

**A TLA'AMIN CULTURAL LANDSCAPE: COMBINING
TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE WITH
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION IN GRACE
HARBOUR, DESOLATION SOUND, B.C.**

by

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B. A., Western Washington University, 2005

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Abstract

This thesis is a cultural landscape study that discusses the results of an archaeological survey and testing project in Desolation Sound, B.C. and interprets this data in the context of the rich ethnohistorical and oral historical record of the local First Nations people. The survey included both the near shore and upland areas in the Grace Harbour Cultural Landscape, which is made up of 15 square kilometres centered on Grace Harbour, and includes parts of Malaspina and Lancelot Inlets. The study area falls in the shared traditional territories of the Tla'amin, Homalco and Klahoose First Nations. This region has archaeological evidence of long and varied use by ancient people over the last 8000 years. Intertidal stone features, large and small shell middens, cultural depressions, cultural platforms, culturally modified trees, and lithic scatters demonstrate the richness of the archaeological record in this cultural landscape.

Keywords: Cultural Landscapes; Indigenous Archaeology; Sliammon First Nation; Archaeology of British Columbia; Coast Salish

Dedication

Mom, Dad, Michelle, and David, you are the reason that I have the skills, abilities, and desire to complete this degree. You have helped make my whole life a series of amazing and fascinating learning experiences that have resulted in me being where I am today. I love you.

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Chapter 1: People, Place, and Landscape

For both the archaeologist and the native dweller, the landscape tells – or rather *is* – a story. It enfolds the lives and times of predecessors who, over the generations, have moved around in it and played their part in its formation.

(Ingold 1993:154)

Human beings imprint on the landscape around them and in turn, the landscape imprints on them (Basso 1996). This thesis is an exploration of this iterative landscape creation process by the Northern Coast Salish peoples in and around Grace Harbour on British Columbia's Sunshine Coast. Landscapes such as Grace Harbour and the surrounding area are created by a combination of people, history and geographical emplacement (Richards 1999:83). This dialectic process of people engaging with their surroundings is what builds a cultural landscape (Bender 1993:1). As Knapp and Ashmore point out in their often cited, *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives* "The environment manifests itself as landscape only when people create and experience space as a complex of places" (1999:21). However, a cultural landscape also encompasses how the land "is organized, divided, modified, built on, described, and used" (Stoffle et al. 1997:233). Viewed from this perspective, landscapes are not just backdrops for culture to play out on, but an active part of the continuing social, cultural, and political negotiations that make up community and individual identity (Kealhofer 1999:77).

A cultural landscape is an iterative dialogue between people and space. This dialogue is carried out in a variety of ways, from shaping or modifying the land, to managing the resources that come from it, to embedding stories in it (Horton 2004:69). This dialectic process not only takes place on the surface of the land, but for many non-western peoples the socialised landscape extends beyond the surface of the earth to incorporate that which is found underground, in the water, in the sky, and outside of the physical realm entirely (Bender 1993:1).

This thesis is an exploration of the past and present cultural landscape of the Tla'amin people, a Northern Coast Salish peoples of the Northern half of the Strait of Georgia. In particular, it focuses on the landscape in and around Grace Harbour, in south-central British Columbia (Figure 1). Grace Harbour is ideally suited for a cultural landscape study, because members of the Tla'amin community describe it as a hub of social, economic, and spiritual activity now and in the past. The community recognizes it as a central place where the old people used to live, fish, gather and hunt, and conduct ceremonies. The deep and ongoing social and cultural connections to this place, along with the many types of historic, ethnographic, and archaeological data available about it, make it an ideal place to assemble the temporal and spatial mosaic that comprises a cultural landscape.

The goal of this project is to integrate the traditions and history of the Tla'amin First Nation people and the archaeological data from their traditional territory into a comprehensive representation of their past, using the cultural landscape approach. The cultural landscapes approach will facilitate a productive collaboration with the Tla'amin

community as well as a more thorough and contextualized description of their archaeological heritage.



Figure 1. Study area on the northern end of the Strait of Georgia, centered on Kahkaykay Village.

Archaeological Approaches to Landscapes

Archaeologists have long recognized and studied human residues on the landscape in the form of settlement patterns studies. Beginning in the 1940's archaeologists began to look beyond individual sites and to ask questions at a regional scale (see Parsons 1971; Sanders 1965; Willey 1953). The interest of these researchers in location, distribution, and the environmental setting of sites and artifacts resulted in what is now called settlement archaeology (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:2). From the

perspective of a settlement pattern study, the landscape, environment, and available resources are constraining factors within which a culture operates (Thomas 1993:25). These studies tended to attribute an almost exclusively economic significance to the landscape and consequently focused on topics such as site catchments analysis, carrying capacity of a valley, or agricultural intensification (Brück and Goodman 1999:8).

In the 1980s and 1990s, researchers began to question the economic and environmental determinism that they saw resulting from the view that the land and its resources was primarily a constraint on culture and cultural change through time (Brück and Goodman 1999:8). Julian Thomas (1993) and Christopher Tilley (1994), for instance, turned the settlement pattern study model on its head by arguing that land and the environment were tools that people use to create cultural and physical space. In this view, cultural landscapes are created out of a dialectic interaction between people and the physical world around them. This interaction is shaped by history and accumulates over time, thus enabling and encouraging study by archaeologists (Anschuetz et al. 2001). Coincident with this paradigm shift, some researchers also downplayed the significance of quantitative methods, whose results provided limited observations, in favour of more qualitative techniques, whose results provided unprecedented insight into the human/landscape interrelation (Kantner 2008).

Putting People Back in the Landscape

Modern archaeologists commonly acknowledge the continual interplay between material culture and behaviour, recognising that each shapes and affects the other (Hodder 1979; Lepofsky et al. 2009). Understanding this iterative relationship with the material world is a fundamental component of cultural landscapes studies. Julian

Thomas (1993:27) described this connection as *dwelling through places*. In his view, people do not dwell because they have built a house or a monument, they build as part of their dwelling in the landscape. In this way, places where people live and interact are not external objects to be observed, because “the relationships which hold past material things together are social relations structured by meaningfulness, not mechanical relations between things” (Thomas 1993:29). To the Inuit, for example, the land, ice, and sea of their arctic landscape are not “wilderness”, they are imbued with meaning and part of an enculturated field of human activity (Whitridge 2004). This holistic view of the landscape is likewise evident in the material traces of Hopi ceremony and ritual space, which in turn intersect with domestic and agricultural space, as well as trails and isolated places for ceremony (Zedeno 1997). Archaeological sites, then, are where these meaning-laden spaces intersect with the physical landscape, creating material manifestations of the intersection. The study of connected archaeological sites emerges as one of the primary ways to understand and study cultural landscapes and their past and present inhabitants.

From a cultural landscape vantage, the shaping or naming the land has social meaning beyond the act of creating a new physical landform, or coming up with a word to describe a location. Such actions cannot be separated from their associated social, cultural, spiritual, political, and economic meanings. Moreover, material remains in the landscape are rendered meaningless unless the social and cultural contexts that bind them together are considered (Thomas 1993).

The multitude of meanings embedded in a place accumulates over time and across generations, forming “persistent places” on the cultural landscape (Littleton and Allen

2007). Such persistent places are created when the use of a place or landscape features shapes and influences its later reuse (Schlanger 1992:92). The previous uses of a place can affect its subsequent reuse through physical modification of the landscape, thus endowing constructed buildings or monuments with cultural or social significance. An example of this can be seen in the prohibitions on living near a burial site observed in many cultures. For instance, among nomadic hunter-gatherers in Southeastern Australia, once a place has been used for burial it is not reused for other purposes, even over long periods, regardless of the site's suitability for other purposes (Littleton and Allen 2007). These burial areas become persistent places and a pattern in the land use develops around them. Grace Harbour provides another prime example of how the history of a place affects its future use. The historical use of Grace Harbour by Tla'amin people is manifest in the modern landscape, creating an ideal locale for the focus of this thesis.

Landscapes and First Nations

A cultural landscape approach creates a framework that has the potential to engage First Nations communities in archaeological research. For many descendent communities, understanding human relationships with their landscapes involves much more than tallying the location and number of archaeological sites in relation to resource abundance. For these communities, the natural resources, pathways of travel, oral traditions, physical geography, songs, and place names can all be part of a broader understanding of landscape (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008). As a result, there are many examples of archaeological research that integrate varied archaeological and ethnohistoric data sets with the concerns and feelings of descendent communities through

the middle ground of landscape (see Bower and Zedeno 2009; Rubertone 2008; Tveskov 2007; Whitridge 2004; Zedeno 1997).

Studying or discussing First Nations cultural resources as holistic cultural landscapes is more than repackaging, or re-grouping and re-labelling ideas. It is an attempt to understand a different kind of cognition of the environment, history, and place (Stoffle et al. 1997). For instance, researching archaeological site distribution and ethnobotany of the Colorado River basin as discrete areas of study may be advantageous for the western scientific community, but in the view of the Southern Paiute this dichotomy is inappropriate and misses significant aspects of each (Stoffle et al. 1997). The importance of a more holistic view is also reflected in the way that the Stó:lō Nation asserts its Nationhood (in opposition to the individual bands created by the Indian Act) through their own mapping of their territory and its important attributes (Schaepe 2007). The cultural landscape they present in these maps extends beyond the physical attributes of the landscape and incorporates the spiritual and cultural resources that they view as fundamentally indivisible.

The inclusive and holistic nature of a cultural landscape approach, one that recognizes the interconnected nature of people's relationships with the physical and cultural world, has also been used as a bridge between archaeological and descendent communities. "Because landscapes communicate information on how communities interact with their environments over time, they serve as a medium for meaningful cross-cultural dialogue on the construction and reproduction of affiliations with places" (Anschuetz et al. 2001:163). Interestingly, the highly technical application of GIS, with its ability to integrate multiple layers of the landscape, is ideally suited to integrating

western and indigenous perspectives of the landscape (e.g., Carlson 2001; Ritchie 2010). Many researchers see landscape studies in archaeology as a bridge for collaboration between archaeologists from different backgrounds, researchers from other fields, and local and indigenous communities (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:4).

Landscapes and the Coast Salish

Anthropologists have long recognised the importance of, and connections between, the social, cultural, and physical landscapes of the Coast Salish peoples. Five decades ago, Wayne Suttles proposed that the rich, yet uneven availability of natural resources in the Coast Salish region are intertwined with rights to resource procurement locations, inter-family social relations, and social status (Suttles 1960). More recently, the inter-connections between kin, resources, and land were highlighted in Carlson's (2003) study of identity among the Stó:lō Coast Salish of the Fraser Valley. Schaepe (2007), also in work with the Stó:lō people, expressed this inter-connected relationship between the landscape, cultural and spiritual practice, and Coast Salish people very succinctly: "The Stó:lō broadly identify themselves as the People of the River – not People *by* the river or People *near* the River but People *of* the River" (Schaepe 2007:253). The Fraser River valley is not just where they live, or where they get their livelihood, it is their identity.

Coast Salish use of the landscape varied in time and space within a year and across the years. Throughout the yearly cycles, individual groups moved through sets of places creating webs of interaction and use that often overlapped with the webs created by other groups (Barnett 1955). Each of these places has its own associated social ties, mythical affiliations, place names, and economic or prestige attributes which are

connected to the wider landscape (Tveskov 2007). Likewise, the spirit world of the Coast Salish is also influenced by, and imprinted on, their physical landscape (Miller 1999; Ritchie 2010). For instance, when Lushootseed shamans travel through the spiritual world the progress of their journey is marked relative to local geography (Miller 1999).

For the Coast Salish, as with many peoples, their identity is inextricably intertwined with their cultural landscape. The landscape both embodies this identity and shapes it. An excellent example of this is Schaepe's (2007) paper, in which he contrasts what the provincial government sees as valuable in a landscape (i.e., timber, real-estate), with what the Stó:lō see as valuable, namely that places have inherent value based on their traditions of spiritual transformation taking place there. Similarly, by dating fish weirs and camas plots and looking at the ethnohistoric record, Tveskov (2007) found that Coast Salish women pass their Indian identity to their children through maintaining their connections to fishing and gathering places. These women "successfully resisted acculturation by tenaciously keeping a foothold in an ancestral landscape by putting food on the table, [and] employing centuries-old subsistence practices" (Tveskov 2007:438).

In his work with the Hul'qumi'num treaty group, Thom (2005) found that some nations believe that landscapes also embody rules about the right way to behave as part of the larger collective, thus creating a sense of belonging, and in turn building collective and individual identity. He observed that Coast Salish people see interactions with their landscape as similar to interacting with an ancestral figure on the land, requiring that they show generosity and reciprocity to the place, just as they would to a member of the community (Thom 2005). The landscape is seen as an active participant in the interaction.

Operationalizing Cultural Landscapes

The holistic nature of the cultural landscape approach makes sense when perceiving human interaction with the landscape, because it allows for the incorporation of multiple kinds of data at multiple scales, some of which contain fundamental truths that are imperceptible through quantitative paradigms. The types of data that can be considered when studying a cultural landscape are diverse, so an exact recipe for what makes up a cultural landscape study is difficult to define. However, this diversity of data sets and the variety of ways that the data can be approached enables landscape archaeology to accommodate and incorporate different theoretical perspectives and kinds of data (Anschuetz 2001:176; Knapp and Ashmore 1999:4). The types of data sets that go in to a cultural landscape study may be varied, but what brings these studies together is that the data sets are interpreted in the context of the people and places that created them. The data sets are nested and overlapping in geographic, cultural, and temporal contexts, which in turn give rise to “layers” of phenomena that are constantly interacting in an iterative process.

Methodologically, the inclusive nature of a cultural landscape framework has many benefits, but also some challenges. The concept of a cultural landscape is not well suited to the imposition of etic, or external, boundaries (Thomas 1993). The different facets or layers of the cultural landscape overlap and intersect at different places, times, and scales, which make defining study area boundaries for this type of research challenging (Anschuetz et al. 2001).

On the other hand, the inclusive, reflexive, and iterative nature of cultural landscape frameworks has proven to help archaeologists overcome a number of

challenges. The data sets that make up a cultural landscape study are woven together both temporally and spatially, creating areas of overlap that help create context (Toupal et al. 2001). This overlapping has helped archaeologists deal with fragmented evidence that accumulated over long periods of time by providing an inclusive and ever-present framework -- the land. This framework allows archaeological data to be incorporated into a holistic and connected framework that allows for deeper insight into cultural paradigms (Gosden and Head 1994). For example, Toupal et al. (2001) found six interrelated cultural landscapes among the Native American people of Southwest Nevada, some of which had associated archaeological materials that can now be interpreted (and protected) in the context of a larger landscape. A landscape can be talked about on many multifaceted levels, each producing complex narratives that are rooted in the same physical place. Bierwert's (1999) study of the Coast Salish people's sense of place, found that a fuller, richer understanding of the interconnected relationships between people and place could be established by examining their different lenses of perception.

Bringing this mosaic of potential meanings to the study of landscapes requires diverse lines of inquiry. For example, ethnohistoric information can provide insights into what kinds of social roles and relations are indicated by small vs. large sites, or how the generations interact in the context of fish trap construction. Bringing the idea of the social meaning of a place from the ethnohistoric record to the interpretation of a site can help explain change in use over time, as shown by Mark Tveskov in his article *Social Identity and Culture Change on the Southern Northwest Coast* (2007). A Coast Salish site can go from being a seasonal camp, to a mass harvesting site, to a large village, as the environment around the place changes through the generations, but it is the social and

political role the place plays that keep the site in that spot. For example, as the river delta builds, the place may slowly become useless as a place to get all of the salmon you need for the year, but it can continue to be the place where the biggest feasts are held and important families pass on their ancestral names and songs to the next generation.

As pointed out above, a key ingredient in a cultural landscape archaeological study is the multiple kinds of data, including, but not limited to, ethnohistoric, linguistic, archaeological, and biogeographical. Without something from most of these data categories, the study will be less conclusive. An example of this is Harris' (2009) *Making Places in Early Neolithic Dorset*, which starts out citing many of the same theories and examples of how to understand a cultural landscape in the past as cited here. He states, "Humans, animals, places, and materials are not separate from one another, but rather are mutually constitutive" (2009:117). However, because there is no cultural continuity between the current inhabitants of the region and the Neolithic peoples he was studying, he has no source of cultural, ethnohistoric, oral historical, or linguistic data which could demonstrate such "mutually constitutive" connections. On the other hand, research such as Tveskov (2007) and Zedeno (1997), discussed above, is meaningful because culturally continuous data are available to them and are used. Tveskov and Zedeno were able to put together layer upon layer of linguistic, ethnographic, and historic data with their archaeological data and create a contextualized reconstruction of the past.

A Place in the Tla'amin Cultural Landscape

In the remainder of this thesis, I combine the results of a 2008 archaeological survey, traditional use data, current community views, language, and place names to explicate the cultural landscape of Grace Harbour. Based on the discussion above, Grace

Harbour is a central node in the Tla'amin cultural landscape on several levels. The community's connection to this place goes back many generations and is reflected in the many place names in the area, in the antiquity of the Kahkaykay winter village, and in the numerous remembered resource-gathering places. This is one of the places that the Tla'amin want to protect as a link to their past. Miller (1999) identified local village centres as anchoring the spiritual, social, and cultural radiance of the Lushootseed people of the Puget Sound. Similarly, Grace Harbour plays such a role for the Tla'amin people. It is a place that their culture and tradition radiated from, thus establishing their fundamental connection to the landscape throughout the northern Strait of Georgia.

The landscape of Tla'amin territory and the resources available from it are rich and abundant. The ancestors of the Tla'amin took advantage of that abundance and established themselves in groups of plankhouses at the mouth of every river (Barnett 1938). This established their presence in the region and facilitated their economic and social connections throughout the wider region through trade and marriage (Barnett 1938). Traditional land use patterns are reflected in and influenced by the long term and widespread connection of the Tla'amin to their landscape. By looking at the archaeological remains of these activities, we can access some of the aspects of the past cultural landscape of Grace Harbour, such as regional connections shown by traded goods, connection to place passed on through many generations, and communities of people working together for a harvest, construction, or defence. This thesis brings together the material record of these activities and interactions with memories, stories, place names, traditions, and ethnographic descriptions. By integrating these diverse

kinds of knowledge we are better positioned to reconstruct some of the complex fabric that characterizes the Grace Harbour cultural landscape.

Defining a Cultural Landscape Study Area

As with all cultural landscapes, a number of factors influenced the boundaries of my study area. As is appropriate, I began the process of determining my study area in consultation with the Tla'amin. Early in discussions between project team members and Tla'amin community members it became clear that Grace Harbour (Kahkaykay Tla'amin Reserve # 6), on the northeast side of Malaspina Inlet, plays a significant role as a major settlement and assembly place in the modern Tla'amin cultural landscape.

From this starting place, I chose to focus on the Kahkaykay Reserve and the landscape surrounding it. Taking my cue from the Tla'amin consultants' assertions that Kahkaykay Village is an anchor for Tla'amin culture in several ways, including subsistence, history, and ceremony, I established Kahkaykay Village as the centre of the study area. In the area surrounding Kahkaykay Village, I traversed the majority of the geographic setting, both alone and with crews of participants from the Tla'amin-SFU Archaeology and Heritage Program (Tla'amin - Simon Fraser University 2009). I gave special attention to areas mentioned in oral history, such as flat areas, lakes, rivers, wetlands, and trails.

Not unexpectedly, there is no biophysical boundary marking the extent of the survey area. There was no clear break in any of the data sets at which I could bound or outline this cultural landscape. Rather, Grace Harbour is an access point from which to enter and explore the Tla'amin physical and cultural world. Other Tla'amin villages and

their neighbourhoods, such as Toquana in Theodosia Inlet, could be studied in this way, and each will have their own story to tell, but are not included in this investigation.

A Word about Names

In the remainder of this thesis I will be using a few terms and names that require some explanation. Throughout the thesis, I use the term Tla'amin to refer to the people in whose primary territory I am working and with whom I have collaborated. They are also referred to as the Sliammon First Nation by the Canadian Government and by some within their own community. Tla'amin, however, more closely approximates the pronunciation of their name in their language. In cases where I am discussing an official agency of the Nation, such as the Band Council, Treaty Society, or Cultural Committee, I will use the governmentally recognised spelling, Sliammon, but elsewhere I use the community's preferred spelling, Tla'amin.

The Tla'amin share a language and some overlapping territory with their neighbours to the north, the Homalco and Klahoose First Nations. Anthropologists and historians have alternately called this language Northern Coast Salish or Mainland Comox (Kennedy and Bouchard 1990). However, the speakers of this language know it as Ayahjuthum, and they are beginning to assert their right to identify their ancestral language by its internal name. This name has also been recognized by researchers (Welch et al. 2010) and therefore is the term that will be used in this thesis.

In this thesis the area of study is often referred to as Grace Harbour, the Grace Harbour Cultural Landscape or the Grace Harbour area. This is because the study actually extends beyond Grace Harbour proper into parts of the Malaspina, Lancelot, and

Okeover Inlets. The origins of the name Grace Harbour are unknown, but the name is widely used by locals (First Nations and other) to refer to the general vicinity of Grace Harbour. Grace Harbour is also the most significant named geographic feature in the study area and the name will be used to refer to the area in this thesis.

Chapter 2: Ethnographic, Oral Historical and Archaeological Data.

This research brings together ethnohistoric, linguistic, oral historic, and archaeological data to describe how the ancient peoples in and around Grace Harbour interacted with their landscape over the last several thousand years and thereby created a cultural landscape. Combined, these multiple kinds of data enable a more detailed and contextualized description of these ancient peoples' use of the landscape than could be generated from each individual data source in isolation (Ashmore and Knapp 1999). This all encompassing approach incorporates both physical and non-physical evidence of past human-land interactions to better interpret this Tla'amin cultural landscape

The Grace Harbour cultural landscape, as defined here, is a 15 square kilometre area of land and sea centered on Grace Harbour (Kahkaykay Tla'amin Reserve # 6) and including parts of Malaspina, Okeover, and Lancelot Inlets on the southern margin of Desolation Sound Marine Park (Figure 1). The Kahkaykay Reserve (not to be confused with nearby Kakaekae Point; Figure 2) is a cultural landscape because of its deep and multifaceted meanings to the three Ayahjuthum speaking Northern Coast Salish groups, the Klahoose, Hamalco and Tla'amin peoples. In historic times, members of these now distinct political groups lived together at the settlement of Kahkaykay. This shared and long-standing connection to people and place is reflected in the modern shared territory agreement that has been signed by all three bands.

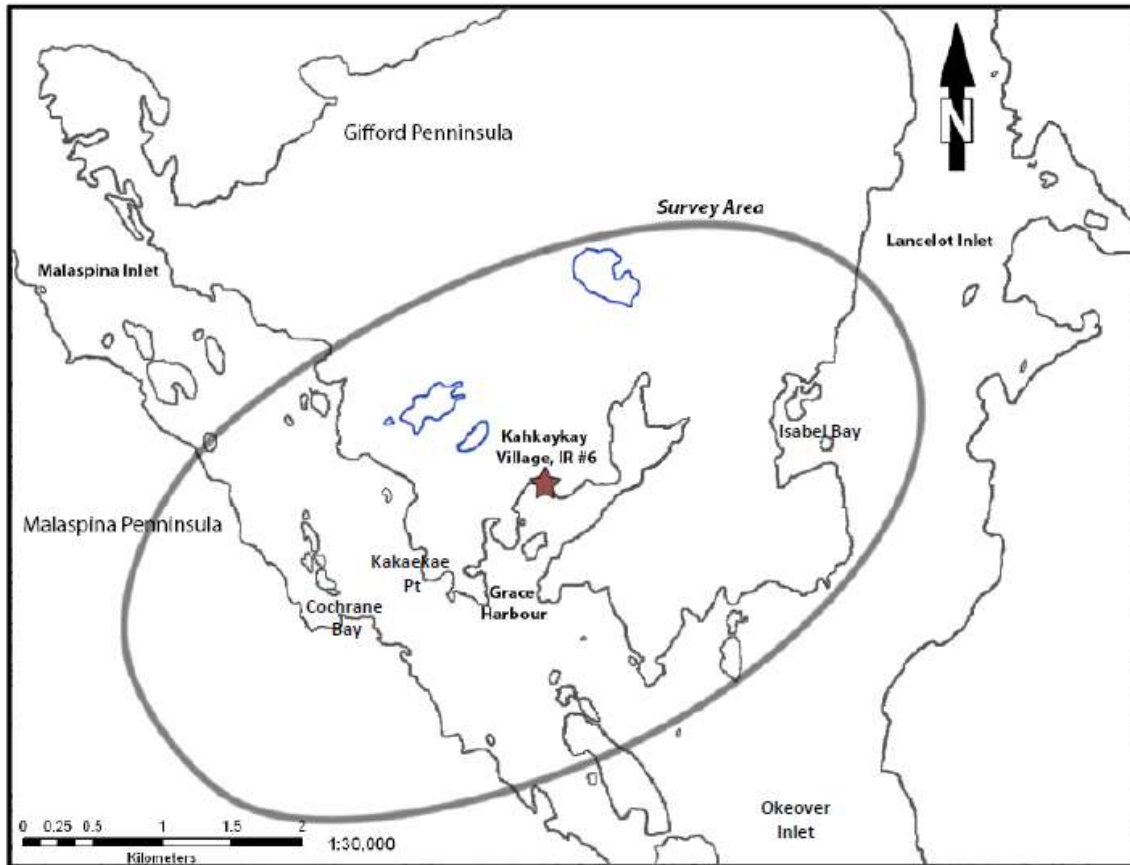


Figure 2. Grace Harbour study area.

Environmental Setting of Grace Harbour

The Grace Harbour landscape is geographically diverse, consisting of multiple islands of various sizes, long, narrow steep-sided inlets in the form of fjords, small protected bays, and wooded uplands. The relatively narrow channel of Malaspina Inlet is the only connection the waters of Desolation Sound and Strait of Georgia have to the other inlets and bays of this landscape. This bottle neck protects the Grace Harbour landscape from much of the strong currents and winds that are characteristic of Desolation Sound. The convoluted shoreline of the Grace Harbour area, combined with the topographic high points of the surrounding land and islands, as well as the deep bays

provides strategic and tactical advantages to its inhabitants. Much of the shoreline is rocky and steep, with few suitable landing beaches. These factors make early detection of invasion and defence significantly easier than other settings.

The region falls in the Coastal Western Hemlock (CWH) biogeoclimatic zone (Meidinger and Pojar 1991). The islands are sparsely forested while the adjacent mainland is more densely forested with western hemlock, Douglas-fir, and western red cedar dominating. The landscape spans a range of elevations, from low lying islands to rolling uplands and mountainous terrain (1000 to 1200 meters above sea level). The forested uplands (80 to 100 meters above sea level) surrounding Grace Harbour provide easy access to a number of small unnamed lakes and streams, as well as commanding views of the surrounding landforms and waterways. Behind Theodosia and Okeover Inlets, there is access to higher elevation areas, leading to the mountains around Theodosia Inlet.

The calm protected waters, lakes, streams, and rich forests of the CWH in general and the Grace Harbour Cultural Landscape in particular, support a wide variety of wildlife. The many terrestrial animals found here, from mink and racoon, to black-tailed deer, and black bear, as well as mountain goat in higher elevation areas (Meidinger and Pojar, 1991). The rivers flowing out of both Theodosia and Okeover Inlets once supported populations of culturally and economically important spawning salmon as well as many varieties of fresh water fish. The small unnamed lakes attract and support abundant bird and mammal life. The many near-tidal islets provide haul-outs for many types of seals, and the coastal rocky islands provide protection for colony-nesting birds

(Meidinger and Pojar 1991). The numerous protected waterways that connect much of the land in this area also facilitate travel and unify the inhabitants.

Methods

Defining the Grace Harbour Cultural Landscape

A cultural landscape approach guided how I chose boundaries for the study area. I used an iterative process to find a meaningful place to begin my investigation of Tla'amin cultural landscape by talking to community elders, reading the ethnohistoric data, identifying locations of known archaeological sites, as well as considering project logistics, and physiography of the area. This diverse approach creates a multifaceted mosaic that highlights the interconnected nature of the data sets.

We started our research at the Kahkaykay Reserve, a place described in discussions with community members as an anchor point within the Tla'amin cultural landscape. From Kahkaykay Reserve, we surveyed all of the land within a radius of approximately 2.5 kms from the center of the Reserve. The easiest way to access these areas is by small boat, today as well as in the past, so many of the logistical concerns that we faced (i.e. landing beaches, tides, and weather) would also have influenced the travel of the ancient inhabitants. In the end, we surveyed a terrestrial area 15 km² in size. We walked 27 km of transects paying special attention to kinds of areas that were identified as significant in the oral history, such as flat areas, lakes, rivers, wetlands, and trails. The goal was to cover as much of the 2.5 km area in 10 meter wide transects as possible.

We used a cultural landscape approach for delineating site boundaries. This approach stresses the interrelationships and connections between peoples, their important

places, and their different marks on the land (Knapp and Ashmore 1999). In this spirit, we tended toward consolidation versus splitting of sites to better represent the relationships inherent in a cultural landscape. When a feature, lithic scatter, or shell midden exposure was located within the approximately 20 m of a recorded site, we included it as part of the same site. Site size measurements exclude intertidal components.

Ethnographic and Historical Research Methods

To address my objective of compiling traditional use information and oral historical knowledge about the Grace Harbour area, I compiled records and stories about the research area and reviewed the anthropological and ethnohistoric literature pertaining to the Tla'amin people in general and the Grace Harbour area specifically. A number of Tla'amin community members talked to project team members about their personal and familial relationships to Grace Harbour and its surrounding landscapes (Table 1). The majority of these interviews took place on the water and land of the Grace Harbour area. These were informal interviews structured by the interest of the people present and the land and seascape around us. With the permission of the participants, nearly all of the interviews were video or audio taped.

Interviewers	People Interviewed	Initials	People Interviewed	Initials
Evan Adams	Leslie Adams	LA	Art Noel Harry	AH
Karen Gallegos	Janie Adams	JA	Ronald Harry	RH
Maynard Harry	Emily August	EA	Mary Jane Harry	MH
Kerri Timothy	Thomas August	TA	Daisy Hill	DH
Jodie Williams	Bobby Barnes	BB	Eugene Louie	EL
Connie Wilson	Katherine Blaney	KB	Linda Louie	LL
	Charlie Bob	CB	Rose Louie	RL
	Louise Bob	LB	John Louie	JL
	Henry Bob	HB	Violet Macdonald	VM
	Benny Charlie	BC	Agnes McGee	AM
	Florence Dominick	FD	Joe Mitchell	JM
	Annie Dominick	AD	Andy Paul	AP
	Dave Dominick	DD	Joe Paul Sr.	JP
	Phyllis Dominick	PD	Elsie Paul	EP
	Norman Gallagher	NG	Chris Peters	CP
	Elsie Galligos	EG	Sam Pielle	SP
	Raymond Galligos	RG	Susan Pielle	SP
	Pete Galligos	PG	Leonard Pielle	LP
	Mary George	MG	James Timothy	JT
	Alfred Hackett	AH	Randy Timothy	RT
	Walter Hackett	WH	Nora Wilson	NW
	Eva Hanson	EH	Joe Wilson	JW
	Ernie Harry	EH	Peter Wilson	PW
	Mabel Harry	MH	Theresa Wilson	TW
	Peter Harry	PH	Margaret Wilson	MW

Table 1. People interviewed for this project and Tla'amin First Nation's Traditional Use Study (TUS).

I also include in this thesis data extracted from previously conducted interviews. As part of the prelude to the B.C. Treaty process, Sliammon Treaty Society gathered and compiled an extensive Traditional Use Study (TUS) for their territory (Table 1). The goal of the interviews was to gather information about how Tla'amin elders used the landscape in their lifetimes, as well as what they had been told about how their ancestors had used the land in generations past. The data for the TUS was gathered through somewhat unstructured, group and individual interviews conducted 1996 – 2000. The participants were shown maps and photographs of Tla'amin traditional territory and asked to talk about the locations of different activities, who conducted the activities, and

how the activities changed over time. The data from the 2008 interviews and the previous TUS interviews were catalogued in an Excel catalogue by topic, person, and location. I approximated map coordinates based on the location descriptions, as well as maps and GPS waypoints used during interviews.

In addition to these personal interviews, there are a number of sources for ethnographic, historical, and oral historical information pertaining to the Tla'amin people (Table 2). They range from journals of explorers, reports by the first Christian missionaries to arrive in the area, to community histories recorded by the early Euro-Canadian settlers. These documents are important sources of valuable, albeit diverse, information on hunting, fishing, gathering and settlement locations, as well as trails, and traditions and values relating to the landscape. These data were added to the Excel catalogue, with the same fields as the interview data.

Author	Title	Published
Barnett, H. G.	<i>The Coast Salish of British Columbia</i>	1955
Dorothy Kennedy and Randy Bouchard.	<i>Sliammon Life, Sliammon Lands</i>	1983
Barnett, H. G.	<i>Underground Houses on the British Columbian Coast. American Antiquity, Vol. 9, No. 3. (Jan., 1944), pp. 265-270.</i>	1944
Barnett, H. G.	<i>The Coast Salish of Canada. American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1938), pp. 118-141</i>	1938
Bill Thompson	<i>Boats, Bucksaws and Blisters: Pioneer Tales of the Powell River area</i>	1990
Bill Thompson	<i>Once upon a Stump: Times and Tales of Powell River Pioneers</i>	1993
Heather Harbord	<i>Desolation Sound: A History</i>	2007
Editors Bouchard and Kennedy. Translated by Dietricj Bertz.	<i>Indian Myths & Legends From the North Pacific Coast of America.</i>	2002
Kennedy, Dorothy and Randy Bouchard	<i>Northern Coast Salish. In Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 7: Northwest Coast. Edited by Wayne Suttles, pp. 30-51. Smithsonian Institution: Washington, D.C.</i>	1990
Lemert, Edwin M	<i>Life and Death of a Indian State. In Human Organization vol 13 Num 3 fall 1954</i>	1954
Translated by Keith Carlson	Unpublished translation, <i>Missions of The Congregation of The Oblates of Mary Immaculate, 1864, 1870, 1874, 1884, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1890</i>	
Edited by Harry Taylor	<i>Powell River's First 50 years</i>	1960
Various	<i>Sessional papers of the Dominion of Canada, vol 12 1899, vol 3 1880, vol 13 1889, vol 10 1890, vol 10 1897, vol 11 1898, vol 3 1885, vol 9 1893, vol 10 1894, vol 11 1900, vol 3 1886, vol 4 1886, vol 8 1880-81</i>	1880 to 1899
George Vancouver	<i>A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, 1791-1795. Vol 2.</i>	1984
Archibald Menzies	<i>Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage: April to October, 1792.</i>	1923

Table 2. Ethnographic and historical documents relevant to this study.

Archaeological Field Methods

I used previously collected site survey information from the B.C. Archaeology Branch Remote Access Archaeological Data system to locate sites, as well as determine what areas had and had not been surveyed. We conducted the pedestrian survey throughout the project area with three to six people roughly spaced 3 to 5 meters apart

(minimum 10 m-wide transects). The amount and type of underbrush encountered on most of the surveys made walking evenly spaced transects impossible.

The area covered in the survey depended on the size of the crew on any one day, as well as other logistical considerations. We carried hand-held GPS units that recorded our approximate location and path, prepared narrative notes along our survey paths, and sketched our approximate route at the end of each day. We periodically took pictures of the landscape and views as we surveyed. We described the vegetation to estimate the level of disturbance and any evidence of recent land use, such as logging or homesteading. Ground visibility was very poor, but tree throws were common and provided visibility of the subsoil. We looked for artifacts and other archaeological evidence (e.g. burials, faunal remains) in all tree throws and all other soil exposures. We used the results of these survey transects to select areas for later subsurface testing.

We used two kinds of mapping, sketch mapping and high resolution mapping. We produced compass, tape, and pace sketch maps of all sites we visited and high resolution mapping at sites where we found intact surface features (such as longhouse platforms or underground houses). High resolution 3-D maps were produced with a total station. Points were collected at a maximum horizontal distance of 20 cm, and more closely at topographic inflections or cultural features old and new.

We used a percussion corer and small shovel test pits to determine site depth, find site boundaries, and collect samples for radiometric dating. To determine site depth, percussion cores were placed on surface exposures of archaeological material and then additional punches were collected in transects spaced 2 to 10 meters apart, either perpendicular to the shoreline or parallel to determine the precise site boundary (Cannon

2000; Martindale and Letham 2008). Shovel tests to find site boundaries were excavated to about 30 cm in diameter and culturally sterile deposits (average depth of 80 cm). We judgmentally selected areas for shovel testing that would have a higher probability of having buried sites (i.e., relatively flat terrain and relatively accessible). In these areas of higher probability we excavated test units at 10-20 meter intervals. We recorded the test location, as well as the depth, soil types and colours, reason for termination, and any observable stratigraphy. All excavated soil was put through a 1/8 in screen. Locations of shovel tests were identified using GPS and later plotted.

In addition, we excavated a 1x1 meter test unit in the center of a cultural depression at Cochrane Bay to determine if the depression was an underground house as reported by Barnett (1944). The unit was excavated in 10 cm arbitrary levels. All excavated material was put through a 1/8 in screen, and we collected all faunal remains and artifacts. We recorded the volume of fire altered rock in each level and quadrant before it was discarded. A 10 by 10 cm column sample was collected in 10 cm increments from the northwest corner of the unit for future paleoethnobotanical analysis.

Archaeological Laboratory Methods

I used the ESRI ArcGIS program to create site distribution maps, analyze distances between sites, aerial extent of sites, and analyze viewsheds. The high resolution surface maps and site depth profiles were created in Surfer by Golden Software.

In the laboratory, radiocarbon samples were collected from the percussion cores. I sought datable material from the base of the cultural deposits, just above sterile soil or

bedrock, to provide basal ages for sites of a variety for sizes and positions on the landscape. Charcoal was collected if present in sufficient amounts at the base of the cultural deposits; otherwise shell or bone was collected in its place. Several of the cores collected in the field were selected for dating based on the quality of the stratigraphy, presence of datable material, and location of the core. At EaSe 76, EaSe 11 and EaSe 53 we dated charcoal from cores from inside house depressions that are visible on the surface. At other sites, such as EaSe 34 and EaSe 58, we dated the centre of the site because no surface features were visible.

All the artifacts collected from survey and excavation were catalogued, measured, and photographed. The faunal and artifact collections were catalogued, and are currently being held at Simon Fraser University and will be transferred to the Powell River Historical Museum for final curation. Several of the obsidian artifacts were sent to Northwest Research Obsidian Studies Laboratory for X-ray fluorescence trace element provenance analysis.

Ethnohistoric and Ethnographic Data

Ethnohistoric data are essential to a cultural landscape study such as this. They provide the human connection to the archaeological record that can almost never be found in the ground or through survey alone. However, ethnohistoric data often have inherent biases that arise from a variety of sources. These sparse initial data recordings reflect the cultural paradigms that that existed at time of the initial recording, and are fundamentally influenced by the beliefs of the recorder (Harris 1997; Wickwire 2001). Despite their cultural biases, these kinds of documents also captured the dramatic changes that occurred in the Tla'amin cultural landscape in the past.

Eighteenth Century Ethnohistoric Sources

The earliest observations by outsiders of Ayahjuthum speakers are valuable because of their antiquity, but also incorporate numerous biases that influence our understanding of Tla'amin land use and social organization. Captain Vancouver's observations from his 1792 voyage are the first written historical records to discuss the Tla'amin people and their lands. His observations provide some invaluable information about population levels, village abandonment, and epidemic disease (Menzies 1923; Vancouver 1984). However, this information is coloured by the European belief at the time that the Northwest Coast was a vast wilderness inhabited only by a few wandering savages. His expectation that he would not find large populations or complex social structures obscured his observation (Harris 1997; Wickwire 2001). Vancouver's journal records his interactions with the Ayahjuthum speakers as friendly and that the Indians were interested in trade (Menzies 1923; Vancouver 1984). However, Tla'amin oral history records other interaction with Europeans as early as the mid 1700s (Sliammon Treaty Society 2009).

Introduced diseases had already taken a significant toll on the Tla'amin by the time the first Europeans visited the region. The first of the introduced disease epidemics swept through this region sometime in the 1770s, killing one third of the population or more (Boyd 1990). These epidemics caused substantial changes to many aspects of Tla'amin life, including massive population movements and consolidation. These changes in settlement patterns increased conflict with neighbours to the north (Kennedy and Bouchard 1983). In the Grace Harbour area, these changes led to the consolidation

of families from Toba and Butte Inlets with the people at Kahkaykay Village sometime prior to the 1800s (Barnett 1955).

Vancouver and his men observed some of the effects of this earliest small pox epidemic but they did not recognize them as such. Captain Vancouver describes Harwood Island and Powell River area as “without any signs of being inhabited” and Toba Inlet as “nearly destitute of inhabitants” (1984:603). Vancouver also notes that the northern Strait of Georgia “had been more populous than at present” based on the deserted villages they encountered (1984:604). The description of the abandoned “Flea Village”, as well as the small number of people they encountered during their time in the area, shows the magnitude of the devastation caused by introduced disease on the Northern Coast Salish (Menzies 1923; Vancouver 1984). On June 26th 1792, Vancouver anchored just north of the Malaspina Peninsula and sent out longboats to explore and map the area. One of those longboats entered Malaspina Inlet and went past the entrance to Grace Harbour proper and into Okeover Inlet, then up Theodosia Inlet and back out into Desolation Sound (Menzies 1923; Vancouver 1984). The official and unofficial accounts of the visit make no mention of encountering Tla’amin people or any of their villages. From an archaeological perspective, this area was full of activity. The fact that Vancouver’s men did not see any of this activity likely reflects the devastating effects of the epidemics in Grace Harbour and the surrounding areas.

Nineteenth Century Ethnographic Sources

There was no further recorded interaction between Europeans and Tla’amin or any other Ayahjuthum speakers, until the mid 1800s. At this time, the Congregation of The Oblates of Mary Immaculate repeatedly traveled to visit the Tla’amin and their

neighbours and reported about their trips to the Church (Carlson 2006; Kennedy and Bouchard 1983). Though spotty, the Oblate reports to the Church are the only written records about where and how the Tla'amin lived in the later part of the nineteenth century. These records discuss that at the time of contact with Europeans, the Kahkaykay Village in Grace Harbour proper was a permanent settlement with families that identified as being from Tla'amin, Homalco, and Klahoose cultural groups. The priests then encouraged these families to converge with others at the Sliammon Creek Village (near Powell River). This move made it easier for the priests to visit their new converts (Carlson 2006; Kennedy and Bouchard 1983).

Twentieth Century Ethnographic Sources

Some 150 years after initial European contact, in 1935 – 1936, Homer Barnett conducted ethnographic fieldwork among the Northern Coast Salish as part of his dissertation research on the Strait of Georgia Coast Salish. The results of his fieldwork were initially published as a cultural 'element list' (Barnett 1939) and later he published *The Coast Salish of British Columbia* as a companion volume (1956) as well as two journal articles (1938, 1944). As was the standard at the time (Harris 1997), his works are descriptive ethnographies that distilled, grouped, and categorized information in to an easily cross-referenced format. Unfortunately for my purposes, he describes in aggregate most of the information about the thirteen Coast Salish groups with whom he worked. Only significant departures from the norm by one or more groups are discussed individually.

As a salvage ethnographer, Barnett was interested in talking to the oldest people in Tla'amin community to find out how their parents and grandparents lived. His main

Tla'amin informant was Chief Tom, who was about 80 years old in 1935, and had spent a considerable amount of time at Kahkaykay Village (1955:9). As a result of his work with Chief Tom, Barnett's accounts provide useful details about the layout of Kahkaykay Village and some of the activities that took place there (1955:29, 49-50).

Barnett notes that Tla'amin territory was a better place for ethnographic research than many of the other places in his study area, because he did not perceive it as having been "overrun by white settlers" (1955:1). To some extent this is probably true, as the Sunshine Coast was less populated by whites than Vancouver or the Puget Sound. However, by the 1930s, when he did his field work, the sawmill that was the economic foundation for the town of Powell River had been operating for 20 years (Townsite Heritage Society of Powel River 2009). Barnett nonetheless laments the amount of change that occurred since the 1800s (1955:1).

Following Barnett's work, there is a 35 year hiatus until anthropologists worked again in this region. In that intervening time, the Tla'amin people were increasingly being alienated from their traditional territory by commercial logging, government regulation of hunting and fishing, and damming of the Theodosia River (Kennedy and Bouchard 1983; Sliammon Treaty Society 1996; Interview with Michelle Washington 2008). Many Tla'amin people adapted their traditional practises and turned to commercial hand logging, selling basketry, working at logging camps, and commercial fishing to support themselves and their families because they were unable to live directly off the land (Sliammon Treaty Society 1996.). There is little in the anthropological literature about how Tla'amin people adapted their interactions with their landscape during this time. However, mid twentieth century Euro-Canadian residents of Powell

River as well as visiting government officials did record some observations about their First Nations neighbours in the local Powell River newspapers, town records, community history books, and Department of Indian Affairs Reports. Transcripts of interviews with early Euro-Canadian settlers indicate that Tla'amin people continued to move around their territory to harvest seasonally available resources for part of the year. They then traded the products of their labour, such as baskets and fish with Euro-Canadians, as well as working in the newly available wage labour markets, such as the Powell River saw mill (Harbord 2007; Thompson 1993).

Over a ten year period between 1971 and 1981, Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy conducted extensive ethnographic interviews with Ayahjuthum speakers with relatives from both Tla'amin and Klahoose. This work resulted in a published book titled, *Sliammon Life, Sliammon Land* (1983) and reports to the Klahoose chief and council (1974). The book draws on earlier ethnographic interview data gathered by Homer Barnett, historical documents, and their own interviews. Bouchard and Kennedy's work clearly shows that use and knowledge of the landscape continued to play a central role in each of the Ayahjuthum speaker's lives. Despite the dramatic changes in Tla'amin life since contact, the traditional ways to harvest and preserve food, ancient place names, and stories about how the world came to be were still being practiced and shared.

Tla'amin Traditional Use Study

The TUS contains information about how Tla'amin elders used their territory, as well as what they had been told about how their ancestors had used the land in generations past. By asking open ended questions and showing participants maps and

photographs of Tla'amin traditional territory, the Treaty Society was able to gather information about different kinds of activities, where they were conducted and by whom, and how use has changed over time. The data are based on living memories and what has been passed down in families, so the time depth is limited and the data are often very general. Nevertheless, the data show a level of interaction and engagement with the landscape that we are often unable to infer from the archaeological record.

The Ethnohistory of the Grace Harbour Cultural Landscape

Grace Harbour is located roughly in the center of the Tla'amin territory. Tla'amin ancestors took advantage of their productive environment and positioned themselves with groups of plankhouses at the mouth of every major river within their territory (Barnett 1938:119). They had multiple villages from Grief Point to the Theodosia River whose inhabitants gathered resources from Cortes Island to Lang Bay (Barnett 1955; Washington 2004; Figure 3). Extended families lived together in large long houses, which acted as the main socioeconomic unit (Suttles 1960). Some houses were built in defensible locations, such as high bluffs, or on stilts over the water, while others were located at the mouths of rivers, or in protected bays (Kennedy and Bouchard 1983).



Figure 3. Map of Tla'amin territory. The star marks the location of Grace Harbour. Map prepared by the Sliammon First Nation GIS Department.

One of the most significant villages to the Tla'amin people and their Ayahjuthum relatives, and the focus of this research, is Kahkaykay Village in Grace Harbour. Barnett's informants described the houses at Kahkaykay Village as "in rows, the larger ones being in front and the smaller ones behind" (1955:29). Houses were numbered

according to the status of the owner. The number 1 house was said to be 100 feet long with elaborate carvings of sea lion heads in the ridgepoles. During feasts, oil would be poured into a trough in the ridgepole, which would then pour out through the sea lion's mouth and onto the fire for a dramatic display of wealth (Barnett 1955:50).

The two nearest villages' sites are Toquana and Tokenatch, located, respectively, at the heads of Theodosia and Okeover Inlets. Both of these villages are also recorded in the ethnohistoric data, but with much less frequency than Kahkaykay Village. The amount and detail that is remembered and recorded about Kahkaykay Village makes this a good place to construct a cultural landscape study.

Families from Tla'amin and their relatives Homalco and Klahoose gathered at Kahkaykay Village for the winter. They were also joined by relatives from other communities during the most important winter ceremonies (Barnett 1955). The significance of Kahkaykay settlement is reflected in, and influenced by, the fact that "important men" from all three of these communities had houses there (Barnett 1955:29). For the convenience of the Missionaries and the Indian agent, most of the people who spent winters at Kahkaykay Village moved to a settlement 10 km north of Powell River, However, the long-term connection to Kahkaykay Village continued through its use for seasonal resource harvesting, gatherings, and ceremony (Kennedy and Bouchard 1983; Sliammon Treaty Society 1996; Tla'amin-Simon Fraser University 2008).

The TUS database and the ethnohistorical data reflect a complex set of overlapping uses for Grace Harbour and its surrounding environs (Figure 4). Plant harvesting was practiced throughout the landscape, with different plants available in different areas and at different times of the year (Table 3). Labrador tea (*Ledum*

groenlandicum) and bog cranberries (*Vaccinium oxycoccus*), which were harvested from Haw' uh'jim, the lake in the uplands near Kahkaykay Village (Figure 5) were particularly valued. “Roots” (probably of red cedar) were harvested for baskets from the islands (Figure 5). Fish and shellfish were taken from many places throughout the area, but sea urchin could only be found in a few spots such as the Cochrane Islands (Figure 6). Several of the islands have spiritual significance as burial places, but a few are also known as good clam digging areas (Figure 7).

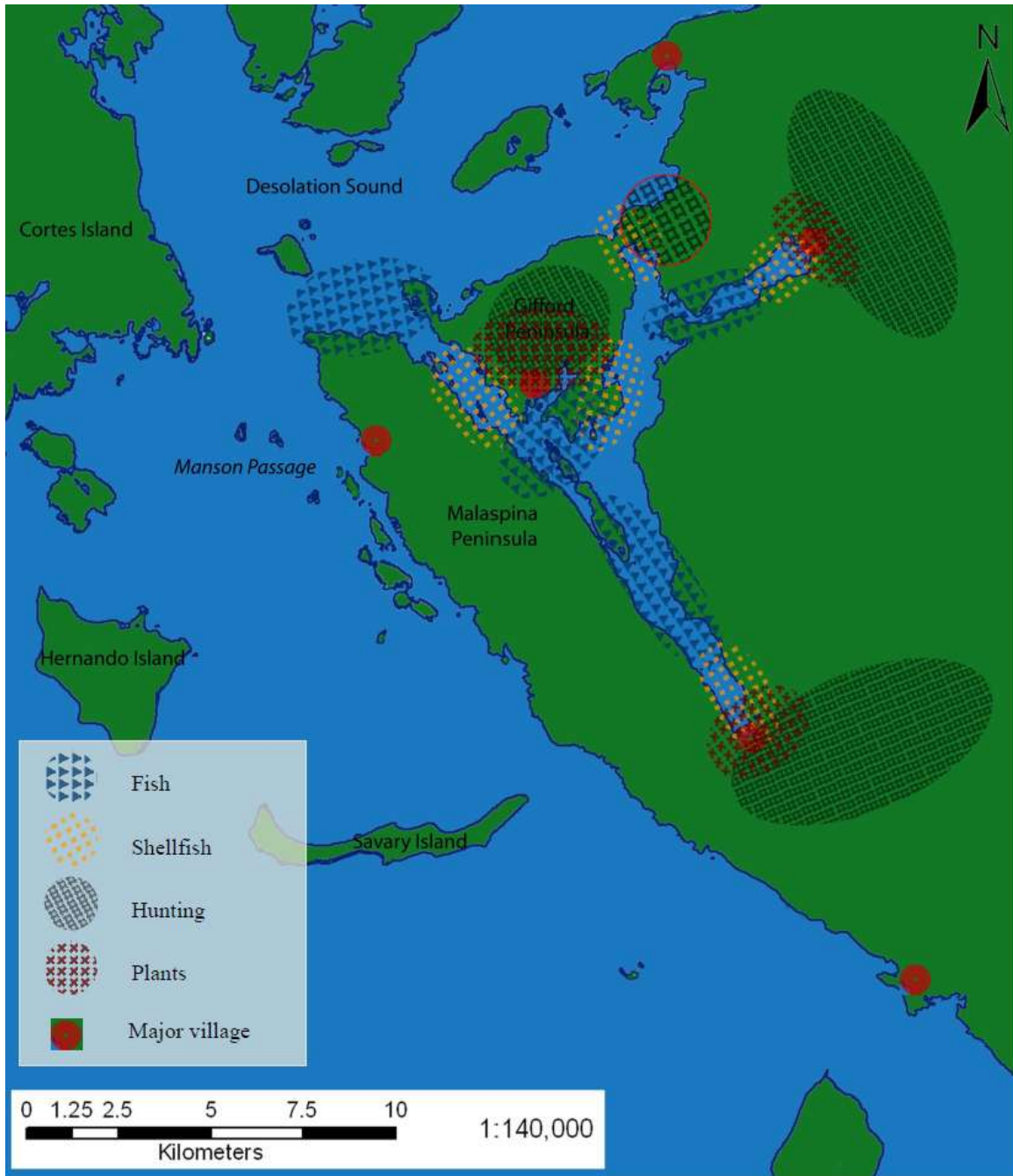


Figure 4. Overlapping uses for Grace Harbour and its surrounding environs.

Place	Tla'amin Name	Sub Category	Notes
Cochrane Island		Roots	For Baskets
Grace Harbour	Kah Kee Ky	Berreis	
Grace Harbour	Kah Kee Ky	Cedar Saplings	For Baskets
Grace Harbour	Kah Kee Ky	Devils Club	Medicine
Grace Harbour	Kah Kee Ky	Logging	Commercial Industry
			Chief Tom's father planted a lot of fruit trees, Johnny Bob and Jimmy Harry
Grace Harbour	Kah Kee Ky	Fruit Orchards	owend an orchard
Grace Harbour	Kah Kee Ky	Wild Onion	Bigger than the ones in Theo
Grace Harbour	Kah Kee Ky	Indian Celery	
		Clam Sticks (Iron	
Grace Harbour	Kah Kee Ky	Wood?)	
Grace Harbour	Kah Kee Ky	Roots	For Baskets
Grace Harbour Lake	Haw' uh'jim	Cranberries	Lake behind Grace village
Grace Harbour Lake	Haw' uh'jim	Indian Tea	Lake behind Grace village
Grace Harbour Lake	Haw' uh'jim	Blueberries	Lake behind Grace village
Isbister Island		Roots	For Baskets
Jean Island		Roots	For Baskets
Josephine Island		Roots	For Baskets
Okeover	Tuxwnech or Tow-wha-nech	Blueberries	
Okeover	Tuxwnech or Tow-wha-nech	Devils Club	
Okeover	Tuxwnech or Tow-wha-nech	Green Onions	
Okeover	Tuxwnech or Tow-wha-nech	Indian Celery	Not very much of it here
			Apples, Crab Apples, Plums, and
Okeover	Tuxwnech or Tow-wha-nech	Orchard	Cherry
Okeover	Tuxwnech or Tow-wha-nech	Roots	not clear for what
Okeover	Tuxwnech or Tow-wha-nech	Sweet Grass	For medicine
Okeover	Tuxwnech or Tow-wha-nech	Spruce Roots	not clear for what
Okeover	Tuxwnech or Tow-wha-nech	Indian Medicine	
			JP's grandfather and HB hand logged
Portage Cove	Key ghee yeen	Logging	here
Portage Cove	Key ghee yeen	Orchard	Apple
Susan Islets		Roots	not clear for what
			Blackberries, Black Caps, Blueberries,
Theodosia	Tow-qwa-nen	Berreis	Huckleberries, Raspberries
Theodosia	Tow-qwa-nen	Garden	
			Apples, Crad Apples, Cherry and
Theodosia	Tow-qwa-nen	Orchard	Plums, along the river
Theodosia	Tow-qwa-nen	Roots	not clear what for
Theodosia	Tow-qwa-nen	Roots	Spruce roots for baskets
Theodosia	Tow-qwa-nen	Wild Onions	
Grace Harbour	Kah Kee Ky	Logging	EaSe 59- Commercial Industry Logging Camp

Table 3. Plants harvested at different locations in and around Grace Harbour (Sliammon Treaty Society 1996).

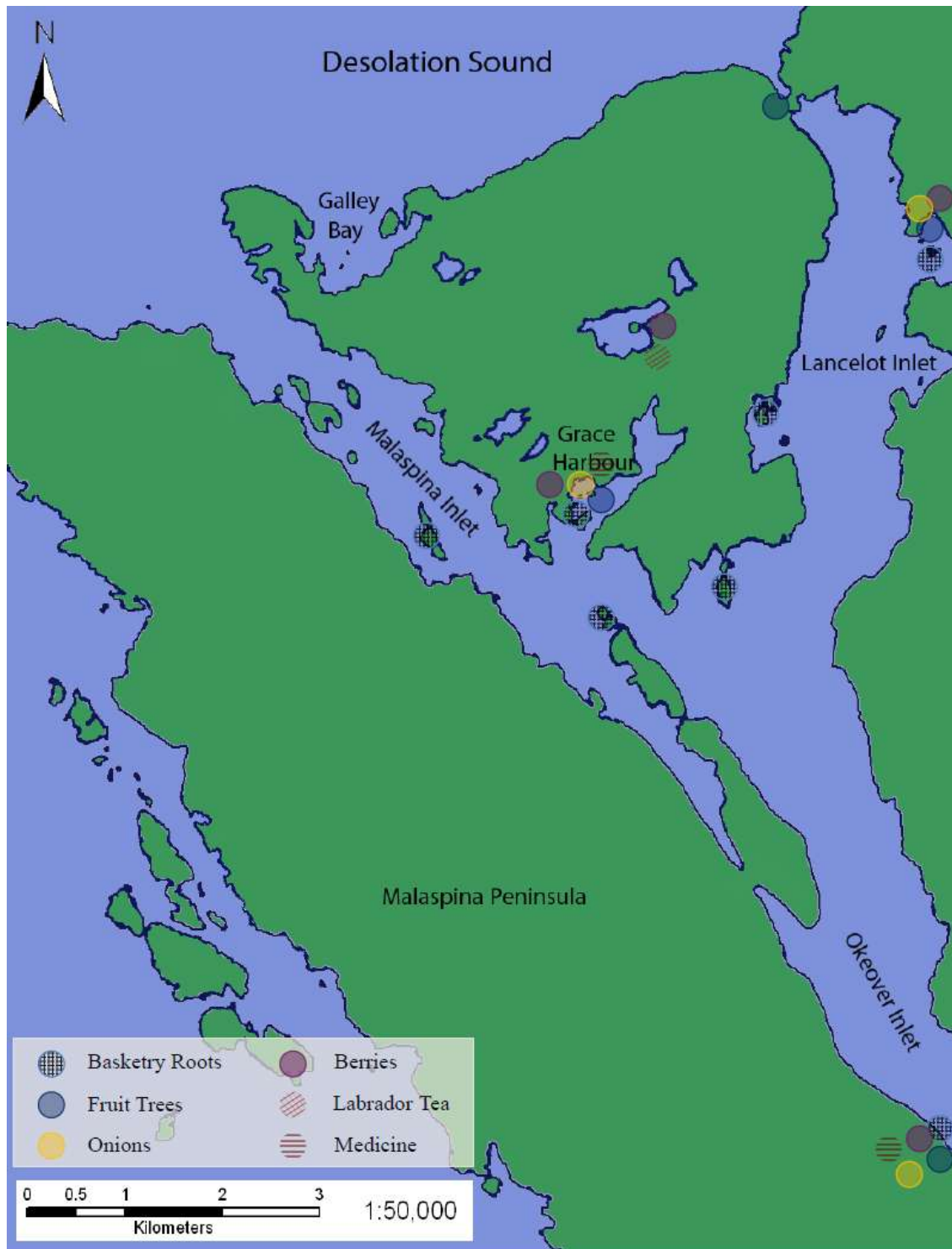


Figure 5. Locations of different types plant resources harvested in and around Grace Harbour.

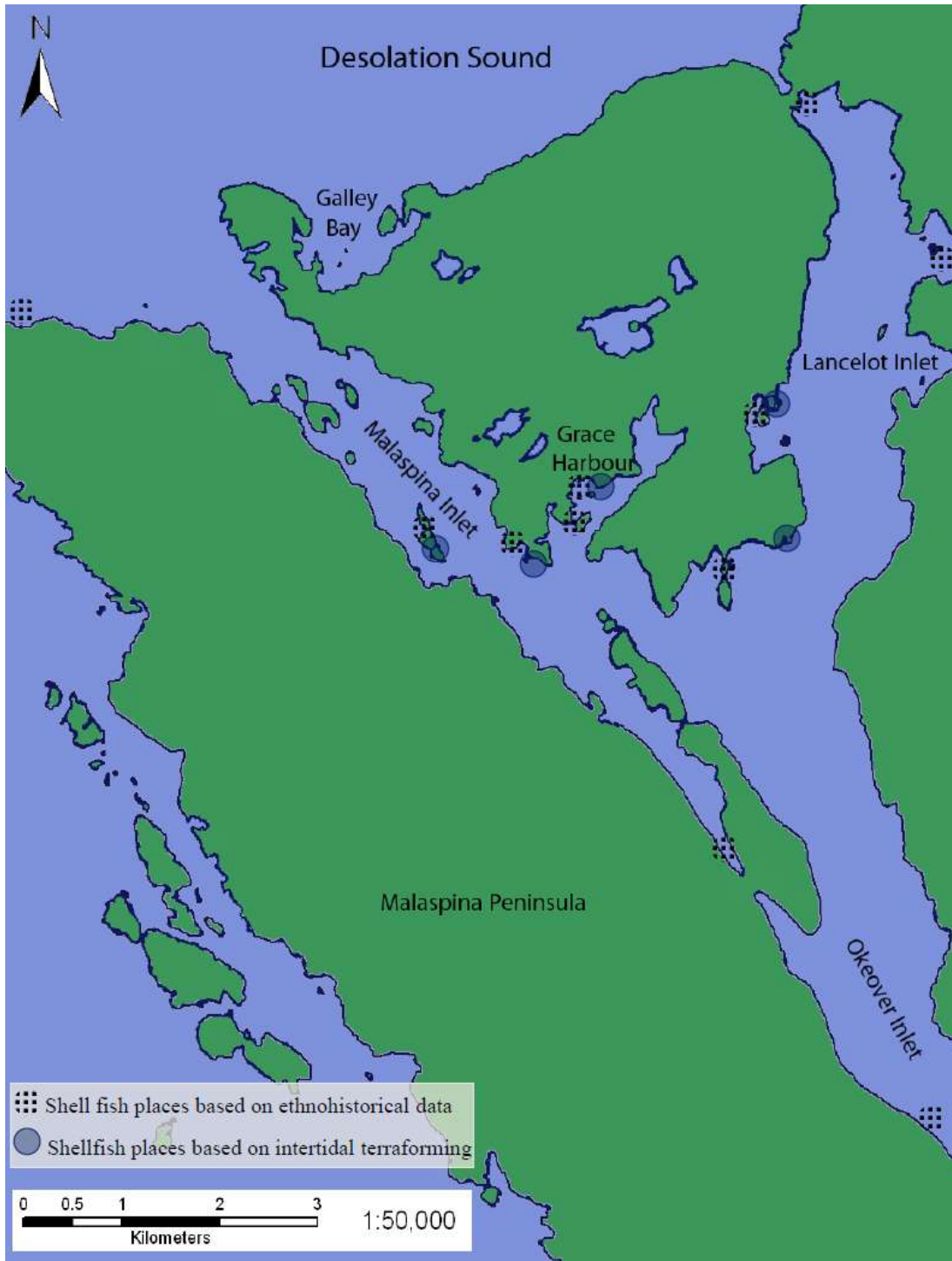


Figure 6. Shellfish harvesting areas.

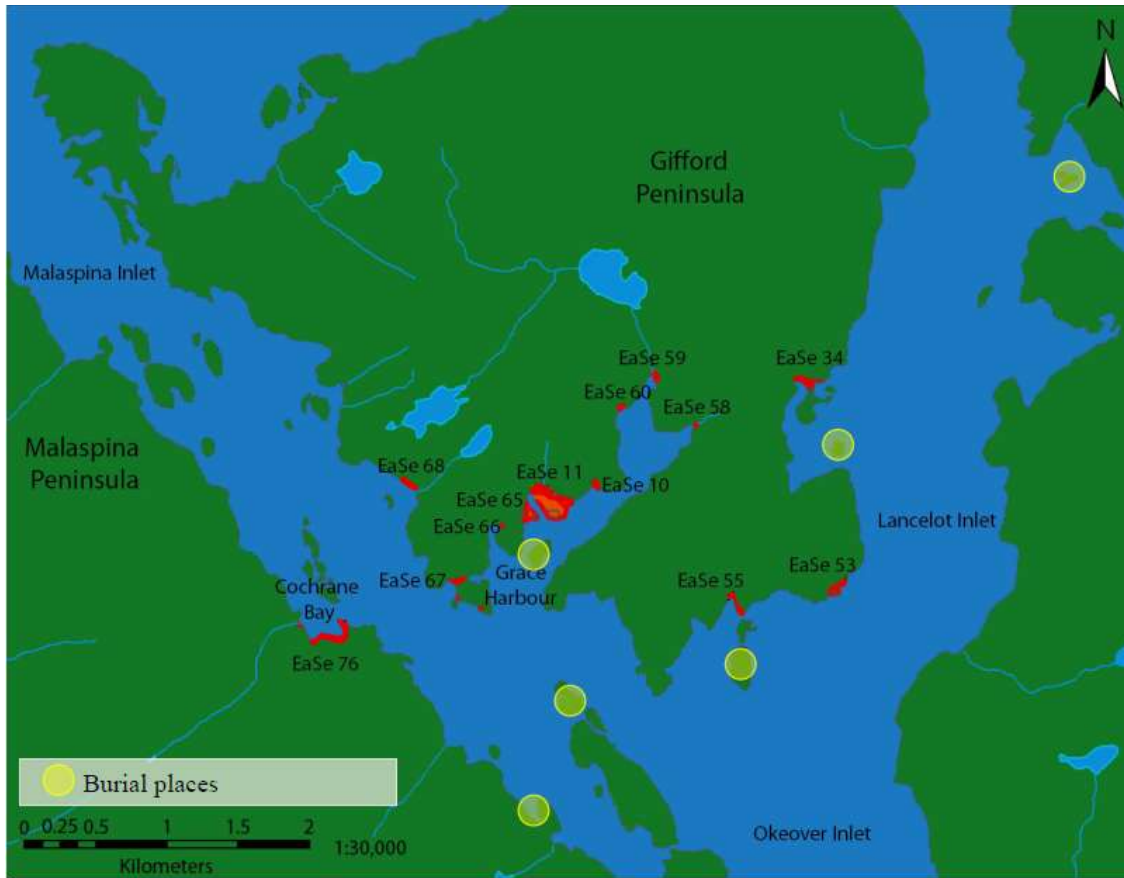


Figure 7. Islands that are both for burials and getting shellfish.

The villages and camp sites throughout the landscape are described as being associated with different families, and some are described as high class or chiefly (Figure 8). Jean Island was a place for a grandmother to teach her granddaughter to get roots for making baskets, but at another time or to another family it was a place to bury, and then remember a loved one (Sliammon Treaty Society 1996). These multiple and overlapping uses for different places show that the landscape is dynamic, it plays different roles at different times and to different people and groups within the community.



Figure 8. Families associated with different areas.

How people move around the landscape is an important part of what connects places and weaves them into a cultural landscape. The Grace Harbour Cultural Landscape has several overland trails, canoe routes, and portages that connect the

different centres of activity. Four overland trails connect the Grace Harbour area, Bliss Landing, Theodosia, Portage Cove, and Okeover (Table 4; Figure 9). Each of these offered a route in and out of the area and connected this part of the Ayahjuthum territory to other parts, such as the village at Sliammon Creek and Squirrel Cove on Cortes Island. In addition, another trail was used during raids as an escape route from Kahkaykay Village to Isabel Bay and then by canoe to Theodosia to hide from raiders (Figure 10). The trail from Portage Cove to Wooten Bay has its use imbedded in its name, “Key ghee yeen” (to walk over), as well as how it is remembered and talked about by the old people. Others trails’ names have been lost from memory, such as the Bliss Landing to Cochrane Bay trail, but the meaning of the places are still remembered. This particular trail was described as "Very old trail from Cochrane to Bliss, was one way to get away from the Haida raiders" by Emily August, and that “people packed fish to Bliss to sell to the white people there” Katherine Blaney (Sliammon Treaty Society 1996; Tla’amin - Simon Fraser University 2008).

Place	Description/ Explanation
Bliss Landing to Cochrane Bay	"Very old trail from Cochrane to Bliss, was one way to get away from the Haida raiders"
	"Early white settlers used " the old Indian trail to Bliss Landing" to get out of Malaspina"
	"Trail from Bliss to Okeover"
	"People packed fish to Bliss to sell to the white people there"
Portage Cove to Wooten Bay	"Is a short cut/ canoe portage to Mink Is"
	"Granny would pull her boat across here on her way to Squirrel Cove, also a escape rout for when Haida raid from the north" Emily August
	"Can pack your canoe over here, on your way to Mink Is"
	"from Portage to Theo/ canoe portage"
	"Used to drag the boat over here"
Okeover Village to Sliammon Creek Village	"From Okeove the Sliammon village, took three hrs"
	"From Tal'e'saws house to Jim Harry's house"
	"From Theo, by Okeover, to Sliammon Village, through Appleton"
	"Would pack from Sliammon village to Okeover then paddle north"
Grace Harbour to Isabel Bay	"Trail from Grace to Isabel for the Chiefs family to run and hide in Theo"

Table 4. Trails that lead in and out of the Grace Harbour study area.

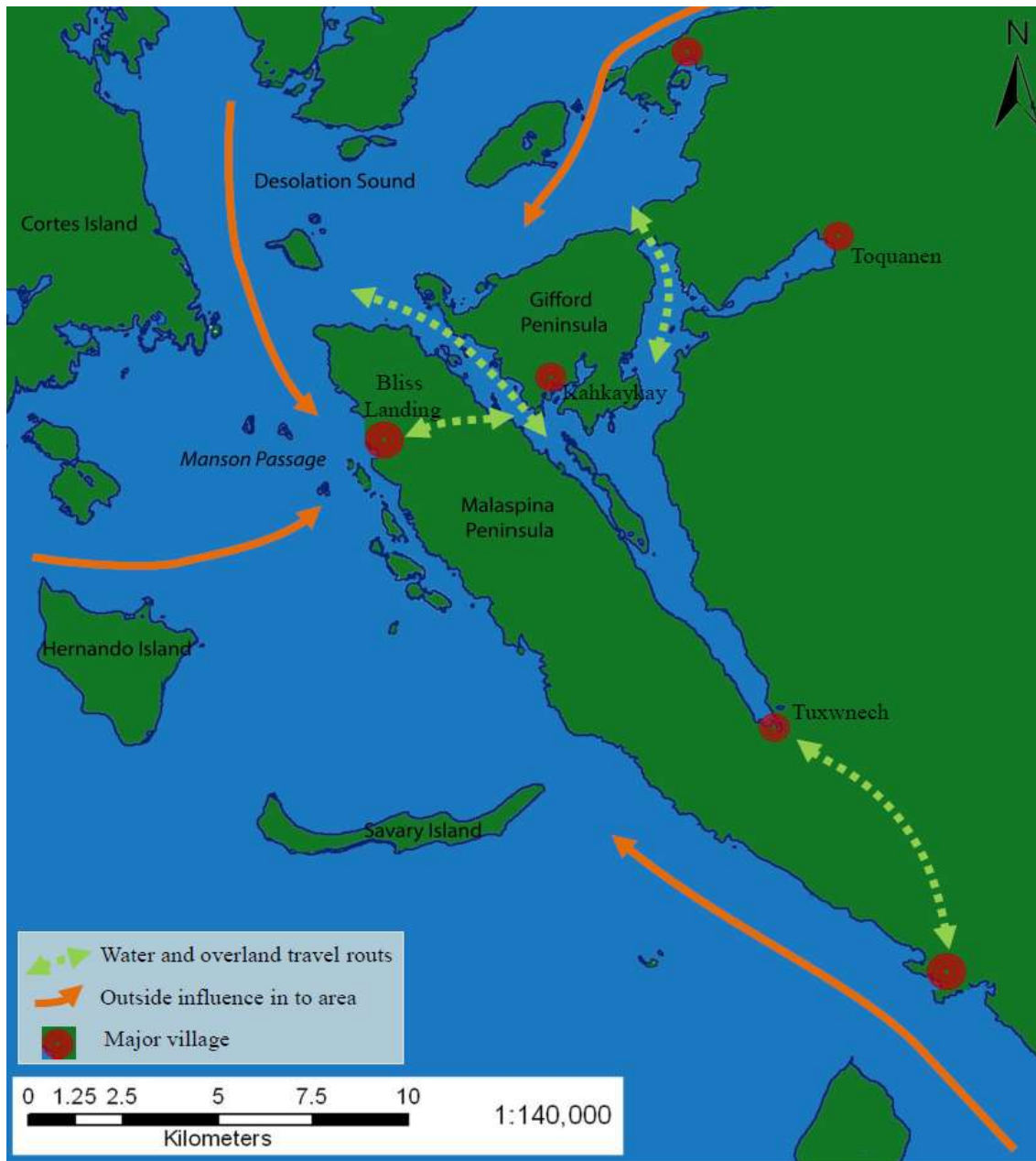


Figure 9. Common travel routes for Grace Harbour residents and directions of outside influence, including trade and conflict.

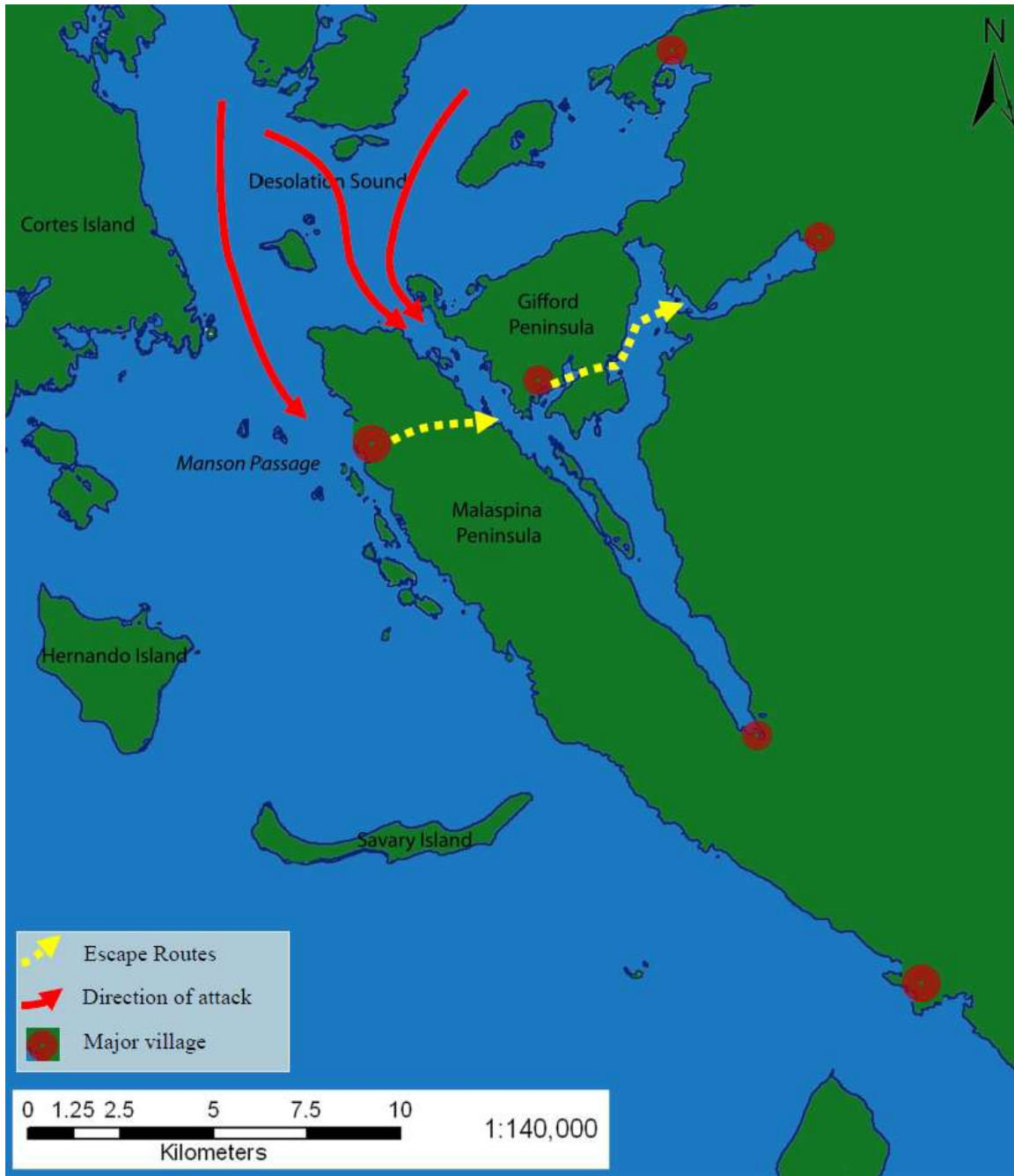


Figure 10. Map indicating the direction of approaching attackers based on ethnohistoric data and how the residents would escape from such attacks.

The Grace Harbour landscape is also interconnected by numerous waterways that served as routes to move goods and people (Figure 9). The Grace Harbour landscape can only be accessed by water from the outside by one route, through Malaspina Inlet, but

once inside, the waterways branch in several directions providing easy access to all the land of the area. Most of the sites (Figure 11) are situated in locations that provide shelter from much of the weather and currents coming in Malaspina Inlet and yet still allows easy access to the surrounding area and its resources.

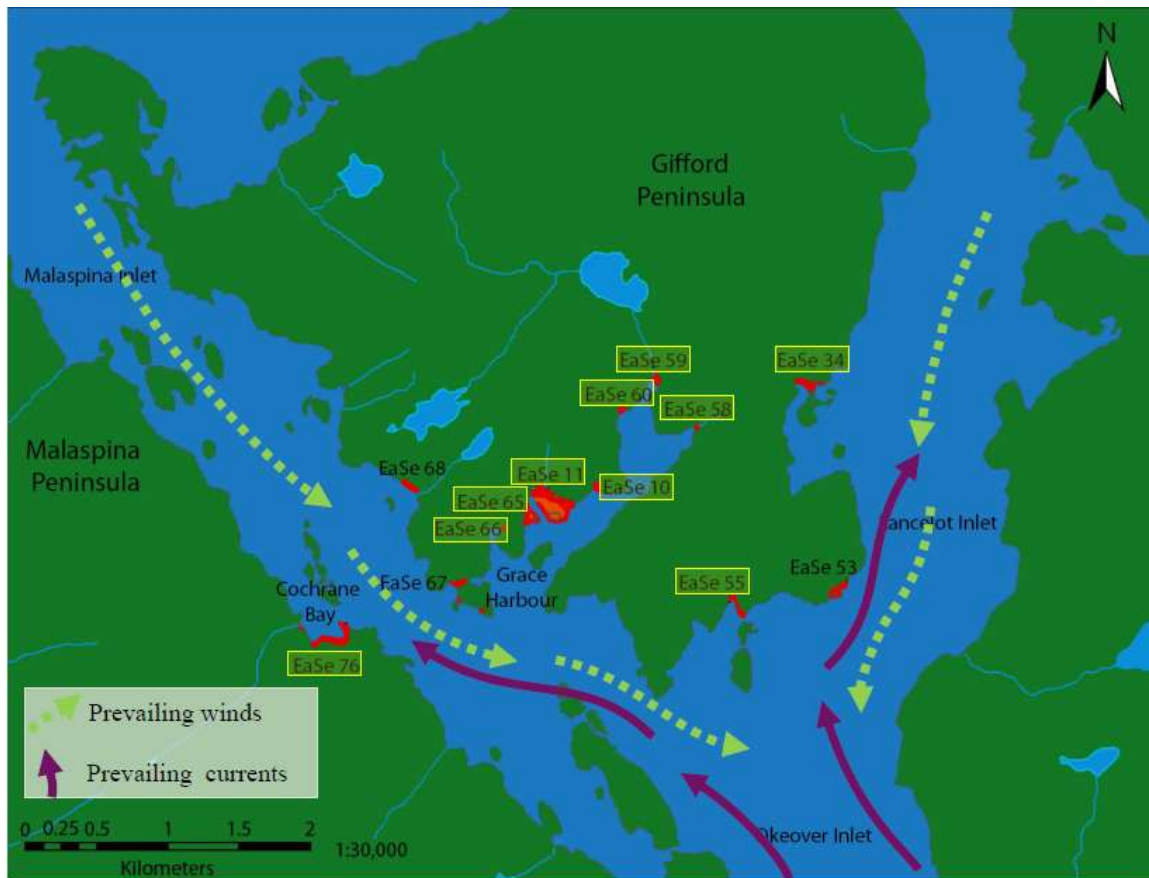


Figure 11. Prevailing currents and winds around Grace Harbour and archaeological sites in relation to them. Highlighted sites are considered protected from the elements.

Raiding by northern Kwakwaka'wakw people and warfare are mentioned many times in Tla'amin and Coast Salish ethnohistoric and anthropological documents (Angelbeck 2009; Barnett 1938; Sliammon Treaty Society 1996) and it looks to be a significant theme in the Grace Harbour area as well. In general, the Grace Harbour landscape offered protection from raiders both through its limited access to outside

waters and because the convoluted shoreline allowed for more places to hide. However, this same shoreline made it harder to see an attacker coming, and thus there must have been a premium on sites with far-reaching views, especially up Malaspina Inlet. Some of the trails are described by Emily August, Erik Blaney and Norman Gallagher, as routes for quick exits while attackers had to paddle around the long way (Figure 10).

Underground “fighting houses” were also built as places to take refuge during times of war (Barnett 1955:51). Chief Tom told Barnett (1955:50-51) that these fighting houses were used in the time of his grandfather and described them as excavated six feet deep and with flat plank and earth covered roofs. Chief Julian (of Klahoose) told Barnett that Tla’amin had underground houses at “qwan” which he described as near a small creek in Malaspina Inlet (Barnett 1938:51). This seems likely to refer to the underground houses we identified at Cochrane Bay.

Place Names and Language

Some places have place names that connect them to a specific Tla’amin story recorded in the ethnohistoric record. One such place in the study area is Scott Point. Titagayits a (Scott Point) is named after a woman that was sitting on the point picking fleas out of her son’s hair when the Transformer came and turned her into stone (Table 5; Sliammon Treaty Society 1996). Many Transformer sites in Coast Salish territory are marked by stones that stand out from the rest of the landscape, such as Hatzic Rock (Schaepe 2006; 2007). In several interviews with Tla’amin elders, Scott Point was pointed out not as a transformer site, but as a place with a special rock, a meteorite. It is likely that, the name, the story, and the meteorite were all connected through the place at one time but that they have become separate over the generations.

Tla'amin Name	English Name or Area	Meaning	Associated Story or Explanation
Jeh jish chee um	Bliss Landing	to pack on back' or 'pack' and 'walk' together	
Kwee she tum	Galley Bay	Naming	This is a Sechelt term that means Naming, the Tla'amin word is 'Nantem', the place is called by the Sechelt word
Key ghee yeen	Land between Portage Cove and Wooton Bay	Walk across	Instead of going all the way around Gifford Peninsula, the people in the old days used to drag their canoes across this area
Theth yahl	Small lake on east side of Okeover	Little lake	
Kwek nahtch	Jones Bay, near Stopford pt		
Kah Kee Ky	Grace Harbour	to camp overnight	Just before the arrival of non-Indians Tla'amin, Klahoose and Homalco all wintered here together and held winter ceremonies, used the speakers rook as a podium for speeches
Titagayits a Kowth Ken	Scott Pt Lion Rock	Name of transformed woman	There was a woman here who had her child in front of her, and she was picking the lice out of her child's hair, when the transformer came along and changed both of them into rock. The rocks are still there, but one has been turned over, the person who tampered with it was 'punished', he died mysteriously.
That yep ton	Edith Is	Follow the beach	When you are digging clams and the tide is going out, you can follow along the beach from the shore to the island
Klah Kah my yeen	Codde Peninsula and Is	Poiting down the inlet	
Kult-si-oos	Little Island across from Grace Harbour		There is a little grave yard there. *In the Jean Island section of the TUS Data, but could refer to Isbister Islands
Haw' uh'jim	Lake behind Grace Village	Cranberries	a good place to get cranberries
Tuxwnech or Tokenatch	Okeover reserve		
Toquanen or Toquana	Theodosia		
Kagu'et	Theodosia, narrows at entrance		

Table 5. Tla'amin place names in and around Grace Harbour and what the names mean if known.

The Archaeology of the Grace Harbour Cultural Landscape

Previous Work

While a great deal is known about the prehistory of the Coast Salish in general (e.g., Matson and Coupland 1995, Mitchell 1990), the Coast Salish cultural sequence is based on data from the southern Strait of Georgia. In these sequences, the North Coast Salish area is glossed over and presumably thought to fit in to Strait of Georgia cultural patterns. A striking example is Mitchell's (1990) overview of Coast Salish prehistory, which is based on four excavations in Metro Vancouver and one in Point Roberts, Washington, with no data from the northern Strait of Georgia. It seems unlikely that Northern Coast Salish prehistory would match exactly that of Central Coast Salish over a hundred kilometres to the south.

Two archaeological survey and mapping projects were conducted within the Grace Harbour study area. The first of the projects was conducted in 1976 by Steven Acheson and Sidney Riley (1976; Welch et al. 2010). Their survey extended from the south end of Desolation Sound to Howe Sound, focusing primarily on the shoreline. Their study was designed specifically to locate as many sites as possible on the shoreline, estimate their aerial extent, and plot them on a 1:50,000 topographic map. It was not one of their goals to survey inland areas or to determine details about site size. Acheson and Riley identified a large number of sites in their broader survey area (N =400), 20 of which are located in the Grace Harbour study area (Figure 12). My survey did not identify any sites that were not previously recorded by Acheson and Riley. However, because of Acheson and Riley's extremely large study area and limited resources, my survey was able to more accurately determine site extent and locate associated features.

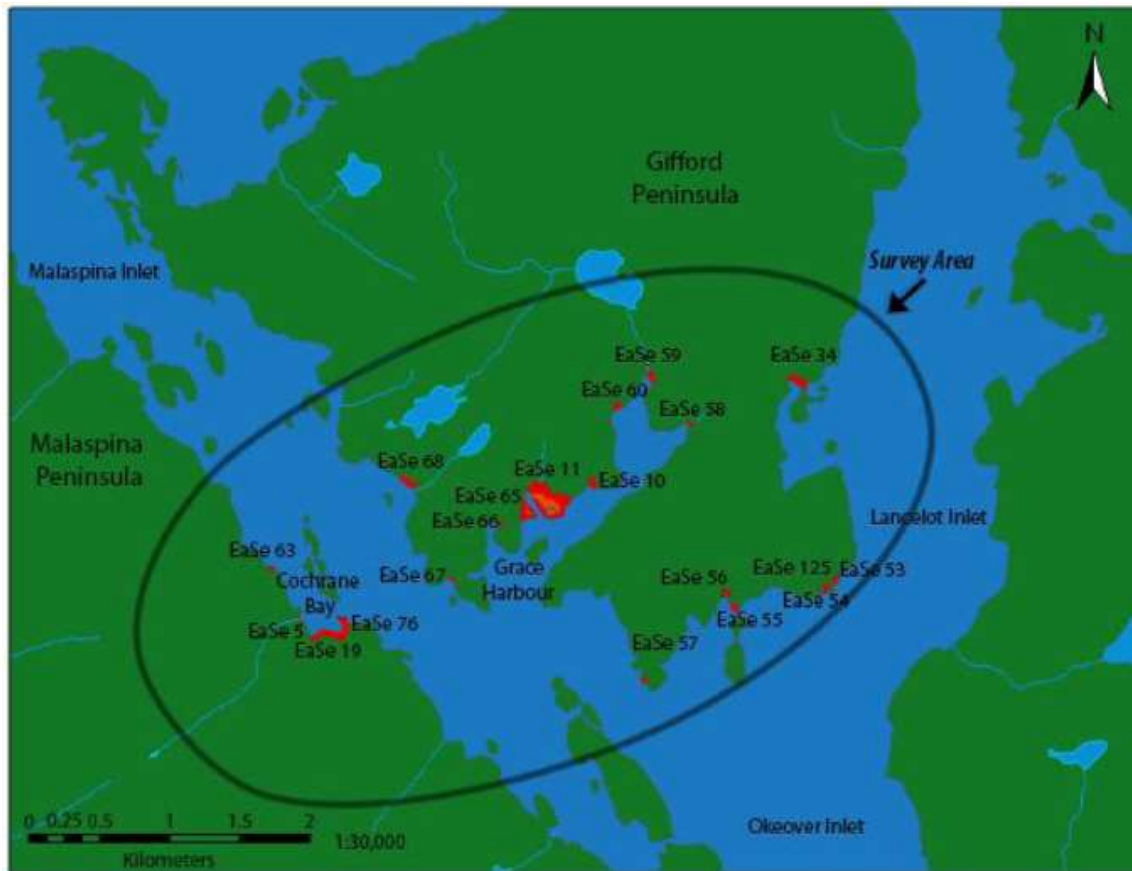


Figure 12. Sites recorded in study area prior to 2008 survey.

The second archaeological study was conducted by Millennia Research (Mathews 2002). The purpose of the study was to document unrecorded burials known to the Tla'amin First Nation as well as locate recorded and unrecorded sites, establish site boundaries, and assess the condition of sites in three small areas in Desolation Sound Park. The project focused only on areas that had known but unrecorded burials. Millennia recorded two new burial sites (EaSe 127 and EaSe 128) and remapped Kahkaykay as well as two other sites (EaSe 11, EaSe 65, EaSe 61). In general, they found the burial sites to be badly disturbed by looters, but that the midden sites were in relatively good condition (Mathews 2002).

Taken together, these two studies demonstrate that the density of sites in the Grace Harbour area is quite high and that while some of the sites are disturbed by logging and pot hunting, much is still intact. It is also clear from these studies that while the shoreline has been surveyed to an extent, the uplands have yet to be investigated.

The closest full scale excavation to our study area is a mitigation excavation conducted 50 km to the south in Saltery Bay in 2004 by Golder Associates, Inc. (Golder) (Mason 2007). Five test pits and a 1 x 22 meter trench revealed three components to the site with the initial occupation dating to 7,600 years ago. Golder archaeologists characterized the site as a semi-permanent dwelling location that had been continuously used from 7,600 to the historical period. A significant assemblage of basalt microblade cores were excavated in some of the earliest layers, and dated to 6,750 to 6,050 cal B.P. The investigation by Golder is particularly significant because it demonstrates the potential for long term and ancient occupation along the northern Strait of Georgia coastline, as well as a long record of in situ development of Coast Salish culture (Mason 2007).

Archaeological excavations within the study area are limited to a small salvage excavation conducted by Simon Fraser University in a substantial shell midden and settlement at Bliss Landing (EaSe 2; Carlson 1972), which was historically connected to Malaspina Inlet via a trail (Sliammon Treaty Society 1996; Figure 9). This excavation recovered three burials, observed a fourth, and collected a variety of artifacts. Two components were noted at the time of excavation, the first was interpreted to be from the Mayne Phase (4500 to 2500 B.P.) and the later phase was interpreted as representing the San Juan Phase (750 B.P. to contact), both based on their lithic assemblages (Carlson

1972). One of the burials has since been radiocarbon dated to 4000 years ago (Simon Fraser University C14 Laboratory 1989) pushing the age of the site back 1000 years further than originally thought. This particular burial has evidence of labret wear. This labret wear is significant both because it is evidence of social difference at this early date (Dahm 1994; La Salle 2008), and because it demonstrates that the people of this region shared social symbols with contemporaneous Coast Salish further south (e.g., Pender Canal and Tsawassen; Dahm 1994). Although limited in scope, the results of the excavations are also important because they confirm the antiquity of major settlements in the study area

Survey Results

We surveyed over 27 km of transects along the coastline and into the inland areas of the Grace Harbour region (Figure 13). Of the 20 sites previously recorded by Acheson and Riley (1976) in and around Grace Harbour, our team located and re-recorded 18 sites (**Error! Reference source not found.**). We were unable to relocate one of the sites (EaSe 63) and unable to gain access to one other site (EaSe 57) on private property. No new sites were recorded, but we were able to expand the available information on the size, shape, intertidal features, and site features of 18 sites we located (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Detailed descriptions of each site surveyed are provided in Johnson 2010.

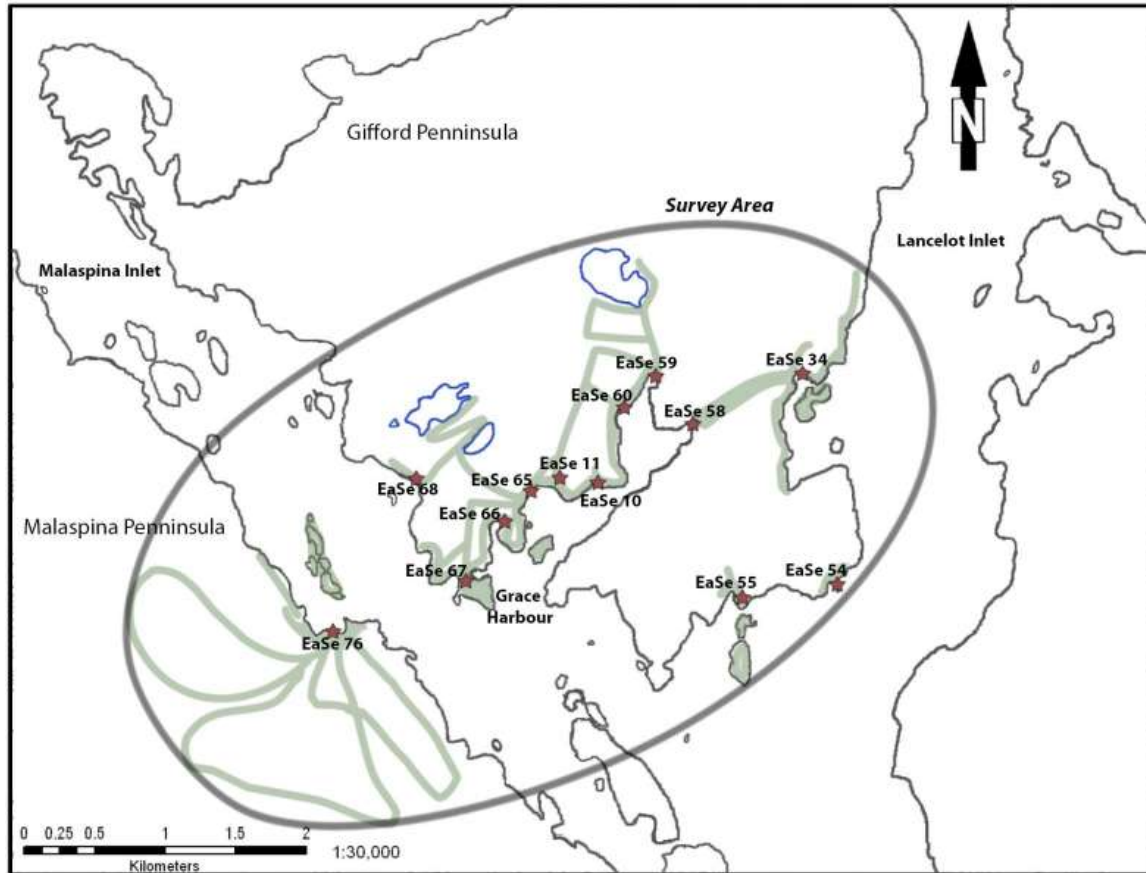


Figure 13. Survey Transects.

The survey revealed two types of living structures, plank houses (EaSe 11, EaSe 34, and EaSe 53) and underground refuge structures (EaSe 76). We identified plank houses based on level, flat, rectilinear depressions and terraces they leave behind. These identifications were further supported by deposits in many of the percussion cores that are consistent with house floors elsewhere in the region (Dana Lepofsky, personal communication, 2008). Underground refuge structures were identified from their description in Barnett (1944, 1955) as large, round structures excavated into the ground.

Site #	Map	Boundary Change	House Features	Subsurface Testing	Date	Intertidal Features	Size (M ²) Pre Survey	Size (M ²) Post Survey
EaSe 10	Sketch	20 more meters along creek and bay	No	no	-	No	3650	4900
EaSe 11	High Res and sketch	Yes, Extends across creek to nw and around corner to se	Yes, surface	Yes	Date 1: 1380 to 1280 Cal BP Date 2: 7520 to 7270 Cal BP Date 3: 2920 to 2900 AND 2890 to 2760 Cal BP	Yes	4750	7450
EaSe 34	Sketch	Extends twice as far down the beach	Yes, in core profile	Yes	Date 1: 3800 to 3460 Cal BP	Yes	330	650
EaSe 53	Sketch	Expanded on all sides, combined with 54	Yes, surface and in core profile	Yes	Date 1: 1310 to 1230 AND 1210 to 1180 Cal BP	Yes	420	4625
EaSe 55	Sketch	change in location, combined with 56	No	No	-	No	570	570
EaSe 57	No	No, private property	-	No	-	-	-	-
EaSe 58	Sketch	No	No	Yes	Date 1: 670 to 550 Cal BP	No	90	200
EaSe 59	Sketch	No, very damaged	No	No	-	No	810	800
EaSe 60	Sketch	Yes, new area found to west	No	No	-	No	240	375
EaSe 63	No	No, couldn't relocate	-	No	-	-	-	-
EaSe 65	High Res and sketch	Yes, extended on all sides.	Yes	Yes	-	Yes	1530	3000
EaSe 66	Sketch	No	No	No	-	No	90	75
EaSe 67	Sketch	Yes STP's positive, Shell scatter on pt, intertidal feature	No	Yes	-	Yes	125	4837.5
EaSe 68	Sketch	Yes	No	No	-	Yes	990	1175
EaSe 76	High Res and sketch	Yes, combined with 19 and 5	Yes	Yes	Date 1: 960 to 800 Cal BP Date 2: 2330 to 2040 Cal BP	Yes	750	7425

Table 6. Survey results summary.

We extracted 40 percussion core samples from shell middens and house platforms throughout the study area to investigate the depth of the cultural deposits, look for evidence of houses, and collect datable material. Nearly all of the cores taken for this project were comprised predominately of crushed shell and compressed at a ratio of approximately 1:3. We found the coring device to be very good at extracting intact stratigraphic profiles from shell midden deposits, and in some cases helpful in determining the presence or absence of shell as an indicator of site boundaries.

Neither the shovel tests nor the survey transects in the upland areas resulted in the identification of previously unrecorded sites. Our investigation of the area around the three lakes in the uplands northwest of Kahkaykay Village showed signs of water level change. Based on the presence of dead trees standing in the lakes; the water levels appear to have risen approximately one meter in recent years. This rise in water level is likely the result of changes in drainage caused by the intensive logging that has taken place over the last 100 years (Thompson 1993). As a result of the change in water level, any archaeological sites that were located along the lake edge would now be submerged. The area beyond the current lake edge is heavily vegetated, making passage and the detection of sites difficult.

We intensively investigated the low saddle between EaSe 34 and EaSe 58 with both survey transect and shovel tests, but did not find any archaeological deposits. We located test sites in these areas because the flat, easily accessible terrain makes them likely candidates for habitation. The absence of sites may be due to the heavy logging activity obscuring the traces, or that ancient use did not leave material traces. Our investigation of inland locations of Scott Point, Kakaekae point, the upland behind

Cochrane Bay (Figure 13), also produced negative results. Based on traditional use studies, we know these areas were used for hunting deer, trapping smaller animals, digging roots, and harvesting berries and other plants (Sliammon Treaty Society 1996). Thus, the absence of material evidence of these activities could be due to the fact that short term camps are more difficult to find than shell middens, especially in the dense understory. And finally, logging undoubtedly disturbed some, if not all, of these less substantial sites.

Sizes of Sites

In multiple cases we found that the sites are significantly larger than previously recorded, increasing from an average, pre-survey site area of about 1000 sq m to over 2500 sq m per site (Figure 14). The aerial extent of EaSe 53 and EaSe 54 on Stopford Point is much larger than previously thought, going from about 400 sq m to over 4000 sq m, and they have been re-designated, along with EaSe125 (stone fish trap), as EaSe 53. We found a similar situation at EaSe 76 in Cochrane Bay (formerly EaSe 5, EaSe 19, and EaSe 76) and EaSe 56 in Salubrious Bay (formerly EaSe 55 and EaSe 56). All of these sites have been re-designated to reflect their size. The aerial extent of the other six sites (EaSe 10, EaSe 11, EaSe 34, EaSe 60, EaSe 65, and EaSe 67) are more extensive than previously recorded, while two additional sites (EaSe 60 and EaSe 76) have newly discovered components or areas.

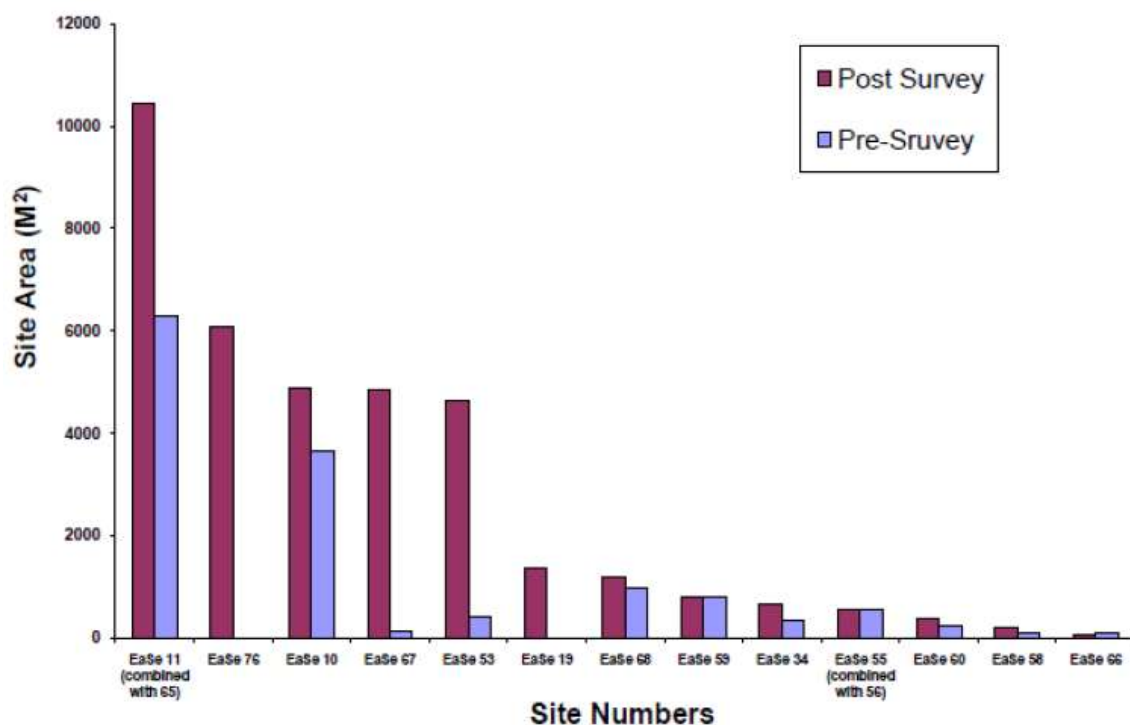


Figure 14. Site size before and after 2008 survey.

Based on aerial extent (but not depth, since we did not extensively test them) sites fall into three size classes (Small: < 1350 sq m, Medium: 6075 - 1350 sq m, Large >6075 sq m; Figure 14). Small and medium size sites are clustered around the one large site in the area (Figure 15). The large site (EaSe 11) and half of the mid-sized sites (EaSe 76 and EaSe 53) have evidence of house platforms and underground houses, while the eight small sites and the remaining two medium sites do not (Table 7). This suggests a difference in the function of the small, medium, and large sites. With further investigation, such as more test excavation or a more intensive coring program, the significance of this site distribution pattern by site size, and its connection to the presence

and absence of house features, may become clear.

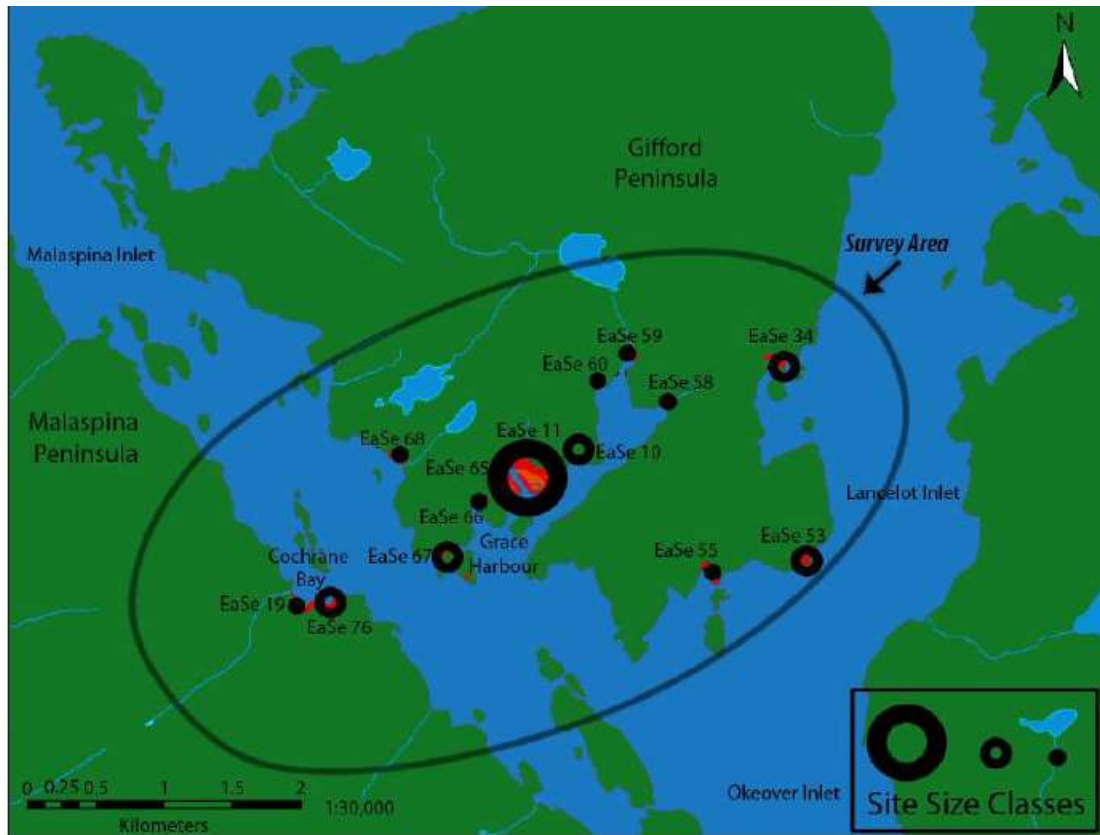


Figure 15. Spatial distribution of site by size class.

Site	Evidence for Houses	Interpretation	House Age
EaSe 11	Terraced benches with rectilinear depressions, and house floor deposits in core	Plank houses	Terraces house platforms visible on date to 1380 to 1280 Cal BP, 7520 to 7270 Cal BP, and 2920 to 2760 Cal BP
EaSe 34	House floor deposits in core	Plank houses	Floor dates to 3800 to 3460 Cal BP
EaSe 53	Terraced benches with rectilinear depressions, and house floor deposits in core	Plank houses	Floor dates to 1310 to 1230 AND 1210 to 1180 Cal BP
EaSe 65	Terraced benches, with rectilinear depressions	Plank houses	not dated
EaSe 76	Deep round depressions, Terraced benches with rectilinear depressions, and house floor deposits in core	Plank houses and underground refuge structures	Lower of two floors in underground refuge dates to 960 to 800 Cal BP

Table 7. Sites with house features.

Site Locations and Distribution

A majority of the sites (10 of 13 or 77%) are located in protected, calm places off the main channels, such as in the backs of deep coves, bays, and behind small islands (Figure 16). These locations offer protection from the prevailing winds and strong ocean currents as well as safety from raiders (Figure 11). The large site, half of the medium sites, and 1 of the 8 small sites are in the protected category (Figure 17). It seems that the best locations either allowed for larger sites to develop or the locations were chosen because they were the best. On the other hand, the smaller sites are in places that could not support growth or the place just was not attractive enough to be further developed with terraforming.

The protected sites are also positioned to take advantage of the few level areas in this somewhat rugged landscape. They occupy the only level space and extend from cliff face to cliff face. For example, the largest site in the survey area (EaSe 11) is one of the Tla'amin peoples' ethnohistorically recorded winter villages (Barnett 1955) and its location provides shelter from much of the weather and currents coming in Malaspina Inlet and yet still allows easy access to the surrounding area and its resources.

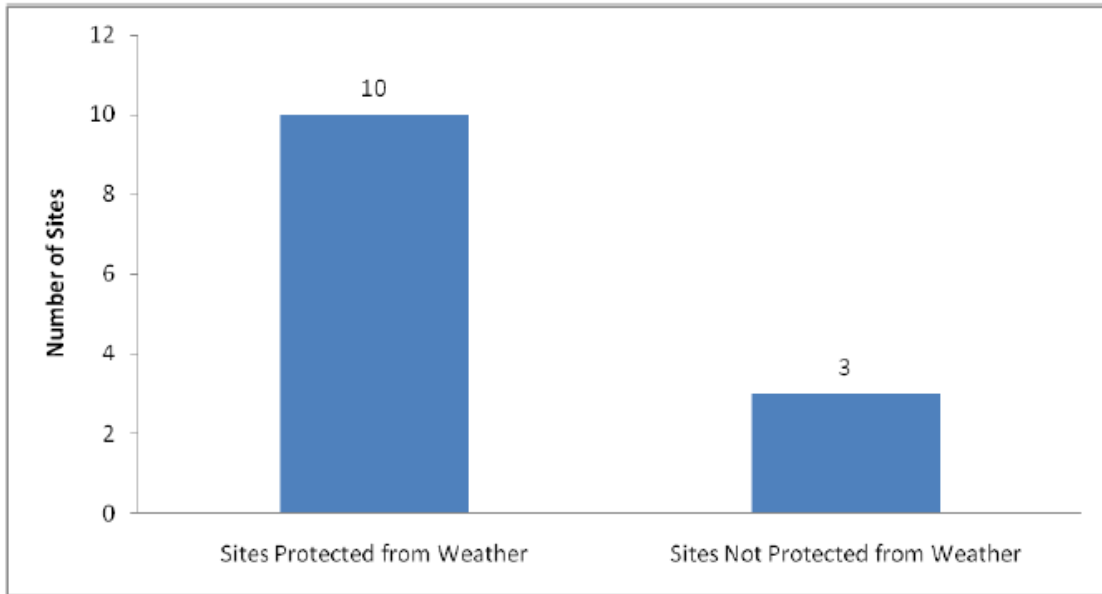


Figure 16. Protected vs. exposed sites.

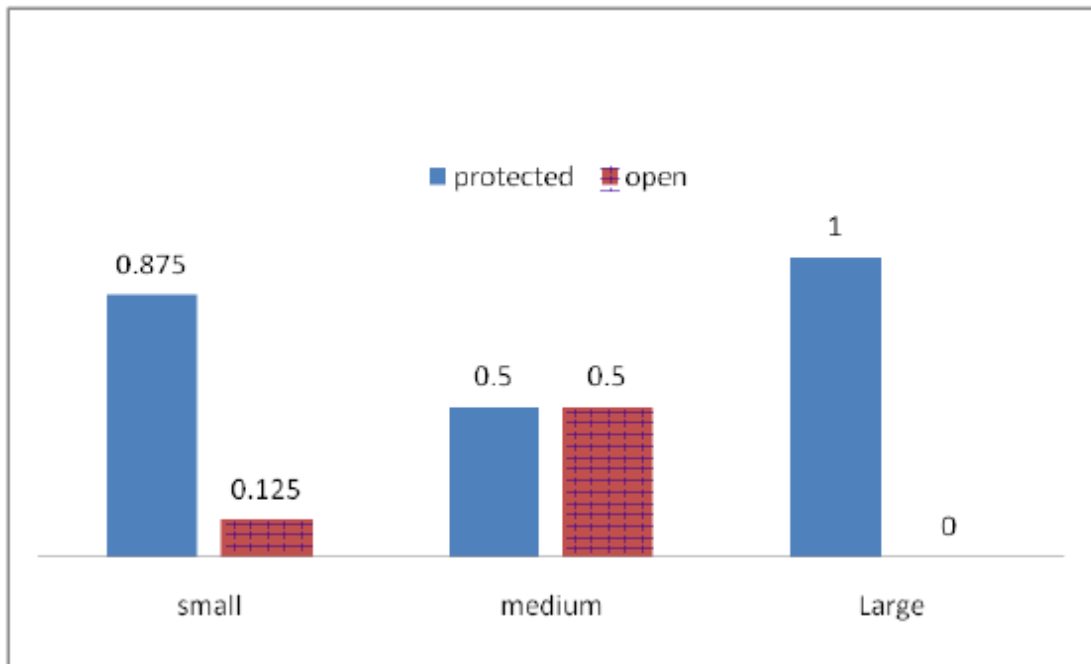


Figure 17. Protected sites by size class.

There are four sites that are notable exceptions to the filling of available level area and being situated in protected location as described above. EaSe 67 is located in a small protected cove on the west side of Scott Point and at the mouth of Grace Harbour proper. Most of the site is tucked in the back of the cove away from the wind and waves, but one component of the site is situated high on a rocky headland. This component is situated so that it is possible to see anyone approaching from the mouth of Malaspina Inlet, back into Grace Harbour proper and Kahkaykay Village, across to Cochrane Bay, and down Okeover Inlet (Figure 18). This is the only site in the study that fits the description of a lookout site (Moss and Erlandson 1992; Schaepe 2006). Its central location on Malaspina Inlet makes it one of the best places in the area to signal from settlement to settlement within the Grace Harbour area and see invaders coming from the North.

Three other sites in the Grace Harbour Cultural Landscape are exceptions to the pattern of sites using all available, liveable space in calm, protected bays (Figure 11). Two of these sites (EaSe 68 and EaSe 53) are located in less desirable places and are exposed to the wind and waves of the main channels, and the third (EaSe 76) does not fill the easily available level terrain. In two of the three (EaSe 53 and EaSe 76) cases there appear to be specific cultural reasons that these site are in unusual locations.

EaSe53 is a medium sized site (Figure 11; Figure 15) whose location is recorded in Tla'amin oral history as place where commoners lived (Sliammon Treaty Society 1996). This site is located at the junction of Malaspina, Okeover, and Lancelot Inlets in two small coves and a small headland on Stopford Point. It is exposed to strong currents due to the confluence of the inlets and is also exposed to the winds that frequently blow out of Okeover Inlet. Two rectilinear depressions are visible on the surface; these

depressions are consistent with the remains of longhouses. The remains of a series of intertidal features are arranged around the perimeter of the site. These intertidal features trapped sediment and created habitat for intertidal fauna in an otherwise high energy environment. These intertidal features are not as large, substantial, or complex as those at Kahkaykay Village.

The archaeological information (i.e., medium site size, presence of house depressions and intertidal features), combined with its less desirable/high energy location, is consistent with an interpretation of a settlement with lower relative status than other settlements in the area. Suttles (1958) notes that nearly all Coast Salish people he interviewed identified their lineage as high class, but told him of other low class people. He concluded that, although small, there was a lower class in Coast Salish society and that fear of being called lower class acted as a social control that keep people within social limits. The Stopford Point site (EaSe 53) may indicate similar social constraints in ancient Tla'amin culture.

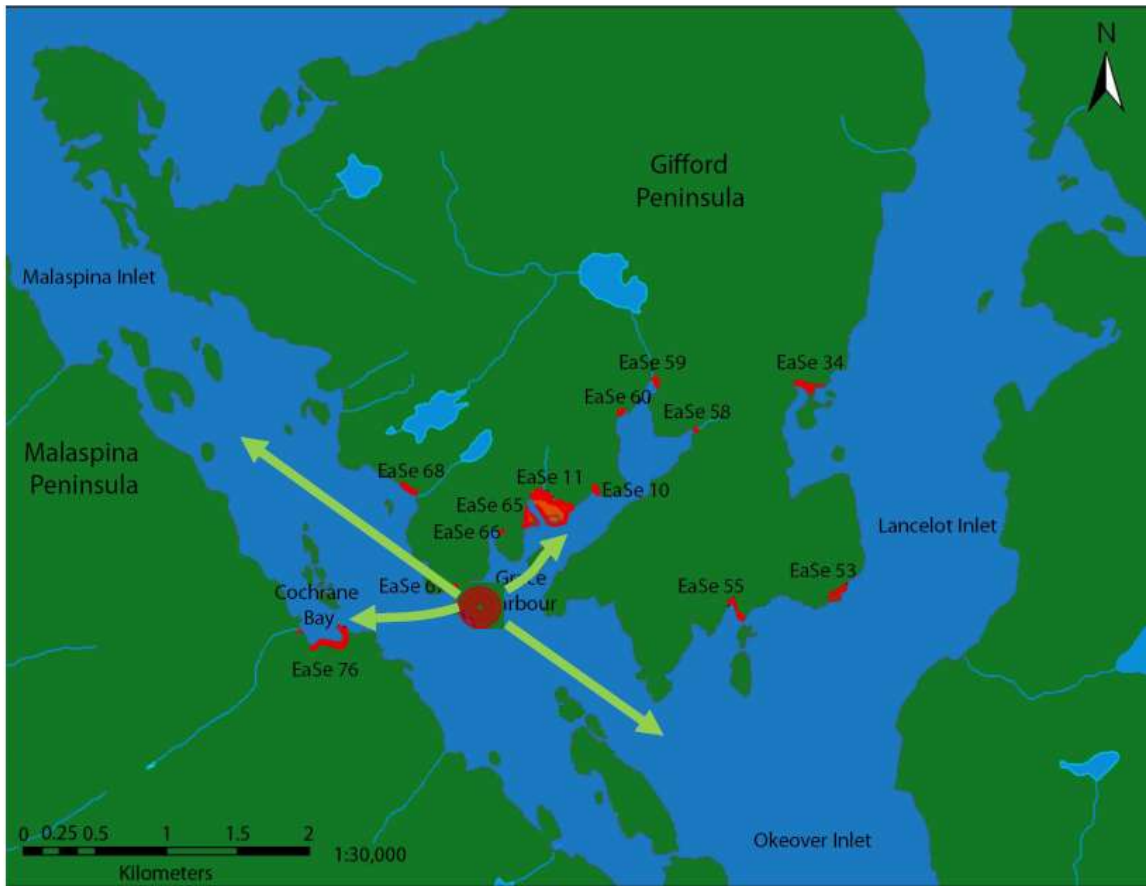


Figure 18. Views from lookout site at Scott Point.

Site #	Site Area (M ²)	Protected Setting? (Y/N)	Fills Level Terrain? (Y/N)	Connected by Trail ? (Y/ N)	House Features? (Y/ N)	Intertidal Features? (Y/N)	View of Outside Access? (Y/N)
EaSe 10	4900	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
EaSe 11	7450	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
EaSe 34	650	Y	Y	Y	y	Y	N
EaSe 53	4625	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
EaSe 55	570	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
EaSe 58	200	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
EaSe 59	800	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
EaSe 60	375	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
EaSe 65	3000	Y	Y	Y	y	Y	N
EaSe 66	75	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
EaSe 67	4837.5	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
EaSe 68	1175	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
EaSe 76	7425	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Table 8. Summary of site size, setting, types of features, view, and access.

EaSe 68 is located on a low, narrow natural terrace (less than 5 m wide most places) and is backed by a steep forested slope. It is exposed directly to Malaspina Inlet and the wind and waves that blow down the channel (Figure 11). This site fits in the small size category and there are no surface features, but it still fills the available space on the landform. The beach is very rocky with no sign of levelling, terracing, or clearing with the exception of two canoe skids. In terms of wind and currents, it is located in one of the least protected places in the survey area. This site is unusual in terms of the Grace Harbour Cultural Landscape because of its harsh location. The site fills the level landform, but its size suggests that there was significantly less investment of time/labour into terraforming less desirable places (more exposed to the weather).

EaSe 76 is also unusual in that it does not extend to the edge of the naturally level terrace on which it is situated as most of the sites surveyed do. This medium sized site (Figure 11; Figure 15) is located in a moderately protected place with a considerable amount of relatively level natural ground surface. The site has the remains of two or three ‘underground houses’ described as places of refuge during attack (Barnett 1955). The site is positioned at the end of a historical and ethnographically recorded trail to the village at Bliss landing. The houses may have served as refuges for people fleeing Bliss Landing during attacks.

Ages of Sites

The radiocarbon determinations from two small sites (EaSe 58 and EaSe 34), two medium sites (EaSe 76 and EaSe 53) and one large site (EaSe 11) range from over 7000 years old to about 500 years old with several dates in between (Figure 19; Table 9). We submitted four samples for radiocarbon analysis from Kahkaykay Village (EaSe 11); one

determination was later removed from our sample because the determination was not consistent with its stratigraphic location.

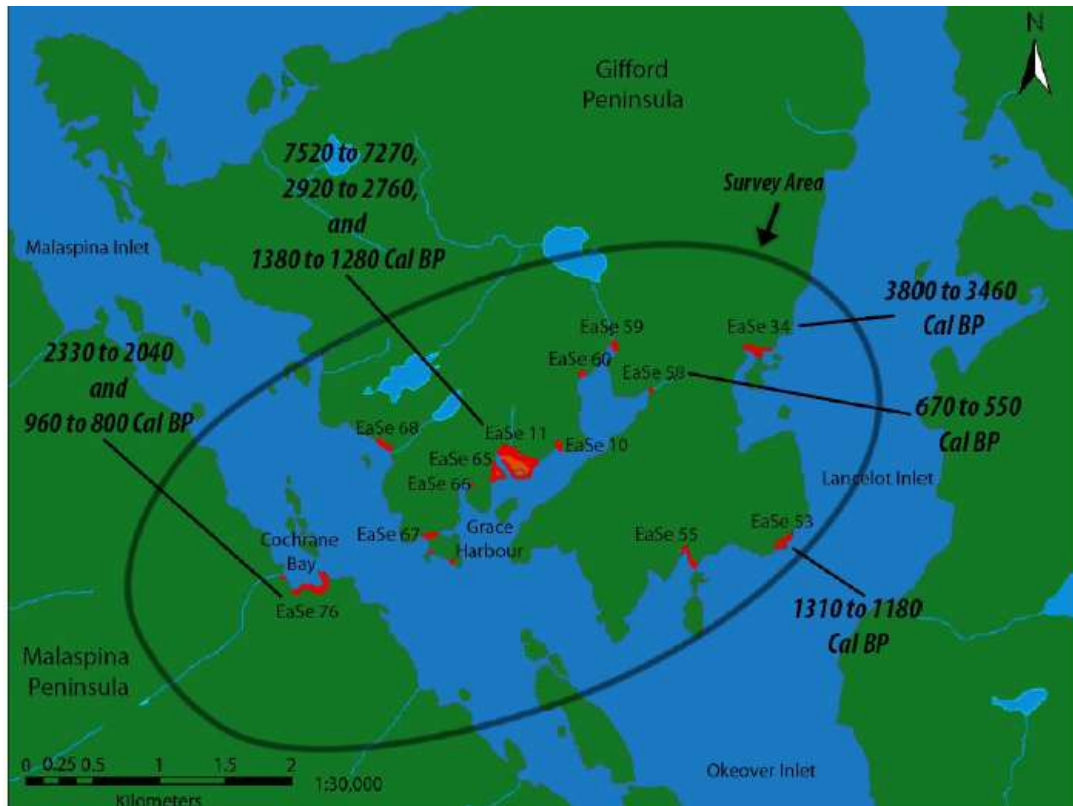


Figure 19. Dated sites.

Site	Core Number	Catalog Number	Beta Number	Location description	Material	Sample depth in core (cm)	Strata Notes	Age (cal BP) 2-Sigma
EaSe 11	P007-A	EaSe11P07	Beta - 258564	Same location as OK008	Charcoal	135-138 cm	Taken from last shell bearing layer in profile, sample very small. Resulted in contaminated date	Last 50 years
EaSe 11	P005	EaSe11P05	Beta - 258563	up slope and east from P004	Charcoal	62-64 cm	Sample is from a charcoal rich layer at the base of cultural deposits, just above sterile sand	1380 to 1280 Cal BP
EaSe 11	P002-A	EaSe11P2A	Beta - 261179	Lowest terrace, just east of historic structure	Charcoal	76-77 cm	Taken at base of several intact cultural strata, just above several cm of culturally sterile sediments	2920 to 2900 AND 2890 to 2760 cal BP
EaSe 11	P024	EaSe11P24	Beta - 261178	Center terrace on west bluff	Shell	48 cm	Sample was a charcoal dumps from shell strata. Taken at base of three intact cultural strata, just above several cm of culturally sterile sediments	7520 to 7270 cal BP
EaSe 34	P043	EaSe34P43	Beta - 261180	Center of site, west of creek	Shell	44 cm	Shell sample collected at very base of cultural strata, above sterile sand. Consistent with house floor at 36-42, lots of highly crushed/burnt shell with ash.	3800 to 3450 cal BP
EaSe 53	P040	EaSe53P40	Beta - 261181	End of house platform, east side of side	Charcoal	44-45 cm	Sample was flecks of charcoal from a shell strata, just above broken pieces of bedrock in tube. Gray ashy layer with very crushed shell at 38-42, consistent with a house floor.	1310 to 1230 AND 1210 to 1180 cal BP
EaSe 58	P045	EaSe58P45	Beta - 261182	2 meters back from outbank, center	Charcoal	33-35 cm	Sample taken from charcoal layer at base of cultural strata, just above sterile sand	670 to 550 cal BP
EaSe76	P046	EaSe76P46	Beta - 261183	Front terrace	Charcoal	50 cm	Sample taken from a charcoal layer near base of cultural deposits, 7 cm of crushed shell with charcoal and ashy flecks below the charcoal layer then basal beach sands	2330 to 2040 cal BP
EaSe 76	P029	EaSe76P29	Beta - 258565	Center of floor in largest depression	Charcoal	26 cm	Consistent with house floors at 12-18 and 25-28 cm deep, very dense crushed shell with ashy matrix. Under each is sand/gravel sterile fill, and under the upper floor is also midden fill	960 to 800 Cal BP

Table 9. Radiocarbon date details.

The sequence of basal ages in the cores suggests growth and terraforming of Kahkaykay Village site over time. In particular, the dates are more recent as they go from the high/protected area in the back of the bay towards the wet/low area out toward the point (Figure 20). The most recent date (1380 to 1280 cal B.P., core P005) was recovered from wet, silty stream sediments in what looks like a former creek bed/drainage (Figure 21). The presence of stream deposits at the base of the 1.78 m core suggest the Kahkaykay Village occupants deliberately filled in the stream channel with midden to increase the amount of usable land. The combination of the dates and the signs of terraforming suggest that the initial occupation of the site (likely as a small camp) some 7000 years ago was limited to a small area on bedrock at the back of the site. Later, the occupation expanded toward the water and by circa 1300 years ago expanded to fill any suitable land, whether naturally available, or created by the inhabitants. In some places

there are over 4 meters of fill over the site representing both long term accumulation in situ, and the transportation of fill to create more usable space. The long term occupation of this site reflects its central place in the larger cultural landscape.

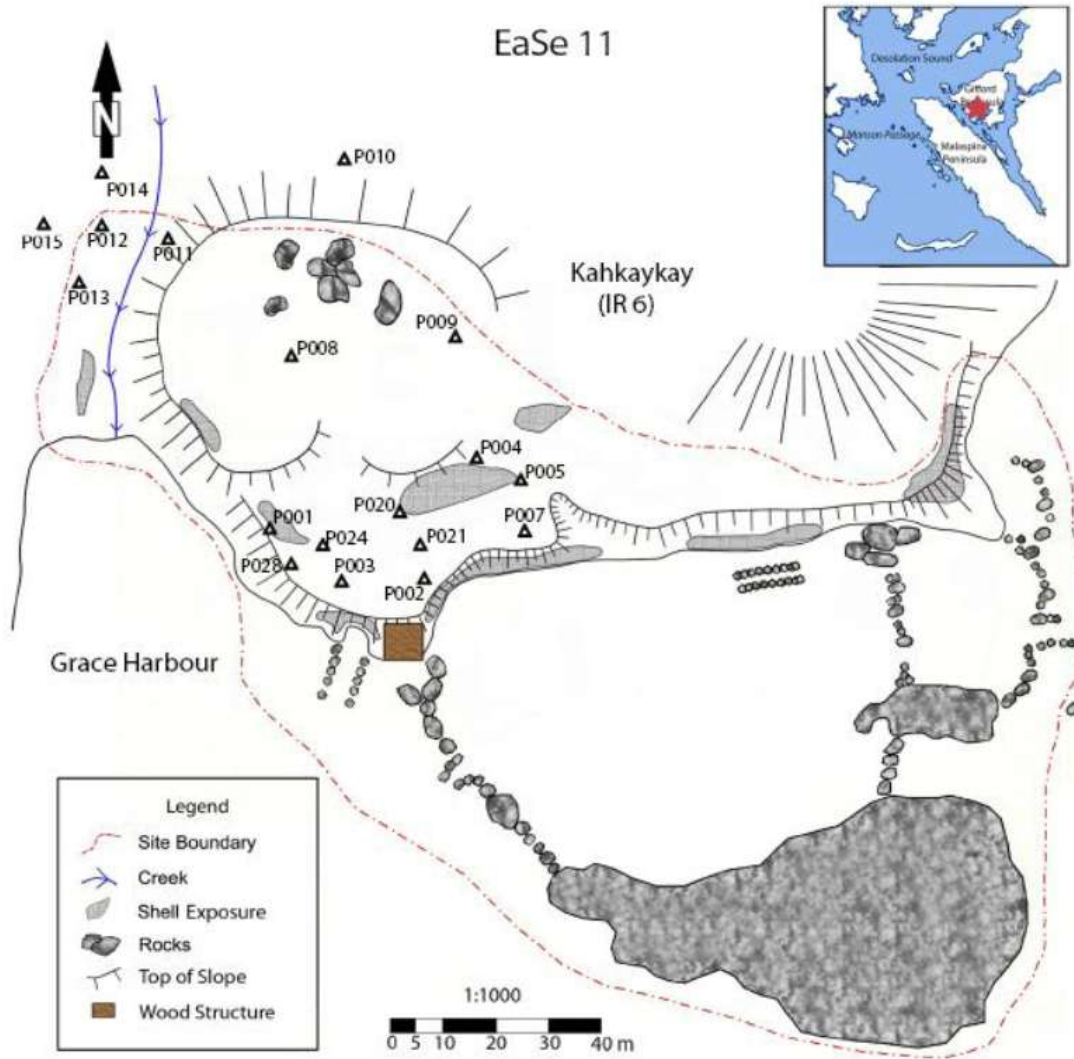


Figure 20. Kahkaykay Village site map.

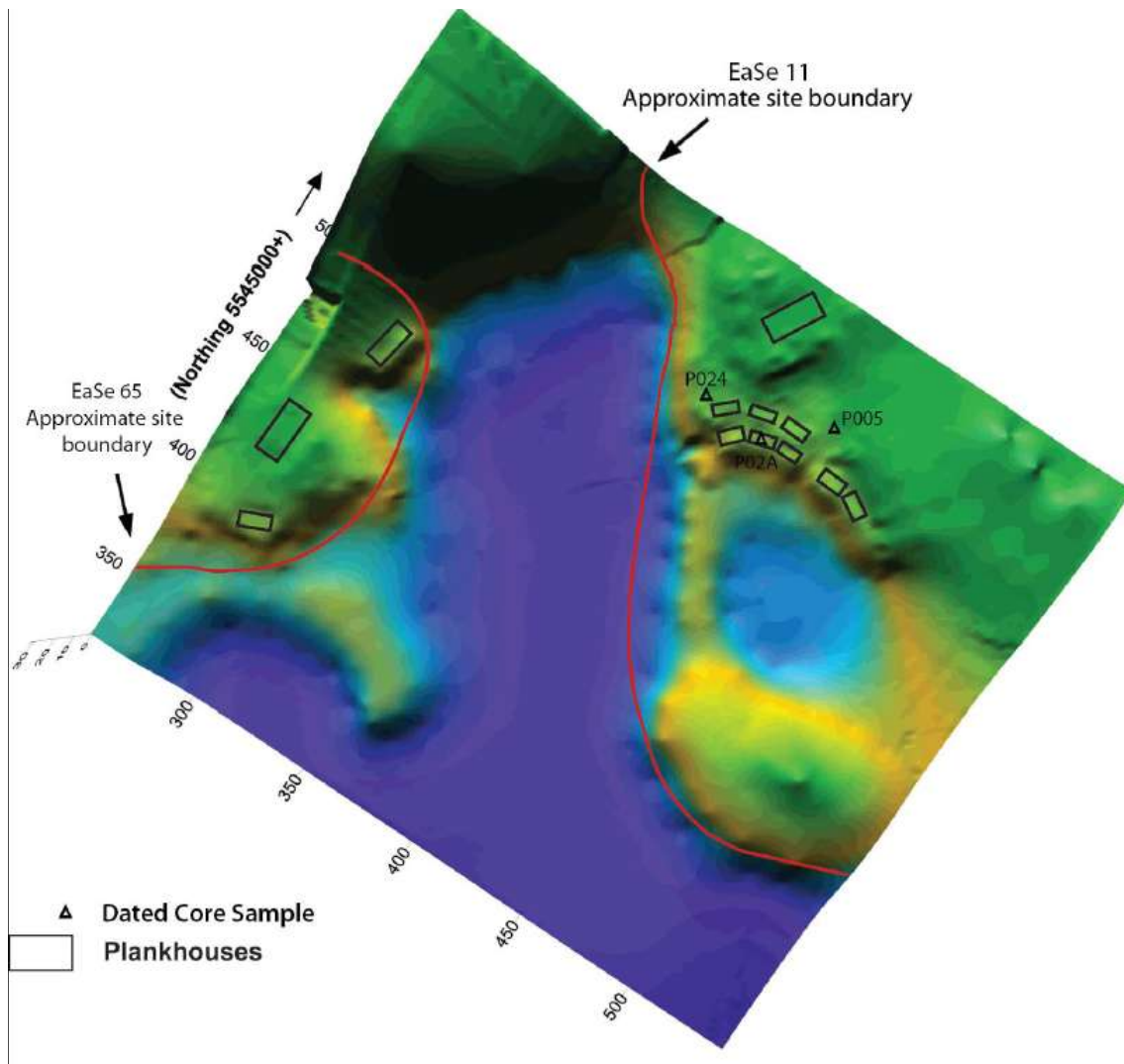


Figure 21. High resolution topographic map of Kahkaykay Village. Adapted from map by Morgan Ritchie.

A small assemblage of artifacts collected from the beach fronting the site provides additional chronological information. The assemblage includes two projectile points and a microblade core (Figure 22). These artifacts are similar stylistically to those excavated at Saltery Bay where associated deposits were radiometrically dated to 6,750 to 6,050 cal B.P. (Mason 2007).

The two radiocarbon samples from EaSe 76 in Cochrane Bay (Figure 23) potentially indicate a significant change in the site through time. A date from the basal

deposits in the front house platform (165 cm below surface) returned a date of 2330 to 2040 cal B.P. (Figure 23). However, it is impossible to know without further excavation if this date corresponds to the use of this area for houses. The second sample comes from the test pit in the centre of the largest underground house depression (Figure 23; core number P029) and returned a date of 960 to 800 cal B.P. This suggest the site was used primarily as a small settlement or camp area as early as 2330 to 2040 cal B.P., but then expanded to include defensive features after 960 years ago.

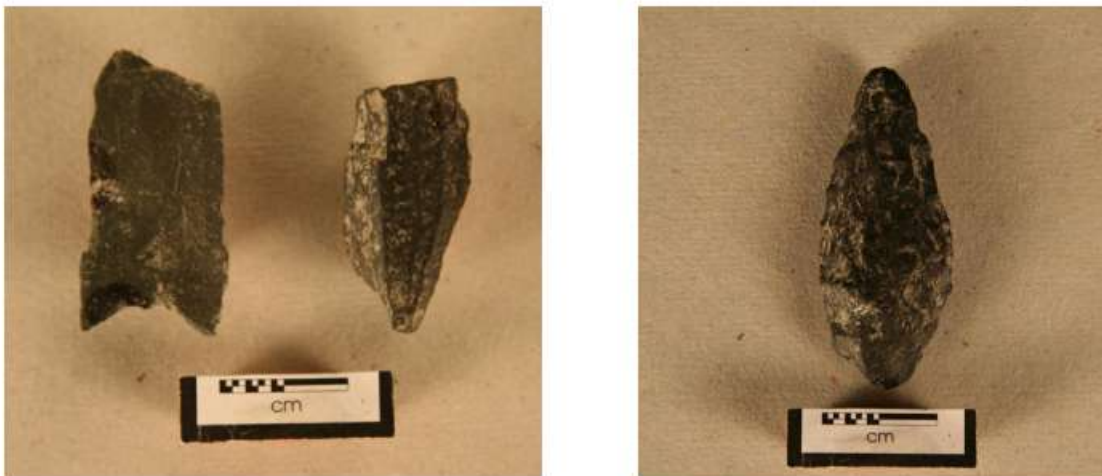


Figure 22. Artifacts collected from Kahkaykay Village, EaSe 11.

As with Kahkaykay Village, artifacts from the beach in front of the Cochrane Bay site provide additional chronological information. Of the formed artifacts, there are projectile points, several large utilized flakes, a medium sized core, three microblade cores, and several pieces of obsidian. The presence of these microblade cores suggests a similar dating scheme to that of the Grace Harbour area and the Saltery Bay site.

The final three radiocarbon determinations were split between two medium sites (EaSe 53 and EaSe 34) and one small site (EaSe 58; Table 9). The date from EaSe 53 was

taken in a house platform feature and returned an age of between approximately 1300–1200 cal B.P. (Figure 24). EaSe 58 and EaSe 34 had no surface evidence of structures so the dates were from cores in the approximate center of the sites. The basal date from the medium site (EaSe 34) is approximately 3800–3500 cal B.P. and the small site (EaSe 58) is between 670–550 cal B.P.

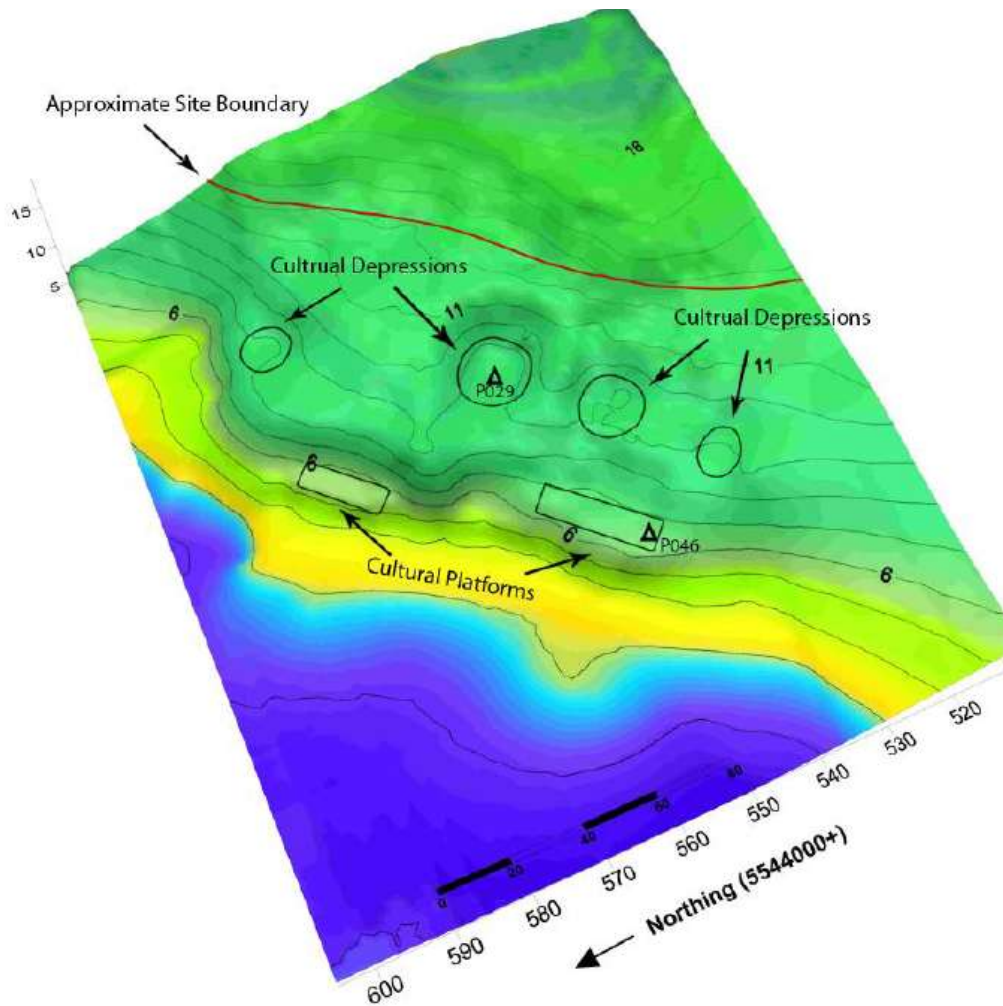


Figure 23. High resolution topographic map of Cochrane Bay, EaSe 76. Adapted from map by Morgan Ritchie.

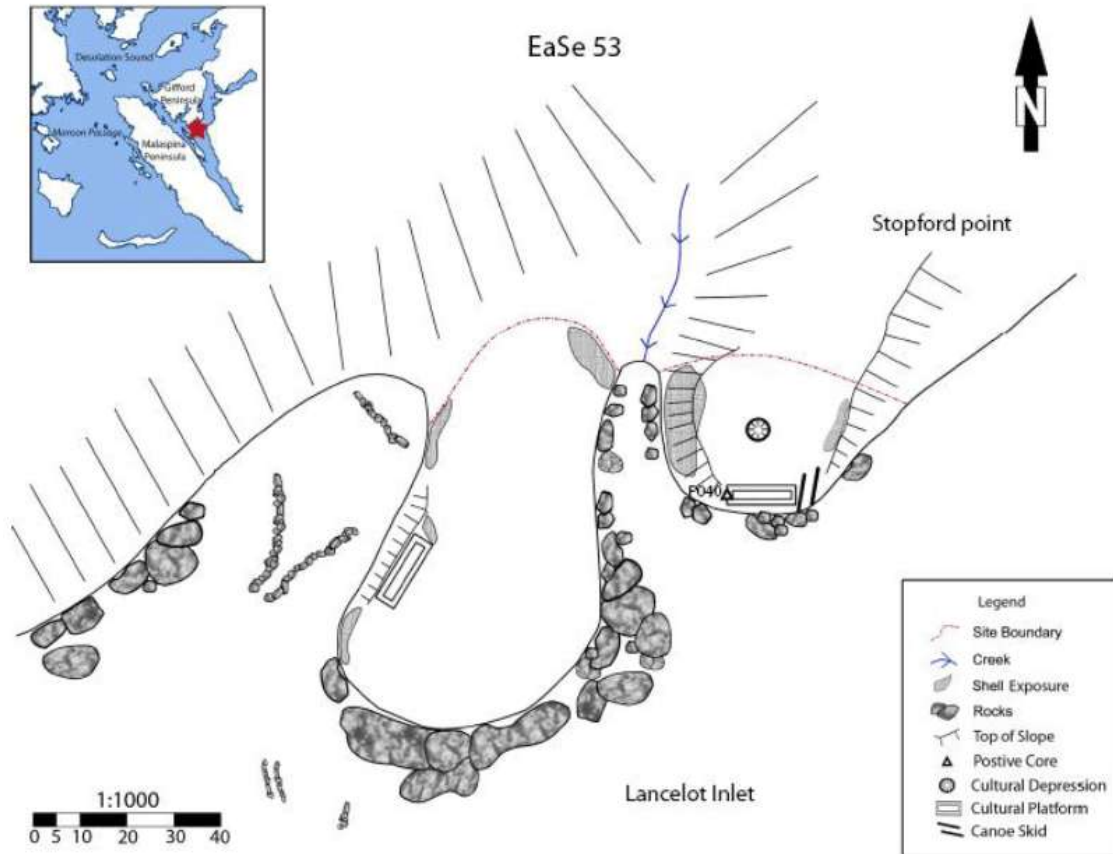


Figure 24. EaSe 53 site map, core marked P040 was radiocarbon dated.

Taken together, all the radiocarbon determinations suggest that sites were established first in areas that provided shelter, some relatively flat land, and easy access to a range of ecosystems. As population and activity levels increased at these first sites, terraforming was required to make areas suitable for the expanding and aggregated settlements. Later on, more spots on the landscape were occupied that were less advantageous in that they were more exposed to weather, further from valuable resources, and provided less level land. We are focused our sampling strategy on acquiring basal dates that correspond to initial occupation, Had we also collected terminal dates, we would have data on accumulation rates, gaps in occupation, or whether some sites where

abandoned before others. Dates that can address these questions would be a very useful in further understanding the past of Grace Harbour.

Land and Sea-scape modifications

The degree of investment in specific locations is reflected in the terraforming of some sites. At the large site (EaSe 11) and half of the mid-sized sites (EaSe 76 and EaSe 53), the original sloped and rocky ground surface has been modified significantly through the deposition of countless basket loads of shell and other construction fill material. In this way, living surfaces were created for houses and other activities. Based on percussion cores taken from EaSe 11, it appears that the current surface of the site has been levelled and built up with fill and site accumulation by as much as 4 meters (Figure 25). A significant amount of work, cooperation, and number of people would have been required to build the surface of Kahkaykay village. This level of investment in turn suggests social systems or controls that would facilitate the work effort.

All the other sites had some degree of leveled midden. Based on the assumption that large and medium sites have houses, it is likely that EaSe 67 and EaSe 10 were also levelled with fill to create space for house platforms. However, logging activities have obliterated evidence of these platforms. The remaining 10 sites show much less evidence of terraforming and therefore investment in labour. We can infer from this that these sites were less significant socially. However, in all cases, the inhabitants chose to use shell, bone, and other waste as construction fill, rather than throwing the remains in the ocean. This is a reflection of the social investment in these particular places.

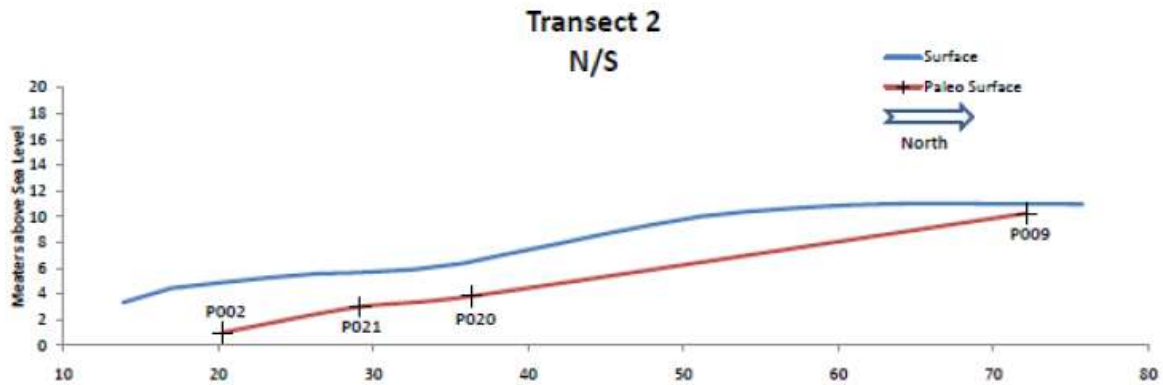


Figure 25. Cross-section of Kahkaykay Village, EaSe 11.

Surface features, in the form of rectilinear and circular depressions indicate extensive landscape modification at several other sites (Table 7). At EaSe 76, there are both house platforms and underground houses (Figure 23), and EaSe 65 and EaSe 53 have signs of two plank houses each. Other sites may have been terraformed, had houses built on them, or some combination. In any case, logging and time have obliterated the surface topography. Based on the pattern we see in the site size, it is likely that EaSe 67 and EaSe 10 also had houses in the past. The interpretation of EaSe 67 as a settlement with houses is also supported by the TUS data.

The three sites that have preserved evidence of houses on the surface provided an opportunity to compare the amount of floor space at sites with different presumed functions. At the two smaller sites, EaSe 76 and EaSe 53, it was clear where one house ends and another starts, making counting and measuring them easy. This was not the case at Kahkaykay Village (EaSe 11), where we could clearly see the front and back of the houses, but the long terraces had no visible divisions between houses. As a result, the number of houses counted at EaSe 11 is an estimate based on house size observed at

EaSe 76 and 53. We estimated the floor area of each house by measuring the maximum width and maximum length and multiplying them by each other. Because of the difficulty of identifying individual houses at Kahkaykay Village, a description of total house floor area is more informative.

Paralleling overall site size, there is considerable variation in total house area among the sites with visible house remains (Figure 26). In particular, the floor area at Kahkaykay Village is more than 2 times larger than either of the other two sites with house remains (Figure 26). The large amount of floor space at Kahkaykay Village relative to the other sites in the area further supports its significance and the idea that it has been an anchor of activity in this landscape in the past as it is today. With the most floor space, the biggest gatherings could have been held here allowing for the building and maintaining the complex social structures and traditions that Barnett saw centuries later.

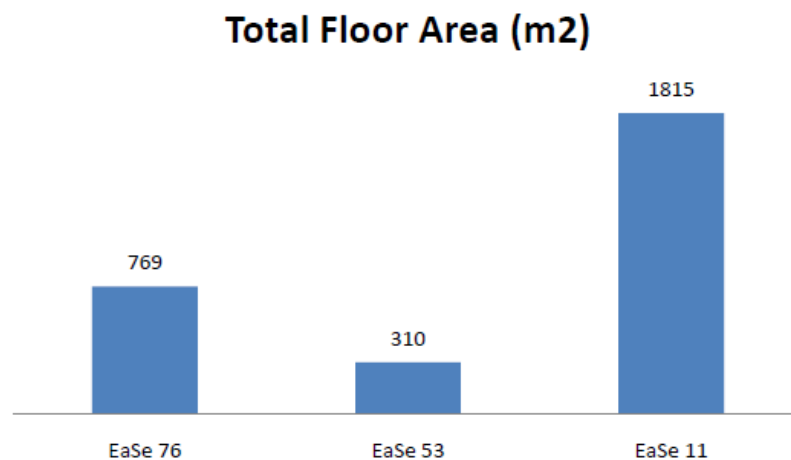


Figure 26. House floor area at Cochrane Bay (EaSe 76), Stopford Point (EaSe 53), and Kahkaykay Village (EaSe 11).

Finding less floor space at the two other sites also supports what I see as their respective roles in the cultural landscape. As a low status settlement, EaSe 53 should have smaller houses as well as less substantial houses that would not leave traces on the surface. I expected EaSe 76 (Cochrane Bay) to have less floor space than Kahkaykay Village as well, but for a different reason. Based on the TUS data, the Cochrane Bay site acted as a refuge place for people (presumably from Bliss Landing Village) to retreat to during troubled times and raids, and as such would be smaller than the primary settlements in the area.

Over half (8 of 13 and 60% total) of the sites in the study area have intertidal stone features (Table 10; Figure 27). These features are one of three types, 38% (5 of 13) of sites surveyed have stone alignments (Figure 28), 30 % (4 of 13) have fish traps (Figure 29), and 23% (3 of 13) have canoe skids (Figure 30). These features are distributed between sites of all terrestrial sizes, with large and medium sites more often including one or more intertidal features (Table 10). These features are part of large, high status, heavily modified settlements (e.g. Kahkaykay Village), mid-sized, more exposed, lower status settlements (e.g. Stopford Point, EaSe 53), and small, intermittently used camp areas (e.g. EaSe 34 and EaSe 55). They show an investment of time and labour to increase the productivity and accessibility of the intertidal zone.

Location	Type of Feature	Description	Associated Site Number	Site Size
Kahkaykay Village	Fish Trap	Stone alignment blocking outflow	EaSe 11	Large
Kahkaykay Village	Canoe Skid		EaSe 11	Large
Kahkaykay Village	Levelled/cleared Beach		EaSe 11	Large
Isabel Bay/ Madge Island	Fish Trap	"V" shaped stone alignment	EaSe 34	Small
Isabel Bay/ Madge Island	Levelled/cleared Beach	series of stone alignments trapping sediment on intertidal bedrock	EaSe 34	Small
Stopford Point	Fish Trap	Stone alignment blocking outflow	EaSe 53	Medium
Stopford Point	Levelled/cleared Beach	Series of stone alignments trapping sediment on intertidal bedrock	EaSe 53	Medium
Salubrious Bay	Canoe Skid	Cleared canoe Skid	EaSe 55	Small
Kahkaykay Village	Levelled/cleared Beach	Series of stone alignments trapping sediment on intertidal bedrock	EaSe 65	Large
Scott Point	Levelled/cleared Beach	Two stone alignments trapping sediment in intertidal isthmus w/ small islet	EaSe 67	Medium
Malaspina Inlet	Canoe Skid	Two cleared canoe skids	EaSe 68	Small
Cochrane Islands	Fish Trap	Series of stone alignment blocking outflow	EaSe 76	Medium

Table 10. Types of intertidal features at different sites.

In some places the discovery of terraforming and terracing of the intertidal zone connects back to the TUS data. An example of this is the medium sized site EaSe 67. This site is noted in the TUS as a good place to get clams, but none of the interviews referred specifically to terraced beaches (Figure 6). The survey identified two intertidal stone alignments that trap sediment to provide habitat for intertidal plants and animals on a intertidal isthmus with a small-unnamed islet just off shore. This is an example of convergence in the different data sets that make this kind of study so valuable.

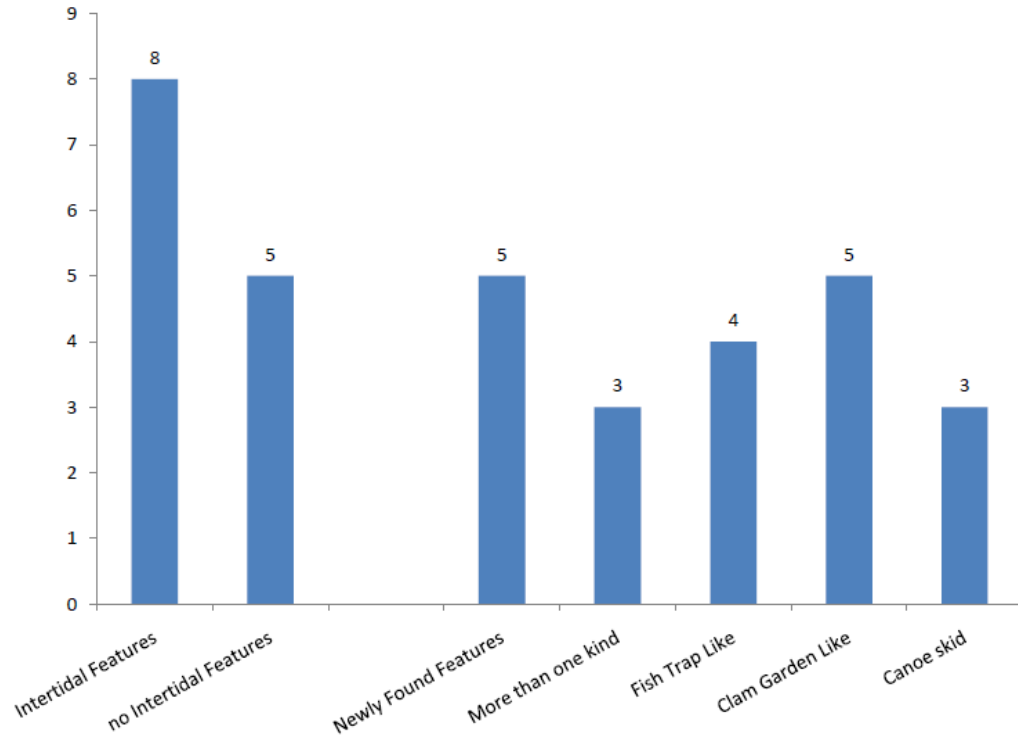


Figure 27. Numbers of intertidal features.



Figure 28. Intertidal stone alignments.



Figure 29. Stone fish traps in the Cochrane Islands.



Figure 30. Canoe skids, left EaSe 68 and right EaSe 76.

Social Connections outside the Grace Harbour Landscape

The artifacts found during this study show an overlapping set of social and economic connections with people up and down the coast. The microblades and cores found at EaSe 11 and EaSe 76 (Figure 22; Figure 31) were collected during the survey of the beach in front of the sites and thus do not have dates associated with them. However, the artifacts are similar in form to those excavated at Saltery Bay which dated between 6,750 to 6,050 B.P. (Mason 2007). This is consistent in age with the early date from EaSe 11, suggesting that the early components at EaSe 76 and EaSe 11 are part of the same regional pattern as that found at the Saltery Bay site.



Figure 31. Artifacts from Cochrane Bay, EaSe 76.

Strong social ties to the north and less so to the south are suggested by the geochemical sourcing of obsidian from Cochrane Bay and Scott Point and the discovery of quartz crystal microliths recovered from the Cochrane Bay Site (EaSe 76; Table 11) as well as evidence of labret wear at Bliss Landing. Four obsidian artifacts collected from Cochrane Bay and one from Scott Point originated from a source in Kingcome Inlet B.C. which is in Kwakwaka'wakw territory. One other obsidian artifact collected from Cochrane Bay was from the Whitewater Ridge source in north central Oregon. Obsidian is considered one of the best proxies for long distance trade in B.C. (Carlson 1994). The dominance of obsidian from what is now Kwakwaka'wakw territory suggests social connections and/or trade with people outside Coast Salish territory, while the Oregon source reflects common Coast Salish trade patterns. The quartz crystal microliths found at EaSe 76 and labret wear at Bliss Landing suggests a connection to the Fraser valley and the Coast Salish area generally (La Salle 2008; Lepofsky et al. 2000).

Catalogue #	Level	Type	Material	Complete /Fragment	Fragment Comments	Cortex	Comments
EaSe76:004	1	Core	Quartz	Complete		No	Small irregular crystal with flakes removed from all sides
EaSe76:009	1	Knife or point fragment	Obsidian	Fragment	Base of projectile point or knife	No	Black obsidian with some inclusions
EaSe76:012	1	Microblade	CCS	Complete		No	Medium grain material, very nicely formed blade
EaSe76:013	1	Knife or point fragment	Basalt	Fragment	Tip of projectile point or knife	No	Fine grain material, very nicely formed point
EaSe76:017	2	Microblade	Quartz	Fragment	Distal end of microblade	No	Distal end of microblade, Quartz crystal
EaSe76:018	2	Microblade	Basalt	Fragment	Nearly complete, missing tip	No	Nealy complete, missing tip, medium grain material
EaSe76:019	2	Knife or point fragment	??	Fragment	Tip only	No	Medium grain material, pinkish gray
EaSe76:020	2	Slate Knif, Flaked	Slate	Complete		No	Oval piece of slat, chipped around margin
EaSe76:030	2	Modified flake	Quartz	Complete		Yes	Very large quartz flake with modified edges
EaSe76:042	3	Microblade	Basalt	Fragment	Nearly complete, missing tip	No	course grain
EaSe76:060	6	Microblade	Quartz	Fragment	Both top and tip missing	No	
EaSe76:069	1	Modified Bone	Bone	Fragment	Bone fragmetn with cut markes and a cut and ground end		

Table 11. Excavated artifacts from Cochrane Bay, EaSe 76.

Chapter Conclusion

A vast amount of information about the ethnohistory, archaeology, and oral history of and about the Grace Harbour area was gathered for this thesis, and each of these data sets is are much more informative if looked at together. The ethnohistoric, archaeological and, oral historical data available for the Grace Harbour area are particularly rich and detailed making the Grace Harbour region very suitable place to attempt to put together a picture of a Tla'amin cultural landscape. Each of the different kinds of data each provide different opportunities for analysis and different ways to look at the past of the Grace Harbour cultural landscape.

Our survey results demonstrate that the Grace Harbour region has archaeological evidence of long and varied use by First Nations people over the last 7000 years. Intertidal stone features, large and small shell middens, cultural depressions, cultural platforms, culturally modified trees, and lithic scatters demonstrate the richness of the archaeological record in the Grace Harbour landscape. Since the late 1800s, resource extraction industries such as logging, mining, and hydroelectric power have greatly affected the archaeological record. However, large portions of the archaeological record are still intact and have the potential to reveal vast amounts of knowledge about the deep past of this region and its people.

There are of course many more aspects of the Grace Harbour Cultural Landscape waiting to be studied. Further excavation, survey, archival research, and interviews with community members as well as further analysis of the data collected here would undoubtedly yield many more insights into the cultural meaning of the archaeological record in and around Grace Harbour. Hopefully the data assembled here provide a starting point for further investigation of this beautiful and fascinating place.

Chapter 3: Putting It All Together: A North Coast Salish Cultural Landscape

A fundamental tenet of a cultural landscape approach is that despite changes in specific use, the cultural importance of certain places will persist (Daehnke 2007; Tveskov 2007). In the case of the Grace Harbour study area, the settlements in and around Kahkaykay Village, Cochrane Bay, and Isabel Bay suggests such long-term connections to place even as the particular activities that happened in these places changed and evolved. The long-term use of the area, expansion of number of sites and some settlements, and continued connections despite the devastation of colonization, illustrate aspects of the story of this cultural landscape through the generations.

Finding Meaning in Archaeological Data

Understanding the Grace Harbour Cultural Landscape requires blending of archaeological and ethnohistoric data since not all activities will leave detectable material remains in the archaeological record. Based on the ethnohistoric data, places in the Grace Harbour landscape in-between or near archaeological sites (such as trails, lakes, hunting, and plant gathering locations) are also a significant part of this cultural landscape. For instance, according to Tla'amin oral history, Isabel Bay (EaSe 34) is part of an overland and canoe escape route from Grace Harbour to the back of Theodosia Inlet to evade northern raiders in canoes coming in through Malaspina Inlet. The lowest and flattest possible overland path out of Grace Harbour ends at Isabel Bay and provides easy access to the opening of Theodosia. The location of the Isabel Bay site fits with the

interpretation of it as a defensive site, even though we did not find archaeological evidence of the overland trail. However, the 3500 B.P. date on EaSe 34 is much earlier than the widely documented increase in conflict seen throughout the Northwest Coast (Moss and Erlandson 1992). There are two possible explanations for this lack of congruence in the archaeological and ethnohistoric records in this case. It could mean that EaSe 34 was initially a small resource camp and later a defensive site or that conflict was an important theme for Tla'amin people earlier than for other Northwest Coast peoples.

In the case of interpretations of Kahkaykay Village, the archaeological and the ethnohistoric data more easily blend together. The physical evidence for the site's placement in an advantageous location, the repeated use over seven millennia, and the investment of labour to build up terraces by as much as 4 meters indicates that this is a place of significance. The site is also the largest and the oldest dated site in the area. All of this fits well with the oral and ethnographic description of this place as a chiefly village and host to the most important winter ceremonies (Barnett 1955). Though the specific activities that took place in the village changed through the generations, the significance of the place was reinforced and reiterated by the memories, feelings and associations of the people that took part in those activities.

By looking at the Grace Harbour area as a cultural landscape, we see some of the social roles and social inequalities that are part of Tla'amin culture, reflected in the landscape. The archaeological sites are distributed throughout the study area on the coastline, but the medium and large sites are in the most protected areas in the back of coves or behind islands. This preference towards the coastline of coves and behind islands is reminiscent of the internal spatial arrangement of Lushootseed houses in Puget

Sound and other Coast Salish peoples where status is reflected in the placement of families within the houses (Lepofsky et al. 2009; Miller 1999). Within Lushootseed houses, for instance, the highest ranked family lived in the preferred locations, away from the door and drafts (Miller 1999:20). Commoners lived along the sides of the houses where it was colder and slaves were left with the most exposed and drafty parts of the houses. In the Grace Harbour area, the TUS and interviews revealed that these inequalities are manifest in the location of whole sites, with the chiefly families living in the most protected places such as Kahkaykay Village and lower class people living in more exposed places such as Stopford Point.

Anchored Places

Radiocarbon dates show a long history of occupation in the Grace Harbour area and hint at the wealth of information about the specific changes in the use and meaning of the places through time that is yet to be uncovered. Dates from sites of all sizes range from over 7000 years old to 500 years old with several dates in between (Figure 19) as well as ethnohistorical recorded use into the historic period. The pattern suggested by these dates is that the largest and most substantial sites (EaSe 11 and EaSe 76) were established first in areas that provided shelter, some relatively flat land, and easy access to a range of ecosystems. As the number of inhabitants or uses of these sites grew, the occupants terraformed the landscape to increase the amount of usable (flat, dry) terrain. More dates are needed on specific features in these sites to show how and when the occupants expanded their settlements and/or expanded to new locations.

Taken together, the archaeological and ethnohistoric data, and the current feelings about Kahkaykay Village among the Tla'amin and neighbouring groups, indicate that

Kahkaykay Village is a “persistent place”, that is, a place that has enduring cultural significance even as land use around it changes (Anderson 2005). I found evidence for very long occupation at Kahkaykay Village with some changes in how some portions of the village were used through time. This continued importance of place is similar to what Daehnke (2007) found in his research on the Native American peoples of the Columbia River flood plain. Place-based knowledge that has developed over time is imbedded in the places where that knowledge developed and grew, creating persistent places as the knowledge is passed on and remembered. This knowledge is indicative of social memory and the passing on of cultural practises through time (Anderson 2005). There are many ways social memory is reflected archaeologically and archaeologists need to recognize that places categorized as “shell middens” reflect more about the past than the resources that were used and discarded there. Every day activities that result in the accumulation of archaeological material are also reflections of knowledge, values, and cultural practises passed inter-generationally. The long-term uses and evidence of expansion and creation of new land for houses at Kahkaykay Village, as well as the more recent assertion of many Tla’amin people of Kahkaykay Village significance, indicate that Kahkaykay Village is just such a culturally persistent place.

Conflict

The oral history and ethnohistory provides considerable information about northern raiders in Northern Coast Salish territory (Kennedy and Bouchard 1983; Sliammon Treaty Society 1996). These records recount events of people hiding from raiders, engaging in battles, having secret escape routes, and defensive weapons.

Collectively, these instances indicate that conflict, at least in the historic period, was pervasive and influenced people's interaction with their landscape.

Although the archaeological data on conflict from my study is largely atemporal, and the ethnographic and ethnohistoric data recounts conflict from recent times, the larger Northwest Coast archaeological literature allows the possibility of putting greater time depth on the patterns observed in and around Grace Harbour. On the Northwest Coast, there is a well-documented Coast wide increase in conflict about 500 years ago (Angelbeck 2009; Moss and Erlandson 1992; Schaepe 2006). At least three areas in the Grace Harbour landscape may be associated with this broader regional pattern. The size and location of EaSe 34 and EaSe 59 fit with the interpretation of the sites acting as parts of a defensive trail. However, the 3500 B.P. obtained at EaSe 34 date is too early to be part of the coast wide increase in conflict identified by Moss and Erlandson (1992) and Angelbeck (2009).

There are three possible explanations for this earlier than expected age for EaSe 76. First, the earlier age could suggest that the initial establishment of this site 3500 years ago in a defensible location was purely coincidental or it could have been valued for other reasons. Second, the earlier date could suggest that defensive locations were a consideration earlier than previously thought and the 500 B.P. date applies only to an (archaeologically detectable) increase in conflict over previous patterns. Certainly, there is abundant archaeological evidence for pervasive conflict on the coast earlier than 1000 years ago (e.g., MacDonald and Cybulski 2001). Finally, this discrepancy between the regional culture history and the early date at EaSe 76 could indicate that the site is not in

fact in a defensible location. However, this scenario is unlikely given the ethnohistoric data available about the trail and the underground houses EaSe 76.

Another indication of the pervasiveness of conflict in the Grace Harbour landscape is the underground houses found at Cochrane Bay and described by Barnett (1944; 1955). At Cochrane Bay (EaSe 76) there are three underground house features. These house features are located behind three small house terraces that are located at the water's edge. A floor deposit in the largest of the underground houses dated to approximately 900 cal B.P. while the deposits at the base of the house platform near the water dated to approximately 2200 cal B.P. This latter date suggests the site was used primarily as a small settlement as early as 2200 years ago, but then expanded to include defensive underground house features at about 900 years ago. This latter expansion to incorporate a defensive structure is consistent with the proposed shift to a defensive focus at Isabel Bay. Furthermore, the high rocky point component at the Scott Point site (EaSe 67) with its extraordinary visibility of the surrounding area, suggests part of the Scott Point site may have functioned as a lookout during times of conflict.

Peaceful Relations

In part, it seems likely that the pervasiveness of conflict in the archaeological and especially the ethnohistoric records is due to the fact that such extraordinary events were likely embellished and reified in peoples' memories and in the retellings. Undoubtedly, day-to-day relations were often cooperative and based on a complex system of relations among kin and non-kin, as is typical of Coast Salish peoples (Carlson 2003; Suttles 1960). Such non-local social relations are represented in the Grace Harbour study area by Kingcome Inlet obsidian at sites EaSe 67 and EaSe 76. If we assume current

ethnolinguistic boundaries have temporal longevity, the Kingcome obsidian in Grace Harbour suggests that the Northern Coast Salish were involved in some kind of trade relationship with the Kwakwaka'wakw, in whose territory the obsidian source currently lies. Whether these relations were among kin or more formal trade partners is unknown.

Throughout the Coast Salish territory, trade relationships are often created and maintained through marriage (Suttles 1960). For instance, Hul'qumi'num oral history records the marriage between a Cowichan woman and a Lekwiltok man from Cape Mudge that ended time of hostilities between the Coast Salish and Kwakwaka'wakw and resulted in the Cowichan being allowed to fish at Cape Mudge for generations (Thom 2005:362). Similarly, the Tla'amin use of Kwakwaka'wakw style animal crest feasting dishes (Barnett 1938) may also suggest marriage relations with the Kwakwaka'wakw.

Cultural Landscape Archaeology and First Nations

What archaeologists do in the field and the lab and what we publish has consequences for First Nations, landowners, developers, other archaeologists, and other groups (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Schaepe 2007; Thom 2005). What is included on a governmental site registration form can affect definitions of band traditional territory, sovereignty, community health, and identity. By taking a cultural landscape approach, we can be more inclusive of what our research could mean for the people whose past we are studying in terms of territory, sovereignty, community health, and identity. Including data sets such as traditional use of the landscape and place names in an archaeological investigation helps connect the investigation to the culture being studied and thereby puts the investigation in a relevant context for those dealing with issues such as sovereignty and health.

Boundaries and Traditional Territories

How we define archaeological sites can influence how all people view the landscape. If a trail connects two shell middens a few hundred meters apart, are they one site or three (one trail and two middens)? What if the shell middens are five meters apart but separated by water? What if part of a settlement site is below the tide line? Decisions about what is and what is not part of an archaeological site change how the landscape is perceived, quantified, and described by archaeologists, as well as the general public (Thom 2005).

North American native people often put heritage resources in the same category as natural resources (Stoffle et al. 1997). First Nations often see the plant, animals, and ancient village sites as interrelated and assert that trying to protect or manage one or the other alone is inadequate (Stoffle et al. 1997). This intertwining of heritage and natural resources seems to also be the case with the Tla'amin. I have been told over and over by Tla'amin colleagues that everything on their land is connected, not just place-to-place or resource-to-resource, but to the ancestors that had used, cared for, and created the places and resources in the past. Each shell midden, fish trap, run of salmon, sea urchin bed, and gathering place are a tangible connection to Tla'amin ancestors because these places and resources remind the people today how their ancestors lived.

Landscape and Health

Throughout North America, loss of connection to place through the degradation of the environments and separation from the places are connected to community health and social problems on reservations and reserves (Thornton 2008:192; Whittlesey 1997:28). Clear cuts, polluted waterways, development, diverted rivers, loss of access to

the land, and depleted fish stocks take their toll not just on subsistence practices and the archaeological record, but on the entire social system, resulting in the high numbers of suicides, violence, and drug abuse seen on reserves throughout Canada (Thornton 2008). As Whittlesey (2007:28) put it “conflicts over land rights, the moral and social ills that afflict uprooted Native Americans, and the cultureless anomie of the urban Indian, are symptomatic not of the loss of culture, but of the loss of place”.

The increasing numbers of Euro-Canadian settlers and development in Tla’amin territory during the late 19th and early 20th centuries began the process of alienation from their lands that is negatively influencing Tla’amin people to this day. Tla’amin people’s alienation from their lands has caused many of the same types of problems that are plaguing First Nations’ communities across Canada (Washington 2004). Rebuilding cultural and personal connections to the land is one way to try and combat problems on the reservation (Washington 2004). One of the ways these connections can be rebuilt is through promoting interdisciplinary research throughout Tla’amin territory. By promoting opportunities for youth and elders alike to get out on the land, teach and learn from a variety of experts, and help improve the health of their environment, there is the potential to heal some of the damage caused by alienation from the land. My fieldwork incorporated some opportunities for this kind of intergenerational and interdisciplinary sharing, and hopefully the data that I have assembled here will be useful in such endeavours in the future.

Identity and Cultural Landscapes

Some of the most abundant things found in Northwest Coast archaeological sites are plant and animal remains. These remains can tell us not only about resource use, but

also can provide insights into the identity of the people who used them (e.g., Anderson 2005:326). In the Tla'amin case, seal was one such identity-linked resource (Barnett 1955:105). Barnett recorded that the Tla'amin called themselves “the seal people” and decorated their houses with seal motifs. With further research, such details could be linked to spatial information about seal harvesting areas and the presence of seal remains in the archaeological record. Linking these kinds of specific identity-based information with spatial information found in the landscape can further expand our understanding of the cultural landscape mosaic.

Landscapes and the Future

Because of the many advantages of this type of research (integrating diverse data sets, collaboration with First Nations, etc.), the cultural landscape approach likely will continue to be a widely used tool for understanding the past and its connections to the future. In Coast Salish territory in particular, a cultural landscape approach works well because the First Nations people are for the most part still on at least part of their land. The stories, place names, and connections to their ancestral places are still alive and can help inform an understanding of the past. I found these continuing connections to exist with the Tla'amin community; many of the people I talked to know where their important places are and the stories and traditions of what happened in those places in the past and how they are interconnected.

To capture the long-term meaning of a cultural landscape requires using multiple kinds of evidence, as discussed in Chapter 1. Multiple types of data sets allow the complex and multi-faceted nature of cultural landscape emerge as well as the significance of connection and engagement with place. In and around Grace Harbour, the overall

pattern of sites on the landscape and how they connect with the oral history and ethnohistory has told a much richer story than any one of the sites could ever tell alone by adding nuance and context to the archaeological story. The multi-faceted cultural landscape approach allows us to get a better sense of what peoples' everyday life was like, where they got clams, where there is fresh water, where they could hide. I was also able to see some of the changes in these things over time. Grace Harbour is a rich, ancient, complex, living cultural landscape with layer upon layer of knowledge and meaning tied to it. As archaeologists, we will never be able to know exactly how the ancient inhabitants of Kahkaykay Village felt about it in any given century or how they related to the people in the surrounding settlements, but by studying the cultural aspects of the landscape we can get closer.

Contributions

This thesis is a fusion of current and past Tla'amin knowledge, stories, place names, and uses of and about the land as a way to construct a holistic representation of the Grace Harbour area as a cultural landscape. One of the goals for this research is to produce a product which is interesting, useful, and relevant to the Tla'amin First Nation as well as academic and contract archaeological communities. Having contextualized and detailed information on the archaeology as well as other Tla'amin cultural resources in the Grace Harbour area, will provide a tool for the Tla'amin to utilize as they work to preserve their heritage and a starting place to inspire further archaeological research in this under studied area.

First Nations bands and Native American tribes are increasingly finding ways to use archaeology as one tool to assist in their efforts to preserve their cultural identity,

rather than archaeology being something that is done to them. Projects like this one that both meet a goal of the First Nation community and advance our knowledge of the past will help bring that about. One of my long term aspirations is to find ways to bring the goals of archaeologists and First Nations together. The cultural landscape approach to archaeology is one useful step toward achieving that goal.

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