



Kidnapped Stó:lō Boys Historical Document Collection

Note to Students:

Working with primary documents is one of the most challenging tasks that historians undertake. As you read through these documents it is important for you to remember the type of text you are working with. In most cases, these documents were not written to provide you with information. As such, these documents need to be interpreted. You will need to read them carefully and to ask yourself questions about who wrote them, when, and why. You will also need to consider whether the author is a reliable or credible source of information. In order to help you with this task, most documents are prefaced with a very brief background statement as well as some guiding questions.

“We talk about reconciliation. It is time for reconciliation, but you can’t do that unless you know what has happened. It’s not enough to know *what’s going on*, you have to know *what’s been going on*.”

– Weleliq [a.k.a. Kenny Malloway], Hereditary Chief of the Chilliwack Tribe, on the occasion of the unveiling of the Kidnapped Boy’s memorial pole, August 19, 2017)

Theme One: – The Colonists’ Myth of the ‘Vanishing Indian,’ and the impact of Smallpox epidemics (1782, 1853, 1862) in the Salish Sea

There can be no denying that introduced diseases (such as smallpox) coupled with settler violence caused Indigenous populations to decline rapidly in the nineteenth century. But rather than trying to find ways to protect Indigenous people, most settlers and colonists interpreted the decline in Indigenous population as inevitable and beyond their control and responsibility. In fact, popular racist theories stated that Indigenous people were a “vanishing race” because they were inferior to Europeans. If Indigenous people were destined to disappear in the face of American and British expansion, the logic of the myth ran, then there was little motivation to protect Indigenous people and Indigenous rights – as American, British, and Canadian law required.

By the beginning of the twentieth century the decline in Indigenous population halted. Since then Indigenous people have become the fastest growing population in Canada. Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people today are faced with having to try to redress the wrongs that were committed in the nineteenth century when Indigenous people were considered a vanishing people.

Document 1

This is an excerpt from the speech President Andrew Jackson made to the United States Congress in 1830. In it he is telling the American public that they should not feel guilty for the way settler society displaced Indigenous people. As you read this consider the following questions:

1. How are Indigenous people described in this speech? What does this tell historians about the American president's attitudes towards Indigenous people?
2. What is the intention of this speech? Do you think President Jackson was trying to convince the American public not to feel sorry for the wrongs that had been done in the past to Indigenous people, or was he telling the American public that they should not feel remorse for the harm that American "progress" was inevitably going to cause Indigenous people in the future?

Source: U.S. President Andrew Jackson, Message to Congress, December 6, 1830:

"Humanity has often wept over the fate of the aborigines of this country, and philanthropy has long busily engaged in devising means to avert it; but its progress has never for a moment been arrested, and one by one have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. To follow to the tomb the last of his race and to tread on the graves of extinct nations excite melancholy reflections. But true philanthropy reconciles the mind to these vicissitudes as it does to the extinction of one generation to make room for another... Nor is there anything in this which, upon a comprehensive view of the general interests of the human race, is to be regretted. Philanthropy could not wish to see this continent restored to the condition in which it was found by our forefathers."

Document 2

This is an excerpt from one of the most popular books of one of the nineteenth century's most influential and respected historians. In it Parkman is discussing his understanding of the differences between races. As you read the quote consider:

1. What metaphors does Parkman use, and what do these suggest about his understandings of the differences between races of people?
2. What future does Parkman see for Indigenous people?

Source: Francis Parkman (historian): *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1870), 44.

"Some races of men seem molded in wax, soft and melting, at once plastic and feeble. But the Indian is hewn out of rock... Races of inferior energy have possessed a great power of expansion and assimilation to which he is a

stranger, and it is this fixed and rigid quality which has proved his truth. He will not learn the arts of civilization, and he and his forest must perish [emphasis added] together."

Document 3.

This is an excerpt from a book by the famous scientist who developed the theory of evolution. As you read the quote consider the following question: How did Darwin, a biologist, extend his scientific knowledge to explain the exploitation that accompanies colonization?

Source: Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* (New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1839), 213.

"Wherever the European has trod, death seems to pursue the aboriginal. We may look to the wide extent of the Americas, Polynesia, the Cape of Good Hope, and Australia, and we find the same result The varieties of man seem to act on another in the same way as different species of animals – the stronger always extirpating the weaker."

Document 4

This is an Oral History of Old Pierre (Katzie First Nation, Fraser River) discussing the smallpox epidemic of 1782 (recorded in 1936). Old Pierre's narrative tells us much about the Stó:lō world in the late 18th century. As you read his account, try to imagine how Indigenous people tried to understand these 'great sicknesses' that were spreading amongst them. Consider these questions:

1. What does it mean that diseases reached the Stó:lō *before* the arrival of European explorers in the Pacific Northwest?
2. Why is Old Pierre's claim that "about three-quarters of the Indians perished" relevant to the arrival of Europeans in the next few years?

Source: Diamond Jenness, *Faith of a Coast Salish Indian*, Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1955, 34.

News reached them from the east that a great sickness was travelling over the land, a sickness that no medicine could cure, and no person escape. Terrified, they held council with one another and decided to send their wives, with half the children, to their parents' homes, so that every adult might die in the place where he or she was raised. Then the wind carried the smallpox sickness among them. Some crawled away into the woods to die; many died in their homes. Altogether about three-quarters of the Indians perished....

If you dig to-day on the site of any of the old villages you will uncover countless bones, the remains of the Indians who perished during this epidemic of smallpox. Not many years later Europeans appeared on the Fraser, and their coming ushered in a new era.

Document 5

Oral History of a Squamish Elder from North Vancouver discussing the smallpox epidemic (recorded in 1904). As you read this document, consider the following questions:

1. What does the language used (e.g. “none were spared”) tell us about the impact of smallpox?
2. How did these epidemics influence the way that Indigenous people understood the coming of Europeans to their lands?

Source: Charles Hill-Tout, *The Salish People: The Local Contribution of Charles Hill-Tout, Vol. II: The Squamish and the Lillooet*, ed. Ralph Maud (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1978), 22.

A dreadful skin disease, loathsome to look upon, broke out upon all alike. None were spared. Men, women and children sickened, took the disease and died in agony by the hundreds so that when the spring arrived and fresh food was procurable, there was scarcely a person left of all their numbers to get it. Camp after camp, village after village, was left desolate. The remains of which, said the old man, in answer to my queries on his head, are found today in the old camp sites or midden-heaps over which the forest has been growing for so many generations.¹

Document 6

1792: Captain George Vancouver, sailing under the British flag on an exploratory mission in the then relatively unknown (to Europeans) Pacific Northwest, described a Coast Salish Village on the shore of the Salish Sea. Considering the above oral histories, and your answers to the question in Document 4, reflect on the following questions:

1. How did the massive depopulation of Indigenous people before the arrival of European explorers shape how settlers understood Indigenous populations in the region?
2. How differently might Europeans have understood Indigenous people if diseases had not decimated the population before the settlers arrived.

Source: George Vancouver, “Journal Entries,” in *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Around the World, 1791-1795*, ed. W.K. Lamb (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1984), 538.

In all our excursions, particularly those in the neighbourhood of Port Discovery, the skulls, limbs, ribs, and backbones or some other vestige of the human body were found in many places promiscuously scattered about the beach, in great numbers. Similar relics were also frequently met with during our surveys with the boats. And

I was informed by the officers that in their several perambulations, the like appearances had presented themselves so repeatedly, and in such abundance, as to produce an idea that the environs of Port Discovery were a general cemetery for the whole of the surrounding country.²

Document 7

These are excerpts from the diary of an early pioneer settler in the Salish Sea region. In 1853 a lumber ship returning from San Francisco to pick up another load of timbers for the California building boom arrived in Puget Sound with people who were sick with smallpox. Among the crew were two local Indigenous people. The disease quickly spread within the Indigenous community with tragic results.

1. What does this document tell you about how Indigenous people understood diseases?
2. Why did the Indigenous people gather at his house when he was dying of the disease?

Source: Samuel Hancock, *Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 1845-1860*, (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co, 1927), pp. 179-183.

“A brig commanded by Capt. Foubert arrived here from San Francisco, having on board two natives who lived here, and also a white man with smallpox; the two natives left the brig, and went on shore among their friends, but in a few days were prostrate with the same disease, contracted on the vessel; one soon died and the other recovered, but the disease spread among the natives, proving very disastrous, for in a majority of instances it was fatal. After resorting to every means in their power to arrest its progress and fatality in vain, for their friends were dying in vast numbers daily, those who had escaped became almost frantic with grief and fear, and conceived the idea of crossing the Strait and going to ... Vancouver's Island.... They crossed over to this place, carrying the infection with them, and soon nearly all those who fled from Neah Bay, besides a great many of the native tribe, became victims to the epidemic....

In a few weeks from the introduction of the disease, hundreds of the natives became victims to it, the beach for a distance of eight miles was literally strewn with the dead bodies of these people, presenting a most disgusting spectacle. Eventually they abandoned the idea of remaining away from this dreadful enemy and in their distress concluded I might afford them some relief, and as soon as they would feel the symptoms of the disease, they would come about my house and lie down in the yard to die. They continued this until the dead were so numerous I could scarcely walk about around my house, and was obliged to have holes dug where I deposited fifteen or twenty bodies in each. Still they continued to come about me to die, in such numbers that I finally hauled them down to the beach at a time of low tide, so they would drift away, and even the dogs, during the prevalence of this pestilence, became fat on the bodies of their deceased masters.”

Documents 8-10

These excerpts come from the *Daily British Colonist*, a daily newspaper in the colonial settlement of Victoria in the Colony of Vancouver Island. As you read these documents consider:

1. What do these documents say about the settler views on Indigenous people?
2. Why does the author of the second piece separate white settlers from Indigenous people when talking about the spread of smallpox?

Document 8: *The Daily British Colonist*, April 26, 1862, 3.

"... small-pox is creating fearful ravages at the Chimsean village [the Tsimshian summer village adjacent to Victoria]. Twenty have died within the past few days; four died yesterday. ...Great alarm exists at the village, and it is thought that nearly the whole tribe will be swept away."

Document 9: *The Daily British Colonist* (July 7, 1862, p. 3

"The small pox seems to have exhausted itself, for want of material to work upon; and we have heard of no new cases [of smallpox infecting Victoria's residents] within the last few days. One or two Indians die nearly every day; but what is an Indian's life worth? Not so much as a pet dog's, to judge from the cruel apathy and stolid indifference with which they were allowed to rot under the very eyes ... of those whose sacred duty it was to have comforted them in their hour of misery and wretchedness."

Document 10: *The Daily British Colonist*, June 28, 1862, p. 3

"[near Victoria,] the bodies of from 1000 to 1200 Northern Indians, who have fallen victims to the small-pox, lie unburied in the space of about an acre of ground."

Document 11

In the document below, H. Spencer Palmer, a British army officer and surveyor, provides an 1863 account of the effects of smallpox among the Nuxalk (Bella Coola) people. The disease had spread north to Nuxalk territory from Victoria after Vancouver Island officials drove the Indigenous people out of the city and back to their homes. This ensured that smallpox spread far and wide throughout the Pacific Coast.

1. What do the efforts of the "grey-haired medicine men" show about how Indigenous people understood disease within their own world view?
2. What do these methods of dealing with the sick tell us about the impact of smallpox on Indigenous populations?
3. Why were these people left unburied, or unattended to after they deceased?

Source: Robert Boyd, *Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence: Introduced Infectious Disease and Population Decline Among Northwest Indians, 1774-1874*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999, 192.

"Numbers were dying each day; sick men and women were taken out into the woods and left with a blanket and two or three salmon to die by themselves and rot unburied; sick children were tied to trees, and naked, grey-haired medicine men, hideously painted, howled and gesticulated night and day in front of the lodges in mad efforts to stay the progress of the disease."

Theme Two -- Manifest Destiny & Gold Rush Violence

In the nineteenth century many Americans embraced an idea called "Manifest Destiny." This idea was said to explain not only America's past and present, but its future. Manifest Destiny was the belief that God had given the United States a special destiny unlike any other country in the world. This destiny was to expand across the North American continent displacing competing powers (Britain, France, Spain, and Mexico) and absorbing Indigenous nations, and making the entire continent a part of the United States of America.

Violence against Indigenous people characterized both American and Canadian expansion. And violence was especially associated with those "frontier" regions where single men were looking to extract wealth and take that wealth back to their homes. During a gold rush (such as the famous one in California in the late 1840s and 1850s and the one on the Fraser River in 1858-1860) miners (most of whom were single men) were not thinking about settling down and building a community with their families. Nor were they thinking about how to protect the environment. And they were certainly not thinking about the rights of the Indigenous people in whose territory the gold was found.

a. Manifest Destiny

Document 12

In this document the American newspaper writer, John O. Sullivan describes what he sees as the superiority of American (i.e. Anglo British American Protestant) society. He believes that America is destined (God's will) to spread and come to dominate the world. America, as he suggests, has a "manifest destiny." As you read, consider the following questions:

1. Sullivan argues that the United States is "entering an untrodden space." What does he mean by this and what are the implications of this for Indigenous people and societies?
2. He also says that the expansion of the United States is a good thing that brings democracy to the world. What does he think this will mean for Indigenous people?
3. How might the ideas that Sullivan articulates here have motivated Americans to think about their Mexican neighbours, their British/Canadian neighbours, and about Indigenous people?

Source: John O'Sullivan "The Great Nation of Futurity," *The United States Democratic Review*, Volume 6, Issue 23, (1839) p.430

"The expansive future is our arena, and for our history. We are entering on its untrodden space, with the truths of God in our minds, beneficent objects in our hearts, and with a clear conscience unsullied by the past. We are the nation of human progress, and who will, what can, set limits to our onward march? ... Yes, we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. This is our high destiny.... All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man -- the immutable truth and beneficence of God.... Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity?"

Document 13

This excerpt from an article published in 1846 discussed the idea of American Manifest Destiny, Consider the following questions:

- 1) What is Manifest Destiny according to the article, and does it differ from the definition provided in document 10?
- 2) How is the concept of "race" connected to Manifest Destiny?

Source: "Mexico-Its Castes" *New York Herald*. Friday, June 5th, 1846.

"The idea of amalgamation has been always abhorrent to the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent. Wherever they have spread themselves, they have kept aloof from the inferior races, and the result is apparent in the fact that barbarism has receded before the face of civilization. It is the manifest destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race to people this vast continent. A new order of things has sprung up in this country. Healthy, vigorous republics, unknown and undreamt of among the threadbare dynasties of the old world, have sprung up and flourished with a prospect of health permanency. But wherever the experiment of democratic government has succeeded, it is only in cases where the distinct purity of the Caucasian race has been preserved unmixed with the lower order of humanity."

Document 14

This painting depicts Manifest Destiny in the form of "Columbia" (American society) marching ever westward and displacing a retreating Indigenous population.

Look at the image closely and consider these questions:

1. What does the artist portray as the relationship between western-style agriculture and industry?
2. How does the artist portray Indigenous people? Are they resisting change? Embracing change? Running away from change?
3. What impressions about western and Indigenous cultures does the artist convey through his use of light?

**Source: John Gast, 1872, "American Progress," (also known as "Westward the Course of Destiny") Chromolithograph published by George A. Croft. Source: Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress: Reproduction Number: LC-DIG-ppmsca-09855.
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97507547/>**



b. Gold Rush Violence in California

Document 15

This is an excerpt from the speech delivered by Peter Burnett, the first governor of California, on January 6, 1851. As you read it consider:

1. How the governor distinguishes between white American culture and Indigenous culture.
2. The governor's attitudes regarding the inevitability of violence between settlers and Indigenous people

Source: Peter Burnett, "State of the State Address," January 6, 1851, State Capital, Sacramento California

"The white man, to whom time is money, and who labors hard all day to create the comforts of life, cannot sit up all night to watch his property; and after being robbed a few times, he becomes desperate, and resolves upon a war of extermination. This is the common feeling of our people who have lived upon the Indian frontier. The two

racess are kept asunder by so many causes, and having no ties of marriage or consanguinity to unite them, they must ever remain at enmity.

That a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the races until the Indian race becomes extinct must be expected. While we cannot anticipate this result but with painful regret, the inevitable destiny of the race is beyond the power or wisdom of man to avert.

Situated as California is, we must expect a long continued and harassing irregular warfare with the Indians."

Document 16

This is an excerpt from legislation passed in California in 1850, with amendments in 1860. You'll notice that the Act says it is designed to "protect" Indigenous people, but when you read it you will see that it actually does just the opposite. As you read, consider these questions:

1. What seems to be the motivation behind the legislation?
2. What are the implications of Article 6 on the actions that are sanctioned in Article 3?

Source: An Act for the Government and Protection of Indians [In California], April 22, 1850.

Article 3 -- Any person having or hereafter obtaining a minor [child] Indian, male or female, from the parents or relations of such Indian Minor, and wishing to keep it, such person shall go before a Justice of the Peace in his Township, with the parents or friends of the child, and if the Justice of the Peace becomes satisfied that no compulsory means have been used to obtain the child from its parents or friends, shall enter on record, in a book kept for that purpose, the sex and probable age of the child, and shall give to such person a certificate, authorizing him or her to have the care, custody, control, and earnings of such minor, until he or she obtain the age of majority. Every male Indian shall be deemed to have attained his majority at eighteen, and the female at fifteen years.

Article 6 -- ...In no case can a white man be convicted of an offence upon the testimony of an Indian, or Indians.

Section 20 -- Any Indian able to work and support himself in some honest calling, not having the wherewithal to maintain himself, who shall be found loitering and strolling about, or frequenting public places where liquors are sold, begging, or leading an immoral or profligate course of life, shall be liable to be arrested on the complaint of any resident citizen of the country, and brought before any Justice of the Peace of the proper county, Mayor or recorder of any incorporated town or city, who shall examine said accused Indian, and hear the testimony in relation thereto, and if said Justice, Mayor, or Recorder shall be satisfied that he is a vagrant... he shall make out a warrant under his hand and seal, authorizing and requiring the officer having him in charge or custody, to hire out such vagrant within twenty-four hours to the best bidder, by public notice given as he shall direct, for the highest price that can be had, for any term not exceeding four months.

Source: 1860 amendment to An Act for the Government and Protection of Indians [In California]

[Summary of a long complicated legal discussion]: Male Indian children under fourteen years of age can be indentured as apprentice labourers, whose wages go to the overseer, until they are twenty-five years of age, and female Indians under the age of fourteen can be indentured until there are twenty-one years of age. Male Indians over fourteen but under twenty-five years of age can be indentured until the age of thirty years. Female Indians over the age of fourteen and under the age of twenty-one can be indentured until the age of twenty-five. Any Indian over the age of twenty-five years of age can be indentured for an additional ten years.

Documents 17 – 19

The following three documents are excerpts of articles published in California newspapers in the 1850s and 1860s describing violence against Indigenous people. The texts contain offensive language and describe atrocious cruelty. As you read them consider:

1. How the authors equated Indigenous people with animals.
2. The disregard for the most basic of Indigenous people's human rights.
3. How the laws protecting white Californians from being convicted upon testimony of Indigenous people (document 14 above) likely served to embolden Americans to commit acts genocide.
4. How the articles describe the destruction of Indigenous people and societies as inevitable.

Document 17

Source: John Letts reporting from Placerville California, 1850, as quoted in Stuart Banner, *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007, p.169.

"The whites were strong, and drove the red man into the mountains, and for the crime of having tried to defend their homes and offspring, they are placed under a ban, and hunted down like wild beasts."

Document 18

Source: "Lo, the Poor Indian," *Alta California* [newspaper], April 7, 1855, 2-1.

"One of the most infamous practices known to modern times has been carried on for several months past against the aborigines of California. It has been the custom of certain disreputable persons to steal away young Indian boys and girls, and carry them off and sell them to white folks for whatever they could get. In order to do this, they are obliged in many cases to kill the parents, for low as they are on the scale of humanity, they [the Indians] have that instinctive love of their offspring which prompts them to defend them at the sacrifice of their lives."

Document 19

Source: "Indian Slavery," *Alta California*, 1April 14, 1862. [quoting information earlier published in the *Ukiah Herald*]

“One woodman has been caught with sixteen your Indians in his possession, being about to take them out of the country for sale. The Herald says: ‘Here is well known there are a number of men in this country, who have for years made it their profession to capture and sell Indians, the price ranging from \$30 to \$150, according to quality. Some hard stories are told of those engaged in the trade, in relation to the manner of the captured children. It is even asserted that there are men engaged in it who do not hesitate, when they find a rancheria well stocked with young Indians, to murder in cold blood all the old ones, in order that they may safely possess themselves of all the offspring.’”

Document 20

This is an extract from the diary of a scientist who was conducting a geological survey in California in the early 1860s.

1. Consider the way the author uses irony to say that the Americans who were kidnapping children and killing their parents were not doing this as slavery, but to provide Americans with servants.
2. What does the use of this tone of language suggest about the ways that the author thinks other Americans in other parts of the United States (away from California) might regard the treatment of Indigenous people on the Pacific coast?

Source: William H. Brewer (member of the California Geological Survey, 1860-64), quoted in Francis P. Farquhar, ed., *Up and Down California in 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), p.493.

“The Indians wars now going on, and those which have been for the last three years in the counties of Klamath, Humbolt, and Mendocino, have most of their origins in this. It has been for years a regular business to steal Indian children and bring them down to the civilized parts of the state, even to San Francisco, and sell them – not as slaves, but as servants to be kept as long as possible. Mendocino County has been the scene of many of these stealings, and it is said that some of the kidnappers would often get the consent of the parents by shooting them to prevent opposition.”

c. Gold Rush Violence in British Columbia

Document 21

This is an excerpt from a letter that James Douglas sent to the Colonial Office in London. At the time Douglas was governor of Vancouver Island (which was still politically separate from mainland British Columbia) as well as and the top official in the Hudson’s Bay Company for the territory now known as BC. Douglas technically has no political authority to do what he does (he does not become governor of the newly formed colony of British Columbia until the autumn). The incident described here takes place at a site on the banks of the Fraser River between Hope and Yale. As you read this document consider:

1. What would have motivated Douglas to appoint Indigenous people to positions of colonial authority with the power to arrest?

2. Contrast Douglas' description of Indigenous rights in British claimed territory with the rights of Indigenous people in California.

Source: Governor James Douglas to Lord Stanley, Colonial Office. June 15, 1858.

"On the arrival of our party at 'Hill's Bar' [near Yale BC], the white Miners were in a state of great alarm on account of a serious affray which had just occurred with the native Indians, who mustered under arms, in a tumultuous manner, and threatened to make a clean sweep of the whole body of miners assembled there.

The quarrel arose out of a series of provocations on both sides, and from the jealousy of the savages who naturally feel annoyed at the large quantities of gold taken from their country by the white miners. I lectured them soundly about their conduct, on that occasion, and took the leader in the affray, an Indian, highly connected in their way, and of great influence, resolution and energy of character, into the Government service, and found him exceedingly useful in settling other Indian difficulties.

I also spoke with great plainness of speech, to the white miners, who were nearly all foreigners, representing almost every nation in Europe. I refused to grant them any rights of occupation to the soil, and told them distinctly that Her Majesty's Government ignored their very existence in that part of the country, which was not open for the purpose of settlement, and they were permitted to remain there merely on sufferance; that no abuses would be tolerated, and that the Laws would protect the rights of the Indian, no less than those of the white man."

Documents 22 – 34

The following are newspaper articles describing the relations between Indigenous people and miners along the Fraser River in 1858. They describe the tensions that existed, as well as the distinction between the three different communities in the region: Indigenous people (Stó:lō and Nlakapamux), American miners, and the British authorities. As you read these consider the following questions:

1. Do such sources allow us to get an accurate sense of what the Indigenous people's perspectives were on what was happening in their territory at this time?
2. Is there a difference between the British and American newspapers in terms of their descriptions of cross-cultural relations and conflicts during the Fraser River gold rush?
3. Why did the American miners feel that they were entitled to raise a military force and attack Indigenous communities?
4. How did the Indigenous people respond to the American threat?
5. How did the British authorities respond to the American threat?
6. Who, if anyone, was looking after Indigenous rights and interests, and how were they doing this?

Document 22: Source: "British Columbia," *Times of London* August 5, 1858, p.8.

"A 'difficulty' occurred between a white man and an Indian chief on the river 2 1/2 miles below Fort Hope, in which the Indian was shot through the body; whether killed or not I don't know. The Indians returned the fire

and killed a white man, – not the aggressor, or rather not the same man who shot the Indian; this caused a great commotion, but the [HBC] company's agent at Fort Hope pacified the Indians."

Document 23: Source: "British Columbia," *Times of London*, September 12, 1858, p.8

"Indians complain that the whites abuse them sadly, take their...[women] away, shoot their children, and take their salmon by force. Some of the 'whites' are sad dogs."

Document 24: Source: "British Columbia," *Times of London*, December 25, 1858, pg7.

"I will explain how the affair of the reported collision between the miners and the Indians turned out, which induced the Governor to ask for the military escort. A Frenchman stole away and deforced [raped] an Indian girl... of an Indian community on the Fraser, above Langley [near Sawmill Creek in the Fraser Canyon]. After the endurance of much indignity, the Indian retaliated, caught the Frenchman, and cut off his head and sent his body down the river as an example, perhaps, to all poachers on other men's manors. Altogether four headless trunks came down from the upper waters, and were picked up by the miners between Fort Yale and Fort Hope. The sight naturally roused the inhabitants to action, and a fellow named Graham, a Californian, burning to distinguish himself, raised a company of volunteers to fight the Indians. His plan was very simple, he was to commence killing the Indians at the nearest village, just beyond Fort Yale, and keep killing as he went up the river as far as the Forks [Lytton], 90 miles. No investigation, no discretion, no segregation of the guilty from the innocent. It was to be an extermination raid. This fellow was not only a beast but a vain fool"

Document 25: Source: "British Columbia," *Times of London*, September

Here [at Fort Langley] were young Indians employed as porters, coopers, boatmen, menials in the houses, all earning wages, paid chiefly in commodities; while some find employment as pilots [guiding steam boats on river]. I was informed that some of the Indians were so intelligent as to have risen to the important position of interpreters. I could not test their accomplishments, but I did meet an Indian boy who spoke fair English. Taken young, there is no doubt but that the Indian is susceptible of being reclaimed; but in order to civilize him he must be removed from the influence of savage life. Their natural intelligence and acuteness I had seen displayed on several occasions" [italics added].

Document 26: Source: *Alta*, end of April, 1858. [Swindle p.52]

Letter published in the newspaper Alta, in San Francisco describing a violent clash between American miners and Indigenous people in the interior of British Columbia involving miners who were traveling via the Okanagan Valley from Fort Colville in the USA. The incident occurs in mid-April 1858.

"Sir... Whilst I were in camp there came a band of Indians baring down upon us, there were I suppose about one hundred and twenty or thirty of them, every man paced himself under a second warning. The Indians however ventured onwards and came into our camps and seem to wish to trade with us. We however made some small trades with them, and after my men were done trading with them, it became very late in the evening, and I gave them to understand, that the men did not wish to trade any more. I told them to come back to morrow and perhaps they could trade some more. But the polite invitation that I gave them to leave, they took no notice of

it, and hung around for some time, and then began their hospetaity with us. they first began to steal our purvisions, and from that they went to stealing our horses one of them leap up pon one of our best horses, and gave a yell and made for the hurd but as he had straten himself upon the horse one of my men rose his gun and drew a deadly aim and a shot the indian from the horse's back.

The indians then gave a war like yell and mounted their horses and made a charge uppon us and the mean time opening fire uppon and I howver through self defence Ordered my men to fir uppon them, several heavy rallies were quickly open, I soon discovered a defeat in the ranks of mu foe. I minits they return in a heavy charge I see them a coming, so I place my men on their breast lying as flat on the ground as they could get, behind a little noal, and as the indians came within 75 yards. we rose and i suppose that there were left behind some fifty odd killed and wounded."

Document 27: Source: *S.F. Bulletin*, letter dated May 18, 1858. Describing conditions at Fort Hope BC

"The day is not far distant when the tug of war will come, and the Indian will pass away."

Document 28: Source: *S.F. Bulletin*, letter written May 25, 1858. [Swindle 86-87]

[Location is Hill's Bar between Yale and Hope] "Some 200 Indians, with their squaws, were at work on the bar when I arrived, and they were nowise particular in seizing on the dirt which the miners were digging up, for their own washing [sluicing]. The whites were not troubling them—suffering all and trying to promote good feeling with them—although they were annoyed and insulted very much....

A trader came up with a lot of provisions, and three barrels of whisky, and one of brandy; and in ten minutes afterwards, the bar was in commotion. He drew his revolver on some drunken Indians, who were at his tent, and instantly the Indians ran to their tents and brought out their muskets, and things looked very serious for a few moments; not a miner offered to go to the trader's help. However, but one of a party of boatmen from San Francisco, who are working claims here- walked up with an ax over his arm, and another rolled the casks out, whilst he smashed their heads in – an operation which met with the unanimous approval of all the white men on the bar. The miners called a meeting and passed some laws. One of these laws prohibited any liquor at all coming on the bar, and any person found either selling or giving the Indians any, as to not only forfeit all his goods and claim, if he had one – but be sent down the river in a canoe without any paddles."

"INDIAN DISTURBANCES- They were undisturbed by Indians until the third day, when some fifty came upon the bar, and examined with wonder and surprise the labours of these white men. They exclaimed "cols, cols!" and sent off couriers. In a few days their numbers were increased to 200 or 300, and there was every prospect of an exterminating fight. The Indian women thronged around the rockers in the way of the workmen, often interrupting their labours. It is estimated that the Indians took out at least \$10,000 in dust, which found its way into the coffers of the Hudson Bay Company. The Indian often threatened a war of extermination, and would place themselves in attitudes of attack, but by the address of the miners, no outbreak occurred. On the 22nd May the river rose so as to drive away everybody from work. The Indians left at the same time, with a promise that they would return after salmon-time, and clean the miners all out, should they return for that purpose, they will be astonished at the formidable change that will greet them. The whole river bank is lined with block houses, nearly all of which is impregnable to an Indian, except by means of fire. The underbrush and trees which would

afford an ambush and hiding place, are cleaned away and burnt, leaving an open space behind the town of from one to two hundred yards.”

Document 29: Source: *S.F. Times*, “Letter,” June 7, 1858. Describing the goldfields at Yale.

For six months of the year the river is bound up with ice, rendering mining impracticable—for three months the floods cover all the mining ground—and all the year round a fierce and warlike nation of Indians will be waging unremitted war with all that class of miners who are so unfortunate as to hail from the United States. Mr. Daniels, in his letter, says that, while digging in his claim, he has to keep his revolver constantly within reach of his hand, in order to protect himself from the troublesome attentions to the natives.

Document 30: Source: *S.F. Herald*, June-date unspecified. [Swindle 124]

“No objection is made to miners carrying their own arms. A German was killed two miles below Fort Hope on Sunday, the 6th of June, by an Indian[.] Such difficulty occurred between a party of Indians about a canoe. A white man in stepping from his boat ashore, broke the gunwale of the Indian’s canoe. He held at the time in his hand, a shovel and pan, his object being to prospect on the bank. The Indian seized the shovel in payment for the injury, which was resisted by the white man, who gave the Indian a blow. The latter struck his antagonist with the shovel over the face, cutting him severely. The Indian was at once shot dead by the white man. Another canoe with a party that had no share in the quarrel, approaching, a shot from an Indian in the bush killed the unfortunate German, who fell overboard. The party expecting to be overpowered returned down the river. The body of the German was picked up by the Indians and carried to Fort Hope, where it was interred by the employees of the Hudson Bay Company and a party of Americans. There was no further difficulty with the Indians. [...]”

Document 31: Source: (*Alta*, letter dated June 28, 1858. Swindle 138)

“Several Indians have been assassinated, others threatened, squaws have been violated, and sad to say, the aggressions have almost invariably been committed by the Americans, who, at every trifle, draw their revolvers.”

Document 32: Source: *S.F. Bulletin*, letter dated Aug 21, 1858. Swindle 239-41

“The miners all seem determined to keep the Indians off the river [just upriver from Yale] and as the Indians sole resource here is the salmon they must come to terms, if they cannot succeed in driving the whites from the river.”

Document 33: Source: *Alta*, letter dated Sept 5, 1858. [Swindle 260.]

“A party [of American miners] started up from Fort Yale and pursuing the only means of stopping these outrages—that by showing their power—they burnt several Rancheria [Indigenous settlements] and shot several of the savages, who, imagining an easy victory, sailed out rather indiscreetly to meet them. Two or three skirmishes ensued in which perhaps twenty of the savages bit the dust and several Americans were also killed. The surprise of Capt. Graham’s party and the death of Graham and three of his men is already known. In every instance the Indians threw the bodies into the river after decapitating them and in other ways mutilating them.

Document 34: Source: *Stockton Daily Argus*, Oct-date unspecified. [Swindle 280]

“Some days several headless bodies might be seen floating in the river, doubtless the work of Indians. There are now between 3,000 and 4,000 persons on Fraser River, but they are leaving daily. But few will make the effort to winter in that region. Persons coming down the river to find [find?] their way back to California generally reach the sea-board, broke. There is much destitution and distress on the river.”

Theme Three -- Archival Documents Relating to the Kidnapping of Sokolowicz’s Son

Gold rushes are exactly that, “rushes.” They start quickly and subside quickly. In their wake we inevitably find both environment damage and injured and exploited Indigenous populations. The Fraser River gold rush of 1858 was concentrated in the region between Lytton and Hope BC. By 1861, the vast majority of the miners had either moved on following rumours of newer and richer gold fields farther north in the interior of BC, or they had returned home. Among those who decided to “pack up stakes and go home” as the miners put it, was George Crum. Crum was from Sacramento California. When Crum boarded a steam boat at Fort Hope in 1860 to start his travels back to California he took with him a young Indigenous boy, the son of Sokolowicz – a Stó:lō man from the Pilalt tribe in the Chilliwack region. Sokolowicz accused Crum of kidnapping his son and spent the next four years trying to secure his child’s return. The following documents describe the challenges Sokolowicz faced in trying to pursue Crum.

As you prepare to analyze the documents below, you will be aided by considering the context created by some of the documents from “Theme Two.” Remember that it was common for settlers in California to violently apprehend Indigenous children from their parents and compel them to work without pay (Documents 17 – 20). Remember too that in California, a law prevented a white man from being convicted on the testimony of an Indigenous person (Document 16).

Document 35: This is a copy of a letter from the British Consul (Britain’s top diplomat in the state of California). The letter indicates that the issue reached the desk of British Columbia’s colonial governor. As you read the document, consider this question: Did the British officials take Sokolowicz’s concerns seriously?

Source: W. Land Booker, British Consul, San Francisco, to Charles Good, Colonial Secretary, Victoria BC. May 1, 1860. (File 166, Booker, William Lane, 1858-1864, Colonial Correspondence, BC Archives).

Sir, I have to acknowledge receipt of your Despatch of the 19th April accompanying a Statement made by Mr. Brew [Head of the British Columbia Colonial Police] in reference to an Indian boy taken away from British Columbia by Mr. Crum, now a resident of Sacramento. In accordance with the wishes of His Excellency Governor Douglas, I have written to a friend at Sacramento to endeavor to find out if the boy wishes to return and if so, if Mr. W Crum would throw any obstacles in the way of his doing so. By the next Steamer I hope to be able to relieve the minds of the boy’s parents.

Document 36: In this document the British Consul forwards a letter from a prominent California business man informing Governor James Douglas of the situation facing Sokolowicz's son. As you read it, consider:

1. Does Mr. Toll provide any information suggesting whether parental consent was given when Crum took Sokolowicz's son?
2. What might the exchange of money between Crum and Toll suggest about their relation to the boy?

Source: W. Lane Booker, British Consul, San Francisco, to Charles Good, Colonial Secretary, Victoria, May 8 1860. (File 166, Booker, William Lane, 1858-1864, Colonial Correspondence, BC Archives).

Sir, For the information of His Excellency Governor Douglas I beg to enclose a copy of a Letter I have received from my friend at Sacramento relative to the Indian Boy taken from British Columbia by Mr. Crum. Should the Parents still wish to have the boy returned to them I should like to know what amount I am authorized to expend in carrying out their wishes.

[Letter Insert: C.W. Sighnere [sic?] to Mr. Booker, British Consul, San Francisco, May 4, 1860]

Dear Sir, I am now prepared to give you some information relative to the Indian boy "Charley," concerning whom you wrote me on the 28th Ulta [of last month].

It appears that Mr. Crum who brought him from British Columbia, left here a few weeks since. Before leaving he gave him to Mr P. I. Toll, a gentleman who is engaged in the Livery and Sale Ilatle [sic?] business on K Street near 7th in this City. Receiving from Toll \$150 which he alleged he had expended on the boy since he came in possession of him, and with the understanding that the money was to be refunded ~~to him~~ [sic] and the boy returned to him (Crum) on his return from the Eastern States next August or September.

Mr. Toll is a man of excellent character and standing in this place. He as well as family are greatly attached to the Boy, who has become a playmate for his children, he attends Sunday school regularly and has made quite progress in reading and spelling, and is as well provided in clothes and board as one of Toll's own children. Mr Toll expressed a strong desire to keep him, but stated that he would throw no obstacle in the way of his being return to his father, only desiring that it would please him better if nothing would be done towards his removal until Mr Crum's return, when he would be answerable for the boy not being removed from the City until I was informed of it. Both Crum and Toll are men of considerable property in Sacramento.

Messers Keenan & Tesent of the of the Orleans Hotel are familiar with the facts relative to Crum's first obtaining him, which they briefly state thus;

That during the heavy winter of '59 the Tribe to which the boy belonged were in a distressed and starving condition, owing to the scarcity of Salmon in the District which they inhabited and that several of the Tribe had already starved to death when C. took him from them, fed and clothed and bought him down to California with him. Up to the time of Crum's departure the boy was as well treated by Crum as if he had been his own son.

Having full confidence in the Statements of these gentlemen all the circumstance being considered, the Boy I believe is well taken care of; and has not the slightest wish to return to the North. Should he desire to do so, Mr. Toll is a man of too fine feelings to prevent his departure.

Document 37: This is a letter from the government mail official in the Fraser Valley, and the person with whom Sokolowicz appears to have most frequently communicated in the years since first bringing the issue of the abduction of his son to the attention of Governor James Douglas.

In reading this letter, consider: Does the document take the father's concerns seriously?

Source: John Sheford (Post Master, Harrison River BC) to Col. Moody (Lt. Governor of BC and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works), [Undated letter. Likely written in September 1862]. (Colonial Correspondence. Crum, George W. GR-1372 B01323. File 412c., BC Archives).

Sir, the Bearer of this is an Indian of the Pallalt tribe. You will find By looking at lines written to his Excellency the Govnor [James Douglas] that I was About writing to him About the Indian Boy the Bearer is his father and takes it very much to heart he has Been Almost Out of his mind About the loss of the Boy the Object of coming to you is to Obtain the Remains if possible So that he can Bury him with the tribe that are dead[.] [T]his man he saw took the Boy forcible from him and he tried to Get him from Mr. Crum and said Crum kicked him and Beat him About he Sais [says] he would be satisfied if he could only get the Remains he wishes you to write to Said Crum Imploring him to Send the Remains of the Boy and if he will not do it at his Own Expense for him to send to You how much it will cost.

Document 38: In this letter George Crum provides his version of the circumstances surrounding the way he came to bring Sokolowicz's son to California. He also informs the British officials that the boy has died and is buried in the Crum family plot under the adopted name of Charley. Note: the sections in the transcript showing an underline with no text [_____] represent a portion of the letter that has physically deteriorated and is no longer in existence.

In reading this letter, consider: Is Crum's explanation plausible.

Source: George Crum, (resident 12 miles south of Sacramento California), to Mr. John Shelford (Post Office, Mouth of Harrison River), Jan the 31st 1863. (Lands and Works Correspondence Outward C/AB/30.7j1 p.91, BC Archives).

Dear Sir, I received a few lines addressed to Geo W Crum dated January the 9th 1863 that I supose [sic] was intended for my self. I tharefore [sic] answer you.

The Indian Boy that you speak of I Brought from fort Hope I did not kidnap him I took him with the full consent of his parents I insisted on his father to take Boy Home up to the minute of my leaving fort hope I have got 4 witnesses to certify to the fact of my Statement.

The father of the Boy Brought the Boy to my house some three or for times for me to take him before I would consent to take him he was Lousy and partially naked I cleaned Him of lice and clothed him _____

Better Clothes than I ware [sic] my _____
 During his life and if he _____
 Living I would lose my _____
 Sooner than part with him.
 _____ the Boy I was _____

Attached to almost as much as if he was my son he had the same treatment and he was a fine smart Boy much beloved By all and every one That knew him. But Sir I must inform you that Charly Died about the 29th of last april and was Buried decently in the Sacramento city cemetery on my own family lot in said cemetery and his name is recorded on the Register of that cemetery as Charles Crum I consider him my son By adoption and so treated him and so Buried him and paid his Bills.

You speak of My being written to this can not be so for this is the first line I have received.

You do not seem to be posted [?] as well as Jentleman [sic] ought to be
 Before using threts [sic] in posting your
 I will refer you to Judge Smith
 _____ was at fort hope at the time
 _____ bought Charly away he now makes
 _____ home at fort Yale he still holds a
 _____ mission he he [sic] perhaps can give
 _____ further information I am inclined
 _____ is Better acquainted
 _____ with
 the Indian family that Charly died _____
 To them you are as to means to _____

The Boy to British soil or any other Soil I have plenty if he was living Should you have doubts in the matter I refer you to Dr. Morgan a practicing Facisien [physician] in this city So I close Hoping you may Receive this Communication in hast [sic] as you required.

Document 39: In this letter the Post Master writes to Governor Douglas stating that he has received George Crum's letter informing him that Sokolowicz's son has died.

Does this evidence support the point of view of the father, or of Crum?

Source: John Shelford, Postmaster, Mouth Harrison, Fraser River, British Columbia to Governor James Douglas, March 4, 1863. (Lands and Works Correspondence Outward, C/AB/ 30.7j4, BC Archives).

Sir, An Indian of the Pallalt tribe near the Above place had a little Boy about of about 10 years of Age as Near as I can learn from his father that was taken Away By A man of the name of George W. Crum four years Ago he wished me to write to the Above named man which I did and two days Ago Received an answer to the Effect the Said Boy died about the 25 day of April last and was buried in the Sacramento Cemetery in his own family lot under the name Charles Crum.

Document 40: In this letter, the Post Master is seeking the assistance of BC colonial officials in confirming that the boy has indeed died. As you read this consider:

How might Sokolowicz have learned that his son was the second Indigenous child to die in Mr. Crum's service? If this is accurate, what might it imply about Crum?

Source: John Shelford, Post Office, Mouth Harrison, Fraser River, British Columbia, to Manager of the Sacramento Cemetery, March 4, 1863, forwarded via Col. Moody, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, New Westminster. (Lands and Works Correspondence Outward, C/AB/ 30.7j4, p.54, BC Archives).

Sir, I have written through the disconsolable [sic] parents of a Boy an Indian Boy of the Pallalts tribe in British Columbia to A man that took the Boy from the Above place four years Ago Calling himself By Name George W. Crum his Mother and Father wished me to write to Said man which I did and Received an answer from him that the Said Boy died on or About the 25 day of April 1862 and was Buried in his Own family lot in the Sacramento City Cemetery Under the Name Charles Crum as he Sais [says] in his letter to me that he considered him his son By Adoption If you will Be So Kind as to Send the Certificate of his [bur]ial, or if any fees are Required If you will Be Kind Enough to let me know I will forward you the Amount By Express you Sir will be kind to forward Me the desired information as soon as you Receive this the Father of this Boy Sais [sic] that this is the Second Indian Boy that has died in the Service of Mr Crum.

Document 41: In this letter BC government officials are requesting that the British Consul follow up on Sokolowicz's request for confirmation that his son has died. As you review this letter consider:

What does this letter indicate about the degree to which the BC colonial government was taking Sokolowicz's concerns seriously?

Source: Col. R.C. Moody to W. Lane Booker Esq. of San Francisco, June 10, 1863. (Royal Engineers, Letterbooks. BC Archives, C/AB/30.6j, 1-7) p.336. BC Archives).

A poor Indian of the Lower Fraser District, named Sokolowicz, living at an Indian place called Sqnaie opposite Skowalietz [Scowlitz] Junction of the Harrison River and Fraser River had a son 10 years of age carried off by a Boston [i.e. American] man named Crum, to San Francisco about 4 years ago. – The old man and other relatives have tried in vain to get the man to restore the boy – the man saying he has adopted the lad – No doubt there are two sides to the story.

At length the Indian Father is informed that the boys is dead and buried in Sacramento Cemetery under the name of Charles Crum. The father of the Chief have been with me urging me to inquire into the facts of the case – they evidently disbelieve the story of the death.

Enclosed are copies of the papers they have put into my hands [these documents do not seem to have been preserved in the BC archives] – You would confer a great act of kindness on the poor people if you would cause enquiry to be made + write any particulars to me if the boy be not dead. Mr. Crum should of course restore him as early as possible.

Document 42: In this document the BC officials are provided with a signed certificate from an undertaker stating that Sokolowicz's son has indeed died and is buried under the name given him by George Crum. Consider:

How does this letter reflect upon Crum's actions?

W. Land Booker, British Consul, San Francisco, to Col. Moody, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, New Westminster BC. July 27, 1863. (File 166, Booker, William Lane, 1858-1864, Colonial Correspondence, BC Archives).

My dear Sir, I received some time since your letter with enclosures relative to the Indian boy taken away from British Columbia Mr. Crum of Sacramento and I have delayed answering it in the hope that W Crum would return home but he is still absent somewhere in the Mountain and not expected for a fortnight [two weeks] or more -- I have ascertained that the boy is undoubtedly dead and the enclosed is memorandum from the Undertaker who buried him -- The result of my application to Mr. Crum in reference to the removal of the Remains of the deceased to the burial place of his Tribe I will communicate to you as soon as possible—

[Letter Insert: J.W. Reeves, Undertaker, to W. Lane Booker, British Consul, San Francisco, April 23, 1862] Died in this City Apr 23rd/62. The Name was given Charles Crum. Interred in Sent [plot] No 127 City Cemetery.

Document 43: This document is an excerpt from the reminiscences of one of Chilliwack BC's earliest non-Indigenous settlers, Chas Evans. It was published in the *Chilliwack Progress* newspaper in 1904. Evans arrived in the Fraser Valley during the 1858 Gold Rush. As you review this document ask yourself:

1. How does Evan's reminiscence of events that occurred more than 40 years earlier compare to the accounts provided in the newspaper records from the actual gold rush?
2. What can we learn from this account about other parents' responses to the kidnapping of other Indigenous boys? Was Sokolowicz response typical? Why or why not?

Source: Evans, Chas, H. "Reminiscences of the Fraser River Indian (Part III)." *The Chilliwack Progress*. Wednesday, March 16th, 1904, 8.

"This gold excitement brought in a very bad class of men. No doubt there were good ones, but the bulk of them were a class of California gamblers, fugitives, and criminals. These miners supplied the Indians with abundance of liquor, when whole villages of men women, and children, would be drunk at once....

This miner also brought disease among them, which, in the absence of medical attention, grew to be almost a plague; and coupled with the liquor swept hundreds of them away.... With this vile liquor in their midst the Indian was powerless, this retched whiteman was king; and as a result this splendid race of people lost their self-respect, and were poisoned to their death.

A great many boys were stolen away by these vicious white men [American miners from California]. Two are known to have been taken to California, where they grew to be men, when they returned. One has since died, the

other still lives at the Chilliwack landing. Others are known to have been abandoned further along the river, where they were picked up by other portions of the tribe, grew up with them, and one or two of these are known to be alive still. But the bulk of them were never heard of. The Indians tell of one man having lost his son, a very fine boy. The father searched the woods for days, almost frantic, and after a few days died of grief.”

Document 44: Source: Photograph, Courtesy Keith Carlson.

This is a photo taken by the historian Keith Thor Carlson when he went in 2009 to Sacramento to try and find the location of Sokolowicz’s son’s grave. The image shows George Crum’s family grave plot in the Sacramento pioneer cemetery. The kidnapped boy, Sokolowicz’s son, is listed in the cemetery register under the name given to him by Crum, and as an Indigenous person born in the United States (when in fact he was from British Columbia): “Charles Crum, born in Washington Territory. Died April 23, 1862, age 11.” His grave site is unmarked, but believed to be in the plot in the front left corner of the image. As you look at this photo consider the following:

1. How might Stó:lō people today feel about their relative being buried in George Crum’s cemetery?
2. If George Crum was being serious about having adopted Sokolowicz’s son and treating him like his own son, why is the boy’s individual plot the only one without a marker?
3. What might we assume about George Crum’s legacy and memory in California based upon the tombstone shown in the photograph?

