The Jordan River - Sooke Subdivisions:

Review of the ethnographic and historical resources: T'Sou-ke and Pacheedaht First Nations

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The purpose of this research is to inform the Crown of such historical, ethnographic and archaeological data as is readily available and potentially useful to a preliminary assessment of a claim. This research is not intended to be an exhaustive or conclusive examination of all evidence relating to a claim.

1.0 Summary:

The following report was prepared in relation to the Jordan River – Sooke Subdivisions; a development proposed for lands located between Muir Creek and Jordan River on the south-west coast of Vancouver Island. The lands to be subdivided lie within an area claimed as traditional territory by both the T'Sou-ke and Pacheedaht First Nations. This report pays specific attention to the use and occupation of the coastal area between Otter Point and Sombrio River, an area which includes the proposed subdivision lands. A review of the entire traditional territory claimed by each First Nations was not conducted.

The T'Sou-ke people have long been associated with Sooke Inlet, Sooke Harbour and the Sooke River. Tradition suggests that Sooke territory originally included lands east to Albert Head, and that their winter village was on Pedder Inlet. It is recorded that early in the nineteenth century the T'Sou-ke moved into Sooke harbour, taking the area by force from the resident group. In the middle of the nineteenth century the Sooke were attacked by the Clallam, and almost completely destroyed.

Ethnographically reported site occupation and use of the T'Sou-ke people focuses on the Sooke Harbour area and includes their use of a reef-net location at Otter Point. None of the sources reviewed discussed Sooke use of territory west of that location. However, there is a general lack of ethnographic information specific to the T'Sou-ke people. The lack of information concerning their use and occupation of the lands in question cannot be taken as proof that they did not use that area.

Like the T'Sou-ke, the Pacheedaht are also associated with a specific area, in their case with Port San Juan, and the San Juan and Gordon Rivers which flow into it. In contrast to the Sooke however, Pacheedaht use and occupation of the territory between at least Point No Point (Glacier Point) and Sombrio Point has been recorded by ethnographers. Place-name research has linked the Pacheedaht to lands and waters in this area. Jordan River and the former village of Diitiida are particularly important as both are part of the history of the Pacheedaht people.

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2.0 Introduction and Scope:

The Jordan River – Sooke Subdivisions are proposed for lands located between Muir Creek and Jordan River on the south-west coast of Vancouver Island. The lands to be subdivided lie within an area claimed as traditional territory by both the T'Sou-ke and Pacheedaht First Nations. The following report pays specific attention to the use and occupation of coastal territory lying between Sombrio River and Otter Point, an area which includes the proposed subdivision lands. It does not provide an examination of the entire traditional territory claimed by either First Nation.

3.0 The T'Sou-ke[1] First Nation:

3.1 Cultural Context:

T'Sou-ke is one of several First Nations on southern Vancouver Island and the mainland identified by anthropologists as Northern Straits; a division of the Central Coast Salish distinguished on the basis of language. Although there were dialectic differences between groups, Suttles determined that they all spoke "lək̓ənəŋ", which he called Straits Salish.[2]

The term "Central Coast Salish" is applied to the First Nations who, prior to contact, lived at the southern end of the Strait of Georgia, the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the lower Fraser Valley. Those peoples spoke five different languages, of which one was Straits Salish.[3]

"Coast Salish" was developed as a broad classification incorporating aboriginal groups on the basis of cultural similarities. Suttles remarked that the term

> ...usually designates a large group of tribes occupying most of the area around Georgia Strait, the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Puget Sound and extending to the Pacific between the Olympic Peninsula and Wallapa Bay.[4]

The defining cultural similarities are listed as:

A. A primitive technology requiring complete dependence on hunting, fishing and gathering – but providing sound houses and watercraft, a variety of weapons, nets, traps, and containers, and preserving techniques of drying and smoking.

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[1] This spelling was adopted relatively recently. The ethnographic and historic materials most often use "Sooke" or "Soke". All three spellings may be used in this report.
[2] Suttles, Wayne Prescott, "Economic Life of the Coast Salish of Haro and Rosario Straits", unpublished PhD thesis, 1951, p. 6; Suttles, Wayne, "Central Coast Salish" in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 7*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990, p. 456.
[3] Ibid, p. 453.
[4] Suttles, Wayne, *Coast Salish Essays*. Burnaby: Talonbooks, 1987, p. 29.

B. An ideology and enculturation process providing the individual with the incentive to strive for prestige through the display of supernatural power and the giving of property, the two being symbolically the same.

C. A socio-economic system containing the following:

1. Communities composed of one or more kin groups firmly identified with their locality by tradition.
2. Membership in kin group through bilateral descent, with alternate or even multiple membership possible, making the individual potentially mobile.
3. Preference for local exogamy, establishing a network of affinal ties among communities.
4. Preference for patrilocal residence, having the result that, within the community, most adult males are native and most adult females outsiders – though bilateral affiliation always makes for some exceptions.
5. Leadership within the group partly through seniority and partly through ability, kin-group headmen having control ...over especially productive resources within the territory of the kin group.
6. Sharing of access to resources among communities through affinal and blood kin ties – possibly leading to some change in residence.
7. Exchange of food for "wealth"...between affinal relatives in different communities.
8. Redistribution of wealth through the potlatch.[5]

These cultural characteristics are applicable to the T'Sou-ke as Northern Straits/ Central Coast Salish/ Coast Salish peoples.

3.2 Social Organization:

There is little ethnographic information specifically related to the Sooke people available. Most of the material in this and the following section is taken from sources which discuss either the Northern Straits or Coast Salish in general.

Although the basic unit of production and consumption was the family, Northern Straits peoples, like other Coast Salish, were organized into independent local groups. Kennedy noted that the local group consisted of

> ...one or more households and included a central kingroup and dependent households. It was named for the site it occupied.[6]

The local group inhabited the permanent house or houses which constituted the winter village. Each house sheltered several related but independent families, made up of a

[5] Ibid, pp. 30-1.
[6] Kennedy, Dorothy Irene, "Looking for Tribes in all the Wrong Places: An Examination of the Central Coast Salish Social Network", unpublished thesis, 1995, p. 50.

nuclear family, dependent relatives and slaves. Resident families were related through either consanguineal or affinal ties traced through either the male or female line.[7]

Coast Salish society was divided into three classes: upper, lower and slaves. Social status was said to be determined by birth and wealth. Distinguishing characteristics of upper class individuals included "...good family trees with a stock of good hereditary names and a few other hereditary rights".[8]

Wealth was essential to status because it was essential to the potlatch through which changes in status were witnessed and legitimized. The potlatch was proof of the host's ownership of resources and the implements necessary to acquire them, of ritual and practical knowledge and of spirit power.[9]

Practical knowledge included:

> genealogies and family traditions revealing family greatness, gossip of other families showing them to be inferior, instruction in practical matters such as how to quest for the right kind of spirit, secret signals for indicating someone of lower class, and moral training.[10]

This knowledge was called "advice" and belonged solely to the upper class. In contrast, the lower class was said not to "have anything or know anything".[11]

Slaves constituted the smallest segment of village population. Individuals either captured in battle or kidnapped, slaves were considered property and could be bought and sold, traded or given away. Occasionally slaves were ransomed back to their families.[12]

The ethnographies state that the Coast Salish had no chiefs. Each upper class family had a headman, called "siem". This man represented his family within the larger community. According to Barnett, the headman could usually trace his descent from the traditional founder of the family. Because the majority of a family's wealth was inherited through primogeniture, the headman either owned or controlled most of their tangible and intangible wealth and rights. While he was respected, and his opinion might be sought on family matters, the headman had no power to enforce decisions or to interfere in another family's business. If one headman did emerge as a community leader it was on the sufferance of the other headmen.[13] Barnett observed:

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[7] Ibid; Suttles, "Central Coast Salish", p. 464.
[8] Suttles, Wayne, "Private Knowledge, Morality and Social Classes among the Coast Salish" in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 60, 1958, p. 500.
[9] Ibid, pp. 500-1.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Rozen, David L., "Place Names of the Island Halkomelem Indian People", unpublished thesis, 1985 p. 86.
[13] Barnett, Homer, *The Coast Salish of British Columbia*, Eugene: University of Oregon, 1955, pp. 242-245; Kennedy "Looking", pp. 54, 61; Curtis, Edward, *The North American Indian, Vol. 9*, New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1970, p. 68.

> If one man was accorded distinction or merit over all others, it was because he was the headman of the most powerful family unit within the aggregate, and for no other reason; and he had only so much power and influence as was tacitly accorded him by the other family headmen in the village.[14]

Descent is traced bi-laterally, through both male and female lines. Although not required, residence tended to be patrilocal. Suttles maintains that couples could live where they wanted, and that an individual "could and did change residence according to kin and marital ties", with no choice considered permanent.[15]

Marriage was exogamous, between families from different villages and also from different groups. The ties created provided the families involved with reciprocal access to, and promoted cooperation in, the exploitation of resources. Barnett noted the importance of such ties in his field notes when he wrote:

> A man's ambition was to have as many connections external to village as possible -- for the help & for the prestige & for visiting.[16]

Marriage and kinship ties resulted in the development of an "intervillage community", whose members participated in the redistribution of wealth through the potlatch. That community, which could cross both linguistic and geographic boundaries, was considered essential to the definition and maintenance of status.[17]

Suttles stated that marriage gave rise to mutual obligations between families which could involve an exchange of wealth, including inherited privileges. He observed that through the practices of levirate and sororate[18]

> [T]he relationship between two families which is established by a marriage persists even after the death of one of the married couple; the family of the deceased may substitute another member for the deceased spouse.[19]

The implication of this is that the "mutual obligations", access to outside resources and other advantages acquired through marriage, including the inherited privileges, ended when the marriage ended. The levirate and sororate provided an opportunity to continue the relationship but appear to have been optional as Suttles stated that the family "may"

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[14] Barnett, *Coast Salish*, p. 243.
[15] Suttles, *Essays*, pp. 9, 219; Thom, Brian, "Coast Salish Senses of Place: Dwelling, Meaning, Power, Property and Territory in the Coast Salish World", unpublished PhD dissertation, 2005, p. 275.
[16] Barnett, Homer, "Fieldnotes, No. 1 Coast Salish", 1935, p. 37.
[17] Suttles, *Essays*, pp. 219-20; Barnett, Homer, "The Coast Salish of Canada" in *American Anthropologist* Vol. 40, 1938, p. 133.
[18] levirate is the custom where the brother or next of kin of a deceased man is bound to marry the widow; sororate is the custom where, on his wife's death, a man is expected to marry her unmarried sister.
[19] Suttles, "Economic", p. 51.

make a substitute for the deceased spouse. The extent to which Straits people used this practice is not indicated.

3.3 Concepts of Property and Ownership:

Coast Salish concepts of property encompassed both tangible and non-tangible items. Individually owned material possessions included such items as weapons, canoes, tools and slaves.[20]

Individually owned, non-tangible possession were divided by Suttles into the following three classes:

> 1) powers which one acquires directly from the supernatural; these may be called earned possessions; 2) knowledge which one learns from one's fellow man; 3) rights which one inherits from his ancestors.[21]

Examples of inherited possessions or privileges were special performances, songs, names and the knowledge incorporating private advice and magic, as well as right to fishing locations, root and clam beds.[22]

Hereditary names were significant family owned property. Traditionally, an important name was given to only one individual within a local group at a time. Through knowledge of relevant stories and genealogical information, the recipient could trace his ties to the original bearer of the name and in doing so access the rights and privileges associated with that name. Names could also be inherited from relatives in other villages, linking the recipient to ancestors in other parts of Coast Salish territory. Hereditary names were connected to place and to ritual prerogatives, and they were tied to rights to land and resources.[23]

According to Thom, land ownership existed under a "two-fold structure" of areas used in common by the residence group, and sites which were family (corporate descent group) owned. More specifically, Thom stated that there existed

> certain lands owned as property by descent groups whose members have exclusive rights to the areas and whose heads are the stewards of corporately held lands on behalf of the co-heirs. Other lands are held in common by the residence group, variously known in the literature as the local group, village or 'tribe'.[24]

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[20] Kennedy, Dorothy Irene, "Threads to the Past: The Construction and Transformation of Kinship in the coast Salish Social Network", unpublished dissertation, 2000, p. 68.
[21] Suttles, "Economic", p. 52.
[22] Ibid, p. 55; Kennedy, "Threads", p. 68.
[23] Thom, "Place", pp. 199-200, 291-2.
[24] Ibid, p. 273. See also Duff, Wilson, "Field notes, File 151 The Fort Victoria Treaties", no date, p. 2a (BCA, GR-2809); Maud, Ralph ed., *The Local Contribution of Charles Hill-Tout, Volume IV: The Sechelt*

Family owned property included productive hunting, fishing and gathering areas; areas which produced a surplus. Stewardship of those lands was primarily the responsibility of the eldest son, but Thom pointed out that the lands themselves were held corporately and that ownership was inalienable.[25]

Barnett also observed that family property was held by co-heirs, although he indicated that title was inherited by the eldest son. It is possible that Barnett interpreted the eldest son's role as steward as an indication of title, as the steward was responsible for the supervision of access to, and use of land. In addition, Barnett noted coheirs could "relinquish their rights" to property through neglect.[26]

Seal rocks, bird rookeries and other specific locations could be family owned, as could the deer, duck and fish nets, the pits and deadfalls used in hunting, and other equipment which required cooperation to make and control. However, resources taken from such places, or acquired using such equipment, were usually distributed through a feast.[27]

Among the Northern Straits peoples reef-netting was the principal means of acquiring salmon and reef-net locations were identified as family owned and inherited property. The owner of the location hired a crew which cooperatively made the net and did the fishing. Suttles stated:

> In return it was understood that the owner would feed his men and that they would have a share of the catch.[28]

Only a small percentage of the total area occupied by a community was family owned property. The remainder of the territory was held collectively by the village, or local residence group, and is referred to as "commons". Those lands were described as generally productive resource areas located in the vicinity of the village, or close to the community's major seasonal camps. Access to those resources, which included clam beds, fishing places, hunting grounds and gathering sites, was open to all village residents.[29]

An individual who married into a community became a resident of that community and so gained the right to share its commons lands. However, any rights to access commons lands in that individual's original village (i.e. those of the in-laws) had to be expressly arranged. For example, a woman from village A, who married a man from village B, would gain a share in the ownership of village B commons lands. The marriage, however,

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and the South-Eastern Tribes of Vancouver Island, Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1978, pp. 129-30; Lutz, John Sutton, *Makúk, A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008, pp. 55-6.

[25] Thom, "Place", p. 279.

[26] Barnett, *Coast Salish*, p. 250.

[27] Ibid, p. 251; See also Suttles, "Economic", pp. 56, 486; Hill Tout, C., "Report on the Ethnology of the South-Eastern Tribes of Vancouver Island, British Columbia" in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropologic Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 37, 1907, p. 308.

[28] Suttles, "Economic", p. 162.

[29] Thom, "Place", pp. 280-1. See also Duff, "File 151", n.p.

did not give the man from village B, or any other members of village B, any right to the commons lands of village A. In this example, access to those areas belonging to village A would have to be negotiated with the parents of the woman from Village A.[30] Implicit in this example is the fact that when an individual ceases to reside in a particular village, their right to access the commons lands belonging to that village ends.

Thom emphasized that kinship is "the central organizing mechanism in Coast Salish society and plays a key role in the negotiation for access to resource areas". Consanguineal and affinal ties, and "the moral ethic of inclusion", made it possible for people visiting their relatives to claim temporary village residence, and by doing so to gain access to commons resources other than their own. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity kin could be refused access, which would be restricted to members of the local group.[31]

The Coast Salish employed different measure to control access to resources. Demonstrated and acknowledged kinship ties were a means of controlling, as well as gaining access to resources. Another measure involved the control of knowledge specific to the location and acquisition of certain resources. In the case of family owned lands, that knowledge was privately held. In addition, access to owned resources could only be granted by the families to whom they belonged. The family would indicate when, and to whom access was to be given. Private knowledge was also used to restrict access to commons areas. For example, non-residents would not be given the necessary technical or ritual knowledge and would therefore be dependent on a local resident for a successful harvest.[32]

There were rules concerning trespass, and sanctions existed for those who ignored them. Sanctions ranged from expulsion, to the paying of compensation through a potlatch, to death. Trespass occurred, for example, where an outsider was caught exploiting commons resources without any "explicit, verbal understandings" with the local group. As this suggests, access to resources other than one's own required the explicit permission of the owner. The noted exception to this apparently involved hunting in areas located at a distance from a village, where notice could be given immediately on the hunter's return. Failure to request permission, or to give proper notification, would result in sanctions being imposed.[33] Friendly relations helped to ensure permission would be granted. Where family ties existed permission was often assumed, but even in those cases permission could be withdrawn and access denied.[34]

In addition to the ownership of resource areas outlined above, each Coast Salish group claimed ownership over a tribal territory. According to Kennedy, that territory consisted of the total of all owned resource areas. Boundaries between territories were not rigidly marked, and the Coast Salish ethic of sharing meant they were not rigidly observed. However, Kennedy noted

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[30] Thom, "Place", p. 282.
[31] Ibid, pp. 289-90.
[32] Ibid, pp. 289, 297, 377.
[33] Ibid, p. 289; Kennedy, "Threads", pp. 216-222.
[34] Thom, "Place", p. 208.

> a consensus among the Coast Salish about what constituted the general tribal territory of one's own group, and that belonging to another, even though its recognition did not impact greatly upon the acquisition of common resources, and had little influence on daily affairs.[35]

Barnett wrote that he had observed a lack of defined territorial boundaries between Coast Salish groups. He noted that important resource areas were the focus of ownership and activity, but maintained that "most of the land was unclaimed", making it impossible to draw boundaries. In Barnett's view a

> more satisfactory conception pictures the village groups of a certain region occupying simultaneously or in turn several traditionally assigned spots for their hunting, gathering, and wintering activities.[36]

However, these remarks contradict an earlier article in which Barnett implied that there was no "unclaimed" land within Coast Salish territories. In that article he stated that "all of the area was ranged over and claimed in one fashion or another".[37] Kennedy argued that the land Barnett described as unclaimed was viewed by local village residents as part of their property. She also pointed to the Coast Salish emphasis on friendly relations in regard to accessing land and resources as evidence of their recognition of separate territories.[38]

3.4 Resources:

This section provides a brief review of the types of resources noted to have been used by the Straits Salish, including the Sooke people. It is not intended to be a comprehensive account of either resources or subsistence strategies. Although trade was an important aspect of the economy, it will not be discussed.

Like other First Nations, Straits peoples followed an annual round of resource extraction according to seasonal availability. Fish was undoubtedly the most important resource and Suttles observed that the "...demands of specialized fishing techniques determined the course of their seasonal movements".[39]

Many species of fish were utilized. Halibut were taken in late spring and throughout the summer using a large u-shaped hook and line. Ling cod and other rock fish were generally caught using a shuttle-cock lure and a spear. Both species were eaten fresh or were dried and stored for later use.[40]

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[35] Kennedy, "Threads", p. 208.
[36] Barnett, *Coast Salish*, pp. 18-19.
[37] Barnett, "Canada", p. 119.
[38] Kennedy, "Threads", pp. 210-11.
[39] Suttles, "Economic", p. 114.
[40] Ibid, pp. 114-116, 124-5.

Herring and herring spawn were collected in winter and spring. A herring rake was used to catch the fish, and roe was gathered using submerged cedar branches. Flounder were caught using two-pronged spears, sometimes at night by the light of a fire carried in the canoe. Perch, sculpin and skate are also mentioned as food species.[41]

Straits peoples, like other Coast Salish, were dependent on the annual salmon runs. Suttles noted that five species of Pacific salmon were available in their territories: spring, sockeye, humpback, silver and dog. Different methods were used to take different species. For example, harpoons were used in salt water to take spring salmon during the early summer. From the middle of July reef nets were set at specific locations to catch the sockeye and humpback salmon as they migrated through the straits to the Fraser River. This was the most abundant and most important fishery for the Straits Salish peoples, and was attended with ritual and ceremony. It also provided considerable surplus which was dried and stored for winter use.[42]

Shellfish and other beach foods were gathered from rocky surfaces or dug from mud flats. Species used included: cockles, mussels, oysters, sea cucumbers, chitons, purple snails, barnacles and sea urchins, clams and crabs. Of these, Suttles maintained "bivalves and crabs were by far the most important".[43]

Both porpoise and seals were hunted, but the ethnographies state that none of the Straits peoples hunted whales. Harpoons were used in hunting porpoise but seals were taken using harpoons, nets or clubs.[44]

Land mammals were also an important part of the Straits economy. Traditionally deer and elk were plentiful and were hunted in late spring when the meat was considered best. Meat from both animals was preserved for winter use. Hunting methods included bow and arrow, nets, and drives and traps. Dogs were sometimes used, and night hunting was not uncommon. For night hunting a fire was built in a canoe and the hunters, paddling along the shore of a river or lake, shot the animals as they came for water.[45]

Bear was hunted in the fall using bow and arrow or deadfalls, although some hunters smoked the bears out of their winter hibernation. Beaver and racoon were hunted for food and several species, such as river otter, mink, muskrat and marten, were trapped for their fur. Suttles noted that fox, bobcat and cougar were "rarely if ever used before the fur trade".[46]

Waterfowl were said to have been plentiful and were a year-round resource. Suttles stated that one of his informants listed 27 species which were used for food. Ducks were caught

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[41] Ibid, pp. 126-131.
[42] Ibid, pp. 133, 140.
[43] Ibid, p. 65.
[44] Ibid, pp. 106-112.
[45] Ibid, pp. 82-92.
[46] Ibid, pp. 92, 96-7.

using raised and submerged nets, a hand-net, from a canoe at night using a multi-pronged spear, and with bow and arrow.[47]

A wide variety of fruits, roots, berries and other vegetable foods were gathered by the Straits Salish. Sprouts from the horsetail, thimbleberry and salmonberry were gathered in early spring and eaten raw. Roots and bulbs, such as those of the tiger-lily were also available, as were several rhizomes, such as bracken-fern. Berries and fruits, such as blackberries and salmonberries were gathered and were either eaten fresh or made into cakes which were stored for later use. Crab-apples were picked in August and stored in cattail bags to ripen in winter.[48]

Camas was identified as the most important plant in the Straits economy. It ripened and was collected in May, and could be stored either raw or cooked for later use. It is noted that some camas fields were common property while others were family owned.[49] In addition, camas was an important item of trade for the Straits groups on southern Vancouver Island, its growth encouraged through the annual use of fires set to clear away underbrush.[50] W.C. Grant, the first non-aboriginal person to settle in the Sooke district, observed this practice in 1849 when he wrote that the natives started fires

> ...both in wood & prairie between the months of August & October. Their object is to clear away the thick fern & underwood in order that the roots & fruits on which they in gt (sic) measure subsist may grow the more freely & be the more easily dug up.[51]

Plants were used in the manufacture of a wide variety of objects, including mats, baskets, hats, clothing and fishnets. Canoes, boxes, bowls, ceremonial goods such as masks, and bows and arrows were only some of the items made from cedar. Dishes and other utensils were also made from wood. Dyes were derived from red alder, lichen, Oregon grape and wild cherry bark. Cedar, maple, alder and Douglas fir were preferred for making fires. And a number of plants were used for medicinal purposes. Although information concerning the identity and use of medicinal plants was often closely guarded, Oregon grape and Indian consumption plant were widely used examples.[52]

3.5 T'Sou-ke Territory:

In the 1950s Wilson Duff was told by informants that Albert Head was considered the southern boundary of Songhees territory and that the land beyond that point originally belonged to the Sooke. Nevertheless, in May of 1850 James Douglas signed a treaty with the Clallam, recognizing them as the owners of the land lying between Albert Head and

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[47] Ibid, pp. 70-80.
[48] Ibid, pp. 57-64.
[49] Ibid, p. 61; See also, Turner, Nancy Chapman and Marcus A.M. Bell, "The Ethnobotany of the Coast Salish Indians of Vancouver Island" in *Economic Botany*, Vol. 25, 1971, pp. 74-5.
[50] Lutz, *Makúk*, p. 67.
[51] Grant, Walter Colquhoun, "Report on Vancouvers Island", 1849 (BCA, A/B/20/G76).
[52] Turner and Bell, "Ethnobotany", pp. 91-2.

Sooke Inlet.[53] According to Duff, the Clallam, some possibly with relatives among the Sooke, moved across to Vancouver Island after Fort Victoria was established, in part to be closer to the fort, but also to "take possession of reef-netting stations at Becher Bay, where they remained". His notes suggest this move occurred about 1848 or 1850.[54] It was Duff's view that, by entering into a treaty with the Clallam, Douglas had

> accepted the situation as he found it in 1850, with the result that the newly immigrant Klallam were treated as the aboriginal owners of Metchosin and Becher Bay.[55]

Suttles also found that the Clallam had settled at Beecher Bay during the historic period. Like Duff, he was told that the Clallam wanted the reef-net locations at Beecher Bay. Suttles wrote:

> By the middle of the nineteenth century they (Clallum) had expanded northward and eastward, settling on Becher and Parry bays on Vancouver Island in what had been Sooke territory.[56]

Duff's informants stated that the western boundary of Sooke territory was a river "beyond Sheringham Point".[57] This boundary is also mentioned in the 1850 Sooke treaty which describes their territory as:

> the whole of the lands situate and lying between the Bay of Syusung, or Sooke Inlet, to the Three Rivers beyond Thlowuck, or Point Shirringham, on the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and the snow covered mountains in the interior of Vancouver Island.[58]

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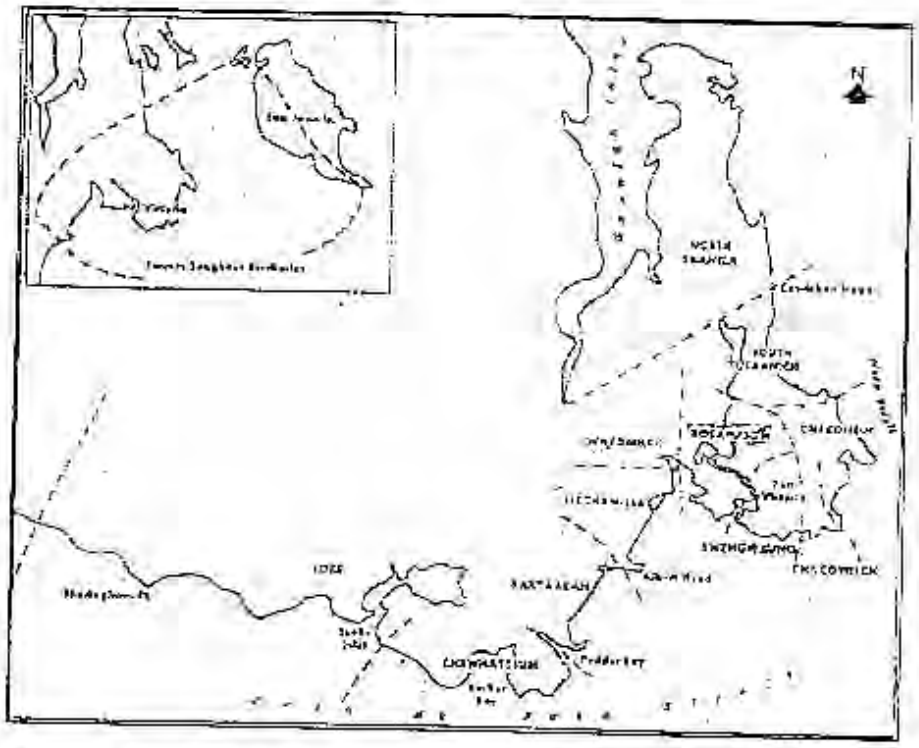
[53] Duff, "File 151", pp. 26-29.
[54] Ibid. See also, Gunther, Erna, *Klallam Ethnography*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1927
[55] Ibid.
[56] Suttles, "Central Coast Salish", p. 453.
[57] Duff, "File 151", pp. 26-7.
[58] BCA, MS-722.



Map 1: Duff's map of Sooke territory as acknowledged by the Douglas Treaties.[59]

Suttles remarked that more recent descriptions placed Sooke territory between Beechey Head and Otter Point, or possibly beyond Otter Point and closer to Jordan River. It included Sooke Harbour and the Sooke Basin, the valley of the Sooke River and De Mamiel (Demaniel) Creek. Suttles added that it "may have included Orveas Bay", which would have extended the western boundary beyond Otter Point to at least Sheringham Point.[60]

Suttles' informants reported that the Sooke people had only moved into Sooke Harbour in the early 19th century. Originally, their winter village was located at the head of Pedder Inlet and they had a summer camp and reef-net location at the mouth of Beecher Bay. Quoting from one of his Clallam informants, Suttles provided the following story about the Sooke move:

> Not long before the whites came, a tribe called sk^{w}a'nə'nəs were living at Sooke Harbor. The Sooke fought with them for the Sooke river and, although the sk^{w}a'nə'nəs were one of the largest tribes on the island, the Sooke won and moved to the Sooke River while the defeated people moved to Sooke Bay.
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> After the whites came, the sk^{w}a'nə'nəs were living at Sooke Bay

[59] Duff, Wilson, "The Fort Victoria Treaties" in *BC Studies*, No. 3, Fall, 1969.
[60] Suttles, "Economic", p. 7

> and the Sooke at Sooke Harbor. A Neah Bay chief came to Sooke Harbor and the Sooke Chief gave him his daughter in exchange for killing off the sk^{w}a'na'nas. The Neah Bay chief said he would do so in four days. On the fourth day the Sooke were up early in the morning, listening. They heard the sound of shots coming from Sooke Bay. The Makah had come and cleaned the sk^{w}a'na'nas out.[61]

It is not clear exactly who the sk^{w}a'na'nas people were, whether they were an independent family group or a completely separate people. Duff's description of Sooke "original" territory, presented above, suggests that they were a family group which occupied the Sooke River area within the broader territory claimed by the Sooke in general.

Suttles wrote that soon after moving into the harbour the Sooke were attacked and almost completely destroyed by the Clallam.[62] That attack was also recorded by Walbran, who stated that he was told the story by John Muir who settled in Sooke in 1850. Walbran reported:

> Muir further states that the Soke tribe, now nearly extinct, were the most warlike and hardy race, and that none of the largest tribes on the coast would attack them unaided, but that about the year 1848 the Cowichans, Clallums and Nitinats combined, attacked the Soke tribe and nearly annihilated them.[63]

A more recent map illustrating the asserted traditional territory of the [redacted] First Nation locates their territorial boundary on the [redacted] and including most of Becher Bay. On the west that territory includes Jordan River and extends almost to [redacted].[64]

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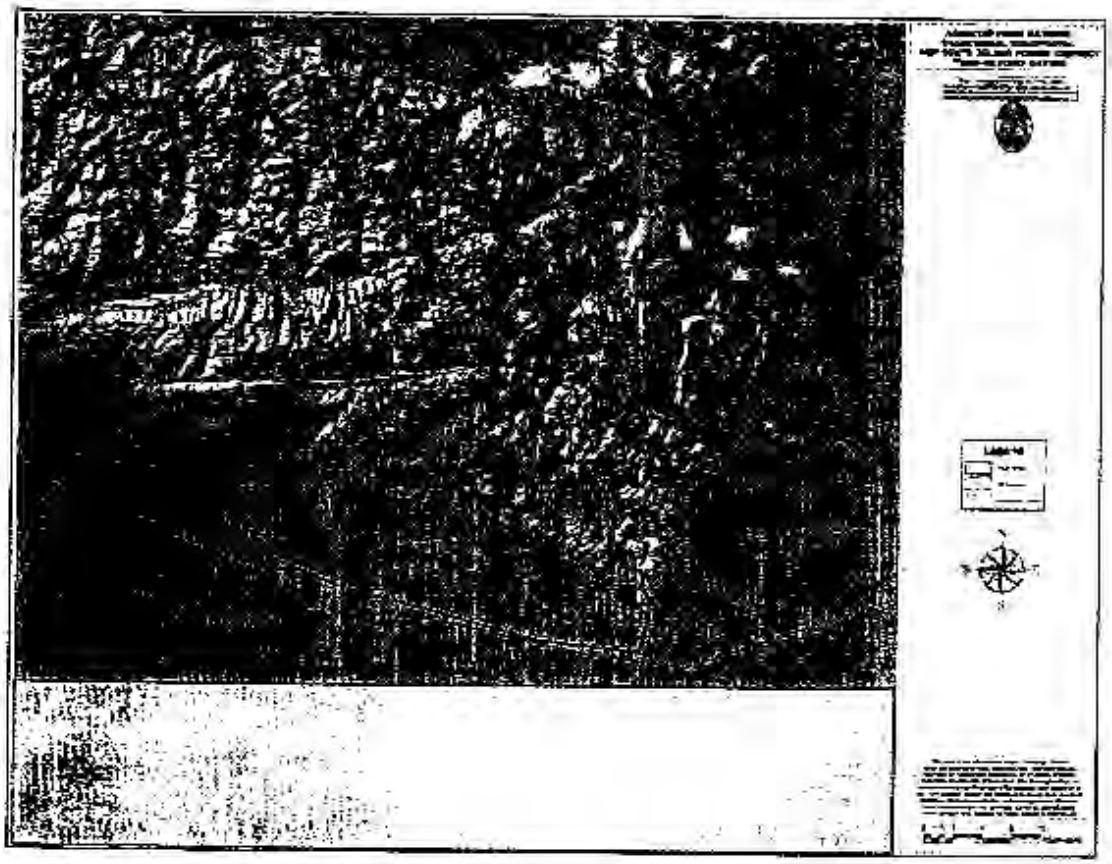
[61] Ibid. p. 9

[62] Ibid. See also, *Legends of the T'Sou-ke and West Coast Bands*, compiled by Sandra Laurie, Darlene George and Francine George, 1978, n.p.

[63] Walbran, Captain John T., *British Columbia Coast Names, 1592-1906*, Vancouver: Vancouver Public Library, 1971, p. 465.

[64] BC, Ministry of Forests, www.for.gov.bc.ca. The maps at this site are accompanied by a general disclaimer which states: "Please note that the Traditional Territory Maps are not intended to create, recognize, limit, or deny any aboriginal right, including title, that first Nations may have or impose any obligations on the Province of British Columbia, the Ministry of Forests and Range or alter the legal status, or resources within the Province or existing legal authority of BC. First Nations update and modify periodically their asserted traditional territory boundaries, and although every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy, currency, and reliability of the content, Ministry of Forests and Range accepts no responsibility in that regard."



Map 2: Map showing the traditional territory claimed by the T'Sou-ke.

3.5.1 Habitation Sites:

In 1790 the Spanish explorer Quimper examined Sooke Harbour and reported that there were "two settlements of Indians" there. However, no specific location for either village is provided.[65]

Generally there is only one habitation site noted for the Sooke people: their winter village located at the mouth of the Sooke River. This location was described in the log of H.M.S. Fisgard in 1846 as:

> Sooke tribe – occupy the mouth of Sooke river, a small stream near the rocky Point – South East end of Vancouver's Island.[66]

[65] Wagner, Henry R., *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*. New York: AMS Press, 1971, p. 99.

[66] "Extracts from the Log of the H.M.S. Fisgard (Captain Duntze) 30 September 1846"; "Observations recorded by Thomas Russell Dunn, Ship's Surgeon" (The National Archives (GB) ADM 101/100/4 274485)

Suttles informants also placed the Sooke winter village at the mouth of the Sooke River, at Milne's Landing.[67] And Edward Curtis stated that the "...Sooke (So-ok) lived about Sooke inlet at the southeast end of Vancouver Island...", but gives no specific village location.[68]

3.5.2 Resource and Other Sites:

There is little information available concerning Sooke resource sites, but those that are mentioned are within the general vicinity of Sooke inlet. It appears that ducks and other waterfowl were taken near the mouth of the harbour. Quimper remarked that there were "many high poles which look like flag poles" in that location and speculated that some of them were used as buoys to mark the channel into the harbour. Wagner, in a footnote to Quimper's remarks, stated that those poles were for duck nets.[69]

Suttles provided two reef-net locations for the Sooke: at Otter Point and at O'Brien Point, located on the coast between Sooke Inlet and Beechey Head. He also stated that they took salmon in the fall from the Sooke River and De Mamiel (Demaniel) Creek, and harpooned salmon in Sooke Bay.[70]

Duff's field notes mention a lake where the Sooke people fished for coho, spring and dog salmon.[71] However, the lake referred to is not identified. According to Grant there were two lakes drained by the Sooke River, "one about 12 miles in a direct line to the north, the other about 25 miles up", but again no names are given.[72] Duff's notes may have been in reference to Sooke Lake as archaeological investigations undertaken there prior to the expansion of the reservoir, found evidence of that area having been used for fishing, hunting, and for collecting cedar bark.[73]

Mention was also made of a graveyard located at the mouth of the Sooke River. This was recorded by Quimper on June 22, 1790 as follows:

> At the mouth of the river he saw three canoes close to the banks with a dead Indian in each one. This is the mode of burial these natives practice...[74]

The previous two sections reveal a general lack of ethnographic information concerning Sooke site occupation and use. Although their territory is said to have extended east to Albert Head and west to Jordan River, only their residence in, and use of, the Sooke

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[67] Suttles, "Economic", p. 7.
[68] Curtis, Edward, *The North American Indian: Vol. 9, The Salishan Tribes of the Coast* (http://curtis.library.northwestern.ed)
[69] Wagner, *Spanish*, pp. 99-100.
[70] Suttles, "Economic", pp. 7, 114; Also, Duff, "File 151", n.p.
[71] Duff, Wilson, "Straits Field Notes #11" (BCA, GR-2809)
[72] Grant, "Description", p. 283.
[73] Eldridge, Morley, "Sooke Reservoir Expansion: An Archaeological Impact Assessment", Permit 2002-121, p. 4.
[74] Wagner, *Spanish*, p. 101.

Harbour/ Sooke River area is considered in the sources reviewed. The reef-net site at Otter Point is the only location west of Sooke Harbour mentioned. While the absence of information is not, of course, proof of the lack of use, the sources examined do not include information concerning T'Sou-ke occupation or exploitation of territory west of Otter Point.

4.0 The Pacheedaht:

4.1 Cultural Context:

Anthropologists identify the people residing along the west coast of Vancouver Island as Nootkan and subdivide them into northern, central and southern groups. The southern Nootkan group on Vancouver Island today consists of the Ditidaht and the Pacheedaht. Both of these First Nations speak slightly different dialects of Nitinat, which, like Nootka, is a division of the Wakashan language family. The Pacheedaht (also Pacheenaht) are the southernmost group and are described as being "centred on San Juan Harbour".[75]

Inglis and Haggarty recorded two historical traditions concerning the Pacheedaht. The first stated:

> ..that there were no pa.ci.d?a?tx for a long time, they were only a branch of the Ditidaht. One morning sea foam filled the village at the head of Port San Juan. The chief sent out an old slave woman to see if it was safe, which it was. They took on the name pa.ci.d? which meant "sea foam" after this event, and became a separate people.[76]

According to the second tradition:

> ...the ?a?a?upay, meaning Salish-speaking people were the pa.ci.d?a.?tx. They spoke like the Sooke people. A man from this group married a Ditidaht woman, another married a woman from ła.di.wa?. This is how they learned to speak Ditidaht. This happened a long time ago when there were no white men.[77]

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[75] Arima, Eugene and John Dewhirst, "Nootkans of Vancouver Island" in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vo. 7, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990, pp. 391, 393; Bouchard, Randy, "Preliminary Notes on the Pacheenaht Indian Knowledge and Use of the Area Between Jordan River and San Juan Point, in I.R. Wilson, "Archaeological Resource Overview Juan de Fuca Trail Corridor", unpublished report, 1994, pp. 33-4.

[76] Inglis, Richard I. and James C. Haggarty, "Pacific Rim National Park Ethnographic History", unpublished report, 1986, pp. 214-215.

[77] Ibid, p. 215.

These stories are not mutually exclusive. Both events, the intermarriage and eventual amalgamation of a Coast Salish group with the Ditidaht, and their subsequent fission into a separate Nitinat speaking group, are considered part of Pacheedaht history.[78]

4.2 Social Organization:

As there are few sources dealing directly with the Pacheedaht, information for this section was gathered from those concerning the Ditidaht and "Nootkans" in general.

Traditionally the Pacheedaht were "a loose alliance" of autonomous local groups. Each group occupied, and was identified with a single village; the group taking its name from that location. Villages consisted of several houses, all occupied by a chief and his family, a number of commoners and slaves. The village, as Sapir remarked, was the primary social unit, the bonds between village members cemented through the belief that they were descended from a common ancestor. Each house or family group within the village "represented the different lines of descent from that ancestor".[79]

The Pacheedaht, like other west coast peoples, had a highly stratified society. The two main divisions were commoners and "nobles". The individual's membership in either group was inherited, and defined their social position for life. Drucker observed:

> The accident of being born of aristocratic or common parents outlined the normal course of one's life: it restricted his choice of occupations and mates, defined the role he would take in ceremonies, and limited the honors he might gain among his fellows.[80]

Drucker sub-divided the commoners into two "classes", based on residence. Those he called "first class" lived in the corner areas of the house with a chief. The "second class" commoners were known as "tenants" and lived along the walls of the house. The residence of "first class" commoners with a particular chief was based on kinship, and on

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[78] See McMillan, Alan D., *Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of the Nuu-chah-nulth, Ditidaht, and Makah*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999, p. 38.

[79] Arima, E.Y., Denis St. Claire, Louis Clamhouse, Joshua Edgar, Charles Jones and John Thomas, *Between Port Alberni and Renfrew: Notes on West Coast Peoples*, Canadian Ethnology Service Mercury Series Paper 121, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991, p. 282; Bouchard, Randy and Dorothy Kennedy, "Indian Knowledge and Use of the Walbran, Logan, and Cullite Creek Watersheds", unpublished report, 1991, p.3; Sapir, Edward, "The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes" in *Proceedings and Transactions of the royal Society of Canada*, 3d Series, Volume 9 (s.2), 1916, p. 357; Bates, Ann M., "Affiliation and Differentiation: Intertribal Interactions Among the Makah and Ditidaht Indians", unpublished dissertation, 1987, p. 27; McMillan, *Transformers*, pp. 13-14; Arima, E.Y., *The West Coast People: The Nootka of Vancouver Island and Cape Flattery*. Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, special publication no. 6, 1983, p. 2.

[80] Drucker, Philip, *The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes*, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 144, 1951, pp. 242-3; Sapir, "Social Organization", p. 360. As indicated by the title cited here, Drucker did not conduct research among the southern tribes and his work is referenced as a source of general information.

choice. The chief with whom they lived was often a close relative who might provide gifts of minor privileges in an attempt to ensure their continued association. According to Drucker, chiefs and commoners were interdependent, their association mutually beneficial. Commoners were dependent on the chief for access to resources, but the chief was dependent on the commoners to gather those resources, providing him with both subsistence and ceremonial necessities. Commoners served as fishermen, hunters and craftsmen for their chief, and were paid "in kind" for their labour. If dissatisfied commoners could move from one chief to "assert their kin ties in the villages of other chiefs". Drucker noted that kin ties were traced through both the male and female line. Although residence was held to be patrilocal, in reality many commoners moved frequently to live with relatives in other local groups. This was particularly the case with "tenants", who Drucker characterized as "perpetual transients".[81]

Chiefs were ranked from highest to lowest according to their "nearness to the direct line of descent from the family ancestor". As inheritance was determined through primogeniture, the eldest son of the highest ranking chief would inherit his father's position and become the next head chief of the local group. This individual was descended from the "eldest" or founding family. It was the head chief who held most of the privileges/property, both ceremonial and real, of the local group. As Drucker explained, lesser chiefs owned fewer privileges and commoners did not own any.[82] Unlike those commoners who moved freely from one village to another, chiefs were more closely tied to their village location through the property/privileges they owned. Drucker referred to the hereditary chiefs as "a true nobility, with authority and prestige equalled by few other native Americans".[83]

The head chief took a leading role in prestigious occupations such as whaling, and was generally responsible for directing the work of the villagers. He determined seasonal movements, planned and oversaw ceremonies, directed cooperative activities such as the construction of fishing weirs, and had the final say in matters concerning the group as a whole.[84]

4.2.1 Traditional Local Groups:

Inglis and Haggarty remarked on the lack of available information concerning the independent groups that once occupied Pacheedaht territory. Nevertheless, their report identifies the following three:

1. qala.yit?tx
2. p'achida.?tx
   - t'luquxoct'aatx

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[81] Drucker, *Nootkan Tribes*, pp. 270-1, 278-80; McMillan, *Transformers*, pp. 15-16; Arima and Dewhirst, "Nootkans", p. 401.
[82] Drucker, *Nootkan Tribes*, p. 247; McMillan, *Transformers*, p. 14; Sapir, "Social Organization", p. 359.
[83] Drucker, *Nootkan Tribes*, pp. 243-6. See also, Sproat, Gilbert Malcolm, *The Nootka: Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1987, p. 82.
[84] Ibid, p. 244.

- qawqa.d'aatx

3. di:tida?a.?tx[85]

The t'luquxoct'aatx and qawqa.d'aatx appear to be further subdivisions of the p'achida.?tx with separate villages located at the head of San Juan Harbour.[86]

4.3 Concepts of Property and Ownership:

Drucker's ethnography indicates that Nuu-chah-nulth concepts of property and ownership were broad and inclusive, and there is no indication that the Pacheedaht held any other view. He wrote:

> The Nootkans carried the concept of ownership to an incredible extreme. Not only river and fishing places close at hand, but the waters of the sea for miles offshore, the land, houses, carvings on a house post, the right to marry in a certain way or the right to omit part of an ordinary marriage ceremony, names, songs, dances, medicines and rituals, all were privately owned property.[87]

Drucker divided property, also called privileges, into two categories: economic and ceremonial. Economic privileges were defined as those associated with food, shelter and wealth, such as ownership of houses, areas for fishing and hunting, salvage rights, "and all the special expressions of such rights". Examples of ceremonial privileges included the right to give a certain ritual, or to perform a certain act during a ritual, ownership of dances, songs and certain names.[88]

Economic privileges said to belong to the head chief included the village site, both fresh and salt water fishing places, hunting and gathering locations. Drucker added:

> In fact all the territory, except for remote inland areas was regarded as the property of certain chiefs.[89]

Territory and resource sites were considered private property, as evidenced by their inheritability. Such property was passed from generation to generation of the same family. And private ownership of that property was acknowledged and legitimated by Dititdaht society in several ways. Drucker noted that the head chief's ownership of the village site was reflected in the need to seek his permission before a new house could be built. Rights to use territory were subject to certain conditions and in observing those conditions the local group legitimized the chief's ownership. Conditions for use could include designation of the first, or first two, salmon catches to the chief, or the first crop

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[85] Inglis and Haggarty, "Ethnographic History", p. 214.
[86] Ibid, p. 213.
[87] Drucker, *Nootkan Tribes*, p. 247.
[88] Ibid, pp. 247-8.
[89] Ibid.

of berries. Use of certain resource areas, particularly fishing grounds, could also entail paying "tribute", a portion of the catch, to the chief. In return the chief would redistribute the payment at a feast. Although the chief allowed others to use his territory, or gave individuals certain rights within his territory, he did not ever relinquish his underlying ownership. As Drucker stated:

> A chief could give a multitude of rights of usufruct to lesser chiefs and tenants, yet still be the owner of the territory itself.[90]

Ceremonial privileges or property were no less important. Ownership of such items supported the chief's influence.[91] Sapir maintained that the importance of rank extended beyond the individual; that the individual was "less important than the tradition that for the time being he happens to represent". He wrote:

> The very fact that a man often bears the name of a remote ancestor, real or legendary, implies that the honours that he makes us of belong not so much to him individually as to his glorious ancestry...[92]

Bates described inherited ceremonial properties as "symbolic representations of a family and its history". Names and songs carried "the reputation of the family", and reflected its social position. They tied the family to "a village...rights to territory, important deeds of its leaders, and significant marriages".[93]

4.4 Resources:

This section will provide a brief overview of the Pacheedaht economy. It is not an exhaustive account of the resources, or harvesting strategies they used. Trade will not be discussed.

Like other aboriginal peoples, the Pacheedaht followed an annual round of resource extraction based on seasonal availability. In 1984 Arima recorded the annual movements of the Pacheedaht as follows:

> The yearly cycle of economic activities may be outlined beginning with spring move to the outer coast. From about as early as April and into May and June, people moved out of San Juan Bay...to fishing camps outside where they caught halibut, red snapper and cod, and dried them. At times they might come back inside the bay to catch and dry sockeye. Word was always sent out by those who remained inside when the sockeye fishing was good. The sockeye runs begin about April and last till about July when the last ones go

[90] Ibid, pp. 247-8, 254.
[91] Ibid, pp. 257-8.
[92] Sapir, "Social Organization", p. 363.
[93] Bates, "Affiliation", p. 82.

> up to spawn and die. People would stay essentially in the outside coast camps until the last part of September when they would return to the inside winter villages to get ready for the fall salmon runs, preparing weirs and traps. The salmon runs go upriver for a month and a half to two months in late September and October... The sequence of the fall runs is steelhead, coho, spring, humpback and dog salmon.[94]

As Arima's account suggests, fish were undoubtedly the most important resource in the Pacheedaht economy. The fall salmon runs in particular were essential, with most of the catch

> ...dried and stored for the winter as the prime economic support of the more or less sedentary large village aggregations with the elaborated social organization and much ceremonialism...[95]

Seal, sea lion, porpoise and whale were hunted. Whale in particular was noted to be a valuable source of dietary oil and both grey and humpback were pursued. According to Arima, the Pacheedaht stopped whaling in the late 19th century.[96]

Beach foods, collected from the intertidal zone, were included in the Pacheedaht diet. Clams, mussels, cockles, limpets and barnacles, chitons and sea urchins, anemones and crabs were all eaten.[97]

Land mammals and migratory waterfowl species were also hunted. Deer and elk, bear, mink, marten and beaver were hunted using bow and arrow or pitfalls. Ducks and geese were hunted with bow and arrow, nets, and snares. Like the Sooke, the Pacheedaht would hunt at night using fire carried in a canoe.[98]

Plants were essential to the Pacheedaht economy and a wide variety of species were used for food, medicines and manufacture. As with other resources, plants were collected seasonally, as they became available. Some food plants and wild fruit were eaten raw while others were cooked, or dried and stored for winter use. Some plants were used in food preparation. Ferns, for example, were used in cooking pits to help keep food from burning, or to protect it from sand and dirt.[99]

Medicinal plants were plentiful. Turner noted 30 to 40 species used as medicines, and many of those were used to treat more than one ailment. Remedies were prepared to treat

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[94] Arima, E.Y., "West Coast Native Peoples of the Pacific Rim National Park Region", unpublished report, 1984, pp. 165-6.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Arima, Eugene Y., "Notes on Nootkan Sea Mammal Hunting" in *Arctic Anthropology*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1988, pp. 16-18; McMillan, *Transformers*, pp. 135-6; Arima and Dewhirst, "Nootkans", p. 395.
[97] Arima and Dewhirst, "Nootkans", p. 394.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Turner, Nancy J., John Thomas, Barry F. Carlson and Robert T. Ogilvie, *Ethnobotany of the Nitinaht Indians of Vancouver Island*, BC Provincial Museum, No. 24, Occasional Papers Series, 1983, pp. 13-16.

everything from cuts and colds to arthritis and tuberculosis. Potions to combat evil, good luck charms and potions which could cause bad luck were all considered medicinal.[100]

Some medicines were private property, with knowledge of their identification, preparation and use inherited. Such knowledge was often kept secret so that only the healer who prepared the medicine knew of the particular herb used.[101]

Plants provided the raw material for the manufacture of many Pacheedaht tools, implements, containers and clothing. Turner identified twenty species of trees whose wood, bark, inner bark and branches were utilized. Western hemlock, for example, was used to make halibut hooks and spreaders, and its bark was a source of dye. Turner noted that the western red cedar was the most important forest resource used. She wrote:

> By far the most important species in Nitinaht technology, however was western red cedar, whose wood was used for canoes, houseposts, houseboards, and numerous smaller items; whose young branches, or withes, were used for ropes and in basketry; and whose inner bark was used for mats, baskets, clothing, ropes and ornaments. Red cedar boughs were also used as scrubbers by young men in training.[102]

4.5 Pacheedaht Territory:

The Pacheedaht have long been associated with Port San Juan and the San Juan and Gordon Rivers which flow into it. In 1857 Grant commented on San Juan Harbour. He noted that the harbour contained an abundance of fish, a resource exploited by the local people he identified as

> ...a native population of about 150, called the Patcheena Sinatuch who are a quiet race...[103]

In 1864 Robert Brown's exploring expedition entered San Juan Harbour. In his journal Brown wrote that the "San Juan or Pachena Indians were once a principal tribe...", and he situated their territory between "...the Jordan River on the east and Karliet on the West".[104]

It is not clear why Brown would have placed the Pacheedaht western boundary at Karliet, particularly as he had previously described that place and situated it within Ditidaht territory. While travelling east along the coast from Nitinat lake he wrote:

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[100] Ibid, pp. 44-6.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid, p. 23.
[103] Grant, W. Colquhoun, "Description of Vancouver Island" in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. 27, 1857, p. 285.
[104] Hayman, John ed., *Robert Brown and the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989, pp. 86-7.

> Further on is another village called Karliet, if indeed one house built after the white fashion can be dignified with that name. Further on we passed Wawa-hades – about a dozen lodges. This
>
> is the eastern boundary of Nitinat territory.[105]

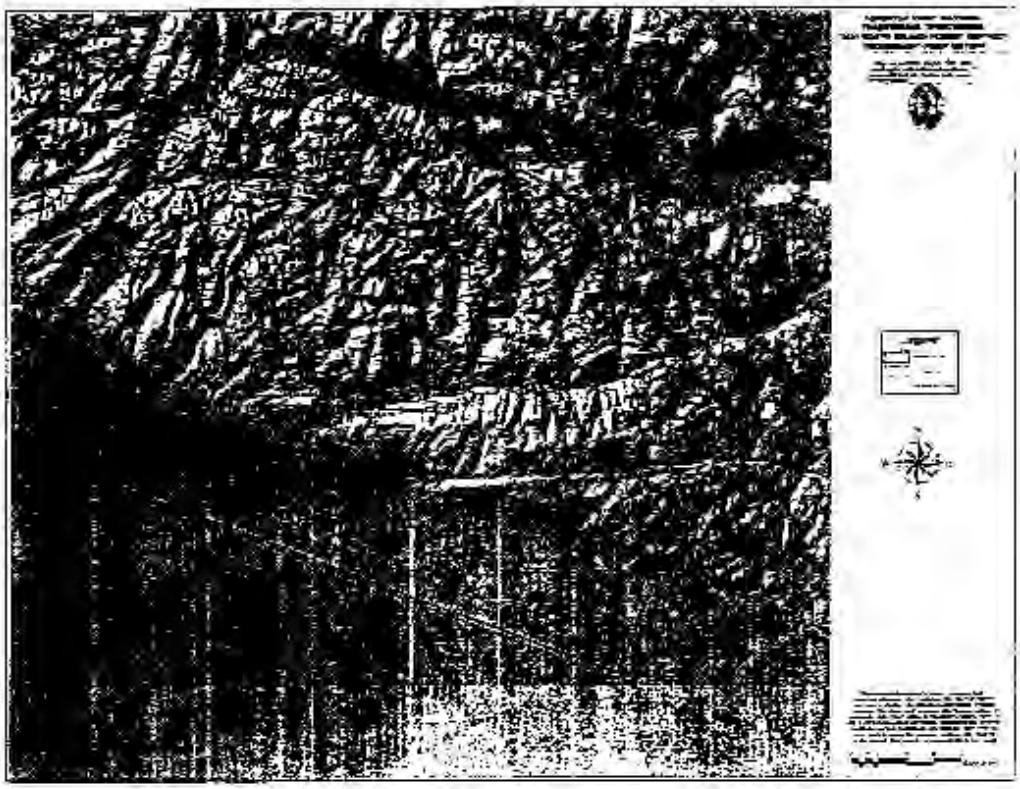
Karliet is not mentioned as a Pacheedaht territorial boundary by any of the other sources.

Until 1994 anthropologists and archaeologists generally agreed that Pacheedaht territory was bounded by Bonilla Point in the west and by Point No Point (Glacier Point) in the east. In 1994 Bouchard reported that the Pacheedaht's eastern boundary was Sheringham Point, and that the "...area between Sheringham Point and Bonilla Point is now recognized as Pacheenaht Indian territory...".[106] In explaining the shift of this boundary approximately 3.5 miles east of its former position, Bouchard cited Pacheedaht elders John Thomas and Charlie Jones, and anthropologist Wayne Suttles. He wrote:

> This Sheringham Point eastern boundary was specified in the Pacheenaht place names study undertaken on behalf of Richard Inglis and Jim Haggary by the late John Thomas, also working with Charlie Jones. Sheringham Point as a boundary was also discussed by Salishan scholar Wayne Suttles; he recently identified the Sheringham Point area as the western boundary of the Sooke (Northern Straits) Coast Salish. In an earlier study, Suttles said that Sooke territory extended "nearly to the Jordan River," which is about 7.5 miles west from Sheringham Point.[107]

[redacted][108]

[105] Ibid, p. 84.
[106] Bouchard, "Preliminary", p. 33.
[107] Ibid, n. 1.
[108] Bouchard and Kennedy, "Indian Knowledge", p. 6.



Map 3: Map showing the traditional territory claimed by the Pacheedaht First Nation.

4.5.1 Habitation Sites:

Of the seventeen Pacheedaht habitation sites located by Arima et al. two were situated between Sombrio Point and Sheringham Point. Those were described as follows:

Tl'ehib – village between Magdalena and San Simon Points at Boulder Beach which provides a couple hundred yards of clear shore with room for six or eight big houses. Smooth landing channels were created between each pair of houses whose occupants co-operatively improved and widened the channels by taking rocks out and piling them along the sides.

Di:ti:da? – Village at Jordan River where there were as many as seven channels visible formerly from which a dozen or more houses may be inferred, assuming that the landing channels were made by pairs of houses working co-operatively. [109]

Bouchard stated:

> Diitiida refers both to the former village at the mouth of Jordan River and to the river, itself.

[109] Arima et al, *Alberni and Renfrew*, pp. 279-80.

He added that, according to oral tradition, "...at some distant time in the past, the Pacheenahts and Nitinahts were one and the same people and they lived at Jordan River".[110]

Bouchard recorded that Jordan River was once a salmon river, and a fishing bank located "straight off Jordan River" that was also known as diitiida.[111]

A third village was once located on the Sombrio River, just west of Sombrio Point. That village, the river, and a halibut fishing ground situated offshore from the mouth of the river, were known as kwaaktlis by the Pacheedaht.[112]

4.5.2 Resource and Other Sites:

Crockford compiled a list of nineteen Pacheedaht place names for the area between Sheringham Point and Sombrio Point, however her list did not include any information concerning site use.[113]

Bouchard also collected place-name information from the Pacheedaht, but only for the area from Jordan River west to San Juan Point. Places listed of interest for the purposes of this report are:

1. tl'ushiis – located approximately 1.5 m. just east of Jordan River. The same name was given for "a driftline fishing bank for halibut located offshore from this place at a depth of 15-20 fathoms".
2. ʔiʔiibits'akpi7s – located on the point of land about one half mile east of the mouth of the Jordan River. Bouchard noted that this place was referred to by "maple beach camp", suggesting it was the location of a camping site "if not a village site". It was reported there were "burials in the general vicinity". There was also a fishing bank with the same name located offshore.
3. tl'itsaadakwuus – was described as a gravel bluff and was located west of Jordan River near the mouth of First Creek. Another driftline fishing bank, known by the same name, was said to be located offshore here.
4. tl'ixsaabats'uus – was reported as a bluff near McVicar Creek, about a half a mile west of san Simon Point. There were trout in this creek. This place has also been identified as tl'iqsisatakos.
5. tl'exib – was the Pacheedaht name for Boulder Beach. As previously noted, Boulder Beach was a habitation site but the name also refers to a fishing bank located offshore from there.
6. ʔasi7bat' – There is some debate as to whether this name refers to land in the vicinity of Hoard Creek or near Rosemond Creek. The name is also applied to a "7-15 fathom deep salmon fishing place".

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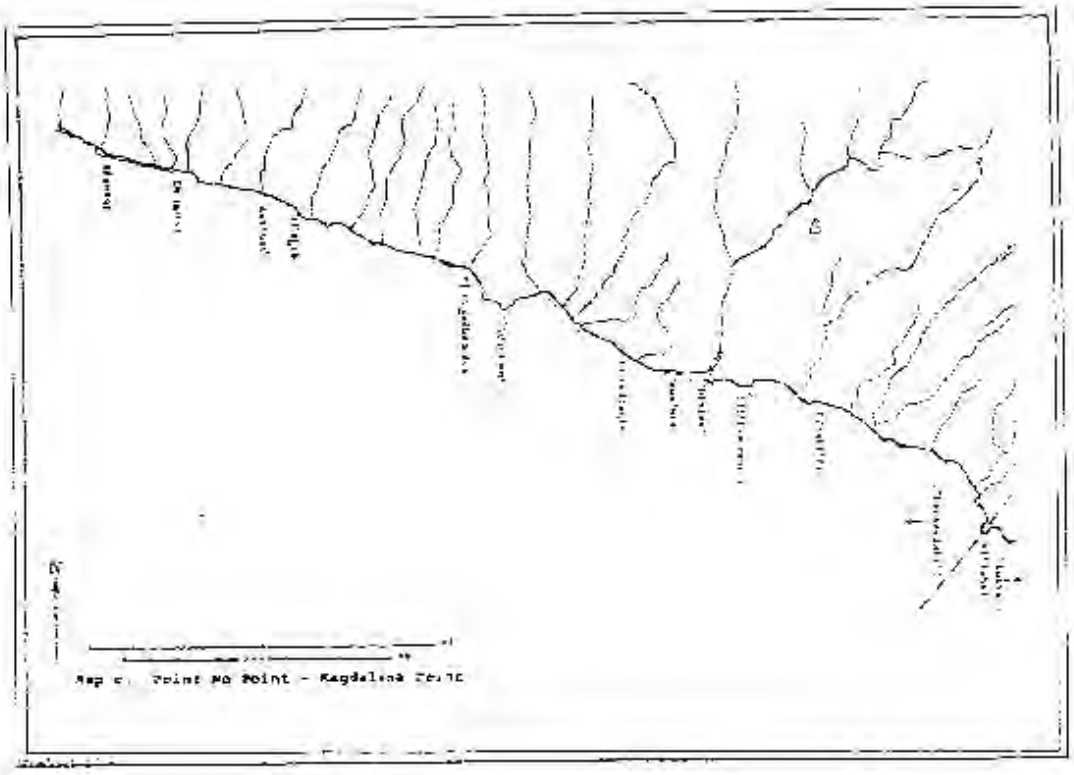
[110] Bouchard, "Preliminary", p. 43.
[111] Ibid, p. 44.
[112] Ibid, p. 49.
[113] Crockford, Cairn and Bianca Message; "Appendix F. Pacheenaht Geography" in Inglis and Haggarty "Ethnographic History", p. 441.

7. ch'iiktl'ilh -- refers to a seal rookery on Magdelena Point. The Pacheedaht hunted there.
8. ch'akawa – is the name of a fresh water creek located about a mile west of Magdalena Point. It is said that "water can be dipped out of the creek directly from a canoe" at this location.
9. xwukwakt This name refers to a creek and small beach situated about a mile east of Loss Creek. This place provided good canoe landing in any weather. There was a seal rookery here and also an offshore fishing ground with the same name.
10. titipsida – is the Pacheedaht name for Loss Creek, which is situated about a mile east of Sombrio Point. This area was used to hunt seals and also to collect foods such as chitons, mussels, and gooseneck barnacles.[114]

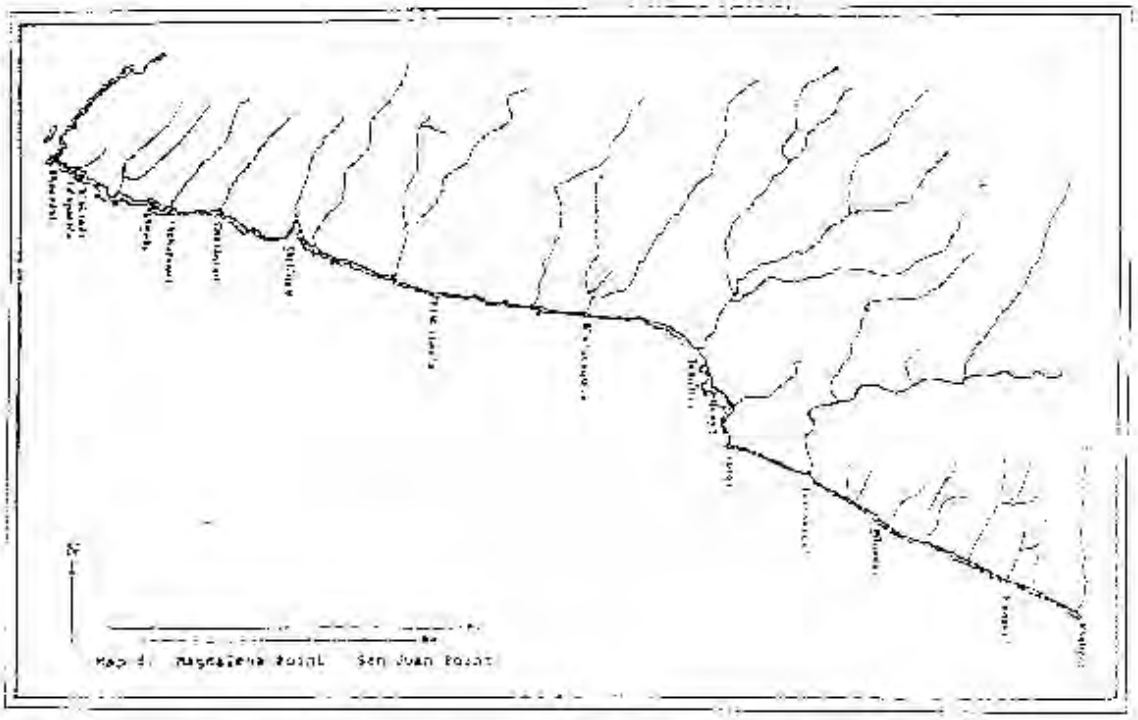
Place-name data collected by Arima et al[115] did not include information concerning site use. However, the names were plotted on several maps which are included below. The places listed lie between Point No Point and Sombrio Point, presumably because Point No Point was considered the eastern boundary at the time the names were collected. Those include:

Tl'oshi?e:s – located about a mile and a quarter east of Jordan River.
!Ii:bits'aqpi?s – or Maple Beach located about a half mile east of Jordan River.
Di"ti"da? – Jordan River, described as the original "Ni:tinat".
'Awa'ho:s – a cove west of Jordan River.
Tl'itsa:taqo:s – Gravel Bluff, located about a mile west of Jordan River.
T'i:dichtsqi: - San Simon Point.
Tl'itxsa:bats'o:ws – described as "located about a half mile west of San Simon Point with a creek falling down it and a nice little beach below".
Tl'chib – Boulder Beach.
!Asi?bat' – located two miles east of Magdalena Point
Ha:shaqp – Magdalena Point
Ch'aqawa? – located west of Magdalena Point. This is said to be a place where "water can be dipped out of a creek from the canoe".
Ho:qwaqt located east of Loss Creek this area was said to provide good landing in any weather.
Titipsida? – Loss Creek.
Koxqu: - Sombrio Point

[114] Bouchard, "Preliminary", pp. 42-49.
[115] Arima et al, *Alberni and Renfrew*, pp. 251-253.



Map 4: Pacheedaht place-names located between Point No Point and Magdalena Point.



Map 5: Pacheedaht place-names located between Magdalena and San Juan Point.

5.0 Archaeology:

Little archaeological work has been undertaken in the area between Sombrio Point and Sheringham Point. In 1994 Wilson and Bouchard conducted an overview of the archaeological resources in the Juan De Fuca Trail corridor between China Beach and Botanical Beach. In their report Wilson observed:

> ...no single important project has been undertaken in the study area, though several sites are recorded... No excavations of any scope have been conducted and therefore both settlement patterns and cultural chronologies must be interpreted from better studied areas.[116]

In a later review Wilson remarked that the archaeological survey of the Juan de Fuca trail area

> yielded the most dense concentration of sites around Botanical Beach Park at San Juan Point with sites also occurring in lower densities along the coast, often at the mouth of streams.[117]

The following archaeological sites lie within the territory covered by this report.

DcRw-21: Located immediately east of Otter Point, this site is described as a precontact shell midden. It was noted by the archaeologist that this site might contain "a very early component".[118]

DcRw-26: This is a petroglyph located on the rocks at Otter Point.[119]

DcRw-18: This is also a petroglyph site situated on a mall point just north-west of Otter Point.[120]

DcRw-35: Located west of Otter Point on Orveas Bay, this is a precontact shell midden. The site contains both intact and disturbed deposits, including fire broken rock found on the surface.

DcRx-2: This site is located at Sheringham Point. According to the site report this is a precontact shell midden.[121]

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[116] Wilson, I.R. and Randy Bouchard. "Archaeological Resource Overview: Juan De Fuca Trail Corridor", unpublished report, 1994, p. 6.
[117] Wilson, I.R., "Archaeological Impact Assessment: District Lots 2 and 4, Jordan River, B.C.", Permit 1996-058, p. 6.
[118] Ministry of Tourism, Sport and the Arts, Remote Access to Archaeological Data (RAAD), http://srmapps.gov.bc.ca/apps/raad
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.

DcRx-4: This site is located between Point No Point and French Beach and is described as a precontact lithic scatter.

DcRx-1: Located at Point No Point, this site consists of a petroglyph.[122]

DcSa-1: This site, situated close to the town of Jordan River, was first recorded in 1963. At that time it was described as a shell midden measuring approximately 300 x 75 ft, with a depth of about 2 feet. The site was revisited in 1996 when shovel tests and a test excavation were conducted. Subsurface prehistoric materials were found, including bone and stone artifacts.[123]

Identified faunal remains recovered from the site include deer, elk, harbour seal, salmon and other fish, bird and marine invertebrates. Wilson stated that the diversity of remains recovered was "consistent with an intensive occupation".[124]

A single human tooth was also recovered and Wilson speculated that it "may have been lost from a living individual or may represent part of a scattered burial, perhaps a result of a tree burial nearby".[125]

In concluding his report Wilson found that the artifacts and faunal remains recovered from his test excavation reflect "intensive and repeated use" of the site. He further suggested that the portion of the site examined "could represent the westernmost extent of the ethnographic village of *Diitiida*".[126]

DcSa-3: This is a precontact shell midden located at the eastern edge of China Beach, "just east of Second Creek". According to the site form, it is probable that this midden is the remains of a much larger site destroyed by the logging and mining operations that once existed along China Beach.[127]

DcSb-3: This site is located approximately 11km west of Jordan River. It is composed of a precontact shell midden situated above the high tide mark, and four canoe runs which were cleared through the boulders on the beach.[128]

DcSb-4: Located just east of Loss Creek, this is a shell midden situated on top of a 12m bluff.[129]

DcSb-2: This is also a precontact shell midden located north-west of Sombrio Point. The archaeologists that examined the site stated that it appeared to be the remains of a short-term occupation site. Determining the extent of the site was noted to be

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[122] Ibid.
[123] Wilson, "Jordan River", pp. 7-19.
[124] Ibid, p. 20.
[125] Ibid, p. 21.
[126] Ibid, pp. 23-4.
[127] RAAD.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.

difficult because the deposits were found to be "deeper than probes could adequately reach".[130]

No dates for the use and occupation of any of the sites listed above have been recorded. However, in 1996 a single test pit was dug at site DdSc-12, located further along the coast between Sombrio Point and Parkinson Creek. Thirty three artifacts, as well as a variety of fish and shellfish remains, were recovered from the small excavation. In addition, a sample taken from the base of the test pit, 1.5 m from the surface, returned a date of 4120 +/- 130, making this site, according to McMillan, "one of the oldest dated sites on the west coast of Vancouver Island".[131]

6.0 Conclusions:

There are few ethnographic and historic sources available for information concerning either the T'Sou-ke or Pacheedaht First Nations. Nevertheless, the readily available sources reviewed for this report suggest the following conclusions:

1. None of the sources reviewed discuss T'Sou-ke use or occupation of territory west of Otter Point, or anywhere within the boundaries of the lands proposed for subdivision. However, the lack of information can not be taken as proof that the T'Sou-ke did not use the lands in question.
2. The ethnographic sources indicate that the Pacheedaht used and occupied the lands as far east as Point No Point (Glacier Point). Place name and use information collected by several anthropologists record both resource use and habitation sites along the coast.
3. The traditional history of the Pacheedaht people includes their residence at the village of Diitiida, once located at the mouth of Jordan River, and their fission from the Ditidaht people who inhabited that location.
4. Pacheedaht sites located between Point No Point and Jordan River are within the stated boundaries of the lands proposed for subdivision.

[130] Ibid.
[131] McMillan, *Transformers*, pp. 84-5.