indians and those of Her Majesty's other subjects cease to apply to him and he now possesses and enjoys all the legal powers, rights and privileges of Her Majesty's other subjects and is no longer deemed to be an Indian within the meaning of any laws relating to Indians."



Figure 6. Marriage of Bill Turner and Daisy Faries at Moose Factory in 1938 (author's collection, courtesy of Daisy Faries).

of neglect while attending the Indian residential school at Moose Factory. Many veterans enfranchised so they could vote and legally drink, having been treated as equals of their comrades during wartime. Willie Moore, a life-long bachelor, died in 1985, less than a year after our interview. I am grateful to both of these old friends. Their accounts of the New Year's conflict at Moose Factory broaden our understanding of at least two of the post-Powley indicators of Métis identity: self-identity "not of recent vintage," ancestral connections to one or more historic Métis communities and acceptance by a modern Métis community (SCC 2003:para30–33; see also Reimer and Chartrand 2004). First, judging by Pat Faries' story, there appears to have been self-identification by some as "breeds," which echoes the more formal self-description as "half-breeds" in the petition presented to Treaty No. 9 commissioners at Moose Factory in 1905 (Long 1985). Second, the Faries and Moore families (and others) illustrate multigenerational

connections to HBC trading posts and regions, arbitrarily separated into two categories at the signing of Treaty No. 9. Finally, both family lines persist and intermarry in Moosonee/Moose Factory, and beyond, some as Métis and others as Indians—both groups recognized as having aboriginal rights in section 35(1) of Canada's *Constitution Act*, 1982 (CDJ).

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their daughter. According to the custom of the first ages of the Republic the Roman husband bought his bride of her parents; they partook of a salt-cake woolrich and of far or rice, and after this confarreation both parties were seated on the same Johnson et al. care of sheepskin, and the ceremony was completed. After the success of the Punic wars, and in later times, amid the increasing opulence and the growing corruption of society and manners, Roman marriages, owing to the intrigues and ambition of the woman, became conspicuous for pomp and ceremony; but even then consent and concubitus were the main, the essential ingredients of the contract. This primitive state of things is pretty much what we find among the barbarians of North America, and very nearly, if not exactly, what is proved in the present case; nor can I perceive that much, or any more, was required in earlier times, and in cases like the present either by the canon law or by the common law of England, France or Scotland. For all these reasons, I am clearly of opinion that this case comes under the operation of the general rule of the lex loci contractus above referred to, and that the marriage is valid without any formal contract is sufficiently proved but to the evidence of Necon.

I have as before stated, made diligent and extensive researches into the law on this subject, in order to ascertain whether these arguments so much insisted on by the defendant, could be sustained by any book of competent authority, or in any judicial decision, and I am bound to say I can find none-nor do I believe that any exists. There is besides, one answer to all this, and a very plain one. 1st, The supreme authority of the empire, in not abolishing or altering the Indian law, and allowing it to exist for one hundred years, impliedly sanctioned it, and 2nd, The sovereign power in these matters, by proclamation, has tacitly acknowledged these laws and usages of the Indians to be in force, and so long as they are in force as a law in any part of the British empire or elsewhere, this Court must acknowledge and enforce them.

This Indian custom or usage is, as regards the jurisdiction of this Court, a foreign law of marriage; but it obtains within the territories and possessions of the Crown of England, and until it is altered, I cannot disregard it. It is competent-it has been competent during the last hundred years, for the parliament of Great Britain to abrogate those Indian laws, and to substitute others for them. It has not thought proper to do so, and I shall not. This pretention is, therefore, as before stated, utterly unfounded.

Again it is urged by the defendant, that there is no legal proof that Connolly was ever married to this Indian woman. Now apart from his own express declarations to the contrary, and his long acknowledgment of her as his wife, we have twenty-eight years of cohabitation and repute, and I come now to consider what effect in law this fact has upon the case before us, and I find, first, the following decisions of our Courts:

Superior Court, Montreal, No. 286. Tranchemontagne vs. Monteferrand & ux, and Charles Faris, Opposant. (Present; Judges Smith, Vanfelson and Mondelet.) Lands were scized as belonging to defendant, Monteferrand's wife, one Lousie Faris, daughter of Hugh Faris and Mainville, by an Indian marriage, previous to the year 1810. Hugh Faris was a Canadian, and his wife, Mainville, a half-breed or " Metis " Indian. They were married according to the custom of the



Connolly vs. Woolrich and Johnson et al. country, and in this cause, no proof of any ceremony was made, but simply cohabitation and reputation, Charles Faris, nephew of Hugh, opposed the seizure and sale, claiming the property as the rightful heir of Hugh Faris.

Plaintiffs contested the opposition on the ground that the female defendant was daughter of Hugh Faris and Josephte Muinville, and legitimate, and that the marriage was void.

So held by Court—Contestation maintained, and opposition dismissed, 27th October, 1854.

At Montreal. (In Appeal) [No. 14] Court of Queen's Bench, (March 1867) Morgan & al., Appellants, and Gauvreau, Respondent. Present: Hon. Judges Aylwin, Drummond, Badgley, and Mondelet. No attention paid to certificates filed. Held that declarations of party, verbal and written (in a lease) of marriage, will be binding, and give to Court the right to presume a marriage and to condemn respondent as the husband.

At Montreal. (In Appeal) [No. 10] Court of Queen's Bench, Hannah Fisher, (Plaintiff,) Appellant, and Angelique Gareau, (Dcfd't) Respondent, Presemt: Hon. Judges Duval (Chief Justice), Meredith, Badgley, and Mondelet. Demand by Appellant as widow of Samuel Liscom, of Argenteuff, and to him married 16th January, 1846. without contract. A daughter born and respondent appointed the tutrix to one Samuel Bower or Liscom, legates universal of Samuel Liscom under his will—demand is for share in community—Plea: an anterior marriage by Samuel Liscom to Pursis Burr—Proof of defendant.

That Church Registers were kept at Greenwich, Mass., U. S. 2. That
no entry of Marriage could be there found. 3. Cohabitation and Reputation of
Liscum and Pursis Burr as man and wite.

Held sufficient evidence.

Action dismissed by Superior Court (Smith, J.). 28th June, 1862.

Judgment unanimously confirmed in appeal, 9th March, 1864.

Mr. Stephens, the plaintiff's Counsel, has also submitted the following authorities:-

- "Where marriage proved to have been solemnized abroad, but doubtful when ther strictly according to rites of Church of England, and not according to custom of country where it took place, held sufficient with evidence of cohabitation Catherwood vs. Caslon, 1 C. & M. 431; Woodgate vs. Potts, 2 C. & P. 467.
- "Reputation is good evidence of marriage, though the party adducing it, "seeks to recover as heir at law, and his parents are still living."—Fleming vs. "Fleming, 4 Bing. 466.
- "Cohabitation as man and wife furnishes presumptive evidence of a preceding "marriage."—Holmes vs. Holmes. 6 L. R. 470 Evans vs. Magoon; Exchequer Reports, 2 Crompton & Jervis 451, Danty, preuve, pages 100-112 &c., &c., &c.
- "Ainsi deux personnes qui ont toujours vécu publiquement comme mari et "femme, et qui ont passé pour tels, sans contradiction, ont la possession d'état et "mari et de femme."—Toullier, Vol, 1, No 597.
- "C'est donc le nom et la dignite du mariage, la collabitation possible et pré-"sumée, la présomption toujours favorable à l'innocence et à l'état des enfants



"qui forme le premier principe adopté par les lois en matière de filiation comme "l'un des fondements de la societé civile. L'enfant couçu pendent le mariage "a pour père le mari-...Toullier. Vol. 2, No. 790.

Connolly vs. Woolrich and Johnson et al.

"Les faits principaux sont, que l'individu a toujours porté le nom de son "père, que le père l'a traité comme son enfant, et pourvu en cette qualité a "son éducation, à son entretien a son établ'ssement," Toullier, Vol. 1, No. 869; see Letter of William Connolly to John Leeves, fyled and proved, dated Lac la Pluie, August 7th, 1818, from which I make the following extract:

"The account you give of John is highly satisfactory. I am quite proud of "the little fellow, and sincerely pray God that he may not defeat the hopes I entertain of him, what obligations do I not owe you, my dear Reeves, and your worthy aunt, for your care and attention to my child, &c., &c., &c."

"La force de la possession est telle qu'elle peut tenir lieu de l'acte de nais-"sance."—Toullier, vol. 2, Nos. 871-2.

"Le Code a tranché le doute en décidant qu'à défaut de titre et de possession "constante, ou si l'enfant a été inscrit soit sous de faux noms, soit comme né "de père ét mère inconnus, la dreuve de filiation peut se faire par témoins."—
Toullier, vol. 2, No. 888.

"When there is absence of Regitres de Mariage, the civil status of a person "can be proved by the declarations of parents and by witnesses."—Motz vs. Moreau, 5 Lower Canada Reports, page 433.

Il est nécessaire de suppléer aux registres de l'était civil, lorsqu'il n'en existe "point, soit parcequ'il n'en a pas été tenu, soit parcequ'ils sont perdus.'—Toullier, Personnes, vol. 1., No. 345, Danty, Preuve, pages 100, 103 et 112.

"Quant aux enfants nés de mariages putatifs, ils sont légitimes à tous égards."

Toullior, vol. 1, No. 666,

"Where it is necessary to prove the fact of a marriage, the entry in the "Parish Register is not the only evidence; but it may be proved by persons "who were present and witnessed the ceremony, or by general reputation."—Saunders Vbo., Secondary Evidence, page 835.

Baron Parke said: "I think there is a great deal of evidence to go to the jury. There is evidence-of four years cohabitation "of these persons as hus-"band and wife, and such cohabitation is evidence of marriage,"—Bishop, on Marriage and Divorce, p. 227, Carrington & Payne, p. 460; Woodgate vs. Potts.

"But when two persons agree to have that commerce for the procreation and bringing up of children, and for such lasting cohabitation, that in a state of nature would be a marriage, and in the absence of all civil and religious institutions, might safely be presumed to be, as it is popularly called, a marriage in the sight of God." Lindo vs. Belisario.—1. Hagg Cons. Rep. 316. "But wherever the matter is not governed by any doctrine there to be mentioned, no particular form for expressing the consent is necessary. Nothing more is needed than that in language which is mutually underscood, or in any mode declaratory of intention the parties accept of each other as husband and wife."—Bishop. Vol. 1, No. 229; Hicks vs. Cochran.—4 Edw., ch. 107.

"Oral cvidence of marriage is admissible when there are no registers."-

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I de Mane josephie Higes des perest more audi de cotte paris ch, Le Fautie poet: vii la dispense de deux bans de mariage acca-Fiere de par ellettie Roux vicade général de a diocek en date du Leveille gingt eing- decemois, avec le contentement des paceus & fansaueun empechement ni oppolition je piete fautigne Emilie cité en este paraile ai leur bue mutuel conkatement à Beaudlean leve ai donné la bénédiction australe en prêsence de fatine Leveille per 4 ct mbroise Prouse téproins de lépoot. & gabiel spoilant & joseph Leveile Ferreins de Copente tentigges, legentres declarant ne le tavoir, lec Ambroise Bourré talestaite Lamostops Le premier hovembre mit huit eent vingt lept par modprête toutigné a de Baptile Louis Toutsaint George -I george ne hier matin du légitime mariage de lieur Menry George Bull marchand enceste pawite & de Magde Bull leine Montgeland fen ai été le palein, la maleine dame Maic lloyse Dechamps, Decoigne, Louskigne, le per absent E. Deschamps Devoigne L. Lamottepty Le deux nevembre mil hut ent vinigt ocht, parmor protre on frigue a ele haptire Marie Thorsile mis M. Therite ce jour du legitime mariage de Louis Pothier naviga-Tothier. Tour du lien, ~ de Marie Boule Parcin Tierre Boule oncle; mareine Thersie Lafortiene, & le piere n'ont Lequatre movembre mil huit cont ving sell har mer pratre ou frigne a ell traptione Luce Anye lique nec hier du legre me manage de gril-

Laume Panisau menusion du lous de l'ingrélèque He

meny Partie François & Germain, souphishe; ma- 19-4. Lun Andolique Paristerem. Le quatre nevembre mil hut cent vingt rept har M. Geneviere mer pretre soufrigne note baptives Name Generalie ne hier du légitime marique d'Alexi Martin Pellant pour al cer du live, 200 Ingele Lyonnais. Parein Pième Coute, marelmartin. ne Genevieve Poucher Coute, qui n'est au signer, le pire dequate novemble mit his cent wings dept parmai parke For highe acté baptile Antoine Marbeit ne hier de legition mere de joseph jouette of organ en exteprecitie vole of sangate Ant hubert Beaugians, champagne parain Naverthe Olivier, marsike four the Generoeve jouette & le pere ant déclare ne favorenque L. Lamottepis, Le cinq novembre mit muit cent ningt lept par mai piètre butique acté baptité Lucie Mélène, paris-B. âgée Denvison quinze ans, née dans les Pays Asuts. Lucie spille du siene Muques ofais commercant dans, ofselene latouité du Mond auch. parcip le Doctemanis fail adulte. Raphaët Barbier Euryer, & la marine Son éparte. DB artier Lamotophy Le cing neverthe mil hut cent mingt sept, har moi protre ou signe " et baptire Pierre Sore ph ni hier des légitime maricige de Tieme Ouellet journalier du lieu, J. Soseth & de Kelle Martin. Parein Soreth Pellant, mareine Man Quellet. quente Douet sous jegner, le pered le parein ne l'uyant ou faire. Marquerite Doucett A Rocherphie

Cent-quatringe Vergin faulte 196 In the Montgerrend Ambrount Gelica a qualory telabre melbuiscensquarante cing year many preto Minine saugurne ; water Marie bay live Marie nee hein der légitime many to benys Aubin allinatur getde generiene Auhin Lucy Helen Faries Hill grow Roide cette parage : Outele jarmer kengs Aubin et marraine Chyclique Mays quitout In lignor aurigue lego e \$100 Ce quinge Odabe , m Mutantquarant Cing par naus prote ; micine san progre (e qualorge Cololo milhuitcentquarantecing (Tierre) (Marie por nay preto, hiaire lauxique a stel a tte inherme de aste cimetro à Marie Reine Britan wie de vanant hur agresole Captise dieme Dalphiet, ne Janjan Lauriden Meine Dolphi! légitime marige de Viene Layorte quater of townsours spanse design Britan Legorte. Enthinateur et ac Schrehauge Bamber de lette Barville dit Lajare ble cette paraise paraise. Out the pamain Charisto Lyonto Heren presens fritheine harbour na su signeración de porte la galo et year begitete hour guinoute home yap Theout the B216 (a seize Octobre, milhuit centquarante Ca quinge tetatre mid huit uns qua-M.35. cing par naugnetie, uscine, Jaysigne reinte ding, wer la dispense de trais bans get sugar de mantine a Bour da a été bay tire Lavis Allitte ne acyanden du lety time marige de cheais Cantin Uhre Manferrand resident in www sparsey, cuttivateen et de Tharris Thibeau de cette Fabres file majour de de Morbain Falor paragle, Omtste parrain Tanid Baucher ferrand as de four Done pravie Esto so autury Exprementation of will delicant soughine dospine it mere ('en part, & Down danie Thehm Faris file majorer On Houses Faries, Surper confie de colina, O antre hast, me Vitant touwers anew in I. Helen pechiment and dit maring, news freter a natholic guibautt Consintement de mariaje et her most James la bird citian suptiale en ugo. Theore Jota presence de Auguer Garies pera de Mejour In austin D. Pounty of the Combraine Silina, and les afound, doupiement

NATIVE SONS OF RUPERT'S LAND 1760 TO THE 1860s

By

Denise Fuchs

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History University of Manitoba Winnipeg, Manitoba

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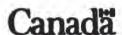
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Native Sons of Rupert's Land 1760 to the 1860s

BY

Denise Fuchs

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University

of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

In the period from 1760 to the 1860s, native sons of the fur trade of Rupert's Land were distinctly shaped by the disparate traditions of both their European fathers and aboriginal mothers. The success of the fur trade depended on the economic interdependence and mutual cooperation of these two sets of strangers. Their progeny, like their fathers and mothers, aided the British-oriented companies in whose employ they served. The examination of the attitudes which informed the manner in which native sons were depicted in the records and their educational achievements and careers within the fur trade revealed that cultural and racial biases affected their lives, in both subtle and direct ways. These cultural and racial biases became more obvious from 1820 onward. Social, economic and political changes and the concomitant shifts in attitudes toward the native sons shed light on the particular circumstances which characterized their lives.

From the 1790s onwards, native sons began to contribute their labour to the economy of the posts in significant ways. Fathers became more cognizant of the need to prepare their sons for larger roles in the fur trade and began acculturating them further to the European side of their heritage. A British-based education was sought for them.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century and in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, some native sons could obtain clerkships and become managers of small posts.

The attention to race and class, heightened by the arrival of white women in the 1820s, resulted in the imposition of social barriers dependent on rank and education that excluded some of the native sons and their aboriginal or mixed-descent relatives from circles that had formerly included them. Additionally, the newly amalgamated company's adoption of a more rigid hierarchy and the increased emphasis on upward mobility posed

difficulties and challenges for the native sons in the three decades following the 1821 merger of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, when limits were imposed on their movement within the company. In the 1850s and 60s a shift in attitude occurred and restrictions began to be eased allowing some native sons to advance in the company.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CMS Church Missionary Society

DCB Dictionary of Canadian Biography

HBC Hudson's Bay Company

HBCA Hudson's Bay Company Archives

NWC North West Company

PAC Public Archives of Canada

PAM Provincial Archives of Manitoba

PRL Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land

Table I
NATIVE SONS: PARENTAGE, DATE AND RANK OF ENTRY INTO
THE SERVICE, AND FAMILY COMPANY AFFILIATIONS.*

NAME	FATHER	MOTHER	DATE AND RANK OF ENTRY	COMPANY
Isham, Charles Thomas	James Isham	a Cree	1766 apprentice	нвс
Richards, John	William Richards	a Cree	1783 interpreter	нвс
Atkinson, George Jr.	George Atkinson	Necushin (Cree)	1792 provisioner, guide, interpreter	НВС
Atkinson, Jacob	same as above	same as above	1790s provisioner	НВС
Cadotte, Jean Baptiste Jr.	John Baptiste	Anastasia	1790s clerk	NWC
Cadotte, Michel	John Baptiste	Anastasia	1798 post manager	NWC
Favel, Thomas	John Favel	a Cree	1793 interpreter	НВС
Sutherland, John	George Sutherland		1795 apprentice	нвс
Finlay, Jacco	James Finlay Sr.	a Saulteux	1790s trapper, hunter, woodsman	NWC
Hodgson, James	John Hodgson	Caroline Goodwin	1800 assistant writer	НВС
Hodgson, Thomas	John Hodgson	Caroline Goodwin	1807	НВС
Richards, William	John		1800 cooper and canoeman	нвс
Cook, Joseph	William Hemmings Cook	Kahnawpawama	1802 apprentice	нвс
Montour, Nicholas Jr.	Nicholas Montour		1804 clerk	NWC

Small, Patrick Jr.	Patrick Small	a Cree	1804	NWC
Sayer, Henry	John Sayer	French-Canadian 'half breed'	1805	NWC
Sayer, John Charles	John Sayer	French-Canadian 'half breed'	1815 interpreter, clerk	NWC
Thomas, Charles	John Thomas	Meenish	1808 writer, assistant trader	нвс
Sinclair, William II	William Sinclair Sr.	Nahoway	1808 apprentice	НВС
Sinclair, James	William Sinclair Sr.	Nahoway	1826 apprentice	НВС
McKay, John Richards	John McKay	Mary Favel	1808 writer	НВС
McKay, William	John McKay	Mary Favel	1811	НВС
McKay, Edward	John McKay	Mary Favel	1815	нвс
Bird. George	James Bird	Mary	1805 apprentice	НВС
Bird. Jemmy Jock	James Bird	Mary	1809 apprentice	нвс
Bird. Joseph	James Bird	Mary	1815 labourer/boatman	НВС
Grant, Cuthbert Jr.	Cuthbert Grant	a Saulteux	1810-12 clerk	NWC/HBC
Umphreville, Thomas (Canoté)	Edward	a Cree	1813 native guide	НВС
Fidler, Thomas	Peter Fidler	Mary (Cree)	1813 interpreter, writer	НВС
Fidler, Charles	Peter Fidler	Mary (Cree)	1814 interpreter, labourer, steersman	НВС
Fidler, Peter Jr.	Peter Fidler	Mary (Cree)		НВС

Gladman, Joseph	George Gladman Sr.	Mary Moore	1814 apprentice clerk	НВС
Gladman, George II	George Gladman Sr.	Mary Moore	1814 apprentice clerk	НВС
Swain, James Jr.	James Swain	Mary	1814-15 assistant trader, steward	нвс
Taylor, Thomas	George Taylor	a Cree	1815 apprentice labourer, interpreter	нвс
Taylor, George Jr.	George Taylor	a Cree	1819 schooner master, sloopmaster	нвс
Taylor, Peter	George Taylor	a Cree	Arctic Discovery Expedition 1837-	НВС
Vincent, John	Thomas Vincent	Jane Renton	1816 clerk	НВС
McIntosh, John	Donald McIntosh	Charlotte	1818	NWC/HBC
Bunn, John	Thomas	Sarah McNab	1819 surgeon	НВС
McGillivray, Simon Jr.	Hon. William McGillivray	Susan (Cree)	1803 clerk	NWC/HBC
McGillivray, Joseph	Hon. William McGillivray	Susan (Cree)	1813 partner	NWC/HBC
McGillivray, William	Duncan		1816 clerk	NWC/HBC
McKay, Thomas	Alexander Thomas	Marguerite Wadin McKay	1814	NWC/HBC
Moore, Samuel	George Moore	Mary	1820s	НВС
Davies, William	John Davies	Nancy	1825 interpreter and shopman	нвс

Kennedy, Alexander Jr.	Alexander Kennedy	Aggathas	1824 apprentice clerk	HBC
McMillan, William	James McMillan	Kilakotah	1826 middleman	NWC/HBC
Truthwaite, Jacob	Matthew		1823 trader	нвс
McBean, William	John McBean.	? Cloutier	1826 labourer	NWC/HBC
McLoughlin, Joseph	John McLoughlin	a Cree	1827-1828 apprentice labourer	NWC/HBC
McLoughlin, David, 1/2 bro. of Joseph	John McLoughlin	Marguerite Wadin McKay		NWC/HBC
Faries, Frederick	Hugh Faries	Josephte	1829	NWC/HBC
McKenzie, Roderick 'B' Jr.	Roderick McKenzie Sr.	Angelique	1818	NWC/HBC
McKenzie, Benjamin	same as above	same as above	1824 postmaster	NWC/HBC
McKenzie, Samuel	same as above	same as above	1837 milieu et hivernant	NWC/HBC
McKenzie, Ferdinand	same as above	same as above	1850s clerk	NWC/HBC
McKenzie, Patrick	same as above	same as above	1839 apprentice	NWC/HBC
McKenzie, Alexander	same as above	same as above	1840s	NWC/HBC
McKenzie, James	same as above	same as above	1840s	NWC/HBC
Pambrun, Pierre Chrysoloque Jr.	Pierre C. Pambrun	Catherine Humperville	1841 apprentice postmaster	NWC/HBC

Pambrun, Andrew Dominique	Pierre C. Pambrun	Catherine Humperville	1851 clerk	NWC/HBC
McKenzie, Hector Aeneas	Charles McKenzie	Mary McKay	1839 apprentice postmaster	NWC/HBC
McLeod, Alexander Roderick Jr.	Alexander Roderick McLeod	a 'half breed'	1837 apprentice clerk	NWC/HBC
Ogden, Peter	Peter Skene Ogden	a Cree	1835 apprentice	NWC/HBC
Ogden, Charles	Peter Skene Ogden	Julia Rivet	1840s	HBC/NWC
McMurray, William	Thomas McMurray	Jane Cardinalle	1838 apprentice postmaster	NWC/HBC
Miles, George	Robert Miles	Betsey Sinclair	1848	НВС
Rowand, John Jr.	John Rowand	Lisette Humphraville	1834 postmaster	NWC/HBC
Logan, Robert Jr.	Robert Logan	Mary (Saulteux)	1830s	NWC/HBC
Logan, Kenith	Robert Logan	Mary (Saulteux)	1840s apprentice clerk	NWC/HBC
Manson, John	Donald	Felicité	1850s	нвс
Manson, William	Donald	Felicité	1848 apprentice clerk	нвс
Christie, Alexander Jr.	Alexander Christie	Ann Thomas	1834 apprentice clerk	НВС
Christie, William Joseph	Alexander Christie	Ann Thomas	1840s apprentice clerk	нвс
McDermot, Thomas	Andrew McDermot	Sarah McNab		НВС
Tod, James	John Tod	Catherine	late 1830s carpenter and millwright	НВС

McDonald, Alexander	Archibald McDonald	Jane	late 1840s	НВС
Robertson, Colin Jr.	Colin Robertson	Therese Chalifoux	1842 apprentice clerk	НВС
Finlayson, Hector	Nicol Finlayson	Josephte	1838 boatbuilder	НВС
Finlayson, John	Nicol Finlayson	Josephte	1838 соорег	нвс
Finlayson, Joseph	Nicol Finlayson	Josephte	1847 apprentice millwright and carpenter	НВС
Thomas, Thomas Jr.	Thomas Thomas	Sarah		НВС
Charles, John Jr.	John Charles	Jane Auld	1846 apprentice postmaster	НВС
Charles, Thomas	John Charles	Jane Auld	1844	нвс
Pruden, Arthur	John Peter Pruden	Nancy	1835	нвс
Pruden, James Peter	John Peter Pruden	Nancy	1840s apprentice postmaster	НВС
Isbister, Alexander Kennedy	Thomas Isbister	Mary Kennedy	1838 assistant postmaster	НВС
Hardisty, William Lucas	Richard Hardisty	Margaret Sutherland	1842 apprentice postmaster	НВС
Hardisty, Joseph	Richard Hardisty	Margarei Sutherland	1847	НВС
Hardisty, Richard Jr.,	Richard Hardisty	Margaret Sutherland	1849	НВС
Hardisty, Thomas	Richard Hardisty	Margaret Sutherland	1850s	НВС

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Flett, George	George Flett	Margaret Whitford	1864	НВС
Hallet, William	Henry Hallet			NWC/HBC
Erasmus, Peter	Peter Erasmus Sr.	granddaughter of W.H. Cook	1860s trader	НВС

^{*}Sources for this table include HBCA Servants' Ledgers (A.16), Servants' Lists (A.30), Servants' Contracts (A.32), Officers' and Servants' Wills (A.36), Red River Parish Registers (E.4/1) and Search Files. Information was also obtained from fur traders' files in possession of Jennifer S. H. Brown and from her book, Strangers in Blood, as well as from Sylvia Van Kirk's Many Tender Ties and biographies in Joseph Tassé, W. S. Wallace and numerous Hudson's Bay Record Society and Dictionary of Canadian Biography volumes.

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A.10 London Inward Correspondence - General

A.11 London Inward Correspondence - From Posts

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A.24 Invoices from London

A.30 Servants' Lists

A.32 Servants' Contracts

A.31/9, List of Commissioned Officers 1821-1870

A.34/1,2 Characters and Staff Servants' Records

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B./b,c Post Correspondence Books

B./e District Reports

B.239/c, d Minutes of Council York Factory

B.239/g Abstracts of Servants' Accounts, Northern Department

B.239/u Engagement Registers, Northern Department

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D.5 Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward

E.328 Richard Ruggles Collection

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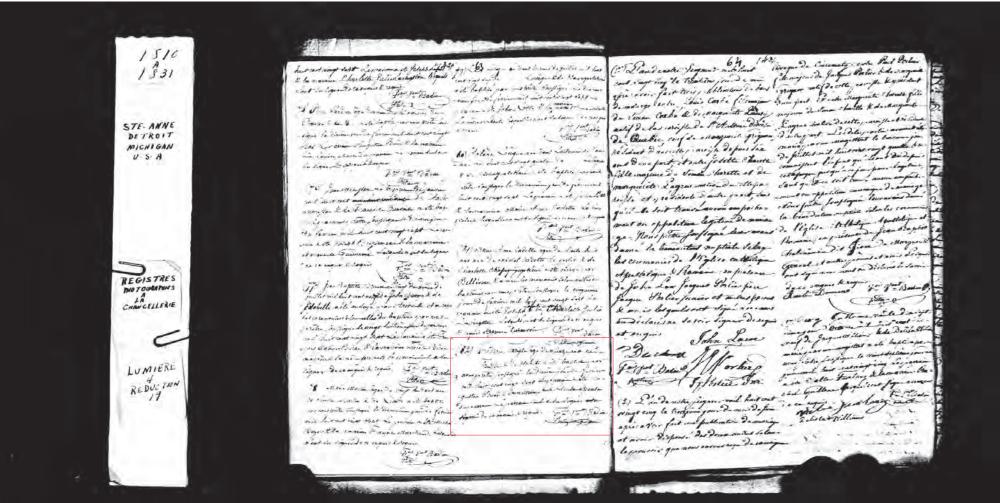
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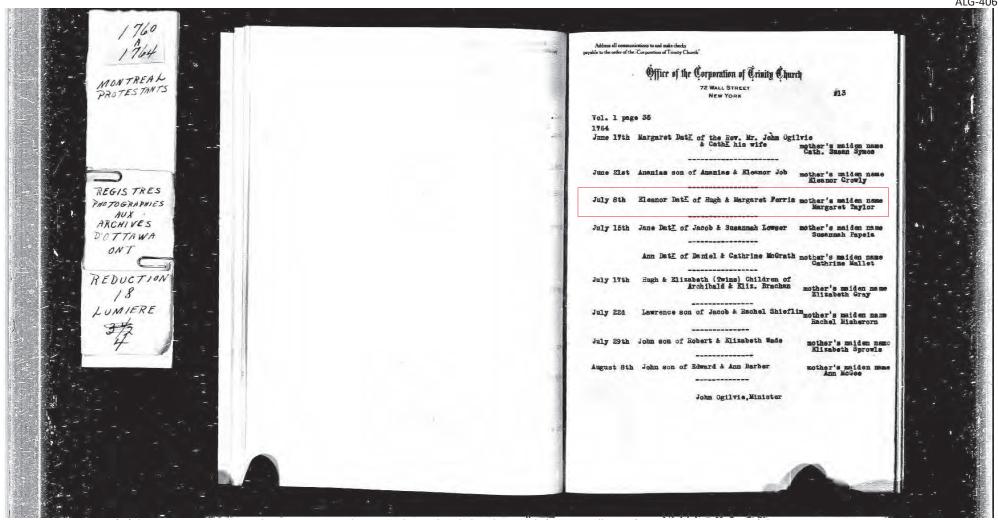
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of merinen.	Jane Hade Me Jane Hade Jane Jones, born the last to Butt the to Old following. Luorence Erward Som of M. Lawrence & M. Jemima	Some Daughter of March & Torak Jelly, born the Sellach
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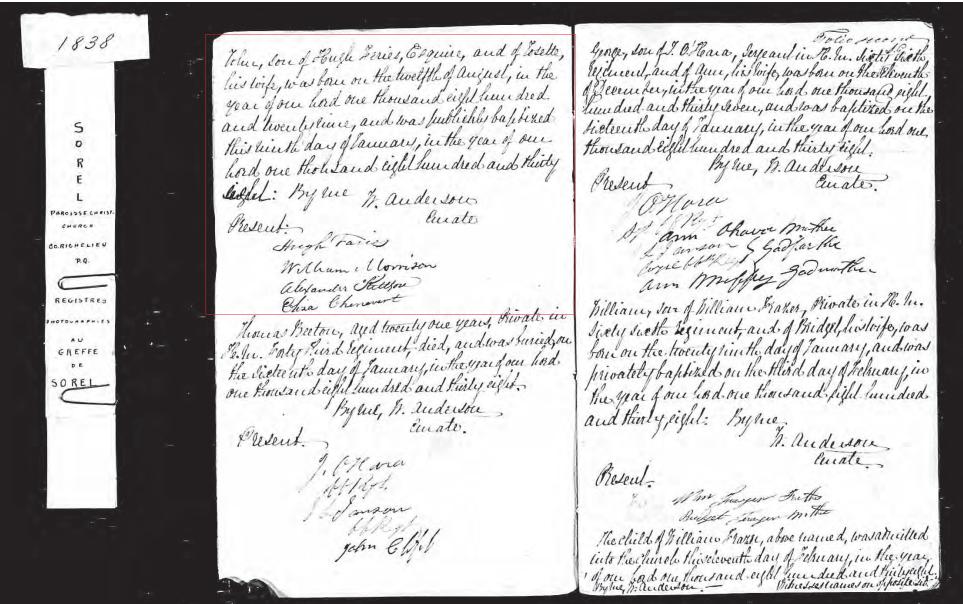
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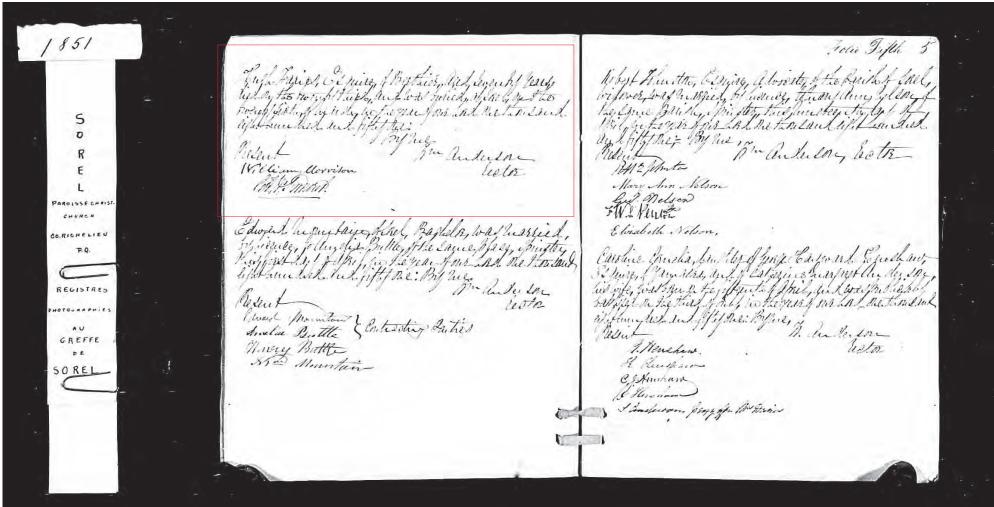
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