# A Native Archaeology of the Island Hul'qumi'num:
# Cowichan Perception and Utilization of Wetlands

Submitted by
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# Abstract

The aim of this research is to develop an understanding of historic Cowichan perception and utilization of wetlands in their traditional territory. The Cowichan live on the south east coast of Vancouver Island on the Northwest Coast of North America, in an area with many wetland features. The story of Cowichan culture history is currently characterized, through archaeological work, as marine oriented. However, archaeological research to date does not represent the full history of the Cowichan people.

This research sets out to re-balance the cultural history of the Cowichan, through the qualitative and quantitative analysis of all available sources that identify economic and social orientation in Cowichan culture history, in particular those coming from archaeology, ethnography and oral tradition. As a way of integrating these diverse sources, a 'Native archaeology' is developed. This is an approach which places equal value on etic (cultural outsider) and emic (cultural insider) created sources, and seeks to identify areas of similarity and difference in order that a fuller understanding of the culture may be reached. By applying the Native archaeological approach to Cowichan culture history, the marine orientation is placed in the context of the role of riverine wetlands, which was important both in terms of subsistence and of the symbolic significance that these places have in the self-reflected identity of the Cowichan. In this way, a story is told that is meaningful to both Cowichan Natives and non-Natives alike.

# Acknowledgments

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# Abbreviations

AHSPA – Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act (1960)

AIA – Archaeological Impact Assessment

AOA – Archaeological Overview Assessment

ASAB – Archaeological Sites Advisory Board

BCSC – British Columbia Supreme Court

CRM – Cultural Resource Management

FCR – Fire Cracked/Altered Rock

IGO – Indian Graves Ordinance (1856)

HCA – Heritage Conservation Act (1996)

HOPA – Historic Objects Preservation Act (1925)

HTG – Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group

PAO – Provincial Archaeologists Office

PFR – Preliminary Field Reconnaissance

SCC – Supreme Court of Canada

UBCIC – Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs

# **Terms**

Emic:    regarding the study of culture groups, emic refers to the description of a group based on criteria considered significant by members of that group (Duranti 1997, Harris 1976, Pike 1971). Emic perspective is generally equated with the insider point of view.

Etic:    regarding the study of culture groups, etic refers to the description of a group based on criteria considered significant by an outsider to that group, specifically the observer (Duranti 1997, Harris 1976, Pike 1971). Etic perspective is generally equated with the outsider point of view.

Shell mound:    this term will be used in place of the term 'midden,' as this term has been associated with refuse, and is thought by some to be disrespectful as shell mounds may also be burial grounds (McLay et al 2004).

Wetlands:    as defined by Ramsar 1971, areas of marsh, fen, peatland or water, whether natural or artificial, permanent or temporary, with water that is static or flowing, fresh, brackish or salt, including areas of marine water the depth of which at low tide does not exceed six meters.

Wet Site:    a site in which the matrices and their organic contents are located below the water table and which have become saturated with water. The presence of water creates an oxygen-free zone in which bacterial and fungal growth is inhibited. Accordingly, organic material which would normally perish in a dry-land context is preserved in a wet context (Croes 1976, 2-3). Wet sites may be found in wetland areas, but they may also be located in anthropogenic wet places, as when springs are purposefully stopped up (Wilson et al. 2007).

# Chapter 1 – Introduction

**Background**

This research seeks to develop an understanding of Cowichan perception and use of wetlands in their traditional territory over time. To this end, I have critically examined the archaeological, ethnographic and oral traditional sources in their original contexts. Archaeology, ethnography, and oral tradition each tell a different story about historical Cowichan interaction with their wetlands. In order to tell a story that is meaningful to all parties concerned, it is first necessary to understand different ways of knowing, and of transmitting knowledge. Only then can we move on to a critical analysis of the sources.

As the majority of archaeological work done in Cowichan territory to date has been conducted by commercial archaeologists, I have looked at the development of the discipline of archaeology in British Columbia, considering both consulting and academic spheres, in order to identify common trends influencing the practice of archaeology in this area. Because ethnographic sources from this area are similarly a product of their time, they are considered in light of prevailing beliefs about ecology and cultural evolution in the 19th and early 20th centuries. While archaeological and ethnographic sources present the outsider perspective of Native lifeways, Cowichan oral traditional sources provide an internal perspective, informing us about foundational beliefs and Native customary law which guided individual and group activity in the past and continues to have an impact on Native goals for heritage management today. Oral

traditional sources are considered as a product of Native experience in, and engagement with the landscape.

My research also addresses reasons for the paucity of archaeological and ethnographic evidence relating to Native wetland use. I highlight some of the attitudes and policies which have resulted in an under-appreciation of wetlands as places of potential importance to Native groups throughout history and show, conversely, how an appreciation and awareness of Native wetland use is not only critical for the understanding of groups such as the Cowichan, but that it is essential for the effective management of archaeological resources throughout British Columbia.

This research develops an approach to the study of local-level Native history. This approach is based on the holistic ecological approach, or Native ecology, as advanced by Phillipe Descola in his study of modern Amazonian peoples (1996). Descola considered Native oral tradition alongside scientific and ethnographic sources to develop a picture of the Human-Nature interactions. By incorporating archaeological evidence, my approach adds time-depth to the study of Human-Nature interactions. My 'Native archaeology' illustrates that the Cowichan believe they were and are part of nature, and that concepts of a separate cultural world that seeks to dominate nature is not applicable to their belief system. The Cowichan constantly engaged with their environment, and were bound by a set of laws that demanded respect and reciprocity with nature. This belief system resulted in the preservation of wetlands because the Cowichan did not perceive themselves as separate from nature, accepting their surroundings as they were rather than changing it on a large scale to suit themselves.

By developing a Native archaeology on a group-by-group basis, I believe archaeologists will be able to arrive at interpretations that have more cultural meaning for each corresponding Native group. Archaeologists need to be able to tell stories with real meaning and significance for the people who are most closely connected to the archaeological resource through ancestral links because, as it stands, the stories are too often based principally on etic perceptions and criteria (those belonging, and relevant to the observer's culture). Speaking about the role of archaeologists on the Northwest Coast, Quentin Mackie says: 'whether we like it or not, what we say matters, and can profoundly affect the hopes and aspirations of living people' (1995: 190). Stories based on etic interpretations alone are not meaningful to Native groups who believe that their ancestors were present, are present still, and continue to have meaningful interactions with all beings in their environment, since time immemorial. It is of little consequence to Native groups when an archaeologist tells them that their ancestors had been there for several thousand years, and that they ate a lot of salmon - many Native people already know this. Current commercial archaeological practice, which is the dominant forum for archaeological work, is not doing justice to the stories which lie hidden in the archaeological record. In order to make meaningful conclusions about the material they salvage, archaeologists must come to understand the values Native people hold sacred. They need to be aware of the etic-ness of their approach, and they need to incorporate emic perspectives from the start.

This study was undertaken with both First Nations and archaeological consultants in mind. It serves to highlight the gaps in current interpretation of archaeological material

as it relates to Native culture, particularly with reference to the consulting industry, which is important for archaeologists as they practice, and for First Nations as they pursue land claims and deal with land management issues. It is intended to serve as an eye-opener, shedding light on the etic assumptions implicit in public policy and the approach of commercial archaeologists. In order to situate this study, I consider the influence of the western belief system on the approach archaeologists have employed to study Native culture. To further strengthen our understanding of the cultural context of western 'objectivity,' I examine the development of the practice of archaeology in British Columbia. To that end, I have compiled and analyzed all accessible documents regarding the development of the discipline, including scholarly books and journal articles as well as legal documents and government position papers, and interspersed them with information about social and political events of the day in order to broaden their context. I also spoke with employees of the provincial government involved in developing and informing policy and legislation. I spoke with archaeologists who have been actively involved with the development of the commercial archaeology sector. I also spoke with archaeologists who have shown a particular interest in wetland archaeology. These multi-vocal sources considered together provide an understanding of the present state of archaeology in British Columbia.

**Aims and objectives**

The aim of this research is to develop an understanding of Cowichan perception and use of the wetlands in their traditional territory over time, and how that history is dealt with by heritage management in British Columbia.

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The specific objectives of the study are to:

- develop a detailed understanding of the development of archaeological research in British Columbia, and identify to what extent this explains current understandings of Cowichan wetlands utilization;

- develop a 'Native archaeology' methodology that incorporates etic (cultural outsider) and emic (cultural insider) interpretations of Cowichan history, particularly with regard to wetland perception and utilization, and which gives time depth to recent culture histories;

- undertake a systematic survey of the archaeological, ethnographic and oral tradition of the Cowichan and look for information pertaining to the use of wetlands in the past;

- analyze the extent to which etic (based principally on cultural outsider archaeological and ethnographic research to date) and emic (based on oral traditions of cultural insiders) perceptions of Cowichan wetland utilization correlate and diverge;

- provide recommendations for improved approaches to the practice of archaeology in British Columbia through the development of a research framework for wetland archaeology.

*Figure 1 - Cowichan Valley: Estuary, back right; Quamichan Lake, back left; Somenos Lake, left front. (G. Hill 2010)*

**Introduction to the Study Area**

The traditional territory of the Cowichan First Nation is part of the territory of the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group (HTG), located on the southeast coast of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Canada. The HTG is comprised of six nations: Cowichan, Chemainus, Penelakut, Lyackson, Halalt, and Lake Cowichan. Traditionally, these groups occupied and used seasonal resources over an area reaching from the backbone of Vancouver Island, a boundary running approximately northwest to southeast, across the Gulf Islands, to the mainland and along the Lower Fraser River (Marshall 1999). Cowichans belong to the central Coast Salish language group, which incorporate five language families: Clallam, Halkomelem, Nooksack, Northern Straits, and Squamish (Suttles 1990: 453). The Central Coast Salish language group occupies an area covering the southeastern portion of Vancouver Island (from Nanaimo to Sooke), the lower mainland (from Squamish in the north, upriver past Hope, and over

the US border to Bellingham), and on the Olympic Peninsula (along the northern coast and into what is now Olympic National Park) (ibid.).
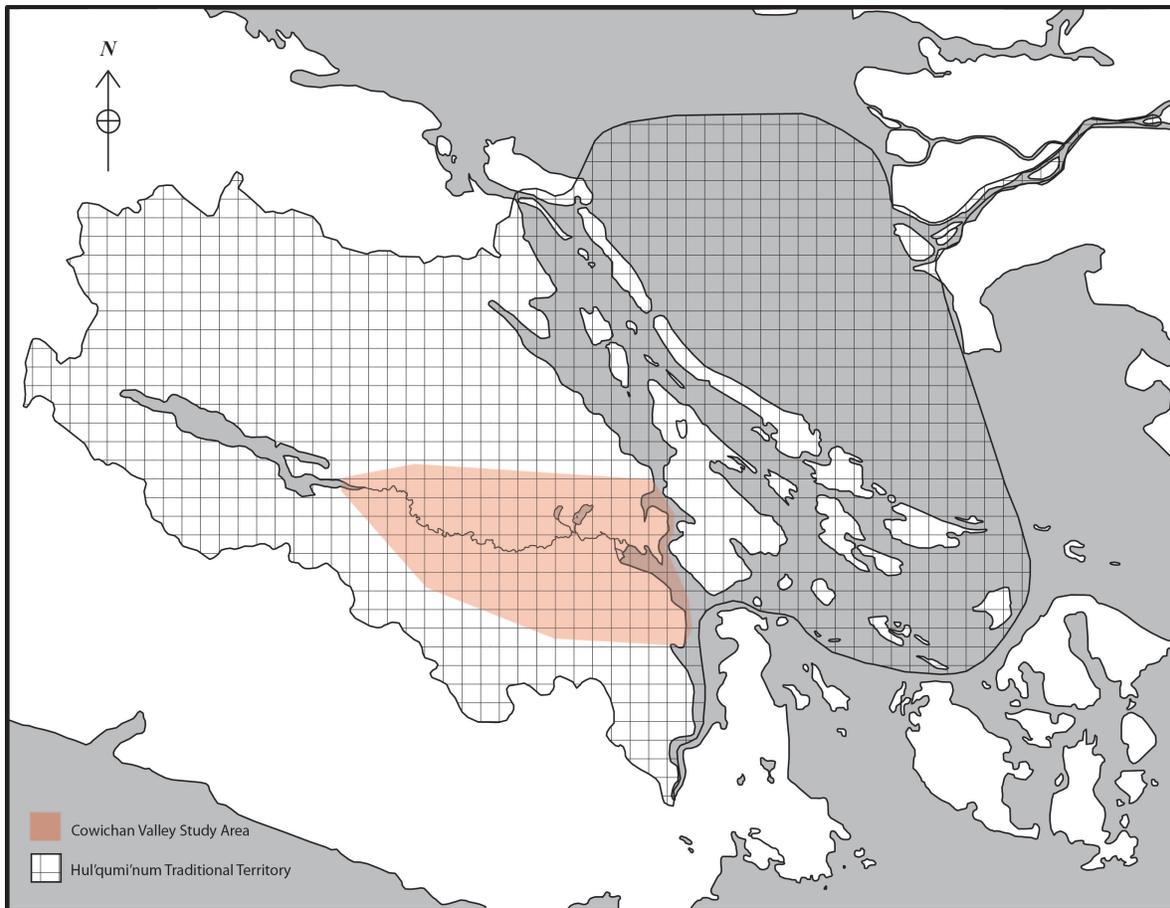


*Figure 2 - Study Area showing the study area within Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group territory*

The Cowichans speak a dialect of Halkomelem known as Island Halkomelem (Hill-Tout 1978; Marshall 1999; Rozen 1977, 1978, 1985; Suttles 1990; Thom 2005). Cowichan people traditionally spoke a sub-dialect of Island Halkomelem, which is distinctive from Chemainus and Nanaimo dialects (Rozen 1977, Gerdts 2012). The number of Native speakers has dwindled over the past century and a half due to the prohibition on Native language use in residential schools (Churchill 2004; Gerdts 2012). However, language revitalization projects in Hul'qumi'num territory have

encouraged a new generation of people to learn Halkomelem (Gerdts 2012, Peter 2012).



*Figure 3 - Coast Salish Language Groups (G.Hill 2010)*

The Cowichan traditionally occupied a series of permanent winter villages along the lower stretches of the Cowichan and Koksilah Rivers, and had seasonal camps from Cowichan Lake to the Gulf Islands and along the mouth of the Fraser River (Barnett 1955; Marshall 1999; Rozen 1978). Under the Indian Reservation system, tracts of land were set aside for Native groups by the Federal Government of Canada. In the Cowichan area, reserves were set up around major winter village sites, and accordingly many Native Cowichans live adjacent to the city of Duncan, and along the lower Cowichan River (Churchill 2004; Rozen 1978). Prior to the arrival of European settlers in the Valley, Cowichan people used resources throughout the area. Due to increased urban and residential development, access to traditional resource areas and ancestral sites has been increasingly threatened.

Unlike some other Native groups in BC, the Cowichan and the rest of the HTG nations did not sign a treaty. As well as undertaking extensive research into history, language, land use and heritage, the HTG currently in the process of trying to regain control over their traditional lands (HTG 2011). Archaeological work plays a significant role in the land claims process as it has been required by courts to support oral traditional testimony which has long been regarded as subjective and considered less reliable than scientific sources (Cruikshank 1992). Existing and future archaeological work has and will continue to have a profound impact on both Native and non-native perceptions of Cowichan culture history and on the land claims process.

**Personal reflections**

This research evolved from my experiences in professional consulting archaeology in British Columbia, and has been designed to address several individual problems that are symptomatic of what I perceived to be the wider practice of consulting archaeology on the Northwest Coast. It is also designed to narrow the gap between the worlds of salvage and academic.

I grew up in the Cowichan Valley, and spent much of my youth within the bounds of Island Hul'qumi'num territory. My first elementary school was across the creek and one field away from Yey'um'nuts (the Somenos Creek Site, DeRw 18). I played field hockey at McAdam Park, on the north bank of the Cowichan River, near the sites of *stso7tx̲*, and *st'et'íṁye*. I swam with my friends near *sth'óso7k̲w*, *témelh,* and *k̲'ethk̲wále*. I live ten minutes on foot from Cherry Point beach, where Cowichan people caught skates and harvested herring roe for thousands of years. I lived in this place full of history, and knew nothing of it.

My introduction to First Nations culture at school was brief. Textbooks were concerned mostly with the tribes of eastern Canada. Field trips frequently took us to historic sites, with scant reference to interactions with the large population of First Nations people who lived there before. Negative impacts to Native life were 'whitewashed' in favour of the struggle and triumphs of the settler society.

For children growing up in the Cowichan school system, the first direct introduction to the people whose land we lived in came when our class visited the *Quw'utsun'* Cultural Centre, located near *sht'áats'ale,* close to the place where now the Trans Canada

Highway crosses the Cowichan River. My experience at this place was the first indication that the relationship I had with the land was not of the same kind that the Cowichan have with the land.

The social divide between Native and non-Native populations was not readily apparent to me. Several Native girls attended my school, but as equality was stressed, the separation which may have been felt between Natives and non-natives in a public school was diminished, and their 'nativeness' did not seem to be an issue. It was not until after I started attending the University of Victoria that I began to realize the extent of the social divide between Cowichan people and everyone else who lived in the Valley.

My first fieldwork experience was on a University of Victoria Greek and Roman Studies department field school in Greece. Of the four projects I participated in during the four years of my undergraduate degree, only one took place on the Northwest Coast. That project was run by the University of Victoria Anthropology Department and took place on a beach on Newcastle Island, north of the Cowichan Valley, in *Snuneymuxw* territory. The project aims were to excavate an historic Japanese herring saltery, but the preceding Native presence was quickly felt as the saltery buildings had been erected on shell deposits, and part of what we excavated was pre-contact material. There was little discussion about the Native aspects encountered during the project, and in the end we were left with an incomplete understanding of the site.

In 2005, I went to work for I.R. Wilson Archaeological Consultants Ltd. (now part of Stantec) in Sidney, British Columbia. Until that point, all of my experience had been on

well-established research projects, none of which could be considered salvage archaeology. I joined the controversial salvage excavation at Poets Cove development site mid-way through the project. The situation leading to the archaeological investigation at this site has since been described by Robert Morales, chief negotiator for the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, as 'the worst case of an ancient First Nation archaeological site being destroyed by development in recent history in Canada' (Island Tides, 6 Oct. 2006: 5). At that time, the archaeologists worked alongside First Nations assistants, sifting through mechanically sorted site matrix which had been rescued from several fields across Pender Island. The company who was building a resort on the ancient site had knowingly removed archaeological deposits from the beach in direct contravention of the *Heritage Conservation Act*. Tensions ran high. At the end of every working week, several Hul'qumi'num Elders performed a cleansing ritual for those involved with the project, to protect us and our families from the spirits that had been disturbed. During the ceremony I witnessed only a fraction of the emotional impact that development was having on the Hul'qumi'num community. The Poets Cove project was vastly different from the rest of my experience and was not what I had expected of consulting archaeology.

I worked at I.R. Wilson for only a few months, but the last project, a watching brief on the Old Songhees Reserve in the present city of Victoria, made the biggest impact on me. The Shutters development project was supposed to be simple: a watching-brief on a heavily disturbed site. One day, a digger-operator was clearing out the sterile clay substrate after we had combed through the cultural layers. As he dug, he put the machine shovel through what appeared to be an old well which was full of waterlogged

organic material: baskets, boxes, fish hooks, and many, many shoes (260 pieces of footwear to be exact) (Wilson 2007). There followed an unfortunate chain of events that indicated to me that a larger problem existed in consulting archaeology on the Northwest Coast.

As the digger-driver spread the waterlogged deposit out over a wide area for the archaeologists to pick through, it became clear that the discovery of waterlogged material was unforeseen, not just in this incident, but on all of the projects I had worked on. There was no field equipment to wash the mud off of the artifacts. There were no zip-shut bags to put the artifacts into to keep them from drying out. There were no tubs to keep the artifacts submerged in water. Few people at the office had any clear idea of what should be done with these spectacular pieces. Dale Croes and Kathryn Bernick, two regional experts in the field, were both contacted about the organic material, but it was clear that beyond these two individuals, few people were aware of the possibility of finding such well-preserved material and even fewer were prepared to deal with it. Eventually, the footwear and the basketry artifacts were sent to the Canadian Conservation Institute in Ottawa. It was clear to me that wet site archaeology was neither on the collective radar of consulting archaeologists in British Columbia, nor was it part of the learning tradition.

After only a few months working for the archaeology consulting firm, I left to pursue a Masters degree at the University of Exeter. Originally, I was interested in the impact of natural and anthropogenic coastal change on the Turkish Coast. Very quickly my interest shifted as I learned that some of the most impressive wet sites in the world

were to be found in North America and that, despite the spectacular nature of these finds, there was a persistent lack of awareness about the potential to find wet sites and how to deal with them. I reflected on my own experience at the Shutters site on the Old Songhees Reserve in Victoria and through further research discovered that almost all of the wet sites that had been excavated in British Columbia had been encountered by accident (Croes 1976; Bernick 1991; Eric Forgeng & Al Mackie pers.comm.).

My decision to study wet site and wetland archaeology on the Northwest Coast was further solidified after reading a chapter by Roy Carlson, in *Bog Bodies, Sacred Sites and Wetland Archaeology* (Coles et al. 1999). This chapter, titled 'Sacred Sites on the Northwest Coast of North America,' discussed the important burials at the Pender Canal site, making reference to some of the imagery on the artifacts associated with the buried individuals (ibid.: 39-46). The discussion, while interesting and important for the academic study of Northwest Coast archaeology, seemed out of place in a discussion of wetlands, even more so as Carlson stressed the sacred nature of these and other burial sites and the religious nature of the grave goods, rather than significance of the location of the place (ibid.). He stressed the sacredness of the site over any associations it had with wetlands. In fact, throughout the entire book there seemed to be little discussion about the archaeology of wetlands and more about the excellent preservation of wet sites. Why, I wondered, did wetlands and wet site archaeology receive relatively little attention on the Northwest Coast?

I compared my understanding of Northwest Coast archaeology with the things I learned at Exeter. As was to be expected, much of the Masters programme focused on

wetlands in Europe, where people not only expected to find them in some places, but actually went out in search of them. It seemed that the excellent state of preservation allowed for the survival of a wider variety of material, the study of which, in turn, resulted in a deeper understanding of the cultures that formed the sites in question (for example, see Clark (1954) for a discussion of the Star Carr site in Yorkshire, and www.starcarr.com for further publications). Why were European archaeologists more interested in wet sites, wetland sites, and preserved organic material than North American archaeologists? Surely, North American archaeologists who were so fond of functional approaches and the influence of the environment on cultural development would be interested in the role of such highly productive palustrine, lacustrine and riverine environments. Why were these productive areas not being actively explored on the Northwest Coast? Had Native groups really not exploited wetlands or did the problem lie with the attitudes and approaches of archaeologists?

I considered the area I had come from, and realized that all of the Indian Reservations I had been through were located around the Cowichan River and the estuary. What, I wondered, was the pre-contact relationship of the Cowichan people to these wet features? Had they been a purely coastal people (as the archaeology suggested), and had their reserves simply been restricted to those areas perceived to be undesirable by European settlers? Or did they in fact have real, meaningful connections to the wetlands? If so, why did the archaeological work not reflect this? Other questions emerged, such as: "how had the archaeology of this area impacted the ongoing land claims of the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group", and "how did the archaeology of this area

speak to the future practice of archaeology?" This thesis starts to address these questions.

**Organization of the Dissertation**

This dissertation is organized in ten chapters.

The present chapter provides an introduction to the work and its organization.

Chapters 2 and 3 provide the context for this research. Chapter 2 is an examination of the context in which the discipline of archaeology developed in British Columbia. In this chapter, I consider its most important cultural antecedents and discuss some of the important characters who fostered the development of archaeology in British Columbia. I also consider some of the cultural and political changes which have had an impact on the practice of archaeology. Legislation and guidelines which control the field of consulting archaeology are discussed, as are some of the research trends throughout the 20th century. Chapter 3 follows with an historical overview of the development of archaeology in British Columbia.

Chapter 4 sets out the method to be used throughout the case study. A critical analysis of the sources is followed by a discussion of archaeology in its western context. The resulting implications for the study of Native culture history follow. Next I discuss the effective application of the direct historical approach through an understanding of culturally specific perceptual frameworks. Following that, I consider how the use of etic criteria for the study of Native culture history has had an impact on our understanding

of Ancestral Cowichan perception and use of wetlands. Finally, I introduce the Native archaeological approach to the study of Cowichan history, with particular focus on wetlands, a formerly underrepresented feature in both archaeological and ethnographic studies of the culture area and the region.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 comprise the case study, an examination of which allows the reader to see the important discrepancies between the etic archaeological interpretations of Cowichan history, and the emic Cowichan interpretations of themselves. Chapter 5 is a consideration of archaeological work that has been undertaken to date in the Cowichan Valley. For this chapter, I gathered together all available site forms and reports, and from these made charts based on the etic classifications provided therein. Appendix 1, is a master list of all of the sites recorded in the Cowichan Valley, and the inputs for the etic categories are derived from the various site forms. I also created a chart that considers each site's proximity to a variety of water features in order to ascertain whether the archaeological interpretations resulted in a marine or riverine/lacustrine/palustrine orientation (Appendix 2). Lastly, a chart was made to assess the condition of the sites as they were encountered, and included anticipated impacts and recommendations for future work (Appendix 3). This last chart was drawn up in order to see if there were any common factors that may have influenced the identification of sites. One-hundred forty-two archaeological sites have been identified within the Cowichan Valley, and of those only 14 sites have been investigated. Each of the reports for the 14 sites was summarized, their methods analyzed and conclusions compared. One version of Cowichan history, told by archaeologists, is presented to close the chapter.

Chapter 6 considers the available ethnographic information for the Cowichan people. This source material was predominantly filtered through the minds of European men. All of the available material was gathered together and, where possible, information about the individual ethnographer was also consulted to see if any biases could be identified. One set of works, those by Rozen (1977, 1978 & 1985), posed a slight difficulty to analysis as his works are comprised, in large part, of the oral accounts of Native informants. Rozen worked in conjunction with Cowichan Tribes to record some of the information they feared would be lost before too long. His ethnographies are thematic, and record both oral histories and oral traditional stories reaching back into the time of the Creator. As such, I discuss the oral historical accounts in this chapter as they inform our understanding of recent interactions with wetlands and their resources, and I reserved the stories for chapter 7. I compiled a map from two of Rozen's works (1977 & 1985) noting the places that Cowichan people believe to be important. Four ethnobotanical sources were consulted in this chapter (Turner & Bell 1971; Turner 1995 & 1998; Hodding & Marshall 1997), and tables of wetland plants and their uses were drawn up. A table of wetland animals was also compiled from the ethnographic sources. Methods for procuring and processing wetland resources are described in this chapter so that the breadth of original material remains can be compared with the results of archaeological interpretations.

Chapter 7 considers Cowichan oral tradition, those stories and legends that speak to a time before European contact. All of the available stories were collected, as were the personal histories of the recorders, and informants (where known). All stories were

read thoroughly and excerpts that referred to the perception and utilization of wetland resources are presented. I then attempted to make a collage of information from these stories, which speaks to the long and enduring relationship between Cowichan people and the wet places in their environment. Unlike ethnographic accounts that are often regarded as evidence for economic practices, the oral traditions inform us about beliefs and perceptions of the Cowichan, in their own narratives, imbued with significant cultural meaning.

The discussion of the evidence presented in the case study comes in chapter 8. Problems of interpretation are identified, and analyzed in the context of commercial archaeology. Following that is a detailed consideration of the implications of these problems, citing specific, urgent examples both in the Cowichan Valley and elsewhere in British Columbia.

Finally, in chapter 9, several recommendations for improved approaches to commercial archaeology are made based on the holistic approach to native archaeology, and chapter 10 summarizes the research.

## Chapter 2: Background

**Situating the research**

This chapter offers several contexts of the current research. First, it briefly introduces the archaeological, ethnographic and oral traditional work that has been done in the

area to date, noting that the systematic survey of these sources are presented in full in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Second, a consideration of the reasons for disparity of the interpretations of archaeological work in the Cowichan Valley is briefly considered in light of the relationships identified in the non-archaeological sources. This includes a detailed look at the Heritage Conservation Act and Provincial Guidelines supporting the act, and how these measures have contributed to archaeological research in wetlands.

Third, the cultural antecedents of archaeological practice in British Columbia will be investigated, and this includes a review of the relationship between society and nature, the role of agriculture, the role attributed to scientific knowledge, and a consideration of early and continuing attitudes towards wetlands. Examples of the impact of western ecological models on the perceptions of Native life focus on fishing and fishweirs.

Fourth, this chapter concludes with a review of western perceptions of wetlands. Although multiple perceptions of wetlands exist in modern British Columbian society, from the farmer to the naturalist, I discuss a generalized perception of wetlands during the active period of ethnographic research and during the formative years of the discipline of archaeology. I consider this period to extend from the early point of colonization to the 1970s, as conservationist view points, though present, cannot be considered to have been the dominant attitudes towards the environment, and specifically towards wetlands. The dominant attitudes towards the environment can be identified in the legislation, in the number and scope of building and development, and

in the general attitudes towards the environment as seen in the media. The generalized Western perceptions of the environment, which sees nature as subject to the will of man, is contrasted against the generalized Native perception of the environment which sees man and nature as part of a whole.

**Archaeology, Oral Tradition and Ethnography in the Cowichan Valley**

There is a tendency by some to refer to the period before European contact as 'prehistoric', and with regard to the Cowichan, this term has been used as recently as 1999 by Marshall. The terms "history" and "prehistory" are synonymous with the terms "post-contact" and "pre-contact" respectively. They are commonly used as a chronological marker that places the importance of all activity, irrespective of time depth, on the point of contact. While Marshall does refer to Cowichan 'history' elsewhere, it is critical that when he discusses the archaeology of the Cowichan he refers to it as 'prehistory.' This term implies that history only began in the area when Europeans settled it and began to record events in writing, giving a permanence to events and individuals which would otherwise be lost to time (Echo-Hawk 2000, Wobst 2005). 'Prehistory' places value on the written document as a verifiable form of evidence in both academic and legal discourse, suggesting that what went before was less reliable because it could not be tested. This term ignores the rich oral tradition of the Cowichan people, and does not appreciate the value of other ways of transmitting knowledge. The use of the term 'prehistory' is characteristic of the ethnocentric way in which many aspects of settler society has dealt with Native issues, including their cultural heritage. By using this term, value is placed on the tangible, and the intangible

is considered supplementary, or merely supportive, at best. The term 'prehistory' minimizes the potential relevance of the cultural heritage of the Cowichan, and will not be used in the present work.

Most of the archaeological work done in the Cowichan Valley has been conducted by consulting archaeologists, usually as a legal prerequisite of some form of development. The Archaeology Branch, now part of the Ministry of Forests, Lands, and Natural Resource Operations, controls cultural resource management work of this sort. The Archaeology Branch is in charge of implementing the *Heritage Conservation Act*, or *HCA* (1996), which was enacted to protect heritage sites in British Columbia. The *HCA* applies to private, public and Crown land within the province. The entirety of the Cowichan Valley was either alienated in the E&N Land Grant or preempted by settlers and, with the exception of Indian Reserves, it is now held partly as fee-simple private land, and partly as public land (HTG 2011). This means that the *HCA*, which is a provincial act, applies to all areas of the Cowichan Valley which are not Indian Reserve, as the latter are a federal responsibility.

Only two archaeological projects in Cowichan traditional territory have been carried out by academics: Somenos Creek, DeRw 18, and the Comiaken Burial Mound, DeRv 156 (Brown 1996 & 2000; McLay et al. 2009; Warner 1993). The rest of the work in this area has been carried out by consulting archaeologists operating pursuant to the requirements of the *HCA*.

In order to ascertain whether or not the archaeology of this area accurately reflects the use of wetlands by Ancestral Cowichan, we must look to non-archaeological sources, the oral tradition and ethnographic studies of the Cowichan people. Ethnographer David Rozen worked closely with Cowichan Elders in order to identify traditional use areas, and place-names associated with sites of significance in the Cowichan Valley and Hul'qumi'num territory (1977, 1978, 1985).

**A consideration of differences between archaeological, ethnographic and oral traditional sources**

There are several aspects of the practice of archaeology on the Northwest Coast that have resulted in the negligent investigation of wetland and wet sites. These aspects are all interconnected, and are all a product of western ontology which places importance on scientific knowledge and text-based knowledge transmission (Bruchac et al 2010; Nicholas 2006; Smith 1999; Smith & Wobst 2005). They fall into two distinct, but deeply interconnected, areas: legislation and implementation. In this case, legislation is considered to be the *HCA* and all procedural recommendations flowing from it. Implementation is considered to be the act of conserving heritage, specifically the work done by archaeologists, primarily those working in the cultural resource management side of things. The *HCA* will be shown to represent the value that the government of British Columbia places on the heritage of the province, and is based entirely on a western value system. The implementation of the Act, as carried out by archaeologists, is a manifestation of the western worldview in two ways. First, archaeologists are directly carrying out work that is required by the *HCA*, which was developed in a

western value system. Second, the people who carry out this work are themselves products of the western system of education. These two related issues, legislation and implementation, will be shown to be distinctly etic. It is the etic approach to archaeology in British Columbia that has led to the discrepancy between archaeological and ethnographic sources on the one hand, and oral traditional sources on the other.

Archaeological interpretations of Cowichan relationships with their environment cannot be attributed to a lack of sites through which to develop such an understanding for, as previously indicated, the entire Cowichan Valley (save the Indian Reserves) falls under the *HCA*, and any development work that is done in the valley should involve some consideration and/or mitigation of the impact on the archaeology in the area. However, unlike the practice in Britain where desk based assessments precede any and all developments followed by archaeological excavation where deemed necessary, in British Columbia archaeological work is only undertaken when a known site has the potential to be altered, or when an unknown site is identified by chance (Archaeology Branch 1989, 2.1). An introduction to the guiding principles of consulting archaeology is necessary to identify problems in both the planning and field work processes. First, though, an introduction to the concept of etic and emic values and approaches is necessary in order to understand the nature of the problems faced by archaeologists as they attempt to develop a picture of Native history.

**Etic and Emic**

The terms 'etic' and 'emic' come from the field of linguistics, and refer to the suffixes of 'phonetic' and 'phonemic' respectively (Harris 1976, 332). 'Phonetic' refers to the a-

cultural observable actions in speech production, while 'phonemic' refers to the culturally specific implicit meanings involved in speech production (ibid, Pike 1971). The term 'etic,' then, is used to refer to cultural criteria which can be objectively observed. The term 'emic' refers to those implicit cultural criteria which are not objectively observable but are vital to the differentiation of cultural attributes. In anthropological discourse, these words have come to refer to methods of observation and classification of culture.

In order to clarify the use of these terms as they apply to the current research, I present the following example. Archaeologists and anthropologists looking at a fish weir see one example of the various forms of fishing technology used by Ancestral Cowichan. The act of categorizing the fish weir as a resource gathering technology, and further as one of several fishing methods in use on the Cowichan River, is an example of the etic perspective in which categories important to the observer's culture (resource gathering, and fishing) are used to classify material culture. The Cowichan might regard the same fish weir quite differently. The weir is at once a physical reminder of the importance of place, of transmission of knowledge in material form, and an working example of the traditional laws which require reciprocity and respect between all aspects of nature. This is an example of the emic perspective. Both perspectives are equally valid, and understood together, they can help to deepen our understanding of the past.

The following two sections examine the legislation and guidelines surrounding the practice of commercial archaeology in British Columbia. They will serve to show that etic values and methods of analysis still persist in current archaeological practice. These

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two sections are followed by a consideration of the specific etic values that have resulted in the discrepancy between archaeological analysis and oral tradition, with ethnographic accounts straddling the fence. Special attention will be paid to those aspects which have resulted in the avoidance of wetlands.

**Legislation: The *HCA* and its impact**

The purpose of the *HCA* (1996) is stated thus: 'to encourage and facilitate the protection and conservation of heritage property in British Columbia' (1996, S.2). In order to understand how the Act applies in practice, several definitions must be clarified. First and foremost, it must be noted that the *HCA* applies only to those sites that predate 1846 CE, the accepted point of first contact between Natives and Europeans, and therefore all archaeological sites protected by the *HCA* are Native sites.

A 'heritage object' is defined in the Act as 'personal property that has heritage value to British Columbia, a community or an aboriginal people,' and a 'heritage site as 'land, including land covered by water, that has heritage value to British Columbia, a community or an aboriginal people' (*HCA* 1996, S.1). 'Heritage value' is defined as 'historical, cultural, aesthetic, scientific or educational worth or usefulness of a site or object' (ibid.). Note that the stated value of a heritage object or site is considered first in light of its importance to British Columbia, and last to aboriginal people, and that the very definition of 'heritage value' is based, in part, on aspects that are important in the western world view: scientific and educational. Unfortunately, there is no further clarification in the *HCA* of the concepts of 'historical, cultural and aesthetic' value,

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except with regard to specific agreements with First Nations (ibid.).

The term 'conservation' is defined in the Act as 'any activity undertaken to protect, preserve or enhance the heritage value of heritage property' (1996, S.1). In practice, this does not mean that it is common for sites to be left untouched, as one might expect. Rather, it means that by mitigating potential site damage, and by recording the archaeological site its heritage value can be increased, while allowing the site to be developed. This is what some people would consider a win-win situation. Section 4 of the Act, Agreements with First Nations, does allow First Nations groups to identify sites or objects of particular 'spiritual, ceremonial or other cultural value.'

The *HCA* sets out strict guidelines for site designation, which gives protection to a heritage site or object, but protection is not solely contingent on designation. Both heritage sites and heritage objects are automatically protected, the only difference being that designated sites are formally recognized as being protected. In cases where designated sites are altered or damaged, direct action can be taken under the *HCA*. If a heritage site or object has not been previously identified, and is damaged or altered, then it is often the case that developers and property owners may claim ignorance, whether or not that is truly the case. The issue of undesignated sites, and unlawful site alteration will be discussed later on in this study, and is tied to site visibility and accepted (and anticipated) patterns of historic Native land use.

Section 13 of the *HCA* deals with Heritage Protection, and lists all those actions which can be considered to negatively impact a heritage site or heritage object. Towards the

end of that section, after listing all possible grounds for contravention, in section 13.4 it says that if the minister thinks that 'the site or object lacks sufficient heritage value to justify its conservation' then the minister may exempt the site from protection afforded by the Act (*HCA* 1996, S.13.4.b). The minister may not exempt a site already designated, but may exempt a site that could qualify for automatic protection under the Act, but has not been formally designated. This poses a significant problem for low-visibility sites, or for sites that have not been identified as important by conventional archaeological wisdom (Hill 2011, pers.comm.). It is important to note that the final approval for what qualifies as a heritage site or object lies with the Minister, who is not an archaeologist. The Minister may choose to take advice from an archaeologist, but it is more likely that he or she will take advice from in-house legal council (ibid.).

**Implementation: Provincial Guidelines supporting the *HCA***

Implementation of the *HCA* and the procedures it outlines are distinctly different from the quotidian practice of archaeology in British Columbia. Everybody in British Columbia consulting archaeology knows of sites that have been illegally altered (Bowie 2011 & Clark 2010, pers.comm.; Mackie 2011 a,b,c). To date, only one case has been brought to court under the *HCA*, which was based on the destruction of the previously mentioned site at Poets Cove (*Regina v. Poets Cove at Bedwell Harbour Limited Partnership*, 2007). The judge's decision resulted in a very light sentence, not one that appears to have had very much impact on the willingness of developers to take the initiative to protect sites (as seen in the example of the Willows Beach site, to be discussed later; Mackie 2011 a,b,c). Archaeological work done by consultants and by

academics has the power to change public opinion about the significance of archaeological evidence and the importance of preserving this resource.

The implementation of the *HCA* by the Archaeology Branch is summed up thus:

> The role of the Branch is not to prohibit or impede land use and development, but rather to assist the Provincial Government in making decisions which will ensure optimal land use. When the benefits of a project are sufficient to outweigh the benefits of archaeological preservation, the Branch's primary concern is to work with the proponent in determining how the project may be implemented with minimal loss to archaeological resource values. If appropriate impact management practices are adopted, it is usually possible to minimize the loss of archaeological resource values in a cost-effective manner.
>
> (Archaeology Branch 1989, 2.2)

It is clear from the above excerpt that archaeology in British Columbia is first and foremost seen as a potential impediment to development, not just by the developers, but by the people who are in charge of its management. The use of terms like 'archaeological resource value' without qualification regarding the descendants of the people who created the archaeological record suggests that, from the government's point of view, the issue of heritage conservation is based on monetary considerations before cultural ones. When the Government says that the benefits of archaeological preservation must 'outweigh' the benefits of a development project, they are talking in monetary terms. And, as stated, the primary concern of the Archaeology Branch is to work with the proponent in order to mitigate damage to archaeological sites. Development projects are rarely stopped completely due to possible impacts on an archaeological site.

A more straightforward statement of archaeological resource management goals is presented in the following excerpt from the Archaeological Impact Assessment guidelines:

a.   to preserve representative samples of the province's archaeological resources for the scientific and educational benefit of present and future generations;
b.   to ensure that development proponents consider archaeological resource values and concerns in the course of project planning; and
c.   to ensure where decisions are made to develop land, the proponents adopt one of the following actions:
i.   avoid archaeological sites wherever possible;
ii.   implement measures which will mitigate project impacts on archaeological sites; or
compensate British Columbians for unavoidable losses of significant archaeological value.

(Archaeology Branch 1989, 2.2)

Curiously, the First Nations of British Columbia, whose ancestors created the archaeological record in question, are not mentioned here. The first objective indicates that archaeological sites in British Columbia are property of the province, and do not belong, in the legal sense, to the First Nations. This excerpt also indicates that they hope to preserve a 'representative' sample, but the previously demonstrated fondness for coastal sites at the expense of riverine, lacustrine, and palustrine sites indicates that this objective is not being met. It is also important to note that the first objective places higher value on science than it does on other forms of education, or ways of knowing.

Though the *HCA* was not written by someone with insight into archaeological theory, it is characteristic of the Government that its heritage policies are based on the tenets of western culture rather than specific consideration of alternate epistemological approaches. The final indication of the provincial perspective can be seen in the way

they describe the land and archaeological sites. The statement that 'decisions [may] be made to <u>develop</u> land,' indicates that the Government believes that land in its 'natural' state (that is, the state of the land as it was first encountered by European settlers, which was not without human influence) is not considered to be productive, or to have value in and of itself; the value of land lies in its potential. The western belief in the separation of man and nature, the later being subject to the former, is evident in language of both the *HCA* and the accompanying provincial guidelines.

The disparity between Cowichan traditional use sites and identified archaeological sites can also be seen to be a product of the procedural recommendations of the Archaeology Branch. Before a site can be altered in British Columbia, archaeologists are required to do an AIA, or Archaeological Impact Assessment, in which all relevant literature is consulted in order to assess the potential for encountering an archaeological site, and any potential harm that may come if such a site is encountered (Archaeology Branch 1989, 3.4). There is also an obligation to consult local First Nations and other 'experts,' but there is little guidance beyond the directive that 'interviews should be designed to elicit information which may facilitate reconstructing or confirming ethnographic and historic patterns of settlement, land use and subsistence' and that 'in the early project planning phases where speculation may be a concern, these interviews must be conducted only with the approval of the proponent, and must be handled very objectively'(ibid., 3.4.2). This, again, implies that written records have more force and validity than oral accounts through interviews, which are here referred to as 'speculation.' There is no similar caveat regarding (and thus devaluing) written sources.

In the event that information cannot be obtained from the usual sources, then preliminary field reconnaissance, or PFR, may be required. A PFR can range from consultation with aerial photography, to field survey 'using either systematic or judgmental site sampling techniques' (Archaeology Branch 1989, 3.4.3). A PFR should be undertaken in cases where the conventional research does not yield satisfactory information to inform 'archaeological resource potential,' but since this is only a contingency rather than a constant requirement, it allows for sites to be missed, especially when one considers that the existing archaeological work of some areas, such as the Cowichan Valley, may be partially inaccurate. By relying uncritically on the written accounts alone, with all their inherent biases, one runs the risk of missing out on possible sites of importance, as well as those non-shell mound sites which would contribute to a representative sample of British Columbia's archaeological past. Text based studies are only considered insufficient by the Archaeology Branch when there are many different places under consideration for one project (ibid.). Furthermore, subsurface testing which can confirm the presence of a site is only required 'where archaeological sites are anticipated' (ibid.). Finally, the Archaeology Branch guidelines do encourage consultation with ethnohistorians and other specialists in cases where the written record is deemed insufficient, but they do not require it, nor do they require consultation with First Nations cultural historians.

Site survey follows preliminary field reconnaissance in the provincial guidelines, and the survey design is usually based on the results of the PFR, except in cases where the proposed development proceeds directly to a site survey, which may occur in areas where sites have previously been identified and delineated. The guidelines for survey

design are not fixed, and allow the archaeologist in charge to design a survey based on the PFR, which, as we have just discussed, may itself be based on inaccurate information. The survey may alternately be based on 'professional judgment', which can vary widely (Archaeology Branch 1989, 3.5.1.1). Professional judgment is based on extensive experience, through an individually varying ratio of academic learning to field experience, both of which are guided by the dominant, western world view, and tempered by other ways of knowing.

Site survey is also influenced directly by the Provincial guidelines. As previously mentioned, these guidelines are put in place to ensure that archaeology is done well, but that it does not become prohibitive to development (Archaeology Branch 1989, 2.2). To this end, the guidelines advocate best practices, but they also provide some exemptions, which may be detrimental to the archaeology if sites are not found and are either destroyed wholesale, or impacted by unforeseen effects of the development project. In section 3.5.1.3, it states that 'in systematic sample surveys it may be necessary to exempt certain areas from intensive inspection owing to excessive slope, water bodies, landslides, land ownership, land use or other factors.' Some of these factors are completely justified, as they are a matter of safety, but others, such as 'water bodies' may instead be based on comfort, ease, and cost. That being said, the guidelines do not allow archaeologists to avoid work in some areas that may pose difficulty for survey. They specify that 'Areas characterized by an absence of road access or dense vegetation should not be exempted' (ibid.). The exemption of water bodies, land use, and land ownership indicate two points which are considered below.

First, bodies of water are not significant enough to warrant proper investigation, as indicated by a paucity of underwater sites, lake sites, and marsh sites along the coast, despite substantial sea level change (Clague et al. 1982; Hutchinson 1992; Fedje & Christiansen 1999). This, despite the definition of 'heritage site' which includes sites covered by water (*HCA* 1996, S.1) Furthermore, the ethnographic accounts that archaeologists rely upon span the time of first contact with Europeans into the 20th century, and many of the traditional practices of a given Native group may have changed, so that the recorded practices may not accurately reflect the pre-contact practices. Also, the coast line was different in the early contact period than it was several thousand years ago, so that some bodies of water may have been at different levels, and the traditional practices associated with them may have changed and may not be accurately reflected in the sources used to inform survey design. Archaeologists throughout Europe are familiar with the possibility of sites in wet areas, and are equipped to deal with these sites appropriately.

Second, through particular phrasing, the guidelines indicate that archaeological investigations should not interfere with land use and ownership, both of which are considered to be productive and important. Private property and an owner's free will to do with that land as he or she pleases are considered well nigh sacred in British Columbia. The exemptions of 'land ownership' and 'land use' should be clarified in the guidelines, but is likely that such exemptions are dealt with on a case by case basis.

As if aware of the 'can of worms' such exemptions might open up, the guidelines go on to state that sampling methods should be designed with some 'professional' input to

ensure that 'the sampling methods selected for archaeological site survey are both appropriate and accurately applied' (Archaeology Branch 1989, 3.5.1.3). The issue of professionalism is raised in the following section (3.5.1.4), and indicates that, in some cases, 'professional judgment' can sometimes be used to inform site survey design, rather than a systematic design. 'Only those areas which can reasonably be expected to contain archaeological sites are surveyed' (ibid.). The ideas of 'professional' and 'reasonably expected' are not explained. As discussed, the experience of a 'professional' may vary widely indeed, from academic to seasoned consulting archaeologist, both of which may have cultural biases. And nowhere is 'professional' defined in the guidelines as an individual with personal cultural experience. It can be assumed that the 'professional' is the one who 'reasonably expect[s]' where sites might or might not be found, but again, the biases of personal experience and source material may result in sites being missed.

There is an implicit notion that archaeological sites were formed based on common sense, and that by following rational ideas one may find such sites. The combination of common sense and reliance on source material can provide a false sense of accuracy, as exemplified in the disagreement between the number of coastal and riverine sites identified by the archaeologists and the ethnographers in the case of the Cowichan Valley. The guidelines specify that careful consideration should be given to 'ethnographic patterns of settlement, land use and resource exploitation; the kinds and distribution of aboriginal food sources; and restrictions on site location imposed by physical terrain, climatic regimes, soil chemistry or other factors,' but no differentiation is indicated, here or anywhere else in the document, that what non-natives might

consider a 'restriction on site location' may not be shared by the Natives who lived in these places.

**Cultural antecedents of the discipline of archaeology**

It is necessary to examine the cultural milieu from which the discipline of archaeology has arisen in order to understand some of the beliefs attendant to its practice. Archaeology developed alongside the field of ecology, which was developed in the 18th and 19th centuries. Some of the views discussed by early ecologists have become implicit in the practice of archaeology. The three major aspects of the ecology that will be discussed are: first, man's position in the world with regard to nature, second, the supremacy of verifiable forms of knowledge (scientific knowledge), and third, the perceived superiority of agriculture and the attendant distain for wetlands.

The man credited with sparking the ecological movement was the curate Gilbert White of Selborne, in Hampshire, England. White's time in the country parish was spent observing his natural surroundings and tending to his parishioners. White's book, *The Natural History of Selborne,* published posthumously in 1789, was hailed as 'one of the most important early contributions to the field of ecology in English science' (Worster 1994, 6-7). The thrust of White's contribution was that he observed the interrelatedness of all aspects of his local environment, and credited the design of the wonderfully intricate and important relationships to the Creator (White n.d.; ibid., 7). Gilbert White and his followers are referred to as 'arcadian ecologists,' and were concerned with

holism and the study of nature as a single unit with many constituent parts (Worster 1994, 18).

The holism of the arcadian ecologists was contrasted by the 'imperial ecologists' who believed in the holism of nature with the exemption of mankind. The imperial ecologists were proponents of the belief in Christian pastoralism, in which man is part of a flock which needs to be protected from the evil forces of nature (Worster 1994, 26, 29). Arcadian ecologists were seen to be more sympathetic towards pagan beliefs of man as a part of nature, while imperial ecologists believed that nature existed for the benefit of man (White 1967).

White's work became increasingly popular during the industrial revolution as both the countryside and people's relationship to it were quickly changing. The late 18th century saw the mechanization of the textile industry in the UK, with developments such James Hargreaves' spinning jenny, and James Watts' steam engine (Worster 1994, 12). The industrial revolution was driven by desire to increase productivity, and as such production shifted from the local and immediate scale to the production of surplus goods that would be sold in urban markets. Populations shifted from the countryside to the city in order to work in the new factories. At the same time, the countryside was being divided up and bounded, doing away with communal land in favour of personal ownership (ibid.: 13). The landed gentry and the entrepreneurs of the day saw that the mechanization of production was making them wealthy men. The idea of the productivity of nature through the ingenuity of man is summed up in the statement by Arthur Young, secretary of the Board of Agriculture (created in 1793), who said: 'What a

change in the destinies of a man's life! ...making the black wilderness smile with cultivation... making two blades of grass grow where one was found before' (Young 1792, bio 45). White's work provided the urban masses with a comforting picture of an intimate connection to nature, which stood in stark contrast to the unpleasantness of the industrial urban centers.

The classification system developed by Carl von Linné (Linnaeus) in the 18th century, allowed people to think of nature as a collection of constituent parts. Although the applicability of Linnaeus' classificatory system was cross-cultural, it is also important to note that Linnaeus and his followers believed that the hand of God could be found in the order of nature (Worster 1994, 33). The Linnaeans, like the imperial ecologists, believed that nature existed for the benefit of man, as seen in the following expert from the writings of Linnaeus himself.

> All these treasures of nature, so artfully contrived, so wonderfully propagated, so providentially supported throughout her three kingdoms, seemed intended by the Creator for the sake of man. Every thing may be made subservient to his use; if not immediately, yet mediately, not so to that of other animals.... By the help of reason [man] increases the number of vegetables immensely, and does that by art, which nature, left to herself, could scarcely effect∝In short, when we follow the series of created things, and consider how providentially one is made for the sake of another, the matter comes to this, that all things are made for the sake of man.
>
> (Linnaeus 1762, 123-4)

By introducing a method for classifying and particularizing nature, the ideas of Linnaeus about the workings of nature resulted in the discussion of nature as a collection of its constituent parts. Just as the parts of a machine worked together for the

benefit of man, so too did nature. The mechanical view of the world, also adopted by the fields of physics, astronomy, and biology, allowed the various parts of nature to be thought of as replaceable parts whose ultimate goal was to fulfill man's needs (Worster 1994, 40; ex. Bruckner 1768). By looking at the world in this way, man became further removed from nature than he was before (ibid.). Some who did not accept the view of nature as a machine preferred to think of it in corporeal terms, as a collection of parts working together, but still possessing a guiding spirit (Worster 1994, 41). Interpretations of nature that did not relate to the workings of God or a guiding spirit tended to stress the cruelty of nature and its creatures, beliefs that were stressed in the writings of the philosopher Thomas Hobbes (ibid., 45).

The 'web of life' metaphor for nature, familiar to us today, was developed in the late 18th century by the Lutheran minister John Bruckner. In his book, *A Philosophical Survey of the Animal Creation* (1768), Bruckner presented two models of ecology. The first, a nod to his Linnaean roots, was a description of the mechanistic model of nature, with its purposeful drive, each animal fulfilling its allotted role. The second model, however, described nature as 'web of life' which was driven by an incomprehensible life force (Bruckner 1768, 13). For the first time, in Bruckner's work, every one of God's creations is afforded equal rights to existence. The destruction of one species at the expense of another was no longer justified, but as the extinction of species had not yet been fully brought to light, Bruckner and others of the same mind credited God with the perpetuation of species, and in so doing absolved man from the potential of causing an imbalance in the natural order (Worster 1994, 49-50).

Conservation of species, as suggested by Bruckner, was not adopted at this point. Rather, the mechanistic view of nature persisted, and classification of animals went hand in hand with identifying which part of the machine they were. The preservation of species with no obvious function was encouraged so that, in time, their true purpose could be identified, and their potential exploited (Worster 1994, 52). Nature was regarded as 'a storehouse of raw materials for man's ingenuity," and to make use of these products was to pay homage to the Creator (ibid., 53-4).

The arcadian view of ecology was not extinguished by the other ecological views which saw nature as the storehouse of man. In the early 19th century, the Romantic movement revived this approach to ecology and allowed it to permeate every aspect of culture. The American ecologist and philosopher Henry David Thoreau, in observing the landscape and its inhabitants of the Eastern United States, saw that the land had been much altered by European settlers. Accordingly, he could not feel comfortable in the belief in the divine order of nature as the arcadian ecologists had done (Worster 1994, 66-67). During the period in which Thoreau wrote, the impact of man's unrelenting extraction from, and improvement of nature was being felt by many. No longer satisfied to leave conservation of the natural world up to the Creator, individuals began to take initiative to catalogue and monitor species at risk (ibid., 68). Thoreau's detailed observations of woodland life contributed to the developing practice of woodland management (1861). The first National Parks were created in the latter part of the 19th century, in response to the growing anthropogenic changes and with the goal of preserving some of the landscape in its 'natural' state (NPS 2011).

As Thoreau was writing about practical matters such as woodland conservation, the more artistic circles in Euro-American culture were beginning to look at nature with a renewed fascination for its holism and vitality. The Romantic movement, as it came to be known, was a reaction against the ravages of the industrial revolution and the concomitant separation of man from nature (Worster 1994, 83). For the Romantics, nature was the ultimate inspiration, and they believed man could find happiness through the same devotion to nature as had formerly been shown to God. Some Romantics continued to believe in God, but were certain that to find him was through nature (ibid., 86).

Science was not initially rejected by the Romantics, indeed science was seen as a way to observe the intricate workings of nature. Tensions only developed when, in the 19th century, some scientists rejected Romantic ideas of the importance of personal experience in scientific inquiry. Personal experience was not a concrete enough basis upon which to build models about the natural world. Instead the anti-Romantics advocated objective and positivistic approaches to the study of nature (Worster 1994, 89-90).

It was during the later half of the 19th century, while these opposing ideas were struggling for a foothold in academia, that Franz Boas was beginning to develop his approach to the study of culture. Boas was trained in both physics and geography, and initially tried to apply the scientific method to the study of human groups (Herskovits 1953, 17). After working with groups on the Northwest Coast, he maintained a rigorous scientific approach to data collection, but changed his attitude towards source material.

He realized that Native culture did not show the same detachment from nature as European culture did, nor did Native groups use positivist approaches to observe and interact with nature. In order to more fully understand native culture, Boas began to approach the study of Native groups by considering their holistic view of the natural world as seen through their language and stories (Rohner 1969). In Boas' work then we see the tension between objective science and holistic ecology which characterized this period of the study of natural history.

Archaeology, on the other hand, has been much more directly influenced by the positivists, even more so after development of scientific techniques in the post-WWII period. Especially in British Columbia and Canada, where archaeological research is often brought to bear on Native land claims issues, the objectivity of archaeology as a discipline has been stressed more than its ability to tell us about Native culture. It has become predominantly mitigative, and the objectivity is still seen in the legislation which allows for Native consultation and accommodation, but only so far as it fits with the aims and objectives of the Province of British Columbia. There are several points which arose during the development of the field of ecology which have not yet been resolved, and which have distinct impacts on the practice of consulting archaeology in British Columbia. They are the control of nature by man, the belief in agriculture as a path to cultural evolution, and the supremacy of the positivist approach in the Canadian legal system.

**Man over Nature**

The belief that nature exists to fulfill man's needs is evident in the existing legislation surrounding the practice of archaeology in British Columbia. Although there is an obligation for the government to consult with Native groups, the accommodation of the group's wishes are subject to the aims and goals of the Provincial government which are directed towards the optimal use of lands (Archaeology Branch 1989, 2.2). Problems of interpretation arise when evidence is brought to bear in support of aboriginal title, especially as that evidence is a product of a non-western ontology, one which sees man and nature as equals, rather than one above the other. The separation of man and nature is frequently cited in comparative anthropological literature (ex Cajete 2000; Descola 1996; Descola & Pálsson 1996; Ingold 1992, 2000; Turner 2005), while the subjugation of nature by man is less frequently or explicitly discussed. Both of these aspects are fundamental to the problem of understanding and appreciating non-western cultural ontologies, and the evidence it yields.

The imperial ecology of the late 18th century accepted that man did not have the same moral obligation towards nature as he does towards other men, and formerly he did not have the same obligations towards those who are further down the cultural-evolutionary ladder (Worster 1994, 29). The imperial ecology of the 19th century made way for the positivist approach to nature in use in the following centuries. It also laid the foundations for the cultural application of Darwinian ideas of evolution. Cruikshank (1992) points out that, in the 1991 *Delgamuukw* trial court decision, the 19th century positivist, evolutionary model which existed when the discipline of anthropology was new, one which perceived western society as the apogee of cultural evolution and hunter-gatherers as the nadir, had persisted into the 20th century and was held to be

true in the decision of Mr. Justice McEachern (1992, 16). While the decision to accept Native oral traditions has gone some way to acknowledging that there are other valid ways to transmit knowledge and history, the concept of cultural evolution still persists among the general, non-academic population. Hunter-gatherer culture is taught to children in opposition to the developed civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome (Ministry of Education 2006). The persistence of cultural evolutionary theory is clearly seen in the promotion of agriculture over less invasive methods of resource gathering, and is discussed below.

**Cultural evolution through agriculture**

Colonists arriving in British Columbia, who considered themselves to be at the top of the cultural evolutionary ladder, believed that all groups were destined, over time, to evolve to similar heights of civilization (Cruikshank 1992, 26). Clear ideas existed of what defined a civilization, and most recently Mr. Justice McEachern outlined the 'badges of civilization': writing, the horse, and the wheel (ibid., 30). His argument followed that since Natives had none of these, they were not developed to have a proper system of land tenure. The 'pyramid' of cultural evolution was accepted by early colonists and continues, although less explicitly, to influence modern thinking.

Colonists who accepted the concept of cultural evolution further believed that it was their duty to raise the newly encountered Natives from the depths of their cultural simplicity to the heights of industrialized society by introducing the intermediary stage: agriculture. 'Throughout history, agrarian ideology has been used to justify the

repression of other ways of life in the service of expanding cities eager to tap the resources of the hinterland' (Cruikshank 1992, 29). On the Northwest Coast, colonists were not attuned to alternate methods of resource management, and as such they did not notice that the Native groups they encountered had highly developed systems of resource management and land tenure (to be discussed below). Accordingly, they encouraged the Native population to start gardening and raising animals, both by hiring them on their own farms, and by providing reserve land and equipment to that end. Within the Cowichan Valley, although the Natives were never paid for their lands, the colonial government was willing to spend large amounts of money to fence in native land to prevent the settlers livestock getting taken by natives, and to clear the Cowichan river to make it navigable for the newly developing logging operations on Cowichan Lake (O'Donnell n.d., 37).

The forceful encouragement of agriculture at the expense of traditional resource harvesting has resulted in cultural losses and to destruction of the environment. Land around the Sumas Prairie, south-east of Vancouver was drained and reclaimed to facilitate agriculture in the area (Carlson 2001, 104-5). Despite draining the area, farming, and building homes in the area, it is still prone to flooding. Rather than admit that the desire for dry-land agriculture may have been misapplied to this area, the residents complain that not enough has been done to protect them from flooding (ibid.). Beliefs such as this, widely held as they are, illustrate how deeply ingrained the ideas of man's dominance of nature, and how the importance of dry-land agriculture has permeated non-Native society. Native society has also suffered, not only due to a loss of land, but to a loss of livelihood. Rather than being allowed to practice

sustainable harvesting methods based on their way of 'being in the world,' they have been forced to entirely change the way in which they feed their families and sustain their culture (Carlson 2001, 40-47, 70-71).

The concept of the agricultural imperative, first among the economic pursuits that were perceived to raise the Native groups from their 'primitive' life-ways, is still advocated by the Provincial Government. In his groundbreaking decision (*Delgamuukw* 1998) Lamer both accepted that there were other ways of knowing, and in the same instant reinforced the idea that the economic practices of civilized societies are more important than Native practices. To clarify, Mr. Justice Lamer specified that while aboriginal title did exist it could be infringed upon 'if the infringement satisfies a compelling legislative objective, including for example the 'development of agriculture, forestry, mining,... general economic development... the protection of the environment or [protection of] endangered species, the building of infrastructure and so on...' (ibid.). It is interesting to note that the government reserves the right to supplant aboriginal title in order to obtain resources, and by doing so may endanger species, the preservation of which is yet another reason to override aboriginal title.

**The 'hierarchy of truth': the supremacy of scientific knowledge**

In the 18th century, scientific method was originally used to find the hand of God in nature, and nature was still perceived to be a complete and holistic entity guided by divine power (Worster 1994, 17). As the industrial revolution developed from notions of the subjugation of nature to the will of man, it was also changing attitudes towards

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nature. The nature-as-machine analogy allowed some to think of nature as a sum of its parts, the machine existing to serve man. The Romantic movement reacted to this mechanized view of nature, and, in turn, scientists reacted to the Romantics, believing their approach to be too subjective and not capable of apprehending the true workings of nature (ibid., 89). While the scientific method may be an effective way to weed out some of the more pernicious biases that influence study, underlying factors persist and render the application of scientific method and its results a deeply cultural activity.

Many scientists study the interactions of different aspects of the natural world, and yet their work is permeated by the implicit belief that man is the master of the natural world. Take, for example, the practice of monocropping, in which large amounts of a single plant species are grown in order to produce large amounts of food to feed humans, or to feed the animals destined to become food for humans. By planting large amounts of only one variety of plant, the task of managing the crop is made simpler for the farmer, who, by employing simple scientific principles of energy input, is able to feed water his plants accordingly. The problem, however, is that this is not a sustainable practice, as scientific studies have shown. The separation of man from nature, and the idea that man is in control of nature, results in the selective use of scientific information to support practices such as monocropping, and to ignore the success of more holistic approaches.

The production of verifiable results is an important aspect of the scientific method, and has become a cornerstone of the legal system. Verifiable knowledge, that is scientific knowledge and written accounts, are considered more accurate forms of evidence than

oral tradition and knowledge produced from other ways of knowing. The reinforcement of scientific knowledge as the most reliable form of evidence, and oral tradition as the least reliable has been referred to as the 'hierarchy of truth' (Fortune 1993, 116 in Thom 2001).

In order to see these abstract ideas in practice, I now consider the *Delgamuukw* trials which challenged forms of knowledge, and the supremacy of scientific and written evidence. These trials are deeply important to First Nations people in British Columbia, and to archaeologists, anthropologists, linguists other specialists in related fields. The cases concerned the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en Nations, and their claims to aboriginal title and self-government, the 1991 case highlighting the ethnocentrism of the western legal tradition, and the 1998 case recognizing aboriginal title and the validity of oral histories as a form of evidence (Cruikshank 1992; Fisher 1992; Miller 1992; Thom 2001).

The 1991 trial was heard by Justice McEachern, who dismissed oral tradition as 'inadequate' to meet the evidentiary needs of the court, stating that 'much evidence must be discarded or discounted not because the witnesses are not decent, truthful persons but because their evidence fails to meet certain standards prescribed by law' (Cruikshank 1992). Oral tradition was not entirely dismissed out of hand; McEachern did qualify that it could be used to support written sources, but that it did not, on its own, present a valid claim to the land. He specified that '[he was] unable to accept oral traditions as reliable bases for detailed history but they could confirm findings based on

other admissible evidence' (*Delgamuukw* v. *B.C.* 1991, 75). Curiously, McEachern did rely on oral tradition when it came to painting a picture of what he believed life to be like before contact (Cruikshank 1992, 36). The judge declared:

> 'it would not be accurate to assume that even pre-contact existence in the territory was in the least bit idyllic. The plaintiffs' ancestors had no written language, no horses or wheeled vehicles, slavery and starvation was not uncommon, wars with neighbouring peoples were common, and there is no doubt, to quote Hobbs, that aboriginal life in the territory was, at best, 'nasty, brutish and short.'

> (*Delgamuukw* v. British Columbia 1991, Part 2)

McEachern, ignoring the context in which they were created, believed that oral traditions were not a valid form of evidence because they could change from person to person, and could not be *proved* to be true. He believed that they should be 'containers of brute facts which [could] be plundered for veracity' (Cruikshank 1992, 40). McEachern was considering *Gitksan* and *Wet'suwet'en* oral tradition by etic standards. Of the sources written by westerners he said: 'generally I accept just about everything [historians] put before me because they were largely collectors of archival, historical documents' (ibid., 32). Concerning critical issues to the argument, such as the existence of the 'house' system of social organization before contact with Europeans, McEachern uncritically accepted the written account of William Brown, an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, and 'one of our most useful historians' (*Delgamuukw* v. *British Columbia* 1991, 31). Brown's account did not mention the existence of a 'house' system of social organization, and therefore Justice McEachern believed them to be absent, rather than consider the possibility that there was a barrier to communication

and that Brown was, of necessity, interpreting what he saw through the lens of his own experience.

It is clear from the above statements that Mr. Justice McEachern took the oral tradition of the *Gitksan* and *Wet'suwet'en* out of context, and placed it in the context of western legal tradition which values the fixity of written sources and the supremacy of science. The testimony of three anthropologists, over 1,000 pages worth, was similarly dismissed (Cruikshank 1992, 25). One of the anthropologists, Richard Daly, cited the American Anthropological Association's Statement of Ethics. Rather than taking this as an association with an established and accepted body of scholarship, created in the western academic tradition, McEachern took this to be representative of the bias of the anthropologists (ibid.). This posed problems for anthropologists and archaeologists alike, problems that would be exacerbated in the 1998 trial.

Nine years later, an appeal of the *Delgamuukw* case was heard by the Supreme Court of Canada. Mr. Justice Lamer, writing for the panel of judges, found that Native oral traditions *are* an admissible form of evidence. In fact, Mr. Justice Lamer found oral histories to be the only reliable, suggesting that there may be no need for anthropologists, archaeologists and the like in future court proceedings (Thom 2001). For the first time, oral traditions were considered within the context in which they were originally created, and found to be an accurate representation of Aboriginal common law (*Delgamuukw* 1998, 52-3 in Thom 2001). Thom (ibid.) discusses the role of anthropologists and archaeologists as mediators of 'other' cultures, in which they attempt to render information about Native cultures understandable to those in the

western legal system. They are tasked with blending etic and emic ways of knowing so that issues in question can be more fully understood.

Anthropologists and archaeologists have a particularly difficult task when it comes to blending the emic and etic in the western legal arena, whose requirements are distinctly based on western positivism, and are unlikely to change soon. Archaeologists have, perhaps, an easier task before them, for while the practice of archaeology in British Columbia is largely scientific and classificatory, which lends credibility in the 'hierarchy of truth,' they have the potential to select alternative classifications based on other value systems which, obtained through traditional archaeological method, can provide more accurate interpretations of the past, ones which provide evidence of native lifeways and values, rather than providing patchy evidence based on etic criteria.

**A consideration of attitudes towards wetlands and the implications of these**

In order to understand the depth of the divide between the perception of wetlands held by non-Native and Native people, we must look at the discourse surrounding these features. Wetlands are one of the most productive ecosystems in the world (Maltby 1986, 7,9), but they have been much maligned by western society. The introduction to Maltby's book sums up the situation perfectly:

> Wetlands are wastelands; that, at least, is the traditional view. Words like marsh, swamp, bog, and fen imply little more than dampness, disease, difficulty and danger. Such apparent waste can only be put to good use if wetlands are 'reclaimed' for agriculture or building.

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Nothing could be farther from the truth…

(Maltby 1986, 9-11)

The introduction to Maltby's book lists evidence of the myriad ways that wetlands are shown to be more productive than other ecosystems. They produce higher amounts of plant material than does an equivalent area of farmland. They provide important habitat for fish and fowl. They are important filtration systems and flood barriers. Despite all this, they are still disparaged and destroyed by those in the developing western world (Maltby 1986).

Destruction of wetlands is often based on circumstance rather than pure ignorance. Awareness of the productivity of wetlands varies from place to place, and time to time. There are many reasons cultures have drained wetlands. In North America and Europe, one of the biggest reasons for draining wetlands is the dominance of agricultural modes of production. Maltby also discusses the practice of draining wetlands as a form of control, and as way to participate in popular movements, such as the industrial agricultural movement of the 18th and 19th centuries (1986, 157).

On the Northwest Coast and western North America, the ideas of pastoralism and the simple life were a reaction against the industrial agriculture movement that was sweeping Europe and eastern North America (Worster 1994, 67). Colonists drained wetlands to make way for agriculture on a small scale. On the east coast of the United States, large areas of land had been radically altered by drainage or deforestation, and

some inhabitants began to feel that such alterations were neither sustainable nor profitable. In 1856, Thoreau wrote about the destruction of nature by settlers, saying:

> I take infinite pains to know the phenomena of the spring, for instance, thinking that I have here the entire poem, and then, to my chagrin, I hear that it is but an imperfect copy that I possess and have read, that my ancestors have torn out many of the first leaves and grandest passages, and mutilated it in many places. I should not like to think that some demigod had come before me and picked out some of the best stars. I wish to know an entire heaven and an entire earth.
>
> (Thoreau, Shepard ed. 1961, 157)

From the early accounts of traders, surveyors, and colonists, it becomes apparent that the Northwest Coast, which was being settled at the time of Thoreau's writing, was considered pristine, a place where resources could be exploited in a more controlled fashion in order to avoid the enormous change experienced elsewhere in North America (Brown 1868, O'Donnell n.d., Harris 2001). In British Columbia, legislation to control resource extraction was passed very early on by the Colonial government, and then by the governments of Canada and British Columbia. For example, the *Act for the Preservation of Game* was passed by the British Columbia government in 1859, and the Fisheries Act was passed by the government of Canada in 1868 (Harris 2001, 247). British Columbia was seen as a place to get it right, where, building on the experience of resource extraction elsewhere, one could take what they wished in a more measured way, over a longer period of time. While this plan did not hold true for every resource, British Columbia has fared well over the years and continues to have a thriving forest and fisheries industry.

As mentioned above, Maltby referred to wetland drainage as a form of social control, and cites the example of Israel, in which converting wetlands to agriculture, domesticating the landscape if you will, was considered more important to national identity than was preserving the area in its natural state (1986, 157). In a similar fashion, the introduction of intensive agriculture to North America occurred with the same underlying desire for control and the increase of personal wealth. In the process of draining or altering wetlands for agriculture, not only does a diverse ecosystem appear to be tamed, it is rendered predictable for the new inhabitants. That is to say, that the European colonists were familiar with dry-land agriculture, and in order to exert visible control, it was necessary to turn wetlands, truly all lands, from 'untamed wilderness,' perceived by the colonists to be capricious and unpredictable, into a familiar landscape that could be manipulated with certainty. *Successful* production of material and surplus, be it plants, meat, or other by-products, was a symbol of power. So in order to display their control of the territory they domesticated the landscape, turning the wild and unfamiliar into something known and manageable.

There are some interesting subsequent issues that arise from the introduction of agriculture to British Columbia. Notable among them is the fact that agriculture was seen to be the appropriate treatment for land, and farming was used to justify taking land from the Native population who were perceived by the colonists to be lazy in their resource procurement. In his 2009 book, *Makuk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations,* John Lutz discusses in detail the colonial perception of Natives and their use of the land, and shows how they used these ideas to justify taking the land and its resources. On the matter of appropriate land use, he refers to the popularity of

Linnaeus' writings among colonial circles. To highlight the point, he quotes Emmerich de Vattel, who said 'the indolent, contented savage, must give way to the busteling [sic] sons of civilization and Toil' (Lutz 2009, 36). It was understood by all agents of the Colonial Government that because the land had not previously been improved for the production of resources, that it was fair game. Two further points arise from this, and will be addressed below. First, that contrary to the beliefs of the day, Native groups on the Northwest Coast have been shown to have actively managed certain plant crops (Deur 2000; Deur & Turner 2005). And second, the Canadian legal system was founded under the belief that the imperial view of ecology, in which nature exists to be exploited by man, was the right view. These two beliefs have had some major impacts on the practice of archaeology, the perception of wetlands, and the adjudication of land claims in court.

**Examples of the Impact of Western Ecological Models on the Perception of Native Life**

The acceptability and accuracy of imperial ecological models is clearly seen through the actions of the Colonial Government. Since early European observers did not recognize the land management techniques employed by local Native groups, they believed that the resources of the land were being squandered. This belief is made clear in some of the early correspondence. Consider, for example the terminology used in the following excerpt:

> ...the Dominion Government in unison with the Provincial Government, were solicitous to promote the interest of the Indians, and to satisfy them in every reasonable way, [but that] no interference with the vested interests of the White settlers could be permitted. These having... made their improvements, and

whose money had gone... to make the roads and build the bridges, by which the whole community was benefitted, and the value of all the adjacent land, whether held by Whites or Indians enormously enhanced.

(from the Journal of the Commission, in O'Donnell n.d., 24)

This is taken from a larger excerpt dealing with the unrest surrounding the lack of payment for Cowichan lands which were appropriated by the Colonial Government. Terms such as 'improvement,' 'benefitted,' and 'enormously enhanced' suggest that the 'Whites' believed the land to be of little value in the state in which they came upon it. The common concept appears to be that in order to make the land appropriately productive (by European standards) the land it must first be altered to a state where it could be managed in a familiar fashion.

Throughout Colonial correspondence there appears a constant theme: the improvement of Indians through the introduction of the European life ways, with its religion, economics, and social beliefs and customs. In 1878, the Indian Reserve Commissioner, Gilbert M. Sproat, wrote a letter to Israel W. Powell, then British Columbia Indian Superintendent, discussing the impact of logging on the Native Cowichan fishery, in which he indicates that the practice of running logs on the Cowichan River would destroy the Cowichan weir fishery, that the Native Cowichans were required to give informed consent, and that they were to be given compensation for their loss (in O'Donnell n.d., 38). The letter, in part, reads: 'It is desirable both in the interests of the white and Indian people of Cowichan that a sawmill should be established there' (Sproat in O'Donnell n.d., 38). Statements such as this, which are not

infrequent in Colonial correspondence, reinforce that western values and practices were thought to have the power to improve the lives of the Indians. It also shows that there was no consideration for the meaningful social and economic structures that were in place before contact with Europeans.

There also appears to have been a lack of consideration of what the land, in its pre-contact form, was suitable for. The idea that through technology man could bend nature to his will was prevalent among the European colonists (Worster 1994, Lutz 2009). Agriculture was practiced on the alluvial plains along the lower reaches of the Cowichan River, and logs were run along the River from Cowichan Lake to Cowichan Bay. Both of these practices, based on a desire to obtain resources for profit, had negative impacts on the landscape (for an in-depth discussion of the impact of agriculture and logging on Cowichan fisheries see Harris 2001, 127-186). The following excerpt discusses some of the impacts on the land and livelihoods of those inhabitants living along the Cowichan River from S'amuna Village to the sea.

> ... considerable damage has been done to the Cowichan Indian Reserve, and large losses sustained by a number of Indians, by the recent floods, and by the manner in which Messrs Hughitt [and] MacIntyre have run their logs from Cowichan Lake.
>
> In some places acres of land on the banks of the river have been carried away, destroying houses, barns and fencing.
>
> ... a large number of logs are lying in the Indian fields. At the large jamb near the junction of the Cowichan and Koksilah Rivers the River has cut itself an entirely new channel by which one Indian has lost between $300 and $400 worth of personal property besides land, barns and house. Another Indian by the carrying away of banks lost his barn and contents...but this was in most cases owing to flood and not to the running of saw logs.

> ... it is well known that until attempts were made to clear this river for logging purposes very little loss of land occurred; the natives therefore attribute all losses to the actions of the Government and the lumbermen.
>
> > (Letter from W.Lomas, Indian Agent, to British Columbia Indian Superintendent A.W. Vowell, in O'Donnell, n.d., 49)
>
> > (Surveyors working in February 1892, found that 117 acres had been lost to log running, mostly in the villages of Somenos and Quamichan (O'Donnell n.d., 52)).

It is clear from the preceding excerpt that there is a definite distinction between the Native resource gathering practices and the stability of the land and river on the one hand, and the exploitative resource gathering practices of the Europeans and the concomitant alteration and destruction of the landscape on the other.

Though the land was being managed by the Native population prior to contact, this was not apprehended by the initial European colonists. Douglas Deur's dissertation (2000) discusses plant management practices of Northwest Coast Natives. These diverse groups have, until recently, been hailed as a preeminent ethnographic example of pure hunter-fisher-gatherers. Deur's work has provided some insight into the reasons for this misunderstanding, reasons which will also be shown to account for the discrepancy between archaeological interpretations of Cowichan history, and those based on oral tradition. Though his work is concerned primarily with the management practices surrounding Pacific silverweed (*Potentilla anserine* ssp.), he does list other plant species that were similarly managed. Notably, twelve of twenty-two identified plant species that were owned and managed by Northwest Coast Natives are found in wetland environments (Deur 2000, 51). The attitude of Europeans towards wetlands

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was, as previously discussed, not a positive one. It is likely that little time was spent in and around wetlands, and as such, many of the management practices were not directly observed. The methods Native people used to manage wetland plants were not as invasive as those employed by European farmers, and were therefore less visible to the untrained eye. Furthermore, these managed wetland areas were often tended by women whose work does not appear to have received the same attention in early ethnographic works along the coast. All of these factors led to the perception that the Natives had not been willing or able to manage their land to their own benefit, which has been shown to be erroneous (see Deur 2000 & 2002, Deur & Turner 2005, and Turner et al. 2000).

**Fish weirs: a perceived barrier**

A second example of the difference in perception can be seen in the debate that surrounded the Native use of fish weirs. This method of catching fish, and the controversy surrounding its use on the Cowichan River, has been insightfully discussed by Douglas Harris (2001), and will not be considered in the same depth here. However, the introduction of some points relating to the controversy will provide insight into the different points of view of the two groups involved.

From the time of earliest colonization in the Cowichan Valley, constant controversy surrounded Native use of fish weirs. Such critical problems existed that in 1877, the Joint Indian Reserve Commission visited the Cowichan Valley in order to assess the situation surrounding Cowichan fishing rights (Harris 2001, 136). Problems with the

Cowichan fishery have persisted from the 19ᵗʰ century to the present, only now the

gathering of many more resources has been restricted (Fediuk & Thom 2003). Despite

the longstanding tradition of owning fish weir sites, of building and maintaining them,

and of fishing from them, the success of this method was willfully disregarded by some

of the more vocal European colonists. There appears to be little understanding of the

methods by which the Cowichan ensured that not only those villages upstream had

enough fish to catch and eat, but that the fish were successfully able to spawn. The

following excerpt comes from a report from the Commissioner and General Inspector

of Fisheries for Canada, E.E. Price, to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and

highlights this lack of understanding.

> The object of the Indian is to stop every salmon from ascending [and] no more
> effective and destructive means could be devised…Were the Indian less idle
> [and] careless the salmon would be already extinct in the Cowichan, but storms
> and decay cause holes etc [and] some fish get through and reach other weirs
> further up while a small portion reach Cowichan Lake.

(E.E. Price, September 1897, in O'Donnell n.d., 56)

It is clear from this statement that Price had not carefully observed the practice of weir

building and fishing. Moreover, the widely-held European perception that Indians were

lazy and were not predisposed to hard work is made clear in his description of weir use

on the Cowichan River. This situation seems to us ridiculous. How could there be such

an abundance of fish in the Cowichan River, as was noted early on by individuals such

as Robert Brown, if the weirs were, in fact, designed to block fish entirely? Surely a

newly built weir would be effective in this aim, if that were its true purpose. And what

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of the removable panels built into the weir? And what of the seasonal removal and re-erection of weirs? And what of the fact that fish stocks began to decrease only once large-scale fishing by colonists was permitted in Cowichan Bay (Harris 2001, 136-142)?

The preceding examples highlight the toll taken on the environment by the resource exploitation practices of the colonists, and contrasts it with the sustainable methods employed by the Natives. These two approaches to resource management, very different in kind, are based on the ecological model of each culture. The difference between the Native ecological model, which sees nature as a whole and is more akin to the arcadian model in which everything is interconnected and guided by a spirit, and the European ecological model which sees man as a mechanic and nature as his machine, has resulted not only in modification of the land, both wet and dry, but has also resulted in persistent perceptions regarding value and productivity of land and water. These views have had impacts on wetlands, and will be shown to have had a similarly substantial impact on the practice of archaeology in British Columbia.

**Western perceptions of the wetlands**

Even those figures who have called for an holistic approach to the study of nature can be shown to have been aware of the widely held belief in the unpleasantness of, and associated lack of appreciation for wetlands. The following excerpt from Thoreau's journal indicates both an awareness of such attitudes and their impacts on the landscape.

In the West the prudent settler avoids the banks of rivers, choosing high open land. It suggests that man is not completely at one with Nature, or that She is not yet fitted to be his abode. Adam soon found that he must give a marsh a wide berth, - that he must not put his bower in or near a swamp in the new country, -else he would get the fever and ague or an intermittent fever. Either nature may be changed or man. Some animals, as frogs and musquash, are fitted to live in the marsh. Only a portion of the earth is habitable by man. Is the earth improving or deteriorating in this respect? Does it require to be improved by the hands of man, or is it man to live more naturally and so more deftly?

(May 11, 1856 - Thoreau 1962, 330)

Thoreau speaks in general terms of the western trend for the avoidance of wetlands, and hints at the concomitant desire to turn wetlands into productive farmland. The more important issue to him is the western belief that nature exists to be modified by 'the hands of man.' It is interesting that he should use the example of wetlands to highlight this issue. Through his investigation of his immediate environment, he saw that wetland features were diverse and highly productive. Wetlands, he saw, were important for more than just their immediate area and local inhabitants, and changes to these features are felt further afield. For Thoreau, wetlands were an allegory for large-scale environmental change. Such change was being wrought all across North America at that time, and were based on the perception that nature should be changed to satisfy the needs and wants of man.

In order to provide a Northwest Coast example of the difference between western and Native perceptions of wetlands, I refer to the work of the naturalist John Keast Lord (1866). In 1856, Lord was hired by the Boundary Commission and sent to observe the wilderness of British Columbia, which included its Native population (Lord 1866). His

party spent May and June camped at Sumas Prairie, on the mainland, along the Canadian-United States border. After a week at this camp, the party began to note the omnipresence of mosquitoes. Lord went on at some length about the impact of the mosquitoes: 'we ate them, drank them, breathed them... we lighted huge fires... but all in vain... they grew thicker every day...' (1866, 316). He described the effect of these pernicious insects on the pack animals and dogs, of how they changed the appearance and temperament of men, and finally, of how they grew so impossibly troublesome that the party had to flee to the woods, only to return in the autumn when the pests had disappeared. Lord describes the method by which the Natives of the area avoid being devoured by mosquitoes:

> The crafty redskins had stages erected, or rather fastened to stout poles driven like piles into the mud at the bottom of the lake. To these large platforms over the water they all retire, on the first appearance of the mosquitos... During 'the reign of terror' the Indians never come on shore if they can help it... These stages, each with a family of Indians living on them, have a most picturesque appearance. The little fleet of canoes are moored to the poles, and the platform reached by a ladder made of twisted cedar-bark. Often have I slept on these stages among the savages, to avoid being devoured. But I am not quite sure if one gains very much by the change: in the first place, if you are restless, and roll about in your sleep, you stand a very good chance of finding yourself soused in the lake. The perfumes — varied but abundant — that regale your nose are not such as are wafted from 'tropic isles' or 'Araby the blest.' I shall not shock my fair readers with any comparison — you must imagine it is not agreeable... but, after all, the night steals away, you know not how, until the dawn, blushing over the eastern hill- tops, rouses all the dreaming world — except mosquitos, that never sleep.
>
> (John Keast Lord 1866, 316-321)

The picture Lord paints of life on the Sumas Prairie is not a pleasant one to Europeans and non-natives who are unaccustomed to such a rugged lifestyle. He does describe the area in more sympathetic terms when he writes about the natives catching fish (1866,

99), but this description fuels the notions that many ethnologists and early observers had about the ease of resource procurement. What is important here is that wetlands, such as the Sumas Prairie, were not perceived as pleasant or generally habitable places by the dominant non-native society. The perception of wetlands as unproductive, save for fish-bearing streams, is borne out in the change seen in the Sumas Prairie and the Fraser River Delta, most of which is now agricultural, residential or industrial land . The above excerpt from Lord is important in that, in the same instant, it highlights not only the prevailing attitude towards wetland (as foul-smelling insect-ridden places), but the Native strategies used to make the area habitable.

The potential for Native people to have lived on wet prairies and estuaries is rarely discussed in archeological literature. Lord's work discussing raised platforms has been little referenced in the ethnographic and archaeological literature I have discovered. Bernick (1991) does make reference to it in her discussion of wet sites in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, but this document is not readily available to the public. In discussing under-recognized site types with Judith Williams (author of Clam Gardens: Aboriginal Mariculture on Canada's West Coast, 2006), I mentioned that I had read about structures on stilts described by Lord, and asked if she had hear of anything similar. She said that a Native friend of hers had mentioned that houses on stilts were built in the Homathko estuary (pers.comm. 2011). The only other reference I have heard about houses on stilts, and the only one in Cowichan traditional territory, came from Ken Elliot, who was touring a group of conference attendees along the Cowichan River. He indicated that native houses on stilts were used before modern houses, and that they were less detrimental to the environment than the building of

dykes which allowed modern houses to be built (pers.comm. 2011). It was not clear whether or not such houses existed at the point of European contact. All of this information is important, but none of it has reached mainstream archaeological thinking. It is clear that in order to more accurately record Native histories as they were actually lived, rather than how we perceive them, we need a collective reorientation of awareness.

Mention must be made of those individuals working (or have worked) within the field of archaeology who have given special attention to wetlands and wet sites in this area. Richard Daugherty, Dale Croes, Kathryn Bernick, George Nicholas, and Philip Hobler have advanced our knowledge and understanding of these sites on the Northwest Coast. Countless others have been involved in some of the major projects which form the basis of our knowledge in this area, and they continue to be interested and show support and appreciation for work relating to wet site archaeology. Notably, Morley Eldridge, Heather Pratt, Darcy Matthews, Terence Clark, Gay Frederick, Astrida Onat, Bjorn Simonsen and Dee Cullon, Eric Forgeng and Al Mackie have all shown me that there are individuals who are concerned about this aspect of heritage management. While support and awareness may exist in the field, these people are bound to abide by the rules set out in the *HCA*, and by logistics of working in the development sector. The *HCA* is a partial product of politics, and as such it is more a reflection of public opinion than professional archaeological recommendations. Its overarching aims are admirable, but implementation of the act rests, of necessity, primarily with the public and the development sectors. It is my hope that by increasing awareness of wet sites and their fragility, that the public may be on the look out and more sites may be

identified and preserved. The first step in this process is a reorientation of awareness from a purely Western mind-set to one which is understanding and appreciative of Native values and beliefs.

## Chapter 3 - An Examination of the Development and Practice of Archaeology in British Columbia

It is important to understand the context in which the practice of archaeology developed in British Columbia in order to see how some of the critical decisions about legislation and accepted methodology came about. The development of archaeology in British Columbia developed in the western scientific tradition, and has been repeatedly reinforced by western notions of logic and scientific objectivity. This chapter will discuss the development of both academic and commercial archaeology, and will look at the points were these two streams converge and diverge. The discussion will also present the necessary background information for an understanding of some of the problems facing Native communities and archaeologists today. The significant contributions of several characters, and how these contributions fit into larger trends in North American archaeology will be discussed. A timeline of important events in the development of archaeology in British Columbia is provided in Appendix 4. Beginning in the late 19th century, and finishing in the 21st century, this chapter will cover all of the significant events that have led to the development of heritage legislation, to the academic and consulting traditions, and to the relationships with Native communities.

The history of archaeology on the Northwest Coast is unofficially divided into two separate realms and has been dealt with as such in much of the literature to date; the academics' realm and the realm of professional consulting archaeologists. Amateurs, though in the minority, have also contributed to the development of archaeology, and have predominantly been included with the academic archaeologists (ex. Charles Hill-Tout, notable for his archaeological and ethnographic work, but not academically trained) (Suttles & Jonaitis 1990). For the academic researcher, it is easy to assume that the two realms had been separated for a good reason. It is not without a great deal of searching through government libraries, that one can come close to understanding the true nature of the connection between academic archaeology, guided by universities, and professional consulting archaeology (or cultural resource management, 'CRM'), guided by the British Columbia Provincial Government.

Presently, there are only a few individuals who have a deep understanding of the way archaeology in British Columbia is conducted, and they have been primarily involved in the professional consulting sphere, moving between the private sector and the government (Al Mackie, Eric Forgeng, Morley Eldridge and others; though there may be more, in the absence of published discussions it is not possible to identify them here). These individuals possess a great deal of knowledge about the context in which the rules and regulations surrounding the practice of archaeology in British Columbia were developed and are presently applied. Much of the information possessed by these individuals is anecdotal, pieced together from years of personal experience and exposure to semi-private documents (ie. Documents available to 'researchers' and 'professionals,' but not usually *easily* accessible to others, and certainly not available to

the public). The issue of access is critical to the level of public, and professional/academic access respectively. Much of the way present legislation is treated stems from experience or some sort of unofficial precedent, and because the required information is not easily accessible, the public holds many misconceptions about heritage legislation and the protection of archaeological sites. It is also not uncommon for professionals and academics to be hazy on some of the specifics of the way the current heritage legislation was developed, and how it is applied.

In order to situate my research appropriately, it was necessary for me to understand the (seemingly long-divorced) history of academic archaeology and professional consulting archaeology in British Columbia. It must be noted that the history of academic archaeology most often encompasses both the Canadian and U.S. territories of the 'Northwest Coast', while the professional consulting history is limited to British Columbian territories of the 'Northwest Coast' and extends to the interior of the province. For the purposes of this work, the area of interest is the central Coast Salish territory, which falls within the Northwest Coast designation, and within the legal jurisdiction of British Columbia. Clarification will be made as necessary.

It must also be noted that the Northwest Coast is considered, by both insiders and outsiders, to be a distinct collection of cultural units. Due to the constant reference to the culture types of the Northwest Coast (as defined by Borden 1975 and reinforced by Matson and Coupland 1995 and Suttles 1990), any one site, be it in Central Coast Salish or Tsimshian territory, is discussed with reference to the Northwest Coast culture area as a whole and with specifically defined culture types, despite their distinct

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environments and languages, not to mention the thousands of miles that separate these groups. Although this study will focus on the traditional lands and associated practices of the Cowichan Tribes, it is hoped that the results of this study may be applicable to other areas in the province of British Columbia, both coastal and interior, and may eventually have an impact beyond British Columbia.

As indicated by the relative number of sources, the history of archaeology on the Northwest Coast is often seen to take a back seat to prehistoric archaeology in the rest of North America, and Canadian archaeology, in general, is, again, overshadowed by archaeology in the United States. This may be attributed to the fact that funding for academic research is greater, and the population base is larger, with a larger number of universities, and American Indian traditional territory has been further developed in the United States. Those texts which are considered to be high-level syntheses, such as Trigger's *A History of Archaeological Thought*, deal in large part with the archaeology of the United States, often with little mention of Canadian archaeology.

**Introduction to the sources for the history of archaeology in British Columbia**

The history of academic archaeology appears easily accessible, at least superficially, as it has been incorporated in several specific publications (Carlson 1990; Suttles 1990; Jonaitis 1999; Mackie 1995; Matson & Coupland 1995 etc.). These publications present a one-sided, though sympathetic, picture of the way archaeology has developed in British Columbia. However, several things must be understood at the outset in order to present the history of academic archaeology as it has been presented into a clear and

balanced picture (Apland 1993; Carlson 1990). First, it is important to understand the role of the university as a primary provider of education, of fieldwork opportunities, and of future employment to archaeologists in British Columbia and Canada. Second, we must understand the relationships between First Nations groups, CRM professionals and academics, and the extent to which these relationships have an impact on the research that is done in BC. Thirdly, we have to understand how provincial archaeological guidelines direct the practice of archaeology in British Columbia, and what impact this has on academic archaeology.

Alongside the history of academic archaeology it is necessary to explore the history of professional consulting archaeology in British Columbia (CRM), as this sector did not truly develop until the 1960s, and it did not develop in isolation. The close-knit connection between professional consulting archaeologists and the construction industry appears to be the root cause of the initial and ongoing separation between the academic and the heritage management sectors. As academia thrives on publication, the absence of published results from the heritage management sector greatly hinders our ability to make optimal use of the results of salvage archaeology. Since the products of salvage work are often out of easy reach, the entire heritage management sector appears to rely directly on the products of academic research for the interpretation of the sites they excavate. Repeated attempts have been made to publish the results of excavations, but good intentions are often put off by the constant demand for salvage work.

Interpretation by professional consulting archaeology firms varies greatly. Several companies are known for publishing results of their work, but this is largely due to the personal drive of individuals rather than company policy (ex. Eldridge 1991) . As with any consulting business, the work that is done is paid for by the (typically, development) company that employs the archaeological firm, and as post-excavation analysis and interpretation is not mandated by the current legislation, it is often not included in the budgets initially forwarded to the development companies for consideration. Also, the sampling strategy is directly linked to the amount of work done, and dictates the speed at which it is carried out. As post-excavation work is often not budgeted for in the first place, sampling strategy is not developed with potential analysis in mind (palynology etc.). It appears to be a negative feedback cycle in many cases. The attitude of 'what's the least we can get away with' often rules.

As the current research is concerned with wetland and wet site archaeology, it is important to look at events in the past that relate to the treatment of these sorts of sites. In discussing the history of archaeological work on the Northwest Coast, I have chosen to do away with the traditional separation between academia and CRM in the hopes of maximizing the information available from such events as they are few in number. Further, through a deeper understanding of the historic context of current heritage legislation, I hope to offer effective and practical recommendations to the Provincial Government regarding the management of wet sites and their cultural contents.

**Archaeology in British Columbia: 19th century**

In the middle of the 18th century, Russian ships began trading with native populations on the Northwest Coast (Matson et al. 2003; Suttles & Jonaitis 1990). At this time, the New World remained largely unexplored by westerners. It was by no means vacant as some suggested, but its inhabitants were not considered to be 'civilized'. Despite the perceived cultural differences, the native inhabitants were fully in control of the territory and its resources. Trade was conducted between the natives and outsiders, generally peacefully, for the next seventy years, until sometime after the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company began to establish trading posts in the early 19th century (Mackie 1997; Lutz 2009).

The first significant non-native presence on the Northwest Coast was marked by the Spanish construction of a fort at Nootka Sound in 1789. Their presence was more political than economic, as the function of the fort was not as a trading base but as a territorial outpost. Maritime trade was focused at the turn of the 19th century with the establishment of 5 forts along the Northwest Coast within 8 years. With the establishment of these forts, whalers now had depots at which to re-stock their ships, and natives had, for the first time, a year-round place to trade their goods. In 1821, the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company merged, and the Hudson's Bay Company had an effective monopoly on trade in the area (Mackie 1997; Lutz 2009).

It was during this early period of trade that the accounts of sailors gave the non-native world its first etic account of what life was like for the native inhabitants in this uncharted area. Notably, the architecture encountered was remarked upon, including the enormous houses and the intricately carved poles, as well as the fantastic artistic

style of the coastal inhabitants. All these presented a picture of an enigmatic culture, one that possessed highly developed cultural aspects usually attributed to agricultural societies, yet these groups appeared to be subsisting on hunting, fishing and gathering. It was also during this period that the first artifacts were obtained, signaling the beginning of our enduring fascination with Northwest Coast art. There was little speculation as to the antiquity of this art tradition at this time, but the items collected during the maritime trading period would become significant in future debates about longevity and stylistic influence (Duff 1975, Holm 1990).

With the establishment of permanent forts on the Northwest Coast came the all-pervading influence of western culture, European disease, intensive agriculture, work for wage, the concept of the nuclear family, and Christianity all having profound impacts on the culture of the native inhabitants of this area. At point of contact, the indigenous groups had already felt the indirect influence of the western culture, though the European settlers uniformly believed the inhabitants to be free from such influence (Kirk 1986, 203-205; Suttles 1990).

The first, the most profound, and the most dramatic impact of western contact was the introduction of disease. The early contact period saw a massive depletion of the indigenous population due to the affects of introduced diseases such as smallpox, typhoid fever, measles, tuberculosis, and a variety of sexually transmitted diseases (Harris 1997, 3-30; McNally 2000, 76-78; Duff 1965). Attempts have been made to reconstruct pre-contact populations, and are discussed elsewhere (Harris 1997; Suttles 1990). Suffice it to say that the native populations were so badly decimated that some

winter villages were abandoned entirely (Churchill 2004; Harris 1997). These significant population decreases had profound impact on native culture, as well as on the actions of non-natives newly arrived in the area.

In the face of disease-ravaged populations, and what they perceived to be a vastly superior lifestyle and belief system, the earliest visitors thought the indigenous groups to be fragile remnants of an ancient way of life (Harris 1997; McNally 2000; Milloy 1999; Suttles 1990). Waves of disease rippled up and down the coast, and with every population decrease, the non-natives held the genuine belief that native populations would eventually die out altogether. Their justification of land settlement was directly tied to their ideas about the eventual extinction of the native populations(ibid.).

Non-natives in the area also reacted to the perceived fragility of the natives who had received them. Word spread about the unique 'untainted' cultures of the Northwest Coast, and soon anthropologists from Europe and the United States made the journey to this part of the world in order to record what they could of these 'vanishing' groups (ex. Wilkes 1845; Hale 1846; Kane 1857, 1859; Wilson 1866; Lord 1866; Brown 1868). Of course, some groups had been trading with Russians for almost a hundred years, and there is evidence to suggest that those groups who hadn't had direct contact with non-natives had at least traded with groups who were in contact, thus obtaining western goods (Boas 1966; Jonaitis 2000). The perceived lack of cultural contamination was the reason why many interested parties first came to study the cultures of the Northwest Coast. It was also the reason why some groups were not studied as intensively as others, some being dismissed as already tainted by outsiders

or by other native culture groups, for example, Franz Boas selection of the Kwakiutl over other groups as a focus for study (Boas & Hunt 1906, Boas 1966).

While the Hudson's Bay Company surveyed the coast searching for a suitable location for a new fort above the $49^{th}$ parallel, the first professional anthropologists were visiting the Northwest Coast as part of the United States Exploring Expedition, and were led by Charles Wilkes. The expedition began in 1841, and focused on the west coast, south of what is now the Strait of Juan de Fuca, where the Hudson's Bay Company was then surveying (Barman 1991; Keddie 2003).

Non-native settlement began in earnest with the founding of Fort Victoria in 1842. Located on the southern tip of Vancouver Island, it began as a whaling supply station and the Pacific headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, though it soon became the home base for the British colonization movement. Seven years after the establishment of the fort, the Crown granted all of Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company by Royal Charter, with the express purpose of colonization, though the colony had been laying out boundaries only one year after foundation (Keddie 2003). James Douglas signed treaties with some of the native groups in the area, and by 1850, he had agreements for non-native settlement with the Songhees, Sooke and Metchosin bands (UBCIC 2010). The Crown actively encouraged settlement, and a handful of settlers established new homes and farms in the area surrounding Fort Victoria. The population of Victoria, as the area came to be known, remained fairly small (several hundred people), until the gold rush on the Fraser River in 1858. Fort Victoria was the last supply depot before one reached the mouth of the Fraser River, and as such,

thousands of men hoping to make their fortunes arrived in Victoria. Some set up businesses to supply those who travelled on, and others stocked-up on camping supplies and food before their journey up the Fraser. And with any such influx of people came the ancillary businesses, the hotels or boarding houses, the saloons, the brothels, the gaols, etc. (Keddie 2003; Lutz 2009)

Some native groups welcomed the population increase, as it was an opportunity for trade. The native people supplied the gold seekers with foodstuffs, salmon, shellfish, game, fowl, and with camping supplies such as reed mats, which were versatile, providing shelter and/or bedding. There was also an increased market for 'Indian curios', and the sale of items such as basketry, or argillite carvings, flourished. Many native groups had begun to come to Fort Victoria seasonally to find jobs and to trade their goods gathered throughout the past year (Keddie 2003; Lutz 2009)

Since the non-native population had increased, Native groups also had an expanded market for art pieces, and some groups began to camp near the fort throughout the year in order to sell their wares. There were several notable outcomes of the permanent camps of non-local native groups in the area around Fort Victoria, the first and most detrimental of which was the spread of disease. The local natives, the Songhees, had been inoculated with the smallpox vaccine, but many of the other native groups did not have the benefit of this defense. Accordingly, when smallpox was brought to Victoria on a steam ship from San Francisco in 1862, many of the visiting native groups were struck by the disease (Keddie 2003). Due to aggressive public demand for the removal of natives from Victoria, a containment strategy was not implemented in time.

Consequently the smallpox epidemic spread through the Native camps, and when a forced expulsion finally took place, the epidemic spread up the coast decimating the populations in its wake (Keddie 2003).

The second outcome of the non-local native camps in Victoria was the impact on cultural practices and artistic styles. Due to the high mortality rates after European contact, potlatches for the passing on of newly-vacated titles increased dramatically. At the same time, those employed in wage labour were able to amass a great deal of wealth, which was in turn distributed at potlatches. Greater wealth also meant greater artistic commissions, and it was during this period of close contact between many coastal native groups that styles began to be modified (Keddie 2003; Jonaitis 2006). The increased rituals of this period began to draw anthropologists to the area, and many began to collect artifacts, either buying them directly from natives, or taking them from burial sites. The increased desire to obtain artifacts, seen in this period, signaled the beginning of a continuing struggle between natives and non-natives over cultural material and its management.

Just over twenty years after the settlement of southern Vancouver Island began, and only seven years after the Fraser River gold rush and its massive population increase, the first legislation to protect native culture was instituted. In 1865, the government passed the *Indian Graves Ordinance* (*IGO*) in the hopes of protecting native grave sites from looting and desecration. However, Yellowhorn (1999) notes that the *IGO* did not suggest that such desecration was a crime against native culture, but that it was a crime against the Crown, as all of these sorts of things (including items that under most

analyses of British common law would be the property of the possessor or the creator of the piece) were deemed to be possessions of the Crown. He also suggests that the *IGO* may have been intended to protect these items from (or for?) the developing art market of the day. It is interesting to note that later on, it was stated than under British Common Law, human remains are *res nullius*, possessions of no one, but the grave goods were still in question. If descendants of the deceased did not claim the possessions, the government then stepped in to claim them on behalf of the province (Hill 2011).

The year 1867, saw three notable political events; the Alaska land purchase, the transfer of the Colony of Vancouver Island from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Crown, and British Columbia joining the confederation. These events would have major impact on the way archaeological work has been conducted on the Northwest Coast. Although *Northwest Coast* is defined as including Canadian and U.S. territory, the British Columbian native groups and the American Indian groups are sometimes discussed in relative isolation from one another, particularly amongst those in the CRM sector (Hill 2012). Funding for archaeological projects is likewise disproportionate along the coast, yet until 1867, when the British and Americans agreed to draw the border at the 49th parallel, the native groups did not recognize borders of this kind. Native culture groups do not often appear to be studied in units that they themselves would acknowledge as being important, especially in the reports of commercial archaeologists which are legally limited by provincial and national boundaries.

The earliest archaeological work on the Northwest Coast is supposed to have taken place in the 1870s, at a time when Indian Reserves were being delineated and the restriction of traditional cultural practices was on the rise (UBCIC 2010). In 1871, native people were barred from fishing commercially, and in the following year they were prevented from voting in provincial elections. In 1874, the *British Columbia Land Act* allowed for the alienation of land without regard to native title, but was repealed by the federal government the following year precisely because it did not consider native title. Then, in 1883, the provincial government granted Robert Dunsmuir (a coal magnate), 800,000 acres of land on southern Vancouver Island (including almost all of the Hul'qumi'num traditional territory) in return for his promise to construct a railway between Esquimalt and Nanaimo, the area known thereafter as the E&N Railway Grant. Dunsmuir received a second land grant in Hul'qumi'num territory in 1905. No agreements were made with the natives in this territory, and the issue of native title and compensation is still before the courts today (See the Great Land Grab in Hul'qumi'num Territory (HTG 2011)).

In 1885, the Potlatch Law came into effect, and made it illegal to hold potlatches, which were perceived to be wasteful and hedonistic (Harris 2001). In that same year, Franz Boas (who would become a potlatch host himself), then studying in Germany, was introduced to a group of Bella Coola natives who performed at an ethnic exhibition. Soon thereafter, he made the long voyage to western North America and spent three months studying the native language and custom of groups along the Northwest Coast (Suttles 1990; Jonaitis 2000; Boas 1966). From his post at Columbia University, Boas continued to foster research in this area. Many of his students would go on to found

archaeology departments at major universities. Alfred L. Kroeber, his first graduate student was one of the founders of the anthropology programme at the University of California, Berkely, and Leslie Spier did the same at the University of Washington. Other students, such as Erna Gunther, Fredricka de Laguna, Robert Lowie, Edward Sapir, Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead each held academic posts, and passed on many of the teachings that Boas developed through work on the Northwest Coast. Although Boas was responsible for the development of anthropology as a discipline in North America, it is interesting that his influence, removed but one generation, had a positive impact on several of the Northwest Coast's innovative thinkers, including the late Wilson Duff, Dale Croes, and Wayne Suttles, all students of Erna Gunther's (Abbot et al 1981).

Other people rushed to carry out ethnographic research on the Northwest Coast at the end of the 19th century, and their objective was to make a record of the extant cultural groups before they suffered the ravages of small pox and other introduced diseases or were assimilated, a process which was already well under way (Duff 1965; Harris 1997; McNally 2000, 78; Milloy 1999).

The late 1880s also saw the call for, and the creation of a provincial museum. Prominent citizens of the capital had petitioned the government for the establishment of a museum in 1886, and within three years of their request the British Columbia Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology was opened (RBCM 2010).

At the same time as Victoria began to develop its museum, the quickly expanding settlements on the lower Fraser River gave rise to the first purposeful archaeological work in British Columbia. While Charles Hill-Tout excavated such sites on the lower Fraser River as the Marpole site (DhRs 1), James Deans, called 'Victoria's first notable archaeological enthusiast,' was excavating sites on Vancouver Island (Hill-Tout 1978; Keddie 2003; Carlson 1990, 107).

Hill-Tout, a school teacher and farmer with no formal archaeological training undertook a fair amount of archaeological work, and although he lacked professional training, his research was notable as it signaled a departure from previous anthropological work on the Northwest Coast, much of which was simply descriptive with little or no meaningful analysis (Suttles and Jonaitis 1990, 73). Hill-Tout was the first to suggest that the coast was populated by eskimoid cultures from the north. The idea of population migrations, then popular in European archaeological circles, was to be the dominant focus of research in this area until the 1930s.

Much of the work carried out during this period was an attempt to secure information about the lifeways of the Natives before, it was assumed, they disappeared. As such, the bulk of the accounts from this period is largely descriptive, and was gathered without consideration of any sort of larger research design. Artifacts, too, were collected with little consideration of any purpose beyond that of 'saving' a dying culture. Although Hill-Tout would go on to become the president of the anthropology section of the Royal Society of Canada, and publish two important books on the natives of the Northwest Coast (*The Native Races of British North America: The Far West* (1907), and *The Salish*

*People, 4 vols.* with Ralph Maud (1978)), he never became fully immersed in the academic community, retaining his amateur status.

Members of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition undertook the first professional archaeological research on the Northwest Coast. The expedition, jointly sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History and Columbia University, was tasked with ascertaining the presence of a connection between north-east Asia and the Northwest Coast of North America. It was the first series of investigations designed to answer a larger research question, as opposed to previous research, which was generally concerned with the beliefs and practices of individual groups. The expedition was presided over by anthropologist Franz Boas, who believed that in order to identify and understand the similarities and differences between cultures one had first to thoroughly understand each of the discreet cultures (Rhoner 1969).

Previous anthropological research on the Northwest Coast sought to preserve the 'dying cultures' by writing down observations and translated stories. Boas was the first to organize a team of ethnologists, physical anthropologists, linguists and archaeologists to record as much as they could about the groups they visited (Boas 1903; Jonaitis 2000; Carlson 1990, 107). Boas and his team were careful to collect as much information as possible, in as many different forms as possible. In order that this information underwent relatively little corruption, he developed his own orthography which allowed him and his field crew to publish the native oral tradition in their original languages (Boas 1966; Suttles and Jonaitis 1990, 75). Boas also employed several men who were raised speaking both English and native languages, such as

George Hunt who had grown up in a Kwakwaki'wakw village, who undertook some professional training (Boas 1966; Suttles and Jonaitis 1990, 75). These men had both sufficient language skills and experience to provide appropriate interpretations of the social and material culture being recorded, and thus they hoped to avoid some of the mistakes that were often made when translating information through Chinook jargon into English/German as previous researchers had done (Boas 1966; Rhoner 1969).

Harlan I. Smith was the expedition's archaeologist and, unlike Hill-Tout, his general survey and research at sites in the Gulf of Georgia and the Puget Sound were systematic (Smith 1907; Carlson 2005; Carlson 1990). Smith excavated sites throughout the lower mainland and into what is now northern Washington State. Notable among these was the site at Port Hammond, at modern day New Westminster, and the Marpole site that had previously been investigated by Hill-Tout (Smith 1907). A reading of Smith's work reveals several things: first, that his methodology left something to be desired as he was not concerned about the stratigraphy of the site, and second, that he preferred to describe the artifacts found as they related to the 'life-ways of their maker' (Carlson 2005; Carlson 1990). His research led him to disagree with Hill-Tout, and he suggested that the coast may have been populated by people from the interior (ibid.). Although Smith's interpretations of the material as a reflection of the lifeways of its makers was not taken up by the next crop of researchers, the volume of data collected by the Jesup team provided them with a good basis of comparison, and the intellectual context initiated during this early period persists today (Apland 1993).

## Archaeology in the 20th century: pre-World War II

At the turn of the 20th century, archaeology in North America was still largely in the shadow of anthropology. Traditional practices persisted among some of the more remote native groups which had survived the various epidemics, and anthropologists were still interested in collecting information and artifacts from these groups. Between the Potlatch ban and the rapid conversion of natives to Christianity, the amount of overt ceremonialism was decreasing. The effects of westernization were coming to light, and though they had been often poorly treated, it was quickly realized that the native populations were resilient and flexible. In 1909, the Indian Rights Association was formed to deal with issues of native welfare. They were so occupied by serious threats to their people that it would be some time before they again became involved in cultural revitalization and would take an active role in their own heritage management.

In 1906, the United States passed *An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities*. This act was created in response to wide-spread looting in the south-western states, and allowed sites on federal land to be designated 'National Monuments'. Such designation could be carried out by order of the president, which allowed monuments at risk to be protected rapidly, without having to go through the lengthy process of going through Congress. The legislation appears to be concerned with the protection of native material culture for its own sake, rather than as an act preserving native cultural heritage for natives themselves (American Antiquities Act 1906).

While archaeology was in its infancy on the Northwest Coast, the Provincial Museum had finally had a chance to study the ethnographic material they had collected since their establishment, and in 1909 they published the *Illustrated Guide to Anthropological Collections in the Provincial Museum* (Newcombe 1909). For over 30 years they displayed only material originating from British Columbia (RBCM 2010). In 1921, the Provincial Museum exhibited their first collection of material from outside of British Columbia, but they continued to actively display ethnographic material from the culture groups of the province. In 1925, the Provincial Museum put on a display of poles and canoes at an old drill hall in Victoria, making large scale native material culture accessible to the general population for the first time (RBCM 2010).

The first provincial legislation that actively sought to protect archaeological sites was the *Historic Object Preservation Act (HOPA*), enacted in 1925. This act allowed for the designation of 'Provincial Historic Sites', and though it was created with rock-art sites particularly in mind, it was eventually applied to several other types of sites. The efficacy of *HOPA* is somewhat in question. At the time of its enactment, there was no provincial site registry against which to check newly discovered sites. Furthermore, the act was limited by the absence of an enforcement plan. As with the Indian Graves Ordinance before it, the *HOPA* was not intended to preserve these sites for the natives, but rather it sought to preserve such sites for the public of British Columbia (Apland 1993). The *HOPA* does not appear to have had any very great impact on archaeology in British Columbia.

In the early part of the century, archaeology progressed on an independent basis, with individuals such as Hill-Tout and Smith carrying out periodic work, and with students of Boas undertaking their own field research. Most of Boas' students focused on anthropology and ethnography. Notable among them was Frederica De Laguna, who combined archaeological work with the ethnography of communities in Alaska, and used the direct historic approach as an interpretive guide (Adelman 2005; De Laguna 1960). Although De Laguna's major work took place in Alaska, she had a great influence on other researchers, both on the Northwest Coast and elsewhere. She began teaching anthropology at Bryn Mawr College in 1938, and continued to do field work all along the Northwest Coast (De Laguna 1995). After a period teaching cryptography during the Second World War, she conducted extensive fieldwork among the Tlingit of southeast Alaska, for which she is best known, and which today remains a classic example of the success of the employment of the direct historic approach to archaeology (De Laguna 1960, 977).

Also at work during this period was Philip Drucker, a cowboy turned archaeologist, who was another proponent of the direct historic approach (Lantis 1983). He worked for the U.S. National Museum and the Bureau of American Ethnology before becoming a lecturer at the University of California, Santa Cruz, the University of Colorado, and the University of Kentucky. Drucker worked on the Northwest Coast in the 1930s and 1940s, and eventually published *Cultures of the North Pacific Coast,* in 1965.

Both of these researchers did a great service to Northwest Coast Archaeology, though the Second World War stifled the flow of such research. De Laguna and Drucker both

taught a new generation of researchers, and no doubt the formation of their ideas, and a great deal of their expertise was forged from their experience on the Northwest Coast (Adelman 2005, Lantis 1983). They both returned to the United States to teach, and with them went their experience and knowledge, and though they did publish, the personal anecdotes and assistance which are so vital in the learning and teaching process were not accessible to students in BC. .

During the late 1930s, Charles Borden, a Ph.D. in German, became Assistant Professor in his subject at the University of British Columbia. He had some amateur archaeological experience in Hamburg, Germany, but had no formal academic training in the subject. By chance, the UBC library was low on materials concerning his research interests, German drama theory, and he instead read a work by Drucker, and began to speculate about the possibility that the Northwest Coast culture had experienced significant development in the area of the Fraser River (Carlson 2010).

Borden conducted fieldwork throughout the Fraser Valley and up into the Fraser Canyon throughout the 1940s and 1950s (Bryan 1980). He was funded independently through small university grants, and relied on the labour of his own interested students and the students of Professor Erna Gunther from the University of Washington. There was a great deal of post-war development in the Fraser Valley and in Vancouver, and Borden was, at that time, the main archaeological researcher in the area. Although he held an academic post, he was at the forefront of what would become the Cultural Resource Management sector. In the early 1950s, Borden instituted a city wide archaeological survey to establish which sites required prompt salvage excavation, and

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began a salvage programme to save what he could (ibid.). He also appears to be the first archaeologist to undertake survey from a boat, in the lake system of Tweedsmuir Park, prior to flooding, and which may be considered the first Archaeological Impact Assessment in British Columbia, possibly even the first in Canada (Borden 1951; Cambridge 2003). Despite his relentless fieldwork, he remained a professor of German at UBC, and was not permitted to teach archaeology courses until the 1960s, when, it seems, he was not released from his German teaching duties, but was required to take on a double course load. Unfortunately, then, the first person to be involved in salvage archaeology, as we would come to know it, was also involved in academia, but was prevented from concentrating fully on the subject.

Although his influence was limited on the teaching front, Borden had important impacts on the British Columbia and Northwest Coast archaeological community through his development of a universal site designation system, now known as Borden units and employed by the British Columbia Archaeology Branch, through the publication of his Fraser Delta Culture Sequence (*Culture History of the Fraser Delta Region,* 1970), and through his input on the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board. Unbeknownst to him, Borden was standing at the head of a long and narrow fjord; one foot on the shore that was academic archaeology, the other on that which would become cultural resource management, and between, a deep and watery space, full of rich information, but often passed over as people rowed back and forth from shore to shore.

**The Post-World War II period**

The 1950s saw a mix of sympathetic and unfriendly circumstances that pushed archaeology in British Columbia ahead by leaps and bounds. Fueled by a few passionate individuals, such as Charles Borden and Wilson Duff, the drive to undertake more archaeological survey and salvage fieldwork was simultaneously forced and facilitated by an increase in development, in funding for universities, by the rise of tourism, and by important scientific developments such as radiocarbon dating. Despite rising public interest in the material that was uncovered, the general populace and those involved in development were still relatively unaware of the scope, variety, or depth of the archaeological material around them. Between a lack of public knowledge, and the limited number of archaeological surveys carried out, there was rising threat to archaeological sites throughout the province, particularly in the Lower Mainland.

Wilson Duff, a British Columbian by birth, and an anthropologist trained on the Northwest Coast, was a vocal and passionate spokesperson for the protection of archaeological sites and aboriginal culture (Anderson 1996). He studied under Erna Gunther at the University of Washington, and undertook fieldwork with the Stó:lō of the Fraser Valley. In 1950, he became Curator of Anthropology at the British Columbia Provincial Museum, and was the first professionally trained anthropologist to hold the post. Duff was active in preserving native material culture, from instituting the Totem Pole Restoration Programme at the British Columbia Provincial Museum, to serving as an expert witness in the *Calder v. British Columbia* (1973) case concerning aboriginal title, to reuniting a pair of carved stone masks from across the world. He was so deeply

immersed in the culture of the natives that his efforts to protect the culture were nearly inexhaustible. Working with Borden in 1951, they lobbied the provincial and federal governments to write legislation that would protect archaeological sites. Although it would be almost a decade before the provincial government took any action on the subject, the seed was planted.

Elsewhere in the world, heritage protection had been a much more pressing topic. In 1954, when archaeology was slowly coming into focus on the Northwest Coast, the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict was signed, though neither Canada nor the United States ratified the convention (The Hague 1954). While the protection of culturally significant sites and materials was a focus in Europe, North America was lacking the political will to create similar safeguards. North America had an altogether different situation: the presence of a living native population whose cultural heritage made up the bulk of the cultural remains. Although many of the native bands were dealing with ethnociede, or dealing with its outfall, some were beginning to take note of what was happening to their material culture. Certainly the situation was somewhat different in Canada than it was in the United States, and the situation in British Columbia was different than in the rest of Canada; British Columbia has over twice the number of Indian bands as the next highest province (British Columbia has 165 bands, followed by Ontario with 81) (AANDC 2011).

The 1960s saw the development of 'new archaeology', or processual archaeology, in Europe and North America, but somehow these ideas of archaeology as anthropology

did not have such a big impact on the Northwest Coast. Perhaps this was due to the fact that archaeology in this area had its roots in anthropology, and researchers were never far enough from the ethnographic record to feel its absence. Elsewhere, the reunification of archaeology with anthropology was monumental; no longer were artifacts divorced from the cultures that created them. Yet, on the Northwest Coast, researchers had been much more supportive of the direct historical approach, which already assumed the anthropology-archaeology union, and already acknowledged that the environment played a certain role in the development of culture. Processual archaeology was a sort of re-branding of theories they were already familiar with, though archaeologists working in this area often appear to be more reluctant than others to knit themselves to any particular school of thought (Trigger 2006; Carlson 1983).

If any aspect of processual archaeology gained popularity amongst archaeologists on the Northwest Coast, it was 'ecological archaeology'; the idea that through scientific sampling of ecofacts it was possible to recreate some of the circumstances of the past, which would, in turn, inform the interpretation of the cultural material. The sampling of pollen, of plant micro- and macro-fossils, charcoal and other aspects of the archaeological record was first incorporated into the research project of the University of Colorado, working at Namu on the central coast of British Columbia. Excavations at Friendly Cove and Hesquiat Harbour were also gathering environmental data in order to attempt to reconstruct some of the historic circumstances experienced by the cultures that created the record (Bernick 1989 a) .

Development in British Columbia persisted during the 1960s, and the number of fieldwork projects increased concomitantly. There was little existing legislation to regulate the protection of archaeological sites. The *Historic Objects Preservation Act* (1925) was not designed with the protection of entire archaeological sites, and new legislation was necessary. In 1960, the province passed the *Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act (AHSPA)*, which turned archaeology from something that academics did and developers avoided, into an important step in the development process. First, it instituted a permitting system for any archaeological work taking place in the province, which, until that point in time, had been carried out without any overarching regulations or guidelines. Second, it created the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board (ASAB), which was a group of professional archaeologists who advised the government on archaeological matters, and were responsible for the administration of the archaeological aspects of heritage legislation. Third, and very significantly, the new legislation expanded they type of sites that could be protected. Formerly, rock art sites had been the focus of the *HOPA*, but under the *AHSPA*, all burial places, middens, house pits, caves or other archaeological remains on Crown land were protected. Further, it was not necessary for sites to be designated before they were protected. As there had been no systematic archaeological survey of British Columbia, it was anticipated that sites might come to light which would not have previously been designated, but which would require protection, and the act was written with this in mind (Apland 1993, 9).

The ASAB brought together many of the archaeologists of the day, including Wilson Duff and Charles Borden, and included members from the academic community and

the museum. In the fall of the first year, the board discussed the impact of the new Act on the practice of archaeology by amateurs. It was understood that many were resistant due to fears that their private collections would be confiscated and future activities would be limited, however the board suggested that the amateur archaeologists ought to 'show a sense of moral responsibility beyond interim possession of artifacts' (ASAB minutes, Nov. 3, 1960). Accordingly, they also included one amateur archaeologist, Mr.Milliken, on the board, and created pamphlets to circulate to the general public as working with this sector was considered an important aspect of the work carried out by the ASAB. An ever-present issue in British Columbia, now and then, was the protection of archaeological sites on Indian Reserve Land, which falls under federal jurisdiction. Then and now, the provincial legislation could not reach to protect sites on reserves as they are governed by federal law and heritage legislation does not exist at this level. The Board did manage to set the stage for the development of the Office of the Provincial Archaeologist, they identified issues that continue to prove important in provincial heritage management, and they helped to develop guidelines by which archaeology in British Columbia is practiced today (ASAB minutes, 1960).

Soon after British Columbia had instituted some regulations regarding the protection of archaeological sites and the permitting of archaeological fieldwork, the US government passed their own heritage legislation, the *National Historic Preservation Act* (*NHPA*) (1966). This was the first piece of American federal legislation to be enacted concerning cultural heritage since the *Antiquities Act* of 1906, though it had been a long time in coming. The *NHPA* created the Register of Historic Places, the Register of National Historic Landmarks, and the State Historic Preservation Office,

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and can be considered the official beginning of cultural resource management in the United States.

The following year saw the British Columbia legislature pass the *Museums Act*, which 'mandated anthropological research' by requesting that the provincial museum take a more active role in archaeological research initiatives (Apland 1993). Such a mandate was made possible by the creation of the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board and the passing of the *Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act*, both of which gave some order to the protection of archaeological sites and the practice of archaeology in the province. The *Museums* Act was further supported by the eventual creation of guidelines, less than a decade later, which would allow some manner of standardization required for comparative analysis.

Buoyed by the new Museums Act, the Provincial Museum undertook research excavations at Helen Point and Georgeson Bay in 1968 (RBCM 2010). The museum also began publishing *Syesis*, a multi-disciplinary regional journal that allowed provincial research to be published locally. Unfortunately, publication was sporadic, due to difficulties with funding and editing, and eventually ceased publication in 1984 (Ceska 1986). Although archaeological work during this period was increasingly associated with cultural resource management, such provincial research mandates meant that much of the work was still academic in nature.

As rescue archaeology was increasing in British Columbia, so too was it increasing in Washington State. The increase in incidence of archaeological site rescues in British

Columbia was due largely to the rate of civic development in the lower mainland and elsewhere. In Washington State, however, some very important sites were being uncovered by natural erosion. A site on the Hoko River, originally exposed in 1935, was brought to the attention of archaeologists in 1960s after the changing course of the river began to expose waterlogged material within the site (Croes 1995). Test excavations were undertaken the following year, and it was during this season that a hydraulic technique of excavating was developed. Using a system of hoses and pumps, water was used to loosen sediment while perishable artifacts were left relatively unharmed (Croes 1976, 15). This technique was hailed as a promising method for the excavation of wet sites, and, as suggested by MacDonald, it had the potential to be used on dry sites as well (Croes 1976, 268).

The hydraulic excavation technique had the opportunity to be refined at the Ozette site, excavation beginning in 1970 (Croes 1976, 15; Samuels 1991, 16 & 52-3). In February of that year, in Washington State, a storm exposed some waterlogged material at the site of Ozette, a Makah village which had been covered by a mudslide. Excavation at this site allowed for an expanded set of environmental testing as well as an 85-90% increase in artifact types for in-depth analysis. This site, called the 'hunter-gatherer Pompeii', received widespread media coverage (Rowley-Conwy 1995). Not only did this site spawn several groundbreaking papers at the time, it continues to provide material for students interested in native organic technology.

Ozette was excavated by Richard Daugherty, a Northwest Coast born and educated archaeologist, who lectured at Washington State College, Pullman. Although

Daugherty did not have any grad students of his own, he did have an enormous impact in the academic world as well as the CRM world. Many people from both sides of the border 'did [their] time' at Ozette, and for some, this experience has helped shape the way they practice archaeology on the Northwest Coast. It was also one of the early projects that actively incorporated indigenous people, and their oral tradition. For example, the third volume of the Ozette Research Project Research Report which deals with ethnobotany and wood technology, incorporates Makah vocabulary and oral tradition with scientific and archaeological techniques to investigate the use of organic technology at the site (Welchel 2005).

The following year, on the central coast of British Columbia, Phil Hobler began excavations on a site at the mouth of the Kwatna River, in Bella Coola territory. The site, known as 'Axeti' or 'occupied mound,' was discovered in a 1968 survey, when a waterlogged hat was found on a beach that was quickly eroding due to an altered river course. Roy Carlson, a colleague of Hobler's, said of this site: 'That is when our real beginning in wet site archaeology started' (Croes 1976, 263-4). He was, it seems, referring to himself and Hobler, but as these two men were very active in British Columbia archaeology, (they would go on to establish the only department of archaeology in British Columbia, at Simon Fraser University), it could easily be extended to the rest of the province as well. The only other wet site project in British Columbia, until then, was the excavation at the Lachane site in Prince Rupert Harbour on the northern Northwest Coast, in Tlingit territory (Inglis 1976, 158-9). Neither site was as widely publicized as the Ozette site, and the Axeti site was never fully published.

Both the Lachane and Axeti sites were discussed in Croes 1976 publication, but in that case the scope of discussion was limited to five questions (to be discussed further on).

The sites of Hoko River, Ozette, Lachane, Axeti and Fishtown (another US site, excavated in 1968) were not only successful in recovering waterlogged remains, but were noted (Ozette was widely publicized) in a time where public opinion had more impact on the archaeological process. It may be assumed (falsely) that discoveries of such importance would have encouraged others to seek out, or at the very least, prepare for such discoveries in the future, but neither the academic nor the CRM fields, at least in British Columbia, appear to have adopted any wet site related strategies.

The 1960's also saw the development of the Provincial Archaeologist's Office, created to provide advice to the developing commercial archaeology sector.

In 1969, the British Columbia provincial government and the federal government each published papers concerning aboriginal title. Pierre Trudeau's federal Liberal government produced a White Paper asserting that aboriginal title does not exist and promoting assimilation, while the British Columbia's provincial New Democratic Party produced a position paper acknowledging that aboriginal title had never been extinguished in British Columbia. In the same year, the federal government would take over control of Indian residential schools, formerly controlled by religious orders, ostensibly removing western influence, though they were in fact continuing the practice of forceful assimilation. In response to the aggressive stance taken in the federal White Paper, many of the leading Indian chiefs rallied in order to present a

unified front with which the federal government would have to deal. The chiefs acknowledged that their chances of cultural survival would be strengthened by putting aside historic differences, and educating themselves and their people about their rights (UBCIC 2010). This group recognized that all aspects of the cultural survival of their people, and the preservation of cultural heritage, through significant places, material culture and oral tradition, was, and is, integral to the perpetuation of their traditions.

The next decade saw a flurry of activity; the number both CRM and academic projects increased, as did the range of participants. In retrospect, the issues of native land claims, and of heritage management have always been connected. During the 1970s, archaeological work took on another aspect: evidential support of Natives claims to their traditional territory. It seems that issues of cultural heritage and ownership did not penetrate the academic discourse of this decade as it would do later. The major theme of this period was an extension of the developing 'salvage' v. 'academic' archaeology debate which had originated in the previous decade. Researchers were still concerned with quantification and description of artifacts, and analysis of lithic technology and faunal remains, and were increasingly comfortable with palaeoecological techniques introduced in the 1960s.

Two promising changes to heritage management in British Columbia happened in 1972. First, the province created the Office of the Provincial Archaeologist (PAO). This development had grown out of recommendations from the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board, who saw the need for an official government position with powers to implement guidelines and give weight to the *Archaeological and Historic Sites*

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*Protection Act.* Apland (1993, 10) suggests that, prior to this point, the field of archaeology was governed by academics, but that the need for implementation of regulation was outside the scope of academic research. Second, and directly informing the responsibilities of the new PAO, was the amendment of the *Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act.* The new version of the Act was a thoroughly re-worked version of its predecessor. This version of the Act introduced the possibility for 'an amount [of money] to be determined by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council' (*AHSPA* 1972, Section 2(3)). Such an action might be taken if provincial designation of a site were to cause one's property value to decrease. This has been, and continues to be, a point of contention between First Nations, landowners, and the provincial government.

As development in cities increased, posing an ever increasing threat to heritage buildings and sites, a change was made to the *Municipal Act* in 1973, which gave municipalities the ability to designate heritage sites within their bounds; a power which had previously been held exclusively by the provincial government (Huot 1983, 4). While section 2[3] of the *AHSPA* suggested the possibility of compensation to landowners, the situation within municipalities was exacerbated by high prices and many more incidences of designation. In the following year, the *Municipal Act* was further refined to disallow claims for compensation (ibid., 5). The only recourse to compensation for decreased property value was through the Provincial government, until 1975, when the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board was told that the Province would no longer be designating archaeological sites on private property due to 'the present restrictions on provincial government spending...' (ASAB 1975, Oct. 17 minutes).

At this point, both the province and its municipalities had an adequate method for protecting archaeological and heritage sites. The *AHSPA* was put to the test in October of 1972, Mr. Charles C. Ehlers, removed two mummified bodies from a cave in the vicinity of Tofino. Mr. Ehlers was arrested and charged under the Act for removing material from a burial place. After the sale of one of his properties, one of the mummified individuals was found by the new owner in a box in one of the houses on the property. Mr. Ehlers was forced to pay a $300 fine for his transgression. (Vancouver Sun 1972, 10). To date, this has been the only successful prosecution of an individual under any provincial heritage law, despite numerous infractions having been brought to the attention of the PAO (and its future incarnations) and the RCMP.

Funding for heritage conservation during the 1970s was much higher than it is today, at both the federal and provincial levels. In the first half of the decade, the National Museums Policy began the National Inventory Programme (NIP), which was created in order to develop a national inventory of museum collections from all across the country. The national inventory was to be computerized in order to educate researchers and the public about museum collections that may not have been easily accessible. The Canadian Heritage Information Network, as it is now known, had three specific national inventories, one of which was dedicated specifically to archaeological sites (CHIN, 2010). Also at the federal level, the National Museum of Canada began to undertake archaeological fieldwork across the country, and notably on the Northwest Coast. Surveys conducted with federal support during this period contributed greatly to the identification and preservation of sites.

Several further wet sites were excavated in the early 1970s. The Hesquiat Harbour project began in 1971, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and while it did not have waterlogged organic material *per se*, they did manage to recover organic material found in cave burials (Bernick 1989a). This collection has been important as a reference for other waterlogged basketry and cordage found in other Central Coast contexts. The Hesquiat Project was also significant in that it involved First Nations. Similarly, in the lower mainland, from 1972 to 1974, the Musqueam First Nation requested the assistance of Charles Borden to excavate a site, now referred to as Musqueam Northeast (Wilmeth 1975). This site yielded a large amount of waterlogged organic material, including basketry, cordage, and various wooden artifacts, dating to 1020 BCE. Borden had excavated a nearby site in 1951, the site of Stselax Village (Musqueam East), at which he found a worked wood chip, but it was never mentioned in any publication, and I have found no mention of him pursuing the possibility at that site (Bernick 1991, 14). Only the perishables from the Musqueam Northeast site were ever published, and it took nearly twenty years to get to print (Archer & Bernick 1990). This poses some difficulties for the understanding of wet site material as it corresponds to dry site material, and further problems for comparisons with other wet/dry assemblages.

In 1972, another site was found on the southern mainland, in the Pitt Polder area. David Crowe-Swords, a graduate student at Simon Fraser University at the time, excavated some mound features at the Carruthers Site (DhRp 11) (Crowe-Swords 1974). He used the material for his masters thesis, but it was never published. The site boundaries have long been in question; some have been under the impression that

there were several sites close by, while others have been of the mind that all of those sites in fact comprise one unified site. Unfortunately, testing has not been rigorous and the mounds on the site were destroyed, in several phases, by farm activities. It is possible that publication of the incidence of waterlogged material, at this site and others in the lower mainland, might have altered the way sites were perceived and potentially the way in which investigations of such sites were carried out. For example, Bernick's 1991 report on the wetlands of the Lower Mainland has the potential to teach students about the attributes which have thus far been associated with waterlogged deposits in BC, but as this remains unpublished and accessible only by special request to the Archaeology Branch, it is not fulfilling its true potential.

While wet sites were being encountered in the lower mainland, mostly by accident, a site on the east coast of Vancouver Island, at the mouth of the Little Qualicum River, was identified as having preserved organic material. Bjorn Simonsen, in Croes (1976, 58), indicated that this site was regarded as one of many such sites that would be found all along the east coast of Vancouver Island, and elsewhere throughout the province. The opinion that these sites are important and should be preserved was borne out in the minutes of the ASAB, at which point the site was discussed due to the difficulties of protecting it from erosion (ASAB, 1976 Jan. 30th). He also was, and continues to be, of the mind that these sites are vastly important and should be protected for the future, for two reasons. First, as mentioned in Croes (1976), the techniques employed by archaeologists on the coast to deal with wet sites were still in their infancy, and sites should be preserved until such time as techniques are more highly refined. He also mentioned the importance of such sites to First Nations, a theme that was developing

in the 1970s, and continues to be of the utmost importance (pers. comm. 2010). Kathryn Bernick wrote up the Little Qualicum River Site excavations for her masters thesis in 1983. Interestingly, Little Qualicum was the only mention of a wet site in the minutes of the ASAB, though others were excavated during the 1970s, and there was no discussion of the immense potential these sites exhibited (ASAB minutes, 1960-1977).

The first official discussion of Northwest Coast wet sites came in the form of a symposium organized by Dale Croes, then a graduate student at Washington State University, in 1975. The conference presenters were asked to discuss several aspects about the sites they had excavated: the condition under which the site was created and found, the excavation and preservation methods used, the artifact types found, and the site chronology (Croes 1976, 285). The conference proceedings were published the following year by the Canadian National Museum of Man, in the Mercury Series, which had wide circulation amongst the academic community. A sense of optimism can be gleaned from the publication, with all participants acknowledging that the techniques could still use some improvement, but that such progress would come with time. It seems that the questions put forth to the participants were designed to encourage others to think about similar situations, to consider the possibility of encountering similar material, and to develop or further refine the techniques used to date. Unfortunately, what the CRM sector seems to have taken away with them is the idea that wet site excavation and the preservation of the organic material is difficult and expensive.

Returning to provincial involvement in archaeology, in the January meeting of the Archaeology Sites Advisory Board, the members agreed that it was necessary to follow up on permits to check that conditions were being met, and that prospective museum storage was adequate (ASAB Jan. 31, 1975). In April of that year, they developed a set of standards and schedules for the presentation of final fieldwork (ASAB Ap. 25, 1975). This measure, in effect, determined some of the minimum field requirements that archaeologists would have to follow while surveying, testing, and excavating. It was not until the following year that the ASAB introduced guidelines particular to survey work. Implementation of these guidelines appears to have been easier during this period, as the budget did allow for field visits, and the permitting process was carried out and received by a community of individuals who were more familiar with each other than they are now – this statement is due to the relative few number of individuals working in the CRM field, as compared to today (pers comm. Simonsen 2010).

The ASAB was also guiding and funding fieldwork throughout the province. Notable in Coast Salish territory was the survey covering much of the southwestern Gulf of Georgia (Acheson & Claxon 1975). Many of the archaeological sites identified by non-natives within Cowichan traditional territory were first identified by Acheson's survey. And many of those sites have not been excavated, nor have they been revisited by Archaeology Branch staff in order to assess their condition (Arch. Branch pers. comm. 2009).

As increasing numbers of sites were found through the efforts of the ASAB, the provincial museum, through increased development and concerned members of the

public. Just as archaeology had developed two faces, academic and salvage, so too had the heritage conservation front. There were those in government who were concerned with the designation and protection of heritage sites (including archaeological sites, historic sites and buildings, etc.), and those who were increasingly interested in heritage restoration, or the rehabilitation of heritage buildings into structures with historical importance, but lacking some historical detail in favour of increased usability. Heritage restoration was primarily a concern of the larger civic centers, such as Vancouver and Victoria, who had historic districts which were in desperate need of revitalization. The dual-focus of heritage conservation was not adequately covered by the existing legislation (*AHSPA* 1972), and throughout the 1970s, several attempts were made to introduce new heritage legislation.

Before legislation could be passed, several notable events took place, events which would change the course of heritage legislation in British Columba. Previously, the Office of the Provincial Archaeologist and the Archaeology Sites Advisory Board were the responsibility of the Provincial Secretary Department, and the Provincial Museum and historic sites were the responsibility of the Department of Recreation and Conservation. In 1976, the Ministry of Recreation and Conservation was given the responsibility for the PAO, for the heritage advisory boards, and control of historic sites, and relinquished control of the Provincial Museum to the Ministry of the Provincial Secretary and Tourism (Huot 1983, 8). This shift meant that the task of protection and interpretation of heritage sites was divorced from the interpretation of the material removed from some of those sites.

Extenuating circumstances were to have a significant impact on the development of further heritage legislation and research in British Columbia. The Heritage Conservation Branch was established by the Department of Recreation and Conservation in 1976, and it was their responsibility to consider changes to heritage legislation in the province. The development of the forthcoming act was guided in part by the backgrounds of the staff of the newly created Heritage Conservation Branch, who had experience with historic preservation rather than municipal historic restoration (Huot 1983, 7-8). In large part, the new Act was created by the Minister for Recreation and Conservation, Sam Bawlf, who had previously been a land developer specializing in heritage building renewal, and had been an alderman of the city of Victoria (ibid., 9). Bawlf was also the chairman of the first heritage advisory committee of Victoria and helped to change the *Municipal Act* so that the power to designate heritage properties could come from either the community or the province (ibid., 9).

Difficulties in the development of new heritage legislation came from the difference in opinion between those who hailed from the academic cum CRM tradition, where preservation was key, and the new minister, who came from the development sector, and who appears to have been of the belief that heritage legislation had the power to impede development. As such, Bawlf preferred to offer private property owners incentives rather than strict regulations. In his view, the old guard of provincial heritage management was 'philosophically 'anti-development',' and as such, he neither solicited the opinions of his staff, nor accepted their advice, instead preferring to participate directly in drafting legislation in order to ensure that it would not hinder or impede development (Huot 1983, 9). It was unusual for a minister to be so involved in

drafting legislation, and similarly unusual for a minister to ignore the input of his staff so entirely. Huot mentions that the tension between Bawlf and his staff is clear in departmental correspondence (ibid., 9).

**The Heritage Conservation Act and Beyond**

In 1977, the *Heritage Conservation Act* was brought to force by the British Columbia government, replacing the *Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act*. This new act maintained the government's role as an administrative partner in archaeological site designation and preservation, but it opened up the heritage conservation sector to private contractors. 'The purpose of this act is to encourage and facilitate the protection and conservation of heritage property in the province' (*HCA* 1979, section 2). Bawlf recognized that in order to achieve the aims of the act sufficient funds would be required. Accordingly, his legislation created the Heritage Trust, the funding body in control of heritage activities. The Archaeological Sites Advisory Board, who had previously been the main body concerned with heritage protection, was amalgamated with those groups concerned with the protection of historic sites, together forming the Provincial Heritage Advisory Board (PHAB). And indeed, they were restricted to advising the Heritage Trust about where to allocate funds. While some of the influential members of the ASAB continued on to serve the PHAB, their hands were tied when it came to seeing projects through to completion.

Canada experienced a wide-spread recession in the early 1980s, and every area of the Provincial Government had to cut their budget drastically. Heritage conservation had

never been a priority of the British Columbia government, and as such the heritage budget was hit hard. This was justified by the government of the day who suggested that because heritage was a provincial interest, it should also be the public's responsibility.

Alternate sources of funding, in the 1980s, were expected to come from the developer. Known as 'proponent pays,' this method of funding archaeological work brought with it several issues. Charles Borden suggested the concept of making the developer pay for archaeological work in 1950, stating that development and urban growth 'could be turned from a bane to a boon' (Borden 1950; Apland 1993). This idea was repeatedly raised throughout the 1960s and 1970s, but previous legislation did not possess the teeth to enforce such requirements. While members of the ASAB sub-committee on legislative change drafted amendments to this effect, none of these were ever heard by the legislature (*AHSPA*, 1969).

In order to pull itself out of the recession, the Province encouraged development in order to create revenue and increase jobs. As the number of building projects increased, so did the threats to, and eventual destruction of, archaeological sites. Now that the developer was required to pay, there were two major impediments to the success of the new funding model. The obvious problem with developer funded archaeology was that no standardized requirements existed, and the developer could not anticipate the time a job might take, and the amount of money it would cost. This problem was soon alleviated by a set of guidelines, published by the Office of the Provincial Archaeologists in the early 1980s (German 1982). The second problem was a

lack of education, at all levels, about archaeology and its importance, about the heritage process, and about the legal obligations and requirements as defined in the *Heritage Conservation Act (1977).*

Another wrench was thrown in the works of heritage preservation and interpretation, and this was to have a particularly drastic impact on the archaeology sector. Budgets were cut province wide, and the British Columbia Provincial Museum was no exception. With limited funding, the Museum decided to focus on the material resulting from 'in house' projects, rather than focus on material that resulted from the projects of outside bodies. On the consulting side, an increase in salvage projects resulted in a concomitant increase of artifacts that required housing. While the BCPM accepted these artifacts for storage, there was no scope for interpretation (Apland 1993, 20).

The early 1980s saw a great deal of activity on the part of British Columbia's Native populations, and First Nations from across Canada. In 1980, representatives from Canada's First Nations petitioned the Queen to recognize native rights in Canada's constitution. In 1980 and 1981, seven of British Columbia's First Nations filed comprehensive claims to the Federal government. And in 1984, as a result of *Guerin v. Regina,* the Federal Government affirmed its fiduciary responsibility to Canada's Native population (*Guerin et al. v. The Queen and National Indian Brootherhood*, 1984). These, and other measures, were indicative of the mood of Natives throughout British Columbia during the early 1980s, and they would have some implications for the way archaeology was practiced in the Province, especially with regard to land claims.

Increased development, and the salvage archaeology that went with it, meant that more Native material culture was coming to light. Native groups were eager to have some control over what happened to the material of their ancestors. Carlson suggests that the level of education in Native communities was increasing, and that as a result requests for repatriation of Native artifacts increased, in British Columbia and throughout North America (1990, 12). However, it would be another decade before official procedures for repatriation were developed. In the interim, working relationships between Native people and archaeologists appears to have been non-confrontational, but Native people still had very little control over the process (ibid.). In 1989, the Royal British Columbia Museum (formerly the British Columbia Provincial Museum) developed an official policy and procedure for the repatriation of human and cultural remains (RBCM 2010). And in November of the following year, the United States enacted the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act*. These were two early responses to the Native peoples of North America who wished to have greater control over the remains of their ancestors and the material expression of their historic culture.

By the middle of the 1980s, it was obvious that British Columbia's heritage conservation agenda, its legislation, its programmes and funding, were all inadequate for the task. Problems with legislation arose early, and had long been discussed amongst professionals with an eye to improving them in some official capacity. The public had also seen, first hand, the result of inadequate heritage management, and they were not pleased. The Province initiated 'Project Pride' in the mid 1980s in order to solicit opinions from academics, First Nations, government officials, and the general

public about their experience with heritage preservation and what measures they would wish to be implemented. The stated aim of the project was to 'make recommendations for heritage conservation legislation, policy and programs, based on a consultative process,' (Project Pride Task Force 1987, 8). A discussion paper was sent to different individuals and groups, who were encouraged to provide recommendations and comments on the issues raised therein. After nearly 400 responses, the Provincial Government produced a report entitled *Stewardship and Opportunity*, in 1987. Each issue raised through the consultation process was discussed and recommendations made. This document, along with two government White Papers (British Columbia January 1990 & March 1991) helped to inform the drafting of Bill 70, the *Heritage Conservation Statuses Amendment Act (1993).* The 1993 incarnation of the act formed much of the basis of the 1996 Act used today.

Turning again to wet sites, in June of 1988, waterlogged deposits were encountered at the Water Hazard Site in the Lower Mainland, while crews were digging a water feature for the Beach Grove golf course (Bernick 1991, 13; 1989, 1). Despite the known presence of a site with waterlogged deposits only a half mile away (the Beach Grove site, DgRs1), the crew was not initially prepared to deal with such an eventuality (Bernick 1989, 11). The project quickly turned into an 'emergency rescue operation' through the efforts of over 100 volunteers. As a result of the national media coverage, several private citizens came forward with perishable material they had found in the area (Bernick 1991, 13). Unfortunately, since the material lacked contextual information, the assemblage was only compared stylistically with other waterlogged material from Central Coast Salish sites (Bernick 1989). The project took place in two

rounds, the second round manned mainly by members from the Musqueam and Tsawassen First Nations (ibid., xiii). Despite the excavation of 10 sites with waterlogged deposits in the Lower Mainland, prior to the initiation of this project, encountering a wet site had not been anticipated (Bernick 1991).

In the same year, another site in the Lower Mainland was found to contain waterlogged perishable remains, this time at the well-known site of Glenrose Cannery (DgRr 6) (under threat again in 2011). Several artifacts had been discovered on the beach at the site, but it was commonly assumed that they had fallen out of the bank. While this may have been partly true, it was found that some of the artifacts, including basketry and other perishables, had eroded out of the sediments of the intertidal zone (Bernick 1991, 12). Wet components at this site were not systematically investigated.

Most of the identified wet sites in British Columbia had not been sought out, but had been discovered by accident during the course of development (Bernick 1991). Due to the hurried pace of salvage, few of the sites had been fully and thoroughly excavated, and few had secure enough contexts to allow for relative dating. Perishable material from many of these sites had been radiocarbon dated, but it was difficult to say anything meaningful about how these assemblages compared to the culture sequences as defined by assemblages from dry sites (e.g. Burley 1980) (Bernick 1989, 100). As such, discussion about the perishable material from wet sites in the Lower Mainland were restricted to discussions of style and typology (e.g. Bernick 1989, 1985; Patenaude 1985; Smith 1964).

It is notable that while there was a steady trickle of wet sites being encountered from the 1960s on, that discussion of wet sites in British Columbia was regarded them as a relatively recent development in archaeology. Carlson (1990, 112) calls them a 'new part of the archaeology' of the 1990s, and goes on to say that 'the adage that 'the Northwest Coast has had one of the richest Indian cultures in North America – and the poorest archaeology' (Gunther 1972, xi) became no longer acceptable.' This may have been the case, intellectually speaking, but from the point of view of published reports and interpretations of material, the 'archaeology' had room for improvement. The practices associated with wet site salvage archaeology, while developed and refined at Ozette and Hoko River in Washington, had not permeated the repertoire of the salvage archaeologists working in British Columbia. The first Provincial Archaeologist was aware of the potential presented by wet sites, but was also concerned that those on the front lines did not possess the expertise nor the funding to do justice to such important remains (pers. comm. Simonsen 2010).

In analyses of wet site assemblages, ethnography was used as a check after the excavation, as was standard practice for archaeological reports on the Northwest Coast throughout the 20th century (Carlson 1990, 112). In the 1980s, due to the rapid rate of construction there was little room for research design, and ethnographic resources were added on to, rather than worked into, the fabric of the research. Finally, in the early 1990s, the Archaeology Branch began to require the ethnographic component 'to be included in Branch funded archaeological impact assessments and other related projects' (Apland 1993, 17).

It was in the late 1980s and the 1990s that consulting archaeology blossomed. The environmental consultation process had been refined in the 1970s and the heritage process followed suit in the following decade. The publication of guidelines for impact assessment (German 1982), in effect wrote a job description for consulting archaeologists, allowing them to fulfill a standard set of criteria in order to 'check off' archaeological obligations from their list of responsibilities. The increase in building throughout the 1970s, and in the early 1980s as a response to the recession, combined with refined and strengthened heritage legislation and decreased provincial budgets allowed greater opportunities for archaeologists to undertake sustained work outside of the academic sphere (Apland 1993, 13; Carlson 1990, 112). While research on the Northwest Coast was still concerned with synthesizing and explaining patterns of culture development, the interpretive work of this period was overshadowed by the quantitative analysis made possible (or forced) by the methods employed in salvage archaeology. As Carlson points out, the approach during this period was systematic, and there was enough data from only one site, Marpole, which allowed for the interpretation of developmental models (ibid., 114). He goes on to say that if the Marpole model were modified, it could be used to help explain the development of other cultures along the coast (ibid.).

The balance of academic and consulting archaeology had shifted by the early 1990s. The remaining funding body for heritage conservation in British Columbia, the Heritage Trust, was done away with when the *Heritage Conservation Statuses Amendment Act* was passed in 1994. The Act was again tweaked in 1996, and the wording of this Act is what governs archaeology in British Columbia today. During the

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mid 1990s, the responsibility for heritage conservation was shifted from the Provincial government to Native groups, to the public, and to the private sector.

Several major Native issues were resolved in the 1990s. In 1995, the Federal government officially acknowledged that Canada's First Nations had an inherent right to self-government (UBCIC 2010). Then, in 1997, a landmark court case, *Delgamuukw et.al. v. Regina in right of British Columbia and the Attorney General of Canada,* set precedent which established native oral tradition as an acceptable form of evidence to be heard in court (BC Supreme Court, 1989). This was to have a major impact on the Native land claims process, as areas that were untested by archaeological investigation (undeveloped or undisturbed land, and private land) were no longer out of reach to First Nations.

The 1990s saw a resurgence in appreciation for Native Oral traditions. Nancy Turner and the Royal British Columbia Museum published a series of books about the ethnobotany of the Northwest Coast (Turner 1995, 1998). The material for these books came, in large part, from conversations with Native elders who yet possessed knowledge of how plants were used by previous generations (ibid.). The ethnologist Wendy Wickwire, was also publishing books about Native lifeways, together with her informant, Harry Robinson (1989, 1992).

Wet site archaeology was also receiving more academic attention at this time. While many British Columbia sites remained poorly published, discussions about aspects of these sites were taking place. As development increased, and more wet sites were

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encountered and poorly dealt with, the call for solutions rose. Much in the pattern of Croes (1976), analysis of problems and development of solutions for wet sites on the Northwest Coast was brought out in publications such as Kathryn Bernick's 1998 *Hidden Dimensions*, and Barbara Purdy's 2001 *Enduring Records.* In 2002, the *Journal of Wetland Archaeology* produced its first volume. Although the publication was based in the United Kingdom, it has accepted publications from around the world and provided a useful forum for discussion.

On a global scale, in 2002, the Ramsar Convention for the protection of wetlands passed *Resolution VIII.19, Guiding principles for taking into account the cultural values of wetlands for the effective management of sites* (Ramsar 2002). In 2005, they passed *Resolution IX.12, Taking into account the cultural value of wetlands.* Most recently, in 2008, Ramsar published *Culture and Wetlands: A Ramsar Guidance Document.* In May of 1981, Canada had become a signatory of the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands. Canada designated 37 sites of importance, only three of which are located in British Columbia. (Ramsar.org, 05/02/11). Unfortunately, Canada has not designated any further wetlands since the passing of these resolutions, nor have they offered any further protection based on the 2008 guidelines.

**Archaeology in the 21ˢᵗ century**

In the last decade, there has been little change in the methods employed by consulting archaeologists. There has, however, been a change in attitude amongst the academic set. Working with a wealth of material produced by the early researchers and by some

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of the material produced by larger salvage projects, there has been a shift in how that material is perceived and interpreted. Computer technology has been facilitating statistical analysis since the 1980s, and while statistics were employed by Kroeber as early as 1936, and notably by Matson (1971) to analyze sites in the Strait of Georgia, they have been more effectively used recently by such researchers as Orchard and Clark (2005), who applied multidimensional scaling to faunal assemblages from Haida Gwaii.

Native interest in their own culture continues to intensify, and attitudes from non-native scholars and professionals have started to shift. Some native groups have taken heritage matters into their own hands. In 2004, the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group (HTG) published a report of the impacts of current heritage legislation on their traditional territory (McLay et al 2004). This report relied very heavily on consultation with Hul'qumi'num elders and upon traditional values. Considering the Native perspective, Brian Thom wrote his doctoral dissertation about the sense of place experienced by the inhabitants of the Coast Salish world (Thom 2005). Two years later, the HTG entered the *Memorandum of Understanding: First Nation Heritage Site Conservation in Hul'qumi'num Tumuhw*. This formal agreement between the Hul'qumi'num and the Crown, based on Hul'qumi'num values and beliefs, outlines the expectations for heritage work undertaken within their traditional territory (HTG 2007).

Conclusion

The development of archaeology in British Columbia has been shown to be a product of western positivist tradition, from its origins as part of the cultural evolutionary investigation of Native groups, to the salvage archaeology of the post-war period, carrying on through the development of legislation and guidelines, and ending in the current attitude to wet site archaeology. Such an examination of cultural origins allows us to develop an explicit understanding of those assumptions upon which the discipline is based. It allows us to see the 'etic' in our approach to the study of Native culture, the etic that will be compared and contrasted with the 'emic' of Native lifeways.

## Chapter 4 – Method and Theory

The study of non-European groups was, at first, conducted in comparison with European culture (Bruchac et al 2010; Locke 1821; Smith & Wobst 2005). Ideas of cultural evolution, popular in the 19th century, were based on ethnographic comparison between the culture of the observer and the culture of the observed (ibid.). Early classification of cultural elements was naturally based on analogy, on the collective cultural experience and the categories that had developed out of it. As we all learn through analogy of experience, it is not surprising that the disciplines of anthropology and archaeology were, in their youth, based on a self-centered set of criteria.

Dissatisfied with interpretations of new world cultures based on notions of culture evolution, Franz Boas believed that more successful interpretations could be arrived at if cultures were considered in their own context (Boas 1966; Cruikshank 1992; Rhoner

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1969). Doing away with notions of universal cultural constants, Boas' approach to the study of Native culture groups involved consideration of all of the products of their experience: environment, material products, observed actions, and oral traditions. And yet, Boas was not satisfied with this as he understood that some words, and the concepts they represented, were not easily (or ever fully) translatable. To avoid the necessary bias of culture and experience which results in translation of a story from one language to another, Boas began to have the oral traditions recorded in their native language (Rohner 1969). Boas was aware that the language and classifications of his own culture were not the same as the cultures he studied, and were not appropriate as a basis for their analysis. Such classificatory categories were etic, and were not comparable to the emic values of the Native groups under examination. Boas' desire to consider cultures on their own, emic, terms, was nowhere better seen than in his linguistic analysis. His awareness of the direct link between cognitive frameworks and language highlighted the difficulty of etic analysis. The Boasian method of analysis was holistic, considering all aspects of cultural expression, with particular emphasis on oral tradition as a window onto beliefs and practices of his subject groups (ibid.; Mackie 1995, 187).

Though anthropology did make a return, in the 1950s, to undertake analysis concerned with highlighting pan-global elements of culture, it has come to embrace the need for an emic perspective in cultural analysis, especially on the Northwest Coast (Cruikshank 1992, 27). The struggle between emic and etic perspectives and interpretations has been particularly evident regarding land claim issues in the provincial and federal courts. Anthropologists and ethnohistorians have accepted that 'no single source

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provides the key to unlock the past,' (Fisher 1992, 47). They are not strangers to a holistic approach, though sometimes the extent of available sources may be limited by realities of social interaction, and they understand the importance of emic interpretations (Culhane 1992, 79). Archaeologists, on the other hand, have not fully accepted a holistic approach to the study of Native material culture. Academic archaeologists might take offense to that statement, however it is clear that much of the archaeology that takes place in British Columbia, and much of the archaeological evidence that is called on as evidence in court, is a product of consulting archaeology and in this realm much of the use of ethnographic and oral tradition is only used in the subsequent analysis of excavated sites, rather than in the preliminary stages, in the predictive modeling and the research design. As Fisher (1992, 47) points out in his discussion of the decision in the *Delgamuuk* case, the BCSC judge failed to understand 'that each one of these sources...' (historic, oral historic, anthropological, archaeological etc) 'has its drawbacks, which is why they all have to be mined for all they are worth.'

In order to understand the extent to which the practice of archaeology in British Columbia is based on etic values and is conducted using etic systems of classification, I discuss the cultural context in which archaeology has developed. A brief introduction to its context (to follow directly) will be substantially fleshed out in the following chapter which discusses the development of archaeology in the province of British Columbia. After introducing the cultural context of the discipline of archaeology, I analyze the legislation and the guidelines surrounding the practice of consulting archaeology, or cultural resource management in British Columbia. Following that, I undertake a consideration of the western world view that permeates both the practice of archaeology

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on the Northwest Coast and in British Columbia, and its impact on the interpretation of Native history.

**Archaeology in its western context**

The development of the discipline of archaeology took place in Europe, and preceded the development of Anthropology in North America. Archaeology has its roots in the antiquarianism of the 18th and 19th centuries, and those roots were fertilized by the development of geology and the rise of the scientific method. European antiquarians relied heavily on written sources to corroborate the material they encountered, and if the armchairs from which they worked can be thought of as nests, the earliest archaeologists can be thought of as young birds on their first flight, no longer requiring the safety provided by written accounts.

Though they had liberated themselves from a reliance on the written word, archaeologists were, at first, limited by ideas held by Europeans regarding the age of the earth, its settlement and the development of culture (Trigger 2006, 119). Two radical factors arose in the mid-19th century and encouraged the growth of archaeology as a discipline: the introduction of the concept of evolution, and the increasing familiarity with different cultures in the New World. Widely held ideas about the antiquity of man's presence on earth, and of the developmental process of cultures, began to be questioned. Descriptions of 'primitive' groups of the New World were compared with the well-established 'civilizations' of the Old World, and the concept of cultural evolution was born. John Locke succinctly summarizes how Native North

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American groups were perceived through the lens of cultural evolution; 'in the beginning all the world was America' (Locke 1821, 228).

Cultural evolution, as a concept, held that primitive societies (hunter-gatherers), who lacked agriculture and other social and economic institutions, would, through development of agriculture, and then industry, elevate themselves to the heights of modern western civilization (Cruikshank 1992, 27). This interpretation of culture was perfectly acceptable to those Europeans who perceived themselves to be the 'highest' civilizations on earth, to be more highly evolved, both physically and socially, than the newly encountered Native groups. Further, the belief in cultural superiority was used to justify the colonization process (ibid.; Deur 2000). The belief in cultural evolution was widely accepted because the cultures being examined by western standards did not measure up. The criteria used to interpret and justify cultural evolution were etic and, had the shoe been on the other foot, had Native North Americans used their etic criteria to analyze western culture it is unlikely that they would measure up either.

The discipline of archaeology grew up, experimenting with different forms of analysis. Early on, material remains were categorized into typologies, and from that, pictures of culture groups were developed. Material remains were believed to be physical responses to environmental stimuli, and so it was believed that by studying the material objectively, it would be possible to develop models of ancient lifeways (Trigger 2006). Classification of material, and the development of culture types was based on the idea that objectivity was possible, an idea which confirms their belief in their own cultural superiority and the abstract notion of 'truth'. The development of the scientific method

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further reinforced the idea that objectivity and correct answers to specific questions were attainable.

While some academic archaeologists have been successful in incorporating Native perspectives into their work (ex: Bierwert 1999; Reimer 2007; Whelchel 2005), commercial archaeology falls sadly behind in this regard. Commercial archaeologists rarely, if ever, get a chance to develop research questions as so much of their work is remedial in nature, instead relying on rigorous method in order to salvage what they can of these historic sites of Native activity. The classifications used by commercial archaeologists (stone, bone, shell), render comparison much easier, and speak to part of the economics of a given site. But economic analysis, resource exploitation, production, and consumption are not necessarily meaningful questions for the Native peoples whose ancestors lives are being analyzed (Smith & Wobst 2005). When one further considers that archaeologists are only concerned with stone, bone, and shell, to the near exclusion of all other material types, it becomes clear that only a fraction of the material culture, and therefore a fraction of the culture itself, is being considered (Menotti 2012; Van de Noort & O'Sullivan 2006).

Archaeology, then, grew out of antiquarianism in which material evidence was used to support written texts. When evidence of societies without writing was encountered, those antiquarians who felt comfortable drawing conclusions from material alone became early archaeologists. Between cultural evolution and the scientific inquiry, etic modes of analysis and classification were used to describe other cultures around the world. And while anthropologists realized that they could make more meaningful and

secure interpretations of their subjects by analyzing *all* of the products of experience (landscape, language, technology, art, religion and oral tradition), archaeologists in BC have been satisfied using the same categories as they have since the discipline was young.

**Radical Traditionalism: Holism and the Direct Historic Approach**

The direct historical approach is one of those concepts that is introduced to archaeology students early on, and is summed up in the statement 'go from what you know,' a commonly heard phrase on excavations. In full, the direct historical approach is based on the idea that by excavating locales with a known recent cultural context, and working backward through time, it is possible to reach secure conclusions about cultures further back in history (Lyman et al. 1997; Trigger 2006; Wood 1990). While this approach is simple and straightforward in theory, is not always successful in its application.

The direct historical approach is predicated on the idea that archaeological material and sites reflect culture (Lyman et al. 1997; Trigger 2006; Wood 1990). Many ideas exist regarding the nature of, and the extent to which, culture can be reflected in material remains, but for the purposes of this study material remains are considered to be the product of one's interaction with their environment, encompassing all of the corresponding social, cultural and economic implications (Hackenberger 2005, 34; Olsen 2010; Woodward 2007). In other words, material culture is a product of one's experience in the world, and exists to help the individual or group to make use of the things around them. I do not mean for this to be misconstrued as any sort of

environmental determinism where artifacts are seen as ways to deal with the environment, an idea which externalizes nature, suggesting that it is there for man to 'deal with.' Rather, I believe that the environment plays a role in the play that is culture, and that it is one of many actors involved. Ethno- and archaeological-historian Bruce Trigger considered the direct historical approach the 'way forward,' and Northwest Coast archaeologists Don Mitchell and Leland Donald believe the approach deserves wider application (Mackie 1995, 186). I believe that the direct historical approach is ideally suited to the study of sites with preserved organic material as stronger links between the artifacts of the ethnographic period can be made.

Artifacts, as cultural products, are not simply the products of one persons' experience and imagination at one point in time. They are a material expression of belief, of history, and of a group's relationship with its surroundings. Ingold (1993, 152) discusses how the landscape is both a product of people's experience in it, and that 'the life-process is also the process of formation of the landscape in which people lived,' that the landscape is also shaped by these experiences. I believe this same idea holds true for material culture. The creation of an artifact is a product of the task that requires doing (which is based on cultural ontology), the materials at hand (which is likely a product of ancestral management), the beliefs about how to interact with the material being used (also based on cultural ontology), and the style which is based on the experiences of those who went before. All of these aspects of artifact production are based on experience: experience of others which provides the cultural framework, and personal experience which results in the finished object.

Material culture is often divided in to two categories: tools and art. The later is believed to be more culturally sensitive. Figurines are often thought of as being direct representations of belief. This common connection is illustrated by Marija Gimbutas, who writes '[a] goddess symbolizing earth fertility was the natural response to an agrarian way of life' (2007, 201). The beauty and mystery of artistic representation often overshadows those items perceived to be utilitarian. The Judeo-Christian distinction between religious and secular objects, and similar academic distinctions, have often resulted in the perception that utilitarian objects have little potential to shed light on the belief system of its culture of origin (Smith & Wobst 2005). This assumption would be valid from a functionalist view point, but even the most functional artifacts are products of their time, place, and cultural context. Open pit mines and oil rigs would not exist in such abundance and on such a scale if believers in the imperial ecological model of nature did not believe that the resources of the earth exist for their benefit.

In order to show that even the most utilitarian objects can provide insight into the belief system of its culture of origin, let us consider the fish weir. From the point of view of early European observers, it was a greedy method devised in order to collect the largest amount of fish with the least amount of effort (O'Donnell n.d., 24). After more critical examination of the use of weirs, their construction and ethnographically and orally documented use has shown them to be clever constructions by which to obtain fish. Weirs were erected seasonally, and had movable lattice fences and basket traps which allowed fish to pass through when respectively opened or removed (Harris 2001; Byram 2002; Rozen 1978). Consultation of the oral historical and ethnographic records

indicates that the Cowichan believe(d) that salmon were another group of humans in different form, and that there is a requirement of respectful reciprocity between the Cowichan and the salmon that ascend the River (Rozen 1978; Harris 2001). In this light, the design of a weir, with removable panels and basket traps, and the seasonal use and maintenance of the structure can be seen to provide physical evidence of their belief in respectful harvesting, ensuring that the salmon population is able to spawn successfully for the benefit of future populations. Again, the long-term use of weirs, some on the coast having been shown to be in use for more than a thousand years as at Comox Harbour (Greene 2010), combined with a relatively stable economic record (as displayed through common faunal analysis) indicates that this method of gathering fish has been successful and sustainable over long periods of time. Both design and long-term use speak to the cultural beliefs of the Cowichan and other coastal peoples.

**Perceptual frameworks and the representation of culture**

In order to see how interpretation of a culture based on etic criteria can be misleading it is first necessary to examine the links between perception, belief, and cultural products. I consider ideas of the relationship between perception and belief. This will be followed by a discussion of the products of culture, of the potential they possess to inform us about belief systems, and the necessity of studying these cultural products holistically.

The term 'perception,' refers to both the apprehension of external stimuli by an individual's sensory organs, and the way in which things are regarded and understood by an individual (Oxford English Dictionary 2004). Note that both definitions of

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'perception' specify that it is an individual act. There are, however, identifiable commonalities of perception held by members of the same cultural group. Just as two members of the Cowichan First Nation might perceive an ancestral burial ground to be a sacred place, so two members of non-Native society may regard that same place as prime waterfront property. How is it that individuals within a group, each with their own perceptions, might come to the same conclusion about elements of the environment? How is it that two people of different cultures, being in the same place, may come to completely different conclusions about that place? This is possible because of the existence of culturally specific perceptual frameworks.

Each and every being is a product of its own experience, and it is by accumulating experience that one learns about cultural practices and beliefs. Through interaction with the environment, and by learning from others, through observation of actions and listening to stories, one gathers together ideas and concepts that result in the development of a unique perceptual framework (Jones 1998, 10). As we all learn about the world through analogy, the greater the number and range of experience, the larger one's analogical bank becomes. The perceptual framework, through which experience is filtered, is developed on an individual basis. An individual's interactions with the environment are culturally guided from the start, mediated through the words a child learns, the stories it hears, the objects it encounters and the places it goes. One's perceptual framework influences the way we interact with the world, and our interactions with the world inform and shape our perceptions in turn. Its cultural parameters are a product of shared information obtained through experience, and the

only way to share one's experience is to represent extrasomatically (Ingold 2000; Jones 1998).

In order to share personal experiences, from the simplest idea to the most complex concept, one must make a representation of it. Ingold (2000, 157-8) states that such representations of personal experience are '[captured] perceptual images that would otherwise float by on the stream of consciousness.' Representations of personal experience are, then, a snapshot of a moment of being, encompassing the beliefs, the material, and the circumstance of the individual. Sensation and perceptions are ephemeral, while representations are durable (ibid., 157). Ingold stresses the need for representations of personal experience for the development of culture as they 'serve as a kind of bridge between individual consciousness[es] that are otherwise closed to each other, furnishing them with a means of mutual understanding' (ibid., 158). Representations can take the form of language and stories, of art and style, and of changes in the landscape.

Language is the first step to the communication of ideas, 'the categories of language provid[ing] a 'discriminating grid' which, laid over the continuous substrate of raw experience, enables the speaker to tell one thing from another and so see the world 'as being composed of a large number of separate things, each labeled with a name'' (Ingold 2000, 158). Words, like artifacts, represent internal concepts and these can be apprehended by others in order that they may associate the concept in question with whichever of their personal experiences is closest. Language is a necessary product of, and influence on, perception, both clarifying personal experience and shaping future

experience. Culturally situated meanings are to be found in the activity of perception and the expressions thereof (Thom 2005, 36). Culturally specific (and therefore culturally relevant) taxonomies are a product of experience in the world (Descola 1996, 42). Language is not created in a vacuum. Along with the landscape, stories, and artifacts, it is a product of experience and must be understood in its own context.

Both perception and culture are active and ever changing processes. Though attempts have been made to crystalize cultures in time, and though the Canadian legal system has often perceived Native culture as fixed around the point of contact, it must be understood that culture, and the perceptive frameworks that inform it, are in a constant feedback system whereby experience informs perception which informs future experience (see Figure 4). Culture is flexible and responsive. It is a product of being in a place, of interacting with one's environment, with one's past. Jones (1998, 10) captures the idea of the flexibility of culture by saying that 'the perceptual framework is not static but rather is influenced by both the stimuli that flow through it from the environment and also by the actions that are carried out on the environment through the perceptual framework'. Culture, then, is comprised of common links between individual perceptual frameworks. It is a collection of collectively held ideas about the world.

Culture can be thought of as a collection of common experiences, and is manifested in many ways. Any one manifestation of culture is a product of experience, which is itself a product of cultural context. The concept of culture is circular and homeostatic; it is

always a product of experience in a place which is always informed by ones existence in a culture. We are all in 'continual physical engagement with the world that guides and shapes our sensory perceptions' (Thom 2005, 13). All beings in the world are in a constant cycle of co-creation (ibid.), and if this is so, then material culture also plays a role in these relationships. It is at once influenced by, and influences, perception of the environment. Places are also products of experience as sites of interaction and repositories of previous experience (Casey 1996, 24 in Thom 2005). This does not refer only to archaeological sites with physical evidence of past experiences, but to those important focal points on the landscape which are imbued with cultural meaning, and where no evidence may appear to outsiders (Basso 1996). Ingold refers to such places as 'enduring record[s]' of the lives and work of previous inhabitants. 'To perceive the landscape is therefore to carry out an act of remembrance and remembering is... engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past' (1993, 152).
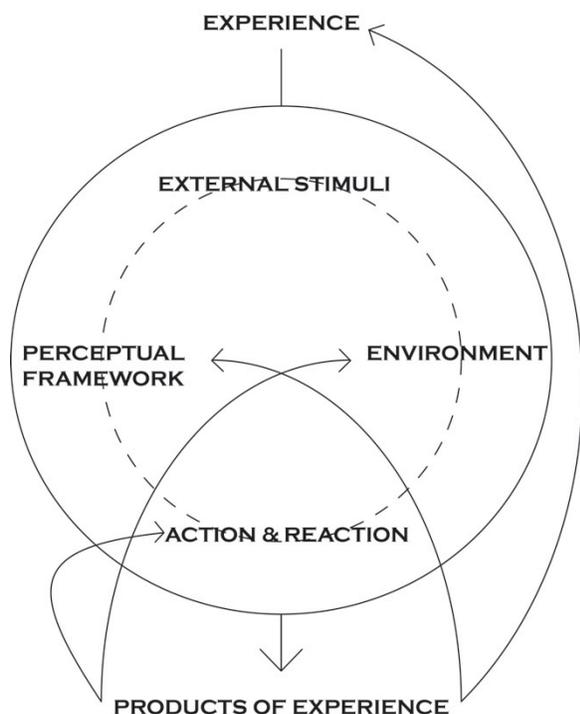


Figure 4- The positive feedback system of perception and experience. (G.Hill 2010)

Brian Thom's dissertation (2005) provides insightful analysis of the importance of place in the Coast Salish world. He says that Coast Salish senses of place 'are founded in their ways of knowing... [which] are expressed, transmitted and learned through discourses, narratives, and other linguistic

practices' (Ingold 2002, 249 in Thom 2005, 3). The anthropological focus on language and narrative is obvious, but I argue that artifacts - material culture - plays a similarly important role in the expression and transmission of ways of knowing. Material culture can be regarded as a tangible language, encapsulating ideas and concepts which have developed over time. Material culture plays an active role in the development and constant reinvention of culture, as problem and resolution, influencing and being influenced by the perceptual framework. Just as 'we are not only *in* places, but *of* them,' so too is material culture (Casey 1996: 19). We are emplaced actors, and we sustain ourselves from the places we experience. An artifact similarly is a product of the resources of a place, framed by our understanding of the world and our interaction with that place, and serving to help us mediate our relationship with places and with each other. Jones reminds us that 'pre-literate societies may have relied more heavily on the communication of ideas through material forms than modern literate societies' (1998, 13).

Mythology and oral histories have been a large focus for anthropologists. Such stories 'set... out modes of relating to and understanding one's presence and place in the world;' they present ways of knowing (Thom 2005, 77). Though artifacts also provide a mode of relating to the world, it is not surprising that material culture has not been regarded in the same way as language and oral tradition as they were the first non-human casualties of the colonization process. European material goods were accepted and became common long before the English language was accepted. Ceramics replaced wooden dishes, and iron replaced stone. Native technology that did not have a direct European parallel was hastily done away with, as is seen in a consideration of

fish weirs above. The role of native material culture, as another way to express ideas, was usurped by 'civilized' European material as a silent agent in the colonization process. The language of material culture was the first product of experience to suffer cultural genocide (Churchill 2004).

In order for the direct historical approach to be successful, we must be aware of the way in which the constituent parts of culture are co-created. Culture can be thought of as a flexible, circumstantial set of commonly held ideas about the environment. This set of communal ideas, combined with personal experience within the environment, results in personal perceptual frameworks. These frameworks are 'created through reciprocal interaction of the individual and the environment' (Jones 1998, 12). Representations of products of experience mediate interactions between humans, non-humans, and the wider environment. In order to study the material aspect of culture, it is necessary to use as much information as we can to make informed interpretations. It is, therefore, necessary to adopt a holistic approach whereby material culture is studied alongside all the other expressions of experience with which it was co-created. As King says, referring to the landscape, 'terrain and culture are not separate in practice, and they should not be separated in analysis' (2002, 65 in Thom 2005, 2). The word 'terrain' could be substituted for any one of the products of experience, and the statement will stand. What was created together has the best chance of being understood if it is considered together.

**Results of the use of etic criteria for the study of culture**

In order to develop more accurate interpretations of the archaeological record, it is not enough to simply interpret the material by consulting oral tradition and ethnographic records. Most, if not all academics working on the Northwest Coast do consult available ethnographic sources, and some do consult available oral histories and traditions. However, commercial archaeologists, if they do either of the above, often do it uncritically. In the planning stages, ethnographic accounts may be consulted, but for an area such as the Cowichan Valley, which has fewer sources than other areas, generalized Coast Salish anthropology will typically be summoned to fill the gap. Problems arise (though many never apprehend such problems at all), when ethnographic and archaeological sources are considered without being placed in their own context. Until recently, both of these fields have been dominated by non-Natives working in western social and economic systems. Wylie sums the situation up thusly:

> The archaeological record is too important to the framing of a collective historical understanding and to the articulation of cultural identities long under siege, to be treated as the special preserve of a small, elite, almost exclusively white, middle-class... and largely male community of investigators whose main claim on the record is precisely the 'disinterested' (ie. Unbiased/unvested) nature of their interest in it.

(Wylie 1993, 10 in Mackie 1995, 191)

Interpretation of the archaeological record will always vary somewhat due to personal experience. Archaeologists, anthropologists and Native people learn through what Ingold calls an 'education of attention' (1993, 153). The process of learning, as discussed in the last section, is a reciprocal process of experience with the environment, and education of attention is framed by one's cultural upbringing. While

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those raised in western society may believe in the ability of science to yield absolute truths, they too must examine the context of their own perceptions, and of the methods they use to study other cultures. The detachment Wylie spoke of has long been regarded as the right way to approach the study of other groups, however it has been briefly shown, and will be thoroughly illustrated in the case study that follows, that the 'unbaised' approach employed by early ethnographers and archaeologists, and continues to be shown by commercial archaeologists, fails to accurately reflect vital aspects of the cultures being studied.

In the academic world, it is often implicit that one should study something far afield, that too intimate a relationship with a place can result in shoddy work. Certainly, in the UK, the idea of globalism has permeated the academic sphere to such an extent that funding appears to be preferentially given to those whose work takes them away from the country. To do work in one's own back yard is regarded as unambitious. Academics perceive bias to come from familiarity. This perception has also been elucidated in the courts, as when Mr. Justice McEachern dismissed much of the anthropologists' testimony due to their over familiarity with the subject matter. By this thinking, it follows that detachment is believed to be the most successful approach for the study of a culture.

As previously discussed, the separation of humanity from nature is perpetuated by the perceived superiority of detachment from one's subject matter. What is required for improved cultural interpretation is a reorientation of one's education of attention. Ingold tells us that an education of attention comes from a collection of experiences in

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a place (1993, 153). In order to open ourselves up to an understanding of another groups cultural values, it seems that becoming familiar with the place in which their culture developed would be a good first step to understanding. This process has been particularly interesting for me as I grew up in a western culture, transplanted onto the landscape in which Cowichan culture had been developed. The reorientation of my attention has been drastic, and yet what I don't know could likely fill the Valley.

So far, this chapter has shown that western claims to be unbiased observers have been false. The western beliefs have been shown to be as much a product of unique cultural circumstance as are the Native cultures they believed to be so mired in unscientific flim-flam. More recently, academics have turned the mirror on themselves and recognized that western influence has skewed some ethnographic and archaeological work (Smith 1999; Smith & Wobst 2005; Bruchac et al 2010). Unfortunately, the government is still in its glass tower, believing itself to be somewhere between the academic and the common person, less theoretical than the former, and more rational than the latter. The policy makers have not turned the mirror on themselves, and still believe in the supremacy and accuracy of scientific study, fully unaware that the scientific method is also a western construct (ibid.; Cajete 2000). Government and big business are required to consult with First Nations about any impacts to their land, but the consultation process is not as meaningful as it could be if cultural relativity truly had sway (the minister responsible for provincial archaeological matters still has discretionary powers – see *HCA* S. 13.4.b). Heritage law in British Columbia is still guilty of regarding science and the scientific method, as pure and correct, with the ability to identify truths. Under this belief it may be so, but we must not forget that the

application of etic, western criteria to the study of other cultures does not necessarily produce meaningful results for the people whose past is under the microscope. In order to produce results that are meaningful for the culture in question, it is imperative that we also consider the emic perspective.

**Native Archaeology: an holistic approach**

Since the 1970s, First Nations have been increasingly vocal about their cultural history and its importance to modern Native culture. And well they should, for all archeological work in British Columbia is by definition focused on Native material, as anything which precedes 1846 (the accepted date of first European settlement) receives protection under the *HCA* (1996, S.13). The question is, who is archaeology done for?

As it stands, archaeological work is more often carried out to make way for development and land exploitation than for any other purpose in British Columbia and Canada. Quentin Mackie (1995, 191), discussing issues in Canadian archaeology, identified several challenges for future archaeologists: first, the necessity of incorporating Native perspectives, and second, the 'creation of new archaeology that is relevant and moral in a multicultural context.' He says that Canadian archaeologists and First Nations are ideally situated to contribute to global debate about how to accommodate multiple nations within a single state, and suggests that an effective approach to this relationship is the integration of First Nations interests beliefs (ibid., 190).

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The incorporation of Native perspectives in commercial archaeology has been shown to be more of a token gesture than a meaningful practice. Though the British Columbia Archaeological Inventory Guidelines require that ethnographic sources be consulted before work begins, these sources are not required to be critically analyzed, nor is there any intimation that they could potentially be biased accounts (British Columbia Archaeology Branch 2000, S.2.2.1). It may be the thinking of the guideline's authors that the biases in the ethnographic literature are overt, and that anyone with minimal anthropological training would be aware of them and could weed them out. Two problems arise from this thinking. First, due to their educational background not all commercial archaeologists are equally aware of the depth of cultural biases and of the impact this has on the interpretation of cultural material. Second, those that are attuned to identify bias may unconsciously limit their awareness to social factors, still believing that the scientific approach is wholly objective. Few consulting archaeologists are conscious of the implications of using the etic criteria promoted by the scientific method in order to study Native history. The use of etic criteria is reinforced through legislation and provincial guidelines.

Some anthropologists working on the Northwest Coast have successfully incorporated the emic perspective (ex. Bierwert 1999, Fedje & Christiansen 1999; Thom 2005, Thornton 2008), but archaeologists appear to be laboring under the belief in the supremacy of science relative to other forms of knowledge (Nicholas 2005). The above-mentioned and other works reveal an awareness of the different ways in which people interact with their environment, and the importance of that interaction to the perpetuation and development of culture.

In his study of the Achuar people of the Ecuadorian Amazon, French anthropologist Philippe Descola (1996) used an approach which highlighted the difference between etic and emic perceptions of the culture. The etic perception sees nature as 'the set of phenomena occurring outside the realm of human action,' while the emic perception sees nature as 'an animate twin of society' (Descola 1996, 1). For Descola, the ethnologist is uniquely placed to see both the 'rationalist' western tradition and the native tradition. 'It is the signal privilege of the ethnologists to tread this line, between a silent *physis* subjected to mathematization and a cosmos telling its tale through the illusory voice of those who make it speak' (ibid.). Throughout the work he looks back and forth from etic to emic, from Western scientific to Aboriginal experiential interpretations of the environment, which results in interesting and more holistic understandings of aspects of Achuar culture. Descola's approach results in fruitful conclusions by combining the products of objective scientific inquiry and of the subjective experience of the Achuar.

Descola's approach was earlier advocated by the American ecologist Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau was another individual who was aware of the differing world views and the impacts they had on nature. As previously mentioned, Thoreau understood that the world he inhabited was not the world that the pre-contact Native population had known, and he wanted to know 'the actual condition of the place where we dwell' before it was colonized by Europeans (Thoreau 1962, 150). He was indeed a Romantic sympathizer, believing in the holism of nature, and that man's actions towards nature had not been moral. 'Either nature may be changed or man...Does it require to be

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improved by the hands of man, or is it man to live more naturally and so more safely?' (Thoreau 1962, 330). Thoreau was criticized for relying too much on his sympathies than was the professional naturalist, however his work not only passed the test of scientific accuracy, it has also stood the test of time (Worster 2004, 89-91). Thoreau believed that objectivity did not produce the same results as did an intimate engagement with nature. Of the house bound naturalist, he said that the products of such research would have 'none of the spirit of the huckleberry' in it, and that to read such objective and detached works would be a 'weariness to the flesh' (Thoreau 1961, 217). The 'spirit of the huckleberry' referred to the lack of engagement of the scientist with his subject. Thoreau saw the scientists of his day study the products of nature entirely out of context (Worster 1994, 96).

Thoreau appears to have believed in the eventual extinction or assimilation of the American Indian as much as any other Anglo-American man of the day. However, he admired their intimate relationship with nature and believed that this had resulted in a 'rich store of knowledge' (Worster 1994, 96). Thoreau believed that both the Native experience of nature, and the intimacy of the Native approach had a great deal to offer to the scientific community. His approach to natural history was adopted from the example of the American Indian (ibid.). The approach he advocated is illustrated in the following quote.

> The true man of science will know nature better by his finer organization; he will smell, taste, see, hear, feel, better than other men. His will be a deeper and finer experience. We do not learn by inference and deduction, and the application of mathematics to philosophy, but by direct intercourse and sympathy.

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For all his reverence of the intimate Native relationship with nature, Thoreau still persisted in the application of the scientific method in the hopes that it could contribute to the holistic picture he sought (Worster 1994, 96-8). He thought of science as a means to an end, but still thought that the end product should be an holistic understanding and appreciation of nature. For Thoreau, the important conclusions about the natural world were to be found by the union of personal experience with scientific inquiry. 'The point of interest is somewhere between me and them,' by which he meant between objects and his own experience (Thoreau 1962, 165). Thoreau's approach necessitated a 'confluence of spirit and matter' (Worster 1994, 91). To Thoreau, neither approach was as productive as they could be if used together.

My approach is inspired in large part by the approaches of Thoreau and Descola. I believe that comparing the emic and etic, the objective scientific and the subjective cultural interpretations of a culture and its activity highlight some very interesting points, and these points can provide input through which approaches to the study and preservation of culture may be further refined. The Thoreau-Descola approach works particularly well for extant cultures and can, I believe, be successfully applied to the practice of archaeology. In its current form, consulting archaeology falls within the bounds of objective scientific inquiry. By applying the scientific method to emic criteria, the possibility to come to conclusions that are both scientifically and culturally meaningful is well within reach. This approach, then, is Descola's 'native ecology' with

added time depth. Just as Thoreau suggests that ecology ought to be carried out in the spirit of holism as exhibited by the Native population of North America, so the terms 'native' and 'ecology' become synonymous in their holism. Thus, the term I use 'native ecological archaeology' or simply 'native archaeology.' This approach requires a critical analysis of the etic and emic perspectives and their impacts on the practice of archaeology, and at the same time makes use of both ways of learning and knowing to come to more full conclusions about the culture in question.

The term 'native archaeology' does not have the same meaning as 'indigenous archaeology,' which has been discussed in depth by numerous researchers (see the edited volumes of Bruchac et al 2010, and Smith & Wobst 2005 for an in-depth discussion of 'indigenous archaeology' and related issues). Indigenous archaeology has been identified in opposition to Western scientific archaeology, the former being concerned with archaeology for, by, and about indigenous people, and the later being concerned with an inherently culturally biased search for objective 'truth' in the archaeological record (Smith & Wobst 2005; Bruchac et al 2010). Indigenous archaeology seeks to give voice to the people whose ancestors created the archaeological record, and incorporates oral histories, stories, toponomy, and mnemonic devices (ibid.). However, it still stands in contrast to Western-style archaeology. Many of the contributors to the above mentioned volumes discuss the need for Western-trained and Indigenous archaeologists and people to work together, and so 'Indigenous archaeology' is still considered to be a camp which defines itself in relation to the Western scientific tradition (ibid.; Million 2005; Nicholas 2005). It must be noted that Indigenous archaeology is an academic approach to the study of culture history, and

though it stands in opposition to the Western Scientific tradition which is employed by academics and consultants alike, Indigenous archaeology is predominantly discussed in academic arenas. It presents the Indigenous voice, and contributes products of experience to the analysis and explanation of the archaeological record, however it stands alone and apart from Western archaeology. Neither camp is directly critical of the other in its approach.

The Native archaeological approach differs from 'Indigenous archaeology' in that it is designed to incorporate both Native and Western perspectives from the outset. Though the two groups remain separate, this method seeks to explicitly identify the point of view of both parties, to identify biases, and, having taken note of them, encourages analysis which works around identified issues. It is an holistic approach which includes both etic and emic points of view before archaeological work takes place. It places value on emic criteria and ways of knowing and combines them with Western scientific approaches to create a truly dynamic understanding of the past, and a workable solution for professional consulting archaeologists.

Though professional consulting archaeologists in B.C. incorporate fragments of ethnographic information of varying size into their archaeological work, it is primarily incorporated after excavations have taken place, and the units of analysis are still derived from Western culture. The Native archaeological approach seeks to incorporate emic units of analysis from the outset of the research design process, and allows for contributions from both Indigenous and Western ways of knowing. It is not a case of two distinct camps coming together to solve a problem, but rather a method by which a

researcher of either background can, by reorienting his or her awareness, develop a research project which incorporates both etic and emic viewpoints to produce more fruitful results.

The following case study (chapters 5,6, and 7) is a native archaeology of the Ancestral Cowichan Indians. In order to paint a holistic picture of Cowichan interaction with their wetlands I will use a critical direct historical approach. I use all of the available information (archaeology, ethnography, ethnobotany, and the oral tradition) to piece together a picture of Cowichan interaction with, and perception of wetland features in their environment, all the while critically analyzing the context of each source. This is, I believe, what Mackie calls 'radical traditionalism,' making meaningful, critical use of the direct historical approach (pers.comm. 2010).

The sources I have chosen to use in this study are those that are readily available to both consulting archaeologists and First Nations in British Columbia. Thus, discussions with Cowichan Elders about wetland archaeology and resource use was not included in this study. This sort of information is gathered only after developing relationships with Elders, and while such information has the ability to shed light on issues of cultural activity, it is not something that B.C. archaeologists have the luxury of doing on a contract-to-contract basis. For the purposes of this study, it was important to use only those sources that are readily available to the parties concerned, and to develop a method that could be used effectively in the field. Hopefully, over the course of their careers, professional archaeologists will develop the requisite relationships that allow

Elders to share their knowledge thus building on the forms of knowledge that are included in this study.

Rather than refer back and forth to emic and etic perceptions of the Cowichan People and their wetlands, I present each group of information separately, and by so doing, highlight the inconsistencies between the western perception of Cowichan history, and the Cowichan perception of their ancestors. Although it is important that archaeology tells a meaningful story about the past, I believe the need to identify, and rectify, problems facing commercial archaeology is more urgent.

# Chapter 5 – Archaeology in the Cowichan Valley

This chapter examines the archaeological work done to date in the Cowichan Valley. In it, I consider both commercial and academic projects, though the majority of the work in this area has been undertaken by commercial archaeologists. The study area is discussed generally, and an analysis of specific fieldwork projects follows. The chapter concludes with a picture of the Ancestral Cowichan and their utilization and perception of their traditional lands.

**Factors affecting archaeological work in the Cowichan Valley**

Neither historical nor archaeological conclusions are not accurate reflections of Native history. The acts and experiences of Ancestral Native groups can never be completely

understood, but are always linked to site taphonomy, and the method and theory employed to study a given group, filtered through the perceptual framework of those conducting the research or salvage project. Archaeological conclusions, then, are as much an indication of past events as they are an indication of the beliefs and attitudes of the investigators and the dominant culture. The following chapter is an examination of the archaeology of Cowichan traditional territory, and the perceptions of the non-native investigators about Cowichan history.

The sources considered in this chapter are the result of fieldwork that falls into two separate categories: non-invasive and invasive. Site surveys and certain aspects of archaeological impact assessments (AIAs) are considered non-invasive, as only the examination of naturally occurring or anthropogenic exposures and surface walking is undertaken. Invasive fieldwork is that which penetrates the surface, either by augur samples, shovel test, percolation test, 1x1 m test units or trenches.

While it is obvious that invasive techniques can often yield more material than non-invasive techniques, the sampling pattern has much to do with the successful interpretation of the material obtained. Traditional practice on the Northwest Coast is to perform shovel tests at spaced intervals across the site in order to establish site boundaries, and this is followed by a judgmental application of 1x1m units to the site. These units are often excavated by hand, in 5 to 10cm arbitrary levels. Features encountered in the unit may or may not be excavated stratigraphically. Profiles are taken from wall sections and the entire unit is primarily analyzed off-site (Yip 1982, Acheson 2002 pers.comm., Bowie pers.comm. 2005-11). I will refer to this as 'selective'

excavation type. In some cases, 1x1 m units may be extended, or judgmentally clustered, and may reveal contextual features from which material is obtained (as in DeRw 16 & 17, and DeRw 18 to be discussed below). In other cases, trenches may be excavated with backhoe at approximate 10-20 cm arbitrary levels, uncovering larger areas and providing more insight into site stratigraphy due to the exposure of extended profiles. I will refer to this as 'open' excavation type.

There are benefits to both selective and open excavation methods. Excavation by hand in individual units may provide a greater familiarity with the cultural matrices encountered, but they may fall short in understanding the applicability of their finds to the activities of the site. Conversely, excavation by machine which uncovers a larger area may improve understanding of site function, but there is always the risk of missing contexts that are small or shallow, and of missing diagnostic artifacts.

Two further controlling factors exist when it comes to site sampling and interpretation. As most of the archaeological work that takes place in Cowichan territory is salvage work, time and money are often important factors in determining a sampling strategy. Site sampling strategy is also determined, to a certain extent, by the minimum requirements as defined by the British Columbia Archaeology branch. Many of the sites under consideration in this chapter were not impacted by the present provincial requirements, but by former incarnations of the regulations.

**Natural Setting of the Cowichan Valley Culture Area after Reports by Consultants**
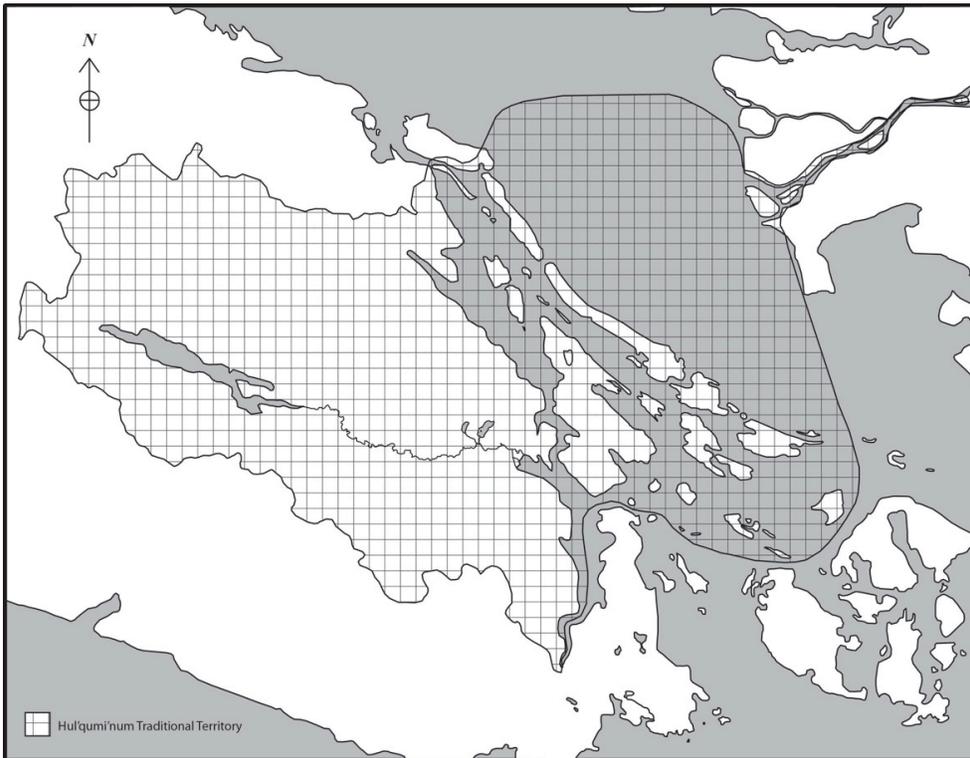
*Figure 5 - Hul'qumi'num Traditional Territory (after HTG 2010)*

Within this area, over 1000 archaeological sites have been identified. Ancestors of the Cowichan may well have been present at a majority of these sites at some time in the past, but a smaller number of sites was selected for this study due to several factors. I have decided to exclude sites on Saltspring Island, where much work has taken place, as this falls outside of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Land Grants (1883, 1905), as sites within the land grant area are predominantly located on private property and can and have been impacted by private property owner's perceptions of Cowichan history, wetlands, and the *HCA*. These sites were chosen because they are in an area which is most at risk. I also wished to focus on sites in relatively close proximity to wetland features, and the Cowichan Valley has relatively more than Saltspring Island. While the Ramsar (1971) definition of wetlands does include the foreshore, I did not want a consideration of the many Saltspring Island sites to overshadow the potential of

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sites in the lowlands of the Cowichan Valley. Further, the Cowichan have had several issues over the protection of heritage sites in their immediate territory. It is hoped that the present research will shed some light on issues close to home, with recommendations that may have a positive impact on heritage management in the area. The final sites under consideration number 142. The resulting sources come in the form of site reports from early survey work in the area, site reports from Archaeological Impact Assessments, and mitigation, excavation, and subject reports arising from this work. A list of all sites can be seen in table 1 (see excel file 'Cowichan Site Form_Refined').

It is necessary to situate any research in its proper context. This is manifest in almost every site report by a distinctly etic analysis of the 'natural' and 'cultural' setting in which the ancestral Cowichan found themselves. These discussions have treated the land, the flora and fauna, separate and apart from the people who lived there. The 'man - nature' dichotomy is a product of non-native thinking, and certainly not one that is accepted by the Hul'qumi'num elders who see *everything* as connected (2010 HTG Traditional Law Conference, McLay et al. 2004, Deur & Turner 2005).

A summary of the natural setting of the Cowichan Valley will be followed by a similar summary of the cultural setting, as is customary for archaeological studies of Northwest Coast material. The natural setting will focus on the local landscape while making reference to larger environmental changes. As relatively little work has been done in the Cowichan Valley, the discussion of the cultural setting must take place at the regional scale.

A word on the etic nature of the natural setting descriptions: none of the reports made reference to the possibility that the Cowichan were managing their land in any way. It has long been held that the Coast Salish were complex hunter-gatherers, but only recently has there been any acceptance of the idea that they may have been engaging in husbandry practices, and that the landscape encountered by non-natives at point of contact was a product of land management practices (Deur 2000, 2002; Keddie 2003).

The Cowichan Valley is located on the southeast coast of Vancouver Island, on the west coast of North America. It falls into the Pacific Border physiographic region, and is located in the Nanaimo Lowland of the Georgia Depression (Holland 1976). Cowichan Lake is located near the center of southern Vancouver Island, and feeds the Cowichan River, which flows southeast until its output at Cowichan Bay. For the first half of its length, the Cowichan River flows through rocky canyons. The terrain opens up into broad low plains, and it is through this area that the second half of the river flows. Notable features visible from these lowlands are Mount Prevost, to the northwest, and Mount Tzuhalem, to the northeast. The valley receives 64 inches of annual rainfall, and experiences 180 frost free days per year (Suttles 1990).

At about 14,500 years BP, during the Vashonn Stade of the Fraser Glaciation, this part of Vancouver Island was covered by ice sheets (Hicock and Armstrong 1985). Glacial ice melted between 13,000 and 11,500 years BP, and the lowlands of the Cowichan Valley were flooded to a level 90m above current sea level (Clague et al. 1982). There was a brief cooling period, before a second glacial melt sometime between 11,500 and

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9,000 years BP, at which point the sea level in the valley was only 9 meters above present. During this period it is thought that the Cowichan River was incised into the fill of the valley. It is thought that sea levels in this area became stable at around 5,000 years BP, and that fluctuation rates have since ranged only up to 1 meter (ibid.).

Currently, the Cowichan Valley falls within the Coastal Douglas fir biogeoclimatic zone. This zone is characterized by Douglas fir with lesser amounts of hemlock. Within this zone, the wetter areas are found to have more red alder, broad-leaved maple, western red cedar and grand fir, while the dryer areas are found to have more arbutus and lodgepole pine (Krajina 1965). Much of the Cowichan valley was logged in the early half of the 20th century, and a great deal of land was cleared. The Cowichan River was used as a transportation route for logs harvested in and around Cowichan Lake. It has often been assumed that any evidence of late pre-contact period remains on the lower Cowichan River would have been destroyed by logging activity (Hinkley 2009, pers. comm).

Many reports provide lists of animals that can be found within the study area. Perhaps the most exhaustive list provided in an archaeological report is found in the appendices of Yip's 1982 report on the Cowichan Bay site (see Appendix 5). The list of current species is separated into vertebrate fauna (birds, mammals, and fish) and flora. Of the 355 species of birds, fish, and land mammals, 35%+ can be considered to have a wetland habitat. This list does not include shell fish and other intertidal resources, such as eel grass, which may account for much higher percentage of the resources available to the ancestral Cowichans.

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Many of the reports which include descriptions such as the one above are generally indiscriminate about the applicability of these lists to the immediate site. Only the reports for DeRw 16 &17, and DeRw 18, the Somenos Creek site, make direct reference to the immediate surroundings and the types of resources available at hand (Wilson & Smart 1992; Brown 1996; McLay et al 2009). Interestingly, Clark (2010) lists marine, littoral and riverine resources together, and then separates them into mammals, fish, shellfish, and other invertebrates, although he, too, distinguishes between land and sea flora and fauna.


**Cultural Setting of the Cowichan Valley Culture Area after Reports by Consultants**

Of necessity, let us now turn to the regional scale and consider the 'cultural setting' into which studies of Cowichan archaeology fit.


The Cowichan belong to the Halkomelem sub-group of the Central Coast Salish ethnolinguistic family (Thompson and Kinkade 1990). Referred to specifically as the Island Halkomelem, they share many cultural traits with the Mainland Halkomelem of the Fraser Valley. Mitchell (1971) has also called the Mainland Halkomelem group the Central and Southern River Fishermen, based on specialized river and estuary fishing technology, as opposed to the technology of their neighbours, the Southern Coast Salish which focused more on open water fishing technology. Descriptions of cultural contexts are often excerpts from etic ethnographic sources, and are usually loosely

applied to the archaeology, with little consideration of time depth. These ethnographic sources will be dealt with in the following chapter.

The archaeological evidence of pre-contact native history in the Gulf of Georgia has been divided into categories based on temporally associated stone and bone tool assemblages, and mortuary practices. Due to sea level change, and because few underwater sites have yet been examined in this region, we can focus on the final four phases of the Gulf of Georgia culture historical sequence, by which point sea level had stabilized to within 1 meter of present levels. From earliest to most recent, these are the Charles Culture (4500 to 3500/3300 BP), the Locarno Beach Phase (3500/3300 to 1100/1500 BP), the Marpole Culture (2000 to 1100/1500 BP) and the Gulf of Georgia or Developed Coast Salish (1100 BP to contact) (Mitchell 1971; Burley 1980; Clark 2010). It has been widely acknowledged, often outside published sources, that using a lithic and bone technology as a proxy for cultural traits is not adequate (Clark 2000, 2010). However, such a typology is widely accepted, and is a constant reference for professional consulting archaeologists (Ames & Maschner 1999, Matson & Coupland 1995, Mitchell 1990). As the Charles Phase and the Locarno Beach Phase are considered similarly rudimentary as compared to the Marpole Phase, and as there is only one Charles Phase site in the Cowichan Valley, the discussion will progress from the Locarno Beach Phase onward.

The Locarno Beach phase is based on the presence of 19 traits, many of them lithic tool types, which, if present together, result in Locarno Beach designation. These concomitant traits were identified from excavations at Locarno Beach, Whalen Farm,

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Montague Harbour and Bowker Creek (Mitchell 1971). It was thought that the Locarno

Beach toolkit was distinctly marine oriented, and was initially credited with being

developed by an Eskimoid' population (Borden 1961). This orientation was supported

by Croes (1976) who suggested that the long pieces of cordage, found at the Musqueam

Northeast site, could have been retrieving lines used with harpoons during the sea

mammal hunt. Borden further thought that land mammals, birds, and littoral

resources were secondary in the Locarno Beach diet (1951; Wigen 1980; Frederick 2011

pers.comm). The sea mammal dominance theory is based on survival rates of fauna in

the archaeological record, and can be called into question due to the poor rates of

survival of bone outside shell-mound contexts, in the acid soil of the south coast.

Another important component of the diet may have been herring, but again, the

survival rates of faunal material, further combined with the former practice of using

1/4" screens, means that herring and other small fish may not be accurately

represented in the archaeological record (ibid.). Clark (2010) suggests that the location

of Locarno Beach sites away from the mouth of the Fraser River confirms the marine

orientation, but if one of the diagnostic features of this Phase is that sites are found

inland and have poorly developed shell deposits, then it is possible that sites have been

overlooked.


Little is known of the domestic structures used during this period. There is no evidence

for the large scale structures common in the ethnographic and DCS/Gulf of Georgia

periods. Houses of this period are smaller, potentially limited to one family. Pit houses,

both round and sub-rectangular, have been identified. Notably, a sub-rectangular semi-

subterranean pit house with no post moulds, thought to potentially be a mat-covered

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structure, was identified at Sequim, Washington (Morgan 1999). The feature measured 5 x 4.5 meters, and had a hearth. This is an area that requires further investigation.

Status differentiation in the Locarn Beach phase appears to be limited. The use of labrets for high status individuals is discussed by Croes (1995), Cybulski (1991), Matson & Coupland (1995), and suggested for this period, although little is known about the timing or meaning of their use. Carlson (1987) suggests that limited inclusions of labrets do occur with sub-adult burials, but that this is not widespread. Burley and Knusel (1989) did not find clear evidence to suggest that ascribed status was being exhibited in burials of the Locarno Beach Phase. Clark (2010) suggests that the practice of ascribed status may be in its infancy during this period.

The Locarno Beach diagnostic checklist follows.

1- Medium-sized chipped-basalt points (possible contracting stems)
2- Microblades and cores
3- Chipped slate or sandstone knives or scrapers (ovoid or ulu shapes)
4- Crude cobble, split cobble, and boulder spall implements
5- Large, faceted ground-slate points and similar bone points
6- Thick ground-slate knives (sometimes partially ground
7- Small, well-made celts (rectangular)
8- Gulf Islands complex artifacts (function unknown)
9- Labrets (several forms)
10- Earspools
11- Grooved or notched sinkers
12- Handstones and grinding slabs
13- Heavy bone wedges
14- Bilaterally barbed antler points
15- Toggling harpoons of unarmed, one-piece toggling or composite form
16- Antler foreshatfs (for harpoons)
17- Sea mussel shell celts
18- Clay-lined depressions and alignments of vertical rock slabs
19- Association with 'inland' sites, with little or poorly preserved shell

The Marpole Phase was thought to represent a change in population, based on a perceived change in toolkit (Mitchell 1971). This phase was based on excavations at the Marpole, the Point Grey, the Locarno Beach I, and the Whalen II site components (Borden 1950, 1951). It was thought that this tool kit represented interior cultures (ibid.).

Excavations at several sites throughout the Gulf of Georgia area have shed some light on the subsistence practices of the Marpole period. The development of salmon storage, a deeply popular research topic on the Northwest Coast, is present during this period, and is seen alongside a persisting marine orientation, with littoral resources still considered supplementary (Crescent Beach - Matson et al 1991, Dionisio Point - Ewonus 2004; Deep Bay - Monks 1977, 1987; Clark 2010, 82). While many have considered salmon storage as the main factor setting the Marpole period apart, Orchard and Clark (2006) compared assemblages from this area to the rest of the Northwest Coast to show that Marpole subsistence practices were still very generalized. A consideration of plant resources in the diet during all phases might put the salmon storage and marine orientation into yet greater contrast with other areas of the coast.

It is during the Marpole period that our understanding of domestic structures improves. Many more sites with structures have been identified along the lower Fraser River (Clark 2010). Also in this period, the shape and scale of structures falls more in

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line with the buildings of the ethnographic period, which would yield large post moulds and large platforms, rectangular in shape, with capacity enough for several families. Large post moulds and platforms have been found in the Gulf of Georgia region, but as previously mentioned, restrictions to large scale excavations have often left us with tantalizing hints, but without the satisfaction of knowing the extent of the building or the intra-feature associations.

Status differentiation begins to be exercised during the Marpole period. Art objects of this period require specialized skill, with shamanic themes present (Carlson 1983, 1999; Hill 2006). Mortuary practices of this period have clear indications of status differentiation. Cranial deformation has been noted by Burley and Knusel (1989) and others (Cybulski 1991).

The Marpole Phase diagnostic checklist follows.

1- Chipped-stone points (various forms, stemmed or unstemmed) of a generally medium size, with fluctuations; small basalt asymmetrical triangular points
2- Microblades
3- Large ground-slate points
4- Thin ground-slate fish knives (common on the Fraser River)
5- Celts (various sizes, roughly made)
6- Shale or clamshell disk beads
7- Labrets (earspools also possible)
8- Well-made stone hand mauls
9- Perforated stones (large and small)
10- Stone sculpture (Seated human figure bowls etc.)
11- Large needles
12- Split bone awls
13- Barbed, non-toggling harpoon points with attachment tang (often unilaterally barbed)
14- Unilaterally barbed antler points
15- Antler wedges

16- Antler sculpture
17- Native copper ornaments
18- Midden burial (some with inclusions and/or cairns)
19- Cranial deformation (potential trepanation)
20- Evidence for large domestic structures (post moulds & house outlines)

(Mitchell 1971; Clark 2010)

The notable difference between the Locarno Beach and Marpole Phases is that, despite variation between sites, there is an overall increase in the use of bone tools and composite tools during the Marpole period (Matson & Coupland 1995). Based on a narrow set of cultural components, Matson et al. (1980) developed three sub-phases of the Marpole period: Old Musqueam, Beach Grove, and Garrison (Matson et al. 1980, 103). Over time, these sub-phases showed a tendency away from lithic tools, and toward the use of wood, antler and bone (ibid.). More recently, Clark (2000) challenged this set of Marpole sub-phases by comparing a greater number of components from a wider geographical area. Notably, he included sites from southern Vancouver Island, which showed that traditional Marpole attributes were missing. The results of Clark's work suggested that Marpole developed at a sub-regional level, along the lower reaches of the Fraser River, while the Locarno Beach phase persisted on southwest Vancouver Island (ibid.). From his work, it appeared that the distribution of Marpole sites was restricted to the Halkomelem ethnolinguistic grouping, which corresponds to Mitchell's (1971) southern River Fishermen.

The Developed Coast Salish/Gulf of Georgia was considered, by Mitchell (1971) among others, to be so similar to the ethnographic (late pre-contact) cultures that very little study has focused on this period. This is the period for which the drawing of

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ethnographic corollaries is generally accepted. Patterns of ethnographic resource use and surplus storage are present in this period.

Domestic structures of this period are the large, multi-family structures of the ethnographic period. Barnett (1955) and Mitchell (1971) cite evidence which indicates that large village sites were located in sheltered areas along the coastline, and along major rivers. Increased warfare is suggested by the presence of fortification sites in locations with little access to water, and small associated shell deposits. Clark (2010) states that naturally defensible sites were chosen for temporary defense.

Status differentiation persists through the DCS/Gulf of Georgia period into the ethnographic period. While the number of carved stone art pieces appears to decrease, the idea that the Marpole phase represented an artistic high point may be a result of skewed preservation. Mitchell (1990) suggests this is based on a shift to artistic expression through wood working and other perishable mediums.

The DCS/Gulf of Georgia diagnostic checklist is below.

1- Small, triangular chipped basalt points (rare)
2- Thin, triangular, ground-slate points (possible thinned bases)
3- Thin, ground-slate knives (possibly restricted to the Fraser River)
4- Large, well-made celts (often thin)
5- Flat-topped hand mauls
6- Irregular abrasive stones
7- Unilaterally barbed points
8- Single or double notched bone points (possibly for composite tools)
9- Split bone awls
10- Composite toggling harpoon valves (with space for cutting blades)
11- Antler wedges
12- Triangular, ground sea-mussel points (western Gulf?)
13- Midden and above ground burials

14- Cranial deformation

15- Large domestic structures (post moulds and house outlines)

(Clark 2010)

**Analysis of archaeological work done in the Cowichan Valley to date**

Having discussed the natural and cultural settings of the Cowichan Area, let us now turn to the archaeological work that has been done in this area. Figures 6, 7 and 8 show the location of archaeological sites in the study area.

In the summers of 1974 and 1975, the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board initiated a coastal survey which included the Cowichan traditional territory. Their report summarizes the outcome of two field seasons of 'comprehensive coastal survey' in the Gulf of Georgia, in southwestern British Columbia (Acheson et al. 1975, 1). The survey was conducted in order to develop improved management policy which was, and continues to be, 'essential to the protection and preservation of the archaeological resource' (ibid.). The members of the ASAB and the Office of the Provincial Archaeologist were of the mind that site preservation was preferable to excavation, and an effective management strategy was necessary to achieve such ends (Simonsen 2010, pers.comm; ASAB 1960). The final report is the summation of results from the site forms, and a formalized list of recommendations, that is, the prioritization of site protection based on their current conditions and potential negative impacts.

The report begins with a generalizing description of the archaeological 'resource,' and state that 'the sites described simply point out the areas with the greatest potential for

the retrieval of the prehistoric record' (Acheson et al. 1975, 2). While the above statement may not always hold true, given the identification for organic preservation exhibited in such sites as Little Qualicum and Musqueam NE for example, certain aspects of the survey show that its underlying concepts were very much a product of the times. Specifically regarding sites in Cowichan District, as taken from the original site forms, there is no mention of the potential for sites to extend under water. Each form has a space for description of a water source, and while it may be referring to potable water, the surveyors included such water features as 'runoff' and 'bog,' but consistently excluded the ocean as a water feature. Of the 77 sites surveyed in the Cowichan District, 60 of them are directly on, or within 15 m of the oceanfront. The only reference to the presence of salt water is to be found under 'possibility of future disturbance,' where 'wave action' is mentioned. As not all sites were found to be on oceanfront, it is not possible that the surveyors meant for us to assume that all sites were on the water. In fact, 21.8% of sites surveyed in this district were rock shelters, none of which were on the ocean, but many of which could see it (see Appendix 2).

Acheson et al. (1975) used the standard British Columbia Archaeological Site Survey Form, which required the surveyor to answer 33 questions of each site, only 5 of which were at all subjective (Attitude to Excavation; Camping Facilities; Present Condition; Possibility of Future Disturbance; Remarks and Recommendations). Yet, in the report even those questions which allowed for qualitative answers had been rendered quantitative by basing each response on a percentage scale (Acheson et al 1975, 13). Perhaps due to limitations of time or access there is a great deal of objective information but little subjective. The idea of objectively comparing all sites in a given

area, here the Gulf of Georgia, returns to the ideas popular in archaeology at the time, in British Columbia and elsewhere, that archaeology was a 'resource', and in this case, that it belonged to the province, and it was treated as such. No mention was made of the relative importance of sites, nor their importance to First nations. Furthermore, no mention was made of the difference between the threat to, and management of, sites which fell under different jurisdictions (i.e. sites on Indian Reserves, which are under Federal control, but have no effective heritage legislation, and sites on crown or private land, which fall under provincial jurisdiction and to which the Heritage Conservation Act is applicable).

The purpose of this survey was to assess the status of known archaeological sites at that time, and to prioritize funding allotments so that the most vulnerable, and potentially most important sites received immediate attention, whether by shoring to protect or excavating to salvage. The sheer number of sites identified on the coastal sections alone were enough that it was acknowledged that not all could be properly treated. Excavation was expensive and was seen as a last resort. As such, it was agreed by the surveyors and the ASAB that other methods of site preservation were required if an effective management strategy were to be successful. The recommendations of the survey team included the creation of pamphlets and videos which explained the heritage process and the necessity of preserving sites, a complementary inland survey, and purchase plans under which the government would obtain sites in excellent condition in order to protect them. Regarding further survey, it was also suggested that major rivers be surveyed; they asked 'How much of the information excavated to date will shed any

light on the early spring and fall activities of the ancestral people in this area?' (Acheson et al. 1975, 6).

There is a section entitled 'Ethnohistorical Implications,' which provides a brief introduction to the ethnography of the area. The section is a paradigm of British Columbia archaeologists' use of ethnography in their reports. Traditional subjects are mentioned: seasonal subsistence, distribution of wealth, kinship groups, resource ownership, and post-contact population decrease. However, the only subject which appears to have a bearing on research questions is the problem of concomitant population decrease and the introduction of western goods. While ethnographic elements are mentioned, in the end they do not appear to have permeated the research design. They finish with this: 'The structure of the archaeological record to some extent reflects systems of exchanges of energy, matter and information and our ability to predict certain patterns of variability in the archaeological record (pre and post historic) is enhanced if we suspect their presence' (Acheson et al 1975, 12). This is a clear statement of the overarching research aims of the ASAB members, many of them scholars, who sought to understand the evolution of cultural complexity and to identify the impetus behind culture change. This and other similar surveys throughout the Province, were to lay the groundwork for effective heritage management, which at that time still included the potential for active archaeological research.

In summary, only 1 of the 77 Cowichan sites identified by the 1975 survey team was recommended to be tested (DeRv 1), and 1 to watch for future damage (DeRv 105) (Acheson et al. 1975, 8-9). To date, only DeRv 1 has been revisited.

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Of the 142 sites identified on the site forms, obtained from the register of archaeological sites at the British Columbia Archaeology Branch, only 14 sites have been invasively tested. Only 6 of these sites have been recommended for further study. Of the 14 tested sites, 3 sites are on or very near (within meters) of the ocean, and the rest are found along the Cowichan River and its tributaries. This provides an interesting set of components, as many of those previously incorporated into regional studies have been located on coastlines or along the Fraser River.

The sites that will be discussed are as follows: The Genoa Bay site (DeRv 1), Maple Bay (DeRv 12), the Cowichan Bay Site (DeRv 107), the Comiaken Burial Mound (DeRv 156), DeRw 16 & 17 on the Cowichan River, and the Somenos Creek Site (DeRw 18).

DeRv 1 is located south east of Duncan, on Cowichan Peninsula (See Map 1). There is a small hooked cove off of Cowichan Bay, around the point created by the foot of Mt. Tzuhalem. The site is north of the present housing and marina development at Genoa Bay, on a steep bank. The site is located on private property.

The site was first recorded by Donald Abbot, in 1962, while working for the British Columbia Provincial Museum. It was revisited by Acheson et al, in the summer of 1975. The site dimensions as identified by Acheson et al (43 x 10 m, 1-2 m deep), proved to be fairly accurate despite their use of non-invasive techniques. The purpose of the testing undertaken in 1988, by the Bastion Group, was to determine the site boundaries and type, and to 'salvage a representative sample of intact archaeological

materials and data from the site, by means of systematic excavation and recording procedures' (Simonsen 1988, 7). The site was sampled at intervals with a soil probe to determine the site boundaries. This was followed by the excavation of eight 1x1m units, placed judgmentally in the middle section of the midden, none were directly adjacent. Six culturally modified trees were identified during the course of their study. Faunal remains and artifacts from the site were analyzed.

Three artifacts were recovered from the site: a perforated clamshell, a spall tool, and a stone disc bead. Three features were also identified at the site, groups of rocks with decayed wood, all thought to be associated with the stabilizing of some sort of wooden uprights or posts (Simonsen 1988, 21). It is hypothesized that these three features might represent some sort of rack or the supports for the frame of a simple or temporary dwelling.

Only one radiocarbon sample was obtained from the site, and yielded a date of 1770 +-60 years BP (S.F.U. Sample no. 620). The site has tentatively been associated with the Marpole Phase based on the radiocarbon sample. Since this sample was taken at a depth of 50 cm bs, it has been suggested that there is a fairly long tradition of use at this site. Simonsen suggests that the site was used well into the DCS/Gulf of Georgia Period, but with unknown regularity (1988, 28). He has also suggested that this may have been a shellfish gathering site. The potential for clam gardens in this area has not yet been assessed, but there may be a possibility of mariculture taking place in the area. No further work was recommended at this site, but I think that the potential for mariculture in this bay should be explored.
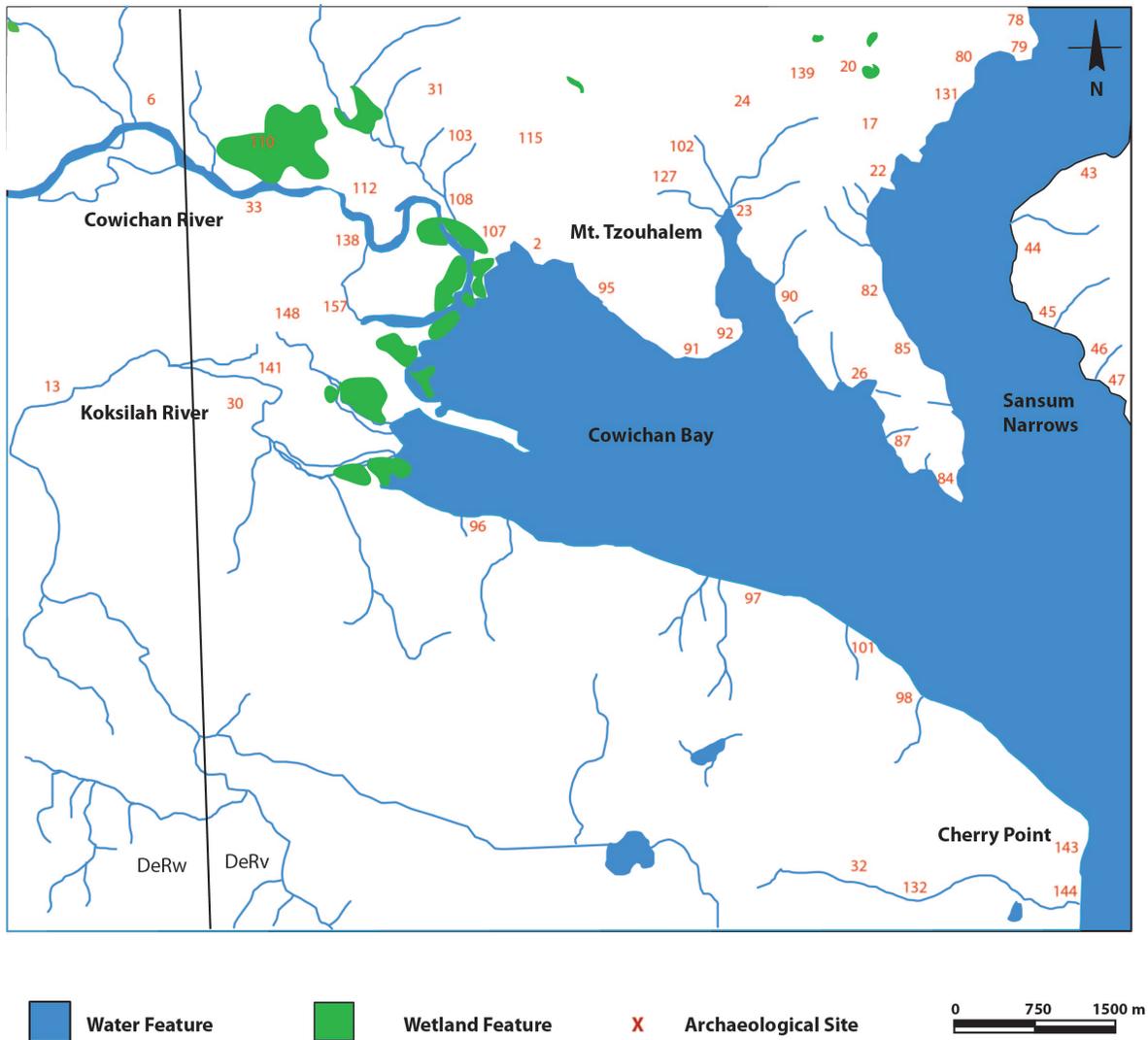
*Figure 6 - Cowichan Bay Archaeological Sites – RAAD 2010*

DeRv 12 is a shell midden site located in the middle of Maple Bay, north of Genoa Bay, and northeast of Duncan. This site has been investigated several times by the Bastion Group, first in April of 1988, and then again in July, and by I.R. Wilson Consultants Ltd in March of the same year. The positive results from the first impact assessment resulted in further work to mitigate development damage to the north end of the site. A condominium was planned, and plans for a sewage treatment and disposal system conflicted with intact portions of the site.

The work undertaken in July of 1988, had the aim of assessing the significance and integrity of the archaeological site, and to recover samples that would inform the culture history of this area. Five test trenches were dug with a backhoe in 20 cm arbitrary layers, and profiles were taken from each section. A column sample was also taken for further analysis.

A large amount of faunal material was collected, as well as 1 ground stone tool, 2 abraders, 1 spall tool, and 1 broken bone point. Two burials were also encountered during the course of excavations, and were analyzed by Gerome Cybulski of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The two individuals were interred in the shell matrix, and the lower matrix was radiocarbon dated to 1770+- 60 years BP. Both individuals exhibited cranial deformation that Cybulski determined to be typical of the Marpole Phase (Cybulski 1988, 6).

The radiocarbon date obtained came from the middle of the deposit, and as such, Simonsen suggests that the earliest occupation of the site corresponds, very generally, to the Locarno Beach and Marpole phases, and that the accumulation on top of the date sample are likely to extend into the DCS/Gulf of Georgia phase. Unfortunately, too few artifacts were found to assess the validity of this hypothesis. The fauna from this very limited sample of the site, and indicates that the exploitation of shellfish increased at around 2000 years BP. The increase in shellfish consumption or processing at this site indicates a change in resource use, and again, the possibility of mariculture in the Maple Bay area should be explored. Unfortunately, due to development in the area, a

great deal of this site has been destroyed, and further results from this site may be skewed.
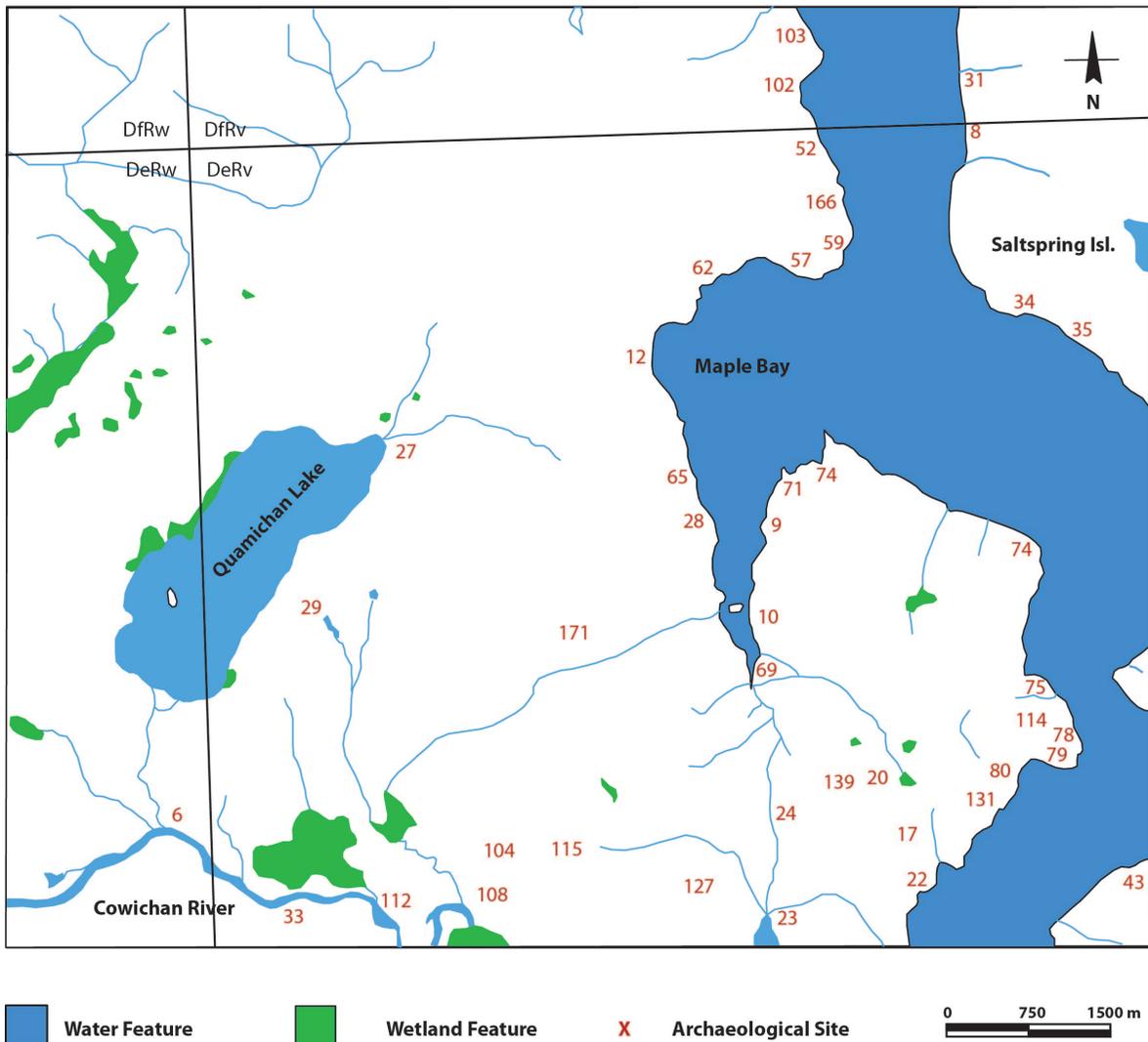


*Figure 7 - Quamichan Lake and Maple Bay Archaeological Sites (RAAD 2010)*

DeRv 107 is located on the northern shore of Cowichan Bay, where the north arm of the Cowichan River enters the estuary (see Figure 6). The site is bounded on the north and west by a marsh, on the south by the estuary, and by the foot of Mt. Tzuhalem on the east. The site was first archaeologically noted by Acheson et al. in 1975, at which it was thought to measure 180 m (N-S) by 30 m (E-W). Then, in 1981, an emergency salvage operation was initiated under the direction of Arlene Yip. At this point, the site

investigation was limited to an area 50 x 30 m. Eight 1x1 m units were placed judgmentally across the site, and excavated by hand.

Seven categories and 34 classes of artifacts were analyzed; all of them were stone, bone or shell tools, with the exception of ochre and several historic items. Three pieces of wood were encountered but were considered to form a feature and were not analyzed independently. It is thought that these posts, due to their non-architectural stature, had at one time formed some sort of drying rack or other feature located in a winter house. The wooden features were found in close proximity to concentrations of fire cracked rock (FCR) that may have been hearths in a winter house (Yip 1982, 96-99).

The remains of four individuals were uncovered during the course of the work at DeRv 107. All individuals buried at the site were children, the youngest was a fetus of 8.5 to 9 months, and the eldest was approximately 7 years old (Yip 1982, 117-118). Ochre was found with one of the burials, suggesting ritual interment of some sort (ibid., 123).

Yip (1982, 119-120) states that the final site interpretation was hampered by the sampling design that was initially meant to fit a 10 day work schedule, but was extended for a further two weeks. The site stratigraphy was considered in three layers (upper, middle, and lower). The upper layers were characterized by numerous artifacts (low number of lithics a higher relative amount of bone) and FCR. The middle deposits were very thin and characterized by few artifacts, few lithics, and little FCR. The lower level was characterized by high number of artifacts, lithics and land and sea mammal remains, with little shell matrix.

Based on an analysis of the artifacts collected at the site, Yip (1982, 120) suggests that 'hunting, fishing, artifact manufacturing, woodworking, sewing, and food processing activities' were all taking place. Unfortunately, the list of activities described by Yip, while distinctly possible if a winter village, is, in cases relying on lithic and bone technology (only 5-10% of the original assemblage) (McDonald 1971) a gross generalization. She notes the increase in bone and antler items in upper levels, which is consistent with the criteria for the Marpole and DCS/Gulf of Georgia designation (Mitchell 1971). She states that while all artifacts found on site are diagnostic of the Marpole and Gulf of Georgia cultures, no temporal assessment for the whole site could take place due to sampling strategy (Yip 1982, 121).

Yip's report was the first in the area to incorporate an extensive ethnographic section, but unfortunately it is generalized to the entire Cowichan Valley and the Central Coast Salish area rather than being specific to the immediate area. She does, however, include an extensive catalogue of all currently available species in the estuary and local terrestrial environment (Yip 1982, 132-144).

A heritage resource impact assessment was carried out at this site by Morley Eldridge of Millennia Research in the summer of 1988. The new property owner had intended to build a house, and, as the potential for sensitive burials existed on site, Eldridge was hired to investigate the proposed house footprint. Fourteen shovel tests and five percolation tests were conducted. In several of the test pits an extremely dense and impenetrable layer of FCR was encountered, and basal deposits were not reached. The

density of artifacts encountered was very high, and Eldridge notes that the site has high scientific and ethnic significance (Eldridge 1988, 7). Eldridge recommended that the southern portion of the site be preserved for further scientific investigation as he considered these deposits to not only be intact, but to be significant and unlike the deposits previously encountered (ibid.).

In considering the potential of this site based on etic categories, the likelihood of DeRv 107 to yield more artifacts and faunal material for statistical analysis in undoubted. When considering the potential for this site to inform us about the use of, and interaction with wetlands of various sorts (marsh, estuary, mud flat, inter-tidal beach, and ocean), it must be regarded as having incredibly high significance. Also, the site is very near two further identified archaeological sites: DeRv 151 to the northwest along the marsh, and DeRv 2 to the east, along the shore of Cowichan Bay (both identified but neither invasively tested). Inter-site relationships might be revealed, or they may be shown to be part of the same site. As parts of DeRv 107 were thought to be intact (as of 1988), and the presence of wood was noted (no mention of waterlogging or carbonization), the potential for this site to inform us along traditionally etic lines of questioning is great. This potential would be distinctly improved if larger scale open excavation were to take place, and excavated stratigraphically, with each context tested.

The proximity of this site to wetlands where pollen, plant macrofossils, and perishable artifacts might yet be preserved is another reason to consider this site very important indeed. Evidence of wetland plant management may also be found. Potential for

preserved deposits in areas to the west are high as this area is part of Cowichan Indian Reserve 1, and little development has taken place in this area.

(Another burial has been very recently excavated at this site, but it is not yet published. The burial goods indicate a very high status individual, and this may contribute to our understanding of mortuary practices in Hul'qumi'num territory. At the same time, burials are a very sensitive issue for the Cowichan elders, and they may not wish this burial to be discussed in public (Hinkley 2011, pers.comm).

Moving upriver, away from the coast, we come to DeRv 156, the Comiaken Burial Mound. Located on Cowichan Indian Reserve 1, the mound is found on the western slope of Comiaken Hill, 65 meters away from the Cowichan River. The mound was initially test excavated by A.E.Pickford in 1944 and has been somewhat disturbed since. The mound was re-excavated 50 years later by Douglas Brown, who was attempting to discern similarities between this mound, and externally similar mounds from Mainland Halkomelem sites at Scowlitz and Hatzic. Only one trench was excavated. Based on the evidence of peripheral morphology and overall size, Brown concluded that the mound was similar to the Scowlitz Mound 1, and that the distribution of these mounds appears to correspond to the Central and South Gulf River Fishermen described by Mitchell (1971), and discussed by Clark (2010) as forming a meaningful, sub-regional culture phase (Brown 2000).

While the 1994 work at the Comiaken burial mound was officially sanctioned by the Cowichan Elders, it is unlikely that any further work will take place at this site. Neither

excavation encountered a burial, but it was suggested by Brown (who was not hoping to encounter any individuals buried there) that Pickford must have miscalculated the location of the burial (Brown 2000). Recent disputes over the treatment of ancestral Cowichans have resulted in high tensions, and it is unlikely that any further work would occur at this site. However, it is important that this site be considered in any further analysis of mortuary patterns as the mound itself may relate to the regional development of Marpole culture.

Sites DeRw 16 and 17 are located on opposing banks of the Cowichan River; DeRw 16 on the south bank, and DeRw 17 on the north bank (see map 3). These two sites were identified in the Vancouver Island Natural Gas Pipeline right-of-way, and are both located on Cowichan Indian Reserve 1, west of Duncan. Few inland sites have previously been identified in this area, so the researchers were tasked with designing an approach that would be suitable to such a unique pair of sites. It was decided that the research should focus on identifying site function based on an analysis of lithic material (Wilson & Smart 1992, iv).

Both shovel tests and 1x1m units were conducted across the site. Shovel tests were spaced at regular intervals along the right-of-way, and the 1 x 1 m units were judgmentally placed in locations anticipated to yield the greatest information. Uncharacteristically, many of the units were placed contiguously resulting in a somewhat open plan, allowing features to be exposed more readily. Sixteen units were excavated at DeRw 16, and 54 units were excavated at DeRw 17.

There was a distinct lack of cultural stratification at both sites, and it was interpreted that each site represented a single component. Artifact analysis and material distribution corroborates this conclusion (Wilson & Smart 1992, 83). Little bone survived on site, but there was evidence of bone tool production (ibid.). From the changed jaw configuration of salmon remains found on site, it was inferred that occupation of the site took place in late fall or early winter (ibid., 84).

There was a great deal of evidence for cobble tool production at DeRw 16, which is adjacent to a source for river cobbles. A buried anvil stone was found *in situ*, and it is thought that this was the site of lithic reduction. Similar tools and material types were identified at DeRw 17, and it is thought that these two sites may represent contemporaneous occupations (Wilson & Smart 1992, 84).

Difficulties of assigning a date to these sites arises due to the traditional research preference for shell mound sites. Faunal remains and bone tools and artifacts form an integral part of the criteria used to differentiate between Locarno Beach, Marpole and DCS/Gulf of Georgia phases (Mitchell 1971). A bipolar percussion industry has been considered an indicator of the Locarno Beach phase (Mitchell 1988a, 17). Support for a Locarno Beach phase occupation comes from the presence of abraders, the absence of ground stone tools, and the presence of a large, lanceolate, faceted and notched ground slate point and two large chipped contracting stem bifaces (Wilson & Smart 1992, 85).

DeRw 16 & 17 are considered to be of very high significance. Unfortunately, such an intense focus on lithic production at the site, combined with low levels of bone

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preservation means that other potential site functions have been overlooked. The sites are located on either side of an 'S' curve in the river, and the potential for a fish weir may be identified. Radiocarbon dates received after the completion of the report indicate that the site may be even earlier than the accepted dates for the Locarno Beach Phase. The dates range from DeRw 16 & 17 is 3600 to 3900 Cal. BP, placing it in the Charles Culture (Wilson & Smart 1992). Such an old inland site with at least one intensive industry identified could be very important for our understanding of riverine resource use, and the exploitation of local resources.
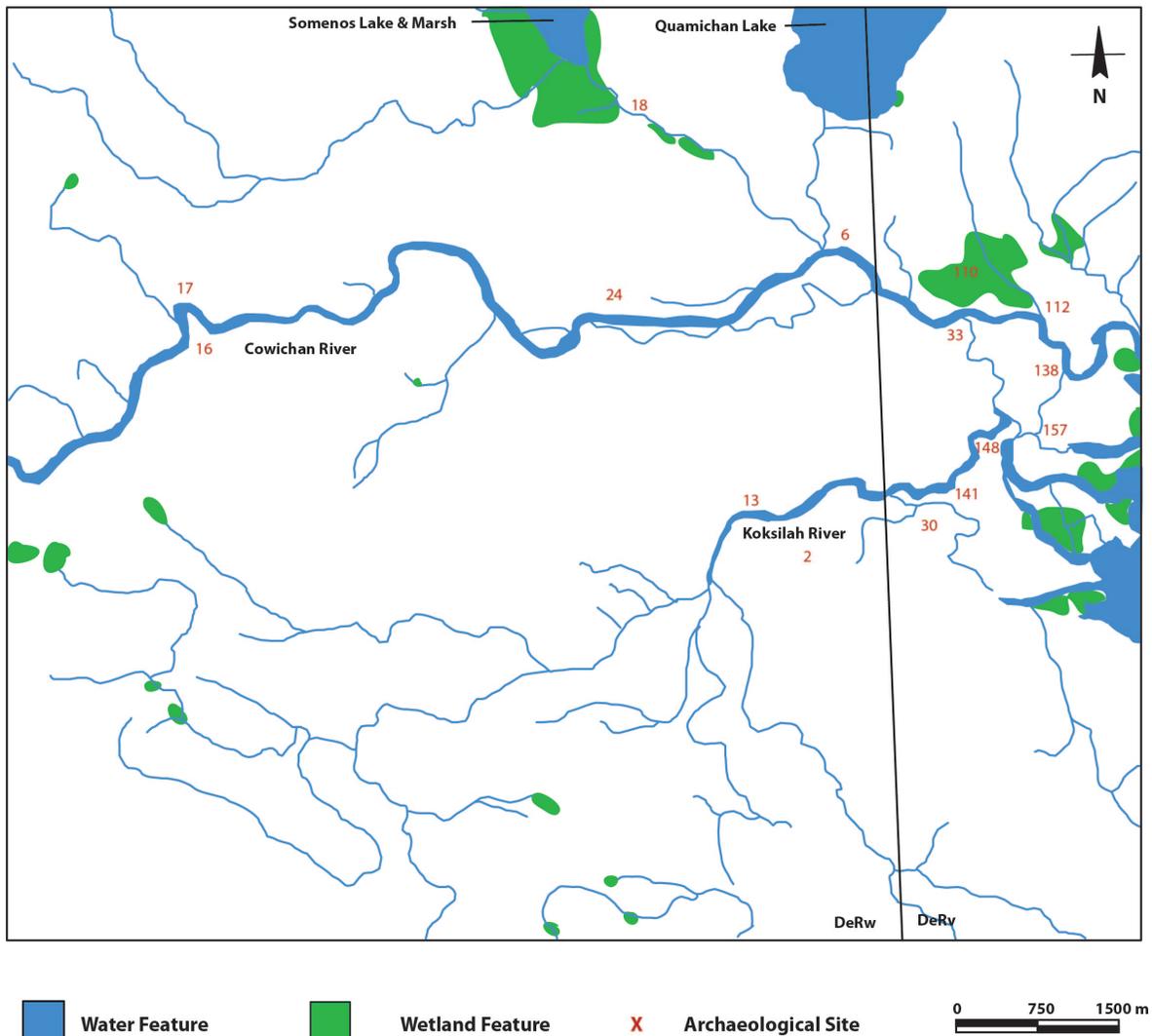


*Figure 8 - Cowichan River Archaeological Sites (RAAD 2010)*

Finally, DeRw 18 (Figure 8), the Somenos Creek site is located along the east bank of Somenos Creek, just northeast of Duncan. Somenos Creek runs from Somenos Lake, through Somenos Marsh, and into the Cowichan River, quite near the confluence of the Quamichan and Cowichan Rivers. The site is located on private property under the ownership of Timbercrest Estates Ltd. The site is next to a prior development of Timbercrest Estates Ltd., that was not archaeologically tested.

The first work at the Somenos Creek site took place in 1992, when human remains were reported as having been disturbed during the process of land clearing for development (Warner 1993). I.R. Wilson Consultants Ltd. recovered the remains of 12 individuals from a bulldozer cut through the site. These individuals were all found in relatively shallow depressions in an inland shell mound. The only burial indicative of status differentiation was a child burial with several wealth items (Warner 1993; Cybulski 1993). At the time of this salvage operation, the presence of an inland shell midden was thought curious by the investigators. They were further confused by the radiocarbon dates from the site. One sample was taken from an individual buried in the shell midden, and yielded a date of 1690 +- 70 years BP. The other sample was taken from marine shell, and yielded a date of 2120 +- 70 years BP. This discrepancy suggested to the researchers the possibility of imported shell midden from some other place of importance for the purposes of ritual burial, in the 'piece of place' train of thought (Warner 1993).

I.R.Wilson Ltd., conducted an AIA soon after the initial salvage excavation. Another site nearby, DeRw 19, was identified by a single surface find. This site was on the side of an unnamed tributary, but further testing yielded no results. Nothing further has been found at this site. The AIA on the Timbercrest property suggested that further deposits, and likely more burials, would be encountered. The owners were advised to either rethink their development project, or to prepare for a full-scale mitigation project (Warner 1993, 25-26).

The next project at the Somenos Creek site was a geophysical soil conductivity test, conducted in 1994. Remote sensing was used in the hopes of identifying further burials at the site. The limits of the shell component of the site were identified, and several potential hearth features were located outside the shell matrix component (Brown 1996). Potential for further work and recovery of human remains was considered to be very high.

Brown returned to the site in the fall of that same year in order to conduct excavations that would shed light on the relationship between burials and shell deposits. Through these excavations the site proved to have evidence of multiple occupations, and a change in site function over time. A large steaming or roasting pit was encountered, dating to 3750 +- 190 BP. This first period was attributed to the Charles Phase. The second period resulted in the creation of a shell mound at the site. A combination of artifacts of foreign material and imported shell suggested that settlement activities were taking place at this site (McLay et al. 2009). The third period indicates that the site had changed function, from a domestic site to a mortuary landscape. Twenty-four burials

were identified with at least six different forms of ritual deposition (ibid., 14). Several burials contained status items. Notable among them was the burial of a child with over 493 slate beads. The proximity of the burials to one-another has been suggested by Brown (1996) to be a cemetery based on family or corporate ownership of the land. The excavation of the site ceased at the request of Cowichan Elders who visited the site and were troubled by the exposure and disruption of their ancestors in such a clearly sacred space (McLay et al, 2009).

Finally, in 2003, ground penetrating radar was used in the hope of identifying further burials for the purposes of avoidance. Archaeological testing of the GPR results identified a further three features that shed light onto the use of this site. A small hearth, a rectangular cultural depression, and a deep circular pit with many burning events were discovered (McLay et al 2009: 33). The hearth feature was dated to 1270 +- 40 years BP and indicated that it may be from the Late Marpole phase. The rectangular depression dated to 2130 to 2000 years calBP, and fell into the early Marpole period (ibid., 49). The feature measured 10 x 4 meters, in a rough rectangle, and was cut into the sterile clay. Preserved floral and faunal remains were found within this structure but a lack of structural remains has perplexed the researchers (ibid.). The circular depression, found within the rectangular feature, is a deep pit, under a meter in diameter, with several burning episodes. It too was excavated into the basal clays. The feature was partially capped by a large boulder, the function of which is unknown.

This site is still considered to be of great potential. Not only might it inform us on the development of the area specifically, it may also shed light on the mortuary practices of

the immediate area as well as the region. Despite the dredging of Somenos Creek, enough surrounding wetland exists to provide palynological samples which can inform us about site use, and potentially resource management at the site. Furthermore, both Somenos and Quamichan Lakes are undergoing processes of revitalization. This research, informed by the above-mentioned sites, and the following chapters, will put forward some recommendations to mitigate site destruction and make the most effective use of the opportunities provided by the revitalization process.

To date, the archaeological work that has been carried out in Cowichan traditional territory has shown the Ancestral Cowichan to be predominantly marine oriented. Acknowledgement of riverine orientation has been minimally extrapolated based on the riverine orientation of the Mainland Halkomelem, for which archaeological evidence has been found. Other than the Somenos Creek site, and DeRw 16 & 17, little meaningful work has been carried out on non-coastal sites. It is impossible to tell why it is that more sites have not been identified and excavated, monitored or preserved. Likely it is a combination of several things: preconceived notions of Coast Salish marine orientation, public ignorance of the legal obligation to follow the *HCA*, ignorance of the potential for wet site preservation, the presence of Indian Reserves in which the *HCA* has no jurisdiction, the visibility of shell mounds, and an uncritical reliance on generalized Coast Salish ethnographic resources.

The archaeological evidence from available reports and site forms indicates that the Ancestral Cowichan were marine oriented individuals, with 84% of the total sites on the coast, and only 39% estuarine/riverine (23% of sites having both coastal and

estuarine/riverine designation). The numbers are likely skewed due to the Acheson, Cassidy & Claxton surveys of 1974 and 1975, which was limited by time and money, and, it may be argued, an implicit belief that Coast Salish tribes were marine oriented. Public awareness about riverine and other wetland use by the Ancestral Cowichan is lacking and exacerbates any preconceptions imbedded in legislation and corresponding guidelines. The uncritical reliance on ethnographic accounts, and the practice of mining oral traditions for 'truths' results in a superficial understanding of Native perceptions and orientations.

## Chapter 6 – Ethnographic Accounts of Native Life in the Cowichan Valley

Ethnographic accounts lie midway between the etic and emic descriptions of Native life. In large part, those ethnographic accounts are still based on etic research agendas and use etic criteria in the analysis of observations of emic practices. They have the potential to provide a wealth of information about the practices and beliefs of the recent ancestors of modern Native populations, but they are veiled in western assumptions and prejudices. Ideas of cultural evolution, of the simplicity of Native life, and preference for describing male tasks, ceremonies, and economies, and obviously unusual technology (to the European mind), and a preference for dry-land over wet have all resulted in a collection of sources which paints only half the picture. This chapter examines the ethnographic sources available for the Cowichan Natives, highlighting western prejudice and assumptions as they arise. Particular attention has been paid to wetland utilization and perception, discussing practices and products of

such interactions. In the end, we have an etic description of the Ancestral Cowichan's interaction with their non-coastal wet places.

**Introduction to the Cowichan and their Territory**

Written records cover but a fraction of the history of Native presence on the Northwest Coast. Though the Ancestral Cowichan have lived on the southeast coast of Vancouver Island for over 5,000 years, as indicated by the archaeological work undertaken to date in the Valley (Marshall 1999, 5), their presence was first noted by outsiders in 1808, when the explorer Simon Fraser encountered them on his trip down the river which now bears his name. His party encountered a group of Cowichan Indians living on the delta, and he considered them hostile and aggressive (Lamb 2007, 46). They appeared so fearsome to Fraser's crew that it 'shattered their morale' and it took a great deal of persuasion and encouragement to entice the men to journey up the river, and back to Fort George (ibid.).

The Cowichan encountered by Fraser were likely camped on the Lower Fraser River in order to fish and to gather some of the various plants of that estuary. Until the area was sold to cannery companies, the Cowichan used to have a seasonal village at Lulu Island (Marshall 1999, 79). John Work, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in the early 19th century, noted the presence of the 'Coweechins' on what is now the Fraser River (Work, December 7th, 1824). Work does not appear to have distinguished between winter and summer dwellings, and, though he was aware that the Cowichan lived on

Vancouver Island, it may be that the Cowichan Villages he encountered on Lulu island were so large and longstanding that they had the appearance of a winter village.

The first two encounters between Cowichans and Europeans happened on the mainland, in their seasonal camp and harvesting areas. The first description of the Cowichan in their core territory was written by Robert Brown, leader of the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition (VIEE) in 1864. Brown kept journals of the VIEE, describing the landscape, its potential (as seen through European eyes), and its people. Brown hired two Natives to guide the party up the Cowichan River to Lake Cowichan, and across to the west Coast of the Island. Brown's guides told him stories along the way, and he was so taken with the connection that these people had to the landscape that he noted: 'every bend has a name, every hill a story, every dark pool a tradition' (Hayman 1989, 177). Brown introduces the Cowichan River thusly:

> The Cowichan River is about 40 miles in length, and is a most tortuous stream; a straight line from the mouth to the lake would not probably be more than 29 miles; it is exceedingly rapid, there being hardly any smooth water with the exception of short distances in the canon [sic], and about two miles at the height of the river before joining the lake. Its banks, some distance from the sea where the sea breezes do not affect them, covered with magnificent forests of the finest description of spars, and numerous natural knees, are found everywhere. Were the river cleared of obstacles and deepened in the shallowest parts, they might be floated down in "cribs." The winter time would be the best for rafting when the water is high... There are few bars, the banks running perpendicularly and covered with trees to the water's edge... in many places the river divides into channels... the colour of Gold we found everywhere...Coal crops out in one place...The surrounding country is in most places flat, with here and there open tracts...

> (Hayman 1989, VIEE 2-3)

The accuracy of place names was doubted by early settlers such as R.I. Dougan, one of the early farmers in the Valley, who surmised that the names were of such antiquity 'that it is doubtful if even the oldest Indians now living are now qualified to interpret them' (1973, 221). The Cowichan themselves did not hold this opinion, however, in the 1970s, when Rozen's work with the Cowichan Tribes was initiated, they were aware that the vital link between place name and cultural significance was not as prevalent as it once had been, and should be preserved in writing for their descendants. Thus, the two works by Rozen: The Ethnogeography of the Cowichan River, and The Place Names of the Island Halkomelem Indian People (1977 & 1985 respectively) based on information gathered from Elders. The information for the following place names comes from these two works, and the sources for supplementary information and observations are referenced along the way.


**Ethnographic Sources for the Cowichan**

Out of all the Native groups to be studied on the Northwest Coast, there are comparatively few ethnographic sources which concern the Cowichan specifically. Many of the sources used by archaeologists to aid in their interpretation of artifacts and sites are those which refer generally to the Coast Salish (ex. Hill-Tout 1978; Barnett 1939, 1955). The reasons for the paucity of direct ethnographic sources are many, and it is probable that we will never come to understand them all.

The earliest descriptions of Native life that we have from southwestern Vancouver Island come in the form of observations in letters and diaries of early traders, travellers

and settlers. Fort Victoria, on the southern tip of Vancouver Island, was the hub from which travellers set out to explore the island as well as the mainland. The frequency of observation was naturally skewed towards those Native groups living closer to the Fort, and at present we have more information, including more photographic evidence, for the Songhees or Lekwungen (Keddie 2003). The information about these groups close at hand is plentiful, but, perhaps, more distorted because the Natives of this area had been influenced by European culture for longer than any other group.

In 1849, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) was granted a lease for Vancouver Island from the British Crown. The first task of the HBC was to establish a fort, and to that end a party was sent out to search for the ideal location. James Douglas, chief factor of the HBC (and eventually Governor of the Colony of Vancouver Island), wrote the first account that we have of the Cowichan while on a canoe trip along the east coast of Vancouver Island, in search of the site of the future fort (Douglas 1854). Many factors went into the selection of a site, including the presence of a protected harbour, and ease of access to other areas. Initially, the new HBC fort was supposed to be a whaling supply and trading depot, so access to the coast was very important (Keddie 2003). The area eventually selected was in the territory of the Songhees, on the southern tip of Vancouver Island, with access to the Fraser River and the mainland, as well as the west coast of the Island, and the American territories to the south. Besides the logistical reasons for selecting this site, Douglas considered the area around Victoria to be reminiscent of the English countryside. Unbeknownst to Douglas, the landscape he first set eyes on was a product of land management practices of the Songhees (Keddie 2003; Deur 2000; Duer & Turner 2005). Land management was practiced all along the

Northwest Coast. Other areas of southern Vancouver Island were similarly appealing, adding to their decision to locate their fort in that area.



*Figure 9 - "Return of a War Party," Victoria, B.C. (Paul Kane 1847. Royal Ontario Museum)*

Ten years after the founding of Fort Victoria, the rest of the island was being explored and its resources enumerated. In 1864, a group set out from Victoria to take stock of the rest of the island. Alexander Barnston and Robert Brown both wrote accounts of the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition, and noted their encounters with the Cowichan and other tribes of the Island (Barnston 1864; Hayman 1989). The area north of Victoria was found to 'abound in minerals, marble, coal, copper &c., and gold', and early descriptions of the area involve musings about potential modifications to the landscape to render it more productive in a European sense (Brown 1864, 14 in Hayman 1989). At this early stage we can discern the preferences for familiar resources over the unfamiliar abundance of the area. Robert Brown enumerates the resources (timber, deer, fish, metals), and describes those dominant features of the landscape

(Cowichan River and Cowichan Lake), but he does not provide comparable descriptions of such places as Quamichan and Somenos Lakes or the Cowichan estuary which are more diverse in their resources. Overall, the Cowichan Valley was considered to have good potential as a colonial outpost, and plans were made to send a ship with colonists and support to the area in the summer of 1862.

During the course of the exploring expedition on Vancouver Island, Brown recorded the stories told to him by two of his Native guides, Kakalatza, one of the chiefs of the Somenos village, and Tomo, a man who had lived in the Cowichan Valley for 'some' years (Brown, 177-8 in Hayman 1989). The stories he recorded were deeply influenced by his European upbringing, which involved a good deal of moralizing and highlight the implicit view that the Native race would learn the virtues of a Christian life and soon be assimilated. Brown indicates that without a writing system, little of the stories could be proved, thus moving them from the realm of fact to that of fancy (Brown 178 in Hayman 1989). He also doubted the originality of certain stories while acknowledging their antiquity, suggesting that they were Asian in origin, as the Natives were believed to be, and 'may serve to 'point a moral' while 'adoring a tale' in an Indian wigwam' (ibid.). 'A few of [the stories] are local, but the greater number are found widely scattered, under different versions, among the Indian tribes, but in a few cases is the disguise so deep as to conceal the original outline of the tale.'(ibid.). Brown was aware of the rapid disappearance of these stories, and he appears to have appreciated the opportunity he had to record even a fraction of the stories given to him. 'Nowadays, as the young people affect to despise these idle tales, and only a few of the old people know them, they are dropping fast into oblivion, as the more ignorant class of the

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whites, who have opportunities of collecting them, look upon them as so many foolish Indian stories, without being aware that they form some of the treasures of that unwrought mine of Indian mythology which... is capable of yielding so much to the stores of science.' (ibid., 179). Continuing on, we see, in one sentence, the perception of Natives by Europeans and the reason for Native recalcitrance: 'It is not always possible to obtain these tales, for an Indian, even if he is not too lazy or too ignorant to be capable of imparting this information, is so afraid of being laughed at that it is with the utmost difficulty he can be induced to tell the traditions of his people.' (ibid.).

Regarding his cultural prejudice towards the landscape, Brown, in one instance, recounts the story of the origin of mosquitoes, saying that at the mouth of the Fraser River there are 'extensive swamps, or marshy flats' and that 'the land is clear, and for the most part good and suitable for agriculture' but that they are well nigh uninhabitable due to an unimaginable profusion of mosquitoes (Brown, 188 in Hayman 1989). There follows no discussion of Native reaction to these insects except to say that it was 'impossible to persuade a native to accompany you in exploring these places unless for enormous pay.' (ibid.). This suggests that the area was not used and that there was no Native solution to this 'problem,' but is likely untrue. Seasonal relocation to the Lower Fraser River as discussed in various ethnographic sources, and archaeological evidence suggest that these areas were heavily used (see Crow-Swords 1972). Other wetlands along the coast were similarly afflicted with mosquitoes, but were also intensively used, as seen in the Cowichan example. Brown's reaction to marshes non-riverine or –lacustrine wetlands is paradigmatic of other accounts of learned individuals working in this area in the post-contact period.

Other information about the Cowichan can be found in the correspondence of early settlers, such as Edmund Hope Verney, commander of the HMS Grappler, and R.I.Dougan, an early settler in the valley. Many of these sources are specific to the Cowichan and regard the customs of Natives of the Northwest Coast more generally, but are relatively superficial in their discussions of specific Native practices, considering high-visibility and male dominated activities. Unfamiliar behaviour, noteworthy architecture, and all manner of unusual customs were remarked upon. Differing levels of cultural appreciation and prejudices towards certain aspects of the environment are also evident in these early accounts. There existed a preference for discussing those resources and landscapes with which Europeans were not only familiar, but were adept at exploiting.

Commander E.H. Verney was encouraged by his father to record what scientific knowledge he could glean of the Native groups he encountered on his travels (Verney 1996, 39). While he does discuss the potential of the Cowichan landscape for farming, little is said of the extensive wetlands or the abundant resources of the smaller lakes. Without providing us with specifics, his comments do suggest that the land set aside for settlers was of lesser quality than the Colonial government had advertised; this may be this perception of the wet and scrubby areas of the lower valley (Verney 1996, 82). These areas were simply regarded as potential farmland. Concomitantly, the native use of these areas is little discussed, save when it refers to resources with which settlers were familiar, such as the use of weirs to catch fish. Any recording of Native history or lifeways was either incidental or recorded to preserve a vignette of a quickly vanishing

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romantic ideal and is consistently balanced with descriptions of the perceived depravity of the Natives. Verney is to be credited with a sympathetic feeling towards the Cowichan, and repeatedly commented on the deplorable treatment of the Natives by the Colonial Government in that they had not yet been paid the sums promised in compensation for their confiscated lands (Verney 1996, 43). Thus, while some early accounts, such as those of Brown and Verney, can be quite thorough and frank in their description of aspects of Native life, they lack the theoretical approach and the censorship of the early ethnographers.

In the present work a differentiation is made between early observational accounts and ethnographic sources based on the underlying purpose of the accounting. Popular belief in the late 19th century held that the Native groups encountered by early settlers would quickly die out or assimilate (Harris 1997; Suttles 1990; Hill-Tout 1978; early news papers). This belief was held by almost everyone, ethnographers and settlers alike, and was reinforced, in the early stages, by large scale decreases in native populations due to disease, and to perceived preliminary successes at assimilation (Harris 1997; Milloy 1999). The difference between the two source types is not simply that ethnographers were more in-depth in their observations. While the ethnographers were more 'thorough' in their recording of the culture, they also censored their work, what can be considered professional censorship. That is to say that some groups were perceived to be more 'authentic' than others. On the other hand, observers are to be credited with simply recording what they saw through their own cultural lens, while the ethnographers often made judgments about the level of European influence on the groups they encountered, selecting the more pristine groups for in-depth study, and

omitting any fact or feature they assumed to be alien. Early observations can be considered to possess a level of cultural censorship, while ethnographic sources possessed an academic, anthropological or scientific censorship. The ethnographer Charles Hill-Tout, for example, said that he feared that 'the study of these tribes has been delayed too long to obtain the best results,' (Hill-Tout 1906, 306) due to the passing of many of the old people who took with them important cultural information. And in reference to the Lekwungen, whom he visited prior to the Cowichan, he said that they were 'by no means the best representatives of their race; indeed of all the Salish tribes of British Columbia, I fear they have benefited least by contact with a superior civilization' (1978, 127-8).

**Photographic Evidence**

For the purposes of this study, photographic evidence is also considered alongside the written sources. Not all the photographs obtained from the British Columbia archives can be attributed to known individuals, so speculations cannot be made about the context in which the photographs were taken. Others, such as the notable collection of Edward S. Curtis, were sometimes contrived scenes of what he believed Native life should have been (Makepeace 2002). In the case of Curtis, some of the clothing, the tools, and the practices seen in his photographs may have been anachronistic, but it is likely that they were formerly culturally appropriate at some point in the past. For this reason, photographs are here considered alongside the non-ethnographic sources.
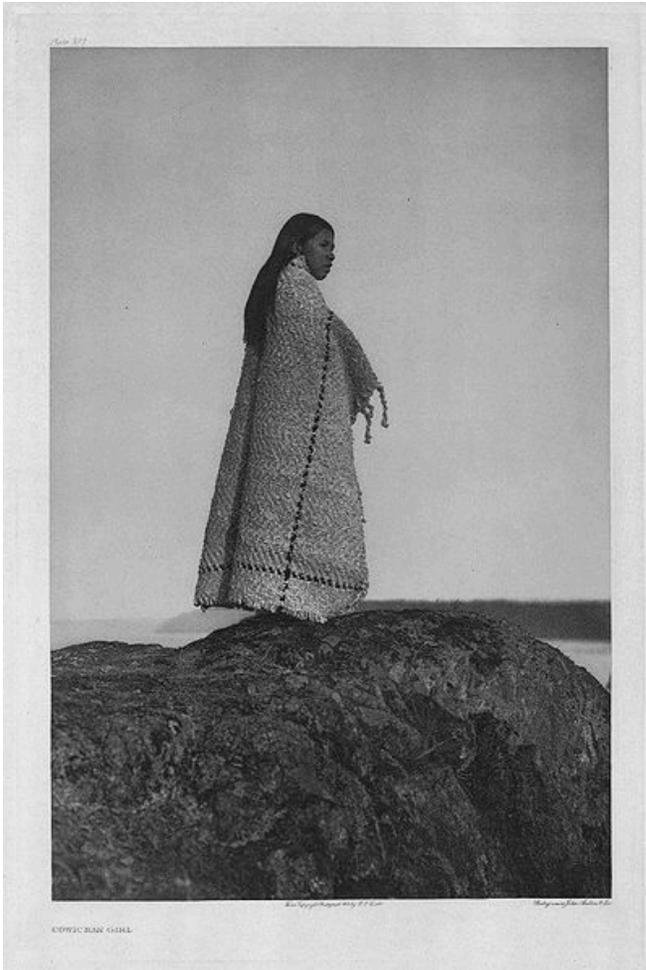
*Figure 10 - "Cowichan Girl" (Edward S. Curtis, 1913)*

Edward Curtis was known for his evocative images of Native cultures, but was, at times, more of an artist than an ethnographer. While the location and the clothing of this girl were appropriately Cowichan, it may have been the case (as with the making of *In the Land of the Headhunters* – Curtis 1914) that the clothing this girl wore from day to day was distinctly European (Makepeace 2002).

There are relatively few images of Cowichan Natives and their way of life as compared to the Songhees, for example, who are well recorded due to their proximity to Victoria. A search of the B.C. Provincial archives yielded five photos of fish weirs on the Cowichan River. Two images (Figure 18 and 19) depict the same fish weir, crossing a narrow part of the river. These two images in chapter 6, and the following two pictures (Figures 11 and 12), show fish weirs with additional upstream traps.

*Figure 11 - Weir on the Cowichan River (B.C. Provincial Archives, D-07562, n.d)*



*Figure 12 - Weir on the Cowichan River (B.C. Provincial Archives, B-03532, n.d.)*

Two other pictures show weirs spanning wider parts of the river. Figure 13 shows a weir located in a rapid stretch of the river, while Figure 14 shows another weir further downstream where the river opens up into the estuary. These photos were taken in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They show that, despite early controversy about the presence of weirs in the river, weirs were still actively maintained and used during this period. They show the versatility of weir use in all parts of the river. Furthermore, they

provide a reminder for archaeologists working in this area to be aware of the possibility of encountering remains of weirs on all parts of the river, and of the possible associated sites.
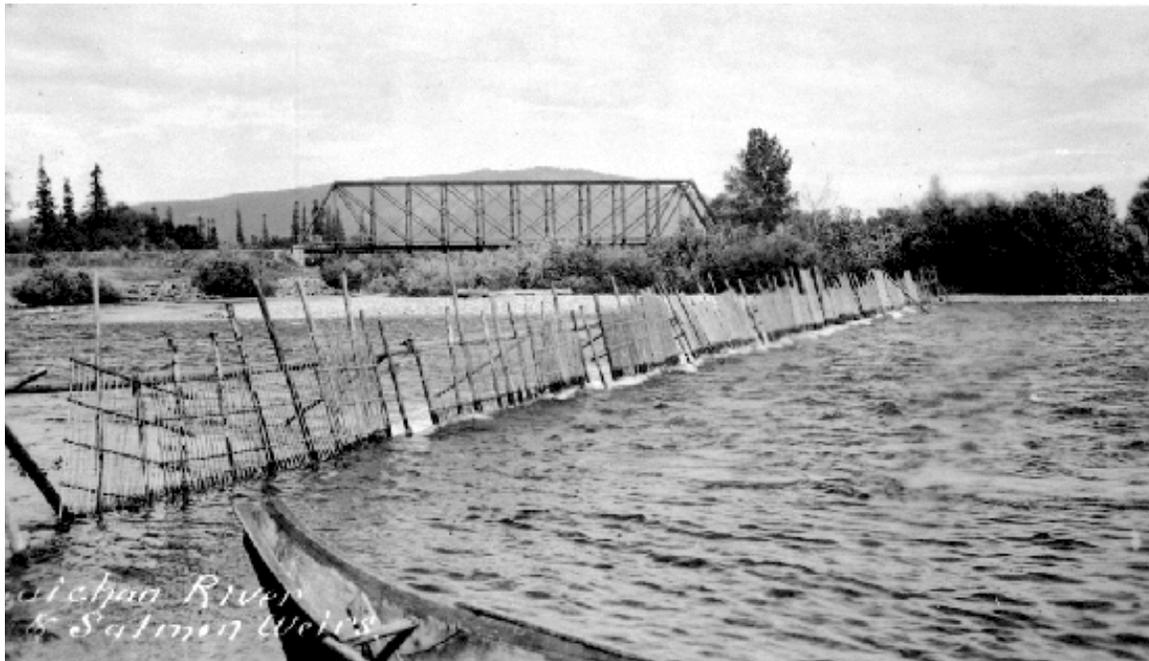


*Figure 13 - Fish weir on the Cowichan River (B.C. Provincial Archives, D-03689, n.d.)*

*Figure 14 - Fish weir on lower Cowichan River (B.C. Provincial Archives, H-07044, 26 May 1913)*

Of course, several activities which have taken place on the Cowichan River have had negative impacts on weirs. Weirs were forcefully removed by government agents in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They were also damaged by log running on the Cowichan River, and were sometimes destroyed by log jams. Figure 15 shows two sports fishermen on the Cowichan River, and in the background there appears to be a collection of roots and boughs from a log jam, and a possible section of a weir. This picture is interesting in that it symbolizes the importance of the Cowichan River to Natives and non-Native settlers alike, and how the Native fishery was forced to take a back seat to sport fishing.

*Figure 15 - Sports fishermen on the Cowichan River (B.C. Provincial Archives, I-29984, 1936)*

The impact of logging can also be seen in Figure 16, which shows the banks of the

Koksilah River littered with Native canoes and logging debris. The Koksilah River was

not used for log running in the same way, so the effects of logging seen on this small river must be extrapolated for the Cowichan River.



*Figure 16 - Native canoes and logging detritus on the Koksilah River (B.C. Provincial Archives)*

Finally, Figure 17 shows the Quamichan Village, with Mt. Tzouhalem in the background. Quamichan Village was one of the largest villages on the lower Cowichan River before European settlement. This photo shows the traditional domestic structures in the foreground with several European style houses in the back. The village is very close to the river, showing erosional surfaces, and highlights the eventual losses of Indian Reserve land when log running was at its height. This is still a residential area over 100 years later. Development in this area, and erosion from the River should be monitored, but as they are on Reserve land they fall outside the purview of the *HCA*.

*Figure 17 - Quamichan Village (B.C. Provincial Archives, D-00692, Frederick Dally, 1866-1870)*

**Literary Sources**

Considering the difference between ethnographic sources concerning the Cowichan, we see that, by numbers alone, there are nine sources listed in the bibliography on the Cowichan Tribes web site that are observational, and only three which are ethnographic in nature. Only a day's boat ride away from Victoria, the Cowichan may have been perceived as already having too much European influence.

Franz Boas was the first academic ethnographer to pass through the Cowichan Valley in 1886, but recorded very little for several reasons made clear in his personal letters. First, he was of the opinion that the Cowichans, being in close proximity to the Fort,

and having been exposed to settlers longer than other groups, were not as 'pure' as other groups (Boas 1966; also in Hill-Tout with regard to the 'purity' of the Songhees). This, on its own, was not enough to dissuade Boas from recording aspects of Cowichan lifeways; some limited information can be found. However, Boas was further put off by events that transpired while he was staying in the valley. The early letters from his stay in the Cowichan Valley suggest that he found it a very beautiful place, and that the settler community was much to his liking. He stayed with a family in what is now the city of Duncan, but found the long trek to each of the Native reserves particularly taxing, even more so as he was not able to record as much as he desired. He considered the Cowichan to be 'suspicious and unapproachable' and was not willing to pay them for the information he hoped to obtain (Rohner 1969, 53). Yet, considered in another light, the Cowichan are a proud people, and did not consider themselves subject to the whims of settlers. Boas encountered a man at Somenos village who told him that 'the whites look upon the Indians not as humans but as dogs, and he did not wish anyone to laugh at things that were their laws, such as painted houses and articles used for celebrating festivals' (Rohner 1969, 54). Finally, on a very practical note, while gathering information from one of his informants, an old man at the Somenos village, the account was interrupted by an old woman who wished to correct one of his facts. At this, the informant 'became so angry that I could not get another word out of him' (ibid., 57). Boas left the area without gathering much information from the Cowichan, but he was much more successful further north among the Snanaimuq (present day Snuneymuxw) and elsewhere in Coast Salish territory (Boas 1889).

Charles Hill-Tout was the next ethnographer to visit the south east coast of the Island, in 1907. His work focused largely on the Lekwungen, or Songhees, around Victoria, but he did include some observations and stories gathered from the Cowichan in Volume IV of his study of the Salish (in 1907). He took a broad view of the Cowichan, and considered them to be more similar to their island neighbours in material and cultural practice than their linguistic affiliates on the mainland (Maud 1978, 155-6). Hill-Tout's account of the Cowichan is dominated by their oral history with little specific information on material culture and daily customs. The Cowichan information is found in a collection of works about the Coast Salish, and is evidence of the importance placed on the study of linguistic groups by academic circles of the early 20th century.

Beryl Cryer (2007, 327) appears to have been the most faithful to her informants, going further than all other sources by describing the immediate context of her informants and presenting the stories as she recorded them, pauses, gestures and all. She has been heavily criticized for including this information as it was thought to overshadow the purity of the tale. Yet correspondence between Cryer and William Newcombe, son of the Native material culture collector C.F. Newcombe, and a member of the Provincial Museum staff, reveal that she was deeply concerned with authenticity. On numerous occasions she wrote to double check aspects of the stories she had collected (Cryer 2007, 23-4). Although her desire to check facts against previously recorded stories suggests that she believed, as others did, in some abstract correctness with regard to Coast Salish oral history, she does not appear to have changed the versions she recorded, but rather mentions any discrepancies she encountered. Thus, where others

failed, Cryer succeeds in providing us with many important insights into the real lives of her informants, and in the incongruent cultural context which settler society had placed them. She describes the dress, practices, and living conditions of her informants, and their perspectives on current events in the 1930s, such as the fishing laws which had an enormous impact on the Native livelihood and culture (for a discussion on this see Harris 2001). The European prejudices of the early settlers persisted well into the 20th century, and while Cryer faithfully recounted the stories of her informants, she also included a number of disparaging remarks arising from her colonial upbringing. This aside, she is to be credited with including views and stories recounted by women, something which, whether due to the inherent chauvinism of the period or to a sense of propriety, was not done by earlier male researchers. For the first time we are given a female perspective, and the Native view of their own culture and its place in the growing settler society, both important factors in the holistic understanding of Native culture.

In 1935 and 1936, Homer Barnett undertook fieldwork among twelve Coast Salish groups. This research was the northward extension of a culture element distribution study based on the native groups of California. Barnett says that he focused on the Coast Salish due to their 'critical position with respect to the important cultures to the north of them and because so little was known about them' (1955, iii). The original aims of Dr. Klimek's project were to discover patterns of material culture distribution. After Barnett had accumulated sufficient comparable data in the first season, he returned the following summer to flesh out some of the non-material aspects of culture that had been touched upon in the first summer (ibid.). The end products of Barnett's

work, the culture element distribution (1939) and the Coast Salish of British Columbia monograph (1955) are one of the more useful sources for the interpretation of archaeological sites and their contents as his work focused in large part on material culture.

As previously seen in the works of earlier observers and ethnographers, Barnett was no exception to prejudging the culture groups he studied. This bias is seen quite clearly in the preface to his 1955 work, when discussing his second field season: 'The purpose was to cover the same ground, to contact the same or new informants according to their worth' (1955, iii). Further on, Barnett paints a bleak picture of ethnographic potential on the coast, saying: 'At present the old culture is practically dead... the material basis, the technology, and the spirit of the aboriginal economy are gone', (though the work of Beryl Cryer (Cryer 2007) and, more recently John Lutz (2009), suggests otherwise) (1955, 2). Barnett appears to be less hopeful about the potential accuracy of memories regarding material culture than he does about stories and beliefs. He was surprised that such a 'moribund' culture had the ability to call things to memory, things that may have been encountered only in youth, or things which may never have been witnessed directly but were passed down from the elders (1955, 4).

Undoubtedly, the most thorough ethnographic work undertaken in the Cowichan valley was conducted by David L. Rozen in the 1970s. In 'Place Names of the Island Halkomelem Indian People', he states that the present work was an example of 'salvage ethnography' and that the information gathered was to be preserved for future generations, as only the winter villages and a handful of other sites were still in use at

the time of the study (1985, 8). Rozen's earlier two works (The Ethnogeography of the Cowichan River in 1977, and the Ethnozoology of the Cowichan Indians of British Columbia in 1978) appear to be much in keeping with this motivation. Working with several Cowichan Elders, the important link between place, culture and history was explored.

Due to the abundance of ethnographic information in neighbouring territory on Vancouver Island, and from affiliated linguistic groups, primarily the Downriver Halkomelem the information gathered in these areas was extrapolated to fill the gaps in Cowichan's ethnographic record (Brown 1996 a,b, 2000; Simonsen 1988, 2010; Warner 1993; Wilson & Smart 1992; Yip 1982). The same situation exists with regard to archaeology; the abundant archaeological evidence from the lower mainland and other areas on southeastern Vancouver Island has been extended, uncritically, to Cowichan traditional territory. This is evidenced in many of the introductions to the 'cultural setting' of archaeological site reports which discuss the Coast Salish in general (see chapter 2). This, despite the fact that one of the most common sources, Wayne Suttles' summary of the Coast Salish in the Smithsonian Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 9, states that 'the territory of the Central Coast Salish is varied in topography, climate, flora and fauna' and therefore not all technologies, artifacts, and customs will be common to all groups falling within this designation (1990, 456).

While the extension of the ethnographic and archaeological work of other groups onto the Cowichan may not be entirely erroneous, such an extension has the potential to miss out on unique customs, practices, and technology each of which leaves a

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particular signature in the material record specific to the Ancestral Cowichan's landscape and culture. Some areas, such as the Downriver Halkomelem and their extensive wetlands, may be more appropriate cases for technological extrapolation. However, the relationship between landscape, technology, and custom has always been complex. There is no formula for understanding the relationships between each aspect of culture, so the need for group-specific ethnographic work remains of the utmost importance.

**General Coast Salish and Specific Cowichan Ethnographic Information**

This section discusses the ethnographic information which is commonly considered to include the Cowichan, as well as the information gathered by later researchers which pertains directly to the Cowichan. For the sake of clarity and holism, the general information is fleshed out by the Cowichan information subject by subject. The early sources in this section may either refer to other Island Halkomelem groups, or they may refer more generally to the Coast Salish. The informants mentioned in Rozen's more recent works will be cited specifically.

**Landscape**

It is the belief of the author that the best starting point for understanding ancestral people's use of their landscape is to examine the place names. An examination of the maps in Rozen's study of the ethnogeography of the Cowichan River (1977), and place-names of the Island Halkomelem (1985) (shown in Figure 18) indicates that many of

the named places are on or very near water features. Most of the information available to non-natives about place names in the Cowichan Valley comes from thirteen Island Salish Elders: Gus Campbell, Michael David, Arnold Guerin, Rose James, Abel D. Joe, Abraham Joe, Arthur Joe, Alexis Louie, Alfred Louie, Chris Paul, David Peters, Agnes Thorne and Hilda Wilson (Rozen 1985, 19). Information on place names and their significance is also provided by Mary Rice, Tommy Pieel, Jennie and Joe Wyse, *Ts'umsitun, Quon-As, Latits'iiya, Qwulstynum, Iichnamukw'*, Wilkes James, *Stockl-Whut*, Edward Hulberston, *Kli-Um*, John Peter, Johnny and Rosalie Seletze, and *Tsonaatun*, and recorded in the notes and articles of Beryl Cryer (Cryer 2007). It is uncommon to include the names of informants in the body of the research, however it is important for the reader to be reminded that the ethnographic information presented here is not simply an account of discrete facts, but are parts of the life experience of local individuals.

Figure 18 - Place names mentioned identified by Rozen's informants (G.Hill 2010 after Rozen 1985)
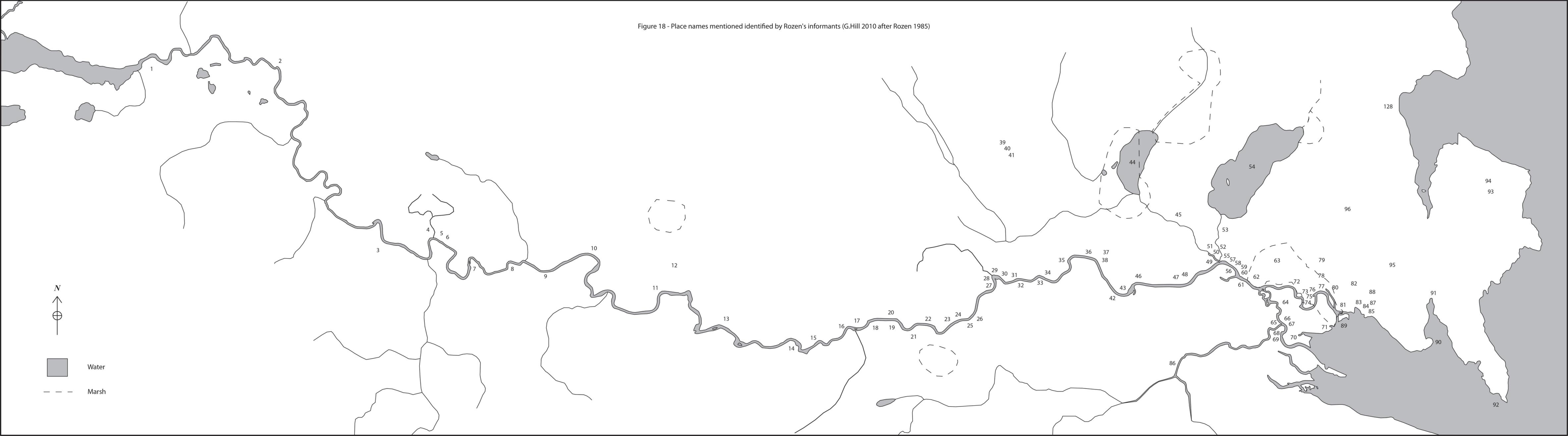
Despite the settlers' imposition of roads and buildings, of boundaries and restrictions on the landscape, these place names have persisted, but not without some assistance. A significant amount of traditional knowledge, including place names and their significance, was lost due to the introduction of European diseases and the colonial programme of assimilation (see Cole Harris (1997), and John Milloy (1999), and others for a discussion of the attrition suffered by Native populations in British Columbia and Canada). One of the significant ramifications of the colonial assimilation policies and European settlement in general was the eventual reorientation of transportation from water to land. This is likely to have had a significant impact of the familiarity of some Natives with not only the traditional mode of transportation, but the culturally significant places one encounters on and adjacent to the water. As fishing laws were put in place to control the amount of fish the Cowichan could obtain from their own river, they were force to look elsewhere for employment, and the increased time spent working for Europeans inland likely meant less time spent on and around the water, and less time engaging in traditional activities.

**Transportation**

The Ancestral Cowichan made much use of canoes as their territory was a network of connecting waterways. One could cover a long distance in a short time, paddling from Cowichan Lake out to the sea, a distance of some 50 km (RAAD, accessed 01.02.11).

The Coast Salish made canoes (*snuhwulh*) from half-logs of red cedar (Turner 1998, 71). The trees used to fashion canoes were usually chosen close to a water way so that

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they could be roughly hewed on site and the roughed-out canoe could be floated back to the village at which the finishing would take place. Back in the village, the canoe could be refined, and steamed into the desired shape. If the canoe maker wished to work on the project at a later time, the canoe could be filled with water, covered, and worked on when time and conditions allowed (Barnett 1955, 110). Abraham Joe said that the small canoes used by the Ancestral Cowichan were called *snu'h'wu'l'* (Rozen 1978, 156).

**Subsistence**

Nicholas (1998, 720) talks about the attractiveness of wetlands to humans and animals alike. The abundance of life in and around wetlands is precisely what attracts humans and animals to these locations. Despite the number of species which can be seen in and around wetlands, only those species whose habitat can be defined as a wetland will be considered in this study (Ramsar 1971). The traditional marine/terrestrial dichotomy will be done away with, and, taking some species from each, a third group of wetland animals will be considered.

*Fish & Beach Food*

Seventy-seven species of fish are known in the Cowichan estuary (Bell & Kallman 1976; see Appendix 6). Of these, twenty-five species have been identified and named as fish that were traditionally used by the Cowichan (Rozen 1978). The Cowichan River, with its network of diverse and slowly rising watercourses and a large lake at its head, was the ideal river for spawning fish. Its productivity decreased during the early colonial

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period in which logs were run down the river, and sections of it were straightened, but its productivity is now on the rebound due to efforts of the Cowichan Tribes through the Salmonid Enhancement facility (Cowichan Tribes 2011; Hinkley 2010). Cowichan River enjoyed a more diverse fish population than did the Koksilah River, a fact which Abraham Joe credited to the Koksilah's lack of a large lake at its headwater (in Rozen 1978, 12).

The perpetual lead-off subject for discussions of Coast Salish subsistence is salmon (Boas 1884, 1889 a & b, 1895; Curtis 1913; Duff 1956, 1965; Hill-Tout 1978; Suttles 1990). This academic obsession with salmon as a main source of dietary protein for Northwest Coast Native groups, now often referred to as 'salmonopia' (Boxberger 2007, 57), is apparent in both ethnographic and archaeological studies. The anadromous salmon species of the Pacific coast return to spawn in the rivers at different times of the year, and the Natives' traditional seasonal cycles are often attributed to the shifting presence of salmon first, and other resources second.

Coho, chum, and spring salmon were caught on the Cowichan River (Abraham & Abel D. Joe in Rozen 1978, 12). Despite easy access to these three varieties of salmon, seasonal migration to the mouth of the Fraser River was made in order to catch sockeye salmon and to trade with mainland Halkomelem (ibid., 19; Jenness 1955; Barnett 1939, 1955; Marshall 1999; Harris 2001). Barnett states that the sockeye salmon was the 'most prized' although it did not run on the Cowichan and Koksilah rivers (1955, 15). Chinook and coho salmon could be caught in salt water from the later winter to early spring, while sockeye and pink salmon could be caught from mid-July onward (Suttles

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1990, 457). The discussion of fish in Coast Salish territory often focuses around the Fraser River, despite the importance of other rivers at the local level. Suttles tells us that many groups fished for sockeye salmon on the lower Fraser River in July, and followed them upriver as the season progressed, and proceeds to describe the technology used to fish in this area (ibid.). Other fish and the technology used to obtain them are discussed, but if specifics are involved the discussion often reverts to the Fraser River. The Cowichan are not mentioned in Suttles discussion of Coast Salish fishing. Half of the archaeological site reports examined in the previous chapter make reference to Suttles (1990), and when no reference to Suttles few other ethnographic sources are cited at all.

Curtis (1913) provides us with some specifics of the Cowichan relationship to salmon. The Cowichan salmon run begins in November, when dog salmon arrive and continue to spawn until the end of the Gregorian calendar year. Steelhead trout were caught in the winter, but after the dog salmon had finished its run, much time was taken up with winter ceremonies (Curtis 1913, 40). Herring were the next fish in favour and were obtained on the east side of Saltspring Island. Curtis says that the villages were tended by several older individuals and that everyone else went to help with the herring fishery until the end of March, at which time they repaired to their winter villages (ibid.). May saw the arrival of spring salmon in the Cowichan River, which persisted until the fall, and the gathering of camas on small islands nearby (ibid.). While the spring salmon were still running the Cowichan River, some (percentage unknown) travelled to the Fraser River to partake of the sockeye salmon run. Once caught, the salmon were

processed, dried in the sun, and transported back to the winter villages in mat bags. The return to the Cowichan Valley happened in the later summer (ibid., 41).

Steelhead trout were also present in the Cowichan River. Since these fish had similar spawning habits to the salmon, they were obtained by the same methods (Rozen 1978). Sturgeon (*qwtaythun*) were not unheard of in the Cowichan estuary, but they were not caught there. The sturgeon was believed to originate in Harrison Lake on the mainland, and were only caught by the Cowichan while they visited the Fraser River, or were traded for clams which the Cowichan brought with them (Rozen 1978). The tie between the Sturgeon and its place of origin was recounted in several stories, and is evident in the Cowichan practice of yielding the sturgeon roe to the Musqueam, but keeping the fish (ibid.). Skates were also taken in the shallow waters of the Cowichan Estuary (ibid.).

Numerous species of waterfowl could be found in the wetlands of the Cowichan valley (see Appendix 5). These were caught by a variety of methods, and their meat and feathers were both used by the Cowichan, (discussed below) as were their eggs (Barnett 195, 16; Curtis 1913). Other wetland animals, such as beavers and river otter, have not been discussed in depth. They are usually mentioned in a list of animals present, but little is known of their trapping and processing, except for mentions of beaver tooth knives or gougers in discussions of woodworking tools.

The identification of Native mariculture practices on the Northwest Coast by non-natives occurred relatively recently. A variety of vegetative gardens were identified early on, but the clam garden has long remained unexamined due first to a lack of

recognition, and second to the absence of a non-native correlate. At first, non-natives considered clam gardens to be unusual natural features, but after a decade of uncertainty, consultation with First Nations revealed the purpose behind these features (Williams 2006).

Clam gardens are formed when large rocks are rolled down a beach to form a wall, behind which sediment is trapped and a desirable condition for clams is created (Williams 2006). The extent of clam garden use is not yet fully understood. As non-native food stuffs became available and as access to traditional resources have been challenged consistently since European settlement, many clam gardens fell out of use, and are only now being recognized (Williams, 2006, 2010).
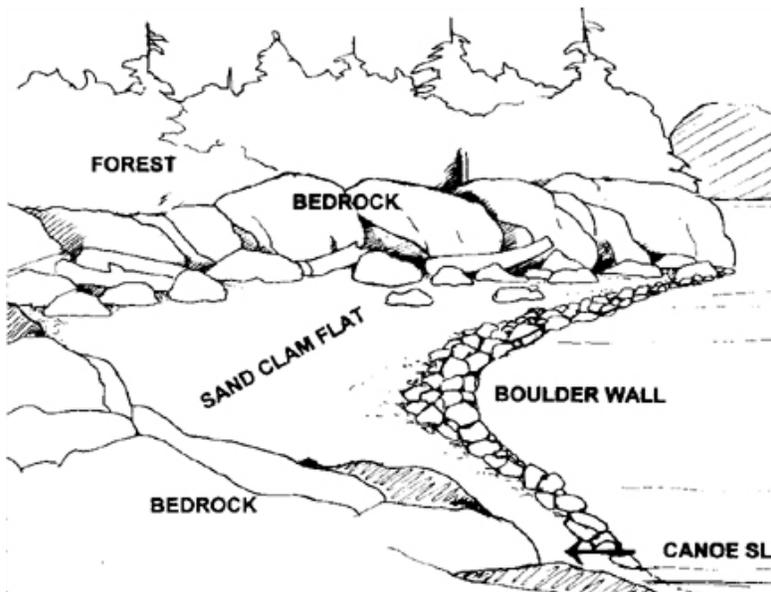


*Figure 19 - Clam Garden (Williams 2006)*

Of all the beach foods available to inhabitants of the Northwest Coast, the clams stand apart in archaeological and ethnographic works. Clams were harvested wherever they were present, but Rozen specifically notes Cherry Point, and Cowichan, Genoa, and

Maple Bays were areas where such harvesting took place (1978, 179). Certain beaches in the Gulf Islands were visited annually by clam-seekers. Little is known of the customs surrounding clam digging sites. Abraham Joe said that the method of ownership transmission was never recorded (Rozen 1978). Barnett does mention that these sites were owned, but he did not elaborate on the particulars of this custom (ibid., 180).

All members of the community participated in this low-impact activity (Abraham and Abel D. Joe, and Rose James in Rozen 1978, 182). Special wooden digging sticks were used to dig clams when they were exposed at low tide (Stewart 1977). Clams, and other shellfish, were collected in open-weave baskets made of red cedar withes, which woven in such a fashion that it allowed the water drain out (Rozen 1978, 198).



There were several rituals that involved clams. Barnett mentions one in which an individual whose spouse had recently passed was required to undergo purification by way of 'ritual feeding' before they were permitted to eat clams (1939, 263).

*Figure 20 - Woman digging for clams at Cowichan Bay (B.C. Provincial Archives, E-09619, ca. 1913)*

Scallops were used by the Ancestral Cowichan, but they were not eaten. The *shway'hwi'* dancers, or masked dancers, collected these shells to make ceremonial rattles which were an integral prop to the performance of the *shway'hwi'* dance (Rozen 1978, 185). Abraham and Abel D. Joe described the rattle as made of five, six or eight pairs of shells, pierced near their hinges, and strung on a wooden hoop with a padded handle (ibid., 210).

Mussels, like clams, were plentiful throughout Cowichan traditional territory. The Cowichan ate *Mytilus edulis*, the smaller blue mussel. They could be collected on rocky shores from the middling to the high tide line (Rozen 1978, 188).

Sea urchins (*xihwu*) were consumed by the Ancestral Cowichan, but were considered a treat rather than a staple. They could be obtained in the inter-tidal zone, and they were taken as they were found, and reached by a long, single-pronged spear. This spear, the *s'unum*, was also used to spear octopus and crabs (Rozen 1978, 198). Alternatively, an *'ukẇi'un,* or sea urchin net, was used when they could not be obtained by hand. This tool consisted of an open-weave basket made of animal sinew, attached to an ironwood or yew hoop, and bound to a shaft by wild cherry bark (ibid., 198-9). Abraham Joe mentioned that the Cowichan people believed that consuming too many urchins could cause one to become drowsy and have nightmares, especially if they were consumed at night (ibid., 190).

The methods used to cook beach food are the same as those used to cook fish, and are described in the following section. They could be smoked or dried, were squished flat

on rush mats, and were often stored by stringing them onto some sort of twine which was hung from the rafters (Rozen 1978, 206-7).

### shxetl' - Weirs

The Ancestral Cowichan used many methods to obtain fish at different sites within their traditional territory. Rozen lists at least 8 different methods used, from harpoons and spears to herring rakes, and river weirs to fish traps (1978, 63-117). For the purposes of this study only those techniques that were employed in wetland areas, namely the weir, the trap, the harpoon, the spear, the dip net, the fish trap, the gaff hook and various other nets are considered (Rozen 1978; Barnett 1935, 1955; Jenness 1935).

Cowichan, among all the Coast Salish groups, were noted for their use of fish weirs. They were blessed with a river large enough to bear several species of fish, and shallow enough in parts to create such large stable wooden structures from which to catch them. The presence of weirs at every major village site was characteristically Cowichan, and one of their favoured methods of fishing was perceived as a nuisance soon after contact (see Harris 2001 for a discussion of Cowichan's fishing industry and its Provincial context; Rozen 1978, 124; Jenness 1935 in Rozen; Marshall 1999). Despite this, the practice of weir use continued until the 1930s (Harris 2001; A.Joe in Rozen 1978, 107).

Along the lower reaches of the Cowichan River, below the S-Pool (Figure 18), each large house had an associated weir, controlled by the head of the household in question. Above the S-Pool, weirs were not located near houses, but were still controlled by headmen. Usually the person in charge was a man, but Rozen notes that women were occasionally in charge of weirs as well (1978, 124). The control of weir sites, and 'dams', by the head of the house is supported by both Jeness (n.d.) and Barnett (1939, 268). These individuals were in charge of a hand-picked team, often comprised of relatives, which would build the weir together, each one building their own section, and erecting it together. Each member of the team fished from the section he or she had built, and the weir was, in effect, owned by the group. The headman (or woman) was an orchestrator rather than a sole owner, and had rights to the area in which the weir was located. Other individuals (not part of the weir-team) were permitted to use the weir once members of the team had taken their fill (Rozen 1978, 124-5).

Despite the historic abundance of weirs on the Cowichan River, by the time Barnett began his work in the Cowichan Valley inland logging and the fish weir controversy had already begun (Harris 2001). Abraham Joe stated that, back when weirs were still kept-up, the control of weirs passed from the headman to one of his descendants (depending upon the customs for inheritance), but that these customs of control and transmission were not clearly understood by that point (in the early 1970s) due to the destruction of weirs and a shift to other fishing methods. He also said that customs associated with weirs are remembered by the name of the last headman: *nuhiimut* (Rozen 1978, 125). There is far less detailed information about weirs on the Koksilah River. Only one is known, located at the village of *xwul'qẃselu*, on the lower reaches of

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the Koksilah River (Suttles 1976, 1). Weirs were also constructed on the Chemainus River, though little is known of them specifically. And although the Chemainus river falls into Cowichan traditional territory, is outside the scope of this study.

Weirs on the Cowichan River were often located in areas of shallow water, and areas above rapids were considered to be particularly desirable (Rozen 1978, 107). The weir-use cycle was determined by water level. Headmen would commence weir construction when the water level in the river began to decrease (approximately the beginning of May by the Gregorian calendar), and were removed when the water levels began to rise again in the fall (Suttles 1976 said October, and Jenness 1935 said November). Jenness further notes that the weirs were sometimes put back up when the weather was very cold and the water level was low again.
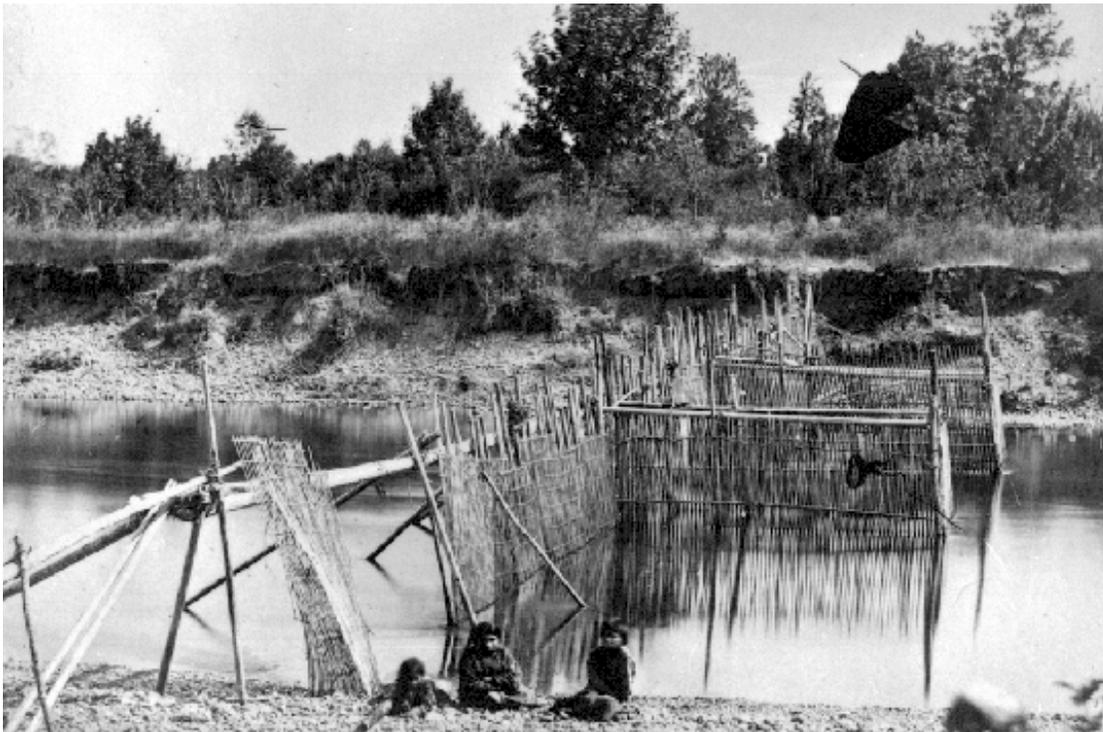


*Figure 21 - Weir on the Cowichan River (B.C. Provincial Archives, G-06604, ca. 1900)*

*Figure 22 - Weir and Canoe on the Cowichan River (B.C. Provincial Archives, H-06525, ca. 1860's)*

The weir consisted of a series of vertically set tripods, often second-growth Douglas fir stakes, lashed at the top, with two shorter legs against the current and one longer leg downstream (Rozen 1978, 108). These poles were set at intervals of half to one meter, and were called *sht'suw'nus* (ibid.). Barnett tells us that the framework poles were pounded into the river bed using a normal maul or a flat river stone, but the special pile drivers (as depicted in Stewart ) were not used. However, Abraham Joe said that special stake- or pile-drivers were used, and weighed about 10 kg (Rozen 1978, 108). Horizontal reinforcing poles, *sli'xus,* were lashed to the upright stakes, one along the riverbed, one at the top of the water, and one in between (ibid.; Barnett 1955, 79-80). Abraham and Abel Joe stated that there were two horizontal poles, presumably at top and bottom (Rozen 1978, 107). The photographic evidence is not particularly helpful in this respect. One can see only a strong brace along the top of the weirs, and often there

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are two separate braces at the top which seem to act as a walkway. These horizontal poles, usually four in total, according to Abraham Joe, were lashed with *st'ulum',* wild cherry bark twine, or with *syuq'wum,* withes of red cedar (ibid., 109). No third (middle) horizontal reinforcements are visible, and are either submerged or do not exists, as suggested by Abraham and Abel Joe. Each end was reinforced with a further four or more poles, *q'uwa'us,* at least two in each direction. Bracing poles, *shyem'uthut,* were placed at intervals along the horizontal poles across the river in order to support the lattice, and were usually placed on the downward side of the weir (ibid.). Curtis tells us that each weir had from ten to twenty gates (1913, 40). Whatever the configuration, it was this framework that remained in the river throughout the year.

The framework supported lattice panels, *sts'e,* which were laid across and lashed to uprights. The panels were made up of evenly spaced cedar, douglas fir, or ironwood laths, lashed by cedar withes or inner cedar bark to uprights, into manageable sections that could be removed or replaced at will. Barnett says that the panels were held in place by the current (1978, 80, 110). If the panels were extended across the entire river, fish could either be caught directly from the walkway atop the weir as they were trapped against the lattice panels, or, depending upon the configuration of the weir, they may be permitted to pass through into a trap. Sometimes the weirs were left partially open to allow fish to pass upstream to weirs further along (Rozen 1978, 110; Harris 2001; Barnett 1955). At times of high wind and leaf fall, the screens might become clogged with leaf debris and had to be cleaned by removing and shaking them. This process was called *hwul'aya'u* (A. Joe in Rozen 1978, 110).

*ti'tathun',* or traps, were constructed and fitted to the upstream side of the weir. Often there was a large central trap, made of second-growth Douglas fir poles lashed with wild cherry bark. The size of the traps might vary, but was generally several meters square. Again, a framework was fitted with lattice panels, and lashed by either red cedar withes or wild cherry bark. The openings which allowed fish through could either be a gap in the weir itself, as previously mentioned, or at the upstream end of the adjoining traps created by removing the lattice panel (Rozen 1978, 111). Another design feature which allowed some fish to pass upstream was the standardized construction of the weir to a height of about one meter so that fish could jump clear over the weir at high water (Barnett 1955, 89).

Fish could be caught on either side of the weir. Salmon were caught as they ascended the river to spawn, either against the weir or in the trap, and steelhead could be caught either side as they navigated the river. Fishers (usually men, but sometimes women and children) stood atop the weir's walk way and used either spears (two or three pronged), leisters, gaff-hooks, harpoons (two-pronged) or dip nets (Abraham Joe in Rozen 1978, 111; Jenness n.d.; Barnett 1955, 79-82). Canoes were also used in conjunction with weirs. A canoe might be tied to the downstream side of the weir, and from this vantage point the same implements could be used (Abraham and Abel D. Joe in Rozen 1978, 111-112; Barnett 1955, 80).

**Basketry traps**

Other types of traps were used in conjunction with weirs. Basketry traps could be attached to openings in the weir or could be submerged above or below the weir. These traps were made in the same way as other forms of basketry (see Coast Salish weaving), but the material was thicker gauge. In the same method used to make lattice panels, traps were made with flexible supports so that panels could be bent into tubular shapes, some coming to a point at their distal end, and having inward facing prongs so that fish could swim in but were caught and prevented from exiting the trap (Barnett 1935, 1955).

Another form of basketry was used in by the Ancestral Cowichan to catch small and large fish alike. The open-weave baskets were made of red cedar withes bound with wild cherry bark twine (Figure 23) (Abraham Joe in Rozen 1978, 121-123). This type of basket appears to have been an all-purpose wet-resource harvesting accouterment. These baskets were used at Skutz Falls, and wedged between rocks to catch those salmon who fell back from failed attempts to jump the falls. They were also used to catch small fish such as yellow shiner perch and smelt by scooping them in beach areas (ibid.).
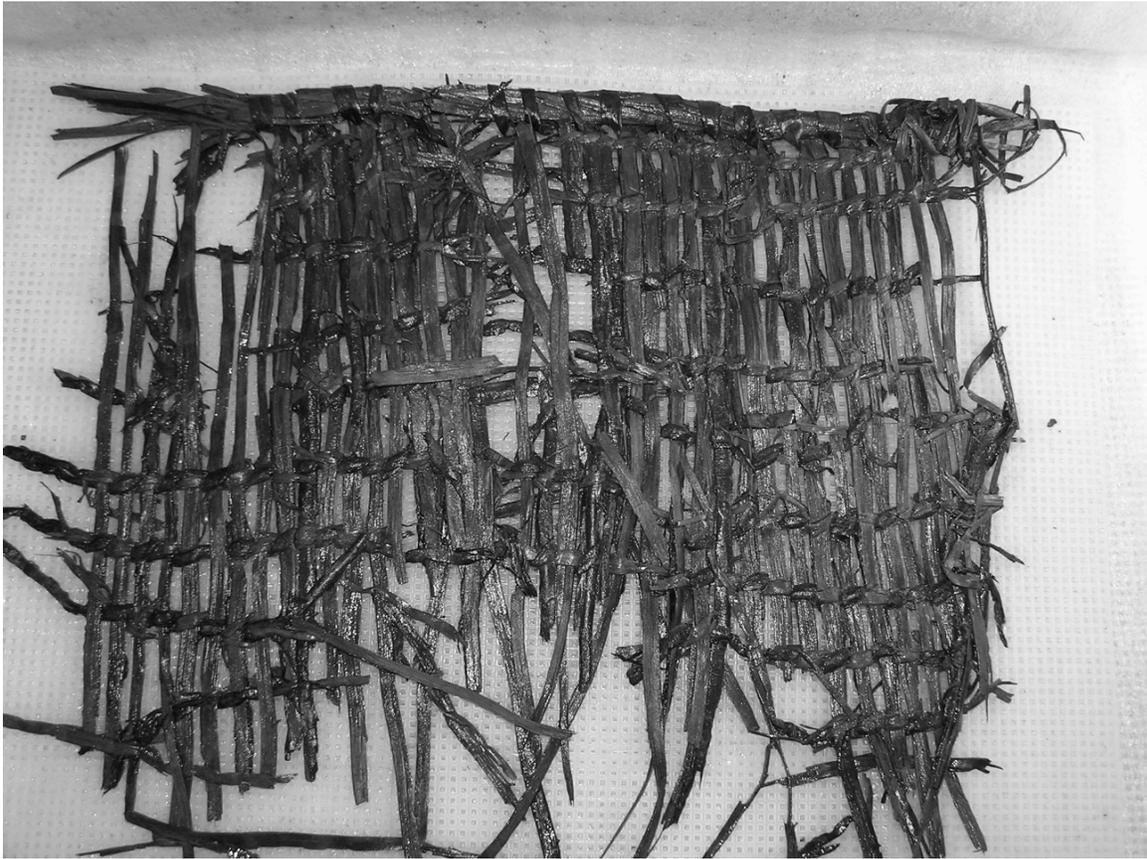
*Figure 23 - Open work basketry from the Old Songhees Reserve (G.Hill 2005)*

**Fishing conditions**

Barnett mentions that much of the fishing was done in times of relative darkness. He said that most fishing was done at night, and that the Cowichan used to feel the fish, if the net or gaff-hook were submerged, or that they used to sense the fish due to changes in the surface of the water. As salmon are sensitive to their surroundings, as I can attest to having interrupted some Cowichan men fishing this summer by canoeing up one of the channels of the lower Cowichan River. The ideal conditions in which to catch salmon are darkness created by an absence of sunlight, or the presence of rain, and murky water (Barnett 1955, 80). It is for this reason that nets, fishing line, and other fishing implements were often died with plants in order to disguise them from the fish.

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Salmon too have their own form of disguise, and often 'feeling' for them, or sensing them by the changes in surface water were more productive than spotting them with the naked eye, especially in the dark. So in order to fish during the day, the *Snuneymux* used to place light coloured rocks below their weirs in order that the salmon might not disguise themselves against the dark riverbottom (ibid.).

### Pit-lamping

'Pit-lamping' was another technique used to catch fish in the dark. Several planks were laid across the gunwales of a canoe, and a clay hearth was fashioned upon it so as to protect the planks and canoe from the fire that was lit within. The fire was shielded at front and back by mats of rush or cedar bark so as to limit the reflection on the water. As the canoe drifted downstream in the darkness, the fish were attracted to the light, and the person in the bough of the canoe could hook or spear them as they came close (Abraham Joe in Rozen 1978, 120-1). Unlike simple night fishing, pit-lamping was easier when the water was clear. Abraham Joe mentioned that this method of fishing was so successful that canoes filled quickly and required repeated unloading, so this activity tended to take place near village sites (ibid.).

### Tidal weirs

Weirs also existed in the intertidal zone. Barnett mentions that the Cowichan made use of the intertidal traps, though he does not mention the location of these (1935, 229). The *tqep,* or salt water weir was not intimately known by the informants interviewed by Rozen in the early 1970s. Abraham Joe knew of other Cowichans using such a weir

while fishing off the coast of the mainland near Point Roberts. Salt water weirs consisted of a series of posts driven into shallow water near the mouths of fish bearing streams and rivers. A great deal of survey work has recently been done along the southeast coast of Vancouver Island to map intertidal fish traps (Heather Pratt & Dee Cullon in the Nanaimo estuary, and Nancy and David Greene in Comox harbour). I undertook an informal survey of the Cowichan estuary this summer (2010) and saw no sign of fish traps. The absence of these traps does not suggest they did not exist, but rather confirms the wide-spread destruction of the riverbed and estuary by logging activities over the last 150 years. As the estuarine sediments shift it may be possible that early evidence will be exposed.

### Stone fish traps

Wood was not the only material used for weirs on the Cowichan River. In the upper reaches of the Cowichan River, and the tidal flats of the Chemainus estuary, rock weirs were built 'a long time ago' (Rozen 1978, 112). Large rocks were lined up in shallow areas, spanning the river, and sticking up about half a meter, with some spaces to allow fish through. Abraham Joe, who described the rock weirs, said he wasn't sure where the gaps were located, but he expected that they were located near to shore so that salmon were diverted close to the banks and could be caught by spear, hook or net. Abraham Joe did see evidence of this feature at low water in 1976 (ibid.).

Rozen saw evidence of a rock weir at the site known as *xeel'tl'*, or the 'crossing-over place' while on a canoe trip down the length of the Cowichan River (1977, 5). Abraham

Joe stated that the Cowichan used to make rock weirs at this place. Fish who were ascending the river came up against the line of rocks in the river and were forced to either side in order to pass. Fish could then be caught from atop the weir. This place was considered to be a 'powerful' place due to the 'hypnotizing effect' of the rocks. Abraham Joe specified that spring salmon were caught at this place between April and January (ibid.).

### Fishing Customs

As previously alluded to, women could be involved in catching fish as there were no rituals or taboos against it, as there were with the hunting of mammals (Barnett 1955, 89). Women were directly mentioned as having been in control of weirs (headmen/headwoman), as spearing, gaffing, or netting fish from atop weirs, in canoes or from the shore (Barnett 1955; Rozen 1978; Jenness n.d.; Harris 2001). Barnett suggests that the absence of large numbers of women from the weir fishery was likely due to their being fully occupied by cleaning and processing the catch, especially at the height of the season (ibid., 89).

There were a number of taboos associated with fishing in the Coast Salish world. Boasting about the number of fish caught, or making light of the situation were both frowned upon. A quiet reverence was the best demeanor for fishing (Barnett 1955, 89). There were particular practices associated with the catching of salmon. The rite of the first salmon is well known along the Northwest Coast, and amongst the Coast Salish there were specific prohibitions. Salmon bones must be thrown back into the water,

particularly the 'white bone' in the head, and dogs were not permitted to eat salmon remains (ibid.). If salmon with a 'twisted' mouth (*sxal'ts'yu'athun'*) was caught it was considered bad luck, therefore a ritualist was summoned to exorcise the fish and it was released back into the river. If the salmon run was late or poor, rituals were conducted to encourage greater returns (ibid.). The first salmon rite, where practiced, appears to have been a familial prerogative rather than for the benefit of the larger community (ibid., 92).

### *Methods for the preparation of fish*

The Coast Salish used several different methods to prepare fish. Rozen discusses these methods beginning with the processes employed for immediate consumption, and ending with the processes used for long-term storage (1978).

Those fish with tough skin, such as the rock cod and the red snapper, were seared in the fire before butchering so that their skin could be easily removed, and their scales were scraped off prior to cooking (Abraham Joe in Rozen 1978, 135-6).

### *Pit-cooking*

Abraham and Abel D. Joe regarded pit-cooking as the main method for preparing fish of all sorts. The pit-cooking, or 'earth oven' method allowed greater numbers of fish to be cooked at once than other methods such as boiling or barbecue (Rozen 1978, 136; Barnett 1939, 1955).

Mary Rice explained the process of pit cooking ly-camas to Beryl Cryer in 1932. A pit was dug into soft ground, usually on a river bank or beach, and a fire was lit within. Rocks were heated in the fire until red-hot, and the fire was burnt down to coals. At this point, plant matter was used to cover the hot rocks and embers. Abraham Joe indicated that Cowichan members appeared to favour salal leaves and fern fronds (supported by Mary Rice's account), and that kelp and rush mats were also used (Rozen 1978, 137; Barnett 1939, 234; Barnett 1955, 122). The prepared fish meat was placed atop the layer of plant material, covered again by the same, and sealed by a rush mat. The entirety of this was sometimes covered over with earth (Stewart 1977, 132). On occasion, an aperture was left to allow supplementary water to be added to create steam. Abraham Joe said that this method of cooking took several hours for fish (Rozen 1978, 137).

A quicker version of this method was to simply bury the food to be cooked in the hot rocks under or near a fire. Abraham Joe said that this method was known as *s'atthaqa'* (Rozen 1978, 137). This method would also suggest that cooking by fire was done in areas with rocks or gravel, as on the riverbank or beach.

**Stone boiling**

Hilda Wilson, Abraham Joe, and other informants from Island Salish groups were familiar with this process, and said that it was used to prepare any sort of fish for immediate consumption (Rozen 1978, 134). Red-hot rocks which had been heated in a fire were placed in a container, and the water within was brought to a boil. Pieces of

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fish, either raw or previously smoked, were placed in the water to either cook or rehydrate and cook respectively (ibid., 135). The boil was kept up by replacing cooled rocks with others recently extracted from the fire. The container in which this process took place was either a water-tight basket made of cedar root, or a canoe shaped wooden bowl. Abraham Joe said the whole process usually took about half an hour (ibid.).


### Barbecuing or Roasting

Roasting or barbecuing, simply, the application of direct heat to cook the food, has long been popular the world over. It was the preferred method amongst the Cowichan, who said that it was 'the original way of cooking things, here in Cowichan' (Abraham or Abel Joe, or Hilda Wilson in Rozen 1978, 143). The Cowichan used long sticks (1-1.5m), usually made of ironwood, which lasted longest near the fire, or of red cedar or second growth Douglas fir. Forked barbecue sticks, called *pi'kwun*, were split from the top, half way down the shaft of the stick. The stick was held open and a large piece of fish, or other meat, was inserted between the two halves. Large pieces of meat were supported by *t'eet's*, or spreading sticks, 1cm thick, and as long as was necessary to prevent the meat from flopping down and cooking unevenly. Abraham and Abel Joe mentioned that *t'eets* were made from *t'eets'ulp,* the 'fish spreader tree' which was from the snowberry or hardhack (Rozen 1978, 141). The two sides of the stick were tied together at the top, pinching the meat and the spreading sticks, and allowing for even cooking. Abraham Joe mentioned that a small part of the tail was usually left on the fish, and was tied to the top end of the stick, as extra security (Rozen 1978, 140). The *t'eets* were stuck in the ground from 50 to 100 cm away from the fire, and the fish was

turned and angled throughout the cooking process so that all parts cooked evenly (ibid.).

Fish heads were cooked in a similar way. The fish heads were removed from the body, cut along the ventral surface, spread and caught between the two prongs of the barbecue fork, as above. Alternatively, after separation from the body, a *ts'a't'a*, or single barbecue stick, was put through the mouth of the fish and stuck in the ground to be cooked in the same fashion. Several fish heads were placed on the same stick. Abraham Joe indicated that cooking fish heads by this method took from half an hour to fourty-five minutes (Rozen 1978, 142).

Smaller fish were skewered, from the mouth to near the end of the body (but not all the way through lest the fish slide down the stick). Even smaller fish were skewered through the body at right angles, several fish to a stick (Rozen 1978, 143).

All of the cooking methods discussed above were also applied to cooking plants and mammals.

### Smoking fish

All varieties of salmon and trout were smoked by the Ancestral Cowichan in order to preserve them. Abraham Joe said that the smoking of fish usually took place in the homes of those who had caught the fish (Rozen 1978, 149).

Fish processing took place on the lower stretches of the Cowichan River, with little processing taking place upriver, above Somenos Village. Processing was done close to the water so that blood and other butchering waste could be washed away. Women would gather in groups to do this work. Children helped them to clean the fish, using moss, broad-leaved maple leaves, or fern fronds. Abraham Joe said that the fish were wiped clean, but were never thoroughly washed as this was thought to destroy the flavour (Rozen 1978, 149). Individual family preference existed for certain parts of the fish. Abraham Joe mentions that some women selected certain pieces, such as the heads or the backbone (ibid., 150).

The Cowichan used a semi-lunar fish knife, the blade of which was made of large mussel or clam shell, or slate blades, sharpened, and hafted in a wooden handle (Abraham Joe in Rozen 1978, 150). Hilda Wilson and Abraham Joe describe three methods used to butcher salmon in preparation for smoke drying in some detail (for a discussion of these methods see Rozen 1978, 150-158). Once the fish was butchered, it was spread out with sticks and hung up to smoke on drying racks, usually made of ironwood, red cedar or Douglas fir (ibid.).

Smoking took place in the extended family household. Prior to smoking, each family was responsible for collecting sufficient fuel to sustain the fire throughout the smoking process. The fish was placed over a fire of red alder or broad-leaved maple saplings as they produced a low-heat but very smoky fire. Abraham Joe said that there were no special places from which to obtain these types of wood, but that *Ts'alha'um*, and the borders of the estuary had an abundance of these trees (Rozen 1978, 155). The racks

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were kept low at first, and watched closely as they caught smoke from the fire. The fire and fish were tended, usually constantly, but sometimes intermittently, for several days. After a few days the fish were moved to the second highest rack for slow smoking at low heat, after which they were considered to be half-dried. At this stage of preservation the fish could last several months. Finally, the fish were moved to the highest rack near the roof beams of the house to 'completely dry' them, or *tsuyhw* (Abraham Joe in Rozen 1978, 156). Once fully dried, they were tied into bundles and stored in large baskets or bags of cedar bark or root for later consumption. In this state they could last half a year or more. The baskets or bags of smoked fish were kept high up in the rafters as this was the driest and provided relatively easy access. Several hundred fish could be smoked at once, and might see a family through the winter months (Abraham and Abel D. Joe in Rozen 1978, 156-7).

Before the fish could be consumed they were cooked. For the elderly or the young, the salmon or other fish was often soaked in the river or in a container with water overnight and then boiled. Alternatively, smoked fish could be 'toasted' on the fire (Abraham Joe in Rozen 1978, 157-8). Smoke-dried salmon spines could also be treated in these ways before consumption. (ibid.).

It should be noted that the concept of a separate building for smoking fish was thought to be a post-contact development, which developed of necessity as house styles were changed (Abraham and Abel D. Joe in Rozen 1978, 161).

*Air-drying Fish*

Air-drying fish was a common practice elsewhere on the coast, as in the Fraser Valley. The climate of the Cowichan Valley was, however, to moist for this method of preservation to be common. While there were suitable day-time temperatures, the nights are often too humid to allow this process to be successful (Rozen 1978).

*Fish by-products*

The most common by-product obtained from fish were the eggs. All fish eggs could be preserved, but Abraham Joe mentions that only the eggs of the steelhead were eaten raw (1978, 168). The eggs of larger fish species were obtained during the butchering process. They were collected and put into cedar-bark sacks, *tl'pet*, and hung from the rafters of the home for several days until the outer layer became dry. At this point, the bag was compressed by weights and formed into 'cakes' which could be cut into slices. This was referred to as *spa'*, or 'Indian cheese' (ibid.). The other method for preserving eggs involved placing them in *tl'pet* and allowing them to 'taint' for several months. This was known as *stl'um'kẃ*, or 'stink eggs' (ibid.).

Lingcod eggs were also consumed, but these were gathered from beaches rather than from the female fish. The location of the eggs was identified by a male lingcod, or 'watchman', and the eggs, which formed in balls, were pulled from in and around rocks at low tide (Rozen 1978, 169). The eggs of the lingcod could either be eaten raw or

preserved for consumption at a later date, and were similarly dried. These eggs were harvested in winter (ibid.).

Abraham and Abel D. Joe mention that salmon milt, _tl'qẇay_, or sperm, could be boiled and eaten, but nothing else is mentioned about this (Rozen 1978, 174).

**Herring-roe**

Herring-roe were 'one of the most important traditional foods for the Indian people on southern Vancouver Island' (Rozen 1978, 170). The collection of eggs and of the herring themselves took place in immediate Cowichan territory, and on some of the Gulf Islands. The herring were 'raked', _snuwnuwus_, with a wooden implement that looks remarkably similar to the common garden rake (Stewart 1977). Herring arrived in Cowichan territory in March, and were formerly so plentiful that when they spawned the water became so milky that one could not see the bottom (Abraham Joe in Rozen 1978, 170).

At one time, herring spawned in great numbers at Cherry Point, and Cowichan, Genoa and Maple Bays. Abraham and Abel D. Joe, and Rose James informed Rozen that herring can no longer be taken at Cherry Point, and several other areas in the extended territory, because 'certain _sniw's_, 'laws, restrictions, regulations' [were] not being followed in the past' (1978, 174).

Anyone could gather herring roe, although there were certain individuals who had particular roles in the process. Small cedar trees were selected, usually by someone with training in this process, who donned red ochre, and who were assisted spiritually (Rozen 1978, 172). The tree or branch selected measured from one to three meters, and was weighed down on the ends by stones, the size of which was directly proportionate to the length of the bough. Wooden 'marker buoys' were attached in much the same way as modern traps and nets are identified by neon floats. These buoys were carved or marked so that each group could identify their own boughs. The water in which the boughs were to be deposited was first sung or spoken to. Then the boughs were weighed down and left for a time, from a few hours to the next day. Abraham Joe said that the herring roe would be deposited on these branches to a thickness of between 30 and 50 cm on all sides of the bough (ibid., 173). Upon removal of the branches from the water, they could be dried on the bough or they could be shaken off and dealt with in the same manner as previously mentioned. Herring roe could be eaten boiled or dried, and Abraham Joe mentions that they were often used in soups (ibid.).

### Fish Oil

Abraham Joe mentions that the Cowichan favoured the oil from shark, dogfish, ratfish, and lingcod over salmon oil, which was rarely rendered. Fish oil (*tl'i'nu*) was rendered in two ways: by boiling or by barbecue. By boiling the fish liver in a container with water, the oil could be skimmed off. By barbecue, the oil of the fish could be caught in clamshells strategically placed under the roasting liver (Rozen 1978, 175). Once obtained, the oil was kept in 'wooden containers, small hollowed-out rocks, seal

bladders... [or] horse clam shells' (ibid.). Abraham Joe described the above methods but said that they were guesses as the process of rendering fish liver oil had not been done for quite some time (ibid.).

### Duck Hunting

The hunting and use of waterfowl by Natives has been acknowledged across the ethnographic literature (Suttles 1955, 1990; Curtis 1913; Barnett 1955; Rozen 1978). While some aspects of waterfowl hunting have been recorded, it has not been described in such detail as other pursuits, salmon fishing appearing all the more dramatic due to the numbers of people involved, the extent of their preparedness, and the scale of their processing. (It is also possible that observations by non-Natives were taken primarily from land or boat, and that, having less knowledge of the paths through a given marsh, or simply not wishing to spend time in such a place, the observers may not have been particularly close or spent much time observing these more solitary groups). Nor has the processing of waterfowl received much attention.

In order to obtain large waterfowl, such as geese and swans, the hunter would raise a blind from his canoe and, using a bow and arrow, would shoot the animal from his hiding place (Suttles 1990, 459). Smaller waterfowl were often caught with nets or with spears.

While hunting in a marsh (*tth'iq'ul*) for ducks, the hunters would catch ducks with a net on a pole, and by distracting the birds with an open flame. Alternatively, a larger

number of ducks might be caught with a net strung between two poles, 9 meters high or more and up to 30 meters apart, strategically located in an area where flocks were known to fly. As with the smaller-scale duck hunt, the use of duck pole & net required an element of disguise. The net was raised when visibility was low, and lowered as soon as birds were caught, one man controlling the ropes, and others to dispatch the birds. These grand structures, like fish weirs and traps, belonged to individual families who maintained them, but were staffed by numerous individuals (ibid.).

### Duck by-products
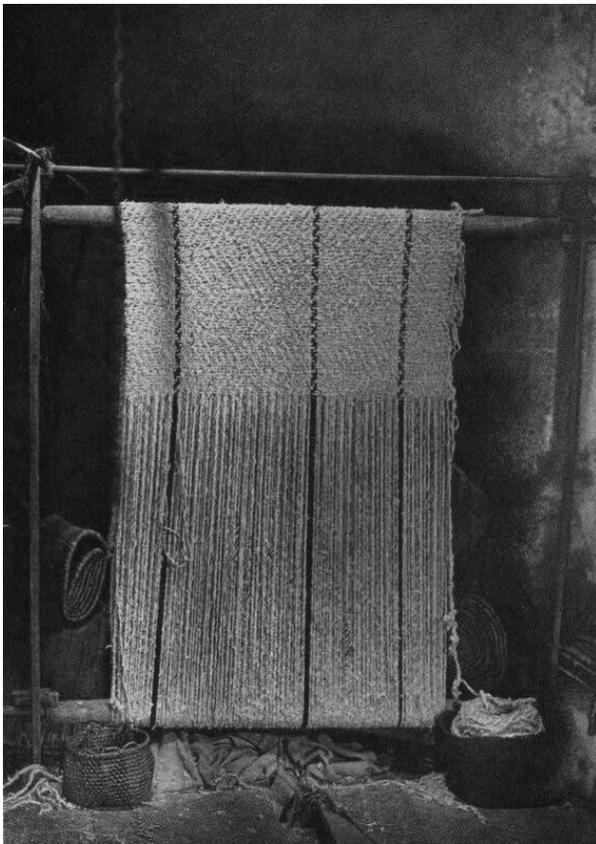


Figure 24 - "Cowichan Goat Hair Blanket" (Edward S. Curtis 1913)

Little is said of the processing of waterfowl, however we do have some interesting information regarding the use of skin and feathers, and of feathers alone. Curtis (1913) discusses the use of waterfowl skin and feathers in his section regarding Coast Salish textiles. Some of the common woven blankets were often made from the hair of mountain goats, specially bred dogs, and vegetal matter, or a combination thereof, and down from waterfowl was often mixed in to give the fibers a softer finish

and added warmth (1913, 44).

A Cowichan man from Chemainus, Qwulsteynum, also known as Captain Moses, told Beryl Cryer about the practice of catching ducks (Cryer 1932). He drew a picture of the spear used for duck hunting for Cryer: 'a long stick, at one end of which was a small arrangement resembling nothing so much as a closed umbrella with out a cover, the stays being made of willow sticks, each stick having a barbed tip. 'They catch the feathers,' he explained, 'so that the bird is not spoiled.' (Cryer 1932).

A special down skin blanket was made in the following manner. The Cowichan term for "down skin" is *sxthh'um kẃulo'*, and the blanket made from down skin is known as *sxtth'um luxwtun*. First, all the coarse hairs were plucked from the skin of the bird, and the skin was removed from the carcass. The skin was cut in a spiral pattern, from the edge of the skin to the centre, half an inch wide. Strips were wrapped around a pole and shrank laterally into a thin, down-covered cord. These strips were then woven together to form a robe (Curtis 1913, 44). He specifies that gull down cords were often used to form the body of a garment while coloured fowl skin was used to form decorative borders (ibid.). Duck feathers were also used as an appliqué decoration for garments (ibid., 45).

'Land mammals' associated with wetland habitats, such as beaver (*squl'ew*) and mink (*chuchi'q'un*), are rarely discussed. Beaver incisors are often mentioned in discussions of technology as they were used to make woodworking tools, though Barnett mentions

that his informants were not terribly familiar with non-metallic carving tools (Stewart 1984, 35; Suttles 1990, 458; Barnett 1955, 109).

Mink appear to have been associated with the shaman or Indian doctor. Mary Rice describes the revival of a man who appears to be dead. She describes the process by which Tsilamunthut, the Indian doctor, healed Old Louie Chuhaasteenxun. She describes the doctors dress: 'Very soon this man came, all dressed up in his coat of deerskin, with beads and skins of mink all over it. His face was painted red and black, with a little white, and he had, oh, such a nice hat! Made of mink skins, with lots of little heads and tails and the mink's 'fingers' hanging down from it...' (Mary Rice in Cryer 1932; Cryer 2007, 93).

**Plant life**

Even less is known of the Cowichan use of plants than we know of their use of animals. Rozen's ethnographic work did not extend to plant life, and many of the early ethnographers who did mention the Cowichan specifically were more concerned with fishing and hunting methods. Much of what we know of Cowichan plant use comes second-hand, through coincidental mentions in descriptions of other practices, or through ethnobiological work among other Coast Salish groups. Turner and Bell (1971) mention Cowichan plant use when it has been specifically noted elsewhere, but for the most part they extrapolate plant use throughout the region. More useful is their inclusion of Cowichan names for plants, which indicates familiarity and hints at use. Appendix 7 lists wetland plants and their uses by the Coast Salish and Cowichan.

There is an abundance of wetland plants that were used by the Coast Salish but they have received little attention. A number of these plants were used for medicinal purposes, and were surrounded by an element of secrecy. It is perhaps for this reason that little is known of their collection, preparation and use.

Considering the ethnographic sources, it is likely that the most ubiquitous wetland plants to be used were rushes (*Cyperaceae*), cattail (*Typhaceae*) (*stth'e'qun*), and grasses (*Poaceae*). They were harvested in the late summer months, and laid out on the ground to sun-dry before being used (Turner & Bell 1971, 73; Paul 1968). These plants were used to make mats for a variety of purposes, and are only mentioned incidentally in the texts as the items they fashion primarily utilitarian and often not considered worthy of



*Figure 25 - Selvage edge of cattail mat, top view (Ethnographic Collection, Royal B.C. Museum, G.Hill 2010)*

discussion. In his observations of the practical life of the Cowichan, Curtis (1913) and Norcross (1959) do make mention of mats as a utilitarian item, while Hill-Tout concerned himself with social customs and does not discuss these items. None of the early sources discuss the harvesting of cattail and tule, the process of making mats, nor the tools involved. The earliest evidence we have for this is a series of three photos taken by Curtis of a Cowichan woman harvesting, tying, and drying tule at Quamichan lake (1913).

Turner and Bell (1971), and Barnett (1955) do discuss the craft of the cattail or tule mat, though it is unclear if they obtained their information from an informant, of if museum specimen were analyzed in order to come to this conclusion. The leaves, which could be up to and exceed six feet, were placed top to tail like sardines in a can, so that the mat would be even at both ends. The mat was sewn together using a very long wooden needle, triangular in section, and from two to four feet long. These were made of strong wood, usually ironwood (oceanspray) or yew (Figure 30 & 31, Turner & Bell 1971). Both Turner and Bell, and Barnett mention that the mats were sewn together using flat rush leaves, but this material appears to have been replaced by nettle or cotton thread, as seen in the examples of Cowichan mats at the Royal British Columbia Museum (1971, 77; 1955, 122). As the individual stems were sewn together, it was important that the needle did not split the shaft of the stem along its length. In order to avoid this, the stem was crimped on either side of the needle by using a mat creaser (Figure 28 & 29)). The stems were sewn together at intervals 10cm on average, and the selvage edges were woven in on themselves, and the ends of the mat were finished with a braided band (Figure 26 & 27). All of the examples I examined at the

RBCM had a double layer, the ends being folded into the space between the two and caught fast.



*Figure 26 - Selvage edge of a cattail mat (Ethnographic collection at the Royal B.C. Museum, G.Hill 2010)*



*Figure 27 - Cattail Mat (Ethnographic Collection, Royal B.C. Museum, G.Hill 2010)*

*Figure 28 - Mat Creaser (Ethnographic Collection, Royal B.C. Museum, G.Hill 2010)*



*Figure 29 - Bottom view of mat creaser (Ethnographic Collection, Royal B.C. Museum, G.Hill 2010)*



*Figure 30 - Thread end of yew wood mat needle (Ethnographic Collection, Royal B.C. Museum, G.Hill 2010)*

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*Figure 31 - Polished tip of yew wood mat needle (Ethnographic Collection, Royal B.C. Museum, G.Hill 2010)*

Marshall (1999) mentions that the Cowichan gathered these plants when they went to the Lower Fraser River in the summer, so the potential for preference or perceived differences in quality may have been present. However, Turner and Bell (1971, 74) mentioned that the Makah used to obtain their bulrushes from southern Vancouver Island. Rozen mentions that the mats used for temporary shelters by the Cowichan as they traveled to clam and herring beaches in their extended territory were made from cattail and reeds gathered from Quamichan and Somenos Lakes (1978). Again, little is known of the use of rushes (Juncacea family) to make other things than mats and robes, but several sources cited in Turner & Bell suggest that they were used for the weaving of tumplines and baskets, due to similar uses elsewhere along the Northwest Coast (1971, 74).

The Cowichan appear to have a word which describes a mat made specifically out of cattail, *sá'l ε c* (1971, *77).*

*Figure 32 - "Cowichan Woman tying a bundle of reeds" (Edward S. Curtis, 1913)*

As previously mentioned, the Cowichan and other Coast Salish groups constructed temporary shelters from large cattail or reed mats. Curtis briefly describes such a structure:

'mat sheds... usually consist of two cedar stakes about ten feet thrust firmly into the ground at an angle of about thirty-five degrees with the horizontal, and a mat roof supported by them. There are ordinarily neither sides nor front. If the ground is not firm, the upper ends of the stakes rest on a pole supported by two upright posts' (1913, 40).
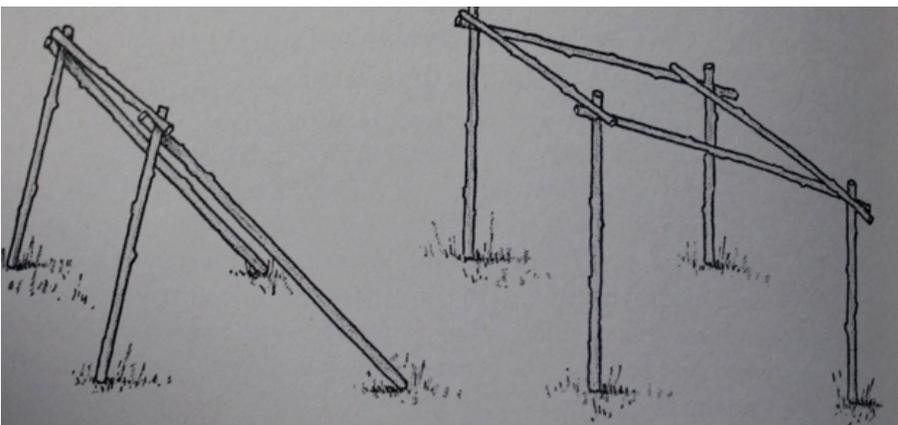


*Figure 33 - Coast Salish mat shelter frames (Barnett 1955, 40)*

Barnett described the same type of house as Curtis (seen on the left), as well as a slightly more spacious type (seen on the right) (1955, 40). The shelters themselves were quick and easy to move and to set up, and the mats used to cover the frames could serve a double purpose during transportation by way of covering food and other supplies (ibid.). Rozen mentions that the mats used for shelters during seasonal rounds were made of rushes obtained from Somenos and Quamichan Lakes (1978, 180). Such a structure can be seen in a photo of Tow-kau-ahl and Taul-kun, brother and sister, of Somenos Village, a picture which became a popular tourist post-card in Duncan and Victoria (Cryer 2007, 117).

Curtis mentions the presence of bulrush or tule mats in his description of Coast Salish houses. Mats cover the floor in areas where people work and eat, they are used as bedding, and as insulation and partitions when hung from the walls and ceiling (1913, 46). Cattail mats were traded to some interior groups by the Salish (Turner 1998, 122). Mats were used to store dried fish during transport (ibid., 38, 41), and for padding in the bottom of canoes to spare the rower's knees (Turner & Bell 1971, 77).

The leaves of the cattail and other reeds was also used to make baskets. Suttles informs us that such baskets were used for items such as crabapples and camas bulbs, and cradles for infants (1951; ibid.). The stems were also sewn together to make rain capes, similar to a poncho open on both sides. These do not appear frequently in the literature nor in ethnographic collections. Furthermore, the downy fuzz, or pappus, of the cattail was sometimes collected and mixed with other fiber, such as the domesticated dog's hair, in order to create softer wool for blankets (Turner & Bell 1971, 77; Barnett 1955;

Turner 1998, 123). While the root of the cattail was edible, and was consumed by other native groups along the coast, the practice of harvesting this part of the plant for the purposes of consumption was not described by any of the Island groups (Sweet 1962 & Gunther 1945 in Turner & Bell 1971, 77).



*Figure 34 - Example of temporary mat shelter. "Puget Sound Camp" (Edward S. Curtis 1913)*

The Western Red Cedar (*Thuja plicata)* was one of the most useful plants, and surpassed the tule, cattail and rush in its ability to be used for more structural objects and buildings. Drucker (1955) said that it was one of the most useful plants along the coast, and if one flips through a copy of Stewart's (1984) *Cedar,* it is all too plain that this plant was ubiquitous in the lives of Northwest Coast natives. This tree is not often considered to be a wetland plant as we might commonly conceive of them, however, it is often found in wet areas, at the bottom of moist river valleys, near pools and lakes, in

nutrient-rich soils (MacKenzie & Moran 2004). Its habitat falls within the Ramsar definition of wetlands (Ramsar 1971).

All parts of the red cedar were used. The inner bark was used to make mats, similar in function to the reed mats, and a wide variety of baskets used for storage (Turner & Bell 1971; Stewart 1984; Rozen 1978; Barnett 1939, 1955). Inner cedar bark, *sluwi'*, was gathered in the summer. Turner and Bell describe the process for gathering bark, and it is well illustrated by Stewart (1984, 114-5). The harvester selected a tree that was clear of branches from the base much of the way up the tree. Ideally, such a tree would be found at the bottom of a slope so that as one pulled the bark away from the tree, one could walk backward up the slope and pull off longer pieces of bark. An incision was made at the bottom of the tree, the harvester peeled back enough bark to grab firm hold of, and then proceeded to walk away from the tree. This process resulted in very long tapered pieces of bark which were folded into bundles, tied, and kept for later use. This process was not so invasive that it killed the tree, and bark gatherers were mindful not to take too much bark from any one tree lest it become vulnerable to pests (Turner & Bell 1971, 71; Stewart 1984). Turner and Bell referred to a stand of trees with visible bark-removal scars on Lake Cowichan (ibid.).

The outer layer of bark was not as durable as the inner bark, and was often used as fuel. When it came time to use the dried inner cedar bark, it was first soaked in water to soften the fibers, and was subsequently beaten with a bark-beater, which was commonly made of yew wood or whale bone, in order to separate the fibers (see illustration X (based on Stewart 1984); (Turner & Bell 1971, 72). This fiber was then

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used to make a wide variety of items. Woven cedar bark could be considered the Native equivalent of cotton, so common was its use. Stewart lists over 80 artifacts that were made of cedar bark, and variations of these items, from clothing to baskets, mats to rope, bedding, towels, string, and ceremonial decoration (1984). Cedar bark was also used to obtain a red dye. Turner and Bell mention that the Cowichan used cedar bark in the dyeing of fish hooks (1971, 72).

The cambium of the red cedar was collected in the spring and eaten, fresh or dried, by Island Salish (Turner & Bell 1971, 71; Stewart 1984).

The roots and withes of the cedar were also frequently used by the Coast Salish to make, among other things, baskets, hats, mats, and nets. Roots and withes were stronger than inner cedar bark, and were frequently used to make cordage (Stewart 1984). Cedar roots were obtained by digging a deep hole several meters away from an old tree which displayed even branches and had few knots. Red cedar trees on the sandy or muddy banks of a river were often chosen because root digging went much faster (Stewart 1984, 171). The fresh roots were stripped of their outer covering by hand or by using a split stick, and were then themselves split in two, starting from the end proximal to the tree. The split roots were dried before being stored, and the roots were rehydrated before use (ibid., 173-4). Turner and Bell mention that the Cowichan used to weave cedar roots with wild rose and gooseberry in order to make reef nets (Harry 1969 in Turner & Bell 1971, 72).

Red cedar wood is extraordinarily versatile. It was easily worked and resistant to rot which made it the ideal wood to use in moist areas such as the Cowichan valley. Whole trees were used to make canoes and planks for houses. These trees were felled by specialists from the end of the summer to the beginning of spring when there was little sap in the tree (sap facilitates decomposition). The end product determined which tree was chosen, and certain artisans, such as canoe carvers, fasted and prayed before setting out to find the appropriate tree. Trees were often sought in dark areas (which meant few branches) and close to the river so that transport would be made easier (Stewart 1984, 36-40). The chosen tree was spoken to before it was cut down, its spirit placated and the ultimate purpose was explained (ibid.).

Trees were felled in one of two ways: by chopping with stone chisels and mauls or by setting fire to the trunk of the desired tree. The fire was prevented from spreading by wet clay which was applied to the trunk (Stewart 1984, 39). Hot rocks were placed into a recess cut in the tree's trunk and the charred wood was scraped out as the fire progressed. Alternatively, a tree could be cut down by chiseling two parallel grooves along the circumference of the trunk. The wood between the grooves was cut out with chisels, antler or wooden wedges and stone mauls (Stewart 1984, 40). Once felled, the top of the tree was removed by the burning method discussed above, and limbs, bark, and sapwood were removed with adzes (ibid.).

After the tree was felled and cleaned up, it was further treated in the forest before it or its products were taken home. If the ultimate purpose of the tree was to become planks, the splitting would take place at the site of felling. Cedar generally splits evenly, and

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wedges driven in from the top of the tree ensured even thickness of the planks (Stewart 1984, 40). If the tree was to become a canoe, much of it was roughed out before it was put in the water and sent home.

Planks could also be obtained from standing trees in such a way that allowed the tree to remain living. Two grooves were chiseled the width of the desired plank, the grooves being spaced the desired length of the plank. Working from the top down, a number of wedges were driven in, and the plank was split off with either a bar or a rope (Stewart 1984, 42).

Their felling and preparing process is far more complex than described herein. Stewart has illustrated the various processes very clearly in *Cedar* (1984). Cedar wood was not only used for canoes and houses, but for rolling, hoisting, propping and other functional aspects of the architectural process. Whole logs were also used for carving mortuary and other ceremonial poles, house posts, and carving in the round (Stewart 1984).

The Cowichan name *tuxwa'tsulhp* means 'bow and arrow', and refers to one of the uses of the yew tree (*Taxus brevifolia*). This tree is not restricted to wetland habitats, but it does thrive in nutrient-rich soil and often occurs alongside Oregon grape and skunk cabbage (MacKenzie & Moran 2004). This wood is very durable, and was used for those implements requiring extra strength. The inner wood was considered to be the strongest, and was used for wedges, halibut and other fish hooks, harpoon shafts, bows, combs, and paddles, among other things (Turner & Bell 1971, 72).

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The Cowichan call the red alder tree *kwulala'ulhp* (Turner & Bell 1971, 79). It grows along streams and rivers, and in floodplains, and is plentiful in the Cowichan Valley. The Cowichan obtained cambium from this tree in the spring. Alder cambium could be dried in cakes to preserve it for consumption at a later date. The bark of the red alder tree was used as a dye for a wide variety of items, and as tattoo ink among the Ancestral Saanich. This wood was used for the carving of dining utensils because it did not impart a strong taste, as cedar would (ibid.).

The Saanich also used the sap of this tree as a tonic for the stomach. The Songhees used it as a drink to purify the blood. The Songhees also chewed the buds of the red alder tree and applied it to wounds (Turner & Bell 1971, 79). Boas mentions that the Kwakiutl used the bark as a cure for tuberculosis, but its use for this purpose amongst the Coast Salish is not confirmed (ibid.).

The Cowichan call the maple tree *t'salhulhp* (Turner & Bell 1971, 78). It grows well in moist soils, and can be found all throughout the Cowichan Valley, especially along the lower reaches of the Cowichan and Koksilah Rivers. Maple cambium was collected in the spring and preserved in cakes. It could be eaten, but Barnett was informed that if too much maple cambium was consumed it made the person thin (1955).

Maple wood was frequently used to carve dishes, spindle whorls, rattles, combs, and mat creasers, to name but a few. Maple wood was used to carve these objects as it did not warp as it aged, and though it is a hard wood, it was easy to carve (Barnett 1955;

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Turner & Bell 1971). As their name suggests, the broad-leaved maple had large leaves that were used, much in the same way as skunk cabbage leaves, in steaming pits, for wrapping and protecting food, and as a whisk in the making of 'Indian ice-cream' (Turner & Bell 1971, 78). It was considered a good fuel wood as it burns hot and does not create smoke (Turner 1998, 131).

Garry Oak, *Quercus garryana*, grows throughout the Cowichan Valley. The area surrounding Somenos lake has vestiges of Garry Oak meadows that once grew there. Agriculture and urban development have severely damaged the Garry Oak ecosystems in this area (Cowichan Community Land Trust 2012). There is no discussion about the use of Garry Oak by Ancestral Cowichan, though other Native groups along the southern Northwest Coast have been known to eat acorns from this tree (Croes et al 2009). Ruby Peter mentioned that when she was young she had heard Elders mention acorns, but she did not know how they were produced or consumed (pers. comm. 2010). Research at the Sunken Village Site on Sauvie Island in Oregon has uncovered evidence of numerous acorn leaching pits (Croes et al 2009). With the known historic presence of Garry Oak meadows in the Cowichan Valley, and with Ruby's comment about their confirmed use in Cowichan territory, it is worth consulting the work from Sauvie Island in research design.

Willows are common throughout the Cowichan Valley. There are over fifty varieties, but they were not so distinguished by Turner's Coast Salish informants (Turner 1998, 198-9). The Cowichan call the willow *xwele'ulhp*, though it is not clear which species this refers to. Turner and Bell suggest that they may refer to *Salix lucida* ssp. *lasiandra,*

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also called the Pacific willow (1971, 88). The Pacific willow is a tree, growing up to 12 meters in height, and Barnett likely refers to this species when he says that willow bark (obtained in much the same way as cedar bark) was used to make reef nets and fishing line. Turner states that the Halkomelem also used the inner bark from Hooker's willow (*S. hookeriana*) for making fishing nets of various sorts, as well as duck nets due to its flexibility (1998, 201; Cryer 1932). Willow bark was also used to decorate basketry (Barnett 1955). Haeberlin and Gunther (1930) indicated that the Salish groups of the Puget Sound used willow wood to make the 'drill and hearth' for friction fire starters (in Turner & Bell 1971, 88).

While none of the sources have mention the Cowichan use of Sandbar willow (*S.exigua*), they do mention that the Stl'atl'imx (a group to the north of the Mainland Halkomelem) used Sandbar willow more than any other species in order to make rope (Turner 1998, 201). It is likely that the profusion of the plant along the riverbanks of the Cowichan and Koksilah rivers did not go unused.

In the same family as the willow, family Salicaceae, is the *cəw?ǐ ɬp,* or Black Cottonwood (Turner 1998, 194). There appears to have been no differentiation between the Black Cottonwood and the closely related Balsam Poplar. Their similarities are such that they will be discussed together. These fragrant trees are found in abundance along the banks of the Cowichan River, and can grow to some 50 meters. All parts of this tree were used for a wide variety of purposes. The use of cottonwood was so widespread that many of the examples of Native use of the cottonwood come from everywhere but the south Island.

The wood of cottonwood tree was easy to work, but had a spongy texture and did not last as long as cedar. The Island Salish were known to make canoes out of cotton wood logs, but they were quick to become waterlogged and were not used in such quantity on Vancouver Island that they were discussed in the ethnographic literature (Turner & Bell 1971, 89). The wood was also used to make buckets for storage and for transportation (Turner 1998, 196).

Cottonwood resin was used by the Island Salish as waterproofing (Turner 1998, 196). Mainland Native groups obtained the resin of this tree by heating up the resinous spring buds and squeezing them. This resin was considered to be the strongest glue, a skin salve, and a perfume, and it was likely that the Cowichan were aware of these properties. Similarly, the 'cotton' or fluffy papus from the cottonwood catkins was collected by other Native groups, but is not discussed in the ethnobotanical sources, but its use was noted by Barnett (1939, 1955) and Curtis (1913) as one of the materials that the Cowichan often wove with wool or down to make textiles.

The Cowichan call hardhack *(Spirea douglasii)* *t'eets'ulhp* (Turner & Bell 1971, 88). Barnett (1955) mentions that the wood of this shrub was used by the Island Salish to make objects which needed to keep a sharp edge, particularly halibut hooks, scrapers and blades. The hard wood was hardened even further by the application of fire (ibid.).

Horsetail (*Equisetum arvense* & *E. telmateia*) was known by the Cowichan as *sxum'xum'* (Turner & Bell 1971, 68). This plant is found in swamps, along rivers, and

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in moist areas throughout the Cowichan Valley. The cell walls of the horsetail are impregnated with silicon which makes it useful as an abrasive. The stems were also used as imbrication on baskets (Turner 1998, 62). Turner indicates that the fertile roots of the horsetail were eaten, fresh or cooked, by the Coast Salish 'and probably the Halkomelem' (1975, 42). The rest of the plant is generally considered to be poisonous, and its use by the Cowichan has not been properly documented (ibid.).

Skunk cabbage (*Lysichitum americanum* L.), the olfactory herald of wetlands, was known by the Cowichan as *t'sa'kẃa'* (Turner & Bell 1971, 73). Skunk cabbage is a large-leafed perennial with bright yellow flowers which grows in swampy, mucky soil, often in the shade of large trees (Turner 1998, 103). The plant contains calcium oxalate crystals which irritate the mucous membrane, but some mainland Native groups did consume the roots after cooking which eliminated these crystals (Turner 1975, 72). Skunk cabbage was considered a famine food by some of Turner's Coast Salish informants (Turner & Bell 1971, 73).

Skunk cabbage leaves, on the other hand, were widely used by the Coast Salish. The leaves measured up to 1 meter in length, and had a waxy surface which made them ideal for food preparation. For this reason they are also referred to as 'Indian waxpaper' (Turner 1998, 104). They were often used to wrap or layer food during the cooking process as they were large enough to protect a sizable amount of food. The water-repellent properties of the leaves made them ideal for food storage. Despite its strong odour, it did not impart any bad flavor to those food products it came in contact with. As such, it was used to dry food upon, such as berry cakes (Turner 1998, 104). Other

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Native groups used parts of the Skunk Cabbage for medicinal purposes, but this practice has not been mentioned in the Coast Salish literature (Turner & Bell 1971, 73).

The use of Devil's Club (*Oplopanax horridum* J.E. Smith) was common throughout Native groups of the Northwest Coast. It is so named due to its deeply irritating spines The Cowichan called it *qwa'pulhp*, and likely traded it to the Songhees in whose territory it did not grow (Turner & Bell 1971, 78). The Devil's Club had several medicinal uses. It could be crushed, boiled, and used as a poultice. The root and the stem were also thought to cure rheumatism and body pains (ibid.). The charcoal of this plant was mixed with grease and used to make a black face paint, and Jenness (1945) mentions that it was also used to make a tattoo ink (in Turner & Bell 1971, 78). It was also considered to be a protective charm, but the details of this have not been given (Haskin 1934 in ibid.).

Bitter cherry, or *Prunus emarginata* (Dougl.), was known to the Cowichan as *tulum'ulhp* (Turner & Bell 1971, 87). Bitter cherry was common along watercourses in the Cowichan Valley, and its abundance near the Native village of *Kilpalus* resulted in naming the area 'Cherry Point' (Simeon 1974, 22). Turner indicates that bitter cherry are plentiful after fire has swept through an area (1998, 184). It is possible that the abundance of bitter cherry in the Cowichan Valley is due in part to land management practices which involve burning over marsh and prairie areas.

The fruiting bodies of this plant were not consumed by the Coast Salish (Turner 1975: 245). Rather, this plant was prized for its bark, *st'ə'l əm (ibid.)* as the Cowichans called

it, which is uncommonly strong, waterproof, resistant to decay, and smooth. Its bark is a rich port-red, and can be polished to a high shine, and for this reason it was used for basketry imbrication (Turner & Bell 1971, 87; Turner 1998, 184). The bark peels easily from the tree in horizontal strips in such a way that allows the tree to live, and the subsequent pieces of bark were cut in a continuous strip from the outside to the center in order to create long strips for binding implements (Turner 1998, 184). Any joint that required strength and/or water-resistance was wrapped with bitter cherry bark, such as harpoons and bent-wood fish hooks, and was usually sealed with pitch (ibid., 184-5). North of Cowichan, the Comox used bitter cherry bark to bind the elements of their weirs (ibid.). Harry (1969) indicates that it was also used to make nets and fishing line, and sometimes used to make twine (in ibid.). The bark was so strong that they also used it to reinforce suspension bridges and used it as a bandage to wrap broken limbs Turner 1998, 185). The bark was also boiled to make a cure-all tonic, and was sometimes mixed with the bark of the wild crabapple (Turner & Bell 1971, 87).

The wood of the bitter cherry is very hard, and it was used by Island Salish groups to make durable implements such as adze handles, halibut hooks, fishing floats and friction fire hearth and drill (Boas 1921 & Harry 1969 in Turner & Bell 1971, 87; Turner 1998, 185).

Although no Cowichan word was given for Ninebark (*Physocarpus capitatus* (Pursh.) Kuntze), they were known to have used it to make knitting needles (Land 1951 in Turner & Bell 1971, 86). It is found along moist streambanks throughout the Cowichan

Valey (Simeon 1974, 22). Ninebark was also used for medicinal purposes by the Saanich, who used a decoction of the root as a laxative (Turner & Bell 1971, 86-7).

**Edible Plants**

The Coast Salish gathering and harvesting of food plants is discussed relatively little when compared to hunting and fishing. Suttles introduces the solitary paragraph on plant gathering by stating that there were at least 40 edible plants, but that they were 'limited in availability' (1990, 459). Starchy plants, such as the camas and wapato, are mentioned as important plants to the Coast Salish groups. The early sources were slow to recognize the land management practices of the Northwest Coast Natives. The appealing landscape around Fort Victoria, thought to be in its natural state, was a product of Native management of camas fields (Deur & Turner 2005; Keddie 2003). Similarly, when 'gardens' were identified along the coast their presence was explained away as a product of early contact with Europeans (Deur 2000, 11-12).

The Cowichan know the red elder berry, or *Sambucus racemosa,* as *tth'iwuq'* (Turner & Bell 1971, 80). The plant thrives in swampy areas and is often considered to be poisonous (1998, 164). Turner indicates that several Native groups did eat red elderberry, but there is no evidence for this practice amongst the Vancouver Island Salish (ibid.). The Kwakwaka'wakw did consume the berries of this plant and had several customs which made consumption of this berry more palatable. They considered the berry to cause stomach upset if it were consumed before the height of the day, and made certain to consume it with oil and to spit out the seeds to prevent

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further discomfort (ibid.). The small berries grow in clusters, and it was the cluster that was plucked from the plant for ease of transportation. Berries were removed from the stems for processing and cooked in skunk-cabbage lined pit or in a container with water and red-hot rocks. The subsequent berry slurry was poured into moulds lined with skunk cabbage, cooled, and stored for later (ibid.). Red elderberries were often mixed with other, sweeter berries. The stems of this plant were easily hollowed out, and the youth of the Saanich Natives used to make blow guns from them (Turner & Bell 1971, 80).

The blue elderberry, or *Sambucus cerulean,* is known to the Cowichan as *tth'uykwikw* (Turner & Bell 1971, 80). Some sources suggest that blue elderberry was rare on southern Vancouver Island, but Turner and Bell inform us that they are common in the Cowichan Valley (1971, 80; Simeon 1974, 23). Blue elderberries were cooked and eaten by the Cowichan (Paul 1968 in Turner & Bell 1971, 80). They were likely collected and cooked in the same way as red elderberries, and although they too were very seedy, no customs for consumption have been recorded.

The wild crabapple plant, or *Pyrus fusca* Raf., was referred to by the Cowichan as *qwa'upulhp*, and the fruit of this tree was called *qwa'up* (Turner & Bell 1971, 87). The crabapple prefers moist swampy areas and bogs (*maqwum*), and is found throughout the Cowichan Valley. The wood, the bark and the fruit of this tree were all used by the Coast Salish. Suttles (1951) states that bunches of crabapples were collected in August and allowed to mature in cattail bags before being consumed in winter (in ibid.). The Halkomelem and other Salish groups ate them cooked or raw. They were frequently

mashed and mixed with other fruit (Boas 1921 in Turner & Bell 1971, 87; Turner 1975, 202). Turner mentions that they were a common trade item among northern Native groups, often forming part of a wedding dowry or other gift, and that they are the most commonly mentioned fruit in the mythology of the Coast Tsimshian (ibid., 204). The wood of the wild crabapple was hard and resilient, and the Halkomelem used it to make such items as digging sticks, wedges, handles, and other sturdy implements (Turner 1998, 183). The Cowichan made a cure-all tonic from the boiled bark of the crabapple tree (Harry 1969 in Turner & Bell 1971, 87).

Similar in appearance to the raspberry, the salmonberry (*Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.) was known to the Cowichan as *lila'* (Turner & Bell 1971, 88). It can be found in swampy areas throughout the Cowichan Valley (Simeon 1974, 22). Both the shoots and the berries were eaten by the Cowichan and their neighbours (ibid.; Turner 1975, 220; Turner 1998, 191). Collected in early spring, the sprouts of the salmonberry were ceremonially treated before they could be eaten (British Columbia Dept. of Education in Turner & Bell 1971, 88). The shoots were plucked, peeled, and eaten raw or they could be cooked with salmon or its roe (Paul 1968, and Anderson 1925 in ibid.).

The large succulent berries are one of the earliest, ripening from May to June, and are recognized by their luminous golden to ruby colours (Turner 1975, 221). The salmonberries have a particularly high water content, and for this reason they were rarely preserved, and were almost always eaten fresh.

Salmonberry 'plots' were owned by individuals or families (Turner 1975, 221). Ethnographic information from the Nootka indicates that the owner of the plot had rights to the first and second berry crops, and then might open up the harvest to others. Further, the owner would hold a feast at which salmonberries were distributed when ample amounts had been collected (ibid.).

There is no Cowichan term listed for Pacific Cinquefoil, or Silverweed (*Potentilla pacifica* (L.) Howell). Cinquefoil is found in salt marshes and estuaries all along the Pacific Coast. Both the shallow roots and the long tap root of this plant were collected and eaten by all Coastal Native groups. Women dug the roots in the late fall or early spring from family or individual owned plots (Turner 1975, 200). Turner does not have specific examples of the Cowichan or other Island Salish groups using cinquefoil, but there is a great deal of evidence for the use of this plant by other groups such as the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw, who ate them at feasts. Turner (1975) does mention that silverweed is frequently found in extensive patches, and Deur (2000) discusses the intensive cultivation of cinquefoil and other wetland plants.

Wapato (*Sagittaria latifolia* Willd.), also known as 'Indian Swamp Potato' and 'Wild Potato,' is known to the Cowichan as *sqewtheen* (Turner & Bell 1971, 73). This plant lives exclusively in wet soils, and can usually be found in swamps and on the margins of lakes and streams (Turner 1975, 68). Wapato is abundant along the lower Fraser River, and is relatively rare on Vancouver Island. The Cowichan used to trade clams to the Katzie in exchange for wapato tubers (Rozen 1978; Turner 1975, 70). Ownership of wapato plots among the Katzie was maintained by clearing adjacent land. Untended

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and overgrown plots reverted to common property. Members of a family laying claim to an area would camp beside the plot while they were tending and harvesting it (Suttles 1955). Wapato was harvested in late fall, and as the tuber was submerged, they were loosened with the feet and collected as they came to the surface, or pulled up from a canoe (Turner 1975, 68). It has been suggested that wapato might have been more widespread in the past, but was 'reduced by excess use' (Turner & Bell 1971, 73).

The Cowichan call High-bush Cranberry, or *Viburnum edule* (Michx.) Raf., *qwum'tsal's* (Turner & Bell 1971, 80). This plant favours stream banks and swamps and can be found throughout the Cowichan Valley (Simeon 1974, 23). High-bush cranberry use is better documented for the Native groups on the north end of Vancouver Island who were fond of the berries. They were collected in the late summer and early fall, before they were fully mature. North Island groups used to pit-steam them for several days. After steaming, the berries could be mixed with fish oil and eaten immediately, or could be placed in containers, covered with water and preserved for several months. Alternatively, berries could be harvested after the frost had ripened them. As with most berries, the seeds and stems were spat out while the sweet pulp was swallowed (Turner 1975, 129). High-bush cranberry plots were owned and maintained in a similar way to wapato and cinquefoil. They were also considered to be a prestigious food and trade item (Turner 1975, 129).

Bog cranberry (*Vaccinium oxycoccus* L.) is relatively rare in the Cowichan Valley, but it can be found in some small pockets (Simeon 1974, 19). Turner and Bell (1971) do not provide a Cowichan name for this plant. The berries ripened and were collected in late

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summer by raking or shaking them off the stems. The berries were eaten raw or cooked, and could be preserved by mixing them with fish oil or making them into cakes, as was done with many berries. Turner indicates that this plant was also managed, and plots owned by families (1975, 156). It is possible that the Cowichan obtained them through seasonal trade with the Mainland Halkomelem groups.

The Cowichan know Cow Parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.) as *saaq'w* or *yala'* (Peter 2012). The Cowichan used to eat the young stems and stalks of the cow parsnip by peeling them and eating them like celery, or by boiling them. The stems were peeled before they were eaten because the skin of the plant can cause the skin to become photosensitive and to blister (Turner 1975, 105). This plant was roasted, pounded, and mixed with dogfish oil to make a hair tonic. It was also used to cure headaches, tooth aches, sore throats and internal maladies (Sweet 1962 in Turner & Bell 1971, 89). Caution was exercised when harvesting the cow parsnip as it is very similar in appearance and habitat to the water hemlock, which is highly poisonous.

Salal (*Gaultheria shallon*) is a very common plant in the Cowichan Valley, and the Cowichan call it *t'eqe'* (Turner & Bell 1971, 83). This plant is a facultative hydrophyte, and can be found in both the wetlands and the moist forests of the Cowichan Valley (MacKenzie & Moran 2004, 246). Salal berries, *t'ɛ''qə,* are considered the most plentiful and widely consumed berries on the Northwest Coast, and were eaten in great quantity by the Cowichan and other Island Salish groups (Turner 1975: 141). Harvesting salal berries took place late in the summer. The entire stem with all its berries was taken, and processed at home. They were eaten fresh, or preserved in cakes by the

method previously described. Fresh berries, still on their stem, were sometimes dipped in oil and eaten like grapes. Preserved salal berry cakes were highly valued, and were reserved for the consumption of one's direct family, or for feast hosts. Less important individuals would be given cakes made of a mix of salal berries and some other berry considered to be inferior, such as the elderberry. Berry cakes were soaked over night and mixed with fish oil before consumption. The Kwakiutl used a special dark horn spoon to eat salal berries as it did not show the juice stains as other implements would (ibid., 141-2). The leaves of this plant were also used in steaming pits, as mentioned by Mary Rice and Abraham Joe in the description of pit cooking (Turner & Bell 1971, 83; Rozen 1978; Cryer 1932).

Labrador Tea (*Ledum groenlandicum*) is also known as 'Hudson's Bay Tea'. Turner does not list a Cowichan name for this plant. The Saanich call it 'makum tea' or 'swamp tea,' as it is only found in bogs (Turner & Bell 1971, 83). The primary Native use of this plant was as a tea, and as its other name suggests, it was quickly used for the same purpose by the Hudson's Bay Company and early European settlers. This plant flowers in June in the Cowichan Valley, but it is not known at what point the Cowichan harvested the leaves. Some Native groups gathered young leaves in the spring, while others gathered mature leaves late in the winter. Turner tells us that most Native groups used to use the leaves fresh or dried, but notes that the Comox used to steam the leaves along with the rhizomes of licorice fern in order to impart some flavor to the Labrador tea (1975, 143). Tea was made by boiling a handful of leaves with water. Length of steeping was based on individual taste, and could range from a few minutes to a few days. Some groups used it as a tonic for sore throat and colds (ibid., 144).

While it is known to have narcotic properties, there is no indication in the ethnographic literature that this feature was known or exploited (Turner & Bell 1971, 83).

Bog blueberry (*Vaccinium uliginosum*) is called *mal'sum* by the Cowichan, and is found in the same habitat as Labrador tea (Turner & Bell 1971, 83). The berries of this shrub were collected and eaten dry or preserved in the aforementioned manner. Bog blueberry was profuse in the bogs along the lower Fraser River, and it is possible that the Cowichan obtained larger quantities through trade with Mainland groups than they gathered at home.

Glasswort (*Salicornia virginica* L.) grows in salt marshes on southern Vancouver Island, and provided another root food for the Coast Salish (Turner & Bell 1971, 80).

Indian plum, or 'choke cherry' (*Osmaronia cerasiformis*) was known by the Cowichan as *ma'lhuxul'* (Turner & Bell 1971, 86). It is found almost exclusively in the southwestern corner of British Columbia, and is present in the Cowichan Valley (Turner 1975, 199; Simeon 1974, 22). The Island Salish ate small quantities of the fruit fresh, or would preserve it in containers with water and sealed with oil. The ripe fruit was palatable, while the unripe fruit is bitter, thus they are called 'choke cherry'. The southern Kwakiutl ate the fresh fruit with eulachon grease at feasts and at family meals (Turner 1975, 199).

Canada mint (*Mentha arvensis*) is commonly found on the edge of lakes and streams throughout the Cowichan Valley. It was used by Native groups as a flavouring agent and as tea (Turner & Bell 1971, 84).

There is no information about the Cowichan use of yellow pond lily (*Nupahr polysepalum*), though they do have a word for it: *qẃum'utx* (Turner & Bell 1971, 85). Several ethnographic sources indicate that its rhizomes and its seeds were eaten by some groups (French 1965, and Haskin 1934 in ibid.).

Sea milkwort (*Glaux maritima*) is found in salt marshes and estuarine flats along the lower reaches of the Cowichan River. The rhizomes of this plant were collected in the late summer or fall, slow-cooked, and eaten with fish oil. This plant has sedative qualities, and because of this it was often consumed at night (Turner 1975, 191; Turner & Bell 1971, 86).

Various seaweeds were used by the Cowichan, and were known generally as *lhuq'us* (Turner & Bell 1971, 67). Of the intertidal algae used by the Island Salish, Red Laver (*Porphyra perforata*), and Sea Lettuce (*Ulva lactuca*) were the most commonly consumed. These intertidal algae species were collected from late spring to early summer. They were cooked either alone or with other foodstuffs in order to impart some saltiness and flavor. As a source of salt, seaweed was an important food for the Northwest Coast Natives, as they did not obtain salt from other sources. It is known that the Saanich sold sea weed, possibly red laver, to the Chinese and Japanese communities in Victoria, and it is likely that the Cowichan did the same (Turner & Bell

1971, 67). Some other coastal groups made dried seaweed cakes, which were prepared in much the same way as dried plant cakes previously mentioned, and eaten with fish oil (Turner 1975, 38).

**Medicinal & Cosmetic Plants**

One of the most useful bog or swamp plants is Sphagnum moss (*Sphagnum* spp.), also known as 'Indian sponge' and 'baby' or 'diaper-moss', though there is no reference to the Cowichan using sphagnum moss. Turner indicates that sphagnum moss, or peat moss, was used by 'virtually all First Peoples' for its soft and absorbent qualities. It was used to make diapers, sanitary napkins, bedding, and as bandages for dressing wounds, and it could be washed and re-used. (Turner 1998:58-9). Hodding and Marshall's Cultural Mapping Project (1997) makes no mention of the use of this plant, nor does Turner (1998), but this may be due to the fact that moss and other medicinal plants were traditionally harvested and utilized by women, and the informants for ethnographic studies such as these (including Rozen's work) are mainly men. It is possible that this plant was in short supply in the Cowichan Valley, or that as wetlands were turned to agricultural land in the early colonization period that it was quickly replaced by cotton fabric. It is also possible that sphagnum moss was obtained seasonally as the Cowichan moved to the Fraser River, but at this point it is only speculation.

Indian Hellebore, *p'uqp'uqul'* to the Cowichan, is also known as Green or False Helebore (*Veratrum viride* Ait.) (Turner & Bell 1971, 76). The Cowichan term for this

plant means 'swamp grass'. It is a tremendously poisonous plant that can be found in swamps, on stream banks and in upland meadows throughout the Valley (Simeon 1974, 24). This highly respected plant was considered to possess deep spiritual potency, and was carried as a protective charm to protect against evil spirits. Indian hellebore appears in a Cowichan legend. A sea serpent living in the Salish Sea was killed when the plant was thrown into the water (Ravenhill 1953 in Turner & Bell 1971, 76). Despite its highly poisonous nature Indian hellebore was sometimes consumed in minute quantities as a multi-purpose medicine by many Coastal Native groups (Turner 1975, 232).

Turner and Bell introduce Water Hemlock (*Cicuta douglasii*) as 'one of the most poisonous plants known to man' (1971, 89). There is little information about the Coast Salish use of the water hemlock, however, it was used as a purgative by the Kwakiutl (Boas 1966 in Turner & Bell 1971, 89). Water hemlock is part of the celery family and is similar in appearance to the edible Cow Parsnip. Both species grow in marshy areas and along stream beds in the Cowichan Valley.

Also known as 'Swamp Dogwood', *Cornus racemosa,* this shrub was used for food and medicine (Simeon 1974, 23; Turner & Bell 1971, 81). Anderson (in Turner & Bell) mentions that despite their bitter taste the berries were eaten, though he does not specify which group or groups did so. The Saanich used the swamp dogwood as an emetic, by drinking an infusion of the bark. Swamp dogwood infusions were still used as a cleansing tonic by canoe paddlers before races (Paul 1968, in Turner & Bell 1971, 81).

Black Twinberry (*Lonicera involucrate* (Rich) Banks ex Spreng) is also known as Twinflower Honeysuckle and 'Bearberry' (Turner 1998, 162). This large shrub was found in and around swampy moist areas, and though its berries were edible it appears that none of the Native groups used them for this purpose (ibid.). There is no direct evidence for its use amongst the Coast Salish. Other Island groups used the berries as a dye. The Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw combined salal berries with black twin berries to produce a more intense colour (ibid.).

No Cowichan word for Sundew (*Drosera rotundifolia* L.) has been recorded, however its presence is known in some areas of the Cowichan Valley (Simeon 1974, 18). This insectivorous plant lives exclusively in *Sphagnum* bogs. Its leaves excrete an adhesive liquid which traps its prey (UBC 2011). Although no examples of Cowichan use of this plant have been listed in Turner's various works, she does cite Haskin who generalizes, stating that Northwest Coast Natives used to use this sticky plant to remove warts, corns and bunions (in Turner & Bell 1971, 82).

Purple Hedge Nettle (*Stachys cooleyae*) is found in swampy areas in the Cowichan Valley (Simeon 1974, 26). The Saanich made an infusion of hedge nettle as a revitalizing 'spring tonic' (Turner & Bell 1971, 84).

Large-leaved Avens (*Geum macrophyllum*) was consumed in advance of visiting a terminally ill individual as it was thought to protect against harmful germs (Turner & Bell 1971, 86).

**Consideration of the sources**

Before considering the oral-historical work specific to the Cowichan we must briefly consider why ethnographic generalizations were made about the Coast Salish. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, much ethnographic work was carried out by academics, many of whom held teaching positions. General knowledge, indeed superficial knowledge, was often valued for the purposes of comparison, both with neighbouring groups and with other cultures all together.

One reason for the superficiality of the regional survey was the method which Barnett employed. Unlike previous ethnographic fieldwork which involved long hours of recording and interpretation, the Culture Element Distribution approach allowed the researcher to note the presence or absence of certain cultural traits, and make comparisons across the group (Barnett 1939; Ray 1957, 548). Having made extensive lists of culture traits, Barnett proceeded to compile information about these groups based on conventional methods. Ray notes that the use of culture element distribution did not result in as much consideration of material culture, as may have been expected, and that the illustrations provided supplementary insight into this area of life (1957, 549).

Beyond research aims, and on a more practical note, teaching students the 'big picture', as has been popular in survey courses, was seen to produce well rounded students. Summarizing anthropological work was well regarded, as Verne F. Ray, then at the

University of Washington, said of Barnett's *Coast Salish of British Columbia*: '[He] has therefore done anthropology a real service in presenting brief but highly instructive sketches of a dozen such cultures, rather than a fuller coverage of just one… in presenting these diversified descriptions Barnett has made a greater contribution than would have been possible if he had worked with but one group' (Ray 1957, 548). Ray does, however, go on to say that the area does not (as of 1957) have a thorough picture of any one group, and that such a study would be helpful. Ray's comments bring to light one of the problems of the later half of the 20th century, namely the lack of group-specific research. Again, it was widely held that many of the elders, the best sources, had passed away and that the same potential for ethnographic fieldwork no longer existed (ibid.). Barnett himself mentions that all modern work is incomparable to the thorough work of James Teit with the interior Salish 'for it is no longer possible to observe and inquire into pertinent matters as he was able to do fifty or more years ago' (1955, 1). Ray defends the quality of Barnett's work, but acknowledges that the perceived superiority falls with the early work as the 'culture was more alive in [that] time' (1957, 548). The old idea of the 'vanishing race' had been done away with, and the thought that the groups encountered in the early contact period were the most authentic was defunct. And yet, it appears in the literature as though the early ethnographic work was of the highest quality due to the combination of a) least impact from Western culture, b) the greatest number of living individuals who had been raised prior to contact, and c) the most thorough and unrestrained access to these groups.

The relative successes and failures of the various ethnographic methods will not be discussed here. Suffice it to say that a combination of factors, including the perceived

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lack of access to sufficiently 'authentic' informants, variations in approach, and the applicability of research to the classroom and to publication, resulted in the perpetuation of using general Coast Salish sources to discuss its component groups.

## Chapter 7 – Oral Traditional Accounts of Native Life in the Cowichan Valley

Following on from a discussion of the sources, we now turn to a consideration of oral tradition, a much more, though not entirely, emic source Again, it is important to be aware of the cultural context of those individuals who recorded the oral traditions of Cowichan members in order to be able to separate conjecture from meaning and cultural significance. Most importantly, however, is how oral tradition shows trends in perception and belief. It is a collective product of many, many generations' experience in Cowichan traditional territory. Rather than being a repository for 'truths,' we will look at it as a vessel for traditional knowledge, for *snu'uy'ulh*, or laws (McLay et al, 2004, 3). Through the oral tradition of the Cowichan, we will see the nature of the relationship between the people and their wet places, and through more recent oral histories we can see a reaction to imposed European change of these places.

### Oral Tradition and Archaeology

The last type of source to be considered here is oral tradition. For the purposes of this study, 'oral tradition' is considered distinct from 'oral history' in that the former is

comprised of 'verbal memoirs that firsthand observers have passed along to others' and the later, 'verbal memoirs of firsthand observers' (Echo-Hawk 2000, 270). Oral history has relatively short time depth, and is generally considered to be a reliable source from which 'facts' can be obtained. Oral tradition, on the other hand, can range in time depth from a few generations to thousands of years. While oral history is often relied upon by archaeologists, they may dismiss oral tradition because it is believed to have been susceptible to change at each stage of transmission, facts being winnowed away or lost in the process. Oral tradition is sometimes considered valid when the stories mention certain events in the past that are verifiable, such as the story of the great flood, which is thought to refer to sea level change, but stories that don't mention verifiable events are often dismissed out of hand (ibid.; Cryer 2007).

There exists a strong tradition of anthropological interpretation of the corpus of Northwest Coast oral tradition, beginning with Boas and working through more recent collection. Citing Valentine and Darnell, Brian Thom summarized the theoretical position of anthropologists working in this area, indicating that they believe that 'culture is a system of symbols, and that underlying culture is a complex interplay of basically inseparable elements of language, thought, and reality' and that oral tradition is the one form of transmitting cultural norms (1999, 6 in Thom 2003, 1-3). That being said, it is important to understand that in this area there are many different groups, and that the act of telling the stories is tied directly to an understanding of the local social structure (and geography) (ibid.). Therefore, the application of the generalized Coast Salish pattern to fill the gaps in Cowichan oral tradition may result in numerous

inaccuracies which may be amplified when such material is applied to the archaeological record.

The biggest problem, for anthropologists and archaeologists alike, is the ever-increasing gap between the meaning western-trained academics place on the oral tradition, and the meaning Native people ascribe to their own stories (Thom 2003, 3). Ethnographic work has, and will continue to suffer from the differences between the aims, approaches, and perspectives of the observed and the observers. In the case of the Cowichan, it is curious to note that it is those individuals who were not trained anthropologists (Beryl Cryer and Martha Harris) succeeded in gathering a greater number of stories, and presented them in more detail, while those trained to gather such material appear to have been the harshest editors.

As previously discussed, 'oral traditions' encompass different sorts of stories, from the origins of men and technology, to the shaping of the landscape and alliances. Since archaeology is a tangible product of ancestral peoples' connection to the landscape, it has long been tied to Native land claims on the Northwest Coast. Oral tradition is the non-tangible compliment to the physical products of interaction with the landscape, forged from the same experience. It has not often been regarded as such by the courts or by archaeologists, though the courts now acknowledge oral traditions as a valid form of evidence (after the *Delgamuukw* case in 1997), and archaeologists have long used oral tradition as an interpretive tool. Yet the use of oral tradition by archaeologists and the courts is taking place in an arena of western discourse. The reason for carrying out archaeological work in British Columbia is often due to the requirements outlined by

the Heritage Conservation Act, which was itself designed by a non-native individual (Sam Bawlf) who came from a western capitalist background and was designed to promote development, not conservation. Oral tradition has long been regarded by the legal system and archaeologists as an amorphous vehicle for 'fact' and 'truth' in order to answer questions based on an etic set of values. It has been acknowledged that even anthropologists rarely have the same goals as the 'narrators' of the stories they rely upon to achieve their aims (Thom 2003, 3). The possibility that there might be some overlap between the aims of the 'narrators' and the anthropologists is even further diminished when the anthropologists increase the scale of inquiry while still using stories developed on, and relevant to, a local scale (ibid.).

The Canadian legal system places value on scientific knowledge, and places value on oral history because of the kernels of truth they may possess, however the court overlooks the validity of oral tradition in its own context (Fortune 1993, 116 & Foster and Grove 1993, 221 in Thom 2003, 3). Similarly, archaeologists place value on tangible evidence, and are pleased to find correspondences between the material they uncover and the oral tradition of the people whose ancestors created it. The issue of time depth is inherently important for archaeologists, and some anthropologists are encouraged to make judgments about accuracy based on time depth (or lack thereof), but this obscures the importance of the stories. Even anthropologists are taught to judge the validity of oral tradition, and to cross-reference with other sources to ensure accuracy (Vansina 1985). The practice of seeking 'truth' within these stories does not do justice to the cultures who hold these stories dear. Perceived mistakes, omissions, and exaggeration overshadow the meaning behind oral traditions and their transmission.

Stories which are told in the present still possess meaning for the narrator and the willing audience.

Within the recorded corpus of Cowichan oral tradition, all sources must be considered as products of their own time and, as such, are laden with non-native cultural biases. It would be hypocritical to criticize the cultural editing done by ethnographers, and to edit these sources in turn. However, the European focus on dry-land agriculture must be noted as it resulted in preferential observations of agricultural potential and an absence of observations regarding Native uses of wetlands. The early non-native settlers worked to replicate the British landscapes in the Cowichan Valley, not the farming landscapes of the Fens, but the pastoral landscape of rural Devon (Begg 1894; Keddie 2003). Wet areas, such as the area around the lake at Est Patrolas (Dougan's Lake), were drained, and other water features were modified, as when stretches of the Cowichan River were straightened to facilitate log running, and when the creek running from Somenos Lake to the River was repeatedly dredged (Williams & Radcliffe 2001, 16). Beyond pointing out that the European preference for dry (or controlled wet) farming permeated the colonial mindset to such an extent that it excluded, or more likely did not even note, management of wetland areas, the recorded oral tradition and the ethnographic sources will not be criticized. Instead, the oral tradition is considered in light of those perceptions and uses of wetlands and the mentioned resources, and the wider interaction between the Cowichan and their wet places that can be elucidated.

**Consideration of Cowichan Oral Tradition Sources**

The earliest recording of Cowichan oral traditions was carried out by Robert Brown, who wrote down the stories told around the campfire by *Kakalatza* and *Tomo*, two Native men who where hired to guide the crew of the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition. Brown rendered the Cowichan tales with a moderately heavy editorial hand, as indicated by the lengthy comparisons to European stories. While recording the stories in the same dramatic manner as they were said to have been recounted, he was quick to draw parallels between the stories and other stories with common elements, and to assume there was a good deal of European influence from the religious men who had visited the area. He appears to have been keen on rituals and battles, and noted the deep connection of the Natives with their landscape. 'Every living thing had a superstition, and hour after hour we lay awake listening...' (Hayman 1987, 177). The stories recorded by Brown were never published on their own, but included in an early publication, *The Races of Mankind*, published in the mid-1870s, and in Hayman's collection of Brown's VIEE diaries (ibid.).

After Brown, the next person to record Cowichan oral traditions was Franz Boas, at the end of the 19th century. Boas' programme of collection was concerned with gathering large amounts of oral tradition from a wide area as a comparison of the stories had the power to provide insights into population movements and histories. It has been suggested that Boas believed that by collecting stories in their original languages, he could avoid some of the pitfalls that come with designing research questions which would naturally be etic (Thom 2003, 3). However, this does not appear to be the case with his work in the Cowichan Valley. As previously discussed, Boas had some trouble collecting information in this area, and his Cowichan collection is in no way

comparable to his Kwakiutl collection in volume or quality. Earlier, Brown's versions of the Cowichan stories were partially edited, constantly compared to old world myths, but they preserved some of the literary elements which made them engaging. Boas, on the other hand, edited his stories in an altogether more ruthless fashion. The story of Thunderbird, for example, was told by Cryer in 131 lines, yet Boas rendered the same story in 19 lines (Cryer 1999, 315). The only information we have about the context in which Boas recorded these stories comes from his journals, and those entries are predominantly concerned with his comfort and the difficulties he faced with obtaining information (Rohner 1969). After working on the Northwest Coast for several years, Boas felt increasingly concerned with approaching his work from a theoretical position which ran counter to academic trends of the time, one in which he felt that cultures must be understood on and by their own terms; he wanted to come closer to an emic approach (Thom 2003, 5). Boas employed Native informants to collect stories in their own language, which was successful elsewhere on the coast, but he did not employ a Native of Cowichan, and the stories we have are only those collected by Boas himself.

Following Boas, Martha Harris was next to record, and eventually publish, Cowichan stories at the beginning of the 20th century. Harris was the daughter of Governor Douglas, of Creole and Scottish descent, and Amelia Douglas, of Cree and British descent. She was friendly with several Songhees families and had a good relationship with her informants, but the influence of her social station and of European society was constantly felt. She collected stories of the Cowichan, and some from her mother's people, but did not publish them until after both of her parents had passed away, in order to avoid tarnishing their reputations. Harris preserved the narrative feeling in the

stories she recorded, and the flow of the stories suggests that she does not appear to have omitted information simply because it may have been influenced by settler society.

The ethnographic accounts of the Cowichan recorded by Charles Hill-Tout are concerned, in large part, with their oral tradition. Neither Boas nor Harris provided the names of their informants, but Hill-Tout informs us that he gathered these stories from Thomas James, 'an intelligent native of this division' (Hill-Tout 1978, 155). Boas and Harris, who believed they were preserving the stories of a dying culture, appear to have divorced the stories from the informants that told them.

Edward Curtis, who also recorded stories of the Cowichan, did not discuss his informants. Much of his writing focused on historic accounts rather than stories from deep time, while his photographs captured anachronistic aspects of material culture. Curtis presents a lengthy rendition of the last battle between the Cowichan and Northern people, fought at *xwtl'epnáts* (Maple Bay), and the warrior Tzouhalem, both historic, and included the origin story of *St'uts'un* and *Syalutsa*.

Perhaps the most detailed renditions of Cowichan stories come from Beryl Cryer. As previously discussed, she was familiar with her informants, and provided information about their immediate circumstances as they told her the tales, including the health and welfare of immediate families and the wider community. She has been criticized for this, and yet it appears her versions of the stories did not suffer from the same moralizing or editing that some of the earlier versions did. She is also to be credited

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with publishing 61 stories, and recording at least this many, if not more (though we do not have her original notes, so the number remains uncertain (Cryer 1997, 22). Cryer was the most prolific, followed by Harris, with only 14 stories. Cryer had the largest number of informants, 17 people from the wider Cowichan area, which includes the modern town of Chemainus and Kuper Island. The stories she recorded were a mix of recent history and stories of considerable time depth (Cryer 1997).

David Rozen worked with 13 informants from the wider Cowichan area, and recorded oral traditions that his informants associated with specific places in the Cowichan Valley, and generally Island Hul'qumi'num territory (1977, 1985). Rozen was not specifically concerned with collecting stories, as Boas had been, but collected 'ethnoscientific information,' details about the use of resources and places in the landscape (1985, 14). Interviews were conducted, and taped, before such time as the aims of the study had been decided upon by the author, which served to avoid steering the conversation with an etic rudder.

From a survey of the published oral traditional sources concerning the Ancestral Cowichan and their valley, it is clear that the volume of information is lacking. There are, of course, Cowichan Tribe members who still possess these stories and traditional ecological knowledge developed over millennia of living in the landscape. When time and place shall serve, this information may yet be recorded and/or consulted with regard to archaeological work undertaken in the area, preferably in the early planning stages, to the benefit of Cowichan Tribe members and archaeologists alike. For now, let

us consider what the published sources can tell us about how the Ancestral Cowichan interacted with the wet places in their landscape, and how they made use of its bounty.

**Place and Practice in the Cowichan Landscape**

As already discussed, in Appendix 9 (Place Names in the Cowichan Valley and their associations), only 7 of 97 Cowichan Valley sites listed in Rozen's ethnographic work are not associated in any way with a water feature, and only 10 are located on beaches or on the sea. Similar proportions can be seen in the collected oral tradition, with fewer stories taking place on or near the ocean, and many taking place in and around the Cowichan River Valley. This statement may seem obvious, but it has not been accurately reflected in the archaeological work undertaken in this area (see Figure 35, below, for a cross-reference of archaeological and oral traditional sites). The first people to fall from the sky into the Valley did so not on a beach, but on Koksilah Ridge and Mount Prevost, and they settled not on the coast, but along the River (Marshall 1999, 11).

Figure 34 -Archaeological and Oral Traditional Sites in the Cowichan Valley (G.Hill 2010)

DeSa | DeRx | DeRx | DeRw | DeRw | DrRv

**N**

Water

Marsh

Archaeological Site

Oral Traditional Site
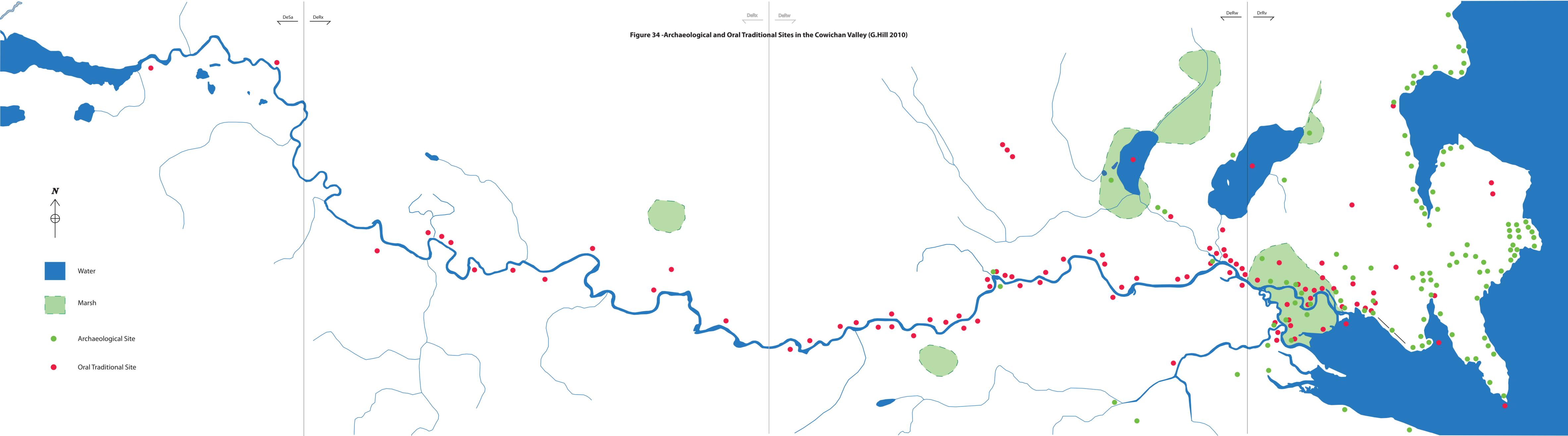
Cowichan Elder Ben Canute was once recorded telling the story of the peopling of the Cowichan Valley. Before people fell from the sky, the valley was untouched wilderness and into this wilderness fell *Syalutsa*. He was a powerful man with the ability to heal sickness and to defeat monsters, and was the first to erect a weir (*shh'etl*) in the river. As Ben Canute says, 'he is the one who fixes everything and gathers the food' (Marshall 1999, 9). There is a strong connection between this story and practices which are still carried on by Cowichan people today and which connect them to their landscape.

One of these traditional practices is ritual bathing, known as *kw'aythut* by Thom's informants (2005, 153). *Kw'aythut* is considered a "critical element of Coast Salish spiritual and ceremonial life" (ibid, 154). Ritual bathing is undertaken for many reasons that can be thought of in terms of two functions: spiritual cleansing and encountering spirit helpers (ibid). Ritual bathing has been discussed in Coast Salish ethnographic literature (as in Amos 1978, Barnett 1955, Suttles 1981, and Jenness 1935), but the places at which this act took place were not discussed. These sites are sacred and as such they have been kept secret (Thom 2005). Ritual bathing, and the sites at which it is carried out, are increasingly under threat by urban and commercial development throughout the Cowichan Valley. Decreased opportunity to bathe in sacred places is having a very real and deep impact on Cowichan Band members (Thom 2005).

*Kw'aythut* as a cleansing act is carried out by a wide spectrum of people, from those who have lost a loved one, to those who have handled the dead (Thom 2005, Barnett 1955, Joe 2012). It is also done by initiates to big house and dancing rituals, and by those preparing for hunting, fishing and handwork such as pole carving and canoe

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building (Thom 2005, Barnett 1955, Amos 1978). It is also done by those who are having struggles in their personal life (Thom 2005, Joe 2012).

Ritual bathing helps to balance the two parts of an individual. The Cowichan believe there are two 'entities' within each person, the *stalkwl*, which is dominant, and the *shtsulehuwum* (Marshall 1999). Ritual bathing allows one to encounter a spirit power which 'facilitates the *shtsulehwum* entity to overpower the *stalkwl'* (ibid) The more frequent the bathing, the stronger the spirit power becomes.

The act of bathing in pools, ponds, lakes, streams and rivers, as *Syalutsa* did, allows one to obtain spirit power. Marshall (1999) describes the daily practice in which an individual, facing east, bathes in the chosen body of water, honing his or her awareness of their surroundings, and paying tribute to the creator. The practice of ritual bathing allows individuals to develop inner strength and, if they choose to do so, it prepares them and helps them to obtain spirit power (Thom 2005). Spirit power can come in various forms, and its animal forms are usually discussed (as in Barnett 1955, Duff 1952, Suttles 1955), however the spirits of lakes, rivers, streams and ponds could also be obtained (Barnett 1955; Marshall 1999, 10-11). Bathing in winter increases one's chances of encountering spirits and hypernatural beings, such as the two-headed snake (Thom 2005). Regular bathing is one step in maintaining and strengthening one's relationship with their spiritual helper (ibid.). The following origin story highlights the importance of ritual bathing to the Cowichan People.

The second person to fall to the earth was *Syalutsa*'s brother, *Stusun*, who was told that in order to come to understand the secrets of the land, he must ritually bathe in 'the cool, clear waters of every little stream, river or lake [he] might encounter in your travels' (Marshall 1999, 16). The act of bathing in cold water is known as *kwukwiuythut*, and by doing this (which was stressed as a necessary act by his brother), and by taking only what he needed from the landscape, 'through all the things you (*Stusun*) will be doing everyday you will discover in your mind what you are good for as a person on this earth' (ibid). During the course of his travels, *Stusun*, visits *quw'ut-sun h'atsa'* (Lake Cowichan), *Swuḵus* (Mount Prevost), and *sha'weluqun* (Shawnigan Lake), and he bathed in all the rivers, lakes and streams along the way, as was necessary. After his lengthy travels, the trials along the way, and repeated ritual bathing, *Stusun* obtained his power, though what it was, we aren't told (Ben Canute, Gabe Jack, Nora George and Monica Joe in Marshall 1999, 12-21).

The perpetuation of the practice of ritual bathing is a longstanding connection between the first inhabitants of the Cowichan Valley and their descendants. It also shows the importance of place, though these places are not easily identified by outsiders. Although "certain places become powerful centres for developing influential, life-long relationships with the non-human world," the act of bathing in these natural features does not leave a material signature in the same way as do fire pits, houses, or monuments (Thom 2005, 168). For the Cowichan, then, the sea is not the major site of connection with spirit powers, as the archaeology suggests, but the wet places, the rivers and streams, the lakes, the ponds and the pools where humans can interact with spirits. These are sites of great antiquity, and of immense spiritual importance to the

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Cowichan people, but they are not considered archaeological sites and do not have the same protection under the Heritage Conservation Act as, for example, domestic sites.

These sites are increasingly falling out of use because they are being alienated from Cowichan People. Thom (2005) discusses the factors that have contributed to the destruction of ritual bathing sites (and continue to do so) which include the privatization of land, the denuding of landscapes, the draining of ponds and diverting of streams, and generalized urban and residential development. Even sites which remain intact and which Cowichan People have access to may no longer be suitable for ritual bathing due to the proximity of buildings, the presence of people, animals, and lights resulting in a state of complete publicity, where ritual acts can no longer take place in privacy (Thom 2005). A list of important ritual bathing sites has been compiled by the HTG, but it has not been made public (Thom 2005). Members of the HTG have been known to identify such sites to outsiders only when one is under direct threat (ibid). The HTG and Cowichan members must constantly balance the need to protect ritual bathing sites by keeping their whereabouts secret, and making the general public aware of their existence and importance to Cowichan spiritual life.

One wetland site that is said to have a material element to it is the site of *shp'ap'tl'*, a pool east of *p'ip'oóm* (Frog Rock on Mount Tzuhalem). This pool was used by Cowichan people to tell their fortunes (until at least the 1970s, and is, perhaps, still used today) (Rozen 1977, 1985, 141-2). The pool is a circular depression found at the highest reaches of Mount Tzuhalem, and it is believed that if one puts a hand in the pool and pulls something out, that shape that object takes will foretell successes in the

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associated area (Abraham Joe in Rozen 1977, 141). 'If a man reaches into the pool and pulls out some cedar chips, he might be a good carver; if he pulls out some deer hair, he might be a good hunter. If a woman pulls out some wool, she might be a good spinner or weaver' (Abraham and Abel D. Joe in ibid.). The place name, *shp'ap'tl'*, means 'feeling around for something with the hands' (ibid.). The activity at this place, and the persistence of this practice suggests that the Cowichan people who visit this place are receptive to the spirit powers, that they defer decision making powers about their individual future successes to natural forces, and are still deeply connected to these natural elements.

There is a very well known story among the Cowichan, about a powerful young man called *Q'iseq* (Thom 2005), or *K'ísak* (Rozen 1977, 1985). The stories of a character called *K'ísak* refer to several places in the Cowichan Valley, and present the origin of trout, and give meaning to several place names in the valley. Thom (2005) presents an excellent discussion of this story, as told by Ruby Peter, and its importance for the sense of place felt by the Cowichan. The following story is a comprised of details from the story as told by Ruby Peter, Abraham Joe, and Abel D. Joe.

The story begins with the birth of *K'ísak*, at *xínepsem* village (now known as Green Point). In several versions of the story, the 'Stonehead' people, or the *Munmaanta'qw*, were killing first-born sons at *xínepsem* (Rozen 1985, 172). In an other version, the chief of the village was sick, and asked his brother to take over until the chief's daughter produced a son. In order to hold on to this unusual opportunity, the chief's brother ordered that any boys born should be killed (Ruby Peter in Thom 2005, 127).

The chief's daughter eventually had a son, so in order to protect him, she tied his penis up behind with strands of her hair. The chief's brother was doubtful that she had produced a daughter, but the mother suggested he check for himself, and the ruse succeeded. The mother knew she could not hide his gender for long, so she took her son and they fled up the Cowichan River.

The mother carried her son a ways, and stopped when they came to a pond near the area of the present day St. Ann's church. Here, they stopped and camped for several days, and since then this place was known as *Shxuxey'elu* (*shxexíiy̓ále*), or 'crying small lake' or 'crying place' (Ruby Peter in Thom 2005, 127). For fear of being discovered, they left this place and continued up river.

The mother stopped to bathe her boy at a place called *ts'aw̓iten*, which means 'clam shell place,' and again at a place called *(s)ts'áts'ew̓í7ten*, which is the site of a spring and an oblong, dished rock, just upstream from the creek between Quamichan Lake and the River. This place is now referred to as 'Four Oaks', and is near the site of Ruby Peter' house (ibid.). Here, the pair camped for a time, and the clam shells that the mother discarded were turned into rocks. The oblong rock was formerly located by a spring, and *K̲'ísak̲* 's mother used the depression in the oblong rock to wash the child (Ruby Peter told Brian Thom about how her grandfather, whose land it was before her, had tried to show off the bathing rock, and tried to move it with ropes and horses, but that it wouldn't move too far. It was eventually buried and uncovered during landscaping, and now rests by her gate; 2005, 128).

Abel D. Joe indicated that some people believe one of the shells turned to stone and call it *kw'ukw'ok̲íńem,* and this stone is thought to be the one seen in front of a church on Tzuhalem Road, where the creek runs under the bridge (in Rozen 1985, 173).

*K̲'ísak̲* was also bathed by his mother at *xwkw'sétsem,* known commonly as Quamichan Creek, scrubbed with balsam branches dipped in the water. After scrubbing the boy, she shook the branches over the water, and the drops that flew from them turned to trout, and it is for this reason that the creek is also known as 'Trout Creek'. Ruby Peter (Thom 2005, 125, 129) indicated that trout had formerly been abundant in this creek. Her father used to catch fish at this place with great ease. In the telling of *K̲'ísak̲*'s story, she pointed out that once a trout was caught in this place, it was proper protocol to bite it on the nose, and treated thus the trout would always come back.

*K̲'ísak̲* 's mother settled at Quamichan lake, and built a home there. As her boy grew, she showed him how to hunt birds, and how to use their skin to make clothing. After killing many birds, he fashioned himself clothing made of feathers, and with it he developed the ability to fly (Ruby Peter in Thom 2005, 129). The boy was curious about why he lived alone with his mother, and eventually flew to his home village of *x̲ínepsem,* and saw his uncle, the usurper, and the *Munmaanta'qw. K̲'ísak̲* was not pleased with what he saw, and having winkled the story from his mother, he decided to kill all of the men in his village. Eventually they returned home.

The good people in the story, *K̲'ísak̲*'s mother, his grandmother and grandfather, and *K̲'ísak̲* himself, were transformed into features of the landscape. *Xeel's,* the

Transformer passed Quamichan Lake, and he turned _K'ísak_'s mother into an island at the south end of the lake. He also changed _K'ísak_, who had by this time grown into a powerful chief, into a rock at the mouth of the creek, and his wife into a rock in the middle of the lake (Abel D. Joe in Rozen 1985; Ruby Peter in Thom 2005, 130).

There is some confusion amongst the sources about the fate of _K'ísak_, and the origin of trout. As _Xeel's_ travelled through the land, he encountered _K'ísak_, who, after losing a staring competition against the Transformer, stepped down into the lake. In the version given by Boas, he said that this transformation of _K'ísak_ resulted in the creation of trout, but Rozen's informants as well as Cryer, Marshall, and Ruby Peter all suggest that the final transformation of _K'ísak_ turned him into a rock, the location of which is debatable (Abel D. Joe in Rozen 1985, 174; Boas 2002, 137; Cryer n.d.; Marshall 1999, 45; Ruby Peter in Thom 2005, 130).

The above story provides several insights into the ways Cowichan people have perceived and engaged with the landscape and all its component entities. It informs us about the importance of ritual bathing and self-purification required to develop into a strong individual, about the creation and proper treatment of resources, and that in the landscape there are keys which serve to remind descendent Cowichans of the need for ritual, respect, and reciprocity.

Ritual bathing features prominently in this story, and the bathing sites are still recognized by Cowichan people today (Rozen 1985; Thom 2005). This story serves as a reminder of the need to ritually purify one's self in order to obtain powers, and become

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strong so that good things might be done (in this case, having the power to fly, the ability to dispatch the cruel *Munmaanta'qw*, and *K'ísak̲*'s evil uncle, and to restore *x̲ínepsem*). As Thom discusses (2005, 131), the sites of ritual bathing were imbued with the same power developed by *K'ísak̲*, and are still powerful places today. The stones and sites in this story possess spiritual power. This power is still making its presence known. When Ruby Peter told Brian Thom about how her grandfather tried to move the bathing stone in order to better display it, she says that it would not be moved, and that the horses pulled so hard that the ropes dug into the rock leaving marks (ibid., 128). The rock refused to move. Some might try to reason this away with physics, but it is important to understand that the rock and the place are considered one, and that the power of this place was created as *K'ísak̲* was bathed.

The idea of proper treatment of resources, and the reciprocity of respect is seen throughout this story. Respect for custom and the resulting opportunities to obtain power have been discussed. Respect is also shown to the trout that were created by this powerful family. The act of biting trout on the nose is not a custom which uneducated people would automatically do, and Ruby mentions that it is possible that the decrease of trout in Quamichan Lake and Quamichan Creek is due to the neglect of fishermen to perform this act. The sites of transformation should serve to remind those individuals who have heard the story of *K'ísak̲* about the relationship between trout and this ancestral figure, and about the acts of respect which are required to ensure the good will of the fish so that they will continue to return and provide people with food.

It is implicit in this narrative that only a strong individual could possess enough strength to overcome such evil, and that only one who follows ritual observances, such as bathing, and does good things with the power he obtains is worthy of taking on Chiefly responsibilities. It also serves as a karmic, moralizing tale highlighting the need for balance. It reminds us that one who is driven by greed to kill children, is not fit to rule, and will, in the end, suffer a similar fate. The spring, the creek and the boulders in the landscape immortalize the characters in this story, and remind us of the importance of purity and respect (Basso 1996; Thom 2005).

Finally, the figure of *Xeel's*, as an other-than-human being who transformed these individuals, and others, into aspects of the landscape, is called to mind whenever a knowledgeable individual comes to any transformation site, such as the ones discussed above. *Xeel's* roamed the Cowichan Valley, changing people into stone and animals along the way, and each change is a specific reminder of a moral lesson, whether caveat or paradigm.

Returning again to the concept of spiritual purity, we see that the act of self-purification through ritual bathing was important to all Cowichan people, as it was through this practice that one could come to obtain the aid of a spirit or spirits. Such hyper-natural assistance spanned a wide range, from bringing skill in a craft to good luck in hunting or fishing. If this power was important for the lay-person, it was even more important for the shaman, or medicine man, whose very function relied entirely on the assistance of spirit-beings. Siamtunaat described the process by which someone could become a *shne'um* or shaman:

Your white doctors learn what they know out of books. But the Indian leaves all his people and goes away back in the mountains until he comes to some stream. There he stays, with no food, no place to sleep only the water to drink and to wash himself with. All day and night he sings and shouts and washes his body. He has nothing to eat and he gets tired and thin, but still he sings and washes. Then one night, he's lying by the water; it's very dark up there, with the high rocks and tall trees all around him, and everything so quiet, only the little stream running, running over the stones... There he lies, and after a long time he hears a Voice calling, calling. Listen! The Voice calls again, and now he calls back, and gets up and begins to sing and dance, splashing the water over his body and then, waiting, listens again... Now he hears the Voice near him, calling from the air! No once can ever tell what the Voice is, but it talks to the Indian and tells him everything, and he learns to do things that no other people can do.

(*Siamtunaat* in Cryer 1932, July 17)

The same requirements of seclusion, deprivation, and purification apply to *xwult'up*, medicine men with the ability to fly, and Barnett (1939, 272) reports that those Cowichan who wished to become a *shne'um* engaged in underwater trials. The following excerpt describes the process, and stresses the importance of this for those individuals who wished to become a *shne'um* with the power to fly:

Long, long ago, our people used to believe in lots of different spirits – one for the fishing, one for the hunting, another for medicine men, and for dancing. There were lots of them, and to talk to those spirits – to get them to listen – the man used to go far away where there are no other people. He would find a stream away in the mountains, and there he would stay without food or blankets, and he must pray all the time... Every night he must wash in the fresh water; four times he must do this washing. Four times each night he must dive into the water, and when he dives he must call to the spirit he wants to help him. Then, when he gets so weak that he can hardly walk, the spirit comes to him. And when he gets back to his people he is a good hunter, or can catch lots of fish – he is helped by the spirit he has called to.

Well, this xwult'up is something like that. If a man wants to fly he had to be clean, good, pure. The spirits will not listen to a man who is not all clean!

The connection between medicine men and wetlands goes beyond their use of water features for ritual purification. The flora and fauna of wetlands are linked to the shaman, and used in the performance of healing rituals. Here are several examples of the use of wetland animals by shamans, for both causing and removing sickness.

Mink (*Mustela vison)* are found in and around wetlands and beaches in the Cowichan Valley. They are semi-aquatic carnivores, who feed on fish, eggs, small birds and frogs, to name some of their prey (Hall 1981, 916). Barnett notes that the spirit power of a mink could be obtained (1939, 217). They are clever hunters who are as comfortable in water as they are on land. Mink skins appear frequently in descriptions of medicine men. *Siamtunaat* once recounted the story of the healing of a man thought to be dead, and described the shaman's dress and deportment as he entered to begin his work:

> Very soon this man came, all dressed up in his coat of deerskin, with beads and skins of mink all over it. His face was painted red and black, with a little white, and he had, oh, such a nice hat! Made of mink skins, with lots of little heads and tails and the mink's 'fingers' hanging down from it; and he carried two drums and sticks.
>
> (*Siamtunaat* in Cryer 1932, July 24)

Frogs and toads are common throughout wet areas of the Cowichan Valley. One of the thirteen 'Cowichan Moons' (roughly paralleling the Gregorian calendar) is known as *Wulhxus*, 'the moon when the little frogs sing in the swamps (*Siamtunaat* in Cryer 1933, December 17). In a broad examination of the artistic representation of wetland

animals in the art of the Northwest Coast Natives, there appears to be a connection between the depiction of frogs and the trappings of the shaman (Hill 2006). The study was necessarily skewed towards those groups who have more frequently represented animal figures on their material culture (ex. Tlingit, Tsimshian), but the Coast Salish in general are noted for a comparative lack of figurative representation. In the absence of wet site excavation and any elucidating material, the connections between medicine men and wetland animals are more clearly established in the stories and legends. Siamtunaat told Beryl Cryer of an evil *shne'um*, who killed a youth with a frog.

The young man was out hunting grouse one day, and encountered *Tsilamunthut*, the evil doctor, who warned the boy that there were sheep in the forest and that he should not harm them by mistake. The boy took offence to the doctor's implication that he might be too stupid to tell the difference, and upon telling the *Tsilamunthut* so, the doctor took offence in turn and threatened the boy, telling him to go home. The boy turned to run, and as he did so, the doctor rubbed his hands together making a frog, and this he threw at the boy's back. This caused a burn mark, on the boy's chest and another on his back, and caused him to vomit blood. He was sick for several days before eventually dying (*Siamtunaat* in Cryer 1932, July 31).

Those *shne'um* who were inclined to malice could make all manner of animal to do their bidding. Jennie Wyse told Beryl Cryer the story of a medicine man, *Sch-Weys*, who conjured a devilfish to kill the man who had been roaming the land, changing people to stone. The stranger who came upon *Sch-Weys* and his son was the Transformer, *Xeel's*, who lost all of the challenges with humility. *Sch-Weys* led the

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Transformer to a pool of water, where the devilfish he had made was lying in wait. As *Xeel's* knelt down to drink from the pool, two long arms came out and started to strangle him. *Sch-Weys* challenged *Xeel's* one last time to see if he could escape the devilfish arms. He responded by snapping off the arms from around his neck, and saying:

> What have I done to you or to your people that you should make fun of me, and now try to kill me? You have heard that I am changing things – turning people and animals to stone, but did no one tell you that it is only the bad and wicked, those better out of the way, that I changed? Did no one tell you that I had done good too? Made well the sick and lame people, helped all who were kind and good? ...Because you have listened to all those wicked stories, and because you have tried to kill me, you must turn to stone, you and your canoe!

**Consideration of Resource Use in Cowichan Oral Tradition**

No less important to the Cowichan than stories of the first people and the works of *Xeel's,* are the stories which inform us about resource use. The most archaeologically visible resource remain used by Northwest Coast Natives is the clamshell. Archaeological work supports Cowichan oral tradition, which indicates that clam consumption was indeed ubiquitous for a very long time. Norcross mentioned a saying which is common amongst the Coast Salish: 'when the tide is out, the table is set' (Norcross 1959, 9). Clam gathering and clams in various forms are frequently mentioned in the stories recorded by Cryer, in at least 17 discreet incidences (Cryer 2007).

In a story about a Puneluxutth' war with the natives of Cape Mudge, Mary Rice recounts how several men survived the fray and, attempting to stay hidden and make their way home, the men knew they had to make it to the beach in order to find adequate food, and there they dug clams to sustain themselves (Rice in Cryer 1932). Dried clams are often referred to as food that was taken along on short trips away from home (Cryer 2007, 62), and were consumed in great quantities at large gatherings (ibid., 147).

Beyond a simple form of sustenance, clams were an important trade item for the Cowichan. They were collected in abundance and taken to the Lower Fraser, there to be traded with the mainland Halkomelem groups for items such as sturgeon and wapato (Rozen 1978; Barnett 1955; Marshall 1999). Clamshells were used as dishes, containers, spoons, scrapers, and knives (Stewart 1977). The use of clamshells as a container was mentioned in the story of _K'ísak_. The meat was eaten by the Cowichan, and was also used as bait (Rozen 1978, 182). Archaeological evidence supports the uses described above, but further consideration of Cowichan oral tradition indicates that perhaps they were not as all-important as some texts suggest, but were more of a constant; a food stuff which was cultivated and cured and was always present, but have overshadowed other food stuffs in the archaeological record.

The remains of salmon, another archaeological favourite, are found in sites throughout the valley. Before Europeans settled in the Cowichan Valley, and before the federal government put fishing laws in place, salmon were found in abundance on the Cowichan River. The profusion of salmon has been described in Cryer (2007) thus:

Swish! Swish! The salmon going up the creek, all pushing, pushing, to get far up. There were so many that the water was full, and the salmon next to the shore would get pushed far out of the water, on to the grass. Every river was the same, full of salmon. I can remember when the Cowichans had thirteen weirs on the Cowichan River, and I know that we used to catch just as many salmon in the weirs at the upper part of the river as we caught in the lower ones, and now, the white men say our weirs stop the fish.

(*Qwulsteynum*, 1932)

The presence of salmon, and the method for obtaining them, are discussed in the earliest tales of the Cowichan. *Syalutsa* and *St'uts'un*, the first and second men on earth, built the first weir (*shh'etl*) on the Cowichan River (Marshall 1999, 9). Boas recorded this story:

Once Swutlá'k· went to K·au'ämen near Sâmenos and there observed many salmon. He told Siá'latsa what he had seen. Then they went to K·au'ämen together and built a house. Siá'latsa had the men fell a tree, and burn and sharpen its lower end. Swutlá'k· then set the tree upright on one side of the river and put up a second one the same way on the other bank. He laid a third trunk across the other two and tied it fast. To this he attached many vertical sticks. Thus he made the first salmon weir and the people had plenty to eat.
Boas, in Bouchard & Kennedy 2002: 139.

The antiquity of the use of fish weirs by the Cowichan people is clearly held to be true by the fact that they believe it was the first man in this area that created them. Whether or not the antiquity of this technology can be proved is moot, especially when one considers that the people who retell these stories believe this element to be so vital and integral to their culture as to have been around *ab ovo*. The highly developed notions of ownership and maintenance of weirs, discussed in the earlier, indicate that the practice of building weirs had indeed gone on 'since time immemorial'. It is curious to note

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that these stories do not appear to have been consulted by the government agencies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, whose policy makers perceived weirs to be an impediment to the success of fish populations. Rather, the long-term use of weirs and the thriving fish stocks in the early contact period indicate that the process was benign.

Another story, the 'Origin of Salmon,' provides further support for the longstanding connection between the Cowichan and the salmon who frequent the River. In this story, a whale finds its way into Cowichan Bay and blocks the River at its mouth, preventing salmon from ascending the River, and causing people to go hungry. *Tzinquaw* (Thunderbird) caught the whale in its claws and carried it up to Mount Tzuhalem and placed it in a cave. With the whale gone, the fish could spawn again, and the Cowichan people were ensured a food supply. Interestingly, Abraham and Abel D. Joe indicate that this is why whale bones are sometimes found on the Mountain (in Rozen 1985, 142).

To an archaeologist, the presence of whale bones on a mountain is an indication of a substantial passage of time. However, this story hints at a deeper connection, that of the Cowichan people and their resources, and the question of food security. This is a major issue for Cowichan and other Hul'qumi'num people today, as indicated in the study of traditional Coast Salish resources, food security and aboriginal rights by Karen Fediuk and Brian Thom in 2001 (Thom 2005, 260). Their study indicated that within the wider Hul'qumi'num Territory, almost every family had one member who was engaged in collecting traditional food, but that, due to much of their traditional territory being privately owned, only a fraction of the people who wished to obtain traditional

foods could do so (ibid.). Many of the sites of traditional food gathering have been polluted or destroyed outright, and wetlands in the Cowichan Valley are no exception. The breadth of the problem can be seen in statements such as this:

> In those days there were many, many hundreds of ducks, and when they flew it was like a great cloud moving, so many birds together. Now they are gone, and soon the salmon will be gone too...
>
> (*Qwulsteynum*, 1932)

The decrease in food stocks can be attributed to the mismanagement of these resources first, by the colonial, and then by the provincial and federal governments. The policies implemented by the various levels of government were, and continue to be based on the western perspective, which sees nature as external to man, as a resource to be exploited (Smith & Wobst 2005; Bruchac et al 2010). The Cowichan have guidelines to prevent against the sort of greedy exploitation which has resulted in the decrease in available and accessible traditional resources. In times of plenty and times of want, the Cowichan shared what resources they had with one another. The story of *Chuchi'q'un* (Mink) provides a clear lesson about what happens to those who take advantage of other's kindness.

Mink is the subject of his own myth, as told by *Tl'utasiye*, Jennie Wyse. The story of *Qeq'yux*, *Chuchi'q'un* to the Cowichan, or mink, is a moralizing tale about greediness. While roaming the beach one day in search of crabs to eat, *Chuchi'q'un* smelled cooked camas on the air. He traced the smell to a passing canoe full of camas, and commented on the deliciousness of the smell. The people in the canoe offered some to Mink and

went on their way. *Chuchi'q'un* was not satisfied, and so he ran down the beach, passing the canoe, in order to intercept them again. Once more he complemented them on their cargo, and once more they shared some camas with him. Still not satisfied, Mink ran ahead, only stopping along the way to cover himself in soot from a burnt log so as to disguise himself. A third time hailed them, and despite having little left, they grudgingly obliged him. Ever the greedy optimist, *Chuchi'q'un* tried yet again to pass them, stopping only to roll in the moss to remove the soot so that they might think he was someone different again. He hailed them a fourth time, but they were running very low and couldn't spare any more so they did not stop. Instead, they paddled close to shore to see who it was that hailed them and discovered that it was *Chuchi'q'un*! They caught him, and beat him, driving the soot from his pelt, and he finally learnt that it does not pay to be greedy (Jennie Wyse in Cryer 1933; Cryer 2007, 251-2).

Not only can the stories of the Cowichan inform us about the importance of maintaining a reciprocal respect with the other beings in the landscape, they also have the ability to provide us with details about material culture, details which might otherwise be overlooked or overshadowed. Objects of such ubiquity that they are only mentioned in passing, such as rush mats (*sala'uts*), are mentioned in the personal reminiscences of some informants, and in the legends, showing both the great antiquity and the persistence of traditional technology in the face of changing economies.

Little is known for certain of the antiquity of rush mats and other rush artifacts, though it is likely they were used from the earliest period of human habitation on the Northwest Coast. If wetlands were more widespread after the ice sheets melted away, as Nicholas (1988, 1998) suggests, it is very likely that reeds were commonly used.

*Siamtunaat* (Mary Rice) told a story about a man who was 'made by the sun in a pile of straw,' and who found his wife in a spring of water. After living a while in the straw, they built a house of cedar boards, with a roof of rushes (Cryer 1933, March 26th). This story occurred in the deep past, in a time when few people lived in the area, and informs us about the familiarity of the Cowichan with using mats for domestic trappings.

Rush mats were used for all manner of household improvement, as discussed earlier, and they were also given away at feasts and ceremonies. In describing a potlatch she had given, Siamtunaat told Beryl Cryer about the gifts she gave away. Among the gift items, she gave away new rush mats (Cryer 1932, June 5). Several other uses of rush mats are mentioned in the story of the origin of *Sxeeluqun*, or Thunderbird, as described by *Latits'iiya*, a Cowichan woman living at *Hwts'usi*:

It begins with the birth of a young boy, with eyes that shone like lightning. His eyes were so bright that not even his mother could look at him. He spent much of his youth with his eyes closed and had no friends in his village. *Sxeeluqun* wandered into the woods one day, and laid down to sleep by a lake. He dreamed of *Schy-As-Thun*, or Thunderbird, who spoke to him: 'Listen, *Sxeeluqun...* search along the edges of this

lake until you have found some tall grasses and some smooth rushes and make yourself a hat, like this…' Thunderbird showed him how to weave the rushes into the form of a hat to keep the thunder inside the boy. 'You must keep it on your head, or the thunder will come and shake the world.' The boy made the hat as directed, and donned it. Absent mindedly, he removed the hat, and a 'great thunder shook the land, and when he opened his eyes to see what was making the noise, lightning shot from his eyes, up… to the skies, so that back at his father's camp people called to each other that surely this was the worst storm they had ever known.'

The boy returned to his father's house and announced that he must move away due to his newfound power. In order to avoid harming people he decided to build a roofless rush-mat house on a high mountain on Saltspring Island. '… there they cleared away the logs and trees, and called to the women to go to the swamps and cut all the *Sil-Quis* (bulrushes) they could find. For many days and nights all the women worked, cutting the rushes, carrying them into camp and spreading them out in the sun to dry; then, when all were ready, they got their long mat needles, which were rubbed smooth as glass, and threading them with the thin roots from the cedar, they made the rushes into great, long mats. At last the house was ready, the rush mats went all around the sides, but there was no roof.' The tale of *Sxeeluqun* ends badly when, after he stole the wives and daughters of a great many men, those men conspired to kill him (*Latits'iiya* in Cryer, n.d.).

*Latits'iiya*'s description of the method for making mats is a rare gem amongst the recorded oral traditions. Mat making, a female-dominated task, was overlooked by early

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ethnographers, and has since been eclipsed by discussions of the popular and world renowned knitting of Cowichan sweaters (see Margaret Meikle 1987, and Sylvia Olsen 2010). As previously discussed, Cryer's attention to the circumstances of her informants has only recently begun to be appreciated. In *Latits'iiya*'s story, and in her long-term interaction with Mary Rice, Cryer noted that the practice of making mats persisted into the 1930s. Mary Rice informed Cryer that new mats were also given away at feasts and celebrations, though these items are not mentioned as common feast gifts (Cryer 1932 in Cryer 2007, 82). Again, the oral accounts of Cryer's informants provide us with insights into a feminine craft, and to its frequency, abundance, and persistence despite the forced reorientation of the Native domestic sphere.

The Cowichan stories also inform us about some of the more unusual objects and those which do not leave such an obvious material signature, such as medicinal plants, and personal artifacts. Mary Rice tells Cryer the story of some curious items they found when the priests relocated her grandfather's grave. After removing the burial structure, the diggers encountered a multitude of hard little white balls. After a time, her brother recalled that they were counting balls made of tied strips of willow bark that a visiting priest had used to teach *Xulqalustun*, her grandfather, to count the days and months that passed between his visits to the community (Cryer 1932 in Cryer 2007).

Willow was also used to make aim-training toys for children. The willow withe was bent into a hoop about 2 feet wide and wrapped in flat rush leaves to a width of about 2 inches. The exercise was to shoot the arrow through the hoop as it rolled unpredictably away from the child. 'This game is... a very, very old one. When the Indians of long ago

had only their spears and bows and arrows to kill with, they had to shoot straight or there would be no food, and in a fight they would have no chance – all would be killed! So they made these toys for their children to play with, and in that way even the very small boys could shoot straight, and hit a thing as it moved' (Tommy Pielle in Cryer 1932).

Some of the stories recorded by Cryer refer to medicinal plants which were gathered in wet places. Most of the references are tangential to the stories Cryer was there to record, but this is another example of the importance of her observations of her informant's circumstances. Sometimes the details are very personal, as when Siamtunaat described the treatment for her 'rheumatiz'. When Cryer arrived to record another story, Siamtunaat was suffering from a bad case of rheumatism. She was treating her legs with poultices made of the leaves and young shoots of the elder tree, which she said were 'good for lots of sickness' (in Cryer 1932, July 31).

In the winter of the same year, Siamtunaat was again laid low, this time by a fall. She told Cryer that her son knew where to find the 'medicine that mends bones,' and that all would be well when he brought them to her. When asked where the plant was obtained, Siamtunaat responded, 'It's green stuff, and it grows in wet places. He'll put that on, and it will make me better' (in Cryer 1932, December 25). The plant could be one of many, and, unfortunately, its identity is not exposed throughout the course of the story. More recently though, 21 Elders were consulted during the Cowichan Cultural Mapping Project, which identified 22 wetland plant species that were traditionally used for medicinal and ritual purposes (Hodding & Marshall 1997, 21-26).

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Archaeologically speaking, medicinal plants are almost entirely invisible. As wet sites are almost always encountered by accident, contract archaeologists are not usually prepared to make best use of the opportunities presented to them. Residue analysis and paleobotanical sampling, which have the opportunity to inform us about the presence of medicinal plants (and plant use in general) are not common areas of investigation in British Columbia consulting archaeology. By looking to the oral accounts and consulting individuals with traditional ecological knowledge we can see that wetland plant species played an important role in both the practical and ritual aspects of the lives of Cowichan people. The stories considered above all concern lacustrine, riverine and palustrine environments, but of course, there are stories in the Cowichan corpus that do discuss coastal places, such as the story of the Monster of Octopus Point, and which contribute to our understanding of the Ancestral and present-day Cowichan people's relationship to the landscape. The above excerpts have been presented to highlight the relationship between these people and the wetlands within their territory.

## Chapter 8 - Discussion

**Introduction**

The function of this chapter in the development of an understanding of Cowichan perception and use of the wetlands in their traditional territory over time, is to correlate the three types of evidence and place these in their context. As explored in chapters 2

and 5, the Cowichan territory has experienced relatively little archaeological fieldwork, and most of the fieldwork undertaken was development-led. To date, all of the work in the Cowichan Valley, save two projects, has been carried out by consulting archaeologists under provincial legislation. Only one of the sites (the Somenos Creek Site) has garnered any noticeable public attention. The archaeological record of the Cowichan Valley is, unsurprisingly, biased in favour of the coastal zone where much recent development has taken place, and this has influenced the modern perception of non-native groups in the region on the value of non-coastal sites in general, and of non-coastal wetland sites in particular. In this chapter, this bias is quantified by comparing and contrasting the etic evidence base, provided by archaeological and ethnographic research, and the emic evidence base derived from local traditions. Subsequently, the sites that are included in both the archaeological and oral tradition data sets will be revisited, and particular overlaps and differences are drawn out for this group. Finally, this chapter considers in some detail the reasons that have let to the discrepancies in the two data sets.

**Data Analysis**

The etic and emic evidence base for the Cowichan utilization of wetlands is shown in Appendices 2, 7, 9, and 11, and the sites are plotted on the map of the Cowichan Valley (Figures 6, 7, and 8). They show the geographical relation between archaeological sites and defined water features: seasonal, spring, flowing, lake or pond, and ocean. Figure 18 relates sites of significance to the Cowichan people to another set of water features: in or beside a river, a creek, a lake, an estuary, on a beach, near a pool or lake, or next to

open water or the Bay. These two charts provide a basis to quantify the potential historic extent of wetland utilization from an etic and emic perspective respectively.

The most significant discrepancy in the two sets of data concerns the concentration of sites near the ocean/on the beach. Whereas 42% of the archaeological sites considered in this study are located near the ocean, only 10% of the places identified by the oral tradition are located on beaches. The percentage of archaeological sites near the ocean is further amplified when one discounts those sites which have no water near them at all (143 total sites, of which 74 are near to some source of water). This means that, of the sites which have some water feature nearby (ie. not rock shelters on Mt. Tzouhalem), 84% of these sites are located on a saltwater beach (see Appendix 2). Archaeological research appears to have exaggerated the importance of the marine environment of the Cowichan, if for no other reason than by virtue of the location and intensity of use of the sites that have been investigated.

The second most significant discrepancy in the two data sets concerns the concentration of sites near flowing water/in or beside a river or creek. Only 30% of the archaeological sites identified were associated with flowing water, (Appendix 2) including the Cowichan and Koksilah Rivers, and any minor streams or creeks. However 88% of sites identified by oral accounts are associated with these same features (Appendix 11).

In terms of developing a Native archaeology for the Cowichan, it is evident that archaeological research emphasizes the role of the marine landscape, and by extension

resource use, whilst oral tradition emphasizes the role of the marine landscape and seasonal use, and by extension resource use, whilst oral tradition emphasizes the significance of riverine landscapes. Of the 143 identified archaeological sites, 93 of them are shell mound sites, which further suggest that, after salmon, the Cowichan relied heavily on marine foods. That the Cowichan made use of marine resources and lived on beaches in this area is not in doubt. However, as the oral tradition suggests, there was a great deal of activity along the river, on the lakes, and in the estuary. These sites may be less visible due to a lack of shell material, but it does not make them any less important or worthy of our attention. In fact, it is these sites which not only have the capability of telling us about other aspects of landscape use, about a time further back in history, but they are also at greater risk due to their relative invisibility.
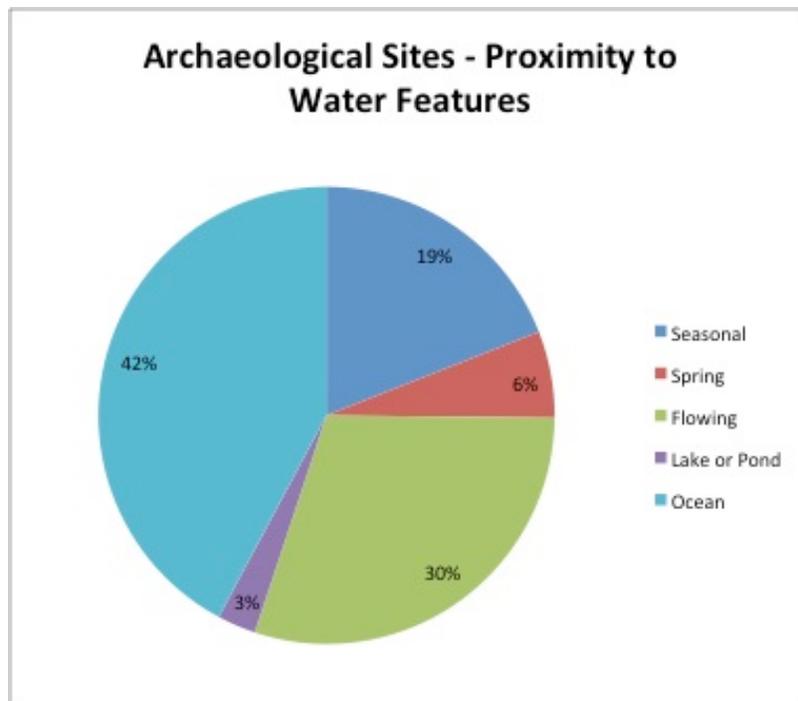
*Figure 36 - Proximity of archaeological sites to water features*
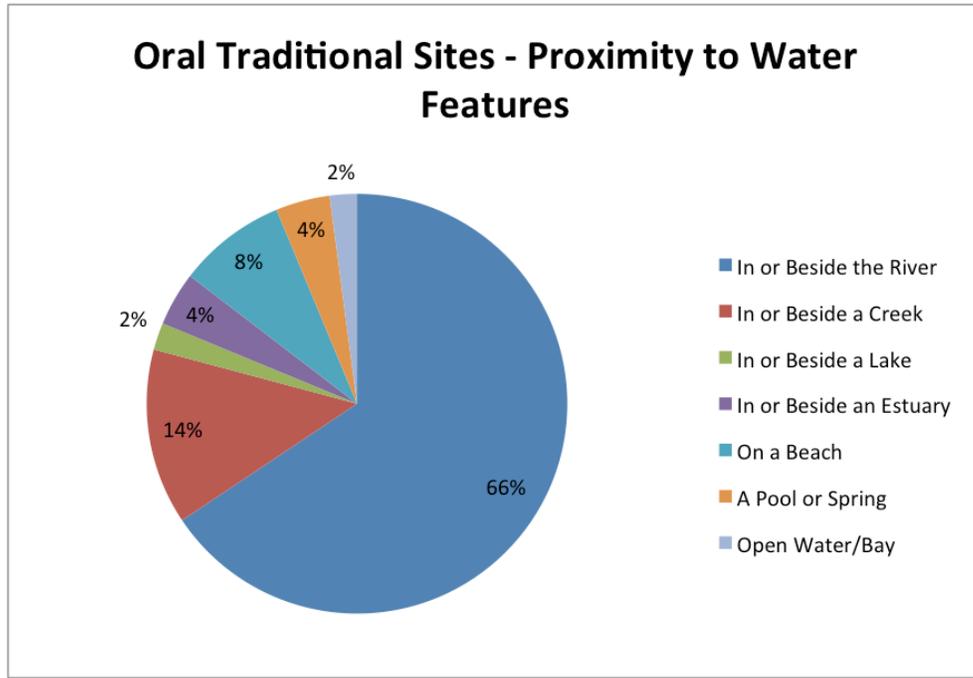
*Figure 37 - Proximity of Oral Traditional sites to water features*

The distribution of archaeological sites (in green) and of sites mentioned in the oral tradition of the Cowichan (in red) provides an alternative expression of the discrepancies of the importance of different landscape types (Figure 35).

**Overlapping Evidence**

By comparing the percentages from archaeological evidence (84% coastal to 39% riverine, 23% both) to those presented by ethnographic and oral traditional sources (12% coastal to 88% riverine, with 4% both), it is clear that the two sources are incongruent. It is interesting to note that only 14 of the identified archaeological sites are located at places named in Cowichan oral tradition, and that none of the site reports make reference to the specific Cowichan place names, save *Yey'um'nuts*, the Somenos

Creek Site. Six of these matching sites are inland and the rest are found along the coast. Only DeRw 18 - Somenos Creek, DeRw 16 & 17, and DeRv 107-Green Point can be discussed in any depth. There are other archaeological-oral traditional site matches, but as these have not been excavated it is not possible to draw any further conclusions about them. However, these sites should receive significant attention, both off and on Indian Reserve.

The following archaeological sites have been identified with oral traditional sites: DeRw 49, DeRv 15, 112, 138, 108, 148, 133, 106, 105, 2 and 23.

DeRw 17, the site of cobble tool production at the end of the Charles Phase and/or early Locarno Beach Phase, is in close proximity to *skw'íi7etsen*, the site of fish butchering, and *xwts'oom*, for which no description was given. Such activities are as described by archaeological and oral traditional evidence are indeed congruent.

The Somenos creek site is the same place identified in oral tradition as *s'amuna'*, which is known to have been a transportation route, an access to the lake for resource gathering, and, as the archaeological evidence indicates, both a domestic site and then a graveyard. As this was one of the areas first farmed by colonists in the area, it is possible that associations with the place were actively discouraged, accounting for the paucity of information pertaining to this site, or that the sacred nature of it means that information about this place is not actively shared. Either way, this site highlights the importance of sites other than coastal shell mounds. It has shed light on the Charles Phase, one which has been overshadowed by the following Marpole Phase. The

existence of a site along the banks of a creek hint at the possibility of a similar site or sites on the upper reaches of Quamichan Creek as well. The Somenos creek site also hinted at earlier domestic structures to the large multi-family homes of the Marpole and DCS/Gulf of Georgia Phases. Due to a lack of large structural features, it is possible that the floor-level excavated represents a seasonal shelter, possibly akin to the mat covered dwellings mentioned by Barnett (1955).

According to Abraham Joe, the *s'amuna'* people originally lived at _kewámen_ (number 36 in Figure 35 and in Appendix 8), and then moved to Somenos Lake and Creek, and finally relocated to the village of *s'amuna'*, where the present city of Duncan is located (Rozen 1977:37). The shift of domestic sites from Somenos Creek elsewhere is supported by the archaeological evidence, which indicates that the domestic site at Somenos Creek (linked to the Charles Phase) was later used as a burial site (during the Marpole Phase) showing a change in site function over time. If this site does indeed represent the intermediate step between the village at _kewámen_, and the historic village of Somenos on the River, then it can be inferred that any evidence at _kewámen_ and elsewhere on Somenos lake would fall into the Locarno Beach or Charles Phases (or even earlier) which are unlikely to have significant accumulations of shell and are therefore of lower visibility. The site of _kewámen_, which is located on high bluffs is less of an obvious candidate for an archaeological site. This site may already have been impacted as houses were built along Cliffs Road throughout the 20th century.

The Somenos Creek site has been the topic of public debate for over a decade. Debates about what should happen to this site have been very emotional. Development in the

immediate area along with archaeological work to assess the bounds and nature of the site have forced Cowichan people to defend their belief that showing respect to the ancestors is of paramount importance, indeed it is a cultural law. The following summarized account comes from an interview between Ruby Peter and Lea Joe, conducted for the Hul'qumi'num Heritage Law Case Study, and shows the extended impact archaeological work has.

> Ruby Peter discussed her experience at the Somenos Creek site when three burials had been exposed. She is a *thi'tha* (a clairvoyant) and was able to hear what the spirits of the interred ancestors were saying. The man was very angry, and his wife and child were scared and upset. Ruby spoke to them and tried to explain the situation, but with little success as, she said, the man continued to be angry. Ruby's young niece, who had been standing at some distance, was suddenly paralyzed, and Ruby was called over to help the child. Ruby prayed over the child and brushed her off, telling the angered spirits to let her go. After much praying, the girl was eventually restored to her original state. Ruby said that it was the angry spirit who did not understand that the archaeologists were there to help and to work.
>
> (in McLay et al. 2004, 15).

As seen above, archaeological work can have far-reaching impacts. This is why everyone involved in the archaeological salvage project at Poet's Cove was brushed off (spiritually cleansed) at the end of every week. For the Cowichan and other Native groups, angered spirits can have an impact on the living, and this is to be taken very seriously. Ruby Peter tried to explain the situation to the buried Ancestors, which in the case of Somenos Creek was a genuine attempt to study the area and preserve it from future development. However, the majority of projects which impact archaeological sites in the Cowichan Valley are not so noble in their aims. If an Ancestor is not pleased that an archaeologist is studying them without hopes of personal gain, then how might they

react when someone wants to disturb a burial in order to put in a swimming pool? The site of Somenos Creek is, then, an important focus for both our archaeological understanding of Cowichan history and Cowichan people's connection to the landscape.

Lastly, DeRv 107, the Green Point Site, has been identified with _xínepsem,_ meaning 'caught by (in) the neck'. This place was the site of a collection of 9 houses during the early 19th century (Rozen 1975, 75). This site is thought by Jenness (1935) to be a site of refuge for those living at Porlier Pass, which may have been the case in the ethnographic period, but archaeological evidence shows a greater continuity of occupation for at least 2000 years BP. The relationship between this site and _kwátkem_, located 300m north along the arm of the Cowichan River has not been clarified by ethnographic or oral traditional information. These sites are of particular interest for several reasons. First, the site is situated near the estuary, the north arm of the river, and the ocean. With all of those resources at their disposal, it would be interesting to see which were favoured. Unfortunately, the first excavation of this site was rushed and then extended, so the sampling strategy was acknowledged to be low-resolution. The second excavation consisted of several 1x1m units and some percolation tests, though intact deposits were identified and recommended that it be preserved. It was during this second excavation that wood was encountered, though the site report does not mention whether the wood was waterlogged or carbonized. Either way, the presence of such remains is a tantalizing hint at what might be found if this or similar sites were ever to be excavated.

The site of _xínepsem_ (Green Point) was mentioned in the story of _Ḵ'ísaḵ_, the boy who's mother ran away with the child in order to protect him from his uncle who would have him killed. This story ties together several places in the landscape, starting at _xínepsem_, and moving up-river to _shxexíiy̓ále_, the 'place of much crying,' and _(s)ts'áts'ewí7ten_, the place where _Ḵ'ísaḵ_'s mother washed him in the basin of a boulder with water from a nearby spring, all the way to Quamichan Lake and _xwkw'sétsem_, or Quamichan Creek where Cowichan people have caught trout for generations. As Ingold (2000: 92) says, 'Myths...are the legendary people who are fixed in [the landscape]... telling of the stories, along with the experience of these beings at these places, brings the legendary people into being.' To speak of the story of _Ḵ'ísaḵ_ brings to mind all of these places and characters and the lessons they hold. _xínepsem_ is part of a mythical landscape, one which is constantly reinforced by the experiences of Cowichan people in the landscape. To visit or to speak of any of these places is an act of remembrance, and archaeological excavations are no exception to this rule.

The excavation of archaeological sites is a very powerful process. It is not simply the neutral process by which information about the past is gathered, it is a complex and highly subjective process which reaffirms Natives' connection to the land and, in the same instant, objectifies their history as something 'in the way' of development. The excavation of the _xínepsem_ site undoubtedly called the story of _Ḵ'ísaḵ_ to the minds of some, forcing them to contemplate the changing nature of their relationship to the landscape in the story. Furthermore, the excavation of this site has exposed several burials over the years, an even more potent connection to the landscape and a strong reminder of Cowichan custom which dictates that the Ancestors are to be respected

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and left in peace (McLay et al 2004). The relationships between Cowichan people and these places in the landscape are the foundations of aboriginal customary law (Thom 2005, 7). They are critical to the claims of aboriginal title.


**Explaining the discrepancies**

Archaeology, then, can be seen to play an interesting role in the on-going, controversial and highly emotional debate over aboriginal land title in British Columbia. The provincial courts, while accepting oral tradition, continue to favour the hard evidence provided by archaeology. Archaeology is commonly believed to be able to tell the truth about the past, but as it is practiced in British Columbia, and particularly in the Cowichan Valley, it has been shown to favour the identification of sites based on where non-native people choose to live. Over and above the coincidence of development along the coast line and the identification of archaeological sites during this process, the provincial guidelines do not make any specific mention of the need to survey in wet areas, leaving it up to common sense, but forgetting that our common sense is different from those who created the archaeological record we seek to understand. An archaeology based on European perceptions of wetlands as unpleasant places to be drained and modified for the sake of agriculture is bound to miss out on sites in and around wetlands. The idea that you don't find what you're not looking for holds true in this case, especially when what is being sought is underground and out of sight. So when the Cowichan are trying to advance their land claims, and they turn to the existing archaeological evidence it presents only half of the picture of historic Cowichan resource use and engagement with the land. Their existence was not limited to rock

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shelters and the coastline. Rather, they made extensive use of their wetlands and developed meaningful relationships with these places. In order to develop a more accurate approach to archaeology, one that will capture the full spectrum of historical activity, it is important to develop 'detailed, specific and theoretically informed ethnographic understandings of indigenous culture' (Thom 2005, 8). By acknowledging the difference in ecological perspectives between Native and non-Native people, we become aware of the different relationships between man and nature. Native ecology sees man as part of nature, equal to other beings, with the concomitant belief in respect and reciprocity with all parts of nature. This can be seen in the story of the trout at *xwkw'sétsem*, who, custom had it, should be bitten on the nose thus ensuring their return, and the act of ritual bathing which resulted in spiritual purity required in order to meet one's spirit power. Before contact with Europeans, the Ancestral Cowichan regarded wet places not simply as transportation routes and harvesting areas, but as meaningful places in the landscape, places for teaching and learning, reminders of the obligation to family, community and nature.

Archaeological evidence from the Cowichan Valley provides support (albeit limited due to the fact that only seven sites have been tested) for Clarks conclusion that the Marpole culture developed at the sub-regional level, and is associated with Mitchell's (1971) Fraser River Fishermen, which parallels the Hul'qumi'num language distribution (2010, 279). The present research suggests that the Marpole culture may have developed out of a reliance on wetland resources, which includes the fishery that is characteristic of Mitchell's designation. The entire spectrum of wetland types, from rivers and lakes to marshes, bogs, and intertidal beaches yields abundant and widely

varied resources (Maltby 1986, Nicholas 1988). Further study focused on identifying plant use will be able to test the conclusions about the development of the Marpole culture.

Ethnographic sources straddle the divide between 'objective' archaeology and 'subjective' oral tradition, being at once personal, and therefore untestable, accounts of the observations of another cultural group, and being fixed in time when written down and consulted as though they were objective. The available ethnographic information supports both the archaeological story and the one told by Cowichan oral tradition in part. It can be used to support archaeological interpretations, but only as far back as the DCS/Gulf of Georgia period. And it can be used to support oral accounts within one or two generations. Archaeology and oral tradition reach far back in time, while ethnographic accounts are frozen in the time in which they were written. Keeping this in mind, let us now consider what these forms of evidence together can tell us about the Ancestral Cowichan and their interaction with the wet places of their territory.

Within Ancestral Cowichan traditional territory, there were several major wetland areas, including the Cowichan, Chemainus, and Fraser River estuaries, each of which had abundant resources. Ethnographic and oral historical information indicates that the Cowichan used many wetland resources, from fish and fowl to plants for home furnishing and for medicinal purposes. Their reaction to wetlands was not one of avoidance, but one of appreciation and spiritual connection.

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A total of fifty wetland plant species have been identified as having been utilized by the (Ancestral) Cowichan. Of these, Hul'qumi'num names have been recorded for 33 of these species. All plants listed are known to have been used by Coast Salish groups, thirty-one 31 of these plants have been utilized by the Cowichan specifically. In 1997, Bruce Hodding and Daniel Marshall produced an inventory of marine foods and medicinal plants for Cowichan Tribes. The results of this study are consistent with the limited ethnographic information available. It is interesting to note that of the 32 medicinal plants listed, 20 of them are commonly found in wetland areas.

The antiquity of plant use has not been confirmed by archaeological evidence, but is indicated by references in the oral tradition. Rush mats formed early domestic structures, as in the story of the man born in a pile of straw, and in the story of the Thunderbird, who had a roofless house built out of reed mats. These houses may be similar to those single-family dwellings of the Locarno and Charles Phases, found elsewhere in Coast Salish territory. Thunderbird also had a hat made out of reeds to shelter people from his deadly gaze. The use of reed mats is shown to have persisted over time, from the mythological period in which the world was still being shaped by the Creator, all the way into the 20th century, as indicated by *Siamtunaat*'s description of giving fresh reed mats away at her potlatch. Due to their fragile nature and the lack of archaeological examples, the continuity of reed mat rarely evidenced in the archaeological record. At the Hoko River site in Washington, rush stems were used in the basketry making process (Croes 1995). Such evidence may be found in the future, and by recognizing the potential for their survival in waterlogged context archaeologists

working in the appropriate wet areas may be prepared to retrieve and study them with care.

Available Cowichan oral traditional evidence for the use of medicinal wetland plants does not extend as far back into the past as it does for other plant use. Most of what we know about these plants is limited to the past four or five generations. *Siamtunaat* mentioned the use of wetland plants for her ailments, stating that some wetland plants were 'good for lots of sickness' (in Cryer 1932, July 31). She used poultices of the leaves and shoots of elder to treat her 'rheumatiz'. Unfortunately, plant use has not received the same attention from ethnographers as hunting and fishing has. The use of medicinal plants may have been even harder to observe as they were not obtained in such large quantities by large groups of people, and their application is likely to have been undertaken in the home by someone experienced in their use, either a woman or a medicine man.

In the lower mainland, recent excavations have yielded evidence about wapato gardens (unpublished, in Katzie territory). The dietary role of plants was often neglected in early ethnographic sources, and due to the focus on dry-site archaeology, little evidence of plant use has been found archaeologically. If work in and around wetlands in the Cowichan Valley takes place, it will provide an ideal opportunity to collect data for palynology, and phytolith and starch grain analysis, for example, which can inform us about historic Native plant use. It will also be important to look for evidence of underrepresented resource use, such as rush and tule products as well as acorns and associated processing features. An increased understanding of plant use can then help

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to refine the culture types that are currently based on stone bone and shell (Mitchell 1971).

If the Ancestral Cowichan made use of the rivers, lakes, streams, ponds, marshes and bogs, then why has this not been reflected in the archaeological work? There are several clear reasons why the Native use of these parts of the landscape have not been explored, just as there are several reasons for this discrepancy which are more deep-seated. I discuss these reasons beginning with the clearest and working towards the more obscure. I also discuss the justifications that accompany each reason or set of reasons.

The first reason for the lack of proper archaeological identification and analysis of wet sites and wetland sites in British Columbia is because the accumulated knowledge held by a few individuals is not being properly disseminated. Wet site study in the US is developing steadily as researchers disseminate knowledge through publications, field schools and conference presentations (ex: the Washington State University Field School at the Ozette site and the South Puget Sound Community College field school at Sunken Village). Conversely, the study of wet sites in BC has stagnated. There have been no wet site field schools since Philip Hobler's project in Kwatna (Hobler 1970). There are no courses focusing on wet site and wetland archaeology, applicable field methods or in-field stabilization and conservation techniques offered in BC. Much of the relevant information to come out of wet site rescue excavation languishes in the grey literature (ex. Bernick 1991 – analysis of wet sites of the Lower Mainland, but never published). Furthermore, as wet sites in BC are still encountered by chance (due to insufficient background research and survey, due in turn to a dominant western

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mind set which regards wetlands as inhospitable areas) neither formal nor informal training opportunities exist to pass on important skills and research interests from one generation of archaeologists to the next. Until people become aware of the possibility of encountering wet sites, until they seek them out and are prepared to deal with them appropriately, and until the small community of wet site enthusiasts in BC can come together to encourage others, this unfortunate situation surrounding wet sites, and resulting in their mismanagement, is bound to continue.

The second, and perhaps most obvious reason for a paucity of archaeological work on riverine sites is that much of the lower Cowichan River is bounded on both banks by Indian Reserves, which fall under federal jurisdiction. The provincial *HCA* cannot be enforced on Reserve land, so that any development work which takes place on Reserve comes under control of the relevant Cowichan Tribes authority. Furthermore, heritage legislation at the federal level does not exist. Therefore any sites which are known or discovered along the Cowichan River on Reserve lands do not necessarily become public knowledge, nor even known by academics. Only through working intimately with Cowichan Tribes might one come to a better understanding of the depth and breadth of connection their Ancestors had with the River.

The third major barrier to the identification of historic Native wetland use in the Cowichan Valley is the issue of private property. In 1883, the colonial government gave Robert Dunsmuir 800,000 ha, of which 270,000 ha was traditional Hul'qumi'num Territory, in order that he should help construct the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway (Figure 38) (2011, 2). This land grant relegated 85% of Hul'qumi'num traditional lands

to private property. While much of the lower Cowichan River runs through Reserve land, the upper two thirds of the river, both Somenos and Quamichan Lakes, and much of the Cowichan estuary (not to mention the vast areas of non-wetland) is private property. The *HCA* is applicable to all private land in British Columbia, and therefore the fate of 85% of the archaeology in traditional Hul'qumi'num territory rests on the enforcement of the *HCA*.
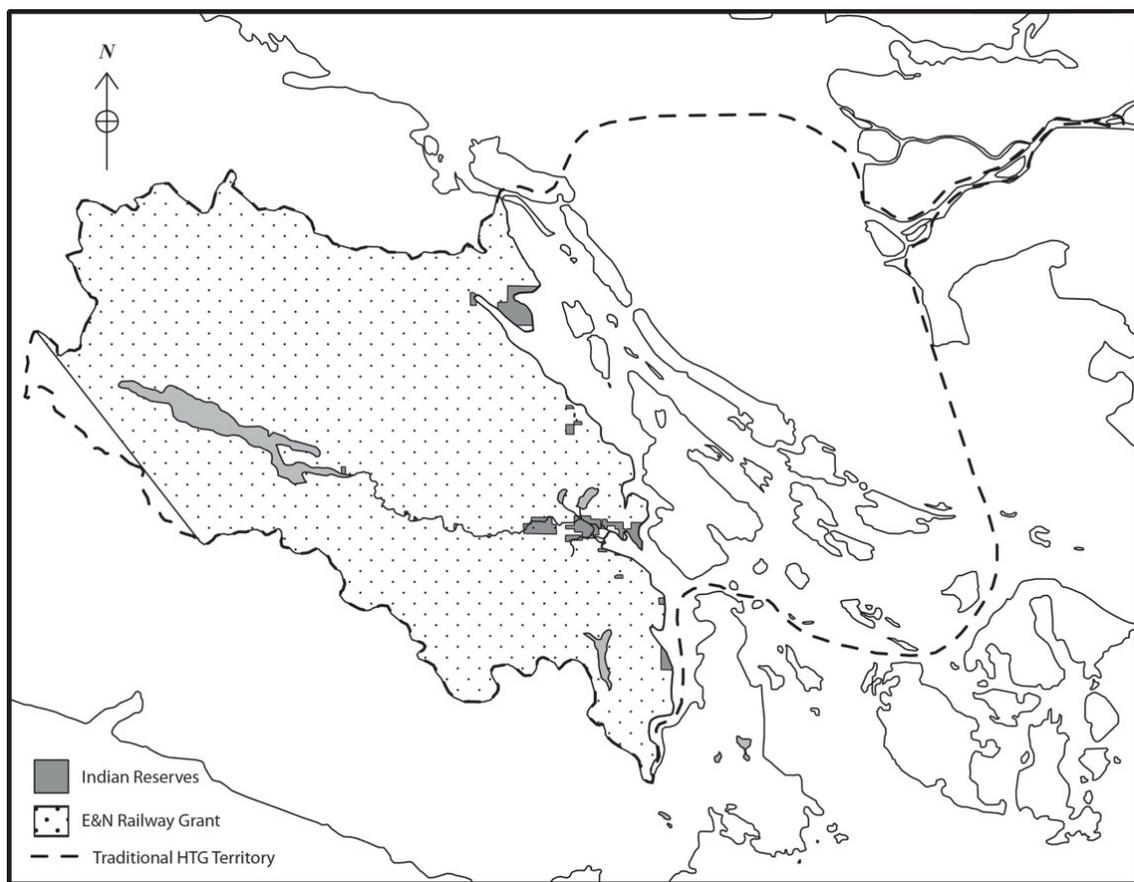


*Figure 38 - Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway Land Grant in Hul'qumi'num Traditional Territory (G.Hill after HTG 2011)*

The major civic centre in the Cowichan Valley is the city of Duncan, southeast of Somenos Lake, in the vicinity of the old Somenos Village. Outside this area, much of the rest of the valley is relatively private, and building and development that takes place

is generally low visibility. As such, the chances of archaeological deposits being identified by passers-by is also low. Furthermore, if archaeological deposits do not contain a noticeable amount of shell or distinctly visible artifacts, it is unlikely that deposits will be noticed. The general public is relatively poorly informed about archaeology in the area, and if they are familiar, it is likely based on the generalized Coast Salish model of coastal sites and marine and salmon resource harvesting.

Under the *HCA*, known heritage sites are automatically protected and require an alteration permit prior to making any changes to the site. It is the land owner's responsibility to seek out such conflicts as the identification of known archaeological sites is not attached to the property deed. Property owners are expected to pay due diligence to all notices attached to their land. Unfortunately, one of two things often happens in these situations. Either the landowner knows of the presence of archaeological deposits and feigns ignorance, or the landowner does not bother to check with the Archaeology Branch about any restrictions to altering their land. In either case, archaeological deposits may be damaged, and in both cases ignorance may be feigned. Though the *HCA* does not make allowances for 'ignorance' as the public is expected to pay due diligence, the British Columbia government has shown itself unwilling to prosecute members of the public because they 'didn't know.' The only major court case involving the *HCA* was the Poet's Cove case, mentioned at the beginning of this study. This case was brought against a company rather than an individual, and only after that company had knowingly destroyed a large, significant, and highly visible archaeological site.

Whether or not a site has been officially identified by the province is moot when all archaeological sites that predate 1846 receive automatic protection (*HCA* S.13.2.d). The problem comes in the identification and reporting of sites. Site recognition is based on education, awareness, and attention to detail. Shell mound sites are often highly visible for two reasons: they are noticeably different from the soils of the Cowichan Valley, white against the dark brown of the topsoil, and they are often found along the coast line which is automatically more visible because it is usually exposed on at least one side, visible to the passing beach comber or boater. Other types of sites that do not include shell deposits may only be visible under certain circumstances. Hearths, which may have an accumulation of rock and charcoal, may be discernable. Likewise, human and animal bones are likely visible if they survive the acidic soil. Floor deposits, post moulds, steaming pits and gardens may not be visible, save to those who are attuned to soil change. As most of the private property in the Cowichan Valley is not waterfront, it is likely that many low-visibility sites may be damaged. Even if a landowner has familiarized him or herself with the archaeological literature, they would then be focused on coastal sites, shell mounds, and stone and bone tools. As little is said of the possibility of wet sites and the preservation of organics, it is distinctly possible that people living in and around Somenos and Quamichan Lakes may think themselves unlikely to find any Native material culture.

After site identification comes the issue of reporting. The cost of archaeological work in B.C. is not cheap, especially if the bounds and nature of the site have not previously been established. Many land owners would rather 'shoot, shovel, and shut up,' only shooting is replaced by digging. For example, a site was recently excavated in

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Englishman River, north of Cowichan territory, on the east coast of Vancouver Island (for a discussion of the situation surrounding this site see Mackie 2010). In response to the news item on the CBC website, 'Andrew of Richmond' wrote: 'The first archaeologist who said I couldn't build on my own property would find me sitting in a backhoe the next day digging up the entire lawn. We need absolute property rights in this country, not this shameful control exerted by the government now' – 204 people gave this comment a thumbs-up, while only 24 gave it a thumbs down. And following on from that, 'the cats' wrote : 'I think this is a crock...If I buy property, I own it and everything on it. If I decide to dig and find bones, I would box them up and send them "postage due" to [the chief of the Nanoose band]. Responsibility done' (ibid.). 342 people thumbs up, 120 thumbs down. I heard this story on the radio in a state of half-sleep and thought I was having a nightmare. The problem of reporting sites was already bad before it was brought to the public's attention by the unbalanced reporting of the media. It becomes worse when individuals start complaining about the cost of archaeology and the perceived lack of benefit to the homeowner. The comments on the CBC web page were plentiful and venomous. The belief in absolute property rights is held very dear by B.C.'s population, and care for Native history takes a back seat even to the environment. The amount of ignorant, intolerant and downright racist comments was astounding. Before this incident, and the case of Wendy McKay building a house on a well known site at Willows Beach (see the current case *McKay v. B.C.* 2011, BCSC 270, and Mackie 2011 a,b,c for a thorough discussion of the situation), landowners were reluctant to report archaeological sites due to the added cost of time, money, and the potential for an all out stop-work order (though these are very rarely given), meant that many sites were destroyed and we will never know about them. Also, there is a

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strong feeling that one should not tattle on one's neighbours, as it breeds ill will between community members. Between the silence of landowners and the silence of neighbours we have no doubt lost much important information. This situation is the same all over the province, but it is exacerbated in the Cowichan Valley due to the fact that almost all of the land is held privately.

One project must be mentioned here as an exception to the pattern of discrepancy. It has not been included in chapter 4 as I was unable to obtain specific details about its creation. Since 1996, Millennia Research and the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group have produced a predictive model of the Cowichan Valley. Unfortunately, no details about the creation of the model were able to be obtained due to privacy issues. A section of the model has been obtained from the RAAD (Remote Access to Archaeological Data) database. Image 39, shows the Somenos and Quamichan Lakes, the lower Cowichan River, the estuary, and the coastal beaches. Areas of high potential are shaded orange, and archaeological sites are represented by black numbers in white boxes. Note that areas of high potential are to be found mainly around the wetlands, while the coast has relatively low potential, but a higher number of identified sites.
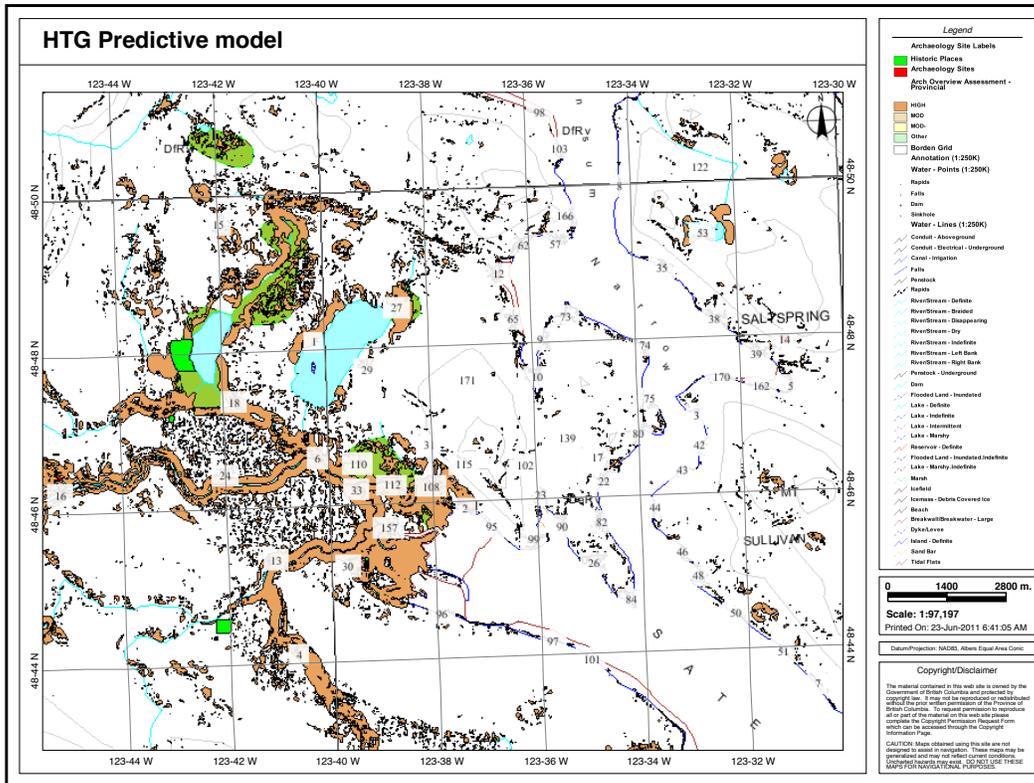
*Figure 39 - The Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group Archaeological predictive model of the Lower Cowichan River (RAAD 2011)*

The coastline, most favoured by archaeologists in the past, appears to have very low potential as compared to the wetland areas of the Cowichan Valley. Both the Somenos Lake system and the Cowichan Estuary are the two highest potential areas. Why is it that this model, created by an archaeology firm, hints at such a different story from previous archaeological work done in this area? Without knowing the details of its creation, we must consider more general factors which may have led to the focus on wetlands where there has been little before.

The company hired by the HTG, and tasked with developing this predictive model was Millennia Research, a Victoria company headed by Morley Eldridge (Eldridge 2012).

The company's mission statement lists the usual types of work (archaeological inventory and overview assessments, culturally modified tree surveys), and includes wet site archaeology as a specialty area. None of the other large consulting companies working on the Northwest Coast list wet sites as a specialty, nor does a search for "wet site" on their web pages render any meaningful results. In speaking with Mr. Eldridge, he told me that he had personally become interested in wet site archaeology through working on several sites in British Columbia from the 1970s onwards. We discussed the general lack of awareness of wet sites on the Northwest Coast, despite such stunning sites as Ozette, Musqueam Northeast, and the recent work in Katzie territory. He stressed to me that this lack of awareness was based on personal experience. That is to say that unless people have had the exposure to wet sites and/or some sort of formal training, wet site archaeology just doesn't show up on the radar. Millennia Research is prepared to encounter wet sites, both mentally in the planning stages as illustrated by the HTG predictive model, and physically in the field as they designed kits which include appropriate tools and packaging material just in case. Mr. Eldridge's interest in wet sites is a product of his experiences.

The second factor which led to a focus on wetlands is that the predictive model was initiated by the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group as a proactive measure rather than as a mitigative step on the way to land development. Again, it is not clear what the relative contributions of oral tradition, ethnographic, and archaeological evidence were to this model as it was conducted by Millennia Research independently rather than jointly with the HTG, but as the predictive model agrees with the results from the oral tradition in this study it is safe to assume that oral traditional accounts played a

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significant role in its development. The predictive model has not been made available to the public in order that important archaeological and spiritual sites be protected from looting.

Consider, then, the predictive model discussed above. The high potential areas are not those along the coast, but those along the river and around Somenos and Quamichan Lake, both of which sit squarely in an area of private land. Even the bottom of Quamichan Lake is privately owned by Timberwest (Quamichan Watershed Working Group n.d.: 43). The predictive model is not available to the general public, so if they wish to inform themselves about the archaeological potential of the area they must turn to the existing literature. As previously shown, the generalized archaeological model for Coast Salish groups sees them relying primarily on salmon and marine foods. Although research such as Terry Clark's dissertation (2010) suggests that a riverine orientation may be discerned, much of the existing research does not refer to this as a distinct possibility. If one drew connections between the Mainland Halkomelem and Island Halkomelem groups resource use strategies, then it is possible they might be more aware of the potential presence of archaeological deposits around the rivers and lakes, but as this has not been widely or publically stressed it is unwise to assume that the public would make such connections.

Other researchers working in the Cowichan Valley, specifically those who are involved with watershed revitalization projects, are similarly limited to readily available

archaeological sources and generalized Coast Salish ethnographies. The dry-land and coastal biases of previous archaeological work done in the Cowichan Valley has the potential to mislead other researchers, and significant losses to the archaeological record may be suffered. Similarly, the potential to team up with ecological researchers to answer questions about historic Cowichan ecology is great. Such a mixed situation is on the horizon in the Cowichan Valley at present. Both Somenos and Quamichan Lakes have been negatively impacted by a century of unchecked agriculture in the Valley, and now, as lake productivity is dwindling due to algal blooms and high rates of sedimentation, revitalization programmes are being designed and implemented. Any existing wet sites in the high potential area could be destroyed.

Somenos Lake and Somenos Marsh are part of a system of wetlands lying north of the former Somenos Village. The marshy areas around the lake were drained at the turn of the 20th century. As early as 1944, residents and officials were concerned with the rapid rates of infilling of Somenos Lake, and the infilling has not ceased or slowed since then. At that time, residents were more concerned with flooding from the River and the Lake, sedimentation must not have seemed so bad, and no action was taken at the time (Williams & Radcliffe 2001, 3).

An in depth assessment and action plan was developed by Madrone Consultants and the Somenos Steering Committee in 2001. It provides detailed information about the current condition of the wetland system, and considers many aspects of the natural and

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human values attached to this system in order to develop a set of appropriate management strategies. The extent of Native cultural values discussed in this report is as follows:

> The Management Area is part of the traditional territory of the Cowichan Tribes. The steering committee has been advised that the Somenos Garry Oak Protected Area is subject to treaty negotiations as it is crown land. Cowichan oral history and archaeological discoveries help us to understand the significance of this area to the First Nations living here. Archaeological investigations show evidence of occupation dating back over 4000 years.
>
> (Williams & Radcliffe 2001, 31)

This study was conducted before the HTG predictive model had been developed. The most significant information the Somenos Marsh Steering Committee had was the reports from the Somenos Creek site. The researchers identified the 'potential to negatively impact cultural values,' as the major cultural issue (ibid.). The goals and objectives outlined in the management plan are as follows:

1) protect cultural sites
2) restore cultural sites
3) protect traditional food and medicine sources
4) maintain historic First Nations transportation corridor to traditional hunting areas and village sites.

This management plan provides enormous potential for further archaeological work, as stated in some of the 'actions' outlined. Unfortunately, Cowichan Tribes does not appear to have had a significant amount of input at the time at which this management plan was being developed, but all of the 9 'actions' listed indicate a willingness to work with the Cowichan. Notably, the third 'action' is to 'respect the sensitivity of First Nations archaeological sites and values, and do not promote the location of significant sites' (ibid.). This raises an interesting issue: is a site more likely to be protected if the

public is aware of it or if it is concealed. If a site is known it runs the risk of being looted, but the possibility of enforcing the HCA on a known site is greater. If a site is unknown it runs the risk of being damaged unwittingly and the chances of enforcing the HCA are fewer. Of course, in order to identify a site it requires invasive testing.

The Somenos Lake management plan suggests that some human intervention may be required in order to preserve appropriate wetland habitat for wildlife. Dredging, which has taken place in the creeks leading the lake and parts of the lake in the 1940s and again in the 1980s may be resorted to again, but this possibility is not stated as a goal or action by the steering committee (ibid.: 16). Should the dredging take place, it is likely that Somenos creek will be targeted, and damage to DeRw 18 and any as yet unidentified associated sites. Quamichan Lake, the larger lake to the west of Somenos Lake, is also suffering from eutrophication and a similar management plan has been developed. The Quamichan Watershed Management Plan (QWMP) (2009) clearly states several steps that may be taken in the near future in order to revitalize the lake.

The Quamichan Watershed Management makes a similarly limited reference to the pre-contact Native use and significance of the area in two sentences (QWMP 2009, 10). Objective 1a-2 outlines the promotion of the cultural and historic values of the Quamichan Watershed through public education (ibid., 23). Objective 1c-2 addresses the necessity of involving the Cowichan Tribes in the on-going management of the Quamichan Watershed, and states that 'the plan must be reflective of their cultural values and acknowledge[es] their water and resource claims' (ibid., 25). Curiously,

though both the Somenos Marsh and the Quamichan Watershed management plans stress the importance of incorporating the Cowichan First Nation perspective, both plans give more consideration to agricultural problems of the surrounding areas.

Several of the management strategies suggested by the Quamichan Watershed Committee have the potential to cause serious damage to archaeological sites. Objective 2a-5 recommends the installation of 'fine bubble linear aeration' at sites around the lake. A pump is connected to tubing punctured with small holes, and laid along the bottom of the lake. Air bubbles up through the water transferring oxygen to the surrounding water. The introduction of oxygen to presently anoxic layers has the possibility of resulting in the decomposition of preserved organic material.

Objective 2a-4 recommends the assessment of the 'viability of an isolated airlift pump...close to Quamichan Creek mouth as a form of sediment removal' (ibid., vii). An airlift pump is a large device used to aerate the lake and creek water in order to prevent further eutrophication. Such a pump was used at St.Mary Lake on Saltspring Island to circulate freshly oxygenated water from the surface to the bottom of the lake (Rieberger 1992, 5). Two problems could arise if such a pump were put in the Quamichan Lake system. First, the pumps used in St. Mary Lake measured 3m x 5.8m x 2.1m, with two tubes bringing the water to the surface and returning it to the bottom, measuring 9m and 12m in length (ibid., 5). A pump of such dimensions would require a substantial amount of disturbance, and as Quamichan Lake is larger than St. Mary Lake, it is possible that at least two if not more airlift pumps could be required. No description of the initial set up was provided, so it is unclear how much disturbance pumps like these would necessitate, but it is likely to be significant. The second problem is the same as

would be experienced with the linear bubbling system, that a waterlogged deposits would run the risk of decomposing if oxygen were added to the environment.

Finally, objective 2a-7, 'dredg[ing] the lake' has the greatest potential to damage waterlogged archaeological deposits. The presence of deposits is unknown as they have never tested for such sites, and the extent of previous dredging is also unknown. The results of this study and of the HTG predictive model suggest that there is a high potential for sites around the lake and creek, similar to the Somenos Creek site. Luckily, dredging is not considered to be a long-term solution, nor the most effective (ibid., 28).

After speaking with Kai Rietzel, the project coordinator for the Quamichan Stewards, it was clear that those involved in developing the management plan had not considered, or were even aware of the possibility of encountering waterlogged archaeological deposits. After discussing the possibility of encountering such sites, Rietzel showed an understanding of the significance of such an eventuality and was keen to be informed after the results of this study had been compiled.

The excerpts provided earlier on have served to highlight the contrast between the attitudes held by European colonists and those of the Native population about the environment and the treatment of its resources. Colonial policy makers have been shown to make assumptions about the superiority of their own methods, and to give them force of law, at great expense to the Native population, as seen in the example of allowances for log running and the resulting land erosion on the Cowichan River.

Those same policy makers have also made assumptions about the resource gathering methods of the Native people despite evidence to the contrary, as seen in the discussion of the weir fishery on the Cowichan River. Finally, regarding wetlands, colonists have seen fit to drain and alter wetlands based on preconceived notions of productivity and manageability, and in order to implement methods for surplus production with which they were familiar. These examples indicate that the colonial population, both commoners and government alike, considered their world-view and the methods they have developed to be superior to those in use by Natives, with little to no consideration of the evidence before them. The western world-view permeated early relations with Native populations, and continues as an implicit undercurrent in the creation of public policy.

In light of the preceding discussion, and looking back to at what the archaeological, and some of the ethnographic, evidence tells us about the way the Ancestral Cowichan interacted with their environment, we can see that much of it is a product of subconsciously held western beliefs about the relationship between man and nature, and the persistent cultural evolutionary imperative. When compared with the oral tradition which highlights a distinctly different relationship with features of their environment, it is clear that the practice of archaeology has not been entirely successful in reflecting what Natives and their Ancestors believed. This seems a significant problem, but one that does not appear to have received much attention. I believe that this is due, in large part, to the fact that archaeological results are usually compared against the ethnographic accounts for a given area. And on the Northwest Coast, these accounts are often fraught with the same etic value judgments as is the practice of

archaeology. In order to render the products of archaeological practice more meaningful for Natives and non-natives, we must be aware of our biases, give weight to other ways of knowing, and adopt an holistic approach from the outset.

## Chapter 9 – Recommendations

...rescue archaeology cannot be isolated from the objectives of archaeological research in general... archaeological significance is a dynamic phenomenon that will change with advances in archaeological method and theory.

(Committee for Rescue Archaeology 1978 in English Heritage 1995, 1)

From the preceding research it is clear that the status quo of B.C. archaeology could be much improved by the incorporation of emic input and guidance from the outset if we are to attempt to tell stories which are meaningful for B.C.'s Native and non-Native populations. Unlike research programmes in which partnerships are developed between First Nations and archaeologists, commercial archaeological work will require a different sort of First Nations participation, primarily in the form of research guidance. It is important to start designing mitigation projects so that a more meaningful set of data can be obtained. This will allow First Nations and non-Native researchers to examine aspects of Native history beyond the current interest in features of the landscape and technology which have been deemed important by non-native researchers.

The Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group has already taken proactive steps towards managing their cultural heritage. In 2004, the HTG produced a report entitled *''A'hut tut et Sulhween: "Respecting the Ancestors,"* which was a report about traditional Hul'qumi'num laws regarding the proper treatment of Ancestral remains and archaeological sites. Customary laws were described and discussed, through the testimony of Hul'qumi'num elders, situations in which such laws have been broken or upheld (McLay et al 2004). Then, in 2007, the HTG member First Nations and the Crown (represented by the Minister of Tourism, Sport and the Arts) signed a memorandum of understanding concerning the 'First Nation Heritage Site Conservation in Hul'qumi'num Thumuhw' (traditional territory). This MOU outlines further agreements between the province and the HTG regarding the enforcement of the *HCA* and consultation during the heritage management process (HTG 2007). Both of these actions show that the HTG are concerned about how their historic sites have been, and are being managed by the Province, and show that they want to have an active role in protecting and studying these sites. Both of these actions deal with legal aspects of the *HCA* and its impact on modern Natives with their Ancestors, but neither of them deals with the guidelines surrounding the practice of archaeology on the ground. A statement of research goals by the HTG can have the potential to make a meaningful impact on research design, and can lead to the telling of stories that are meaningful to all parties involved. To that end, I now introduce the concept of a 'Research Framework' which is used in Britain to provide a useful tool to guide future archaeological research.

The idea of a research framework was first developed out of a need to find some way to apportion limited funds to the many projects throughout Britain in 1920s (English Heritage 1995, 1). Throughout the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, archaeologists in Britain had been primarily concerned with site-specific issues rather than research-themed ones, a situation that resulted in the accumulation of a large amount of data with very little synthesis at the regional level. It was the belief of the Ancient Monuments Board, in charge of funding British projects in the 1970s, that 'rescue archaeology should produce research results equal to the highest academic standards' (ibid.). The development of research frameworks was intended to guide the assessment of site significance considered on a regional basis, but it was realized that the experience and intuition of field archaeologists should also be given weight. Research frameworks began to be developed and implemented after 1980 when it was decided that funding would be given to projects based on regional research themes (ibid.). After the introduction of Planning Policy Guidance 16 (PPG-16), which required developers to cover all research costs, a national research framework was produced to help English Heritage make choices about where to invest their limited resources (see *Exploring Our Past: Strategies for the archaeology of England* (1991)).

Of course, the situation in British Columbia is much different from the situation in Britain. Public awareness of archaeological sites is much lower in British Columbia than in Britain, and the same can be said for the levels of public interest. In British Columbia, the general public does not seem to be interested in the Native history because it does not belong to them. If anything, Native history and material culture is an uncomfortable reminder of the actions of non-Native people's ancestors. In Britain,

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on the other hand, the general population appears to be much more interested in their local archaeology. In British Columbia, it is seen as a hurdle on the way to development, while in Britain it is seen as a necessary step in the process of making changes to a landscape that has been densely populated for a very long time. Accordingly, both individuals and developers in Britain are less reluctant to pay for archaeological work, including post excavation analysis and publication. In Britain, organizations such as English Heritage have the power to fund research-based archaeology with government funds. In British Columbia, since the elimination of the Office of the Provincial Archaeologist and the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board, government funding has been decreasing steadily. Funding must necessarily be sought elsewhere, and may come from research grants or from Native bands. Wherever the money comes from, it is more likely to be awarded if the research is contextualized. In B.C., consulting archaeologists already do a good job of assigning archaeological assemblages to existing regional culture types (Matson and Coupland 1995 and Suttles 1990). However, as this research and Clark's (2010) suggests, regional culture types have overshadowed local level archaeology. The application of regional culture types, while excellent for macro-level studies, has the potential to make researchers miss out on other important local practices and changes. I believe that the development of local-level research frameworks will not only encourage a more holistic approach to the archaeology, but will result in a more secure basis on which to draw conclusions at the regional level. By providing high-level research at the local scale academics will be able to continue doing regional synthesis, relying more securely on broader local-level research. Many of the pitfalls raised over two decades of working with research frameworks, such as the limits on research felt by museum curators appear to be a

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product of the regional-level research framework, and can be avoided by working from the local level.

A 'research framework' has been defined as the 'current state of knowledge and understanding for specific topics' including areas for which a large amount of evidence exists and those areas which require further investigation (English Heritage 1991 5). It can be thought of as a summary of the existing work, the identification of gaps, and an agenda by which to move forward with an overarching concern for the advancement of archaeological knowledge and our understanding of the past.

Research frameworks have been developed in Britain through a defined process. Within each county, all archaeological sites were listed and grouped according to the periods they represent, whether single or multi-period. Sites were grouped into one of 23 periods from the prehistoric to the post-medieval/modern period, including a category for multi-period sites which represented over 50% of the total number of sites (English Heritage 1991, 11-12). Sites were also classified according to subject matter, 36 subjects ranging from object-specific to landscape and methodological issues. This list included very general categories such as archaeological 'collections', 'environmental archaeology', 'general archaeology', and 'urban archaeology' (ibid., 12). Site reports were further classified according to whether they contributed more to the field of research, management, or both (ibid.). Within each region, sites were divided first by function and then by period, resulting in numbers which highlighted where the focus has been. For example, in the South West in 1995, of the management-function projects 12 were multi-period, while only one was medieval, and of the research-

function projects 30 were multi-period and one was post-medieval (ibid., 15). Surveys were also sent out to solicit feedback about issues that various groups in the field of archaeology (field workers, directors, county archaeologists, curators etc.) felt needed attention (ibid.). Each of these fields was considered in light of the circumstances of its development and current situation. According to the results of these analyses, gaps were identified and agendas were developed to fill these gaps and to help funding bodies decide where to focus their resources. Further, specific interest groups and societies published their own subject or period based research guidelines outlining the gaps in knowledge and stating aims to fill those gaps. Research frameworks will be re-evaluated at regular intervals to include research done in the interim periods in order to refine research goals.

One of the most significant gaps identified in this document, and which is equally applicable to the situation in British Columbia, was the one between research and commercial fieldwork. Academics voiced concerns over the steadily decreasing amounts of available resources for the proper synthesis of archaeological work, hindering the ability of this sector to disseminate the meaningful information about archaeological work. Many people in both the academic and consulting fields were also aware of the fact that fieldwork has not been sufficiently informed by developing archaeological theory. These two problems have been credited with the fragmentation of the discipline, and many agreed that this should not be the case: 'research and fieldwork must be made mutually relevant if the developing gulfs are somehow to be bridged' (ibid., 31). The original purpose behind the salvage archaeology of B.C. in the 1960s was to salvage information that would then be studied by academics. As funding

to the heritage sector in British Columbia has steadily decreased, so too has the amount of archaeological resources available for study. Also, archaeologists in academia and some in the field have suggested that 'field archaeology now concentrates too much on recording data without focusing on the questions necessary to understand that data,' a situation not unfamiliar in British Columbia where large amounts of data are being collected but summaries of this data languish in the grey literature and are infrequently published (ibid., 33). Although some contracting archaeologists are interested in research rather than just recovery of archaeological data, time and cost pressures from the development sector often impede research. Also, developers may not perceive the importance of alternative forms of testing, as has be the case with waterlogged material (ex. Shutters 2005), and they may not be willing to foot the bill for such sampling and post-excavation. The development of a research framework would allow contractors to tailor project designs in order that the results will be useful for high-level synthesis on local and regional scales, especially in the absence of a large number of archaeology departments engaging in active fieldwork, as is the case in Britain.

Some drawbacks have, of course, been identified over the years. Foremost among them is the belief that research frameworks hinder innovative thinking in the field of archaeology through 'over-formal structure' (English Heritage 1991, 32). 'Many consider that the most significant advances in research are often achieved by individuals with a personal commitment to a specific topic or subject' (ibid.). This holds true for British Columbian archaeology as well. However, the development of a local-level research framework based on filling gaps in existing research would, I believe, support the use of innovative research methods rather than inhibit them. And as a

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research framework would not be officially linked to the *HCA*, it could be less forcefully restrictive and more generally encouraging.

Back in the 1960s, the ASAB and the PAO believed that the preservation of sites was preferable to their excavation. At that time little was known of the scope or condition of archaeological sites throughout British Columbia. The ASAB and the PAO acknowledged that some sort of management scheme would be required in order to make effective choices about the preservation of this resource. To achieve this end, regional surveys were undertaken to develop a 'big picture' of the state of archaeological resources throughout the province. The heritage register of sites was developed to provide an informational base line that is constantly supplemented with information from the commercial archaeology sector.

The South Gulf of Georgia Survey was one such project which identified and assessed the condition of numerous sites in Cowichan traditional territory (Acheson et al. 1975, 1). This survey can be seen as a first step to the development of a regional management plan, which in function was to be much the same as a research framework. Unfortunately, as funding to the heritage management sector has all but vanished, the development of a systematic management plan was not fully developed.

I suggest that research frameworks be developed by First Nations communities in consultation with archaeologists. Unlike the work of the team at the Sunken Village site (Croes et al. 2009), which was a 50/50 partnership between South Puget Sound Community College and the Squaxin Island Tribe, the development of a research

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framework is, I believe, better suited to development by a given First Nations group with input from consulting, academic, and provincial archaeologists. The reason for this is that archaeological consultants may work in many different First Nations territories, and within the company each archaeologist may be sent to a variety of sites, and they are, therefore, an inconstant value in the archaeological equation. The constant value is a given First Nations' territory. The First Nations group in question will be required to deal with a variety of contracting firms. Accordingly, it is the First Nations group who should be responsible for developing a research framework, in consultation with archaeologists, that addresses issues they wish to investigate. The research framework is created to sharpen the focus of salvage archaeology. The research framework may be developed in conjunction with archaeologists, but it must be understood that the active role of archaeologists changes from project to project and it is impossible to predetermine the extent to which they will be able abide by the guidelines of the framework.

A research framework can be an effective management tool for the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, who have shown themselves to be deeply concerned with the proper treatment of their cultural heritage as seen in the report by McLay et al. (2004), in the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding with the Crown (2007), and in their ongoing involvement with cases such as Poet's Cove and the Timbercrest development at Somenos Creek. The current study along with the predictive model developed by the HTG and Millennia Research shows that the archaeology which has been done in the area is not going far enough to inform us about the breadth of Ancestral Cowichan landscape use.

An examination of the available archaeological sources shows that very little is known of Cowichan history, with the bulk of our knowledge coming from only 12 sites which have been given a cultural affiliation, and only seven of those which have been invasively tested and examined herein. The reports from these sites further indicate that we know little of Cowichan history beyond the Locarno Beach phase. Only one site has been securely dated to the Charles Culture, while two sites have tentatively been attributed to this period based on radiocarbon dates. All three Charles Culture sites are located inland. Three sites have been attributed to the Locarno Beach Phase, and three to the Developed Coast Salish/Gulf of Georgia Phase. Finally, five sites have been attributed to the Marpole Phase.

The development of an effective research framework would require involvement from many groups, from Cowichan Tribes and the HTG to academics and consulting archaeologists. Broadly speaking, then, the development of a research framework would be based on both objective and subjective knowledge, including archaeological reports and predictive models, ethnographies and oral traditions, historical accounts, anthropological studies, linguistic analyses and so on. Within Cowichan traditional territory, some steps have already been taken towards greater heritage management, and the development of a research framework can help to focus future work done in the area to answer questions of specific interest to the modern Cowichan population as well as the general public. Developing research frameworks at the local level makes it possible to avoid generalizing measures put in place by the provincial government to ease administration of heritage resources. By focusing research to answer specific

questions it is possible to develop a more accurate, more holistic, and more engaging story of Cowichan history. And by engaging the public and creating understanding, the goal of heritage protection may be advanced.

## Chapter 10 - Conclusions

The stated aim of this research was to develop an understanding of Cowichan perception and use of the wetlands in their traditional territory over time. This aim has been achieved, in the sense that this research has provided quantitative data and qualitative information on the wetland utilization by the Cowichan that offers a new understanding. This new understanding moves the existing focus on the coastal region and beach, and the exploitation of marine resources, to one where the value of the riverine landscape and associated wetlands, both for subsistence but more importantly for reasons that connect the Cowichan symbolically with their self-reflected identity, is rehabilitated. By critically examining the archaeological, ethnographic and oral traditional sources, a deep and meaningful relationship between the Cowichan people and their wet places has been identified. Archaeological data from the Cowichan Valley alone tells very little of the Native use of wetland resources, and instead speaks of a marine orientation which does not appear to accurately reflect the Cowichan beliefs about their past. By augmenting archaeological evidence with ethnographic and oral traditional information, an expanded picture of Cowichan wetland use is revealed. Oral traditional accounts and information from recent ethnographic work speaks to the importance of wetland resources, and the significance of these places to Cowichan

sense of place. Wetlands are more than just locales for resource gathering, they are sites of transformation and ritual bathing. In these wet places, Cowichans experience and engage with the landscape and their ancestors. Wetlands are a critical part of Cowichan ecology, and an understanding of their importance to the Cowichan people is essential for a more holistic understanding of their history.

In terms of the specific objectives of the study, the following conclusions can be drawn.

A detailed understanding of the development of archaeological research in British Columbia has been presented, and this has identified both the reasons and the extent of current understandings of Cowichan wetlands utilization. Archaeology in British Columbia developed out of an academic anthropological tradition, but the modern practice of commercial archaeology has been far removed from its roots. Government policy sees archaeological resources as an impediment to development, a belief which is expressed through the *HCA* and its associated guidelines. Furthermore, the large number of identified coastal sites in the Cowichan Valley, and the large number of excavated coastal sites within Coast Salish territory have resulted in a positive feed back loop where archaeologists and the public are aware of coastal sites, and more are reported, so our understanding of the past is skewed by the ever-increasing number of coastal sites.

This study offers Native archaeology as an effective approach to the holistic study of Native culture history. It has been applied specifically to the study of wetlands in this case, but is equally applicable to other areas of culture historical research. This holistic approach to the study of man and nature, envisioned by Boas, Thoreau, de Laguna and

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Descola, encourages an awareness of emic criteria and alternative forms of knowledge, while using information gleaned from etic sources to tell a story that is meaningful to Natives and non-natives alike.

A systematic survey of the archaeological, ethnographic and oral tradition of the Cowichan pertaining to the use of wetlands in the past was undertaken and the results were analyzed and aimed at determining the extent to which etic (based principally on archaeological and ethnographic research to date) and emic (based on oral traditions) perceptions of Cowichan wetland utilization correlates and diverges. Archaeological and ethnographic sources have provided an etic view of the Cowichan use and perception of wetlands, but these sources have been shown to bring their own biases. As products of 19th and 20th century ideas about ecology and cultural evolution, they selectively inform us about Native interaction with nature. In the Cowichan Valley, early ethnographic accounts focused on fishing and hunting, and on male-dominated and high-visibility resource extraction practices. Little was said of wetland resource use and of women's work, the two of which are linked. An awareness of European distaste for wetlands and the common desire to drain them to make way for agriculture means that a lack of information about wetland use does not mean that wetlands were not being used, but rather that the ethnographer's attention was focused elsewhere. Oral traditional accounts provide information about the beliefs which are fundamental to Cowichan customary law, and are an example of different ways of knowing. They also provide details about wetland resource use and about important places within Cowichan traditional territory. Many transformation sites in their territory are located in the wetlands and along the Cowichan River, while few are located along the

coastline. Oral traditional accounts, based on emic criteria, provide information about what the Cowichan people believe to be important now and throughout history. The places identified are embodied reminders in the landscape of Cowichan customary law, and of their reciprocal relationship with nature and the Ancestors. By combining the Cowichan oral accounts with the ethnographic and archaeological evidence, a larger, clearer picture of wetland resource use is revealed.

The study has also shown a way in which recommendations for improved approaches to the practice of archaeology in British Columbia can be developed through the use of the research framework concept. This requires participation of all stakeholders and, for this reason alone, it is not possible to positively identify the key themes for future research in this study. Nevertheless, this study has clearly shown that greater attention to riverine landscapes and sites is likely to be high on the agenda in the archaeological research framework of the Cowichan.

My research has shown that archaeological and ethnographic sources alone do not adequately inform us about historic use of wetlands by the Cowichan. The incorporation of oral tradition provides some necessary information through which we can better understand the importance of wetlands to the Cowichan people. By developing a more accurate understanding of Cowichan economic orientation, future work can be tailored to answer questions about the development of cultural complexity at the sub-regional level. A more accurate understanding of Cowichan people's relationship with wetlands over time will also allow for more effective management of archaeological sites in the area.

My contribution to the field of Northwest Coast culture history has been a reorientation of awareness. Relatively little archaeological work has been done in Cowichan traditional territory, and both archaeological and ethnographic sources for this area have made broad generalizations about the Cowichan as a component group of the Central Coast Salish. By doing so, archaeologists have missed out on the unique relationship that these people had, and continue to have, with wet places throughout their territory. An examination of their relationship with wetlands indicates that the Cowichan may have more in common with the mainland Halkomelem than they do with their island neighbours. By highlighting the importance of wetlands to the Cowichan people, both past and present, I hope to have increased awareness so that existing archaeological sites in, on, and around wetlands, in the Cowichan Valley and throughout British Columbia, may receive greater consideration and protection in the future.

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Appendix 1 – Cowichan Site Form Table

# Appendix 2 – Archaeological sites - proximity to water features

| Site Number | Water Source Present | Seasonal | Spring | Flowing | Lake or Pond | Ocean* | *Not from Site Forms |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DeRv 1 | o | - | - | - | - | I | ** Bog |
| DeRv 2 | - | - | - | - | - | I | |
| DeRv 6 | - | - | - | - | - | o | |
| DeRv 9 | I | I | o | I | o | I | |
| DeRv 10 | I | | o | I | o | I | |
| DeRv 11 | I | o | I | o | o | I | |
| DeRv 12 | I | I | I | I | o | I | |
| DeRv 13 | I | o | I | I | o | o | |
| DeRv 15 | I | o | I | o | o | o | |
| DeRv 16 | - | - | - | - | - | o | |
| DeRv 17 | - | - | - | - | - | o | |
| DeRv 18 | - | - | - | - | - | o | |
| DeRv 19 | - | - | - | - | - | o | |
| DeRv 20 | - | - | - | - | - | o | |
| DeRv 21 | - | - | - | - | - | o | |
| DeRv 22 | - | - | - | - | - | I | |
| DeRv 23 | I | ? | o | I | o | I | |
| DeRv 24 | - | - | - | - | - | o | |
| DeRv 25 | - | - | - | - | - | o | |
| DeRv 26 | I | ? | ? | I | o | I | |
| DeRv 27 | I | o | I | o | o | o | |
| DeRv 28 | I | I | o | I | I | I | |
| DeRv 29 | I | ? | o | I | o | o | |
| DeRv 30 | I | o | o | I | o | o | |
| DeRv 31 | - | - | - | - | - | o | |
| DeRv 32 | I | o | o | I | o | o | |
| DeRv 33 | I | o | o | I | o | o | |
| DeRv 55 | - | - | - | - | - | o | |
| DeRv 56 | - | - | - | - | - | I | |
| DeRv 57 | - | - | - | - | - | I | |
| DeRv 58 | I | I | o | o | o | I | |
| DeRv 59 | - | - | - | - | - | I | |
| DeRv 60 | - | - | - | - | - | I | |
| DeRv 61 | - | - | - | - | - | I | |
| DeRv 62 | - | - | - | - | - | I | |

| Site Number | Water Source Present | Seasonal | Spring | Flowing | Lake or Pond | Ocean* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DeRv 63 | I | I | O | O | O | I |
| DeRv 64 | I | I | O | O | O | I |
| DeRv 65 | I | I | O | I | O | I |
| DeRv 66 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 67 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 68 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 69 | I | O | O | O | O | I |
| DeRv 70 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 71 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 72 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 73 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 74 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRV 75 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 76 | I | O | O | I | O | I |
| DeRv 77 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 78 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 79 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 80 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 81 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 82 | I | O | O | I | O | I |
| DeRv 83 | I | I | O | I | O | I |
| DeRv 84 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 85 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 86 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 87 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 88 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 89 | I | O | I | O | O | I |
| DeRv 90 | I | I | O | I | O | I |
| DeRv 91 | I | I | O | I | O | I |
| DeRv 92 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 93 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 94 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 95 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 96 | I | O | O | I | O | I |
| DeRv 97 | I | ? | ? | O | O | I |
| DeRv 98 | I | O | I | O | O | I |
| DeRv 99 | - | - | - | - | - | O |
| DeRv 100 | I | O | O | I | O | I |
| DeRv 101 | I | I | I | O | O | I |
| DeRv 102 | - | - | - | - | - | O |

| Site Number | Water Source Present | Seasonal | Spring | Flowing | Lake or Pond | Ocean* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DeRv 103 | - | - | - | - | - | O |
| DeRv 104 | - | - | - | - | - | O |
| DeRv 105 | - | - | - | - | - | O |
| DeRv 106 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 107 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 108 | - | - | - | - | - | O |
| DeRv 110 | - | - | - | - | - | O |
| DeRv 111 | - | - | - | - | - | O |
| DeRv 112 | I | I | O | I | O | O |
| DeRv 114 | - | - | - | - | - | O |
| DeRv 115 | - | - | - | - | - | O |
| DeRv 116 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 117 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 118 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 119 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 120 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 121 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 122 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 123 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 124 | I | I | O | I | O | O |
| DeRv 125 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 126 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 127 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 128 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 129 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 130 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 131 | I | I | O | O | O | O |
| DeRv 132 | I | O | O | I | O | O |
| DeRv 133 | I | O | O | I | O | O |
| DeRv 134 | I | ? | ? | ? | ? | O |
| DeRv 135 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 136 | I | O | I | O | O | O |
| DeRv 137 | I | O | ? | O | I | O |
| DeRv 138 | I | O | O | I | O | O |
| DeRv 139 | - | - | - | - | - | O |
| DeRv 140 | - | - | - | - | - | O |
| DeRv 141 | I | O | O | I | O | O |
| DeRv 142 | - | - | - | - | - | I |
| DeRv 143 | I | O | O | I | O | I |
| DeRv 144 | I | O | O | I | O | I |

| Site Number | Water Source Present | Seasonal | Spring | Flowing | Lake or Pond | Ocean* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DeRv 148 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRv 151 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRv 153 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRv 155 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRv 156 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRv 157 | - | - | - | - | - | o |
| DeRv 158 | - | - | - | - | - | o |
| DeRv 159 | - | - | - | - | - | o |
| DeRv 160 | I | ? | ? | ? | ? | o |
| DeRv 166 | - | - | - | - | - | o |
| DeRv 167 | I | o | o | I | o | I |
| DeRv 171 | - | - | - | - | - | o |
| DeRv 172 | - | - | - | - | - | o |
| DeRw 1 | - | - | - | - | - | o |
| DeRw 2 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRw 3 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRw 4 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRw 5 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRw 6 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRw 13 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRw 15 | I | o | o | o | I** | o |
| DeRw 16 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRw 17 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRw 18 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRw 19 | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| DeRw 23 | I | o | o | I | I | o |
| DeRw 24 | - | - | - | - | - | o |
| | | | | | | |
| Total: | 74 | 28 | 9 | 44 | 4 | 62 |
| (Possible) | - | 6 | 5 | 2 | 2 | - |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 52% | 20% | 6% | 31% | 3% | 44% |
| | 24% | 10% | 32% | 4% | |

39% of all
...tes near water
...re near rivers
or streams

20% of
beach
sites
have
creeks

84% of all sites
near water are
beach sites

392

# Appendix 3 – Archaeological Site Condition

| Site Number | Condition (2=Positive 1=Neutral 0=Negative) | Anticipated Disturbance (1=Yes 0=No) | Human Disturbance | Natural Disturbance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| DeRv 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 6 | 0 | - | - | - |
| DeRv 9 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 11 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 12 | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 13 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 15 | - | - | - | - |
| DeRv 16 | - | - | - | - |
| DeRv 17 | - | - | - | - |
| DeRv 18 | - | - | - | - |
| DeRv 19 | - | - | - | - |
| DeRv 20 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 21 | - | - | - | - |
| DeRv 22 | 2 | - | - | - |
| DeRv 23 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 24 | - | - | - | - |
| DeRv 25 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 26 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 27 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 28 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 29 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 30 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 31 | - | - | - | - |
| DeRv 32 | | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| DeRv 33 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| DeRv 55 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| DeRv 56 | - | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 57 | 0 | - | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 58 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| DeRv 59 | 2 | - | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 60 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 61 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 62 | - | - | - | - |

| Site Number | Condition (2=Positive 1=Neutral 0=Negative) | Anticipated Disturbance (1=Yes 0=No) | Human Disturbance | Natural Disturbance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| DeRv 63 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 64 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 65 | 0 | - | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 66 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 67 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 68 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 69 | 0 | - | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 70 | 1 | - | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 71 | 2 | - | - | - |
| DeRv 72 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 73 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 74 | 1 | - | - | - |
| DeRV 75 | 2 | - | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 76 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 77 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 78 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 79 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 80 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 81 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 82 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 83 | 0 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 84 | 2 | 1 | - | 1 |
| DeRv 85 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 86 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 87 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 88 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 89 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 90 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 91 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 92 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 93 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 94 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 95 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 96 | 0 | - | 1 | - |
| DeRv 97 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| DeRv 98 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 99 | 0 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 100 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 101 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |

| Site Number | Condition (2=Positive 1=Neutral 0=Negative) | Anticipated Disturbance (1=Yes 0=No) | Human Disturbance | Natural Disturbance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| DeRv 102 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 103 | - | - | - | - |
| DeRv 104 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 105 | 2 | 1 | 1 | - |
| DeRv 106 | 0 | 1 | 1 | - |
| DeRv 107 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - |
| DeRv 108 | 0 | 0 | 1 | - |
| DeRv 110 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| DeRv 111 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| DeRv 112 | 1 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 114 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 115 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 116 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 117 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 118 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 119 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 120 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 121 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 122 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 123 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 124 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 125 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 126 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 127 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 128 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 129 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 130 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 131 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 132 | 2 | - | - | - |
| DeRv 133 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 134 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 135 | 2 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 136 | 2 | 0 | - | - |
| DeRv 137 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 138 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 139 | 2 | - | - | - |
| DeRv 140 | 2 | - | - | - |
| DeRv 141 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Site Number | Condition (2=Positive | Anticipated Disturbance | Human Disturbance | Natural Disturbance |

| | 1=Neutral 0=Negative) | (1=Yes 0=No) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| DeRv 142 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| DeRv 143 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 144 | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| DeRv 148 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 151 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 153 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 155 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 156 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| DeRv 157 | 1 | - | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 158 | 1 | - | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 159 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 160 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 166 | - | - | - | - |
| DeRv 167 | - | - | - | - |
| DeRv 171 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRv 172 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRw 1 | - | - | - | - |
| DeRw 2 | 2 | - | - | - |
| DeRw 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRw 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRw 5 | - | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRw 6 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRw 13 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRw 15 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRw 16 | - | - | - | - |
| DeRw 17 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRw 18 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRw 19 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRw 23 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| DeRw 24 | - | - | - | - |
| **Total Sites = 142** | 52 sites = Positive<br><br>23 sites = Neutral<br><br>46 sites = Negative | 75 sites anticipated to be disturbed in the future | 73 sites disturbed by human activity | 27 sites disturbed by erosion |

# Appendix 4 – BC Archaeology Timeline

1722    – British Privy Council memorandum sets out doctrines of discovery and conquest.

1740s   – Russians begin trading on the Pacific coast.

1776    – Small pox epidemic (extent?)

1778    – Capt. Cook charts Nootka Sound, 3rd expedition.

1785    – Maritime trade begins along the Pacific coast (ends 1820s)

1788    – Russians claim Alaska.

1789    – Spanish build fort at Nootka Sound.

1780s   – Epidemics on the Northwest Coast.

1790    – Nootka convention between Spain and Britain.

1804    – Fort Simpson established by the Northwest Co.

1805    – Fort St.John established by the Northwest Co.

        - Fort Nelson established on Laird River

1806    – Fort St.James established on Stuart Lake.

1812    – Fort Astoria established, and became Fort George within the year.

1820    – Permanent HBC post established at Fort George.

1821    – HBC and Northwest Co. merge.

1824    – 54.40' established the border between Russian and American territory.

1826    – Fort Vancouver established on the Columbia River by the HBC.

1827    – Fort Langley established.

1828    – Fort Alexandria established.

1830s   – HBC begins inoculating Native people against small pox.

1834    – James Douglas becomes Chief Trader of the HBC.

1836    – Small pox epidemic in northern BC and southern Alaska (to 1838).

1838    – HBC granted 21 year exclusive hunting and trading licence to the Northwest Coast.

        - First Roman Catholic priests arrive at Fort Vancouver.

1842    – Fort Victoria established by the HBC.

1843   – HBC begins laying out boundaries.

1846   – Oregon Treaty established the 49th parallel as the US-British boundary.

          - HBC's Pacific HQ from Oregon to Victoria.

1847   – measles epidemic (to 1850).

1849   – Royal Charter grants Vancouver Island  to the HBC.

          - Richard Blanchard becomes 1st governor of the Colony of Vancouver Island.

1850   – Douglas concludes treaties in Victoria, Sooke and Metchosin.

1851    – James Douglas becomes Governor.

1852/3 – Cowichan crisis, gunboat dispatched.

1853   – peak of Californian gold rush.

1858   – British Columbia Act.

          - James Douglas resigns from the HBC to become Governor of the mainland

          colony of British Columbia.

          - Royal Engineers undertake mapping of the BC mainland.

          - Colonial proclamation states that all land is vested in the Crown.

          - Fraser River Gold Rush.

1860s  – Commercial fishing begins to develop.

1861    – Colonial policy: Reserves to be defined as pointed bout by the natives

          themselves.

1862   – Smallpox epidemic reduces aboriginal populations in BC (to 1863).

          - Peak of Cariboo Gold Rush.

1864   – Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition.

1865   – Indian Graves Ordinance.

1866   – Pre-emption Ordinance bars Indian people from pre-empting land (to 1953).

1867   – Conveyance of Vancouver Island from the HBC to the Crown.

          - Constitution Act, s.91 (24) – Canada becomes responsible for Indians and lands

          reserved for Indians.

          - Ordinance to prevent the violation of Indian Graves.

          - Alaska transferred from Russians to the US.

1870   – Terms of Union confirms Dominion government's responsibility for Indians.

          - Mission established at Cowichan.

- Earliest arch work done on coast.

1871    – BC enters confederation.

- "BC and Canada begin debate about the size of Indian reserves. Issue never resolved."

- Indian people not allowed to fish commercially (to 1923).

1872    – Smallpox epidemic in BC.

- Withdrawal of Indian right to vote in BC provincial election (to 1949).

1874    – "BC Lands Act lets province alienate land without regard for aboriginal title. Disallowed."

1875    – BC Land Act of 1847 is disallowed by Canada because it disregards aboriginal title.

- Revised BC land act provides for Indian reserves.

- E & N Railway Act.

1876    – Federal proclamation excludes Indian lands and resources in BC from the Indian Act.

- Indians barred from voting in municipal elections.

1879    – Surveyors instructed to show all Indian villages, cabins and fields on their plans.

1883    – E&N Railway Grant - The province grants 800,000 acres of land to Robert Dunsmuir in return for the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway.

1885    – Potlatch prohibition Law – bans potlatching and general mass assembly of natives.

1886    – January - Petition submitted to the provincial government, by influential citizens of Victoria, for the creation of a museum∝ the Royal BC Museum.

- December 2- formal opening of the British Columbia Provincial Museum in the "Birdcages" of the government buildings.

1889    – May 24 – the Provincial Museum is moved to the old Supreme Court Building and officially opened to the public.

1890s  – Early archaeological work on the NWC – James Deans, Charles Hill-Tout, Harlan I. Smith.

1894   – Federal regulation restrict Indian fishing devices.

     - Dominion runs out of funds for survey of Indian Reserves in BC.

1897   – Jessup North Pacific Expedition begins.

     - First controlled/professional archaeological work on the coast.

     - Developed intellectual context used today

1903   – Songhees displaced by special act of Parliament.

1904   – Vancouver Island Settlers Rights Act.

1905   – 2$^{nd}$ land grant from BC to Canada for the E & N.

1909   – Cowichan Petition to the King of England. Referred back to Canada.

     - Indian Rights Association formed (to 1916).

     - The Provincial Museum publishes the *Illustrated Guide to the Anthropological Collection in the Provincial Museum* (Newcombe 1909).

1913   – Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology Act.

     - Publication of the Canadian Geographic Board's Handbook of Indians of Canada.

1919   – Provincial Indian Affairs Settlement Act.

1921   – The Provincial Museum puts their ethnographic collection on display; also holds its first exhibit of material from outside British Columbia.

1924   – A.V.Kidder develops first culture sequence.

1925   – Historic Objects Preservation Act.

     - The Provincial Museum displays native poles and canoes at the old Drill Hall on Menzies St.

1930's – De Laguna working in Alaska, combining archaeology and ethnography (DHA).

     - Drucker begins arch on the coast, using DHA.

     - US Department of Agriculture Forest Service excavations at the Old Russian fort at Sitka – no analysis completed.

1936   – Public Documents Disposal Act allows the government to send its expired document to the Provincial Archive.

1940s  – Universities expanded, funding agencies established.

     - Charles Borden at work in Coast Salish territory.

- Development of archaeology at University of Washington.

1941   – Thunderbird Park, a model Indian village, is opened in Victoria.

1948   - (c) the *Historic Objects Preservation Act*, R.S.B.C. 1948, c. 145. (from HCA 1996).

1950s  – Borden publishes his 3 phase culture sequence for the Fraser delta.

- Roy Carlson working in the San Juan Islands.

- First large scale excavation published – Cattle Point Site excavated by A.R.King (1950).

- Increased public interest, rise of tourism, economic surplus of postwar North America, university expansion, improved research funding.

- Development work = more archaeological exposure.

1950   – C14 Dating.

- Wilson Duff  hired as 'assistant in anthropology' at the RBCM (first professionally trained anthropologist to hold the position).

- Duff begins to work with indigenous communities, and also calls attention to the loss of archaeological sites threatened by hydro-electric projects.

- The BCPM publishes the first of it's Anthropology in B.C. series.

1951   – Duff  and Borden lobby the provincial and federal governments  to write legislation to protect arch sites.

1952   – Borden develops archaeological site designation system.

- First AIA in BC, possibly Canada – Nechako Reservoir Study in Tweedsmuir Park (Borden 1952).

1954   – Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict.

1959   – Biederbost Site found in the US.

1960s  – "New Archaeology" everywhere but the NWC.

- Borden permitted to teach one arch course per year at UBC.

- Borden publishes Fraser Canyon sequence (1960).

- "ecological archaeology" introduced > first exercised by the University of Colorado on the BC Central coast at Namu.

- Phil Hobler working on the Central Coast.

- Excavations at Friendly Cove and Hesquiat Harbour.

- RBCM, UVic and SFU undertake excavations in the Gulf Islands, developing our understanding of Gulf of Georgia prehistory.

1960 – Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act, British Columbia.

1965 – *R. vs. White vs. Bob* – clarifies treaty and hunting rights.

1966 – North Coast Prehistory Project initiated by the National Museum of Canada

- Ozette Project begins – First Nations participate – local memory used for site interpretation.

- National Historic Preservation Act – US federal law – Created National Register of Historic Places, National Historic Landmarks, and State Historic Preservation Offices.

- Beginning of CRM in USA – due to NHPA.

1967 - Museums Act – "mandated anthropological research." > Museum more active in arch research initiatives – False Narrows Ex. > based on the need to look at and protect contact period material.

1968 – (and 1971) – first detailed synthesis of archaeology of the Gulf of Georgia region.

- Astrida Blukis Onat and team excavate a Fishtown Site, US. (Croes 1976)

- Richard Inglis and team excavate the Lachane Site, northern northwest coast. (Croes 1976)

- Helen Point and Georgeson Bay excavations by BC Prov Museum, early major projects.

- The first issue of Syesis is published – natural and cultural history of British Columbia.

1968 – Excavations begin at Hoko River – the first hydraulic excavation technique is developed.

1969 – NDP position paper acknowledges aboriginal title never extinguished in BC.

- Hobler's first field season at Kwatna – Carlson calls it the beginning of wet site archaeology . (Croes 1976)

- The Office of the Provincial Archaeologist begins its centralized provincial site inventory.

- Trudeau government's "White Paper" asserts that aboriginal title does not exist. Policy is one of aggressive assimilation.

- Union of BC Indian Chiefs formed.

- Federal government takes control of Indian residential schools.

1970s – Fladmark works of culture history.

- Academic discourse is dominated by "salvage" v. "academic" archaeology (Apland 10)

- Hobler working in central B.C.

- Hoko River excavation begun.

- Wetlands make a splash! (Called a "subfield" by Carlson).

- Increase of publication of site reports – possible outcome of the Museums Act.

- Norm = quantification of artifacts, faunal analysis, typology (not yet standard).

- Use of palaeoecology.

- "Adaptation as prime mover" concept becomes popular.

- Development of native interest in their own history.

- Rise of native land claims.

- Archaeological work with natives involved.

- Beginning of quantitative analysis – Matson (1974).

- Development of CRM

- Due to CRM, BCPM acquires vast amounts of new material.

- Apland (12) says lots of activity, but "no central focus or planning strategy appears to have emerged."

1970 – Mungo Cannery (Calvert).

- SFU Archaeology Department Established.

- David Munsell, UW, and Washinton Highways excavate the Conway Site, US.

1971 – Federal government withdraws assimilationist "white paper".

- Hesquiat Harbour arch project with FN begins.

- The BCPM opens The Legacy exhibit, a display of Northwest Coast art.

- The Ramsar Convention on Wetlands is signed.

1972 – National Indian Brotherhood issues Indian Control of Indian Education – recognizes importance of language and culture. The department of Indian and Northern Affairs implements 'Cultural Education Centers Programme.'

- Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act, version 2 – introduces the idea of 'compensation'.

- Creation of the Office of the Provincial Archaeologist – (AP 12 says "arch field previously considered academic to this point).

- RBCM publishes? Hesquiat Harbour.

- National Museum's Canadian Historic Inventory Network with Canadian Armed Services, working Central Coast.

1972-3 – Borden and team excavate the Musqueam NE site, at the request of the Musqueam FN.

1973 – Federal Indian Affairs Minister Jean Cretien introduces federal land claims policy.

- *Calder v. British Columbia*, acknowledges aboriginal title.

- The Canadian Heritage Information Network, CHIN, begins to compile information from all across the country.

1974 – Bjorn Simonsen and team excavate Little Qualicum River – anticipate similar sites along east coast of Vancouver Island.

1975 – Songhees and BCPM develop collection and research protocol.

- The Legacy exhibit tours Canada.

1976 – Dale Croes publishes The Excavation of waterlogged archaeological sites (wet sites) on the Northwest Coast of North America – optimism, plans for the future, importance etc. – 9 papers, asking about conditions, excavation techniques, artifact types, preservation, and site dates.

- Matson publishes Glenrose Cannery site.

1977 – Heritage Conservation Act!

- BCPM completes "major human history exhibit focusing on aboriginal cultural developments in BC".

- Archaeology Sites Advisory Board becomes part of the Provincial Heritage Advisory Board (Ap.)

1978  – major mitigation project at Duke Point.

1979  – US Archaeological Resources Protection Act. Federal law, amended 1988, governs the excavation and treatment of sites on federal and Indian land.

1980s – focus on settlement and subsistence replaced the focus on culture types (though this persisted).

- Focus on social organization (Ames, Matson, Coupland).

- Focus on economies (Schalk, Burley, Matson, Isaac, Croes & Hackenberger).

- Focus on CRM.

- Little discussion of specifics around legislation and agency creation

- Stable-carbon isotope analysis

- Government's conceptual beginning of developer funded, or "proponent pays" archaeology, originally suggested by Borden in the 50s - "bane to a boon" (Apland 12).

- New provincial database – old forms updated and entered, new sites entered.

- Demand for protection of sites not previously considered "archaeological" – "Traditional Cultural Resources"

- Early 80s – funding decreases massively, and BCPM decides to focus on material already in its collection rather than acquiring new collections.

- Reevaluation of "philosophical issues relating to collection stewardship responsibilities." Began in 70s.

- FN call for repatriation of collections and control over their own cultural heritage. Increased public exposure. Consideration of morals and ethics of museum collections.

1980  – Canada's First Nations petition the Queen to recognize aboriginal rights in the Constitution.

- The Legacy exhibit goes to Europe.

1981  – Pearse Commission.

- Transfer of the provincial site inventory from RBCM to arch branch.

- The BCPM opens an argillite exhibit.

- The BCPM initiates an interdisciplinary project on the Brooks Peninsula, an area which escaped the last glaciation.

405

1982 – Canada Constitution Act recognizes existing aboriginal and treaty rights (s.35).

- German (1982) – guidelines for impact assessments, provided certain expectations for developers.

1983 – Christie residential school in Tofino is the last residential school to be closed.

1984 – *Guerin v. the Crown* – heard by the Supreme Court of Canada, and decides that aboriginal title is a *sui generis* right.

1985 – The BCPM becomes the responsibility of the Ministry of Tourism.

1986 – The BCPM falls under the Ministry of Tourism, Recreation and Culture.

- *Charrier v. Bell*, Rule of Law and Holding: Burial ground items are not abandoned, because they are intentionally buried and are intended to stay with the land.

1987 – "Project Pride" initiated – solicited community feedback about heritage management. – nearly 400 responses.

- The BCPM requires an admission fee for the first time ever.

- Project Pride (1987) Stewardship and Opportunity published.

1988 – The BCPM is transferred to the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, Recreation and Culture.

1989 – Cemetery and Funeral Services Act (BC).

- Natives from Washington ask for some human remains to be repatriated, but section 56 of the new Cemetery and Funeral Services Act prohibits removal of human remains from the place they are held or interred.

- RBCM develops policy for repatriation of human remains and cultural material.

1990s – early – arch branch begins to require ethnographic component "to be included in Branch funded archaeological impact assessments and other related projects."

- concomitant rise is requests for consultation from FN groups – cry for this came directly from the Project Pride.

1990 – Province abandons 119-year old policy of refusing to acknowledge aboriginal title.

- November 16th, NAGPRA -Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act became federal law in the US.

- Suttles ed. Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 7, Northwest Coast.

- First White paper published.

- Ontario Heritage Act.

1991 – Second White paper published.

1992 – The Royal BC Museum (BCPM) is now under the direction of the Ministry Responsible for Culture.

- The RBCM exhibits "Chiefly Feasts, the Enduring Kwakiutl Potlatch".

1993 – July 6th, First reading, in the BC legislature, of Bill 70, the Heritage Conservation Statuses Amendment Act, 1993.

- Aboriginal Cultural Stewardship Programme begins.

1994 – Heritage Conservation Statuses Amendment Act.

1995 – Bernick publishes Hidden Dimensions – 20 papers, 8 NA, 6 NWC, part 3 on fishing technology on NWC.

- Federal government acknowledges First Nations inherent right to self-government.

- Nancy Turner and the RBCM publish "Food plants of the Coastal First Peoples".

1997 – *Delgamuuk'w vs. B.C.* establishes native oral tradition as a valid form of evidence.

- Nancy Turner and the RBCM publish "Food Plants of the Interior First Peoples"

1998 – Nancy Turner and the RBCM publish "Plant Technology of the First Peoples in B.C."

1999 – Ames & Maschner published.

- The RBCM exhibits "Out of the Mist", a display of Nuu'chah'nulth material.

2001 – The RBCM publishes Alan Hoover's "Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, Histories, Objects & Journeys."

- Barbara Purdy publishes Enduring Records: The Environmental and Cultural Heritage of Wetlands. – 27 papers, 10 NA, 4 NWC.

2002 – Ramsar Resolution VIII.19 – *Guiding principles for taking into account the cultural values of weltands for the effective management of sites.*

- The RBCM publishes Peter MacNair's "The Magic Leaves: A History of Haida Argillite".

2003  – The RBCM publishes Grant Keddie's *Songhees Pictorial*.

2005  – BC continues to aggressively promote oil and gas drilling, ski resort development, logging, mining and other forms of resource extraction in Indigenous territories.

- Ramsar Resolution IX.21 on *Taking into account the cultural value of wetlands.*

2008  – Ramsar – *Culture and wetlands: A Ramsar Guidance Document.*

## Appendix 5 – Animals of the Cowichan Valley Wetlands

| BIRDS | |
|---|---|
| *Gavia immer* | common loon |
| *Gavia arctica* | Arctic loon |
| *Gavia stellata* | red-throated loon |
| *Podiceps grisegena* | red-necked grebe |
| *Podiceps auritus* | horned grebe |
| *Podiceps nigricollis* | eared grebe |
| *Aechmorphorus occidentalis* | western grebe |
| *Podilymbus podiceps* | pied-billed grebe |
| *Phalacrocorax auritus* | double-crested cormorant |
| *Phalacrocorax penicillatus* | Brandt's cormorant |
| *Phalacrocorax pelagicus* | pelagic cormorant |
| *Ardea herodias* | great blue heron |
| *Butorides virescens* | green heron |
| *Casmerodius albus* | common egret |
| *Botarus lentiginosus* | American bittern |
| *Olor columbianus* | whistling swan |
| *Olor buccinator* | trumpeter swan |
| *Cygnus olor* | mute swan |
| *Branta canadensis* | Canada goose |
| *Branta bernicla nigricans* | black brant |
| *Anser albifrons* | white-fronted goose |
| *Chen caerulescens* | snow goose |
| *Anas platyrhynchos* | mallard |
| *Anas strepera* | gadwall |
| *Anas acuta* | pintail |
| *Anas crecca* | green-winged teal |
| *Anas discors* | blue-winged teal |
| *Anas cyanoptera* | cinnamon teal |
| *Falco sparverius* | sparrow hawk, American kestrel |
| *Dendragapus obscurus* | blue grouse |
| *Bonasa umbellus* | ruffled grouse |
| *Lophortyx californicus* | California quail |
| *Phasianus colchicus* | ring-necked pheasant |
| *Grus canadensis* | sandhill crane |
| *Rallus limicola* | Virginia rail |
| *Porsana carolina* | sora |
| *Fulica americana* | American coot |
| *Haematopus bachmani* | black oystercatcher |
| *Charadrius semipalmatus* | semipalmated plover |
| *Charadrius vociferus* | killdeer |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Pluvialis dominica* | American golden plover |
| *Pluvialis squatarola* | black-bellied plover |
| *Aphrisa virgata* | surfbird |
| *Arenaria interpres* | ruddy turnstone |
| *Arenaria melanocephala* | black turnstone |
| *Capella gallinago* | common snipe |
| *Numenius phaeopus* | whimbrel |
| *Actitis macularia* | spotted sandpiper |
| *Tringa solitaria* | solitary sandpiper |
| *Tringa melanoleuca* | greater yellowlegs |
| *Tringa flavipes* | lesser yellowlegs |
| *Calidris ptilocnemis* | rock sandpiper |
| *Calidris canutus* | red knot |
| *Calidris acuminata* | sharp-tailed sandpiper |
| *Calidris melanotos* | pectoral sandpiper |
| *Calidris bairdii* | Baird's sandpiper |
| *Calidris minutilla* | least sandpiper |
| *Calidris alpina* | dunlin |
| *Calidris pusillus* | semipalmated sandpiper |
| *Calidris mauri* | western sandpiper |
| *Calidris alba* | sanderling |
| *Limnodromus griseus* | short-billed dowitcher |
| *Speotyto cunicularia* | burrowing owl |
| *Asio otus* | long-eared owl |
| *Asio flammeus* | short-eared owl |
| *Aegolius acadicus* | saw-whet owl |
| *Chordeiles minor* | common nighthawk |
| *Cypseloides niger* | black swift |
| *Chaetura vauxi* | vaux's swift |
| *Calypte anna* | Anna's hummingbird |
| *Selasphorus rufus* | rufous hummingbird |
| *Megaceryle alcyon* | belted kingfisher |
| *Colaptes auratus* | common flicker |
| *Dryocopus pileatus* | pileated woodpecker |
| *Sphyrapicus varius* | yellow-bellied sapsucker |
| *Dendrocopos villosus* | hairy woodpecker |
| *Dendrocopos pubescens* | downy woodpecker |
| *Tyrannus tyrannus* | eastern kingbird |
| *Tyrannus verticalis* | western kingbird |
| *Empidonax alnorum* | alder flycatcher |
| *Empidonax hammondii* | Hammond's flycatcher |
| *Empidonax difficilis* | western flycatcher |
| *Contopus sordidulus* | western wood peewee |
| *Nuttallornis borealis* | olive-sided flycatcher |
| *Alauda arvensis* | skylark |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Eremophila alpestris* | horned lark |
| *Tachycineta thalassina* | violet-green swallow |
| *Iridoprocne bicolor* | tree swallow |
| *Riparia riparia* | bank swallow |
| *Stelgidopteryx ruficollis* | rough-winged swallow |
| *Hirundo rustica* | barn swallow |
| *Petrochelidon pyrrhonota* | cliff swallow |
| *Progne subis* | purple martin |
| *Perisoreus canadensis* | gray jay |
| *Cyanocitta cristata* | blue jay |
| *Cyanocitta stelleri* | Steller's jay |
| *Corvus corax* | common raven |
| *Corvus caurinus* | northwestern crow |
| *Nucifraga columbiana* | Clark's nutcracker |
| *Parus rufescens* | chestnut-backed chickadee |
| *Psaltriparus minimus* | common bushtit |
| *Sitta canadensis* | red-breasted nuthatch |
| *Certhia familiaris* | brown creeper |
| *Cinclus mexicanus* | American dipper |
| *Troglodytes aedon* | house wren |
| *Troglodytes troglodytes* | winter wren |
| *Thryomanes bewickii* | Bewick's wren |
| *Telmatodytes palustris* | long-billed marsh wren |
| *Salpinctes obsoletus* | rock wren |
| *Mimus polyglottos* | northern mockingbird |
| *Turdus migratorius* | American robin |
| *Ixoreus naevius* | varied thrush |
| *Catharus guttata* | hermith thrush |
| *Catharus ustulata* | Swainson's thrush |
| *Sialia mexicana* | western bluebird |
| *Sialia currucoides* | mountain bluebird |
| *Myadestes townsendi* | Townsend's solitaire |
| *Regulus satrapa* | golden-crowned kinglet |
| *Regulus calendula* | ruby-crowned kinglet |
| *Anthus spinoletta* | water pipit |
| *Bombycilla garrula* | Bohemian waxwing |
| *Bombycilla cedrorum* | cedar waxwing |
| *Lanius excubitor* | northern shrike |
| *Sturnus vulgaris* | common starling |
| *Vireo huttoni* | Hutton's vireo |
| *Vireo solitarius* | solitary vireo |
| *Vireo olivaceus* | red-eyed vireo |
| *Vireo gilvus* | warbling vireo |
| *Vermivora celata* | orange-crowned warbler |
| *Vermivora ruficapilla* | Nashville warbler |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Dendroica petechia* | yellow warbler |
| *Dendroica coronata* | yellow-rumped warbler |
| *Dendroica nigrescens* | black-throated grey warbler |
| *Dendroica townsendi* | Townsend's warbler |
| *Seiurus noveboracensis* | northern waterthrush |
| *Oporornis tolmiei* | MacGillivray's warbler |
| *Geothylpis trichas* | common yellowthroat |
| *Wilsonia pusilla* | Wilson's warbler |
| *Passer domesticus* | house sparrow |
| *Sturnella neglecta* | western meadowlark |
| *Xanthocephalus xanthocephalus* | yellow-headed blackbird |
| *Agelaius phoeniceus* | red-winged blackbird |
| *Icterus galbula* | northern oriole |
| *Euphagus carolinus* | rusty backbird (blackbird?) |
| *Euphagus cyanocephalus* | Brewer's blackbird |
| *Molothrus ater* | brown-headed cowbird |
| *Piranga ludoviciana* | western tanager |
| *Pheucticus melanocephalus* | black-headed grosbeak |
| *Passerina amoena* | Lazuli bunting |
| *Hesperiphona vespertina* | evening grosbeak |
| *Carpodacus purpureus* | purple finch |
| *Carpodacus mexicanus* | house finch |
| *Pinicola enucleator* | pine grosbeak |
| *Acanthis flammea* | common redpoll |
| *Spinus pinus* | pine siskin |
| *Spinus tristis* | American goldfinch |
| *Loxia curvirostra* | red crossbill |
| *Pipilo erythrophthalmus* | rufous-sided towhee |
| *Passerculus sandwichensis* | Savannah sparrow |
| *Pooecetes gramineus* | Vesper sparrow |
| *Junco hyemalis* | dark-eyed junco |
| *Spisella abrborea* | tree sparrow |
| *Zonotrichia querula* | Harris' sparrow |
| *Zonotrichia leucophrys* | white-crowned sparrow |
| *Zonotrichia atricapilla* | golden-crowned sparrow |
| *Zonotrichia albicollis* | white-throated sparrow |
| *Passerella iliaca* | fox sparrow |
| *Melospiza lincolnii* | Lincoln's sparrow |
| *Melospiza melodia* | song sparrow |
| *Calcarius lapponicus* | lapland longspur |
| *Plectrophenax nivalis* | snow bunting |
| | |
| **MAMMALS** | |
| **Order Insectivora** | **Shrews** |
| *Sorex palustris* | American water shrew |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Sorex vagrans* | wandering shrew |
| **Order Chiroptera** | **Bats** |
| *Plecotus townsendi* | Townsends big-eared bat |
| *Eptesicus fuscus* | big brown bat |
| *Myotis californicus* | California bat |
| *Myotis veotis* | long-eared bat |
| *Myotis keeni* | Keen's bat |
| *Myotis lucifugus* | little brown bat |
| *Myotis yumanensis* | Yuma bat |
| **Order Rodentia** | |
| **Family Sciuridae** | **Squirrels, chipmunks, marmots** |
| *Marmota vancouverensis* | Vancouver Island marmot |
| *Tamiasciurus hudsonicus* | American red squirrel |
| **Family Castoridae** | **Beavers** |
| *Castor canadensis* | American beaver |
| **Family Muridae** | **New World Rats & Mice** |
| *Microtus townsendi* | Townsend vole |
| *Mus musculus* | house mouse |
| *Ondatra zibethica* | muskrat |
| *Peromyscus maniculatus* | deer or white-footed mouse |
| *Rattus norvegicus* | Norway rat |
| *Rattus rattus* | roof rat |
| **Family Capromyidae** | |
| *Myocaster coypus* | nutria or coypu |
| **Order Cetacea** | **Whales & Dolphins** |
| *Balaenoptera acutorostrata* | Pike or Mink whale |
| *Balenoptera physalus* | fin or finback whale |
| *Delphinus delphii bairdii* | Baird dolphin |
| *Eschrichtius robustus* | gray whale |
| *Lagenorhynchus obliquidens* | Pacific white-sided dolphin |
| *Megaptera novaeangliae* | humpback whale |
| *Orcinus orca* | Pacific killer whale |
| *Phocoena phocoena* | harbour porpoise |
| *Phocoenoides dalli* | Dall porpoise |
| **Order Carnivora** | |
| **Family Canidae** | **Dog-like flesh-eaters** |
| *Canis lupus crassodon* | Vancouver Island wolf |
| **Family Ursidae** | **Bears** |
| *Ursus americanus* | Black bear |
| **Family Procyonidae** | **Raccoons** |
| *Procyon lotor* | raccoon |
| **Family Mustelidae** | **Weasle-like flesh-eaters** |
| *Gulo gulo luscus* | wolverine |
| *Luntra canadensis* | Canadian river otter |
| *Martes americana* | marten |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Mustela erminea* | ermine or short-tailed weasel |
| *Mustela vison* | mink |
| **Family Felidae** | **Cat-like flesh-eaters** |
| *Felis concolor* | cougar |
| **Order Pinnipedia** | **Seals, sea-lions, walruses)** |
| *Callorhinus ursinus* | northern fur seal |
| *Eumetopias jubata* | northern or Steller sea-lion |
| *Phoca vitulina richardi* | harbour or hair seal |
| *Zalophus californianus* | California sea lion |
| **Order Artiodactyla** | **Cloven-hoofed ungulates** |
| *Cervus elaphus roosevelti* | Roosevelt elk |
| *Odocoileus hemionus columbianus* | blacktail deer |
| | |
| **AMPHIBIANS & REPTILES** | |
| *Ambystoma gracile* | northwestern salamander |
| *Ambystoma macrodactylum* | long-toed salamander |
| *Aneides ferrus* | clouded salamander |
| *Bufo boreas* | northwestern toad |
| *Chrysemys picta* | painted turtle |
| *Contia tenius* | sharp-tailed snake |
| *Dermochelys coriacea* | leatherback |
| *Ensatina eschscholtzi* | red salamander |
| *Gerrhonotus coeruleus* | northern alligator lizard |
| *Hyla regilla* | Pacific tree toad |
| *Pituophis catenifer* | Pacific gopher snake |
| *Plenthodon vehiculum* | red-backed salamander |
| *Rana aurora aurora* | red-legged frog |
| *Rana clamitans* | green frog |
| *Taricha granulosa* | Pacific coast newt |
| *Thamnophis elegans* | coast garter snake |
| *Thamnophis ordinoides* | Puget garter snake |
| *Thamnophis sirtalis* | striped garter snake |
| | |
| *From 2001 VI Wetland Health* | |
| *Bell & Kallman 1976* | |

# Appendix 6 – Fish Species of the Cowichan Wetlands

| Fish | Common name | Cowichan name | |
|------|-------------|---------------|---|
| | | | |
| *Ammodytes hexapterus* | Pacific sand lance | | |
| *Artedius lateralis* | smoothhead sculpin | | |
| *Clinocottus acuticeps* | sharpnose sculpin | | |
| *Clupea harengus pallasi* | Pacific herring | *slháwet', Sl\*ewut* | *,** |
| *Cottus asper* | prickly sculpin | *shmetxw* | * |
| *Cymatogaster aggregata* | shiner perch | *slhímen* | * |
| *Damalichthys vacca* | pile perch | *wátsi* | * |
| *Engraulis mordax* | northern anchovy | | |
| *Gasterosteus aculeatus* | threespine stickleback | | |
| *Hexagrammos stelleri* | white-spotted greenling | | |
| *Hypomesus pretiosus* | surf smelt | *sts'ó7kwem* | * |
| *Lampetra tridentatus* | Pacific lamprey | | |
| *Leptocottus armatus* | Pacific staghorn sculpin | | |
| *Liparis* sp. | liparids | | |
| *Lumpenus sagitta* | Pacific snake prickleback | | |
| *Microgadus proximus* | Pacific tomcod | *kwíniyetsen* | * |
| *Octopus dofleini* | Great Pacific Octopus, Devil Fish | *Sqi'mukw* | ** |
| *Oligocottus maulosus* | tidepool sculpin | | |
| *Oligocottus rimensis* | saddleback sculpin | | |
| *Oncorhynchus keta* | chum/dog salmon | *kw'óĺexw; Kwa'luhw* | *,** |
| *Oncorhynchus kisuch* | coho salmon | *the'wun* | *&** |
| *Oncorhynchus nerka* | sockeye salmon | *théki, Thuqi'* | *,** |
| *Oncorhynchus tschawytasha* | chinook/spring salmon | *sth'ókwi, Stthaqwi'* | *,** |
| *Oncorhynchus gorbuscha* | pink/humpback salmon | *haan'* | *&** |
| *Ophiodon elongatus* | lingcod | *áyet; 'Eeyt* | *,** |
| *Pholis laeta* | crescent gunnel | | |
| *Pholis ornata* | saddleback gunnel | | |
| *Platichthys stellatus* | starry flounder | *p'éwi* | * |
| *Salmo clarki clarki* | coastal cutthroat trout | *kw'wets* | * |
| *Salmo gairdneri* | steelhead | *sxéw\*k'em, S'h\*uw'qum* | *,** |
| *Sebastes melanops* | black rockfish | *tk'os* | * |
| *Spirinchus thaleichthys* | longfin smelt | | |
| *Syngnathus griseolineatus* | bay pipefish | | |
| | | | |
| *(not previously mentioned in study)* | | | |
| | | | |
| *Agonus acipenserinus* | sturgeon poacher | | |
| *Alosa sapidissima* | American shad | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Anarrichthys ocellatus* | eel | *lélethen* | * |
| *Anoplarchus insignis* | slender cockcomb | | |
| *Atheresthes stomias* | turbot or arrowtooth flounder | | |
| *Citharichthys sordidus* | mottled sanddab | | |
| *Citharichthys stigmaeus* | speckled sanddab | | |
| *Clevelandia ios* | arrow goby | | |
| *Clinocottus embryum* | calico sculpin | | |
| *Coryphopterus nicholsi* | blackeye goby | | |
| *Cottus aleuticus* | coastrange sculpin | *sth'éne* | * |
| *Eopsetta jordani* | petrale sole or brill | | |
| *Eumicrotremus orbis* | spiny lumpsucker | | |
| *Gadus macrocephalus* | Pacific cod | | |
| *Glyptocephalus zachirus* | rex sole | | |
| *Gobiesox maendricus* | flatheat clingfish | | |
| *Hippoglossoides elassodon* | flatheat sole | | |
| *Ictalurus nebulosus* | brown bullhead | | |
| *Inopsetta ischarya* | hybrid sole | | |
| *Isopsetta isolepis* | butter sole | | |
| *Lampetra ayresi* | river lamprey | | |
| *Lampetra planeri* | brook lamprey | | |
| *Lepidogobius lepidus* | bay goby | | |
| *Lepidosetta bilineata* | rock sole | | |
| *Limanda aspera* | yellowfin sole | | |
| *Liparis dennyi* | marbled snailfish | | |
| *Liparis pulchellus* | showy snailfish | | |
| *Liparis rutteri* | ringtail snailfish | | |
| *Mallotus villosus* | capelin | | |
| *Micropterus dolomieui* | smallmouth bass | | |
| *Oncorhynchus gorbuscha* | pink salmon | | |
| *Parophrys vetulus* | lemon sole | *lhémkw'o* | * |
| *Plectobranchus evides* | two spotted prickleback | | |
| *Pleuronichthys coenosus* | C-O sole | | |
| *Porichthys notatus* | midshipman | *sx̱wáy̓ewets* | * |
| *Poroclinus rothrocki* | whitebarred prickleback | | |
| *Psettichthys melanostictus* | sand sole | | |
| *Raja rhina* | longnose skate | yes | |
| *Salmo gairdneri* | rainbow trout | *lhólhekw' stsaálhten; kw'wets* | * |
| *Salmo trutta* | brown trout | *kw'wets* | * |
| *Savelinus fontinalis* | brook trout | *kw'wets* | * |
| *Savelinus malma* | dolly varden char | *stl'él̓x̱íw*s* | * |
| *Sardinops sagax* | pilchard | | |
| *Sebastea* sp. | rockfish | *tk̲'os; Tq'as* | *,** |
| *Xiphister atropurpureus* | black prickleback | | |

* Rozen 1978, ** Hodding & Marshall 1997

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# Appendix 7 – Cowichan and Coast Salish Wetland Plant Use

| Common Name | Latin Name | Food | Technology | Medicine | Recreation | Spiritual Practices |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sea Wrack (Rockweed) | | o | ɪ | ɪ | ɪ | ɪ? |
| Sphagnum Moss (Indian sponge, baby moss, daiper moss, peat moss, bog moss) | *Sphagnum* spp. | o | ɪ | ɪ | o | o |
| Common Horsetail; Scouring Rush; Giant Horsetail (Indian Sandpaper) | *Equisetum arvense; E. hyemale; E. telmateia* | o | ɪ | o | o | o |
| Western Red-cedar (Pacific Red-cedar, Giant Arborvitae, Giant Cedar) | *Thuja plicata* | o | ɪ | ? | o | ɪ |
| Western Yew (Pacific Yew) | *Taxus brevifolia* | o | ɪ | o | o | o |
| Skunk Cabbage (Yellow Arum, Swamp Lantern) | *Lysichiton americanum* | o | ɪ | ? | o | o |
| Slough Sedge; other Sedges | *Carex obnupta; Carex* spp. | o | ɪ | o | o | o |
| Tule (Hard-stemmed Bulrish, Roundstem Bulrush, Bulrush, Rush) | *Scirpus acutus* | o | ɪ | ɪ | ɪ | o |
| Common Reed Grass | *Phragmites australis* | o | ɪ | o | o | o |
| Cattail | *Typha latifolia* | o | ɪ | ɪ | o | ɪ |
| Common Eel-grass (Ribbon grass) | *Zostera marina* | o | ɪ | o | ɪ | o |
| Broad-leaved Maple | *Acer macrophyllum* | o | ɪ | o | o | o |
| Devil's Club | *Oplopanax horridus* | o | ɪ | o | o | ɪ |
| Red Alder (Oregon alder) | *Alnus rubra* | o | ɪ | o | o | ɪ |
| Black Twinberry (Twinflower honeysuckle, Bearberry Honeysuckle, Fly Honeysuckle, Bearberry) | *Lonicera involucrata* | o? | ɪ | o | ɪ | o |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Red Elderberry; Blue Elderberry | *Sambucus racemosa; S. cerulea* | o | ı | o | ı | o |
| Red-osier Dogwood (Red Willow, Western Dogwood, Creek Dogwood) | *Cornus sericea* | o | ı | o | o | o |
| Wild Crabapple (Pacific Crabapple, Western Crabapple, Oregon Crabapple) | *Malus fusca* | o | ı | o | ı | o |
| Bitter Cherry (Wild Cherry, Bird Cherry) | *Prunus emarginata* | o | ı | o | ı | o |
| Nootka Rose (Common Wild Rose) | *Rosa nutkana* | o | ı | o | o | o |
| Salmonberry | *Rubus spectabilis* | o | ı | o | ı | o |
| Hardhack (Douglas Spirea, Steeplebush, Wild Lilac) | *Spiraea douglasii* | o | ı | o | o | o |
| Black Cottonwood (Northern Black Cottonwood); Balsam Poplar (Balm of Gilead (both)) | *Populus balsamifera* spp. *Trichocarpa; P. balsamifera* spp. *Balsamifera* | o | ı | o | ı | o |
| Willows | *Salix* spp. | o | ı | o | ı | o |
| Stinging Nettle (Indian Spinach, Northwest Nettle) | *Urtica dioica* | ? | ı | o | o | o |
| Cinquefoil (Silverweed) | *Potentilla pacifica* | ı | o | o | o | o |
| Sea Lettuce | *Ulva lacuta* L. | o | ı | o | o | o |
| Red Laver | *Porphyra* sp. | o | ı | o | o | o |
| Wapato (Arrow-leaf, Wild Potato) | *Sagittaria latifolia* | ı | o | o | o | o |
| Ninebark | *Physocarpus capitatus* | o | ı | ı | o | o |
| Indian Hellebore (Green Hellebore, False Hellebore) | *Veratrum viride* | o | o | ı | o | ı |
| High-bush Cranberry | *Viburnum edule* | ı | o | o | o | o |
| Glasswort | *Salicornia virginica* L. | ı | o | o | o | o |
| Water Hemlock | *Cicuta douglasii* | o | o | ı | o | o |
| Gumweed | *Grindelia* spp. | o | o | ı | o | o |
| Cow Parsnip | *Heracleum lanatum* | ı | o | ı | o | o |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Watercress | *Rorippa nasturtum-aquaticum* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sundew | *Drosera rotundifolia* | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Indian Plum (Bird Cherry) | *Osmaronia cerasiformis* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Salal | *Gaultheria shallon* | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Labrador Tea | *Ledum groenlandicum* | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bog Cranberry | *Vaccinium oxyoccus* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bog Blueberry | *Vaccinium uliginosum* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Swamp current? | *Ribes lacustre* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Waterleaf | *Hydrophyllum tenuipes* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Canada Mint | *Mentha arvensis* | 1 | 0 | ? | 0 | 0 |
| Purple Hedge Nettle | *Stachys cooleyac* | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Yellow Pond Lily | *Nuphar polysepalum* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sea Milkwort | *Glaux maritima* | 1? | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Large-leaved Avens | *Geum macrophyllum* | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | 16 | 29 | 14 | 10 | 6 |
| | | 32% | 58% | 28% | 20% | 2% |
| | | | | | | |

## Appendix 8 – A: Place Names of the Cowichan Valley & Meaning

After Rozen (1977 & 1985), put in modern orthography by Ruby Peter (2012)

| Number | Place Name | Meaning |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *sh-hw'im'qun'* | "thundering noise of water up-above" |
| 2 | *xeel'tl'* | "crossing-over place" |
| 3 | *shtsmimen'aya'lh* | "place to get dolls" |
| 4 | *skwuts* | "waterfall" |
| 5 | *qwalis, qluluma'th* | "warm place";"two long houses" |
| 6 | *qwuchaasus* | "common cement of the rapids" |
| 7 | *hwq'uxminum* | "place having Indian consumption plant", "place of consumption plant" |
| 8 | *sinètsus* | - |
| 9 | *li'la'hwe'lh* | "place to put away canoes; camping ground" |
| 10 | *t'si'ts'esh* | "really narrow" |
| 11 | *shul'a* | "penis" |
| 12 | *shula smeent* | "penis mountain" |
| 13 | *xuth* | "grabbing with the hands" |
| 14 | *tstl'um* | "jumping" |
| 15 | *ts'alha'um* | "place of leaves" |
| 16 | *hwt'soom* | (possibly "torn up place") |
| 17 | *k'wik'wluqun'* | "little bare rock" |
| 18 | *ts'uspulus* | "big rocks in middle of river" |
| 19 | *quthkwelu* | (possibly "place of harpoon prong" |
| 20 | *tumulh* | "red ochre paint" |
| 21 | *hwlhequm* | "water makes a quiet sound" |
| 22 | *stth'unu* | "bullhead" |
| 23 | *stth'asa'qw* | "get hit on the head" |
| 24 | *'Eyuhwum* | (name) |
| 25 | *hwstuq* | "place with logjam" |

| 26 | *qwum'tsulasum'* | (possibly from the words for "to hug" and "face") |
|---|---|---|
| 27 | *q'ixlhe'ts* | "black place" |
| 28 | *skwi'utsun* | (possibly from the word meaning "to butcher fish" or "butchered riverbank") |
| 29 | *hwt'soom* | "place of berries" |
| 30 | *kw'I'kwelhq'she'num* | "wave hitting feet in the water" |
| 31 | *sìiye'tun* | "widow" |
| 32 | *hwahwi'qus* | "rubbing; just missing each other", "uneven" |
| 33 | *st'et'um'ye* | "hermaphrodites" |
| 34 | *stsa'tx* | "halibut" |
| 35 | *ti'txwa'tsulhp* | "little bow tree" |
| 36 | *q'ewa'men* | "warm grease" |
| 37 | *s'amuna'* | (village) |
| 38 | *st'se'wule'ts* | "land [riverbank] at bottom end" |
| 39 | *swuq'us* | "Syalutsa's dog [wuq'as] place","one with something stuck on the face", Mt. Prevost |
| 40 | *t'suqwula'* | (name) |
| 41 | *Shwŭnŭm* | (open swampy place) -Rozen |
| 42 | *hwasa'um* | (name) |
| 43 | *sht'eet'selu* | "place to get fish-spreader" or "container for fish-spreader" |
| 44 | *s'amunu'* | (lake) |
| 45 | *s'amunu'* | (creek) |
| 46 | *xul'eel't-hw* | "marked houses","painted houses" |
| 47 | *sqiqmune'* | "little whirlpool","little back-eddy" |
| 48 | *siyáy̓kw* | ? "burnt over" -Rozen |
| 49 | *shts'ets'wi'tun* | - |
| 50 | *si'lathun'* | "turning riverbank" |
| 51 | *kẃukẃuqe'num'* | "a hill where you lie on your back" - Peter |
| 52 | *s'e'tth'um'elqun* | (name) *Hill-Tout (not recognized by Cowichans) |

| 53 | *hwkẃsutsum* | "Trout creek","place having trout","trout place" |
|----|----|----|
| 54 | *xatsa'* | "lake" |
| 55 | *t'si'ts'aal't-hw* | possibly "houses on riverbank","houses on sidehill" |
| 56 | *hwqẃimuqẃum* | "place having octopus","Devilfish Rock","White Rock" |
| 57 | *hwiin'tathwetun* | "pool at Kwamichan" |
| 58 | *skwa'mutsun* | "hunchback" |
| 59 | *hwqẃumqwum'iimut* | "to get out of the water"; "place having roots pulled up repeatedly" |
| 60 | *qwunus* | "whale" |
| 61 | *kwakwmutsiin'* | "little hunchback" |
| 62 | *sun'iw' sta'lo'* | "main river" (possibly recent) |
| 63 | *ts'e'wi'tun* | "clam shell place','dish","basin" |
| 64 | *squmene'* | "whirlpool" or "back-eddy" |
| 65 | *t'eet'qe'* | "salal berries" |
| 66 | *kwthathi'nus* | (possibly "beach on an island") |
| 67 | *pi'pqwul'us* | "little teeth split in half","little broken-off riverbank" |
| 68 | *lhumlhumuluts'* | "eroded (bank) place","river bank goes to pieces in winter and river widens" |
| 69 | *hwkwa'kwhwnuts, hwkwa'kwthi'nus* | "knocking on the bottom end" |
| 70 | *sht'sets'mi'nus* | "little bone in the chest","little eroded riverbank","dry beach","little chemainus" |
| 71 | *hwkẃakẃluhwum'* | "little place having dog/chum salmon" |
| 72 | *humtth'el* | - |
| 73 | *shxuxeey'elu* | "place of much crying" |
| 74 | *sq'ew'qsun* | "curved nose" |
| 75 | *tl'ehwtun* | - |

| 76 | *Qẃumi'yiqun* | (possibly "pull out of water at top") |
|----|----|----|
| 77 | *sxixul'us* | - |
| 78 | *shp'ep'utl'* | "place to feel around for something [with the hands]" at Mt. Zouhelum (Tzuhalem) |
| 79 | *pi'paam'* | "frog rock" or "little swelled-up one" |
| 80 | *kẃetqum'* | (possibly "cracking noise") |
| 81 | *xinupsum* | "caught by (in) the neck" |
| 82 | *shquw'utsun'* | "warm on the back" or "basking in the sun" |
| 83 | *ts'uwxilum* | (name) |
| 84 | *quw'as* | "facing the water" |
| 85 | *tl'qatus* | (name for stockaded village) |
| 86 | *xwul'qẃselu* | Koksilah |
| 87 | *ts'uwxilum* | (name) |
| 88 | *xuxts'uwiye'* | - |
| 89 | *haam'usum'* | "drinking with head down in water" |
| 90 | *kwiwthuthun'* | - |
| 91 | *hwtumulhum* | "place having red ochre" |
| 92 | *snustsa'* | - |
| 93 | *hwkwekwul'ush* | "many shooting [bows and arrows]" |
| 94 | *sheshuq'um* | "wide open mouth" |
| 95 | *sthem't'uxun* | "dry place" |
| 96 | *hwuy'hwuyapelu* | "wake up creek" |
| 97 | *hwtl'upnets* | "deep water behind [or on bottom] of bay" |

| No. | Transformation | Resource Gathering | Resource Processing | Winter Village | Seasonal Camp | Ritual | Weir | Powerful | Natural Feature | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O |
| 2 | O | O | O | O | O | O | I | I | I | O |
| 3 | I | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | I | O |
| 4 | O | I | O | O | I | O | I | O | I | I |
| 5 | O | I? | O | O | I | O | ? | O | O | O |
| 6 | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | I | O |
| 7 | O | I | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O |
| 8 | O | I | O | O | ? | O | O | O | I | O |
| 9 | O | ? | O | O | I | O | O | O | O | I |
| 10 | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | I | O |
| 11 | O | I | O | O | I | O | O | O | I | O |
| 12 | O | O | O | O | I? | O | O | O | I | O |
| 13 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 14 | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | I |
| 15 | O | I | O | ? | I | O | I | O | O | O |
| 16 | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | I | O |
| 17 | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | I | O |
| 18 | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | I | O |
| 19 | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | I | O |
| 20 | O | I | O | O | O | I | O | O | I | O |
| 21 | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | I | O |
| 22 | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | I | I | O |
| 23 | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | I | O |
| 24 | O | I | O | O | O | O | I | O | O | O |
| 25 | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | I | O |
| 26 | O | I | O | O | O | O | I | O | O | O |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27 | o | I | o | o | o | o | I | o | I | I |
| 28 | o | o | I | o | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 29 | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | ? | o |
| 30 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 31 | I | o | o | o | o | I | o | o | I | o |
| 32 | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | I | o |
| 33 | I | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 34 | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | I | I | I |
| 35 | o | I | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 36 | I | o | o | I | o | o | o | o | I | o |
| 37 | o | I | I | I | o | o | I | o | o | o |
| 38 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 39 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 40 | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | I |
| 41 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 42 | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | I |
| 43 | o | I? | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | I? |
| 44 | o | I | o | I | ? | o | o | o | o | o |
| 45 | o | I | o | I | o | o | o | o | o | I |
| 46 | o | o | o | I | o | o | o | o | o | I |
| 47 | o | ? | o | o | o | o | o | o | I | o |
| 48 | o | o | o | I | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 49 | I | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | I | o |
| 50 | o | o | o | I | o | o | I | o | o | o |
| 51 | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | I | o |
| 52 | o | o | o | I | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 53 | I | I | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 54 | I | I | o | o | o | ? | o | o | o | o |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 55 | o | o | o | ɪ | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 56 | ɪ | o | o | o | o | o | ɪ | o | ɪ | - |
| 57 | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | ɪ | o |
| 58 | o | o | o | ɪ | o | o | ɪ | o | ɪ | o |
| 59 | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | ɪ |
| 60 | ɪ | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | ɪ | o |
| 61 | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | ɪ |
| 62 | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | ɪ | o |
| 63 | o | ɪ | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | ɪ |
| 64 | o | o | o | ɪ | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 65 | o | o | o | ɪ | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 66 | o | o | o | ɪ | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 67 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 68 | o | o | o | ɪ | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 69 | o | o | o | ɪ | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 70 | o | o | o | ɪ | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 71 | o | ɪ | o | o | o | o | ? | o | o | o |
| 72 | o | ɪ? | o | o | ɪ | o | ? | o | o | o |
| 73 | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | ɪ |
| 74 | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | ɪ | o |
| 75 | o | o | o | ɪ | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| 76 | o | o | o | ɪ | o | o | ɪ | o | o | o |
| 77 | o | (ɪ?) | o | o | o | o | ? | o | o | o |

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| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 78 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 79 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 80 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 81 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 82 | 1? | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ? | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 83 | - | - | ? | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 84 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 85 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 86 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 87 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 88 | 0 | 1 | 1? | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 89 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 90 | 0 | 1? | 1? | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 91 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 92 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 93 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| 94 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1? | 1 | 1 |
| 95 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 96 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 97 | 0 | 1 | 1? | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 12 | 25 | 5 | 24 | 7 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 37 | 23 |
| | 1 | 5 | 3 | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 12% | 26% | 5% | 25% | 7% | 4% | 11% | 5% | 38% | 24% |
| | 11% | 21% | 2% | | 6% | | | 4% | | 23% |

# Appendix 9 – Beach Foods of the Cowichan Valley

| Beach Food Known to the Cowichan | Common Name | Hul'qumi'num Name | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| *Protothaca staminea* | native littleneck clam | *skw'lhay, skwl*ey* | *,** |
| *Saxidomus giganteus* | butter clam | *s7óxwo* | * |
| *Tresus capax* | horse clam | *swaam, sweem* | *,** |
| *Clinocardium nuttallii* | cockle | *stl'ló7em, stlula'um* | *,** |
| *Ostrea lurida, Pododesmus macroschisma, Crassostera gigas, Hinnites multirugosus* | oysters | *tl'éxwtl'exw, Tluh*wthuh*w* | *,** |
| *Pecten caurinus* | weathervane scallop | *kwenámen, Kwun'eem'mun'* | *,** |
| *Haliotis kamtschatkana* | Northern abalone | *s7áaẏew** | * |
| *Mytilus edulis* | edible blue mussel | *lháw*kem* | * |
| *Tegula funebralis* | black turban | *kemáńa* | * |
| *Margarites pupillus* | Puppet Margarite | *lhemák'a* | * |
| *Balanus cariosus* | common large barnacle | *Ith'emóye* | * |
| *Acmaea mitra* | white cap limpet | *th'ókw'iya* | * |
| *Collisella digitalis* | finger limpet | *th'ókw'iya* | * |
| *Strongylocentrotus dròbachiensis* | green sea urchin | *skw'íth'I, Skwitthi* | *,** |
| *Strongylocentrotus franciscanus* | giant red sea urchin | *xíxwe, H*ihwu* | *,** |
| *Katharina tunicata* | black katy chiton | *xélem, h*ulum* | *,** |
| *Cryptochiton stelleri* | giant red chiton | *ekw's, 'ukws* | *,** |
| *Parastichopus californicus* | giant sea cucumber | *thikwt* | *&** |
| *Pisaster ochraceus* | purple starfish | *tómelklh* | * |
| *Cancer magister* | Dungeness crab | *aẏx, 'Ey'h** | *,** |
| *Pagarus sp.* | hermit crab or any small crab | *kw'ekw'otl'shen* | * |
| ex.*Cyanea capillata* | lion's mane jellyfish | *skhxwméyksen* | * |
| | | | |

* Rozen 1978, ** Hodding & Marshall 1997

# Appendix 10 – Cowichan Oral Tradition – Frequency

| Story | Robert Brown | Franz Boas | Martha Harris | Charles Hill-Tout | Edward Curtis | Beryl Cryer | David Rozen | Daniel Marshall |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Origin of the name kéwetsen (Cowichan) | o | o | o | I | I | o | o | I |
| The First Man | o | I | I | o | I | I | I | I |
| The Transformer | o | I | o | o | o | o | I | I |
| Sowittan, the Grumbler | o | o | I | o | o | o | o | o |
| The Great Flood | o | I | I | I | o | o | o | I |
| Tsoqelem, the monster | o | o | o | I | o | o | o | o |
| Smuyuqwa''s Promise | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | I |
| The Punishment of Spaal' | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Greedy Raven | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Monster of Octopus Point | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | I |
| Clairvoyant Women | o | o | o | I | o | o | o | o |
| Quamichan, The Ogress | o | o | I | o | o | o | I | o |
| Thunder & Lightning Boy | I | I | I | o | o | I | o | o |
| X̱wesóm, and the Cold Creek | o | o | o | o | o | o | I | o |
| Origin of Clemclemalits | o | o | o | o | o | o | I | o |
| Adventure of the Young Man with Crooked Eyes | o | o | I | o | o | o | o | o |
| Ten Brothers & the Sea Lion | o | o | I | o | o | o | o | o |
| Semmelth, Friend of the Wolves | o | o | I | o | o | o | o | o |
| The Boys and the Whale | o | I | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| The Abandoned Boy | o | I | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| Sqoē'te | o | o | | | o | o | o | o |
| Chee-che-ka, the Mink | o | o | I | o | o | o | o | o |
| Chiltsop (Fire-Stick) | o | o | I | o | o | o | o | o |
| The Camas Gatherers | I | o | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| Children of the Moon; The First White Men | o | o | I | o | o | I | o | I |
| Contest for the Chief's Daugher | I | o | o | o | o | o | o | o |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| K'ísak | O | I | O | O | O | O | I | O |
| The Evil Woman of the Fraser River Flats | I | O | O | O | O | O | O | O |
| Fight between the Salish and the Northern Tribes | O | O | O | I | I | I | I | O |
| The Baby that Brought Peace | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| Flying Spirit Men | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| The Moons of Cowichan | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| Ts'uwxilem | O | O | O | O | I | I | O | O |
| Legend of Swayxwi | O | O | O | O | O | I | I | O |
| Xulqalustun | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| The Wedding of Ellen & Jimmy Joe | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| Medicine Men; Indian Doctors | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| The Healing of Louie Chuhaasteenxun | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| The End of Tsilamunthut | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| The Ceremony of the Singing Name | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| Gold at Cowichan | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| The Lost Goldmine | O | O | O | O | O | O | O | I |
| The Game of X'atl'tul | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| The Cowichan - Bella-Bella Feuds | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| The Fish Charmer | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| The Woman Who Was Made Wrong | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| Legends Attached to Cowichan Villages | O | O | O | O | O | I | I | O |
| The Island of Xulel-thw | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| Siamtunaat's Story | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| Indian Games | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| The Haida Slave | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| Father Rondeault, The Good Priest | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| The Death of Sch-Lunas | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| Qwulsteynum's Reminiscences | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| The Burial of Tsa'athmun | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |
| Iichnawmuckw''s | O | O | O | O | O | I | O | O |

| Story | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sch-Weys, the Shaman | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| The Origin of the Solexwel Totem | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| The Last Fight of the Tl'eeltxw | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| A Sti'ilup Legend | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Indian Battle at Alberni | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Chief Qapuluq's Stl'un'uq | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Sungston's Ancestors | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Quil-Kay-Milth, the Carver | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Tl'utasiye''s Childhood Games | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Origin of the Qhwimux Tribe | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| The Magic Hole on Mt. Tzouhalem | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Xulqalustun's Funeral | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Sugnuston Tried to Make Peace with the Haidas | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Q'ise'q and the Munmaanta'qw | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Tales of Sheshuq'um | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| The Smilhu | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| The First of the Shtsuq'athun | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Buried Treasure | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| Little Island of Kuper | o | o | o | o | o | I | o | o |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | **4** | **7** | **II** | **5** | **4** | **5I** | **9** | **8** |

# Appendix 11 – Oral Traditional Sites Proximity to Water

| Place Name | In or Beside the River | In or Beside a Creek | In or Beside a Lake | In or Beside an Estuary | On a Beach | A Pool or Spring | Open Water/ Bay | No Water Features/Dry |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *shxwímken* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *xaaĺtl'* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *shts'mimeńóýo7lh* | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *skwets* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *Qualis; Klal-amath* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *Kuch-saess* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *xwk'exmínem* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *senítses* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *lelá7xwelh* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *ts'íʔts'esh* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *shéĺe* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *shéĺe smaant* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| *xis* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *tstl'em* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| *ts'ólho7em* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *xwts'oom* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *kw'íkw'leken* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *ts'éspeles* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *k'ethkwále* | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *témelh* | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *xwílhekwem* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *sth'éne* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *sth'óso7kw* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *áyexwem* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *xwstek* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *kwemtselósem* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *k'íxlhets* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| *skw'íi7etsen* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *xwts'oom* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kw'íkwelhshenem | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| siyá7ten | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| x̲wéxwi7kes | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| st'et'ímye | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| sts'o7tx̲ | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| tí7tx̲wo7tselhp | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| kewámen | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| s7ómene | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| sts'ewálets | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| swék̲'es | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| ts'ékwele7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Shwŭnŭm | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| x̲wesó7om | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| sht'aáts'ale | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| s7ómene | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| s7ómene | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| x̲elál̓txw | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| (s)kí7kmeńe | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| siyáy̓kw | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| (s)ts'áts'ewí7ten | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| silóthen | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| kw'ukw'okíńem | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Sē̲tsmElkun | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1? | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| xwkw'sétsem | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| x̲ótse | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| ts'its'aáltxw | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| xwk̲ímekw'em | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| hwintathwetan | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| k̲wómetsen | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| xwk̲w'emk̲w'emíi met | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| kwénes | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| kwekwmotsín | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| seńíw stólew | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| ts'áwiten | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| skeméńe7 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| t'áat'k̲a | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| kwthothínes | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| pí7pk̲weles | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| lhemlhémelets' | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| xwkwó7kwxwnets | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| shts'ets'mínes | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| xwkw'ókw'eĺexwe m | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| hémth'eĺ | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| shx̲exííy̓ále | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| sk̲'éwksen | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| tl'áx̲w*ten | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| kw'emiyák̲en | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1* |
| sx̲íxeles | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| shp'ap'tl' | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| p'ip'óom | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| kw'átk̲em | 0 | 0 | 0 | ? | ? | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| x̲ínepsem | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| shkewétsen | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| ts'ewx̲ílem | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0? | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| k̲ewó7s | 0 | 0 | 0 | ? | ? | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| _Tlkōtas_ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0? | 0? | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| _xwél̲kw'sale_ | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| _ts'wx̲ílem_ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| _x̲ex̲etsáwiye_ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| _hóomesem_ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| _kwikwthóthen_ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| _xwtémelhem_ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| _snéstse_ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| _xwekwekwél̓esh_ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1? | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| _sháshek̲'em_ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1? | 0 | 1 | 1? |
| _(s)th'ámtex̲en_ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| _xwéy̓xwey̓epále7_ | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| _xwtl'epnáts_ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | 63 | 13 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 4 | 2 | 11 |
| | - | - | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | 1 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | 71% | 13% | 2% | 4% | 8% | 4% | 2% | 11% |