

**Hul'qumi'num Peoples in the Gulf Islands: Re-Storying the Coast Salish Landscape**

by

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BA Anthropology, University of Guelph, 2012

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## **Supervisory Committee**

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### **Supervisory Committee**

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## Abstract

A negotiated, cooperative co-management arrangement between six Coast Salish First Nations and Parks Canada has created an opportunity for Hul'qumi'num peoples to "re-story" a colonized landscape in the southern Gulf Islands archipelago east of Vancouver Island, British Columbia. Collaborative research undertaken with the Hul'qumi'num-Gulf Islands National Park Reserve Committee is part of a long-term and practical effort to regain authorship over Central Coast Salish cultures, languages and history. In particular, this thesis seeks to challenge popular and public narratives which do not recognize Hul'qumi'num peoples' territories and territorialities in the Gulf Islands National Park Reserve (GINPR). By tracing the processes of narrative and historical production, and with attention to how power imbues these processes (Trouillot 1995), I argue that the narrative of ephemerality whereby Hul'qumi'num peoples are thought to have "floated by" the southern Gulf Islands, but never "settling" there, emerged largely through early colonial processes and Indian land policy which reconfigured Central Coast Salish territorialities. These assumptions have been reproduced in a regional anthropological "seasonal rounds" narrative and through the language of "villages" and "seasonal camps." Through the period of comprehensive land claims, this narrative has been reified by framing the southern Gulf Islands as the exclusive territory of First Nations' neighbouring the Hul'qumi'num. Narratives of ephemerality and exclusivity continue to dominate the public imaginary through their reproduction in GINPR interpretive materials and in the grey literature of consulting archaeologists. These narratives are not neutral, but have implications for rights and title recognition and accommodation by the state. The perspectives of Hul'qumi'num peoples help to understand the *silence* in the dominant narratives by elucidating the historic and ongoing significance of specific locales in the southern Gulf Islands for Hul'qumi'num individuals, families and communities, as well as the transformative processes effecting territorial dispossession in the post-European contact period.

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## Overview

Histories are not just “out there.” They are produced, revised, and reproduced in a dynamic process between actors at particular moments in time. Aboriginal peoples’ historical narratives circulating between largely non-Aboriginal actors like archaeologists, anthropologists, educators colonial officials and park interpreters, get fixed in time and space through diverse processes. Examples include the demarcation and creation of Indian Reserves by colonial surveyors and officials, the glorification of European exploration and colonization by local publics, federal Parks interpretation and management of lands and resources, and the salvage ethnography and archaeological world prehistory projects of regional anthropologists. Indigenous peoples’ own narratives of place, language, culture and history undergo transformation through processes of selection interpretation, revision, as well as integration and assemblage with other narratives non-Aboriginal discourses and local histories of place.

Processes of parks co-management provide opportunity to transform these narratives. This thesis looks at concepts of *village*, *camp*, *seasonality*, *history*, *archaeology* and *heritage* in a National Park Reserve in British Columbia, Canada, as a window on this process of narratives doing work. Here, a cooperative co-management agreement has potential power to transform narratives for member bands of the Hul’qumi’num Treaty Group, representing six First Nations: Cowichan Tribes, Stz’uminus First Nation, Penelakut Tribe, Lyackson First Nation, Halalt First Nation and Lake Cowichan First Nation.

The popular narrative that Hul’qumi’num peoples<sup>1</sup> just “floated by” the southern Gulf

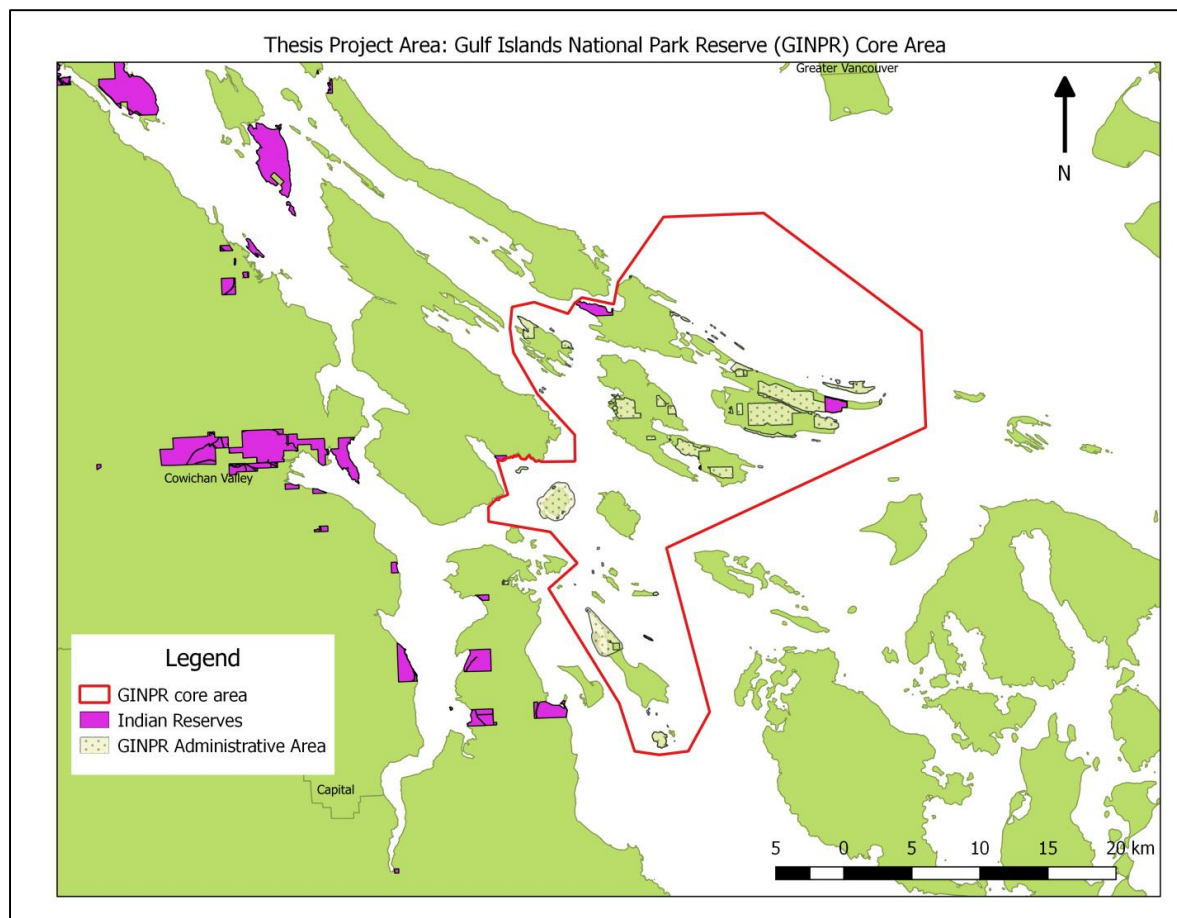
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<sup>1</sup> No in-depth attempt is made in this thesis to identify the Hul’q’umi’num’-speaking groups now comprising “bands” or First Nations with the Hul’qumi’num Treaty Group, nor to analyse their national identity, matters which are beyond the scope of this work.

Islands, but never settled there, is pronounced in particular versions of history offered through ethnographic, ethnohistoric and archaeological scholarly and grey literature for the Gulf of Georgia region—and emerged strongly in my interactions with local Aboriginal and settler (non-Aboriginal) peoples. The anthropological settlement-subsistence framing of Central Coast Salish territorial relations in a *seasonal rounds* narrative construes “seasonal camps” as peripheral to “winter villages” not just in terms of location, but also in terms of their relative significance to Hul’qumi’num peoples and by extension the strength of various Indigenous rights claims. I argue that this kind of anthropological framing reproduces the same set of assumptions for European land tenure inherent in colonial land policy. Specifically, certain so-called winter villages were selected by colonial officials for Indian Reserves because they satisfied Eurocentric imaginations of occupation and ownership: large, permanent residence structures; enclosures (i.e., fences); productive uses, specifically agriculture and or animal husbandry; and settlement, meaning year-round (or year in majority) presence.

Indeed, the uncritical reproduction of colonial narratives of ephemerality with respect to ‘non-village’ locales in anthropological and other public texts have largely shut Hul’qumi’num peoples out of the southern Gulf Islands. Community members of these six bands live on or near Indian Reserves located on the southeastern side of Vancouver Island, as well as Penelakut, Willy and Valdes Islands—all a stone’s throw from the Gulf Islands National Park Reserve—but not immediately adjacent to park lands.

Hul’qumi’num peoples have significant and long-standing relations to many places, including the lands and waters within the Gulf Islands National Park Reserve (GINPR) (Figure 1). However, there remains little recognition by the public and the state of Hul’qumi’num peoples’ territorial relations to the southern Gulf Islands archipelago. In 2006, the agreement of a



**Figure 1: Thesis Project Area - Gulf Islands National Park Reserve (GINPR) Core Area**

co-management arrangement with the federal government presented an opportunity for Hul'qumi'num peoples to assert their land tenure and jurisdictions, leveraging the terms of the agreement to meet a number of objectives, including Hul'qumi'num authorship over narratives about their cultures, language and territories.

To re-claim the power to control representations supports re-situating Indigenous narratives at the top of a hierarchy of narratives (Cruikshank 2005). This work has consequences for resolving land claims, recognition of aboriginal title, accommodation of rights, and elaborating principles of Indigenous land tenure in contemporary contexts. Through co-management, Hul'qumi'num peoples are actively re-storying the park as a Coast Salish

landscape.

### **Purpose and Rationale**

Popular and official state and anthropological discourses and narratives continue to overwhelm Aboriginal perspectives on their own cultures and lands. This research project seeks to address this problematic in the context of a unique co-management arrangement in a National Park Reserve in the Gulf Islands of British Columbia.

Parks Canada, a federal agency mandated to preserve and conserve the natural and cultural heritage on lands which the Federal government claims title, has shifted from its early legacy of expropriating Aboriginal lands to present-day efforts to make national parks more inclusive of Aboriginal peoples for whom these lands have ongoing significance (Langdon et al. 2010). While attention to forums of cooperative management and co-management reveal a number of challenges within this evolving context of state-Indigenous relations (Feit and Spaeder 2005; Mulrennan and Scott 2005; Nadasdy 2003b; Spak 2005), Indigenous peoples continue to engage the state in co-management contexts, suggesting they continue to see benefits from these arrangements while maintaining their own objectives and strategies for success (see Thornton 2010).

The requirement to undertake cooperative management is clearly mandated in the Park Establishment Agreement (Parks Canada 2003) that initially assembled the lands and transferred jurisdictions from BC to the federal government to form the GINPR, and ultimately in the *Canada National Parks Act* (S.C. 2002, c. 32, s. 4.2, 12.1). The Hul'qumi'num-Gulf Islands National Park Reserve Committee (H-GINPR Committee)<sup>2</sup> was assembled in 2004 with the

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<sup>2</sup> The H-GINPR Committee was formerly known as the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group Park Advisory Committee.

purpose of engaging Parks Canada in the planning, management and decision-making over the GINPR's natural resources and cultural heritage, and to create opportunities to engage in culturally significant practices in the traditional territories from which they were historically alienated (HTG 2005, 19).

Preceded by a pilot agreement in 2004, the Interim Consultation Agreement Concerning the Cooperative Planning and Management of Gulf Islands National Park Reserve (“the Agreement”) was signed in 2006, formalizing the terms of the ongoing relationship between the H-GINPR Committee and the federal government. Within the agreement, there is notable language that points to this relationship as dynamic, where the GINPR and H-GINPR Committee will “continue to develop and clarify the role for the First Nations in the cooperative planning and management of Gulf Islands National Park Reserve and establish a process for consultation” (Parks Canada 2006b, 4).

The Park Establishment Agreement (Parks Canada 2003) identifies two modes of cooperative decision-making for GINPR and the committees. In the consensus-based decision-making approach, the parties must reach mutual agreement on certain matters listed in the agreement, such as interpretation. This approach is significantly more empowering than the consultation-based approach for land and resource management, where ultimate decision-making authority rests with the Park Superintendent and the role of the committees is largely advisory. They can provide commentary and articulate interests and priorities, and trigger extensive dispute resolution mechanisms if agreement cannot be reached for consultation matters, but do not have the final say.

The Hul’qumi’num Treaty Group (HTG) successfully negotiated for consensus-based decision-making, what essentially amounts to a veto power, on specific areas of co-management.

In the Agreement, there must be consensus between Parks Canada and HTG Park Committee in matters pertaining to “signage” and “identification, development, interpretation and presentation of materials relating to cultural and natural heritage” in the park (Parks Canada 2006b, 6). This essentially requires co-management decision-making for those activities directed at visitors and the public in large. It is a remarkable venue (and somewhat unusual in Canadian contexts) for Indigenous voices about their culture and territories to be heard and adopted by the state.

Building on the long-term collaboration between H-GINPR Committee and my supervisor, Dr. Brian Thom, I was invited by the Committee to undertake oral history and ethnohistoric research aimed towards sharing Coast Salish perspectives on historic and present use, occupancy, and significance of the southern Gulf Islands. My initial focus was to be on the culturally and historically significant areas around Portland Island, Tumbo Island and Saturna Island identified by the H-GINPR Committee and Parks Canada, which were to be subject of future Parks interpretive material. Through the process of meeting with and interviewing select Hul’qumi’num elders who work with the H-GINPR Committee, other nearby areas—including areas in and out of the park on Prevost Island, the Pender Islands, the south arm of the lower Fraser River, Active Pass, Salt Spring Island and Galiano Island—were also highlighted to be incorporated into my study. It was clear that the places within the GINPR do not exist outside their relationship with the regional cultural landscape. So (as I elaborate in Chapter 2, “Methodology”) instead of focusing on many narratives about a few places, the stories shared in this research have a broader geographical scope, a point which becomes important to my overall analysis.

This research has its origin as a community priority, part of a larger objective of decolonization in a particularly privatized landscape; of re-asserting territorial integrity on lands

that have been practically alienated for generations and for cultural resurgence and revitalization within the community itself. It supports efforts to shift or transform public perceptions of the significance of their territorial connections to the southern Gulf Islands, and practically to regain access and use of this core part of Hul'qumi'num territories. These two priorities have been asserted repeatedly in the public record (HTG 2005; Parks Canada 2006a, 2006b, 2010b). In HTG's interim Strategic Land Use Plan, establishing HTG's management authority for recreation and tourism is important for increasing the frequency and quality of interactions by their membership within parks and protected areas such as the Gulf Islands, as well as to engage in public education, "provid[ing] information for all visitors to the territory on the history, culture, and values of Hul'qumi'num people, and guidelines for environmentally and culturally sensitive recreation" (HTG 2005, 60). In this earlier plan, parks and protected areas are a site of management priority for their "natural and cultural values, and for the protection of heritage and cultural sites and traditional uses" (2005, 78). These management goals continued to be prioritized in the more recent planning. The H-GINPR Committee's Strategic Planning 2013–2014 ("Strategic Plan") (Appendix I) succinctly expresses their goals of "increasing our use of the park, increasing our presence in the park" in co-operation with and through support from Parks Canada.

I have assisted with the H-GINPR Committee's Strategic Plan objectives indicated under the "HTG language and place names" section, which include identification and documentation of more Hul'qumi'num place names and stories in the GINPR. My research contributes to building a distinctive Hul'qumi'num Mustimuhw narrative of Coast Salish territorial relations to the southern Gulf Islands which can be used to support community-identified goals.

## Problematic Narratives

I have identified three narratives of Coast Salish history which present barriers for the H-GINPR Committee to reach their objective to increase their presence in the GINPR. Perhaps the most controversial of these is rooted in the commonly held public view that the territorial lands of Hul'q'umi'num'-speaking peoples' are exclusively in the northern Gulf Islands. This boundary has been represented differently by different ethnographers (see Thom 2005a). Through publications and consultancy reports made during the era of comprehensive land claims, Hul'qumi'num territory has been commonly represented as north of Active Pass and Satellite Channel (e.g. Figure 2), where HTG member First Nations' Indian Reserves are located (Appendix III).

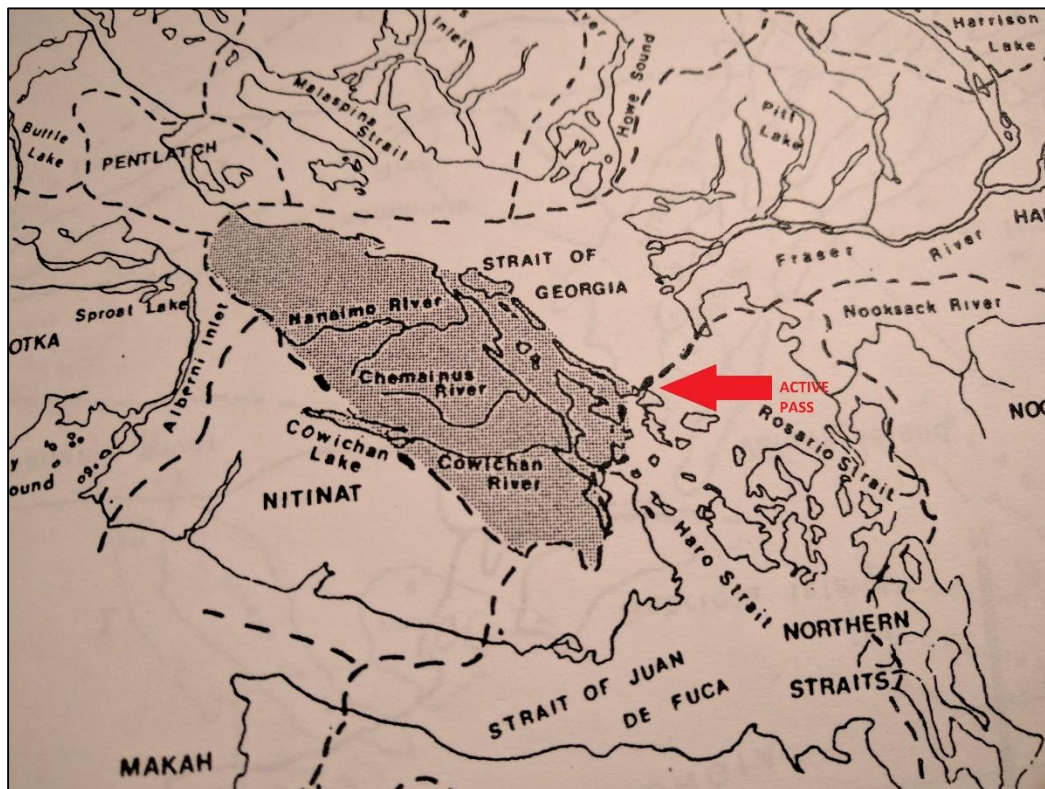


Figure 2: The Traditional Territory of the Island Halkomelem Coast Salish (Shaded) according to David Rozen (1985, 315; Map III)

The narrative of the southern Gulf Islands as at most sites of “seasonal camps” and “resource procurement” for Hul’qumi’num peoples continues to shape the popular and public imaginary. The H-GINPR Committee has challenged this interpretation of ephemerality and discontinuous use, asserting that Hul’qumi’num *mustimuhw* (“people”) have long intensively settled particular localities in the Gulf Islands. The significance of particular sites such as *St’uyus* (North Pender Island), *Hwu’es-hwum* (Prevost Island) and *Sqthaqa’lh* (Active Pass) in Hul’qumi’num peoples’ land tenure system (Barnett 1938, 1955; Duff 1956; Hill-Tout 1907; Jenness 1935; Rozen 1978, 1985; Suttles 1974[1951], 1991; Thom 2005a) is evident in the ethnographic record and oral histories, but is largely unacknowledged by the state and the land claims era consultancy literature. Regional archaeological histories have by and large held that changes to site function and use are best characterized as long-term shifts at localities occupied continuously for thousands of years (Chapter 5). Hul’qumi’num oral histories (Chapter 3) bring into view how colonial period transformations of traditional land tenure systems effected the alienation of Hul’qumi’num peoples from the southern Gulf Islands, a more recent change to what archaeologists see as “site use” and function, with serious implications for maintaining and upholding territorial connections to largely family-owned places.

Another element of this challenge is the requirement set by the Supreme Court of Canada and mandated by provincial and federal governments for First Nations to frame land claims in terms of “exclusive occupancy,” which has led to challenges between First Nations communities with overlapping claims and interests on lands that were historically shared (Thom 2014a, 2014b). This legal requirement has implications for First Nations engaged in provincial-level treaty negotiations with asserted Aboriginal rights in the GINPR, and for the politicization of regional historical narratives. Notably there are several works produced in the early

comprehensive claims-era that give an anthropological construction of the southern Gulf Islands as exclusive *WSÁNEĆ* territory (Bouchard and Kennedy 1996; Kennedy and Bouchard 1991; Rozen 1978, 1985). In the years leading up to the creation of the park, the Pacific Marine Heritage Legacy (PMHL) program funded research into the ethnohistory for the potential lands for selection into the park, namely the southern Gulf Islands. The then-confidential report prepared by Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy (1996) reproduced these land-claims era ethnographic statements that the proposed GINPR area is exclusive *WSÁNEĆ* territory, to the exclusion of other First Nations with rights and interests including the Hul'qumi'num, Tsawwassen and Malahat peoples. The report collects previously documented interviews and ethnographic data with *WSÁNEĆ* informants including *SENĆOFEN* (*WSÁNEĆ* language) named places, traditional uses and use sites, and contemporary uses and places. No Hul'qumi'num members were included or invited to contribute. The resulting text circulated for years, clearly contributing to the narrative that Hul'qumi'num peoples never intensively occupied the southern Gulf Islands. This had been, in part, the impetus for the place names and stories work driven by the H-GINPR Committee. For example, the HTG's 2004 place names overview study states: "The Advisory Committee has expressed its strong interest to recognize Hul'qumi'num place names in its maps and interpretive materials for the Gulf Islands National Park Reserve, which currently illustrate only [Northern] Coast Salish [*SENĆOFEN*] place names in this area of shared territory (Bouchard and Kennedy 1996)" (HTG 2004, 1).

Parks Canada documents, reports, websites and interpretive information (e.g. signage, annual visitor guides) reveal a third set of challenges. The GINPR has framed lands under its jurisdiction in terms of "conservation areas," and as a site for "adventure and escape;" and only marginally as a *social* place and *active* cultural landscape (Chapter 6). Popular tropes about

“authentic Indians” emerging from mid-twentieth century anthropological discourses continue to circulate within this privileged site of narrative production. These constructions of “natural” landscapes and “cultural resources/heritage” temporalize First Nations peoples’ identities, serving to distance Indigenous peoples from the places they continue to esteem as part of their territories by placing them in another time (Fabian 1983).

The power of this language to dispossess and delegitimize must be recognized, especially in light of the fact these places have ongoing significance to Hul’qumi’num Mustimuhw identity and practice of cultures (Chapter 4). In order to reshape government and public understandings of Hul’qumi’num territoriality in the Gulf Islands, efforts are required to challenge the status quo and bring Hul’qumi’num peoples’ perspectives into view.

### **Research Questions**

There are three areas of inquiry guiding this thesis. I examine how the popular and public narratives of Hul’qumi’num Mustimuhw territories and territorialities were produced using a framework of historical narrative production (Trouillot 1995) via four authoritative voices and sites of narrative production: Hul’qumi’num peoples, regional anthropologists, regional archaeologists, and the state. I hone in on the popular narratives of Hul’qumi’num territories and consider the material consequences of understanding Hul’qumi’num territorialities and territories through the lens of non-Indigenous scholars and state representatives. Finally, I evaluate the cooperative co-management arrangement for its potential to actualize the H-GINPR Committee’s goal to control representations of their histories, cultures and languages. As such, this study contributes to the debate around whether co-management arrangements between the government (state) and Indigenous peoples are empowering, subverting, or somewhere in between, for Indigenous peoples.

## Background

### Narratives, History and Anthropology

A significant part of this study is a discursive analysis of the aforementioned popular and problematic narratives, and a deconstruction of the process through which dominant narratives are produced (Trouillot 2005). These are state, anthropological and archaeological narratives of Central Coast Salish territorialities for the period of time leading up to and during the cultural entanglements of *hwulmuhw* (“First Nations person”) and *hwunitum* (“white people”)<sup>3</sup> in the Gulf of Georgia region in the 1800s and early 1900s. I align my definition of *narrative* with that used by McIlwraith (2012, 138n13) in *We Are Still Didene*:

narratives are temporally ordered creations or elicitations (Finnegan 1992, 13; Manelis Klein 1999, 167), which—and here I am informed by Peircean semiotics (Peirce 1992)—act as verbal icons of past events (Bauman 1986, 5, cited by Crapanzano 1996, 111).

Narratives are not neutral representations of some objective reality “out there,” but are created by persons, take the form of statements, are structured with respect to time, and concern “that which is said to have happened” (Trouillot 1995, 2). The fact of archaeological (and all of early ethnographic) focus is on reconstructing the past, and popularly represent these reconstructions in narrative form, this section includes developments in the discipline of history on historical production and narrative. I am specifically interested in how scholars attend to narrative through a lens of power (Trouillot 2005); with respect to its construction or production, its function in contexts of unequal power relations, and its implications for Indigenous peoples, their lives and their worlds.

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<sup>3</sup> *Hwunitum* is term used by Hul’qumi’num elders I spoke with and translates to “white people” (Cowichan Tribes n.d.), and which I will employ to refer generally to non-Indigenous persons.

*Narrative* became an object of study for historians with a constructivist orientation in the 1970s. Historian Hayden White pioneered the critique of traditional historians' "objective" and "neutral" written histories (1973). White's historiography of nineteenth-century British historians' texts revealed their epistemological (theoretical) bias, specifically their use of literary strategies of narration and emplotment (1973, 142-3), which construed history chronologically, with a beginning, a middle and an end. Recognizing the partiality of historical narratives was influential for anthropologists during the so-called 'crisis' in anthropology of the 1980s-90s. Within the Writing Culture movement, ethnographic monographs were similarly rejected for presuming "transparent representations" (Clifford 1986, 2) and anthropologists became self-conscious as privileged authorities in knowledge production about the "Other." They explored forms of textual representation, arguing that the "focus on text making and rhetoric serves to highlight the constructed, artificial nature of cultural accounts" (1986, 2). But the interpretation of ethnographic narratives as "inventions of cultures" (Wagner 1975) problematically promotes the view of these works as *fictions* (Trouillot 1995, 6). Such extreme relativism poses problems for Indigenous communities, whose contemporary identifications are bound up with ethnographic representations, and who strategically mobilize these identities to demonstrate cultural "authenticity" for a specific period in time<sup>4</sup> in the context of state-level treaty and land claims negotiations (e.g. Watkins 2006, 110).

The late anthropologist Michel-Roth Trouillot pushed back on the constructionist<sup>5</sup> position for "denying the autonomy of sociohistoric process [what happened]" (1995, 4). He argued that revealing how narrative-making is inherently political—as histories (narratives of the

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<sup>4</sup> in British Columbia, that year is 1846 as defined in the common law test

<sup>5</sup> or what he terms as constructivist, which is treated the same as constructionist in this thesis

past) are always made in the present—does not actually attend to how power imbues this process (1995, 18). Trouillot’s *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (1995) centrally informs this thesis. I begin with how Trouillot operationalizes the term *history*:

Human beings participate in history both as actors and as narrators. The inherent ambivalence of the word “history” in many modern languages, including English, suggests this dual participation. In vernacular use, history means both the facts of the matter and a narrative of those facts, both “what happened” and “that which is said to have happened.” The first meaning places the emphasis on the sociohistorical process, the second on our knowledge of that process or on a story about that process. (1995, 2)

Constructionists recognized the ambiguity of *history* but took for granted the narratives of social process (1995, 22) or “that which is said to have happened” (1995, 2). Attending to how history *works*, as opposed to what history *is*, shifts our focus to the relationship between sociohistoric process and the narratives about that process, and consequently creates a window for understanding how power imbues this process (1995, 25). As this relationship is fluid, history-making can be seen as happening before and after the narrative is written as “history” (1995, 25). Trouillot furthered narrative production occurs at many different sites, by different people for a varied number of reasons, historians “proceed as if these other sites are inconsequential” (1995, 22) to the stories of the past which become popularized and powerful. This supports my approach for this thesis, in which I delineate and attend to four sites of narrative production for Central Coast Salish peoples in order to illustrate how history is not “out there,” but is always in the making.

To examine *how* the popular narratives of the Haitian Revolution were produced, Trouillot developed a method for deconstructing how history works. *Silences*, he contended, are not all equal and “any historical narrative is a bundle of silences” (1995, 27). To study production processes, he identified the moments where *silences* inhere in *selective operations* of history-making: the events, people and places selected in *fact creation*, the assembly of these

facts in the *making of archives*, their retrieval in the *making of narratives*, and finally “the moment of retrospective significance” in “*making of history* in the final instance” (1995, 26).

The *rule of interdependence* (1995, 49) is useful to examine how silences are created: 1. through deliberate omission, and or 2. when the “data” does not meet the criteria of what constitutes historic fact(s). Understanding social inequalities between actors in history inform how certain perspectives on “what happened” (1995, 2) become *mentions*, as opposed to silences, in historical narratives. Chapter 3 attends to aspects of Hul’qumi’num territorialities (and for the Coast Salish more broadly) that have been *silenced*, and I consider the long-marginalized status of oral history and oral tradition within academia for reconstructing the past as an explanation. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 attend to identifying and deconstructing those aspects which became popular *mentions* in ethnographic, archaeological and state narratives.

Where authorship has been dominantly in the hands of settlers, the state, and academics, anthropologists and archaeologists in the postmodernist paradigm have sought to decolonize dominant narratives through deconstruction. This elucidates how they “do work,” or have effects in the form of material consequences. Certain Cartesian dualisms stand as symbols of inequality, but are treated as neutral tools or analytical concepts in objectivist or positivist frameworks. Dichotomies of nature-culture (Cruikshank 2005, 9), traditional-modern, rural-urban, preliterate-literate (Fabian 1983), prehistory-history (Liebman 2012, 21), continuity-change (Silliman 2014, 58), visible-invisible (Roy 2010) and farmer-non-farmer (Seed 2001, 21) are reproduced in archaeological and ethnographic narratives. Some consequences for the interpretation and representation of Indigenous peoples include undermining Indigenous relational ontologies with animals (Nadasdy 2003a), disrupting complex Indigenous social and territorial relations

(Cruikshank 2005; Thornton 2010), and rationalizing and legitimizing the alienation of Indigenous people from their territories (Liebman 2012, 25; McIlwraith 2012; Roy 2010).

### **Creating a National Park Reserve in Unceded Coast Salish Territories**

In July 1992, the federal and provincial governments launched the Pacific Marine Heritage Legacy (PMHL), a five-year program to create "... an expanded and integrated network of coastal and marine parks on Canada's Pacific coast" (Parks Canada 1995), which would come to include the GINPR area. The benefits of the Legacy are clearly stated, where

new protected areas, including national marine conservation areas, will not only help Canada meet its obligations under the international Biodiversity Convention, but will also lead to new destinations for recreational activities, sustainable tourism benefits and job creation. (Parks Canada 1995)

The acquisition of specific land parcels through a willing buyer/willing seller basis included land transfers from the province, as well as donations and sales of private lands. Over the five-year PMHL period, a collection of fifteen islands, thirty islets and localized marine areas were selected and purchased for the GINPR. Combined federal and provincial expenditures exceeded \$60 M (CAD), in addition to donations by individuals, public and private organizations and institutes.

As a federal entity, Parks Canada has a fiduciary duty to consult with Aboriginal peoples whose Aboriginal and or treaty rights may be adversely impacted by its activities. This duty was triggered with the announcement of the PMHL as nineteen Coast Salish First Nations have part or the entirety of GINPR lands in their traditional territories (Parks Canada 2010b). This potential infringement was particularly salient as this is an area where title had not been recognized or extinguished, and the exercise of treaty and aboriginal rights were bound up with these particular lands and waters.

Only after state and provincial governments launched the PMHL were First Nations consulted as participants in the Public Advisory Committee alongside “local and regional governments, and environmental, recreational, tourism and resource industry interests” (Parks Canada 1995). However, First Nations are more than stakeholders. The HTG has outstanding rights and title claims to lands in the GINPR. Others, like the W̱SÁNEĆ Nations, have existing treaty rights and proximate reserve lands as Douglas Treaty signatories. For the HTG, there was troubling irony in the state releasing those lands from BC Parks and private land owners to Parks Canada while the state was unwilling to do so for First Nations. In the words of H-GINPR Committee Coordinator Kathleen Johnnie: “First Nations were on the Gulf Islands first. Parks Canada created another title interest on top of Coast Salish Nations title” (Kathleen Johnnie, *pers. comm.*, March 14, 2014). Even with the promise that PMHL land acquisitions “will not conflict with on-going treaty negotiations” (Parks Canada 1995), only in one instance has a portion of a Park Reserve been successfully negotiated for a First Nation in treaty in British Columbia (INAC and MARR 2010). In other words, it seems highly probable that the state will sit on these lands indefinitely, in spite of being a *Park Reserve* under the *Canada National Parks Act* (S.C. 2002, c. 32, s. 4:2).

First Nations peoples are rights-holders, and the creation of a new National Park Reserve poses a number of challenges for the recognition and accommodation of Aboriginal rights. For example, the *Canada National Parks Act* (S.C. 2002, c. 32, s.1:3), following court precedence, has justified infringements on Aboriginal rights when there are perceived threats to public safety, health or the environment. The view of Aboriginal peoples’ activities as a potential threat, in particular, to the environment—stands in contrast to the view of park visitors activities’ as threatening to ancestral places, cultural objects and Coast Salish’ peoples’ ancestors. For

Hul'qumi'num peoples, the GINPR is a “‘playground’ created by Canada at the expense of First Nations people” (Joe et al. 2004, 10). Serious concerns have been expressed during and since Park creation for the ongoing, and perhaps intensified, desecration of ancestral places and disturbances to Coast Salish peoples’ ancestors from increased visitor use. These concerns are not imagined, and are absolutely warranted given the historic failure of BC Parks to create protection measures for cultural values in the Gulf Islands through park lands management planning (Thom 2005b, 14; also Thom 2017).

While it is possible to see state creation of another title and jurisdictional interests on top of First Nations title and rights as a barrier to First Nations practices of cultures, and the protection of ancestral lands and ancestors, from another perspective, the process may have open up these once closed areas for a new level of engagement and co-existence. The HTG sees the GINPR for its potential to increase opportunities to educate their youth, and to “develop cross-cultural understanding which can bring down social barriers in other areas of life” (Thom 2005b, 19).

### **Organization of Research and Overview of Chapters**

Chapter 2 gives an overview of the methodology undertaken for this research. Chapters 3 to 6 are largely organized to reflect what I view as the four sources of the aforementioned popular and public Hul'qumi'num territorial narratives for places in the southern Gulf Islands. Chapter 3 focuses on the perspectives of ten Hul'qumi'num elders participating in this study, as well as from Hul'qumi'num community members participating in three other HTG-GINPR projects to which I had partial access. I specifically look at how oral histories and oral tradition, the *silences* in popular narratives, give insight into Coast Salish land tenure systems and Hul'qumi'num ontologies and challenge the narratives of “exclusive use” and “ephemeral connections.” I

examine Hul'qumi'num people's acts of *survivance* (Silliman 2014) in the period of cultural entanglements with Europeans. With respect to Coast Salish land tenure systems, I craft an argument to suggest that state entities, colonial policies, and legal forums such as the British Columbia Treaty Process (BCTP)<sup>6</sup> have not been unilaterally successful in undermining the significance of individual and family territorial relations, in favour of those held by residence groups (contemporary First Nations or "bands"). Hul'qumi'num elders' narratives of place do elucidate the ways in which colonial processes, resources development and private land ownership have effected their alienation from family and community-owned traditional use places in the southern Gulf Islands and elsewhere in their territory.

Chapter 4 and 5 identifies the origin of the *seasonal rounds* narrative in anthropological texts of early ethnographers and archaeologists working in the Gulf of Georgia region. Through a lens of historical and narrative production (Cruikshank 1997, 2005; Trouillot 1995), I situate anthropology in history and identify the partialities of anthropological knowledge production in the early-to-mid twentieth century. In spite of challenges to popular and public narratives within academic research and writing in the present day, arising in part out of the shifting role of First Nations' peoples in anthropological work, the "seasonal rounds" narrative continues to be reproduced rather uncritically in commercial archaeology, or cultural resources management (CRM). Interviews with regional archaeologists give insight into the structure of CRM in British Columbia, and make links between story-telling in archaeology—essentially the interpretation of results from archaeological work—and the discourse of "temporary and seasonal" camps in the context of contemporary archaeological research and consulting practices in a neoliberal

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<sup>6</sup> The BCTP is a process for negotiating land claims beginning in 1993 for the purpose of resolving outstanding issues such as claims to un-extinguished Aboriginal rights with the province of British Columbia's First Nations.

capitalist Canadian economy.

Chapter 6 examines the perspectives of Hul'qumi'num territories and territorial connections by the state, specifically Parks Canada and the GINPR. I evaluate efforts by the HTG and H-GINPR Committee to re-gain control over the representations of Coast Salish peoples and their history, language and cultures. By and large, the objective for having a significant role in the authorship over park interpretive materials about Coast Salish peoples has yet to be realized in spite of the agreement which empowers them in this specific capacity. I then engage in a discursive and narrative analysis of the content in signage, annual visitor guides and the GINPR website. I discuss how Parks Canada frames Hul'qumi'num and other Coast Salish communities in a way that transforms their territorial connections. In comparable fashion to anthropological discourses, GINPR's discourses of Coast Salish peoples bifurcate time, space, nature and culture, and do not necessarily align with how Coast Salish peoples articulate their place-based connections.

Chapter 7 consists of a discussion and conclusion, and considers the net effect of the dominant narratives on Hul'qumi'num peoples' efforts to re-connect with their ancestral lands in the GINPR. I explore how these narratives "do work" by perpetuating dispossession and territorial alienation of Indigenous peoples in the southern Gulf Islands. Although Indigenous peoples have negotiated veto power, there remain the aforementioned challenges within the co-management context in achieving their goal to increase their presence in the park.

## Chapter 2: Methodology

I selected multiple qualitative methodologies in order to respond to the research questions and produce two Digital Atlases for the H-GINPR Committee as the community deliverable for the project. Methods included documentary and archival research; one-on-one semi-structured interviews with three participant groups; fieldwork; and ethnographic mapping.

### Documentary and Archival Research

The aim of my review of documentary sources was to determine 1) more broadly, anthropological, government and First Nations' narratives of Coast Salish peoples' territorial connections, and 2) more narrowly, the specific use and occupancy information on the southern Gulf Islands for Hul'qumi'num mustimuhw and WSÁNEĆ peoples. The review of scholarly and grey archaeological and ethnographic literature covering these areas was extensive—though certainly not exhaustive—and was guided by the input of Dr. Brian Thom and Dr. Quentin Mackie, with additional works identified and selected by me.

Both primary and secondary sources were retrieved.<sup>7</sup> Scholarly literature was predominantly available from the University of Victoria McPherson library in hard copy or digitally, with select literature borrowed from private or public archival collections. The latter included institutions such as the Canadian Museum of History and the British Columbia Archives, for which documents are obtained in person or through Access to Information and Privacy (ATIP) requests. Grey literature obtained through ATIP included some key works in this

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<sup>7</sup> The University of Victoria Library website defines primary sources as “the original materials or evidence to be analyzed, evaluated, contextualized, or synthesized in the research process.” Moreover, these are “usually from the time period under study and offer first-hand accounts or direct evidence responsive to the research question.” Secondary sources are defined as those works which “analyze, evaluate, contextualize, or synthesize evidence. They often give second-hand accounts based on engagement with primary sources.” Moreover, they “they comment on or analyze texts, oral communications, artifacts, or archives of primary sources” (University of Victoria Libraries, “Primary or secondary sources,” 2017)

study, namely by Kennedy and Bouchard (1996) and Bouchard and Kennedy (1991) from the then-Department of Indian Affairs. Grey literature consisting of 39 archaeological reports of surveys, inventories and assessments for specific places within the study area were obtained through the Provincial Archaeological Report Library (PARL) with permission from the provincial Archaeology Branch. Additional grey literature was identified in bibliographies of these reports, but were not listed in PARL. I obtained additional reports from the GINPR's archaeology programme for work done between 2004-2010 on lands after the park underwent federal jurisdiction and authority. Federal authorities do not necessarily submit their records to the provincial agency, so the records are not overlapping. This jurisdictional divergence of the archaeological record has resulted in regional consulting archaeologists largely leaving the unpublished federal documentary record unexamined. New Parks Canada research that challenges the existing Gulf of Georgia settlement model and narratives of Coast Salish peoples' territorial connections are not therefore brought into the mainstream archaeological discourse (see Chapter 5).

Additional grey literature obtained through Parks Canada's data usage request process consisted of GINPR planning documents, PMHL-era research, and reports accompanied by transcription oral history projects undertaken collaboratively between the HTG and Parks Canada. The latter group consists of two documents: a collection of oral history transcripts with several Hul'q'umi'num'-speaking elders from the *Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group Cultural Research Project* conducted between 2007 and 2008 (HTG 2007-8); and a Traditional Use Study (TUS) overview study report (Joe et al. 2004), for which only the report was available for my review and not the original data from the HTG and individual First Nations oral history and traditional use studies. Obtaining these documents from Parks Canada took several months. One

key document among several that was absent from this request was flagged by Dr. Brian Thom, entitled *A Selection of Hul'qumi'num Place Names in the Gulf Island National Park Reserve Area* (HTG 2004). It is possible that tenured/long-standing GINPR staff member compiling my document request overlooked this report, and as I consider below, may reflect the absence of an archival system for organizing First Nations-specific textual materials produced through or in collaboration with Parks Canada. These three documentary sources of Hul'qumi'num place name and oral history information were critical to contextualizing the discussions and discourses of the Committee and Parks Canada, and for building my understanding of a broader Hul'qumi'num perspective of their territorialities, but were not obtained nor reviewed until after the majority of interviews with Hul'qumi'num peoples were conducted.

My First Nations' partners in the research had directed me to obtain H-GINPR Committee records and studies from Parks Canada rather than from the HTG, which had recently undergone a dramatic organizational down-scaling, or from Cowichan Tribes, which is involved in ongoing litigation with the federal and provincial governments. The delay in obtaining existing oral history research from GINPR prior to interviews, and the restrictions to accessing First Nations' archives presented a notable limitation in gaining familiarity with the current status of Hul'qumi'num perspectives and knowledge in the documentary record. Michelle Crocker, an accountant at the Halalt Band Office, had wisely advised that I determine who had already been interviewed and what topics and themes were prevalent, so as to avoid overburdening elders. Through these processes I learned the value of early consultation around political topics of these oral narratives for the interviews conducted for this project.

The delay and gaps in obtaining documents from Parks Canada also resulted in having insufficient time to critically review how First Nations' goals for developing new interpretive

information figured across the range of Parks planning documents. The information was in fact critical to contextualizing the existing collaborative research and the implementation (or lack thereof) of that research prior to conducting interviews with GINPR staff. Due to my lack of knowledge of what the co-management process had already brought to fruition in terms of H-GINPR Committee's goals at the time of this research, there was critical information I did not obtain during these interviews.

The documentary review included content of non-personal interpretive information in the GINPR, meaning information which is communicated by a material or digital medium and which does not come directly from interactions with persons such as park personnel. The content included annual visitor guides (AVGs), signage in the park, the GINPR website and the Trail Guide App. Some of this information was obtained through the GINPR Data Usage Request process. It appears that there is not a systematic way which First Nations-relevant material, specifically that material qualified as HTG-authored or to which HTG has contributed, has been archived at the GINPR headquarters—which is somewhat surprising given GINPR is a federal entity with a public responsibility. The fact that I was a formal research partner of the H-GINPR Committee did not confer any advantages in the data request process, and did not ensure that I received all relevant documentation from the GINPR authority.

I critically analyzed non-personal interpretive signage at key visitor use areas, including Saturna, Portland, Mayne, Pender and Sidney Islands. With the exception of Mayne Island, these five places were the focus of area plans and have the most pronounced visitor use opportunities. There appear to be two periods of signage creation, the dates for which neither of the parks respondents knew off-hand at the time of our interviews: signage created upon the GINPR's inception (c. 2003) and that produced after the development of area plans (c. 2007-2011).

Signage is not dated, giving the impression of timeless or synchronic content. Digital photographs of GINPR signage in 2014 were obtained on day trips by ferry to Saturna Island and the Pender Islands. Digital photographs of signage at Mayne Island and Portland Island were obtained from colleagues who had visited the park in recent years. The texts of the signs were also not provided in the data usage request from GINPR. This suggests that in evaluating my specifications for materials on First Nations cultural values, history and language in the official Data Usage Request, the record of GINPR signage was potentially “overlooked” because signage was not perceived by the responding Parks staff as being a source for this kind of information.

Annual visitor guides (AVGs) published between 2006 and 2014 were examined. Harper-era financial restructuring of Parks Canada, followed on by input from a consulting agency on public outreach (Anonymous GINPR personnel, unpublished interview, August 20, 2015), influenced the decision to cut back the 20-30 page AVG to a twelve-panel brochure in 2014 and 2015. Back issues of AVGs can be obtained at the Parks Canada office in Sidney, while more recent AVGs are available in information kiosks and brochure racks, such as on BC Ferries or at myriad Tourist Information Booths across the province. AVGs contain site-specific information, including natural and human histories of places accessible and inaccessible to visitors in the GINPR. I examined the content and layout of each AVG, as well as changes to content and layout over time, and discuss my findings in Chapter 6.

Several web pages on the Parks Canada website for GINPR contained content about First Nations Committees, First Nations traditional use and history, settler history and place-based descriptions of visitor use and conservation areas. These too were subject to discursive analysis and discussed in Chapter 6.

## **Interviews**

One-on-one interviews were conducted with three participant groups: archaeologists specializing in the region; knowledgeable Hul'qumi'num elders from the six Hul'q'umi'num'-speaking communities; and GINPR staff members. The methods used to recruit participants and the objectives for their participation were distinct between groups. All of the interviews from the first round of interviewing (for most, there was only a first round) have been transcribed and were vetted by participants prior to the publication of the thesis.

### **Regionalist Specialist Archaeologists**

Eleven regional specialist archaeologists were contacted to participate in this research. Of those, seven agreed to participate in one-on-one interviews, six of which were conducted between February and August 2015, and the sixth in February 2016. Several informal meetings with locally-based archaeologists also occurred, during which consent was obtained for note taking and the insights from which are included in certain sections of this paper. Archaeologists participating in formal interviews were selected for having worked in a research and or consulting capacity in the southern Gulf Islands. Potential participants for this group were identified by word of mouth and for their designation as archaeological permit report authors. Some consulting archaeologists who owned consulting firms and authored grey literature for archaeology in the Gulf Islands declined my request for an interview. The purpose of these interviews shifted during the course of the research: my understanding of the issues at play developed, and my focus refined to the narratives archaeologists produce and the processes through which these narratives are produced rather than the nature of the relationship between First Nation peoples and archaeologists in CRM and the integration of First Nations perspectives into interpretations of archaeological investigations of ancestral places. In sum, amendments to

interview questions shifted focus from “collaboration” and “knowledge integration” to “narratives/discourse” and “narrative production” type questions. This shifted the focus from practices on the ground to the concepts and discourse shaping archaeological perspectives, and to the provincial institutional structures and neo-liberal context shaping the information they produce about Central Coast Salish peoples and their ancestral connections to lands.

### **Gulf Islands National Park Reserve Personnel**

Four individuals in the employ of GINPR were contacted for interviews after a formal three-month research permit was granted on May 1, 2015 by the Parks Canada research coordinator. Two staff members who self-identify as First Nations did not participate. One was out of commission from an injury, and the other declined to participate. Interviews were conducted towards the tail-end of an already-protracted interview period with two Parks Canada personnel who, in contrast with the majority of their colleagues, have worked closely with the Committees representing 13 of 19 First Nations with rights and interests in GINPR. One knowledgeable GINPR staff member waived her anonymity for the interviews: Marcia Morash, the GINPR Superintendent since 2012. Both interviews were held in Sidney, British Columbia, in a boardroom at the newly-renovated GINPR headquarters. Neither individual worked at GINPR during the early period of GINPR creation, which constrained my ability to elaborate questions on the early decision-making processes around narrative production particular to the GINPR (i.e. at the Park’s inception, c.2003).

Though GINPR documents were not obtained in time for a review to inform the interview questions, the objective of these interviews was more focused on the “production of history” and on “narratives of place” than on collaborative relationships with First Nations communities. It was cautiously noted by both participants that this was a different line of questioning than what

was proposed to Parks Canada at the time the research permit was submitted, however they tolerated my explanation of the research process as iterative, whereby interview questions may be re-shaped over time. They were probably not the best individuals to interview for this particular line of questioning, but given their important positions in the agency, their responses bring insight into interview topics: understandings of recent and deep histories in the southern Gulf Islands, how GINPR produces these representations of human history, the role of Coast Salish First Nations in such productions and how GINPR has shaped public discourses of First Nations connections to particular places in the Park. Superintendent Morash observed that while the GINPR had conducted social science research into the public opinions on their experiences in the GINPR, there was no line of questioning into how the public views First Nations' connections to their ancestral lands, nor how the public perceives the co-management role of First Nations in the GINPR. Following this thesis, Parks Canada might well be advised to pursue research into how its visitor experience programming impacts the public.

### **Hul'qumi'num Elders and Knowledgeable Hul'qumi'num Peoples**

Approval to conduct research by the UVic Ethics Review Board was obtained on February 1, 2015. The ethics process is important for thinking through the potential for researchers to do harm, indirectly or inadvertently, to their research participants. There is a particular focus on research projects concerning Indigenous peoples, and their knowledge, language, history and culture. The particular lens of questioning for the ethics review process is appropriate for human-focused psychological and biological studies. The framing of the Ethics Boards' questions in respect of an ethnographic project tend to position anthropology as having the capacity to be exploitative—which is certainly not untrue. However, the requirements for “ethical research” in this project presented constraints and inconveniences that have come to bear on research results.

Some examples include the template for the participant consent form, which resulted in a five page, single-spaced document that was arguably overwhelming as it was unavoidably jargon-laden, and thus somewhat alienating for Hul'qumi'num elders. Moreover, its complexity and the micro-detail in the template drew out the interview process an additional forty-five minutes (in some cases), which became problematic given actual interviews often required a baseline investment of an hour. It shifted the focus for elderly participants from the task at hand. The requirement to obtain consent for quoting people in conversations—which would normally be a part of the participant observation component of fieldwork—was found to be almost impossible given it is obtrusive, and generated suspicions, not curiosity, about my intentions. I worked to manage this in my work at the H-GINPR Committee table (who understood the purpose of this research), by my documenting their dialogue during meetings, and their important telling me to “drop my pen” or “leave the room” for conversations they wanted silenced in my record. Lastly, and most important, soliciting information about participants’ social, kin and familial relations, or relations with and between ancestors, friends or relatives (a crucial element of understanding indigenous discourse practices) was framed in the Ethics process as putting those mentioned individuals at risk for misrepresentation or unwanted identification. Thus my requirement to omit this line of questioning was problematic, as understanding the network of kin and families connected to particular places required some probing into their kin and familial relations. What information I was able to document was freely offered by some, but not all. The constraints this imposes on research that has come to identify social organization and kin relations as the significant determinant of Coast Salish land tenure and property systems (prior to cultural entanglements between *hwulmuhw* and Europeans) cannot be understated. It is a silence ironically attributable to the mechanisms for “reducing harm” in research within the academic

institution.

The H-GINPR Committee met towards the end of 2014 to brainstorm a list of people who might be interested to participate in this joint-initiative. It is significant that I underestimated the importance of the recruitment process, which was more sensitive and had higher stakes than the recruitment of archaeologists and GINPR staff. Hul'qumi'num elders and their kin are being asked to share their experiential knowledge, inherited knowledge, life histories and stories with someone with whom they have not been previously acquainted, who is not an indigenous person in Canada, and whose work was to frame the knowledge shared. I had come to learn from H-GINPR Committee members that researchers are engaged with caution as there is a history of academics exploiting these kinds of partnerships for their own benefit—and where research is not returned to individuals nor to First Nations communities. This has become a notable point among scholars in the literature seeking to redress the misgivings of earlier ethnographers and archaeologists (Campbell and Lassiter 2015; Nicholas 2014).

Several H-GINPR Committee members were listed as potential participants, though only two committee members freely elected to participate (Arvid (Luschiim) Charlie, committee member of Cowichan Tribes, in a formal interview), though August Sylvester (Penelakut Tribes committee member) had shared a much coveted story towards the end of the research project. The reasons for declining were not stated by several members, though one declined because the individual did not believe s/he had anything to share with me, while another cited poor previous experience working with Parks Canada and UVic as a knowledgeable Elder and cultural expert during archaeology projects. My approach for some elders was to not probe into reasons for declining, but to respect their unwillingness to speak with me.

In some cases, I was given direct contact information for potential participants who were non-Committee members. For many others, I was given second-degree contact information (such as a close relative or kin of the potential participant) or even third party information (contact at a band office who knew a relative of a potential participant).

Of a list of approximately 20 potential participants, I met with and interviewed 12 elders— all of whom waived anonymity: Alec Johnnie Sr., Arvid (Luschiim) Charlie, Florence James, Ruby Peter, Dan Norris, Ben Norris Sr., Patricia Peters, Tom Peters, Gloria Norris, Marvin Norris, Irvin Norris; and one informally, August Sylvester. Three elders were interviewed more than once (Arvid Luschiim Charlie; Alec Johnnie Sr.; Florence James), and there were three interviews of more than one Elder in attendance, including the October 2, 2015 fieldtrip (discussed below), one family interview (Patricia and Tom Peters, and their children Gloria, Marvin and Irvin Norris), and one interview with brothers (Dan Norris and Ben Norris Sr.). Interviews were conducted in the homes of participants (3), at band offices (7), at the Vancouver Island University Duncan campus library (1), and during the October 2, 2015 fieldtrip (3).

Follow up discussions and information vetting was conducted with all participants in the fall and winter of 2016. This process of meeting with elders at least a second time to verify the accuracy of the content and details of the interview transcript, as well as to verify my representation of their perspective in my thesis, was a commitment multiple elders required in order to obtain their full consent as research participants. Arvid Charlie requested this component be a requirement for participation, and which should be formally added to the participant consent form—a clause that was not required by the UVic Ethics Board. This is another important example of a difference in view between First Nations' elders, cultural experts and organizations, and the UVic Ethics Board in terms of what constitutes respectful, consent-based research.

The purpose of these interviews was to document “stories” of places in the southern Gulf Islands. The stories shared with me have been called oral history, oral tradition, or *syuth* (“oral traditions, true stories”), indigenous knowledge, traditional knowledge, etc. depending on the context in which they are documented, which may include academic research, land use and occupancy studies (LUOS), testimony in courts, commissions and hearings, curriculum in language and cultural revitalization, genealogical studies and family history research. “Storytelling” by Indigenous peoples prior to European contact was a power-imbued practice (Cruikshank 1998) and that holds true today. This is particularly true for Indigenous peoples living in British Columbia in the twenty-first century, where Aboriginal title and rights continue to be argued for in legal contexts within which legal principles depend on oral histories and cultural practice. Elsewhere in this study, I look at how this legal framework is a selective process shaping the articulation, documentation and dissemination of stories in and through my research process.

The interview guide highlighted the initial list of places I was focusing on in the study area within the bounds of the GINPR, but there was no “real structure” upheld across these interviews. In fact, the most fluid and informative narratives emerged when I refrained from asking questions. When stories were told of places outside of the study area, my method was to gently redirect conversation to these places at times I thought were appropriate. The H-GINPR Committee advised that I would likely hear stories about places that were not in the study area, but that I should document these as well. That many elders shared stories of places outside of the study area is in one sense testament to the alienation of Hul’qumi’num peoples from the southern Gulf Islands starting in the early colonial period. In another way, the fact of stories consistently transcending the confines of the study area generated thinking about Hul’qumi’num

territorialities. Stories that connect multiple places are woven into Hul'qumi'num narratives, reflecting the constructedness of a study area in the same way that an ancestral place is measured and delineated as an archaeological site and unit of study. In Chapter 3, I consider the effect of such narrative choices on representations of territorial connections to the southern Gulf Islands.

For elders, the accuracy and precision of information being shared was certainly shaped by my knowledge as a researcher and *hwunitum*. As a “girl not from the coast,” I was lacking a general understanding of Hul'qumi'num and *WSÁNEĆ* histories, languages and cultures. I had to become acquainted with the geopolitical divisions within and across the study area, as well as to memorize the English place names of each marina and port, bay, cove, inlet, beach, island and islet that make up the complex archipelago and waters of the core part of Hul'qumi'num territory—which extends beyond the study area of GINPR. The elders I spoke with were patient with me, and certainly taught me more about their lives, lifestyles and histories than I could have ever learned from an ethnography.

Maritime lifestyles are qualitatively different from those in Eastern Canada, specifically Ontario, where I spent the majority of my upbringing and early adulthood. I did learn that by asking questions in terms of whole islands, rather than particular bays or ports, the meaning of my queries sometimes eluded participants. Participants often related to landscapes in terms of what the bay was named, rather than generic references such as “the northeastern side of Portland Island.” Where I could ask if someone had fished in an area, and what they fished for, a lack of experiential knowledge left me wondering at times what other details I might tease out to bring more descriptive depth to a particular story, such as what techniques used in fishing, what limitations or advantages resulted from use of certain water vessels and so on. It now makes sense why my supervisor had advised at our first in-person meeting to rent a boat and take my

grandmother fishing—advice that would have modestly better prepared me for fieldwork, but at the time I failed to take seriously.

Elders did not get a lot of prompting from me during interviews or informal chats. It was good to have moments of silence, for thinking. These engagements flowed better as conversations. That is when stories did come out. I was still challenged to help with recollecting events, people and dwellings at particular places at particular historical moments.

Other factors that shaped what elders shared and how they framed their responses was based on their participation in other research initiatives, and this must be acknowledged in the context of contemporary anthropological research. Formalized processes of knowledge-sharing, including participation in interviews with academic researchers, traditional land use and traditional ecological knowledge studies, land claims hearings in courts of law, community-based language revitalization or documentation programs or initiatives, are contexts in which many participants had already engaged. Arvid Charlie, for instance, was in the process of preparing for trial for Cowichan Tribes as an expert witness over the time we were meeting for interviews. Perhaps from regular meetings with lawyers and training in cross-examination, he consistently footnoted his stories with names and titles of sources, dates, and the degree of certainty of his information. This serves as a poignant example of how the processes of 'fact-making' are configured and or re-configured. The elders I worked with consistently cited the sources and certainty of their knowledge as they shared their knowledge with me as a general practice.

Other factors that shaped my documentary research and the depth and nature of interviews conducted included the selectivity of written documentation for Hul'qumi'num use and occupancy of specific places in the southern Gulf Islands available to the public and or to

academic researchers; the intellectual property of place-based knowledge; the partiality of knowledge-holders knowledge of places, history and Hul'q'umi'num' language; the politicization of storytelling; and the cultural protocols around knowledge sharing which precludes certain place-specific information from entering public forums.

## **Fieldwork**

Fieldwork was accompanied by detailed fieldnote writing, usually within 24 hours of the event, interview, or meeting. Fieldnotes included my own sketch maps and diagrams, and the rich descriptive detail skewed by all of my biases and assumptions about deep, complex issues. The purpose of fieldwork was to get a sense of the metanarratives and the context in which the H-GINPR Committee operated in the co-management of GINPR, which began with preliminary meetings arranged by my supervisor, Dr. Brian Thom, to establish a relationship with an institution or committee with whom I would focus my research project. I was initially interested in examining co-management of cultural and natural resources between First Nations and the state, and sought to align my research questions to a practical problem faced by an institution or organization. We first liaised with N. Cardinal at Parks Canada late-February, 2014, and then with the H-GINPR Committee the following month. Both had ideas for projects they wanted to execute. While it would have been interesting to “study-up” on Parks Canada (Nader 1972), my motivation for undertaking an MA was to understand how I could support communities defending their lands and interests in natural resources development contexts. So I was motivated to make my project useful to First Nations. Dr. Thom who served as a treaty advisor for the HTG over the span of a decade thus introduced me to the H-GINPR Committee's members and the workings of the Committee. Given my feelings of intimidation, lack of local knowledge of protocols and Hul'qumi'num history, cultural practices and life projects more generally, it is

hard to imagine how I would have begun a project without my supervisor's existing network and personal endorsement. The H-GINPR Committee produced the Strategic-Planning 2013/4 (Appendix I) which I was given to review after the first internal Committee meeting I attended. Under "Language and Place Names" goals, they identified the need to document place names and stories in the Park. In my mind this was achievable for the expected duration of an MA and where qualitative methodologies would be applicable.

For my fieldwork, I committed to attending regular (monthly or bimonthly) committee meetings between fall of 2014 to winter of 2017 in order to update them on project developments. My expectation was to receive guidance and advice throughout the project, in particular, to identify and assist in recruiting participants with stories about places in the Gulf Islands. This process of attending meetings, getting feedback and submitting updates facilitated relationships with committee members and gave me snapshots of how the committee was operating. Meetings were held at one of two locations, including the HTG headquarters in Duncan and Ladysmith, and the Lyackson-Halalt band office in Westholme—both some fifty kilometers north on the Malahat highway from the University of Victoria at the southeast end of Vancouver Island. I commuted with rental vehicles and eventually bought my own vehicle to ease the logistics of regular transportation up island. I was not always able to attend meetings, but provided updates via email where possible. The first and most significant collaborative effort for the project, and the one that took the most time, was the recruitment process which was done collaboratively with the H-GINPR Committee. This is the point at which I struggled most as a researcher. I was excited at the list of prospective people to speak with, naively thinking they would all want to participate, or could be reasonably persuaded to do so. Reflecting on it today, however, I see that being a project partner with a First Nations institution or organization does

not automatically grant you access to meeting with First Nations elders, as I discuss further below.

Meeting with the committee between 2014 and 2017 provided lessons in Hul'qumi'num protocols and best practices for conducting research with the Hul'qumi'num peoples. The most significant lesson was about how collaborative research requires time, patience and an open mind as doing research requires developing trusting relationships with individuals. This was extremely important. By doing this, I learned about protocols around knowledge sharing, about key elements to include in my consent forms, about committee procedures on consensus-based decision-making, on committee dynamics, etc.

Fieldwork also included meeting with Penelakut Elder's Committee, coordinated by Robert Sam, the treaty coordinator for Penelakut Tribes. I pitched my project, hung out with elders, ate delicious traditional food and drank coffee as they discussed various issues and topics. I was then invited by Jill Harris—former chief, researcher, community re-patriator, women's rights activist and band employee—to come out the following weekend to help with documenting and mapping Hul'qumi'num place names in the Penelakut dialect. This fieldtrip was important because I could share the project with people from this community. It also brought into view the fact that while Hul'qumi'num people may have aligned some of their efforts for the purpose of treaty negotiations, communities also strive to maintain their own identities, dialects and self-representations. There are community-based (read: individual bands or First Nations) interests and objectives for language, culture and history that do not always align with the efforts of the HTG (see also Thom 2010).

Fieldwork also included two fieldtrips to the study area. A Field Orientation Visit (FOV) with select H-GINPR Committee members and Parks Canada personnel focused on places where

restoration, infrastructural modifications and clam garden research were underway in the park. Kathleen Johnnie observed that elders were “unusually quiet” throughout this field visit. This reticence to share information may have been due in part to the presence of Parks Canada staff, all of whom were *hwunitum* except a *WSÁNEĆ* man recently appointed as the First Nations Coordinator. Moreover, I was privy to the fact that there is certain information that elders’ will not share in front of elders’ in other neighbouring Coast Salish communities. This brings into view an added complexity to work which is conducted with multiple First Nations who may be in a “treaty group” and with overlapping claims with their neighbours, but who ultimately must advance their interests and claims as individuals with membership and loyalty to a particular First Nation community.

The second fieldtrip was organized and executed by myself, and funded through Dr. Thom’s SSHRC grant. In attendance were Florence James, Alec Johnnie Sr., Arvid Luschiim Charlie, our seasoned boat operator Reg Kirkham, two colleagues Janelle Kuntz and Amy Becker, and Tracy Fleming, one of two internal H-GINPR Committee observers. The trip was documented with two digital cameras, several audio recorders and one audio-video recorder. This was the only time I was in the Gulf Islands with Hul’qumi’num elders with audio-video recording equipment. Stories were shared on the boat by elders on our way to various places in the park and recorded on digital audio devices for later transcription.

During my recruitment of volunteers for the trip I spoke with Tim Kulchyski, a member and employee of Cowichan Tribes with considerable experience supporting oral history research excursions. While I thought having multiple elders together might be advantageous to elicit memories and more nuance for stories at particular places, Kulchyski cautioned that there are protocols around storytelling, that elders do not necessarily see eye-to-eye with respect to, for

example, local history and meanings of place names. I should thus be sensitive to the kinds of dynamics that could arise as a result of these differences in view and knowledge. I would come to learn that these were wise words, and have considered that field trips of this sort taken in the future may be more productive with only one or two elders.

### **Transcription, Coding and Analysis**

I transcribed all participants' interviews over several months in 2015, except for data from the October 2<sup>nd</sup> fieldtrip which were transcribed by Key West Reporting Service in August 2016. Translations for isolated words in the Hul'q'umi'num' language was based on orthography and spellings available in *Quw'utsun Hul'q'umi'num' Category Dictionary* (Quw'utsun Syuw'entst Lelum 2007) and *Hul'q'umi'num' to English Dictionary* (Hukari and Peter 2013). Transcripts from two interviews and the fieldtrip contained substantial content in Hul'q'umi'num' and was translated by MA candidate Tess Nolan from the Department of Linguistics at UVic who specializes in Salishan languages.

Analysis began with coding interviews with regional archaeologists and Hul'qumi'num elders using NVIVO 10 in the Ethnographic Mapping Lab in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Victoria. Coding categories reflected themes that arose during the interview, and were relatively distinct between the two groups. Ultimately, I did not organize my data based on the codes I initially identified. An iterative process of writing the thesis led to merging codes, the elimination of some themes, and even the addition of new ones. The process of codification was important, however, because it brought into view the power of my etic framings to transform messages and meanings of specifically Hul'qumi'num elders' narratives, and the selection process I undergo as a researcher which inevitably results in certain silences. The practice of identifying similarities or themes between these narratives revealed important differences

between Hul'qumi'num peoples, their experiences and knowledge, and had me thinking through how ethnographers' working in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries cognitively managed these differences in their construction of cohesive "cultures" living uniformly by a perceived set of "social facts" projected to an earlier time period ethnographers had never witnessed.

Descriptive statistics were compiled for three types of interpretive material, including signage, AVGs and the website. I calculated the total number of place-based references for each medium, and determined the frequency of "mentions" of Coast Salish peoples, language, history and cultures. A discursive analysis of these "mentions" was conducted for park interpretive information by identifying and problematizing language used to describe Coast Salish peoples' territorial connections, with a particular focus on the language around occupancy and settlement types. I also identified framings of time and space, omissions and mentions of European colonization, and considered the placement and arrangement of text concerning Hul'qumi'num peoples and the representative H-GINPR Committee in park interpretive materials. These results are detailed in Chapter 6.

## **Maps and Mapping**

Several maps were used and some were designed and produced for and out of this research using digital technologies and tools in UVic's Ethnographic Mapping Lab (EML) in the Department of Anthropology. The EML was founded by Dr. Brian Thom, an associate professor at UVic and my thesis supervisor, in order to support Indigenous communities in local and international contexts across a range of lands documentation efforts. The EML has been an important site for conceptualizing and producing my research maps, community deliverables, and fueling me with

espresso on the many final “stretches” towards the end of this thesis (because the study continues).

### **Interview Maps**

The first round of interviews with Hul’qumi’num elders was accompanied by a laminated 1:50,000 National Topographic System (NTS) map of the study area populated with English (but not *Hul’q’umi’num’*) place names. A washable marker was used by myself and participants to draw routes and circle places identified during interviews. For the subsequent and last set of interviews, including the October 2015 fieldtrip, and in the vetting process, I used a place names map custom-made with ArcGIS 10.2. For place names in *Hul’q’umi’num’* I drew upon documentary sources (HTG 2005; Quw’utsun Syuw’entst Lelum 2007) and publicly available base maps and topographic data for the other map features.

The NTS map was in many cases deployed as a memory cue, although some Elders pointed to the limited utility of an English place names map for a discussion of *Hul’q’umi’num’* place names, and also for its lack of the right kind of detail. It was hard to differentiate between all of the little coves, bays and streams along Gulf Island shorelines at a 1:50,000 scale. Many elders explained that they could not locate the precise place they camped, harvested camas, moored overnight, or otherwise. As previously mentioned, places occupied or frequented are highly localized places and stories are seldom recounted in terms of entire islands. Additionally, two elders specifically mentioned the need for bathymetry (contour) lines to show ocean floor depth, though I did not include these elements in the custom-made *Hul’q’umi’num’* Place Names map. What would have been useful, furthermore, is a map of *Hul’q’umi’num’* and English place names, where English place names are bracketed and nested below *Hul’q’umi’num’* place names.

All in all, the most important element to stimulate recollections of particular places, their significance and precise locations, are not just maps, but fieldtrips with maps.

I produced a map of the study area (Figure 1) using QGIS 1.14.2 with data retrieved from federal and provincial online sources, including a GINPR document featuring the GINPR core area, which I selected as the project study area. I produced the maps of archaeologically-identified habitations from data compiled from permit reports available through the Remote Access Archaeology Database (RAAD) and from the reports of the GINPR Culture Resource Management Archaeology Programme operating between 2004 and 2010. I standardized the geospatial data for the two separate data sets using QGIS, and tabulated the descriptive-text data using Excel and produced the final maps using QGIS.

### **Digital Atlases as Community Deliverables**

All place-based mentions of Hul'qumi'num peoples in all of the materials and data obtained and generated for this research project were compiled in an Excel spreadsheet and referenced geospatially using free mapping software Google Earth. I created two digital maps from this for the H-GINPR Committee.

The community deliverable is a sharable Google MyMap project built in Google Earth with Google Fusion Tables to manage the attribute data. This final digital map is intended to be publicly-viewable, and will display stories of specific, significant locales within the GINPR derived from transcripts, audio and video recordings of stories shared by knowledgeable elders participating in my research, as well as knowledge and stories shared by elders from the collection of transcripts from the HTG 2007-8 Oral History initiative.

The H-GINPR Committee asked that I recommend or select the stories for this public-facing map, which they have vetted, and additionally that I obtain permission for the

reproduction and use of stories from the speakers/narrators/story-tellers. As some of these story-tellers had passed on, I made efforts to connect with their family and kin for consent. This process is currently underway.

The second map is also digital, but by contrast is not publicly-viewable. It contains geo-spatially referenced ethnographic and ethnohistoric information obtained from the documentation review, as well as any place-based information of First Nations interviewed for this project and in collaborations between the HTG and Parks Canada and will be very useful at the Committee table. This part of the project has been extensive, but not exhaustive.

Interestingly, when I proposed this second private-map deliverable to H-GINPR Committee, there appeared to be no interest in the ethnographic and ethnohistoric review, nor to have this information compiled in a geo-spatial database that is navigable by place through the digital map. The H-GINPR Committee succinctly expressed interested in their *own* stories; shared by the community members the H-GINPR Committee represents. Retrospectively, this makes sense—as the non-Indigenous documentary record has already been documented through various LUOS conducted through the HTG and by individual bands. In any case, I've continued organizing all place-based data in a tabulated, LUOS-type format in Microsoft Excel. This has been useful for aggregating site-specific excerpts from documentary sources for the purpose of identifying narrative strands and conducting discursive analysis.

### Chapter 3: Narratives of Place by Hul'qumi'num Elders

I examine a specific problematic that was brought to my attention by the H-GINPR Committee, and which I came to know throughout the course of this research in public and private social and academic engagements. There is a widely shared perception that in spite of HTG's territorial assertions since 1993 (see Thom 2005a; Chapter 9), the southern Gulf Islands portion of their "territory" did not figure in a significant way to Hul'qumi'num peoples. In this narrative, they may have floated by the islands, or used the shorelines, but it is presumed that they never actually lived or settled there. The implication of this narrative is that Hul'qumi'num peoples have no legitimate claims to title, rights, or other recognitions of a connection to these lands. An important co-narrative to that of *ephemeral use* is that the southern Gulf Islands is *exclusive* W̱SÁNEĆ traditional territory. The language of exclusivity is highly bound up in state expectations about indigenous land rights (Thom 2014a). The HTG through the H-GINPR Committee, however, has pointed to the significance of the southern Gulf Islands for many bands in the region, challenging these narratives of exclusivity.

Hul'qumi'num peoples' voices were silenced in the production of historical narratives about their place-based connections. In this chapter I showcase the perspectives, knowledge and experience shared in interviews by Hul'qumi'num elders to elucidate how the southern Gulf Islands figure in Hul'qumi'num peoples' conceptions of identity and place, with particular attention to how place-based connections were and are forged, validated and maintained in period leading up to and during the cultural entanglements with Europeans. In doing so, these narratives inform the rationale for and challenges with the popular, problematic narratives of ephemeral use and exclusive occupancy. I remark the ways in which these narratives may

challenge the anthropological framings and terminologies that are identified in subsequent chapters as problematic for understanding Hul'qumi'num territoriality.

In research concerning Indigenous peoples, collaborative methodologies are necessary in order to situate research participants as interlocutors in the process of knowledge production (Fowles 2010; Lyons et al. 2016; Nicholas 2008; Richardson et al. 2012; Simpson 2001, 208; Trouillot 2003). This reflects an emergent disciplinary consciousness surrounding issues of representation (Clifford and Marcus 1986), where it has become necessary to recognize and respect how our research collaborators want to be identified in representations about them. This work was done on behalf of the H-GINPR Committee, and as such I seek to elucidate *Hul'qumi'num* connections to the southern Gulf Islands and use this collective identification throughout this chapter. Where I make statements that I apply to Hul'qumi'num peoples, it is notable that participants rarely self-identified using the identification “Hul'qumi'num.” They self-identified using their English-language names, *hwulmuhw* (or “Indian” names) and community or band affiliation. Identity and identification for Indigenous peoples is complex, and having been further transformed through colonial processes (Simpson 2007) underscores the importance of recognizing Indigenous peoples' self-identifications.

The unequal and opposing dualism of colonized–colonizer informed selection and identification of the “Other” in anthropology (Chapter 4 and 5), and is built on temporal assumptions that distance anthropologists and the state from Indigenous peoples by placing them in another time (Fabian 1983, 31). The *denial of coevalness* (1983, 31) inheres the idea that colonialism has effected the *assimilation* or *acculturation* of Indigenous peoples into *modern* lifestyles. This construction is viewed as “neutral” and “scientific” in functionalist, structuralist and materialist frameworks, adding veracity to the definition of the very existence of Indigenous

peoples in terms of “being colonized” (Silliman 2014, 59) as well as naturalizing the notion that Indigenous peoples were no longer “authentic” vis-à-vis their ancestors living prior to and in the early period of European entanglements (Fabian 1983). Through temporalization, these identifications and processes perpetuate dispossession First Nations from ancestral places, cultural objects, ancestors.

For this chapter, I often follow Kurt A. Jordan by switching out *colonialism* for *cultural entanglements*, looking at the interactions between cultural groups as opposed to the control of one group over another (2014, 114). In place of the problematic terminology for “cultural change,” I draw from Silliman’s elaboration of *survivance*, emphasizing the “creative responses to difficult times, or agentive actions through struggle” (2014, 59), and *residence*, looking at how “individuals staking out claims for themselves, even under contexts of oppression and domination, that may have little to do with outright or even impromptu resistance and that relate more to living through or in those worlds” (2014, 61). On the “scale of everyday life,” peoples are “not just resisting oppression, or changing and staying the same, but negotiating their reality on a day-to-day basis” (2014, 69). These conceptual tools are appropriate to resist oversimplifying, generalizing and misconstruing cultural entanglements by individuals, families and communities.

At the same time, research participants situated themselves within broader networks of kin and social relations, which elucidate aspects of society, cultural practice, history and place-based relations and practices that are in fact shared. Some made generalized and essentialized statements about peoples, culture and history. Sometimes elders would refer to a pre-European contact or early European-contact past in a way which implicates all First Nations as having a similar experience and or similar understanding of the world and or their reality for this time.

Elders' also differentiated themselves from *hwunitum* and settlers in a range of contexts, pointing to some group differences that reflect lived-in, social and political realities. Jordan still sees value in the structural vantage point, which pits *Indigenous* and *settler* as opposing, for “an okay entry point for starting discussions about intercultural relations” (2014, 110). I generally agree with his approach, while being mindful of the particularities of individual experiences and local contexts.

### **Oral Narratives and Hul'qumi'num Perspectives**

The knowledge and stories shared with me are deeply personal, constituting historical, linguistic and experiential knowledge of irreplaceable value to these individuals, their family and kin, the H-GINPR Committee members and their respective communities. From this position of recognition, I consider how oral and written historical forms have been valued differently by academics in institutions and government entities, creating in a sense a “hierarchy of narratives” where written forms of history (by settler, state and anthropologists') are seen as more objective than the oral forms of Indigenous peoples (Cruikshank 2005, 74). Oral histories have only recently been given value as evidence for “what happened” (Trouillot 1995, 2) in Canadian courts (Delgamuukw 1997), but debates on the status of oral narratives in history have been underway since the early sixties in Africa (Vansina 1965). In the 1980s, objectivist historian of Africa Jan Vansina sought a knowable truth in history (1985). Vansina looked at oral narratives from a range of particular contexts in Africa to develop methods for sorting among “durable” oral tradition and “malleable” oral history. While he supported oral traditions as valid sources of *data* for historical reconstruction (1985), oral narratives within any society or cultural tradition, like written history, have many genres—and are not easily divided as subjective (oral history) and objective (oral tradition) accounts of the past (Tonkin 1992).

Elizabeth Tonkin (1992) focused more on ‘that which is said to have happened,’ and tended to align with the view that there was little to be learned about ‘what happened.’ Her fieldwork among the Jiao Kru of Liberia led her to posit oral history as social action, produced and reproduced by narrators through social relationships (1992). In the context of subarctic-dwelling Indigenous peoples, Cruikshank has framed those perspectives articulated orally as *storytelling*, a form of social power, resistance and “communication-based social action” (1997, 64). Storytelling is recognized as an Indigenous epistemology, which can function to validate rights to land and its resources (Kovach 2009). These framings of storytelling as social action and social power is a more productive avenue than seeking to evaluate the veracity of another society’s history. The latter approach relies on Indigenous historical narratives, but evaluate them based on an etic set of criteria; an externally-imposed and epistemologically-biased set of standards for reconstructing and interpreting the past. In relaying the stories shared with her by the residents of Stó:lō country, Crisca Bierwert writes, “If we do not presume a truth in what people say they know, we cannot begin to learn more than we can already measure” (1999, 70). This chapter takes to heart these words by presuming truth in Hul’qumi’num knowledge, stories and perspectives.

Through the research process I have come to know that traditional stories and knowledge which are intended to enter the public domain undergo a careful process of selection, with implications for “that which is said to have happened” (Trouillot 1995, 2). The HTG and the administrations of its member Nations have partially documented the knowledge and stories of its membership, as not all Indigenous peoples with traditional knowledge, stories and place names have confided this family-inherited information to their respective bands’ leadership. The contemporary political situation of land claims and ongoing efforts towards recognition of rights

and title by the state constrains what people from one community are willing to share in front of individuals from neighbouring communities—colleagues who otherwise collaborate on some aspects of implementing Indigenous governance (Tracy Fleming, *pers. comm.*, October 2, 2015). From the nineteenth century onwards, some stories and knowledge have been recounted to a non-indigenous audience whose membership would become the dominant culture—an audience that has misunderstood and misappropriated the knowledge and stories to which they were privy (see Mohs 1994). People have different attitudes about sharing information with persons outside of their family and their communities. I have learned that just because stories are not in the public purview does not mean that they do not exist—and they may very well be known even if they are undocumented. I have also come to understand that people will share with you what they want you to know (Cruikshank 1998; Darnell 1974). These preliminary selective processes shaped what I have come to know (Trouillot 1995), interpretations which underwent the selective process of vetting by the H-GINPR Committee, Cowichan Tribes and individual participants to ensure that sensitive information or misinformation is not made publicly accessible. The omissions and mentions of the Hul’qumi’num elders I spoke with are conscious choices. They are deliberate and intentional because Indigenous peoples understand that stories are powerful. In sum, what I’m about to share is, like all knowledge, situated.

### **Conceptualizing Something of a Hul’qumi’num Land Tenure Model**

Participant recruitment involved networking with people from six Hul’qumi’num First Nations, during which I was told by more than one person that, “In Indian country, we’re all related” (see also Nadasdy 2012). Over time, a network of social and kin relations coalesced between my contacts and beyond. This network transcended the boundaries of band membership and the state, bringing into view a complex social fabric linking Hul’qumi’num people to the WSÁNEĆ,

Malahat, Musqueam, and Lummi on the US side for trade, recreation, conservation, economic activity and ceremony (see also Kennedy 2007; Thom 2005, 2009). Veronica Kauwell (*pers. comm.* March 2, 2015), an elder of Lyackson First Nation and Committee member recalled travelling “all over” with her parents and brothers in her youth to visit friends and relatives. “You were always visiting people and you never knew when somebody would be coming to visit.”

Mobility was a prominent theme in Hul’qumi’num peoples’ narratives; an integral part of a lifestyle upon which the maintenance of social and kin relations is paramount to individual, family and community success and well-being. Mobility facilitates an individual’s connections to multiple places within a broad geographical region one might construe as a *territory*. While the concept of *territory* is accurate for describing Indigenous peoples’ connections to a broad area of places, it should be recognized that “traditional territory” implies that the boundaries delineated in Statements of Intent for the BCTP for contemporary bands (read: First Nations) were natural divisions prior to European contact. As a term built on typological time (Fabian 1983), “traditional” implies Indigenous peoples’ lifestyles prior to the integration of settler (European) goods and technologies into their lifestyles and cultural practices. In the BCTP, “traditional territories” are represented for each First Nation or band. To be discussed in Chapter 4, Indian Act-defined bands were treated by anthropologists as cohesive “cultures” based on winter-village residency and language-group affiliation (e.g. Barnett 1938; Boas 1890; Jenness 2017[1935]; Suttles 1990). These prescribed, categorical differences have become significant in legal contexts, particularly for bands as the socio-political unit for which “traditional territories” are now delineated. On the ground, however, individuals and families within a First Nation have customized networks to people and places that in their totality can also be construed as a

*territory*. The transcendence of Coast Salish kin networks beyond these contemporary polities has implications for the notion of “exclusive occupation” in the BCTP and SCC (Supreme Court of Canada) sense of the term (see McNeil 2006).

Mobility was required to maintain social and kin relations, and also to care for lands and resources. This geographical mobility complicates the desire to look at a single geographical location in a single time frame, or an aggregate of places beyond the lifetime of an individual. Arvid Charlie likened our interview to one of the many trips he has taken to and through the Gulf Islands. As I was trying to establish the who, what, when and how of each “where,” and representing them as circles on our map, Mr. Charlie began drawing *lines*, emphasizing that this was but one of “many trips.” I would interpret this in two ways: first, place-based relations may be expressed in terms of specific locales, but are territorial in nature. Second, while there may have been a broader seasonal pattern of use, recognition of the existence of (extended-) family-owned resources and places complicates a holistic, predictable (read: mappable) view of the “seasonal rounds” constructed uniquely on resident group (or band) mobility. The way in which places are construed with respect to time and space by *Hul’q’umi’num’* oral narratives results not in a bounded geo-spatial delineation, but perhaps conceptually as a meshwork (Ingold 2011), where places are built through and upon particular types of resources and social relationships, at different moments in time, by particular individuals over the course of their lifetime (Helweg-Larsen 2017).

### ***Choice spots and Other spots***

Hul’qumi’num peoples’ perspectives help understand how land ownership or property was asserted and exercised in practice. We start here with a story shared by Arvid Charlie, who identifies *speenhw* (camas) places in the southern Gulf Islands, while differentiating between

“choice spots” and “other camp spots.” Charlie explained that in his lifetime, there were certain places that were “Saanich” and others that were “Cowichan.”

There are many *speenhw* places out there, and some places were owned by either families or a community, and a lot of the camp places out here, *Skw'ukw'atu* [Piers Island] is one of them, where we camped over there, my dad and I, great-grandfather *Qwulthimuluq*. He was camped there when we got there in December. Then he left about three days before Christmas. It was always a good tide right around that time, Christmas time. He left about 3 or 4 days before Christmas. I remember [him] saying to my dad: “Anyone from *She'nets* [WSÁNEĆ] get here you move.” It was not our camp spot. That's at *Skw'ukw'atu*, Piers Island. So it's like that at many places: there was *Quw'utsun* places, there was *She'nets* [WSÁNEĆ] and other communities. Like, that one there. That Narvaez Bay is *Quw'utsun* inside, but there was other communities that they could camp there, but if we got there they had to move, and that's what I meant by there's other places to camp along there. They're not number one choice spots, but they were there for somebody that was pushed aside, but having said that, I do know that Montague Harbour, there's choice camp spots [for *Quw'utsun*], but there's also other camp spots on the outside.

Arvid Luschiim Charlie (unpublished interview, March 23, 2015)

In this recounting, the fact of people voluntarily relocating to “other spots” suggests a common understanding of which community, family or families had rights and privilege to specific places, and that these places were *owned*. This means that not just anybody could use or occupy any place: there was a system of land tenure in place. There were multiple places, as opposed to one, which were defined as belonging to *Quw'utsun* people—and this can be said for other Coast Salish communities and families. And a single place may have primary owners associated with one community, who share it with others at their discretion, following the Coast Salish idiom of sharing (Thom 2005a). Importantly, these owned places existed at different scales and in different locations. Here and elsewhere in the interview, Mr. Charlie differentiated between “choice spots” and “other spots,” where “choice spots” are on the inside of a bay and “other spots” are outside of a bay—pointing again to a system where lands perceived as having high value were owned alongside lands that were seen as having lesser value, where there were

“other places to camp along there.” In a later interview and discussion on houses and homes, Arvid provided a concept that ties a family to a particular series of “spots.” This spot could be at a “village,” or at a “camp.”

UA: Do the structures at a place signal that the place belongs to a particular group of people? That they own that place. That they have rights to resource use [and access]?

AC: Yes and they come back in the fall or a member of the family comes, like I could have a permanent beam and poles frame there. Maybe my mother and grandmother might have passed down to me. [1:01:40.4] <IA> now you gotta go there all the time but now I'm getting old maybe I won't go this year then one of my brothers or one of my cousins or one of my kids could go there. So that's - it travels down a line.

[UA: Did you have neighbours?]

AC: And in the past I might have my structure there. Or we might have several spots, our family. And next door it would be another family. So if they're not there, you can go there. But if they get there then we move away. Same thing if we're not there maybe we're only occupying one but their whole family comes this year. They could go in and occupy that spot but if we get there then they've got to move. That's the way it was.

UA: How close would these dwellings be?

AC: Some are really close together like you barely had room to walk through them. Yeah, walk through the aisle, you know? And some are a bit further.

[UA: So they were that close, but there could be different families coming from different lines that would have a house and access to the whatever might be there.]

AC: *Shwa'mut*. So that spot at your family's spot is your *shwa'mut*. Mmhm. Also, it also means 'bed'. *Shwa'mut* also means bed. I could have my *shwa'mut* in a corner there. It's my bed, my bed area. But the house area is also a *shwa'mut*. These would be within the village. Yes, within. Some of them might be camping areas.

Arvid Charlie (unpublished interview, November 20, 2015)

*Shwa'mut* is the family's spot. For more places, irrespective of the permanency at the locality, the *shwa'mut* describes that place belonging to a particular extended family. This locality could be right next to or within close proximity to another *shwa'mut*. As such, highly

localized and productive places were owned in the sense that there was exclusive use by certain peoples to the exclusion of other peoples. There were lands to which you had privileges and rights of access and occupation and use, which could be alongside (adjacent or contiguous to) places to which you did not have privileges or rights. This also complicates the notion of “traditional territory” used in regional ethnologies and applied in BCTP map-making, which often depicts contiguous, un-overlapping boundaries (see Thom 2009 “the impossible map”).

The notion of “choice” in terms of residency, use and access of particular lands and resources, continued into the mid-twentieth century. Residence group affiliation has been upheld as the determinant for places of occupation throughout the colonial period through government policy, laws and regulations that have come to bear on the “theoretical flexibility” in residency afforded by the Coast Salish bilateral kinship system. Importantly, the socio-political unit of the “band,” defined through the *Indian Act* (R.S.C., 1985 [1876]) as a political unit, is not analogous to the “residence group” of pre-European contact times. Band membership is comparatively inflexible as the *Indian Act* prohibits “double-dipping:” an individual may never be a member of more than one First Nation at a time, and by extension this excludes rights of occupation to Reserves assigned to First Nations with whom one is not a member.

Interviews with Hul’qumi’num elders have me questioning the enforceability of state laws that restrict choices in residency. For example, Dan and Ben Norris’ grandfather had houses at 3 different Reserves registered for three different Hul’qumi’num bands: *Hwts’usi’* (Penelakut Tribe); Willy’s Island (Halalt First Nation); Valdes Island (Lyackson First Nation). I did not realize until after the interview that their grandfather had lived on reserve lands of three different First Nations. Regarding the motivation for relocation, Ben Norris explained the value of living at Willy’s Island and *Hwts’usi’*. “Yes, there was a lot of fishing over at those two little spots”

(unpublished interview, April 23, 2015). On the October 2 fieldtrip (2015), Florence James explained how her uncle had changed his band membership so he could fish at his preferred location. Given that neither Ben nor Dan Norris explicitly mentioned any change in band membership leads me to wonder how commonplace and ‘not worth mentioning’ this practice might be. Was another land-permitting authority in the picture? Had Ben and Dan’s grandfather leveraged kin or social relations to gain access to lands and resources on other reserves? It has been pointed out to me that today, for example, extended-kin groups such as the Norris’ and Thomas’ are members of Lyackson, Halalt and Cowichan Nations (see also Thom 2005a, 92-3, 112-113). Calling upon kinship and family ties for this purpose may be thought of as an act of *residence*, a continuation of customary land tenure practices which have “little to do with outright or even impromptu resistance and that relate more to living through or in those worlds” (Silliman 2014, 61).

### **The Perceived Hul’qumi’num- W̱SÁNEĆ Territorial Boundary at *Sqthaqa’lh***

*Sqthaqa’lh* (Active Pass) is the Hul’qumi’num place name for the east-west running marine passage separating Galiano Island to the north and Mayne Island to the south. This has been described by ethnographers, and reproduced by archaeologists, as part of the unofficial boundary, territorial boundary and or linguistic boundary between W̱SÁNEĆ and Hul’qumi’num peoples. The following case involves three Hul’qumi’num elders from two different Hul’qumi’num First Nations and their narratives of residency at two bays on the north end of Mayne Island, on the south side of *Sqthaqa’lh* (Active Pass). This case study is a good example that highlights how ethnographic boundary-making elides the complexity of the Coast Salish social world and order, and the disruptions to traditional land tenure through colonial processes.

*IR 6 Mayne Island* is a Tsartlip First Nation Indian Reserve created in 1877/8 in Active Pass, on the northwest corner of Mayne Island. From west to east, the Reserve includes Helen Point and Naylor Bay, and bisects Reserve Point. The next bay over and outside of the reserve is Miners Bay, also called “Indian Bay.” Two Hul’qumi’num elders recalled camping at Naylor Bay as children with their families in the mid-twentieth century (1950s-60s). They did *not* specify how they had come to be there, whether or not their kin were Tsawout band members, nor did they specify that the camp was located on a reserve. Ms. Florence James, a *Puneluxuth*’ Elder, cultural authority and language instructor at Vancouver Island University, had a story about the place name for Helen Point, and shared it with me on her balcony on a stellar July afternoon.

It's over here, Point Roberts. [...] When he threw the three rocks after he did that, he was going to step over on the island. So he has a footprint here, somewhere in the—and then this is part of it where the footstep is on Helen’s Point. It's called *Xixne'tuns*. There's a footprint there, that's why it's called. Because when he stepped, he stepped on this island, Galiano. Then he stepped over here. So this place is called 'small,' 'smallness', or diminutive term for 'small feet'. But he didn't have a small feet, he had a big foot. You know, like the big-foot people? So that's my story for Helen's Point.

Florence James (unpublished interview, June 29, 2015)

She then responded to my question about whether she herself had been to Helen’s Point.

I've been there, fished there, went around. There as a little girl we used to camp over here in the bay, on this point here. My great-grandfather lived there, *Qwayuxwuthut*, and his brothers. He used to live there. [...] That was Edward and William Paul. That's the brothers. They lived there. That's all I know is their English name. But what is that bay?

Florence James (unpublished interview, June 29, 2015)

In a follow up interview, Florence shared with me that her mother Mary Joe shared this family history with her. She identified Miners Bay as one of many residencies of her great-grandfather and his brothers. The big houses, she explained, were near the head of the bay. *Qwayuxwuthut* lived at Quamichan (name for one Cowichan residence group) when he was not

residing at one of his other homes. She went on to describe how these other homes were made of *lupla'sh*, homemade boards used to construct houses.

Arvid Charlie recalled a story from his great-grandmother and great-grandfather of old *Sulxwiim*.

Certain parts, not just everywhere. It's certain parts are really good for spring salmon. Something like that, I'm not sure how far. And this is according to my *si'lu* and *sts'a'muqw*. [...] *Sts'a'muqw* is great-grandfather and great-grandmother—lived there. Felix Jack, is *Sulxwiim*, old *Sulxwiim* we'll call him, because I mentioned the young *Sulxwiim* which is his grandson, and *Xulaqiye'* which is Emma. Emma Jack and Felix Jack lived on—by Helen's Point. Not on Helen's Point, but close to Helen's Point. In that little bay. There's a little bay there somewhere.

Arvid Luschiim Charlie (unpublished interview, March 23, 2015)

In our first interview, I asked Alec Johnnie Sr. if he had family or kin who had also visited, or resided, in the southern Gulf Islands. He explained his relation to Felix Jack through his father's side, who lived at Mayne Island. Alec lived at Green Point his entire life, and during our interview he pointed from his window to Cowichan Bay and recalled that in his childhood how Felix Jack and his family would come here periodically by canoe. Eight months later on the October 2015 fieldtrip, our group were moored just outside of Naylor Bay. Alec and Florence recalled camping here in their youth. Ms. James' father fished herring in the early morning, while she and her siblings slept on the beach. I would come to learn through the HTG 2007-8 oral history project that the Jack family were Quamichan (a Cowichan residence group). Many elders participating in this project recalled that Felix Jack had multiple houses in Naylor Bay, where he lived with his wife and two children up until the mid-to-late-twentieth century.

There is a strong collective assertion that Naylor Bay and Miners Bay are particular locales from which some Hul'qumi'num families and some residence groups, specifically Quamichan, were alienated. What is particularly fascinating, and perplexing, is how these places

did not emerge in any significant way as being connected to Hul'qumi'num peoples in the mainstream ethnographic record. The presence of Hul'qumi'num peoples at Active Pass was ascertained by Rozen, citing Suttles (1974[1951], 27), in that “there were still Island Halkomelem people staying on the Saanich Reserve at Active Pass (Helen Point) in 1951” (1985, 118). Moon's (1985) ethnohistory for the Pender Islands specifically, and Gulf Islands generally, was collected from ethnographers and interviews she conducted with settlers living on the Gulf Islands. One settler observed both Cowichan and *W̱SÁNEĆ* peoples fishing near the Mayne Island Reserve in Active Pass as being “quite close” (1985, 40), which I take to mean had a significant social or kin-based relationship(s). Agnes Thorne, a Cowichan elder interviewed by Rozen in the late 1970s, “felt that Active Pass was traditionally “shared” by the Cowichan and *W̱SÁNEĆ*, due to the fact that it is only one of three “breaks in the Gulf Islands” (the other two being Porlier Pass and Gabriola Passage) by which the “Indians” could travel to the mainland by canoe “in the old days” (1985, 118).

It is possible that Hul'qumi'num peoples and settlements at Naylor Bay and Miner's Bay are absent in the ethnographic construction of ‘territory’ because they were not reserved for Hul'qumi'num First Nation communities. In spite of this “sharing” of the pass and occupation of the two villages in summer by different families and communities who trace their relations across the ethnographic Hul'qumi'num and *W̱SÁNEĆ* distinction, Active Pass is normatively construed as a boundary between the Hul'qumi'num and *W̱SÁNEĆ*. Bouchard and Kennedy (1996) identify the *SENĆOFEN* place name for the village at Naylor Bay as *énwelh* and situate it in *W̱SÁNEĆ* territory—making no mention of Hul'qumi'num affiliation with this place. Citing Suttles (1951 [1974], 24, 277-8), Bouchard and Kennedy reiterate that prior to 1843 and the first period of Reserve creation, a man named *lesch'íim* whose ancestry was “in part [from] Active

Pass” gathered the people from this area “to resettle at the East Saanich village of *sth’á7awtxw* (Tsawout)” (1996, 75-6). Bouchard and Kennedy do not explicitly identify the different groups, be it families or communities, associated with the older Active Pass village site. But it is noteworthy that the name *lesch’iim* is shared by Arvid Charlie (who spells the name *Luschiim*) of Cowichan Tribes. Arvid Charlie’s grandfather also had the name *Luschiim* and has ties to Lummi (a Native American tribe). The implication is that the East Saanich population came to be mixed with peoples from this older Active Pass village, whose family ties are not only to *WSÁNEĆ*, but also to Hul’qumi’num, Lummi and other communities.

Four of Rozen’s contributors<sup>8</sup> also felt that *Sqthaqa’lh* was the unofficial boundary between them in terms of “Indian languages and the fishing, hunting and other food-getting territories” (1985, 117). While there is no *Hul’q’umi’num’* name documented for Naylor Bay in publically accessible materials, there are *Hul’q’umi’num’* language names for Active Pass and Helen Point. What is speculative, but worth mentioning, is the location of three settlements: Helen Point, Naylor Bay and Miner’s Bay are practically adjacent to one another. This has implications for ethnographer’s delineating whole islands or large geographic expanses (linguistic boundaries) in defining linguistic or territorial boundaries between the Hul’qumi’num and *WSÁNEĆ* peoples, and in turn, for BCTP map-making. Bouchard and Kennedy have contributed to defining territories exclusively by making this messy picture fit into a neat mosaic of “bands,” reminiscent of culture-historians nineteenth century mosaics of unoverlapping and discrete “cultures.”

The significance of kin and possibly social relations in determining rights of access and

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<sup>8</sup> Agnes Thorne, Abel D. Joe and Abraham Joe (Cowichan, Cowichan #1) and Chris Paul (Saanich, Tsartlip #1).

use were mobilized by Hul'qumi'num peoples to maintain their connections to this ancestral place into the twentieth century. Florence James, who is a Penelakut Tribe member and lives at *Puneluxutth'*, relates to Naylor Bay by way of her father, and Miners Bay by way of her mother. Florence was vocal in the view that individual contemporary First Nations are not separate peoples, threading together oral history and *syuth* to show the complexity of social relations constituting the larger Coast Salish world.

### **Social Relations and Kinship**

Scholars have described how within Aboriginal Common Law and Coast Salish land tenure systems, rights of access to and ownership of places have several determinants. While Coast Salish peoples may in fact “all be related,” this does not mean that they sought or seek to maintain all of their relations. By shifting our focus from First Nations (i.e., Indian Bands) as discrete sociocultural and political units to agentic individuals, we create space to reflect upon the element of an individual choice for land use and residence according to Coast Salish land tenure systems. Thom explains that this element of choice is influenced by important factors: “strategies for resource harvesting, friendship and family ties” (Thom 2005a, 276; also Thom 2009, 186). Articulations of family ties were particularly important for some Hul'qumi'num participants' rights of access to and sense of belonging to place. Coast Salish peoples still articulate their ties to place where they are not so-called permanent residents by naming places in *Hul'q'umi'num'*, sharing oral traditions and reciting ancestral ties (Kovach 2009).

Colonial processes have made the residence group the focal point of Coast Salish land tenure (Chapter 4). In spite of certain transformations, ancestral ties continue to be potent in some participants' articulations of place-based connections. Thom states that

many productive and predictable resource locations are owned by groups of extended families, related through descent from common ancestors who were connected to specific places. People claiming membership to these groups may draw authority with respect to these properties from their knowledge, and publicly recognized use of, historical and mythical privileges handed down from the ancestors. (2009, 185)

A pointed example can be made from the story shared with me by Arvid Charlie, who explained his ancestral connection to a place at Portland Island.

*Tslhaqwuluq* is a name, is a person's name. Wherever that man built a house or a lean-to or a dwelling, he always had it right by the beach. He's part of my family and he lived—one of his homes was at *Me'luxulh*, Mill Bay. He had several homes and he also had another one at [Portland].

My great grandfather, *Kw'tumlenuhw*, was born around 1860 somewhere there, 1865, somewhere in there. Exact date is unknown, exact year. And they were closely related. So on *sts'a'muqw's* side's—great-grandpa, Able Charlie, *Kw'tumlenuhw*. I have Malahat roots on account of my great-grandfather. So they [*Tsalhwkuluq* and *Kw'tumlenuhw*] were closely related.

Arvid Luschiim Charlie (unpublished interview, March 23, 2015)

Arvid further explained that several boys in their family inherited the name *Tslhaqwuluq*. During a guest lecture I gave to a Contemporary Coast Salish class, I shared this story. A student, also a member of Tsartlip First Nation and coincidentally sat on the WSÁNEĆ Parks Committee, remarked that *Tslhaqwuluq* was also his ancestral kin. He was at once appreciative of the rich context Mr. Charlie gave to *Tslhaqwuluq*, the place, and critical of my role in supporting Cowichan Tribes political efforts as a student researcher. The notion of sharing ancestral kin in the context of contemporary land politics does not put First Nations' bands in an easy position to achieve reconciliation, as they must mobilize their collective identity to the exclusion of other communities (and kin) in order to participate in contemporary negotiations with the state, or as in the case of Tsartlip First Nation, to protect their existing treaty rights. This is a point to which I return below.

## Ancestral Relations

Where places are not named for people, oral traditions may establish the connection between an extended kin group and or residence group, and a place. This following excerpt is from Florence James' story of *Hwu'es-hwum*, meaning "seal place" or "place of seals" in *Hul'q'umi'num'*.

*Hwu'es-hwum* refers to all of Prevost Island.

So, there's a story about the seals that's called—that's why they call the Prevost Island, *Hwu'es-hwum*. It's because there was a man used to always come from Cowichan Bay and go huntin' seals on Prevost Island and he always went out on the reefs there and spear seals, sea lions—and *st'u'yus*, sea lion, and *'eshw*, seal—and he'd go there and spear. And one day he went missing, and then the people look for him, search for him, couldn't find him. Then one day they were walking through the village and they were going to this graveyard. They passed the graveyard and there was the—there was the spear. It was poking out of the graveyard. So the spirit that the graveyard had was—must have been a seal. So when it transformed it went back into spirit life. That's where the spear was and the man was missing. So, somehow they must do a transformation. That's my story about that Prevost Island. So that's an unusual way to—but the—but you know it's about transformation. So that's why they call it *Hwu'es-hwum*. That's where you go to harvest today. Certain times you go there.

Florence James (unpublished interview, March 23, 2015)

I came to learn that was a more commonly known *syuth* in a later interview with archaeologist Eric McLay, with whom Florence James had also shared this story. Florence explained in a post-interview discussion that the idea of transformation can be thought about roughly as reincarnation. Having extensively explored the Gulf Islands by boat, McLay caught the silhouette at dusk of sandstone rocks on the east coast of Prevost Island resembling seals standing upright—perhaps cast to stone by *Xeel's*, the Transformer. Marshall explains that "just as ancient stone monoliths in other cultures are associated with some of mankind's earliest stories, the *Hul'qumi'num* world is also inhabited by similar rock monuments that record memories from the distant past" (1999, 37; see also Thom 2005a, 116). Bierwert (1996, 55), in describing a *Stó:lō* fish camp as a mythic place, explains how the distinctive trait of Transformer stories is

what Transformers do: “change a person into an animal or a feature of the landscape.” As a genre, Transformer stories “suggest a way of reading the landscape from the physical ground out, telling of events that led to the present where beings are physically incorporated into the landscape” (1996, 55), which she argues is different from simply anthropomorphizing parts of a landscape. Florence James’ story of transformation at *Hwu’es-hwum* elucidates a relational ontology (Thom 2017, 143) in the Coast Salish world, whereby people, non-human beings and inanimate entities co-constituted particular locales. People and non-human beings in the early days of the Earth *became* places. For the descendants whose ancestors have been transformed into animal-beings or into stone, their ancestors *are part of* the landscape in which they dwell and *are* the resources upon which they base their economies (Bierwert 1996; see Chapter 2).

Ancestors never truly leave the places they come from, becoming part of the landscape through transformation or funerary processes (Mathews 2014). The co-constitution of people and place was conveyed in the latter sense in a story shared about the desecration of an ancestral settlement in the construction of the infamous Poet’s Cove resort. Ruby Peter, who inherited a role as a *thi’tha*,<sup>9</sup> explained the challenge with relocating ancestors already disturbed from project impacts:

But that was at Pender Island. So they had the bones reburied, and they were going to move it far away from that hotel, and I said: 'No. These native people, that's their bones. There's a purpose for that, why they wanted to be buried here to identify their land. This is where they lived. This is where they got their food. This is their place. You can't move them. If you want to move them, just move them in the same area. But it's their land.' So they moved them in between two trees. That was sort of on the cliff.

Ruby Peter (unpublished interview, June 29, 2015)

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<sup>9</sup> Persons who had the ability to converse with the deceased (McLay et al. 2004, 24).

“This is where they lived. This is where they got their food. This is their place.” These words reflect a Coast Salish ontology where relationships between people and place transcend the lifetime of the individual (Boyd 2006; Thom 2017). This explains why the many islets of the Gulf Islands, the locations of many Coast Salish cemeteries, have been given high priority in the co-management of the Park by the H-GINPR Committee. In instances where individuals and families know precisely where their ancestors rest, the response of ancestors to *thi'tha'* can serve as an indicator for the belonging of their descendants to that place. This emerged in one way from a participant who shared the nature of a dispute between their sibling and their band's elected Chief:

Yes, they had the burning for food and my sister went out there and that guy was asking them how many families there were, and the Chief and his council didn't know anybody out there. They knew none of the graves. My sister was naming them all. Naming all the people there and she's way younger than them. [laughter] And she knew our ancestors.

(anonymous participant, unpublished interview).

In asking “how many families were there,” they are talking about the dead who had come and responded to the work of the burning, a “ceremonial to ritually feed the spirits of the dead” (McLay *et al.* 2004, 24; also Amoss 1978). The participant's sibling, having named the ancestors, and the ancestors, having responded to the *thi'tha'*, legitimized this family's ties to this particular locale. Such ties were legitimized not only for the family, but for the broader community, constituting a social and perhaps even a political act (McIlwraith 2012). Through practices such as ceremonial food burning, requiring gathering of foods offered in the ongoing care for dead, Hul'qumi'num peoples maintain links to ancestors and ancestral places through showing reciprocity and respect.

### **The Continuity of Reciprocity and Respect in Hul'qumi'num Territorialities**

I was going to tell you a story that I heard from my family. See all these islands? If you had

a good map of it, all these islands were there in the beginning of time. We're talking the time when the people populated the Earth many thousand years ago. So when the Creator—there was a Creator and there was a Transformer in the time called *Xeel's*. So if you know that story—if you look at all the islands this is what it meant to my family: they were canoes. So when they're coming around, they're looking for their places to go. You know, the Creator knows who to adapt to where the land is, situations, and how to look after it. So all these little islands were canoes. People would load on there and row and go from place to place to conserve their own area and move around in all these islands. So if you look and this BC, all these little islands called the Gulf Islands, they're canoes: the First Nation canoes. Each island is from an original origin story. They're canoes. So the *Xeel's* said, this is how he felt: 'This is where you're going to live.' So he put them on all these islands. So all of these islands, they're—if you look at it, they're canoes. All of them. See? So have a look. That's a origin story. They're all shapes of the canoe. So the Creator used *Xeel's* to transform them. Now if you look at this one, if you look at Salt Spring, Salt Spring comes from the *Xu'hw'us*, the Thunderbird, and there are stories about it. So if you had a pointer, which I don't have, here's his feet, and here's his tail, and his head is over here, and here's his eye, and here's his mouth, his beak. Okay? So, this is him. This is what Salt Spring's made of, the Thunderbird, because he's here to protect the Cowichan people.

Florence James (unpublished interview, June 29, 2015)

Florence James' recounting of this story of *Xeel's* is a *syuth* (oral tradition). The process of making the world habitable and safe for Coast Salish peoples through transformation is an important concept and process in Coast Salish relational ontologies. In his critique of the treatment of *syuth* as myths by most regional ethnographers, Thom (2005a, 115-6) argues “that these stories are an important metaphor for articulating long-standing Coast Salish connections to place, serving as powerful reminders of morality, spirit power and ancestry.” Transformation between materials, people, animals and lands blurs the lines between entities that we see as distinct. The message can be taken as “we are the same thing,” or perhaps, Hul'qumi'num people *are* the land.

There is continuity in the present-day of individuals' attitudes and beliefs of stewardship modeled on the notions of reciprocity and respect. This transmission of knowledge should begin early in youth.

So, you know—where do you start learning these things? Before you can walk. You be out

there. You be learning these things, you're learning these skills. By the time you're six years old you should be very knowledgeable about your use area—area you're harvesting things. I can say that from experience and I can say it from observation from my grandsons and my own son. When my son was six years old he knew all our roads up the mountains and the paths would be all our places out here on these islands. So yes, you learn how to live with the water. You don't go against nature. You don't go against nature, you work with it.

Arvid Luschiim Charlie (unpublished interview, March 29, 2015)

In that “you don't go against nature, you work with it,” is the logic of stewardship. To live in concordance with nature, you must know the environment which sustains you and you cultivate that knowledge by being out in the land—through experiential learning. Florence talks about why people went to *Tl'uqtuqsun* (East Point, Saturna Island): “Yes, *Tl'uqtuqsun* used to always have—the people would go harvesting in this area so you got to do, you know, conservation, and you can't just stay in your own home” (unpublished interview, June 29, 2015). Florence ties in mobility and responsibility with resource harvesting. There is a duty to go out on the land and manage it. Her equivalence made between “resource harvesting” and “conservation” suggests that “resource exploitation” is a wholly inappropriate term used in anthropology and by government to describe First Nations land management activities. Lands and waters are not there for us to exploit. It is a reciprocal relationship: we understand them experientially, and don't try and make them do or be something they're not. This runs contrary to contemporary resources development logic which exhausts resources and makes them conform to our unreasonable expectations in terms of productive and renewable capacity.

Alec Johnnie Sr. worked for Cowichan Tribes for their fisheries division as a patroller (enforcement officer). Recalling frequent encounters with poachers, he encapsulated his experience this way:

That was pretty dangerous. Sometimes we used to get bottles and stuff thrown at us. But last time I went that way it kind of quieted down and we started realizing we were doomed.

You know, trying to save all our fish from the slaughter. We were just doing our job. And he just finally caught on that we were just doing our job.

Alec Johnnie Sr. (unpublished interview, March 16, 2015)

Alec uses the language of “our fish,” the use of possessive pronouns giving the sense that his role as a patroller or enforcement officer on behalf of Cowichan Tribes was more than just a job. Fisheries management is a form of territorial authority. He is authorized by the Council to enforce compliance to uphold their management objectives. The H-GINPR Committee has been supportive of Parks Canada’s efforts to restore sensitive marine ecologies in the southern Gulf Islands. Projects of this kind can align with efforts by the First Nations committees to renew certain harvesting activities, with positive anticipated implications for overall health and well-being (Fediuk 2009). Notably, this is the area I have noticed consumes the majority of the committee’s focus in the meetings I have attended.

### **Place Names**

Indigenous peoples across British Columbia and Canada have vested considerable time and energy consulting with community members and ethnographic sources to document and compile place names and their meanings. Some of these efforts concern advancing customary land tenure upon Canadian courts (e.g. Drummond 1997; Sterritt and Galois 1999) and others with language revitalization (e.g. Richardson and Galloway 2011; Suttles 2004). The significance of place names has been most narrowly described as “long lasting evidence of a group's occupation of an area” (Kennedy and Bouchard 1991), and place names are mobilized to legitimize a band’s claim to a particular locale or territory.

This line of questioning is perhaps not a productive avenue, as it is not my place to establish the validity of *SENĆOFEN* and *Hul’q’umi’num’* place names. A more productive avenue for discussing Hul’qumi’num place names would be along the lines of Thornton (2007),

who went beyond a mere listing of Tlingit place names and their meanings by seeking to garner insight into how Tlingit peoples conceptualize their own relationship to the lands in which they live. The fact that Hul'qumi'num peoples have names for places in the southern Gulf Islands, but are restricted from occupying them in the rigid sense of being the sites of permanent or semi-permanent structures, requires this more nuanced perspective as exemplified by Thornton.

Both W̱SÁNEĆ and Hul'qumi'num peoples have place names documented in their respective languages for the southern Gulf Islands. In terms of ethnographic sources, the majority (Barnett 1938, 1955; Boas 1889; Curtis 1913; Hill-Tout 1907; Jenness 2017[1935]; Suttles fieldnotes) have documented the names of major historic-period settlement sites in the area. Hul'qumi'num place names were first systematically documented by Duff (1956) in the mid-twentieth century. From several conversations with Andrew and Sophie Misheal,<sup>10</sup> Duff spelled out and mapped several place names for the southern Gulf Islands. Rozen's (1985) MA thesis was the next major work produced on Island Halkomelem (Hul'qumi'num) place names, and he explicitly knew the political value of these, having researched and authored during the period of comprehensive land claims in British Columbia. Cowichan Tribes also published a categorical dictionary of publicly viewable place names for their broader territory (Quw'utsun Syuw'entst Lelum 2007) drawing on the detailed place names inventory that Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group had compiled and vetting it through the Cowichan elders Committee. However, apart from Rozen (1985) which is available as full-text online through UBC Library, these

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<sup>10</sup> “Among the most important of Duff's relationships were Andrew and Sophie Misheal of Esquimalt, whom invited and accompanied him to the winter spirit dance ceremonials on Vancouver Island over several years. Duff (1950-1953) identifies Andrew Misheal (1887-1963) as a Cowichan Tribe member from the village of Xwulqw'selu (Koksilah). After marriage to his wife, Sophie Misheal (1891-1970), he is described to have lived between both Koksilah and her family's village in Esquimalt. During the course of this place-name project, knowledge of Andrew Misheal's local family relations came up in several conversations with the Hul'qumi'num Elders” (HTG 2004, 6).

sources—in particular the unpublished ethnographic fieldnotes—are in private, or provincial and national, collections and archives, and not readily accessible to the general public.

By contrast, Suttles' (1974[1951]) dissertation was an ethnography on the W̱SÁNEĆ and other Straits Salish communities, and included a chapter dedicated to named Saanich villages—some of which were in the southern Gulf Islands. W̱SÁNEĆ elder Dave Elliott authored and co-published “Salt Water People” in the early eighties (Elliott and Poth 1990 [1983]), a work that heavily influenced the place names map for the *Saanichton Bay Marina vs. Claxton* court case (1989). These sources were comprehensively compiled by Bouchard and Kennedy (1991, 1996), a secondary source of literature that has become powerful in the narrative of W̱SÁNEĆ exclusive use and occupancy. This has resulted in a strong public representation of known place names for W̱SÁNEĆ peoples and others in the region by virtue of the frequency their content has been reproduced in academic, legal and state documents, and in the grey literature (see Chapter 4 and 5).

There are debates between Hul'qumi'num and W̱SÁNEĆ language authorities, anthropologists and linguists regarding the nature of place names in the southern Gulf Islands found in both *Hul'q'umi'num'* and *SENĆOFEN* languages. I have heard *Hul'q'umi'num'*-speaking elders say that the name is not the same everywhere, questioning how it might be that colonial processes came to resituate (linguistically and topographically) these place names. Justin Fritz, a colleague working with four W̱SÁNEĆ communities, relayed to me their concern for the “*Hul'q'umi'num'*-ization” of *SENĆOFEN* place names in the public-facing HTG place names map (Thom 2014b, 100). The HTG produced a wall map I see everyday in hanging in UVic's Ethnographic Mapping Lab. The map features *SENĆOFEN*, Musqueam, *Hul'q'umi'num'* and “Other First Nation”-language place names in the Gulf of Georgia region each language

distinguished by colour (HTG 2014), but they used the Hul'qumi'num' orthography (spelling) system (which is notably different than that used in *SENĆOFEN*) to standardize the representation (and thus accessibility to non-language speakers) of the names on the map.<sup>11</sup> In a different way, Hul'qumi'num elders I have spoken to have identified the documented *SENĆOFEN* place names for places such as Beaver Point (Ruckle Provincial Park, Salt Spring Island), as more recent inventions by people who had forgotten their language, revealing their own version of the name in *Hul'q'umi'num'*, which they assert is an older version. However, such debates can only go so far. The H-GINPR Committee explained that knowledge of the place name is one thing, as these place names have been circulating in *texts* since the mid-1800s. To establish one's connection to that locale is to demonstrate knowledge of the *stories* behind the names.

Knowledge of place names in the southern Gulf Islands figured variably among people interviewed for this initiative. Through this process I have learned that place name knowledge is attained and maintained in two ways. Ruby Peter learned the named places in the study area through her work as a linguist and by supporting the work of the HTG and Cowichan Tribes in documenting, compiling and translating known place names, and some of their stories, shared by elders from different Hul'qumi'num communities. Both Florence James and Arvid Charlie are fluent speakers of *Hul'q'umi'num'* and master story tellers, with historical knowledge extending

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<sup>11</sup> *Hul'a'umi'num'* and *SENĆOFEN* are both classified as Central Salish languages, a branch of the Salishan language family (Suttles 2004, xxiv). They are treated, however, as two distinct languages. In spite of linguistic differences, Halkomelem and Northern Straits Salish were seen, prior to European contact, as being a part of a “social and biological continuum within which speakers of each language had ties of marriage with their neighbours and participated with them in joint social and ceremonial activities” (2004, xxv). The trajectory of development of orthographies for the two languages have been different. The standard Hul'a'umi'num' orthography was developed by Hukari and Peter (e.g. 2013). The *SENĆOFEN* orthography was first proposed and developed by Dave Elliott, the author of *The Saltwater people*, using a phonetic system based on the English alphabet in the 1980s (Paul 1995, 4).

beyond that of their respective families. James shared several oral traditions linked to named places in the study area, while Charlie shared translations of place names, the meanings of some, and his connection to these places in terms of use, occupancy and kin relations.

Some place names in the southern Gulf Islands are found in both *SENĆOFEN* and *Hul'q'umi'num'* languages, such as *TEKTEKSEN* and *Tl'uqtuqsun*, respectively with shared translation “long nose” or “long point” (East Point, Saturna Island) for the shape of the spit. Some place names appear to exist only in *SENĆOFEN*, while others only in *Hul'q'umi'num'* on HTG's multi-lingual place names map (see Thom 2014b, 100). For some places, such as with *Ste'yus*, I have found that while the meaning of the name in both languages is agreed upon (generally), but the precise location to which it refers is not.

Pender Island in particular is dotted with both *SENĆOFEN* and *Hul'q'umi'num'* place names, and within the Pender Canal area, *SENĆOFEN* and *Hul'q'umi'num'* place names appear to alternate between one another. The proximity and arrangement of these place names is consistent with a framing of Coast Salish territoriality which allows for properties belonging to different groups or families to exist side by side.

Indigenous place names, unlike many English place names, encode important cultural information (Basso 1996; Poirier 2004; Thornton 2007). This has me consider how the significance of places *Tl'e'ult-hw* and *St'e'yus* can be understood with respect to the cultural information it encodes.

*Tl'e'ult-hw* translates to “settled” (Quw'utsun Syuw'entst Lelum 2007, 129) and sits at the south tip of North Pender Island (see Thom 2014b, 100). This name presumably indexes the continuously occupied 5,000 year old settlement at this locale (Carlson and Hobler 1993). Results from a three-year archaeological investigation conducted by students and professors

from SFU in the 1980s posit a shift at this site from a “winter village” to a “seasonal camp” around 2,200 BP (a time corresponding with the Marpole period, see chapter 5) (1993, 45). The locale, now under GINPR jurisdiction and authority, is also the location of a burial ground, which had over 190 ancestors repatriated from SFU in the spring of 2017—an effort which was initiated and pushed forward by the H-GINPR Committee. Knowledgeable elders compared *Tl'e'ult-hw* with another place having a similar name in HTG core territory, namely *Tl'eelthw*, meaning “permanent houses” (Quw'utsun Syuw'entst Lelum 2007, 143), and located at False Narrows, between Gabriola and Mudge Islands and to the north of the study area. Semantically similar or identical place names are significant to Central Coast Salish territoriality, as the movements of some households and local groups were to different locales which shared the same name, creating links between the same group of people and multiple properties (Arvid Charlie, unpublished interview, March 23, 2015; Florence James, unpublished interview, June 29, 2015; Ruby Peter, unpublished interview, June 29, 2015; Rozen 1985). The fact of the same place name known in different Central Salishan languages, having the same meaning or very similar, in my view, could support this assertion.

As mentioned above, Pender Channel has named places on either side (north end of South Pender Island; south end of North Pender Island) in either *Hul'q'umi'num'*-or *SENĆOTEN* languages. This arrangement suggests that at one period of time there were localized properties of different groups that were quite literally side-by-side, as the area itself is a relatively narrow, short channel, but can accommodate a dense population for its high production for certain types of foods, such as bivalves, salmon and deer. Arvid Charlie situated *St'e'yus* at Mortimer Spit, towards the north-east end of the channel that opens to Browning Harbour, North Pender island. In contrast to *Tl'e'ult-hw*, located on the opposite (north) end of the canal, *St'e'yus* encodes a

specialized process for preparing salmon. When recounted in the form of a story, *St'e'yus*, meaning “a way to prepare fish” by smoking it partially, is an important commercial salmon fishery and processing locale. Charlie did not process salmon himself at *St'e'yus* in this way. His story is one of pre-contact times, which he was entrusted by his elders to recall and recount (unpublished interview, March 23, 2015). He recalled that this was one of the locales where salmon was harvested and prepared for trade before heading to *Shnuwiilh* or other relatives and friends on the “US side” (Arvid Charlie, unpublished interview, March 23, 2015). According to settler testimony, the “Indians” from Kuper Island (Penelakut reserve) and Cowichan came to Pender for seaweed and periwinkle harvesting (Moon 1985, 29) in the early twentieth century, suggesting a shift (or for some, a continuation) in the activities occurring at this locale as a result of European settlement and Indigenous peoples’ resettlement.

Regardless of the function of the site over time, the locales known as *Tl'e'ult-hw* and *St'e'yus* were retained in cultural memory into the present-day, pointing to the ongoing significance of these places in the southern Gulf Islands for Hul'qumi'num peoples generally. Such articulations are not easily acknowledged by the state, as they do not conform to state expectations that claims to land and belonging to place is best articulated at the level of a First Nation. This positions Coast Salish peoples in a predicament as their social world continues to be characterized by both place of residence and kin relations. Such divisions have created new or exacerbated existing tensions between persons who are members of different First Nations (residence groups), but with perhaps equal ties to place through their shared ancestry such as in the case of *Tslhaqwuluq*. In the other excerpt, it is clear that disputes about belonging to place exist not only between First Nations, but also within Indigenous communities between members. This is one way in which colonialism has strained relations between kin involved in a broader,

regional territorial network that fundamentally transcends band boundaries (Nadasdy 2012; Thom 2014a).

### **The Narrative and Discourse of Ephemerality**

A second popular narrative has delegitimized Hul'qumi'num territorial connections to the southern Gulf Islands: the notion that Hul'qumi'num peoples just floated around the island and that they may have used the beaches but they did not have settlements. I consider the origins of this narrative and how Hul'qumi'num participants' perspectives challenge it.

Early ethnographers' representations of Hul'qumi'num peoples largely obscured or seemingly ignored important differences between residence groups. They posited cultural, social and political conformity of residents of communities whose reserves were established in the Ladysmith, Duncan and Chemainus areas and on Penelakut (then Kuper), Willy and Valdes Islands (Appendix III). While sharing a common language (albeit with important dialectical differences), people living in this area were frequently subsumed under the "Cowichan" identification.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time, there is truth to the close affiliation between the residence groups now known under the the identification of Hul'qumi'num mustimuhw leading up and into early period of colonial entanglements, such that they were collectively considered a Cowichan nation.<sup>13</sup> Today, Cowichan Tribes retains the name "Cowichan," and constitutes several residence

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<sup>12</sup> While Suttles' sees this application of "Cowichan" as appropriate and reflecting "Native use" of the identity, he notes that the application of earlier scholars (e.g. Boas) and government were to all speakers of the Halkomelem language (so as to include groups on the mainland along the lower and upper Fraser River) or to "all of the contiguous Coast Salish north of Puget Sound" (2004, xv3).

<sup>13</sup> "Hul'qumi'num Mustimuhw" is a more recent identification used by the HTG. Prior to European contact and continuing through the earlier colonial period, Stz'uminus, Halalt, Lyackson, Cowichan Tribes and Penelakut constituted distinct communities or groups of distinct communities belonging to what can be called the Cowichan Nation. Although Lake Cowichan First Nation is a member of the HTG, their ancestors migrated from the west coast of Vancouver Island to Cowichan Lake in the early-contact period. While the

groups, fewer than were associated with the Cowichan nation before European contact. The name *Cowichan* is an anglicization of the word *Squw'utsun*, meaning “warming his back,” a reference to the frog who was transformed to stone at *p'ip'óom* on the west side of *Squw'utsun* (Rozen 1985, 141), the place now known as Mt. Tzouhalem (e.g. Arnett 1999; Marshall 1999). The Cowichan are by far the best represented Indigenous people in the ethnographies of the Central Coast Salish. They were identified by Spanish and British explorers and the Hudson's Bay Company as a powerful group who exercised authority over the Cowichan and Fraser Rivers, the two greatest salmon-bearing streams along the Pacific Northwest coast, and controlled, owned and occupied the Cowichan Valley, Cowichan River and south arm of the lower Fraser River (Suttles 1998).

The propensity to focus on the “Cowichan” as having predominantly riverine-oriented economies has perhaps elided the importance of the Salish Straits and Gulf Islands to those speakers or descendants of speakers of *Hul'q'umi'num'*. This construction of Cowichan peoples as a riverine-people stands in contrast with the ethnographic characterization of *W̱SÁNEĆ* peoples as marine-oriented and their self-identification as salt-water and straits peoples (Elliott and Poth 1990). In addition, *W̱SÁNEĆ* differentiate from *Hul'q'umi'num'* in having a distinct language (Northern Straits Salish) and most importantly, for owning reef-net fishing sites through the San Juan and Gulf Islands, and Boundary Bay (Hill-Tout 1907; Jenness 1935; Suttles 1974[1951]). Such distinctions persist in ethnographic representations, in spite of assertions that “there has been an extremely high degree of contact and intermarriage between the Saanich and

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Malahat and Snuneymuxw (Nanaimo) Nations speak dialects of *Hul'q'umi'num'*, they were not part of the pre-contact Cowichan Nation.

Island Halkomelem for “many generations” if not hundreds of years (Rozen 1985, 241; see also Suttles 1963).

Ethnographers have attempted to nuance depictions of Coast Salish peoples for the purpose of avoiding generalizations and stereotyping. Suttles (1963, 36), for example, uses linguistic-ecological determinism to frame “the Halkomelem tribes [as] essentially the people of the lower valley and the delta of the Fraser as the Straits tribes [as] the people of the channels leading to the Fraser.” However, intermarriage played a “role of crucial importance” in their socioeconomic systems. Village-exogamous marriage, multi-lingual households and polyglottal individuals were the norm (Kennedy 2007; Suttles 1963). The personal profiles of ethnographic contributors points to multiple shifts in residency over the course of individuals’ lifetimes. All of these things complicate broader economic-linguistic distinctions based on residence group (Suttles 1963, 16). The rigid distinction in cultural identity based on geo-linguistic differences contributes to the sense that the Gulf Islands was a place frequented by Hul’qumi’num peoples *in between* major riverine sites on the lower mainland and southeastern Vancouver Island—in spite of their occupation of reserves in the Gulf Islands.

Many participants shared stories of water-centric lifestyles. Some participants lived on the Gulf Islands north of the study area. The Peter and Norris were one of the families who continued to live at Valdes Island into the twentieth century (*T’eeet’qe’*, Shingle Point), and Florence James continues to be a full-time resident at *Puneluxutth’* (Penelakut Island), near Penelakut Spit on the east side of the island. In a family interview with Tom and Patricia Peters and their adult children Marv, Irvin and Gloria, Tom Peters introduced their family history this way: “Oh yes. You tell me that one. [Quay] with my story. [laughs] We were fishermen all our lives. All my boys are fishermen. Fishing was a good life them days” (Tom Peters, unpublished

interview, June 15, 2015). After sharing several stories of adventure and danger at sea, Pat Norris, his wife, recapitulated her family's history simply, calling it "water life" (Patricia Peters, unpublished interview, June 15, 2015). After I acknowledged Arvid Charlie's skill as a canoe-builder, he replied, "Yes, so it's been in my family both sides: my mom and my dad's side. Both sides of my dad's side, meaning both of his grandparents come from canoe-building families. In fact, my great-grandmother come from Valdes. So you know, they're ocean-going people" (unpublished interview, March 23, 2015). Hul'qumi'num peoples' marine-oriented lifestyles continued throughout the period of cultural entanglements with Europeans, challenging their classification as predominantly riverine-oriented.

The ethnographic and archaeological focus of Central Coast Salish riverine salmon fishing has perhaps led ethnographers to underestimate the significance of other economies and non-riverine locations to Hul'qumi'num peoples. A pointed example can be made with clamming, an important element of the Coast Salish economy that is underreported and underrated in early ethnographies. Extensive archaeological shell deposit ("midden") sites are testament to the importance of clamming in Hul'qumi'num economies going back thousands of years not only as a food source, but for landscape engineering and as a site for interring ancestors. More recently, identifications of clam gardens spanning several kilometers on formerly unproductive beaches have been called the aquaculture-equivalent of land-based agriculture (Lepofsky et al. 2015). Similarly, maintaining clam gardens requires time, investment and a continuous presence on the land. Several have been identified in the GINPR and at locations where Hul'qumi'num peoples have been historically known to occupy.

More recent ethnohistories point out that "in previous times" and with Hul'qumi'num territorial expansion and growing trade networks, "large quantities of clams were harvested and

cured for export to the area around present-day Spokane in eastern Washington State” (Marshall 1999, 53). Such practices in clam digging, processing and trade continued into the twentieth century. Ben Norris shared how his grandmother would dry large quantities of clams to sell in Washington State: “We had that 32-footer. My grandfather had a sail, sailing boat. He'd travel all over to Seattle on it, just me and him, my grandmother and late brother George” (Ben Norris, unpublished interview, April 23, 2015). Mr. Dan Norris, Ben’s younger brother, introduced himself and talked immediately about clamming:

My first experience of clam digging is when one of them got sick to go, and I remember going with our parents to different places. We used to go to Saltair. We used to go there and dig some butters and some littlenecks. We used to go down here in Crofton...

Dan Norris (unpublished interview, April 23, 2015).<sup>14</sup>

### **Houses and Homes in the Gulf Islands**

The term camp is problematically a broad category of occupation that does not equate to *occupation* or *residency* (e.g. Ritchie et al. 2016)—but narrowly to *use*. This has to do with the use of structures at these “camps” that were not perceived as *permanent*. My conversations with two Hul’q’umi’num’-speaking authorities reveal some problems with this delineation. First, they do not refer to the wide-variety of structures in Coast Salish prior to European contact as “camps” or “lean-to’s.” They refer to all structures irrespective of their time or duration of use and occupancy as *buildings*. Some of these terms can be found in the Quw’utsun Category Dictionary under “Buildings” (Quw’utsun Syuw’erst Lelum 2007, 9-13). On October 2, we were

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<sup>14</sup>However, not all Hul’qumi’num elders I spoke with would self-describe as being “marine-oriented.” Pat Peters’ husband Tom and sons were fisherman all their lives, but she self-identified in this way: “And that's all we did in our life was just knitting and now I don't do that no more. I was just a housewife and a knitter. I never did ever go for any kind of job or anything. Just became his [Tom's] wife. I tried digging when I was younger but wasn't a very good digger [laughs].” Pat and her daughter Gloria would support their family in the off-season by knitting continentally renowned Cowichan sweaters for sale at regional markets.

sitting at a picnic table near *Xwixwyus*, a Hul'q'umi'num' name for Boat Passage and nearby settlement (village midden) at Winter Cove (northwest end of Saturna Island). This spurred a discussion of houses and homes in the southern Gulf Islands both within, and north and east of the study area by Florence James and Arvid Charlie. Arvid Charlie met with me a few weeks later to continue this discussion (November 20, 2015).

Arvid Charlie (unpublished interview, November 20, 2015) explained that in the Hul'q'umi'num' language, the general term for building is *ew't-hw*. He went on to describe the names for different types of buildings. *Shtatuxus ew't-hw* is a building with a single slanted roof. This is the shed-roof house. *Salu-uts ew't-hw* is a building with reed mats covering the walls and roof. *Shtatuxus salu-uts ew't-hw* is a building with a slanted roof and with reed mats covering the walls and the roof.

It [a building] could be a really permanent one or it could be partially built with *salu-uts*. So when do you want to have *salu-uts ew't-hw*? It'd be one made out of all reeds.

Arvid Charlie (unpublished interview, November 20, 2015)

Arvid Charlie went on to explain how certain places were named for the location where you would find the two types of reeds:

Yes. So it's a small window, mid-July, first week of August is getting late. And the reason why we harvest - too late it'll be *thuphwum*. *Thuphwum* mean 'brittle'. Gets brittle. Falls apart easy. And even when it's green some are *thuphwum*. So we had special places to get reeds whether it be *wool'* or *stth'equn*. One of the good places for wool' was in Marietta at Lummi. That was our family's place to go to. Marietta at Lummi, near Bellingham. Another place was on Douglas Island on the Fraser River. Douglas Island on the Fraser River above New Westminster close to the north shore that reserve - just above the bridge. [...] Close to Mary Hill Bypass. And the other place is called *Hwlhitth'um*. *Hwlhitth'um* is across from *Tl'uqtinus*. Across the Fraser River from *Tl'uqtinus* and downstream and I don't know how far down. It was only explained to me but it was never shown: 'here it is'. Not shown that exact spot. So *Hwlhitth'um*. And the root for *Hwlhitth'um* is *lhitth'*. This is your paper. *Lhitth'* is 'to get cut.' Because we get the reeds there that's why we call it *Hwlhitth'um*.

Arvid Charlie (unpublished interview, November 20, 2015)

*Siil'tuhw* are split boards. A *siil'tuhw ew't-hw* is a building made up with split boards. A building can also be made with a combination of both.

So the frames are always there in most cases. The posts are buried into the ground and they're there and the poles are there ready to receive the mats or maybe you got *siil'tuhw* (split boards) on top to keep the rain out because in this part of the world, including *Tl'uqtinus* (settlement on south arm of Fraser River) it does rain and when it rains it may rain really hard. So for most people that have the *siil'tuhw* boards on top, then you could have the sides made of reeds. Could be a dwelling to shelter yourself in or it could be your smokehouse.

Arvid Charlie (unpublished interview, November 20, 2015)

Florence James explains how the roof and walls of a structure are constructed. This building, she explains in the second half, is different from the lean-to.

Curved, you can have the curved but I don't know what the word is. It's ancient. So when they moved around, the *siil'tuhw*, it's got like the slant on it and it can be made out of little young trees. And then this can be made out of shiplap, what you used to call the shiplap. You could just take the pieces off the tree <Hul'qumi'num> you just take a piece off. [...] Those buildings, they used to have a curve, you know? They notched it in like that. So they were real carpenters in those days and they notched it in like that. The fingers meet and the other fingers posing about. And that way the rain, the weather cannot get in through the roof.

So they [*siil-tuhw ew'thw*] are different, but they are elaborate buildings. They are not just lean-tos like the bulrush <Hul'qumi'num>. You know? The walls are made as temporary. You can just fold it up <Hul'q'umi'num>. So it's made out of the bulrush.

Florence James (unpublished interview, October 2, 2015)

These buildings, *siil'tuhw ew't-hw* and *salu-uts ew't-hw*, are distinguished from *(s)thew't-hw*.

*(S)thew't-hw* is the term in Hul'q'umi'num' for 'big house'. This is the house that is associated with *residency* in archaeological and anthropological discourses.

*(S)thew't-hw* is big structure building. Big structure, building, dwelling. They all fit in there. If it's big it's a *(S)thew't-hw*. So thi', thi' equals 'big'.

Arvid Charlie (unpublished interview, November 20, 2015).

Then there's the regular big houses that they always came and around and they had the *(s)thew't-hw*. Like Saanich is called *Tsawout*, it means a 'building.' So what is being built *(s)thew't-hw*. [...] So it is what you built, *(s)thew't-hw*, a house. *Tsawout*, it's the name of the Saanich area because when they looked on the point you can see all along all the buildings. That is why it's called *Tsawout*.

Florence James (unpublished interview, October 2, 2015)

I asked Arvid Charlie to qualify what he meant by "big" with respect to *(s)thew't-hw*.

So I couldn't say about a long time ago but the ones I seen that were called *(s)thew't-hw* were like, some of them were by today's standards small. Fifty (50) feet long. That's small compared to today's standards. [...] Some of them are one fire big. [...] That was one of the ways to describe how big a building is, one fire. Two, three or four fires. So they had a good sized *(S)thew't-hw* at Lyackson. That was three fires long. That's how to describe it. But this man that had a *st'ulnuq* - today's word is potlatch - *st'ulunq* a gathering, he made it longer and it was four fires long.

Arvid Charlie (unpublished interview, November 20, 2015)

Florence and Arvid identified *(s)thew't-hw* places in the southern Gulf Islands, within and north of the study area. Arvid Charlie recalled a story shared by Rene Louie, a late Hul'qumi'num elder, of a Cowichan *(s)thew't-hw* at Moresby Island (unpublished interview, March 23, 2015). Through her mother Rose James, Florence identified a Quamichan *(s)thew't-hw* at Miner's Bay, Mayne Island, where her great-grandfather and his brothers resided in the mid eighteenth century. Arvid Charlie pointed to *(s)thew't-hw* at Xwixwyus, Su(m)nuw (Montague Harbour), Walker's Hook (Salt Spring Island) and Narvaez Bay, and one locality between the east end of Mayne Island and north end of Samuel Island. All of these places are now the localities of "archaeological sites." It is significant that the H-GINPR Committee and other elders identify these localities as places where people continued to frequent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and continue relate to *(s)thew't-hw* places as ancestral places. Adopting the language of village midden to describe these localities by Parks Canada and even some

ethnographers reflects this assertion (Sumpter and Fedje 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2011; Sumpter et al. 2008, 2009).

Arvid further explained that

We had many places out there on the Gulf Islands that we had dwellings out there. Now anyone of these could have had *(s)thew't-hw* and many of them did and you got everything else. *Shtatuxus* buildings. They had *salu-uts* buildings. Some of them were temporary. You brought your reed mats was also used for protection of your canoes in the summer when it's hot.

Arvid Charlie (unpublished interview, November 20, 2015)

For Florence James, the presence of a settlement is evidence that the people were “good at conservation,” tying *(s)thew't-hw* with her origin story for the Gulf Islands and the principles of responsibility and reciprocity.

So all these places you are bringing us to [study area fieldtrip] they have big houses. So when you see this, the people were good at conservation. They know how to save, like they come down here [*Xwixwyus*] at a certain time in the summer. And you come with the tide and what happens like the ducks that we eat they start way up outside on the Gulf side, they call it Salish Sea and its <Hul'qumi'num> to us. So, when the birds come in in the winter they go in and out at the pass, they are following the feed and the people are following the sea ducks.

Florence James (unpublished interview, October 2, 2015)

From Arvid Charlie's narrative, two major changes to *(s)thew't-hw* occurred in the in the period of cultural entanglements with Europeans. *(S)thew't-hw* shifted in their function as *homes* to strictly sites of ceremony; and the size of big houses increased.

Nowadays a *(s)thew't-hw*, most of them are only used for *s-uywun* dances or some kind of cultural gathering. And it includes *s-yuwun*. It could be a naming. It could be a memorial. It could be a wedding. Several different things it can be used for. Actually most because at the Lummi Reservation they have one there that's pretty well permanently lived in. And it's a <Hul'q'umi'num'> house at Clam Bay. [...] That's the English name for the bay I guess. Clam Bay. Yes, so at least six (6) months of the year they live in the big house. And their house, their home - regular home - is right attached to the big house, mini big house. That

one's a one-fire big house. Still (*s*)*thew't-hw* with one fire. [...] In this case, <IA> has his modern dwelling attached to his big house.

Arvid Charlie (unpublished interview, November 20, 2015)

My great-grandfather had a big house at Penelakut side that is all it was low. It was not high like the high-rise home. It was low. [...] The wall was not high. I never noticed any smoke inside, so each home is built to a different, you know, big house-home. Lots of people lived in it. And that is cedar. They just look for the best grain, <Hul'qumi'num> they call it. It's "nice grain" to the word and they use that for the shingles. So that way your walls are shingle and there's no way the wind can get in. If you use the shiplap type standing up, long length of boards, you're naturally going to not make it meet. That is how my grandfather's house was. It never had no bedrooms it was just like the big house, built like the big house. And we had beds all around. Not much privacy but there were still lots of us being born. So it did not mean they needed privacy.

Florence James (unpublished interview, October 2, 2015)

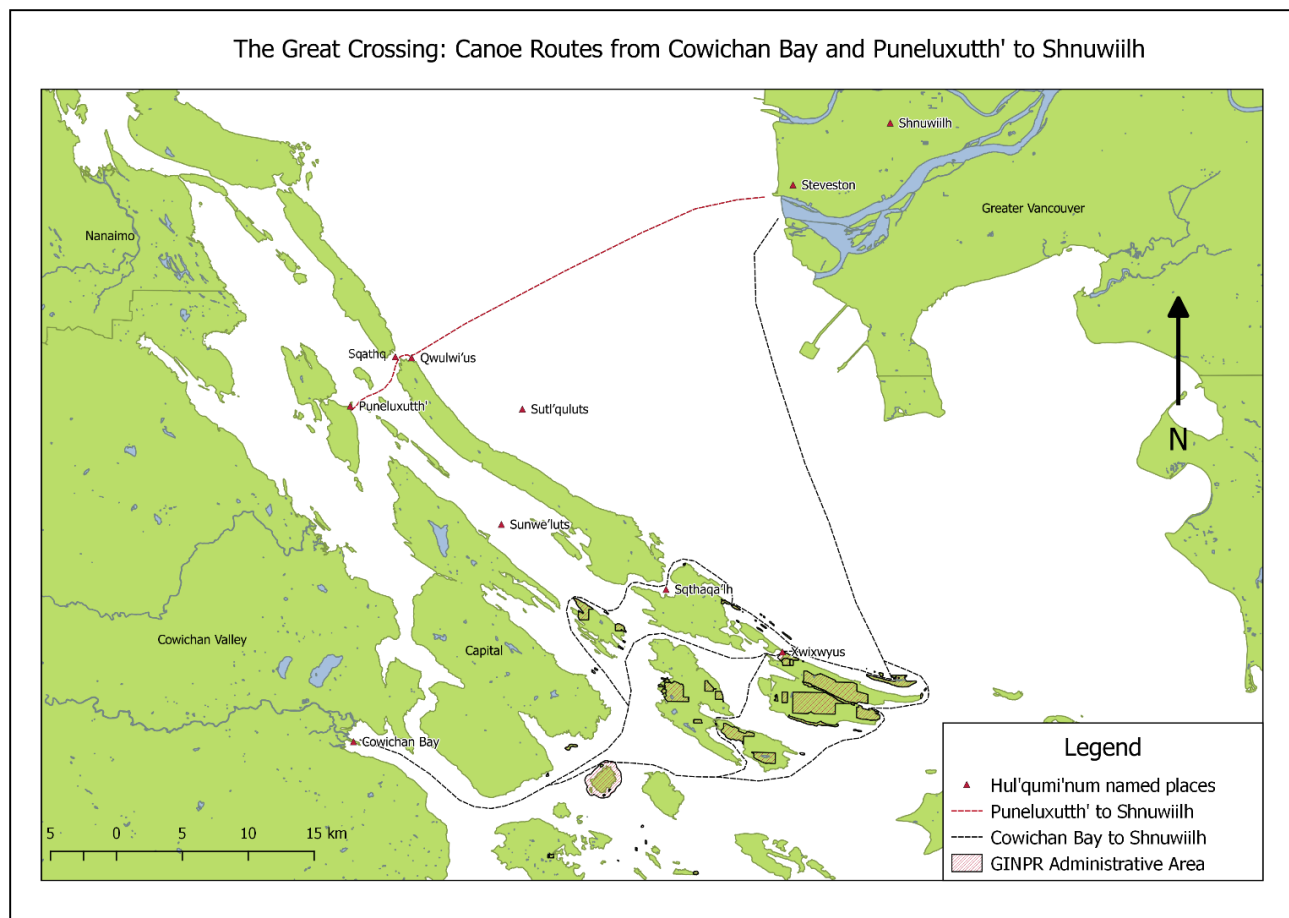
These narratives are important because they bring into a view some of the reality of homes and houses and home-making in the Coast Salish world for the period leading up to and into entanglements with Europeans. The picture painted is one of potential and considerable diversity in structures, styles and arrangement. These cultural authorities do not use the language of 'settlement' nor of 'structure', but call places where people lived for any duration of time, *buildings* and *homes*. Moreover, the sense is that people had a number of different residences, and that "temporary shelters" or "temporary camps" or "lean-tos" were used for very short periods, at some localities. Moreover, they were certainly not the only type nor the most common type of house in the southern Gulf Islands. However, this is implied in archaeological discourses (see Chapter 5). The term home, house, big house and building are dignifying and humanizing, constitute preferred terminology, have equivalents in Hul'q'umi'num' (and presumably in other Coast Salish languages) and are more accurate to describe where people lived and how they viewed these places.

## The Paradox of Mobility in Hul'qumi'num Narratives: The Great Crossing

Yeah, we was like Gypsies back in them days. Always moving. Not home very much and then you're heading out.

Irvin Norris (unpublished interview, June 15, 2015)

The highly mobile lives of Coast Salish peoples present a paradox. It was discussed how mobility was required to maintain kin and social relations and to care for lands. In contrast to people pursuing agrarian and visibly more “settled” lifestyles, this mobility can insinuate that lands are not settled and therefore not owned. This is an important valence of the “seasonal rounds” narrative, situating the Gulf Islands as a place “visited” and “on the way to somewhere else.” Here I consider an important and recurrent story that can be told in a way that can lead to interpretations of connections with the Gulf Islands as either ephemerally occupied or intensively used and occupied, bringing into view the importance of framing in storytelling practices. I will call this story the Great Crossing because of the great number (in the hundreds) of Hul'qumi'num families undertaking this route together (Suttles 1998, 172). The route connects Hul'qumi'num peoples in the northern Gulf Islands and on the southeast Coast of Vancouver Island to *Shnuwiilh*, their ancestral territory on the lower mainland area of the Fraser River on southeastern coast of British Columbia (Figure 3).



**Figure 3: Canoe Routes from Cowichan Bay and Pueluxutth' to Shnuwiilh**

Ms. Florence James (unpublished interview, June 29, 2015) described this journey, beginning with a rich description of place names for water. She differentiated between *Sunwe'luts*, “the inside water” or “the inside passage of all the Gulf Islands”, and *Sutl'quluts*, “the outside passage.” She explained that *Sutl'quluts* is “what you calling after that explorer, silly one,” (the Strait of Georgia) and when “sometime you want protection in the winter, you come in the inside passage, [*sunwe'luts*]”. Many Hul'qumi'num place names are diminutives corresponding to augmentative comparatives. *Sqthaqal'h* (Active Pass, south end of Galiano and north end of Mayne) means “bigger passage or entrance” and *Sqtheq* (Porlier Pass, north end of Galiano) meaning “narrow or smaller passage” (Florence James, unpublished interview, June 29, 2015). *Sqthaqal'h* and *sqtheq* are east-west oriented passages that connect *sutl'quluts* to

*sunwe'luts*. Florence James prefaced her story of the Great Crossing with this water-scape, and spoke from the perspective of Hul'qumi'num people travelling from their homes at Penelakut and Valdes Islands:

You come if the weather's rough you come on the inside water of Galiano, row along, come to this and that way. If the wind is going this way south, then you can just go along, go out and up and go down with the wind and the waves. It's called, [*punets'um*]. [...] Yeah, so that way you're going with the wind and the waves. So you got to time it right.

Florence James (unpublished interview, June 29, 2015)

*Qwulwi'us* is a shallow (in terms of its horizontal depth) bay on the east-northeast side of Galiano Island. Florence translated *qwulwi'us*:

when you 'go by canoe and you paddle.' That's what that name means, and all the people used to head to the river, *Shnuwiilh*. They go there and stop, and then have a rest and wait for the weather to be good, then they cross over. So it's called *Qwulwi'us*, that means, 'cause you're going to row by canoe' to get there. So that bay is called that. [...] I just know they went there on their way through to Fraser River. Fraser River is *Shnuwiilh*.

Florence James (unpublished interview, June 29, 2015)

The meeting place of families before crossing of *sutl'quluts* appears to depend on the location of departure, the place of spring residency. In Arvid Charlie's version, the trajectory is between *Shnuwiilh* and Cowichan Bay, and the jump-off spot further south of Florence's *Qwulwi'us*.

Oh, we partly came here, big camp place over there [*Tumbo Island and Cabbage Island*], where we prepared or cured foods before going across the water. [...] So at jump-off point the prevailing winds is this way [*southward*]. So that's why it was a good jump off point to go over to *Shnuwiilh*. Yes, and your prevailing winds and you catch the right tide to go that way, and for us that live over here, if we come up this way, we buckin' the tide, buckin' the wind to come this way. As I mentioned earlier you work with nature, you don't work against it. So from *Shnuwiilh*, you can come across what they call the Cowichan Gap, now called Porlier Pass [*Sqathq*] – come through there, and come home. [...] Yes, that journey, working with the tides and the winds. Some say we went down that way [*through Sqathq*], and if you're living down there [*Cowichan Bay*] that's a long ways to come up here [*to Sqathq*]. So if you live down here, you caught the right day to go across where you're not bucking the winds or the tide. But for us here [*Cowichan Bay*] it's better to go this way

[*through Sqthaqa'lh*]. Here you'll find a day sooner to go that way than wait over there and wait for the right day.

Arvid Luschiim Charlie (unpublished interview, March 23, 2015)

The recurrence of this narrative during interviews, in oral history documents (HTG 2007-8) and in the ethnographic and early documentary sources (Suttles 1998, 172) points to its general significance in the collective memory and territorial narratives of Hul'qumi'num peoples. The framing of story by the teller, the context in which the story is told, the level of detail the narrator includes, and the excerpt selected from the interview for this thesis, bears on how someone reading the publication understands the southern Gulf Islands figures in Hul'qumi'num territorial relations. With an absence of detail on this part of the journey, the southern Gulf Islands may appear simply as a “stop-off” of “jump off” place: a place on the way to somewhere else.

Dan Norris sees Lulu Island and Steveston were the places “where all the bands from around here used to go and camp and go fishing up there. Used to fish for sockeye, cohos, pinks, because you couldn't get that over here” (Dan Norris, unpublished interview, April 23, 2015). Dan and Ben Norris went on a fieldtrip to the lower Fraser River with the HTG, and it is in the context of this trip that Dan recalled Ben sharing stories about the southern Gulf Islands. Ms. James focused on the place names of water in her telling, where Arvid Charlie signifies the importance of Tumbo Island as a meeting and departure point for hundreds of families embarking to *Shnuwiilh*. Ruby Peter explains how the southern Gulf Islands were specialized food procurement places between Vancouver Island and southwestern mainland British Columbia:

Our people used to come from Vancouver Island and they go from island to island from the springtime to—In February when they first start catching the *sleewut*, herrings, they salt

them, smoke them, dry them and store them for the winter and then they continue for different reasons. Going towards Tsawwassen from island to island getting—it always had something to do with winter supplies. Whether it's oysters or clams they'd get them together dry them and continue fishing.

Ruby Peter (unpublished interview, June 29, 2015)

These ancestral lands, some distance from the Hul'qumi'num Reserves on Vancouver Island and the southern Gulf Islands north of the study area, are still significant to Hul'qumi'num peoples. The residential relocation to *Shnuwiih* was undertaken by Hul'qumi'num peoples leading up and into the period of cultural entanglements with Europeans for the salmon fishery (Suttles 1994), as well as for fishing sturgeon, gathering building materials including bulrush and cattails, engaging in trade, berry harvesting, and socializing. Some Hul'qumi'num people certainly stayed at *Shnuwiih* year-round, such as at *Tl'uqtinus*, the permanent village on the south shore of Lulu Island (Duff 1952). Within the lifetimes of elders participating in this study, this voyage is made by ferry and on Tribal Journeys. Hul'qumi'num peoples were alienated from the village on the south arm of the Fraser River and their Aboriginal fishing rights are still denied by the state (Harris 2008). The locations of fishing villages such as at *Tl'uqtinus* are currently the subject of ongoing litigation with the provincial and federal governments (Cowichan Tribes v. R [2016] BCSC 1660).

The villages at *Shnuwiih*, through the Cowichan Valley and on the Gulf Islands (north of the study area) are considered communal (residence group or local group) occupations (e.g. Suttles 1990). The story of the Great Crossing told from an ethnographic perspective underplays the significance of individual and family-owned and occupied places, but also importantly other less visible types of land use, in particular the places *in between* destinations of longer-term occupations. Such places silenced in the ethnographic record include in-land locations such as

lookouts on mountain summits, rock monuments transformed by *Xeel's*, the caves of steep sandstone cliffs for refuge, cultural places, cemeteries and sacred baths (Mohs 1994), as well as places of water shaped into the bays, coves, passages and channels expertly navigated by Hul'qumi'num peoples when arriving at and leaving from the isles and islets of the southern Gulf Islands. Again, the ethnographic focus on Coast Salish economies and land-use with respect to residence groups obscures the significance of individual and family trajectories, homogenizing their unique journeys and destinations for specialized purposes including, but clearly notwithstanding, the procurement of food and materials at non-riverine locales.

Ms. Ruby Peter framed the southern Gulf Islands as a place where winter supplies would be gathered. Dan and Ben Norris talked about duck hunting at the swallow fields around Willy's Island; clam digging at Saltair, Vesuvius Bay and Ganges Harbour, Salt Spring Island; and crabbing and shrimping right off the wharf in Crofton. They knew how fish behaved and where to get them, traveling to Tsawwassen where the ferry lands, and Plumber Sound (east of North Pender Island) to catch jack springs and cohos. Arvid Charlie talked about going to the Red Islets by Prevost Island specifically to harvest sea urchins. Mr. Alec Johnnie Sr. (unpublished interview, March 16, 2015) talked about going "as far as Galiano" to fish: "Yeah, we went up to the mainland, the narrows in this area as well. Used to troll along this area, for springs. Jigging along in here for cod. Quite a long trip. Used to go from Crofton, launch from Crofton to there." Many stories of fishing expeditions were told this way, citing the places where particular species were sought at or followed to specific locations.

In the context of twentieth-century activities, such a lifestyle was "patterned" in a broader sense, but dissimilar to the rigid models of "seasonal procurement" proposed by ethnographers and archaeologists of the so-called ethnographic Coast Salish. A map of individual trajectories

now would look more like Hugh Brody's (1988) map of traplines, where the lines of travel are so many and their representation so dense that you could not easily extract one from the image to talk about it. As previously discussed in this chapter, undergirding where people have acquired foods and supplies in the past was an Aboriginal common law system that in some important respects has been reproduced presently in how Hul'qumi'num participants relate to place in practice and in speech. The early anthropological focus on "resource procurement" and "environment" as drivers of mobility elided the importance of an individual's ancestral and kin relations in governing rights of access and use, and responsibilities and practices of reciprocity at particular places. Distancing ourselves from the propensity to identify resource procurement patterns shared by particular contributors and extrapolating them to "whole cultures," I consider Poirier's (2004) notion of Kukatja *itineraries*. Drawing upon Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) metaphor of the rhizome, Poirier brings into view how "each person [is] a node within a nexus of relationships, simultaneously autonomous and related to others, whether human, non-human, or ancestral" (2004, 248). This relational ontology, embodied in multiple places of significance and recounted in specific contexts, are invisible in the models for Coast Salish territoriality first proposed by anthropologists and then reproduced in contemporary state legal contexts.

### **Colonial Land Policy and Land and Water Alienation**

I imagine these *hwulmuhw* used to own a lot of land before. She asked: 'where did we go wrong.' I says, I told her: 'You don't know where we went wrong? Our elders a long time ago opened their arms and said: "Welcome."

Alec Johnnie Sr. (unpublished interview, October 2, 2015)

A key objective of the H-GINPR Committee is to facilitate opportunities for the continuity of Hul'qumi'num peoples' territorial connections with the lands and waters of the GINPR; fragments of park abutting tracts of privately-held lands pre-empted or sold during the mid-to-

late nineteenth century. While Coast Salish peoples have usufructory rights and outstanding title on lands under federal jurisdiction (i.e. the Park), perspectives of Hul'qumi'num elders point to a similar sense of alienation effected through the assertion of jurisdiction and title by private parties or the Crown over their unceded territories. For Hul'qumi'num peoples, state-recognized land status' in the southern Gulf Islands, be it public or private lands, are relatively "new" arrangements of tenure that were made overtop of an existing system of tenure (Arvid Charlie, unpublished interview, March 23, 2015; Florence James, unpublished interview, June 29, 2015)—a system the state has all but extinguished. Hul'qumi'num perspectives expose the specific ways by which the arrival of *hwunitum* have effected territorial alienation. These processes have taken the form of boundary-making and economic development.

Land alienation at a previously undocumented scale in this region began late in Coast Salish history with the settlement of Europeans and colonial land policy. The epidemiology of European contact resulted in severe Aboriginal depopulation and their perceived re-settlement, giving the perception of wide open spaces for newcomer settlement and the unfettered exploitation of natural resources (Harris 1994, 618). The creation of reserves proceeded in the absence of treaty negotiations between *Hul'q'umi'num'*-speaking peoples and the British Crown (Arvid Charlie, unpublished interview, October 2, 2015; Tracy Fleming, *pers. comm.*, October 2, 2015), relegating Hul'qumi'num peoples to small parcels of lands less than 40 hectares in size (Morales *et al.* 2007)—none of which were in the southern Gulf Islands.<sup>15</sup> Indian reserves functioned to constrain the mobility of Indigenous peoples throughout their territories (Raibmon 2007) and thus their ability to maintain and care for property, kin, social and ancestral relations

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<sup>15</sup> Indian Reserves of the six Hul'qumi'num First Nations comprising the H-GINPR Committee are dispersed throughout the Cowichan Valley, between Ladysmith Harbour and Cowichan Bay, and on Valdes, Penelakut, Tent, Galiano and Willy Islands.

(Florence James, unpublished interview, October 2, 2015) so as to continue the economic and cultural practices which sustained the Coast Salish system of tenure and peoples' lifestyles.

The land base comprising the 23 Indian Reserves of HTG member Nations represents less than two percent of Hul'qumi'num territory (HTG 2005, 19). The requirement for a larger land base to fulfill basic living needs was documented in testimonial during the McKenna-McBride Commission on Indian Affairs for the province of BC between 1913-1916; however, all additional land applications were rejected (Government of Canada 1916, 292), and re-surveying led to further land reductions (295).<sup>16</sup> The draconian, racist and discriminatory *Indian Act* (R.S.C. 1985[1876]) imposes unreasonable restrictions to economic pursuits on reserve lands. Moreover, access and use of lands and waters outside of reserves for income and well-being is also restricted. Though Section 35 of Canada's *Constitution Act* protects the exercise of Aboriginal rights, such as the right to harvest natural resources for food, social, and ceremonial use, such rights only extend to Crown lands. The HTG (2005, 19) reported in their strategic land use plan that "close to 84% of Hul'qumi'num land is in private hands, with a few large land holdings managed as forest estates by large corporations. [...] Crown land—including parks and protected areas—amount to just over 14% of the territory." The HTG's core traditional territory is disproportionately composed of privately-held lands relative to the rest of British Columbia as a result of the state's egregious private sale of 268,000 hectares, or approximately 80 percent of Hul'qumi'num core territory, to Robert Duinsmuir for the construction of the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railroad on Vancouver Island in 1884 (see Egan 2008; HTG 2005), although none of

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<sup>16</sup> The Commission reduced 296 acres of Reserve lands of Chemainus Tribe, Chemainus and Sickameen Bands at Ladysmith Harbour (1916, 295). The Commission also documented reductions to original reserve allocations prior to 1913, two of which were for the C.N.P.R railway and another for a lighthouse (1916, 291).

this purchase included lands in the Gulf Islands. Today, privately-owned land remains a significant issue for Hul'qumi'num peoples and their leadership (Thom 2014a).

In conjunction with land alienation, the state banned traditional economic, social and spiritual practices of Indigenous peoples, such as winter dances and *stl'nuq* (Amoss 1978) and also restricted the way in which Indigenous peoples could participate in *hwunitum* wage-economy (Bierwert 1996, chapter 8). Racist policies and practices of disenfranchisement have had a devastating consequence to Indigenous peoples and communities. The residential school system oppressed Indigenous cultures and languages, separating people from traditional ways of living and knowing the world, and for those who survived, it prepared their entry into Canadian society as manual labourers (TRC 2015, 5:61-102). The prohibition of Status Indians from attending post-secondary educational institutions reinforced the status of Indigenous peoples as a working class.

Indeed, some Hul'qumi'num peoples describe their childhood in the context of extreme poverty, working alongside their parents where and when possible to contribute to family income and community well-being. In most cases, this was a mix between seasonal-wage work and economic activities based on traditional practices (see also Bierwert 1996, 234), the continuation of the latter which was characterized by one elder as a *matter of survival* (Dan Norris, unpublished interview, April 23, 2015). With some exceptions, including seasonal wage work across the border in Washington and participation in commercial fisheries, traditional use practices were often conducted closer to Reserves where people lived (see Fediuk 2011). Interviews from this research suggest this was in part from the absence of reliable water-based transportation. Elders recalled their parents having canoes in their youth, which required a high degree of skill and experience to navigate more turbulent waters, such as those around

*Tl'uqtuqsun*, Tumbo Channel and *Xwixwyus*. For these people, islands such as Salt Spring which had ferry access from Cowichan Bay, Chemainus Bay and Ladysmith Harbour, were frequented more regularly. Some elders' recalled a single water vessel to share amongst all members in an extended family—and use of this vessel was prioritized for people who were gathering supplies or earning an income.

The banning of practices such as line fishing and reef-net fishing, and the discrimination of Indigenous peoples from fisheries, was not effective to alienate Coast Salish peoples from fishing. Individuals who continued to frequent the Gulf Islands often did so as commercial fishermen. Participants working as commercial fishermen explain that this was a lucrative livelihood until depletion of fish stocks led to severe restrictions to small-scale commercial operations, leading to early retirement or shifts in employment (Tom Peters, Marvin Norris and Irvin Norris, unpublished interview, June 15, 2015). I particularly recall my third meeting with Florence James, when she explained that her father had to stop fishing because he could not afford the licences—which were prohibitively expensive for small-scale fisherman (Florence James, *pers. comm.*, October 18, 2016). When fishing was viable, however, I was surprised to learn that these fishermen who had navigated extensively throughout the southern Gulf Islands seldom landed anywhere; instead they moored in certain bays and coves overnight, during rare periods of rest, or to take refuge from storms. This testimony requires unpacking with a consideration of colonial period land use history in the Gulf Islands.

The narrative that Hul'qumi'num peoples “floated by the southern Gulf Islands” has a grain of truth in the twentieth century. The HTG's map of the status of lands in their traditional territory (HTG 2010) shows that with the exception of GINPR, lands in the southern Gulf Islands today are in majority privately-owned. Privately held, residential property is particularly dense

around coastal areas, and many island coves and bays are ringed with privately-owned or Crown-leased moors or docks. Apart from privately-held lands being donated or sold to the state in the creation of marine-protected areas and parks in the mid-to-late twentieth century, the status of lands in the southern Gulf Islands as privately-owned has not changed since the early colonial period (Cook and Dunster 2007). At the same time, land use activities on privately-owned land has changed over time. Examples of land use history and impacts to First Nations' former residences or properties in the study area can be garnered from the grey literature of consulting archaeology. Consider the proposed subdivision of the Spalding property (the Spaldings are considered a pioneering settler family on Pender) on Pender Island as a representative example:

The land is currently unused, except for casual recreation. Sheep were raised on the hillside until recent years (J. Henshaw, personal communication 1991). Virtually all of the hillside has been logged at least once. Commercial stumps are found throughout and several logging trails access the property. The remains of an orchard and the original Spalding homestead are located in proposed lots 4 and 5. [...] Spalding's collected a lot of artifacts that are now at RBCM. No undisturbed cultural deposits were found, so site evaluation and impact identification and assessment was unnecessary. (Eldridge 1991, 1,4,6)

Early colonial period history of *hwunitum* or privately-held lands in the southern Gulf Islands point to their development as farmsteads or logging tracts, land use practices which have destroyed many traces of in-land and coastal use and occupation by Coast Salish peoples. The acquisition of some of those lands by the state as municipal and provincial parks—prior to the creation of the GINPR—did little to protect First Nations ancestral places (McLay 2004; Thom 2017), and shifted land use more strongly towards recreational and leisure purposes. More recent commercial archaeology in the southern Gulf Islands has been conducted as a result of proposed subdivisions in places with known or with high potential for ancestral places, suggesting a trend where hobby farms or part of the Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR) are being rezoned as private, fee-simple residential lots.

The sheer density of privately-held lands in the southern Gulf Islands, in particular around shoreline areas (the sites of many large settlements) and points of access to inland areas, has implications for the ability to engage in cultural practices and in the exercise of Aboriginal rights. Elders with stories about the southern Gulf Islands often prefaced or concluded with the current land status of a significant place: “this is private land now;” “this is a park now;” “this is someone else’s reserve now.” Elders also contrasted the past and current physical states of the land: “these beaches are condemned now;” “these rocks [tracks of *Xeel*’s] were displaced;” “a canal was dredged here.” Alec Johnnie Sr., for instance, explained why he never hunted at the Pender Islands:

Well we used to go there maybe twice a month to go to Saturna, because—you know there was some cows there too and people with farms and we had to watch out for that. [laughs] And I never did hunt at Pender. There were too many houses in there. But that [Saturna] was a good spot for hunting. Same as Prevost.

Alec Johnnie Sr. (unpublished interview, March 16, 2015)

The increase in residential development has implications for species and ecosystem health, a concern expressed by several elders for clam harvesting. Tracy Fleming (*pers. comm.* October 2, 2015), an ecologist and treaty researcher/officer at Cowichan Tribes, explained how the municipality of Duncan was being pressured by residents of waterfront properties to build docks and wharfs out into one of the last local undeveloped strips of beach near the Reserves in Cowichan Bay, one of the few locations where shellfish harvesting was not prohibited from sanitary closures. Residential housing on the southern Gulf Islands has led to condemnation of shellfish harvesting at many beaches from contamination by untreated sewage disposal, as Alec Johnnie Sr., Ben Norris Sr. and Dan Norris explained for family-frequented clam beds at Salt Spring Island.

Yeah when I was, must have been about nine [years old]. I remember my stepfather used to go on the ferry to there on the car because we didn't have a boat. So when we used to go up on the gas boat it was a lot easier. We used to make good money on that because there was a good beach there. Now it's all condemned. [...] All the beaches like that are all closed right around the islands, Salt Spring Island.

Alec Johnnie Sr. (unpublished interview, March 16, 2015)

Ben Norris: Got a sewer pipe that way, so they blocked us off over there. Those two places were blocked off.

Ursula Abramczyk: Why?

Dan Norris: Too much homes being built along where we used to go and dig. That's where that—all those lights, all those houses came up all at once, and the sewage, it's got to go somewhere. So they closed that beach off for digging.

Ursula Abramczyk: No sewage treatment?

Dan Norris: The sewage just used to go in the ocean I guess, [...] so it was unsafe. So that's one of the main reasons they shut it not only to us, but to everybody.

Dan Norris and Ben Norris Sr. (unpublished interview, April 23, 2015)

Pollution from local industrial forestry, pulp mill discharge, farming effluents and untreated human sewage compound the existing problem of foreshore and intertidal alienation as a result of long-term property interests both in the Gulf Islands and on coastal Vancouver Island (Holst et al. 2011). Elders have explained to me how they have had to venture elsewhere to pursue fishing, clamming and other '*a'lu'xut* (resource harvesting) practices. Tumbo Island, Tumbo Passage and *Xwixwyus* were important locations for harvesting ducks using duck poles and nets, as recalled by Florence James (unpublished interview, October 2, 2015) and Arvid Charlie (unpublished interview, March 23, 2015). During the October 2, 2015 fieldtrip, Florence James explained that there was a large oil spill in Alaska that had a permanent effect on merganser duck populations and their migration to the southern Gulf Islands. The population has

never recovered. Dan Norris and Ben Norris Sr. also recalled how family members would use duck poles to hunt ducks at Vesuvius Bay. He explains the importance of ducks for Hul'qumi'num peoples and where they must go to get ducks today.

Cook 'em and make duck soup and roast ducks. They were a delicacy for our people. Everybody loved ducks. Now you can't get 'em. Well, you can get them every now and then but not as much as if you wanted ducks one day you go out and get it, but you can't do that anymore. For the ducks we eat we have to go up to Campbell River.

Dan Norris (unpublished interview, April 23, 2015)

An additional factor shaping ongoing connections to the southern Gulf Islands is the overt discrimination and violence towards Hul'qumi'num people exercising their Aboriginal rights. Alec identified such threats at Salt Spring Island and Valdes Island.

Alec Johnnie Sr.: "We used to stay at Valdes. We did hunting in there too and digging and we used to camp there. I used to camp there with my friend Harvey Alphonse. I think we stayed there about a week one time. Crabbing and then putting them in a bin in the water. Keep them alive. We were there one time. It's when we got kicked out of there. Had to leave.

Ursula Abramczyk: Why was that?

Alec Johnnie Sr.: There were some from guys there they just didn't like us around there. [laughs] He said get the heck off my property, he said to us. [Harvey Alphonse] was saying: 'My sister lives here.' So [he replied]: 'She doesn't live here anymore. Get out of here.' So he threatened us. We had to leave. [...] Well I guess after we got kicked out of Salt Spring, got threatened that they'd take our boats away or next time they see us they'd chain it. [...]

Ursula Abramczyk: You were told you couldn't be there.

Alec Johnnie Sr: No we couldn't. That was just about 10 years ago I guess.

Ursula Abramczyk: So after that did you venture out to look for other places?

Alec Johnnie Sr: Yeah we just started going up here further and further [*AJ gestures to Mayne and Saturna*]. Just looking around I guess.

Alec Johnnie Sr. (unpublished interview, March 16, 2015)

Alec Johnnie Sr., having been alienated from places to which he had social connections (Valdes Island) and which were close to his home in Cowichan Bay, propelled him to venture out further to places that he did not frequent growing up. For some, the southern Gulf Islands remains one of the few places where *'a'lu'xut* of fish, clams, deer and other species is still possible. Such individual narratives flow into a broader narrative of fisheries alienation. Coastal and river-dwelling Natives were alienated from family and community-owned fisheries through racialized fisheries legislation which framed Native fisheries as more exploitative than non-Aboriginal industrial and commercial-scale ocean-fisheries and canneries, and simultaneously reduced Aboriginal fisheries to the scale of “fishing for food” (see Bierwert 1996; Chapter 8 “Indian Business and Cultural Practice”).

In the following chapter I further examine how colonial land policy constrained Hul'qumi'num peoples' occupation to the Gulf Islands north of the study area and on the southeastern Vancouver Island coast (Harris 2008; Raibmon 2007). This undoubtedly influenced the itineraries of Coast Salish peoples as the places to which they had rights and responsibilities were settled and or developed by incoming *hwunitum*. In spite of this, Hul'qumi'num peoples continued to connect with the southern Gulf Islands through the exercise of Aboriginal rights, through work as commercial fishermen and in other less visible ways, such as through storytelling. This is what in particular makes the GINPR such an important place for the ongoing exercise of Aboriginal rights—the fact of a shrinking land base and the absence of protection measures by the provincial and federal governments for undeveloped lands *and waters* that were central to in Hul'qumi'num lifestyles.

## Closing Remarks

Hul'qumi'num peoples' voices problematize the idea of the southern Gulf Islands as an exclusively occupied territory in the time leading up to and throughout the period of colonial entanglements. By re-conceptualizing *territory* with respect to residence group affiliation *and* kinship and social ties, we challenge the divisive, boundary-making project of the state. This chapter supports the idea of the southern Gulf Islands as historically shared lands and waters by exploring ideas such as “choice spots” and “other spots” and the notion of individual and family choices in a simplified model of Coast Salish land tenure. The continuity of Hul'qumi'num peoples' ties to particular places are commanded and reinforced in a number of ways in the present day. These include articulating *syuth* (oral tradition) and place names, engaging in funerary practices such as feeding the dead, and by showing respect and reciprocity through practices of conservation. These are *de facto* exercises of land tenure, and elucidate a relational ontology that in simplest terms means that Hul'qumi'num peoples *are* the land. In light of these counter-narratives, the asserted W̱SÁNEĆ-Hul'qumi'num boundary at the particular locality of Active Pass by some ethnographers and cultural authorities has led me to argue that this is a more recent construction arising out of colonial policy and the comprehensive land claims era which fundamentally undermines social and kinship relations as land-permitting authorities and the notion of lands and waters in the southern Gulf Islands as co-constituting Coast Salish peoples.

The narrative of ephemerality in constructions and representations of Hul'qumi'num peoples' territoriality in the Gulf Islands may perhaps be explained by the emphasis of their riverine-based occupations and activities, which stands in contrast to the construction of W̱SÁNEĆ as straits peoples. Comparing the oral histories shared by Hul'qumi'num elders

emphasizes how framings of the Great Crossing to *Shnuwilh* shapes the degree to which the southern Gulf Islands figure in their territorial relations. The fact that many Hul'qumi'num elders continued to frequent the places now designated as midden villages in parks narratives well into the twentieth century point to a shift in the function of these places, and not to their abandonment (an idea further explored in chapters 4 and 5). Although some Hul'qumi'num elders continued to fish at commercial-scales in the southern Gulf Islands, and some recall commercial-scale clamming by their parents and grandparents, a century of economic disparity for First Nations peoples has resulted in land alienation. Prohibitive licensing regimes has reduced their physical capacity to frequent and care for ancestral places and places where rights of access and use were formerly upheld. Land alienation has reduced the ability of peoples to continue economic activities, as well as spiritual, sacred and ceremonial practices essentially to Coast Salish identities, sense of community and well-being. The fact of not being on the land bears on peoples' memories of these places, and the transcendence of those memories to the next generation.

I conclude that the public and popular view that Hul'qumi'num peoples' have no stories nor villages in the southern Gulf Islands emerged through the silencing of Hul'qumi'num perspectives/voices in reconstructions of "what happened" Trouillot (1995, 4). This emphasizes the significance and importance of the work undertaken by the H-GINPR Committee to re-story the Coast Salish landscape in the present-day.

## Chapter 4: Ethnographic Narratives of Central Coast Salish Territories and Territorialities

Ethnographers and ethnologists have dominated as authorities in the construction of written narratives Central Coast Salish peoples' lifestyles, place-based relations and cultural practices in the Gulf Islands, southeastern Vancouver Island and the lower Fraser River mainland area. As with the preceding chapter on Hul'qumi'num perceptions and voices, in this chapter I also seek to elucidate the *silences* which inhere the process of historical narrative production (Trouillot 1995, 26) for the time leading up to and throughout the time of early colonial entanglements between settlers and Coast Salish peoples. I critically examine anthropological constructions of Coast Salish peoples' territorial relations, and deconstruct terminologies, classifications, discourses and narratives relating to land tenure, with a special focus on Coast Salish social organization and residential types, and the relationships between them.

This approach extends from late-sixties and seventies-era critiques of Enlightenment narratives during the so-called crisis in anthropology, characterized by a general reaction against positivism (read: functionalism in North America) and an explicit recognition of anthropology's relationship to colonialism (Stocking 1991, 3). The call for a "reinvention" of anthropology (Asad 1973; Hymes 1972; Stocking 1982) was met by several anthropological currents or "turns;" collectively inspiring the deconstruction of the assumptions, concepts and contexts in which anthropological knowledge had been and was being produced, and providing important analytical tools and frameworks to re-shaped our production of anthropological knowledge.

Concerns with the nature of analytical *types* arose through the "linguistic turn," inspiring anti-foundationalist and anti-essentialist approaches to names and naming practices. Proponents would argue, for example, that the nature of "types" cannot be understood as stable essences, but as signifiers which emerge through how we analyze them, such as through processes of

classification and categorization. Processes of naming serves to reify anthropological types in the service of creating taxonomic differences or variations between groups.

The literary (or reflexive) turn of the mid-1980s attuned anthropologists to “culture” as representation and issues of representation in ethnographic texts (Clifford and Marcus 1986). Concern for “the discursive aspects of cultural representation” (Clifford 1986, 13) was informed by a strong social constructionism, positing no real world but that which comes into existence when we talk about it. While expanding anthropology’s ability to represent its analytical objects (Rutherford 2012, 469), such hyper-relativism made it difficult to make knowledge claims about the real world (Haraway 1988), and influenced the more extreme view of the practices and lifestyles of peoples living in colonial contexts as “inventions of tradition” (Anderson 1991[1983]; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

In the eighties, the “historic turn” brought attention to the historical contexts in which anthropological knowledge is produced, and how governmentality reconfigured lives of people living on the ground. Recognition that cultural entities were not “outside of history” challenged the social evolutionists’ notion of “primitive societies” (Wolf 1982) which continued to be used by cultural ecologists (and other materialists) into the 1970s (e.g. Barnett 1938, 1955; Suttles 1974[1951]). The anthropology of colonialism pushed further to understand how colonial situations and historical relationships are constitutive of anthropological knowledge and methods (Pels 2008, 282n4). This has been significant for a discipline which historically made (and continues to make) peoples living under colonial rule, such as in North America and Africa, our objects of study (Trouillot 2003) and who reproduced the social evolutionist ideology upholding the colonial enterprise (Stocking 1987, 237). As with our return to history, attention to colonialism prompted anthropologists to recognize the inherently political nature of the

knowledge we produce about the “Other” (Fabian 1983, 28). The anthropology of colonialism has held that it is only through explicit recognition of the colonial legacy to framings, concepts and methods that we curtail the propensity to essentialize and reify the “Other” (Pels 2008).

The long-standing project of anthropology in creating difference for the purpose of developing universal, cross-cultural comparisons has led some scholars to elucidate specific temporal (Fabian 1983) and spatial (e.g., Trouillot 2003) dimensions and consequences of naming and classificatory practices. This study specifically examines descriptors and terms used to describe settlement preferences and practices, which has selectively received attention by scholars. In the development of my argument and critique, I draw upon the insights regarding problematic terminologies and concepts such as “abandonment,” (Watkins 2006), “mobility” (Raibmon 2007), “plantations” (Seed 2001) and “camp” (McIlwraith 2012) to examine the discourse and framings of traditional Coast Salish land tenure in the ethnographic seasonal rounds model and “camp” and “village” types applied to Central Coast Salish lifestyles for the so-called Late Period and early post-European contact period. I trace how this model and associated settlement types emerged through state, ethnographic and archaeological discourses invested in particular versions of history relating to land and resources.

This framing and these settlement terms are not rooted in indigenous terminology, but rather grounded in social constructions of European peasant villages (Suttles 1963). Brian Thom (*pers. comm.*, March 30, 2014) has identified “camp” and “village” types as a long-standing point of contention between H-GINPR committee members and Parks Canada particularly in public interpretive materials for GINPR. This chapter supports the argument arising from the anthropology of colonialism that if we uncritically reproduce the designations of colonial officials who circumscribed Indigenous peoples to reserve lands for the purpose of newcomer

settlement, we do little to challenge ongoing colonial relations and instead continue to reify and essentialize Indigenous identities and cultures.

### **Tracing the origin and development of the Seasonal Rounds Narrative**

#### **Producing an Ethnographic Record of Coast Salish Peoples, Practices and Lands**

The field work leading to the production of the first ethnographic texts on Central Coast Salish groups (i.e. Boas 1887, 1891) was conducted almost a century following contact with Spanish and British expeditions (1792) in the Salish Sea area, and approximately four decades following the first wave of Reserve creation on Vancouver Island (c. 1950-1954). In British Columbia, anthropology had yet to be established academically as a discipline. Ethnologist Franz Boas, founder and proponent of cultural relativism and historical particularism, was the first to ethnologist to visit the Pacific Northwest Coast with the objective to document the lifestyles, languages and cultural practices of non-European peoples, resulting in one publication on the Lekwungen peoples (a so-called ethnic division of the Central Coast Salish, the southern-lying neighbours Hul'qumi'num peoples) in the late nineteenth century (Boas 1891).

From this period to mid-twentieth century, the ethnographies and ethnologies of Suttles (1963, 1974[1951]), Barnett (1938, 1955), Hill-Tout (1907), Duff (1952) and Jenness (2017[1935]) were published. With the exception of Suttles (1963, 1974[1951]) and Duff (1952), these works were construed as culture histories, “recipe books” of descriptive narratives “organized around reporting on a range of topics—curing, kinship, material culture, technology, oral traditions, and so on... Real, individual people were largely absent, and, in their place, we were presented with a normative culture” (Miller 2007, 2). Ethnologists from this time were not interested in chronology (Trigger 1989, 110), but had not rejected diffusionism to explain cultural change. Boas sought to understand cultural groups based on their particular social,

economic and cultural contexts, focusing on similarities and differences between geographic areas and “tribes,” a classificatory approach borne out of G. P. Murdock’s *culture area* concept (Kew 1994, 79) and informed by what Pels (2008, 283) terms the *ontology of spatial discreteness*: where “human diversity has to be represented in terms of discrete ethnic units that normally occupy equally discrete territories”. The culture area classificatory logic is evident in every ethnology on the Coast Salish from the late nineteenth century to the present-day (e.g. Suttles 1990). Ethnographers and ethnologists framed their objects (subjects) of study in term of un-overlapping geographical units, organized along legal (Indian Reserves), linguistic (the perceived geographic constraints of a particular group of same-language speakers) and political (the perceived or articulated area occupied by an “ethnic group”) boundaries (“Cartographic Legacies”, n.d.).

Boas’ rationale and approach for the documentation of non-European ethnic groups is known as *salvage anthropology*, a method to “record from experienced and fluent native speakers accounts of traditional culture—that is, the Indigenous way of life unadulterated by immigrant ideas and values” (Kew 1994, 78-9). It was premised on the perceived loss of Indigenous peoples’ traditional lifestyles at the time of research, where Indigenous peoples were cast as either fully acculturated or fully assimilated into settler-colonial society. This assumption imbues “modern” and “traditional,” and “authentic” and “inauthentic” dichotomies, qualifications problematically constructed on the notion of *Typological Time* (Fabian 1983, 23). It is a time “which is measured, not as time elapsed, nor by reference to points on a (linear) scale, but in terms of socioculturally meaningful events, or, more precisely, intervals between such events”. The event upon which Coast Salish peoples ethnographic portraits were construed was European contact, as “modern” represents time of the past (i.e. before European contact) and

“traditional” represents a time of the present (i.e. after European contact). These constructions continued to inform ethnographic research with Coast Salish peoples into the mid-to-late twentieth century.

A pointed example of this construction can be made with Homer Barnett’s introduction to a publication on a typological scheme for a comparison of cultural components between different Coast Salish bands.

...the ethnography offered here essay [sic] to be characterizations of the aboriginal conditions. To what extent such an aim can ever be realized in a culture so definitely as so long ago influenced by white contact remains a question. Too much is not urged for it. It means drawing upon the memory of a memory, but often-times with surprising results. The best that can be said is that the informants were regularly cautioned until they got the idea and formed the habit of thinking along the lines of aboriginal group differences. Most of them reacted admirably. (1939, 222)

Barnett cautions the reader to the reliability of his work, constructed from “the memory of a memory” of a “culture so definitely as so long ago influenced by white contact” (1939, 222). Again, typological time (Fabian 1983, 23) constructs Indigenous peoples at the time of ethnographic research as “inauthentic,” *silencing* (Trouillot 1995, 23) their lived-in realities—which at best received passing mention in the introductions of ethnologies (Kew 1994, 79). The interest of ethnographers was clearly in the past. Perhaps paradoxically, they narrated their texts in the *ethnographic present*, which may be defined as “the practice of giving accounts of other cultures and societies in the present tense” (Fabian 1983, 80). Fabian argues that it creates an ontological problem, because to say that some group *is* some characteristic or quality (e.g. matrilineal, hunter-gatherer, etc.) is a categorical imposition “taken to imply a static view of society, one that is inattentive to the fact that all cultures are constantly changing” (81). Indeed, the early ethnographic writings of Coast Salish peoples, lifestyles and cultures sought to capture a snapshot; a timeless, unchanging “Other” up to the point of contact with Europeans.

Barnett, as with other ethnographers of that time, sought to structure his informants' responses as they were expected to "form the habit" of finding significant difference between "the aboriginal groups" (1939, 222). Barnett's "aboriginal differences" refers to the presence or absence of specific "cultural traits" for the "aboriginal groups" he was comparing in tabular formats. The "aboriginal groups" constituted the same ethnic divisions that had identified and reified by the colonial government during reserve creation. The approach of establishing *differences* in comparative ethnologies and ethnographies of Coast Salish peoples from this period reflects a widely-held view that the most meaningful social unit for Coast Salish peoples *prior to European contact* was the group occupying the locales of contemporaneous Indian Reserves—in spite of evidence from contributors which clearly complicated ethnographers' project of ethnic essentialization.

### **Sociality and Social Organization in a model for Coast Salish Land Tenure**

Only two contemporary ethnographic works (see PhD theses of Kennedy 2000 and Thom 2005) have endeavoured to develop comprehensive representations or models of Coast Salish land tenure systems (Thom 2005, 271n41). Kennedy and Thom critically extended the model of Coast Salish sociality proposed by pre-eminent anthropologist Wayne Suttles (1963), who posited that both kinship ties and residential group membership configure an individual's property relations. They assert that these social principles for organizing Coast Salish land tenure existed prior to European contact, and continued with some respects in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Kennedy 2007; Suttles 1963; Thom 2005), despite colonial processes which attempted to circumscribe social, political and economic activities to the socio-economic level of the band. Closer readings of ethnographic texts that frame First Nations and land-based connections largely in terms of bands, the peoples and places selected and delineated by the *Indian Act*, still

give some clues of another social determinant or grouping for Coast Salish property-relations.

Suttles (1963, 513) identified five residential social groups: the nuclear family; the extended family household (composed of families and extended kin); the local group (composed of households); the village (composed of house groups and local groups); and the tribe (composed of villages). Ethnographers working in the Northwest Coast have sought to identify how these different social groups relate to land use, occupancy and property within the broader Coast Salish world.

Thom observes that apart from one documented exception, there is no unequivocal general term for *residence group* in the *Hul'q'umi'num'* language. Among the Coast Salish, each individual residence group is named,

with many of these names taking prominent forms in English. Examples are Qwam'utsun, So'mena, Thuq'min (winter villages) or Cowichan, Chemainus, and Chilliwack (local groups of several villages sharing a common area). (2005a, 280n44)

Named residence groups hold property in common, with physical residency being the key determinant of use and access of the shared resources at these locales (2005a, 282-3). Resident group members are said to hold in common the ability to trace their descent to a common “first man” or “originary ancestor” associated with that place in myth (Boas 1889; Hill-Tout 1907) or in *syuth* (“true stories, oral tradition”). Boas and Hill-Tout also observed that, in spite of sharing a common ancestor, the different households constituting the residence group did not always see one another as kin—a point that becomes important when nuancing between commonly-held and corporately-held property in the Coast Salish land tenure system.

Several anthropologists posited the household or extended family as the most important socio-economic unit in Coast Salish society (Arnett 1999, 2007; Jenness 2017[1935], 1, 53;

Mitchell 1979, 98; Rozen 1985, 6; Suttles 1990, 464),<sup>17</sup> which some ethnographers have documented as *hwunutsaluwum*<sup>18</sup> in the *Hul'q'umi'num* language (Thom 2005, 273). The *hwunutsaluwum* referred to a cognatic descent group which acted as a property-owning, corporate group.

Suttles (1963) cautioned that his proposal for Coast Salish social organization was a model, and that in practice sociality was much more complicated. For example, a *hwunutsaluwum* may have constituted one group within “the village” (residence group locality), or itself represented a village (Suttles 1963, 1990). In the former instances, *hwunutsaluwum* had retained relative economic independence from the residence group (Boas 1890; Hill-Tout 1907) “despite shared ancestry, name and identification with a localized territory” (Arnett 1999). In that each household had occupied its own living space or structure (Kennedy 2000, 117) within a multi-unit dwelling, such as a big house or long house, physical partitions between living spaces may be thought to have embodied the socio-economic and political autonomy of *hwunutsaluwum*.

Where members of the *hwunutsaluwum* held in common lands and resources with the residence group, it also had corporate property that was exclusive and inalienable. Thom is one of the few scholars who has attempted to clearly conceptualize and qualify this property type. He proposes that corporate property is: “commonly geographically localized, highly productive, able to be enhanced by labour or technology, defensible, and often in areas at some considerable

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<sup>17</sup>This notably stands in contrast with indigenous social groups neighbouring Coast Salish peoples to the north and south, for whom rules of property were more rigidly defined through matrilineal or patrilineal descent, and for whom the “winter village” (the moiety, lineage group or clan) was the most important political and socio-economic unit prior to European contact (Thom 2005a, 274; Kennedy 2007).

<sup>18</sup> Kennedy (2000, 396) documented *hwunutsaluwum* in several Coast Salish language and dialects. For the Squamish, a mainland Halkomelem group, the term ‘of one blood or family,’ ‘one family’ or ‘family’ (all descendants of one head)’ can describe the group for the stem kindred. Historian Chris Arnett (1999, 2007) uses the term *hw'nuchalewum* for the Island Hulquminum, similar to Brian Thom (2005a).

distance from the village” (2005, 278). These property relations continue today, and were also present in the nineteenth century, though of course, realizing them now is complicated by other factors.

The *hwunutsaluwum* was a cognatic descent group, whose marriage alliances linking *hwunutsaluwum* created affinal and kin relationships that tied individuals and families to other productive properties. These relationships are not amenable to being mapped as geographically-discrete ethnic groups, and “created in effect a non-discrete, non-localized, property-holding kin group. It was this group or its head, rather than any of the residential groups that owned the most important ceremonial rights and the most productive natural resources” (Suttles 1963, 513). Members of this group “shared descent from an illustrious ancestor, and they shared rights to the estate of the group, consisting of inherited rights to resources, names, and ceremonial activities” (Kennedy 2007; also Thom 2005, 274).

### **Silences in the Period of Colonial Entanglements with Europeans**

Inter-village ties in the Coast Salish world thus had an important role in structuring rights, ownership and access (land use) for individuals, families and households outside of communally-held (residence group) property. Through colonial entanglements, residence groups over the cognatic descent group as a property-owning social unit, the consequence being the reservation of *some* residence group properties and no corporately-held properties. These processes of selection preceded ethnographic and archaeological research in the region, and have not until more recently been critically regarded in anthropological theorizing and reconstructions of deep history.

Ethnographers variably acknowledged colonial government and newcomer resettlement as disruptive forces to Coast Salish peoples’ continuation of pre-European contact lifestyles and

territorial relations. Popular mentions for the late pre-European contact and early colonial period “displacement” and re-settlement of Central Coast Salish peoples include the territorial expansion of northern Indigenous groups. Many Central Coast Salish households and residence groups relocated to more fortifiable locations on coastal Vancouver Island—away from residences in the Gulf Islands—in response to escalating conflicts with the southward moving Lekwiltok, Yeukeltas, and Kwakwakawkw (Angelbeck 2007, 268; Harris 1994; Suttles 1990). Lesser mentioned forces of disruption to Hul’qumi’num land tenure include depopulation (Harris 1994), land pre-emption and Reserve creation (Harris 2008; Raibmon 2007; Taylor and Duff 1956). These processes bore on Coast Salish lifestyles on both sides of the international border, and were certainly being firmly felt in the differences in generations between those interviews with Coast Salish peoples by Hill-Tout (1907) and Boas (1887), and those by Barnett (1934-5) and Suttles (1963, 1974[1951]).

Colonial officials used the language of “abandonment” to justify land pre-emption at places that, in spite of these processes, were still significant to Coast Salish peoples. The term “abandonment” implies that people have made a *permanent* move from a particular locale, but this term is inadequate for Indigenous peoples who were forced to relocate and who continue to articulate a relationship to said locale (Watkins 2006). Archaeologists have reproduced the language of abandonment in their descriptions of periodic *or* permanent absences from particular locales in the context of long-term land use. Ethnographers, and perhaps ethno-archaeologists, use the term to describe seasonal absences in an annual cycle. In both cases, periods of perceived absence were in large majority followed by a return to these locales.

Many locales were not “abandoned” after the virgin soil epidemics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The few oral histories documented point instead to changes in land use by

Coast Salish peoples. Harris (1994) is probably right that depopulations “created vacuums” for migration of peoples from the surrounding area. Drawing from settler, ethnographic and oral history records, Harris estimates a 90 percent depopulation of Coast Salish peoples from smallpox in 1782—one decade prior to the arrival of European explorers through Puget Sound and the Georgia Strait. While the ethnohistoric record is especially fragmented and partial in this regard, he identified several accounts of smallpox collected in majority from Coast Salish peoples on lower mainland British Columbia.<sup>19</sup>

Coast Salish oral histories indicate re-settlement of smallpox survivors to new or existing residences at neighbouring locations. One account for *Hul'q'umi'num'*-speaking peoples was provided in the 1960s by Nick Stevens, a Cowichan fisherman. Stevens shared his grandfathers' account of smallpox at their settlement at Fulford Harbour, Salt Spring Island: The south wind blew all winter "until most of the tribe were dead and there were too few left to bury their bodies." The survivors took the corpses to a small island near Fulford Harbour, "placing their remains in crevices in the rocks, covering them with flat stones" (Jenness 1936 *in* Harris 1994, 598). Other accounts point to how the deceased were left to rest in their settlements, shifting the functional significance of these places as cemeteries. For Stevens' ancestral kin at Fulford Harbour, the deceased were relocated to what would become burial islets. Smallpox thus resulted in different responses on whether a residence would remain a residence for the living, or a cemetery for fallen kin and family. *čəsnaʔəm* is a locally-known example of a 5,000 year old Coast Salish village which became a cemetery in the Late period, and which remained a significant site to Musqueam peoples into the twenty-first century (Roy 2006, 2010). In these

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<sup>19</sup>Previously documented oral histories by ethnographers which are accounted for by Harris (1994) include those by elders of Squamish (Hill-Tout 1978); Kwantlen (Webber 1899); Katzie (Jenness 1955); and Sto:lo (Stolo Tribal Council 1987).

cases, such places were not abandoned. As per present-day Coast Salish funerary practices, such as feeding the dead, the contemporary significance of these places is embodied in the ongoing care of ancestral peoples.

Depopulation and re-settlement fueled notions of an “almost empty land,” coinciding with technological changes in transportation and communication that opened the Pacific Northwest Coast to emigration and natural resources development (Harris 1994, 618). The trope of an “empty land” was convenient to justify settler territorial expansion, and certainly did not reflect what was happening in on the ground between Coast Salish peoples and settlers. Escalated conflicts between them hinged on land use, occupation and ownership, but were poorly attended to by colonial officials (Arnett 1999; Harris 1994; Marshall 1999). Colonial officials rarely sided with Indigenous peoples—especially for lands that were not reserved—and actively pursued and persecuted the Indigenous resistance. In some cases, they destroyed entire villages which could then be pre-empted by settlers (Cryer 2007, 34).<sup>20</sup> For Florence James (unpublished interview, October 2, 2015) the story of *Tzouhalem*, her ancestral relative who is known popularly as ‘the last great Cowichan warrior’, was a priority for her to document because she felt it was evidence that land expropriation was being actively contested. The notion that Central Coast Salish peoples were unilaterally conquered, suggesting they had not defended their lands, might be understood vis-à-vis the popular narrative of them as “pacifists,” emerging largely from the framing of Central Coast Salish peoples’ northerly-lying neighbours as the “dreadful terror” in the Fort Langley Journals (Angelbeck 2007, 268).

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<sup>20</sup>“Following the “war” at Lamalchi Bay, James Douglas forbade anyone to occupy the site. In time, the site of the village and an adjacent 100 acres were pre-empted by *Hwunitum*’ settlers with the help of native wives. Some native families had also moved near the old site by 1882” (Cryer 2007, 34).

Colonial administrators' Indian land policy made space for settler pre-emption and the expanding British empire, a process that occurred in tandem with Reserve creation in British Columbia between 1850-4 and again in 1876-7. In the first wave, reserves were delineated on Vancouver Island where colonial settlement and coal exploitation were taking place. No reserves were created on the Gulf Islands until 1877 (post-Confederation, 1871). At this time, lands would not be considered by the Joint Indian Reserve Commission (1876) "that had been sold or that was subject to a pre-emption claim" (Harris 2008, 37). Moreover, decisions for additional reserve allotments were based on "existing land use."

However, by 1876 "existing land-use" was seriously disrupted by non-Aboriginal pre-emption at many of the southern Gulf Islands, including Salt Spring Island, Mayne Island, Portland Island and Pender Island. This process began in 1859, almost 20 years before reserves were delimited in any of the Gulf Islands.<sup>21</sup> Pre-emption was premised on the condition that no "Indian improvements" were being made to land. *Improvements* to land constituted visible and material changes to a place, characterized by consistent (year-long), permanent occupation as per European constructions of settlement. For example, "Indian improvements" at Hay Point, South Pender Island, led to the delimitation of a reserve for *WSÁNEĆ* peoples, which was noted to include the "Indian Houses and Potato patches" present at that place (Joint Indian Reserve Commission 1876-1878). For Coast Salish peoples to incorporate Euro-British specifications to their properties and houses in order to meet colonial requirements for "improvements" is an act of survivance (Silliman 2014). As Coast Salish peoples were no longer building their houses in

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<sup>21</sup>Ruth Sandwell (2005) explains that before 1871, all property acquired on Salt Spring Island—the largest of the Gulf Islands—was acquired through pre-emption.

the shed roof style nor other perceived “traditional” styles, whatever they were building and living in at the time did not make its way into the ethnographic “record” (c.f. Richardson 1979).

Paige Raibmon (2007) explains how the requirement for “improvements” was bound up with a broader state agenda to reduce Indigenous peoples’ mobility. Even where so-called improvements were being made, improvements

... could be overcome if the said improvements had been “abandoned.” Differential meanings of mobility produced conflicts over the definition of “abandoned,” however, as the colonial discourse of mobility supported the interpretation of seasonal absences as abandonment. (2007, 178)

Raibmon (2007) and Seed (2001) explore how the colonial administrative project to “settle” Indigenous peoples’ was informed by a moral differentiation between “settled” and “mobile” peoples. Seed (2001) explains how “plantation,” the earliest settlement type of the so-called New World, were occupied by “planters”—associated with English farmers. Farmers *laboured* and *worked* the land; the only morally acceptable form of labor or work in the eyes of God (2001, 126). In that Indigenous peoples were perceived to have “lacked labor” meant that “Indigenous peoples could not therefore possess the land because they did not farm” (130). Paradoxically, adopting settler settlement structures and lifestyles, specifically agriculture and animal husbandry, resulted in the reservation of only some of their properties. The notion of settlement shares the same valence of morality surrounding *plantation*, where “settled” peoples are construed as morally superior to “mobile” ones.

Hul’qumi’num peoples do not have reserves in the southern Gulf Islands.<sup>22</sup> For the Hul’qumi’num, there is no documentary evidence of consultation with them during the periods

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<sup>22</sup> Evidence exists of a 7,040 acre parcel on southwestern Salt Spring Island that had been slated for reserve delimitation (Harris 2002, Appendix), possibly for Cowichan Tribes (Brian Thom, *pers. comm.*), but for reasons unspecified in documentation reviewed, did not become a reserve. Traces of evidence such as this require further research.

of reserve creation (Tracy Fleming, Cowichan Tribes referrals coordinator, *pers. comm.*, May 3, 2015). Ethnographic documentation by Wayne Suttles points to the occupation by particular WSÁNEĆ communities of several *winter* villages in Gulf Islands, but only two villages and two fishing stations were reserved (Bouchard and Kennedy 1996). Barnett, like his contemporaries, thought that “there has been very little displacement of the Indian population, and reserves for the most part comprise the traditional village locations” (1955, 2). Barnett’s “for the most part” here, belies the significant colonial disruption in Coast Salish land tenure, where not nearly all the sites owned by families and residence groups were “reserved”. Jenness similarly acknowledged that the Royal Commission of 1876 was assigned to delimit lands and create reserves to which Indigenous peoples would be given legal rights “that correspond in the main with the sites of *some of their settlements in earlier years*” (Jenness 1935, 6, emphasis added).<sup>23</sup>

For Coast Salish peoples more generally, colonial policies and non-Aboriginal land pre-emption in the early nineteenth and twentieth centuries resulted in displacement and re-settlement (Cryer 2007, 341n279; Hill-Tout 1907; Kennedy and Bouchard 1991; Lewis 1970; Moss 2011, 17; Richardson 1979; Rozen 1985, 1), and changes to house structures and styles (Jenness 1934-5, 31; Richardson 1979; Suttles 1963), social affiliation and residency (Kennedy and Bouchard 1991; Rozen 1985, 1), economies and cultural practices (Raibmon 2007), health and well-being (Fediuk 2011); and seasonality of economic pursuits (Moon 1985). These changes have clearly impacted, and complicated, the phenomenological relationship of Indigenous people to lands. Despite these changes, Coast Salish peoples continued to use and

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<sup>23</sup> Early in the twentieth century the Canadian government appointed a Royal Commission to delimit the lands to which the Indians should be given legal rights, taking into consideration the villages they were occupying at the time, the places in which they buried their dead, and the streams on which they had plied their nets and built their fishing weirs. Thus were created the present-day reserves on which the Indians live, reserves (Jenness 1935, 6).

frequent some of the places from which they were alienated as corporate family or community proprietors (Bouchard and Kennedy 1996; Moon 1985; Richardson 1979). Hul'qumi'num peoples indicate that extended-kin ties continue to play a role in access to lands for economic activities in the present-day (Thom 2004; see Chapter 4), a reality butting up against state-controlled processes of treaty making (BCTP) and land claims (Thom 2014a).

Such historic colonial processes have thus reified *some* residence group properties held in common through reserve creation, but not *hwunutsaluwum* corporate property. The documentation of the land use by Indigenous peoples beyond the obvious locations of their winter residences is a notable silence in the early colonial period. The alienation of properties in this early period has had implications for the later construction of settlement types by ethnographers and consequently the seasonal rounds narrative.

## **The Seasonal Round and Settlement Types**

### **Villages**

By the time ethnographers were on the scene, the lands most visibly occupied by Indigenous peoples were thus *some* of the commonly-held property of residence groups. These locations had been delimited as reserves, consisting for Hul'qumi'num peoples' settlement locales along the south eastern coast of Vancouver Island between Duncan and Ladysmith (Appendix III). The sites of Indian Reserves thus became the sites of ethnographic "winter villages," and their geographic locations would become the focal point of ethnographers' seasonal rounds model for Coast Salish land tenure.

Coast Salish village structures and layout of the of pre-contact, early contact time are generalized to this model: large, permanent, multi-sectional shed-roof houses, built row-by-row in parallel with water, within proximity of a fresh water source, occupied in 'winter' (although

some acknowledged summer occupation) (e.g. Barnett 1938, 119; Suttles 1974[1951], 256-7). A reading of specific ethnographies, however, identifies the consistent points of agreement in this village model as being a 1. winter occupation, and 2. having *permanent* structures. Otherwise there is considerable differentiation in the size of houses (Barnett 1955, 43; Suttles 1991, 212), their number and arrangement at a particular location (Barnett 1955, 43; Jenness 1935, 52; Rozen 1978; Suttles 1990, 462), and the style in which houses were constructed up into the mid-to-late nineteenth century (Jenness 1935, 37; Suttles 1990, 462).

The living structure(s) in a Coast Salish village prior to contact is known in English as the shed-roof house, a type of cedar plank house, of which none functioning as primary dwellings had actually been seen by ethnographers—but had been documented by late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century explorers (Simon Fraser, Kane, Juan de Fuca) (Jenness 1935, 40-41). This shed-roof style structure was, however, used by non-Salishan groups, and “many of the Coast Salish used other types [of houses]” (Suttles 1991, 214). Suttles (1991) observed that while “shed-roof” has diminutive connotations, these were quite substantial structures (Barnett 1938).<sup>24</sup> Yet in spite of their size, wall planks and roof mats could be easily dismantled for relocation to another home (Suttles 1991, 212). This was suited to a lifestyle where individuals had access to or joint ownership of multiple properties some distance from one another.

Concerning house structures and society, Barnett (1955) wrote that the shed-roof house was one of two regional styles associated with a lower social class of people (1955, 35). Suttles (1991, 214), however, argued that the shed-roof house was the residence of choice in Coast

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<sup>24</sup>House dimensions may range between 46’ by 23’ (near Hope, BC) to 520’ by 60’ by 15’ (height, front) (Agate Pass, Old Man House c.1815-1850s) to 640’ by 60’ (w) by 18’ (height, front) (Stalo, near Westminster, BC c.1808). The largest documented cedar wall planks spanned 3.5 – 4.5’ wide, and were between 20’ and 40’ long. Posts were “round logs, split logs, or more often, logs squared off to form heavy slabs two or three feet wide and six or more inches thick” (Suttles 1991, 213, emphasis added).

Salish society prior to European contact, having “provided flexible space for a multifamily household... the most important social group in Coast Salish society”. In larger structures, several partitions or wall dividers could be used to distinguish between the sections occupied by different households (Boas 1891, 564) which may have been single families (Suttles 1991, 214). “All but the smallest of houses consisted of several sections, commonly two, four, six or more” (215). The large shed-roof structures, such as those at Agate Pass and the Stó:lō house near New Westminster (see note 5), “may have been essentially rows of houses end to end, each house holding a separate household” (216). The shed-roof house allowed for easy construction or dismantling of houses, and as such, it could be expanded to accommodate new families or reduced in the departure or ‘permanent’ relocation of families (212). The flexibility of dwelling structures parallels the flexibility of Coast Salish social organization and property systems.

In addition to living quarters, these large structures could also be used to host events with families from neighbouring communities. For Klallam, Twana and Lushootseed bands, southern Coast Salish groups, Suttles describes how

potlatches were hosted by men with special vision power for it, and the biggest houses are said to have been constructed especially for potlatches. Old Man House and other big houses in this region were referred to as "potlatch houses." Such houses were reportedly built for the occasion and dismantled afterwards (Gibbs 1877:215), and some or most were never used as dwellings (Eells 1985:64; Elmendorf 1960:153-4). (1991, 219)

What are often called “big houses” had a similar function for the Central Coast Salish as an important site of gathering (1991, 218), which could be occupied at different times of the year and thus not exclusively winter (Mitchell 1979).

## **Camps**

Few ethnographers have specifically addressed the problematic connotations of the term “camp” in ethnographies of Pacific Northwest coastal communities. For the Iskut (a group of the

Tahltan) peoples of the upper Stikine River (Pacific Northwest interior), Tad McIlwraith spells out this problem quite clearly in his note on the use of *camping* to describe Iskut hunting residences:

when outsiders hear ‘going ‘camping’’ they may think of a weekend trip by car to any one of a number of possible locations. For the Iksut, camps are in effect homes; indeed, the Tahltan word *kime* means both camp and home. Hunting camps are the symbolic of Iskut’s permanent presence on the local landscape. Camps are places where families interact, pursue productive activities such as hunting and construction, and think about and encounter ancestors. (2012, 139n30)

McIlwraith’s clarification of the term “camp” clearly marks them as a type of home that is significant to Iskut sense of identity and connection to the land, contrasting with discourses of “camp” in earlier Coast Salish ethnographies. In these ethnographies, the term *camp* has been employed to refer to any type of locale that is not the “winter village”. The activity of Central Coast Salish peoples when not at their “winter villages,” in particular for the southern Gulf Islands is consistently discussed in generalized terms of families (unnamed) or residence groups (named), with imprecise references to location,<sup>25</sup> and references to particular resources and the season during which they were acquired.

The ethnographic record on specific sites or localities of camp type occupations for *Hul’q’umi’num’*-speaking peoples is relatively thin. “Camps” in the southern Gulf Islands include Prevost Island (Arnett 1999; Barnett 1955, 22; Rozen 1985, 119) and Annett Inlet on its northwest end (Rozen 1985, 119); Active Pass (Arnett 1999; Moon 1984, 39-40; Suttles 1974[1951], 27); around Mayne Island (Jenness 1935, 9); around Salt Spring Island (Jenness 1935, 9) Ganges Harbour, Salt Spring Island (Mayne 1862, 246-7); north end of Salt Spring Island (Arnett 1999); Bedwell Harbour area, Pender Islands (Barnett 1955, 22; Rozen 1985,

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<sup>25</sup>with the notable exception of Lulu Island or Boundary Bay summer habitations

244); Pender Canal (Moon 1984, 14); Mortimer Spit, North Pender Island (1984, 31-2); south end of Mayne Island (Rozen 1985, 244); and East Point, Saturna Island (1985, 244).

Camp is a term used to describe multiple types of settlements in the ethnographic literature. It is applied to places occupied seasonally in spring, summer or fall (Barnett 1938, 119; Jenness 1935, 54; Rozen 1985, 242; Suttles 1974[1951], 256), for “temporary” (a few nights) (Barnett 1955, 39) or longer-term (several weeks) stays. A camp can be occupied by a family or extended kin group (Mitchell 1979; Suttles 1974[1951], 261), individuals with particular skills and abilities (Barnett 1955, 22) or multiple families from the same or different winter residencies. Concerning the latter, Suttles (1951, 271) stated that “the families that shared the winter house did not necessarily move together during the rest of the year. Even when families joined at fishing locations, the composition of this group was not necessarily the same as that of the winter group.” Such aggregations of ‘families’ were most certainly *hwunutsaluwum*, suggesting strongly that such ‘camp’ locales thus constituted corporate group property.

There is considerable variability in seasonality, social composition and duration of occupation for the “camp” settlement type. Accordingly, the term “camp” is applied to a number of different habitations. Suttles (1974[1951], 261) describes for the *Saanich* (W̱SÁNEĆ) how a seasonal camp could be temporary small houses with mats put over pole framework; one-family structures at hunting or trolling camps; larger (multi-family) structures for reef-net locations. In his regional synthesis on Coast Salish peoples, Barnett describes several sorts of “summer habitations” (elsewhere he refers to these as “camps”),

ranging from simple, non-descript branch lean-tos and wickiups for one-night stands, to structures having frameworks like those of the winter houses. Where conditions were favourable, the largest and wealthiest families built permanent frameworks at their camp grounds which they covered with planks or bark. (1955, 39)

Given the “upper class” was the best represented (largest in terms of proportion of population) social strata of Coast Salish peoples at this period (Suttles 1963, 38), we might reasonably infer that many Coast Salish families or households had built permanent frameworks at more than one of their properties.

Significantly, ethnographers explain how a camp could be the site of a *temporary* structure (fully dismantled after use) or of *permanent* structures (Barnett 1955, 39, 241; Jenness 1935, 40-41; Mitchell 1979, 97; Suttles 1991, 216). Jenness explains,

It was the custom of the Saanich, along with other Coast Salish Indians, to remove the wall-boards of their houses in summer and use them for temporary shelters at fishing and other camps where they intended to stay for several weeks. That explains why in many places earlier navigators saw only the frames of houses, and imagined the settlements had been abandoned—as, indeed, they were, though only for two or three months. On brief journeys, when it was not convenient to freight heavy house planks, the Indians contented themselves with a few rush mats thrown over some cross-poles. (1935, 40-41)

In his statistical analysis of ethnographically-documented seasonal settlements and village aggregation patterns on the Central Northwest Coast, archaeologist Donald Mitchell defines camps according to this criteria: “small settlements consisting of one or a few houses that used permanent house frames or were erected each season from the ground up” (1979, 97). The permanent house frames, re-dressed each season with cedar plank walls and mat roofs from another dwelling (presumably the *winter* one), was a practice Barnett sees as particular to the Cowichan, Nanaimo and Saanich groups—in contrast to neighbouring Musqueam (mainland BC) and Comox (northern Vancouver Island), who left in place the walls and roofs of their summer dwellings year-long (1955, 40). The socio-cultural scope of this practice is generally corroborated by Hill-Tout, who stated that dwellings are essentially the same for Lekwungen, Delta Salish and Cowichan (in Maud 1978, 134).

Although the ethnographic documentation on the composition and precise locations of camps is lacking, there are number of “camp” locales documented for the Hul’qumi’num in the southern Gulf Islands. Sometimes particular residential groups or the social composition of the camp are indicated, pointing in some cases to the use of these places by people of different communities, in particular Hul’qumi’num and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples, for this area (Moon 1984, 39-40; Rozen 1985; Suttles 1974[1951], 27). Rarely do ethnographers specify the types of dwellings or settlements at specific locales, though it is likely inferred that they are so form of non-permanent structures (as per the seasonal rounds model). There is mention of technologies used to acquire particular “resources”, such as halibut, salmon, sea mammals, herring and bivalves, and the season of occupation—typically not winter.

### **The Seasonal Rounds Model**

In the dominant narrative of the "seasonal rounds," the winter village is the analytical unit upon which the pattern of Coast Salish peoples' movements throughout their lands is constructed. I contrast two different framings of village and camp in the context of the seasonal circulations to different locales to suggest the constructedness of this narrative.

From the perspective of Barnett (1938, 1955),<sup>26</sup> the movement of Coast Salish peoples begins at the "winter village," the focal point of Coast Salish social organization and properties. From the winter village, undefined groupings of people “disperse” to “camps” in the spring and summer to meet a variety of objectives, particularly the gathering and preservation of foods and

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<sup>26</sup>For Barnett, the village is the “foci, the winter retreats, of semi-sedentary groups who counted and preserved their distinctness by reason of this habit of seasonal convergence. With the coming of spring the inhabitants of each center radiated over its acknowledged territory, setting up shelters at favored spots for clamming, egg gathering, and fishing” (1938, 119).

other supplies for winter. Admittedly, the details concerning time spent elsewhere than the winter residence was not well documented:

I have no information upon the range of exploitation of the individual Cowichan villages. Very likely they all traveled over the same territory according to the season but recognized, as did other groups elsewhere, more particular property distinctions at the various common resorts (1955, 20).

To his credit, Barnett then overviews the months, resources and general locations of the “Cowichan” seasonal round. However, he did not name any “individual Cowichan villages,” let alone the identities of movements of families or households embarking to North Pender, Mayne and Salt Spring Islands for resource procurement. Barnett does explain the limitations of his contributors’ knowledge as the limit to his own understandings.

I cannot say whether my Sanetch [sic], Maskwiam [sic], Cowichan, and Nanaimo informants were at fault in not remembering family hunting- and gathering-land rights, or whether the partitioning of food-gathering sites among them was less clearly defined than amongst other groups. The Sanetch families who migrated to Boundary Bay for the summer fishing did mark off fishing lanes for individual families by the use of cedar-block buoys; but otherwise details concerning family food gathering sites among these groups were almost completely lacking (1955, 252).

Here is where historical and methodological context is again important. Barnett had only one “Cowichan informant” to represent the “Cowichan,” an identity applied to different compositions of Hul’qumi’num local groups depending on the source of information. At the time of this research was conducted, the transformative processes of colonial land policy and displacement of Coast Salish peoples was essentially complete—in some cases, one hundred years or more had passed since family-owned locales had been expropriated.

There was an absence of precise *data* on the socio-political contexts upon which people would aggregated and disperse and on individuals and family motivations or impetus to attend particular places, which early ethnographers oft reduced to economics, and more specifically

subsistence needs. The model is, however, accurate to the extent of people aggregating and dispersing at particular locales at different times, for different reasons.

Mitchell's (1979) introduction to a statistical study of seasonal aggregations and dispersal offers a different frame of reference, where the "village" represents a period of aggregation by households. From this perspective, *hwunutsaluwum* come together at a locale of shared residency (though not in the same house), typically in winter, and then depart to other locales for some period as a function of managing social and kin relations, economic activities and cultural practices. This view is more consistent with that of Hul'qumi'num elders, whose motivation for attending different places was not simply, and in many cases not at all, a matter of economics. Mitchell's perspective grants agency to Coast Salish peoples prior to European contact by opening the possibility that locales frequented in other seasons were significant to Coast Salish peoples, for different reasons. Although his discussion is actually focused on the movement of winter residences, he does give Coast Salish peoples' credit that the group occupying or associated with the winter residence was not the most significant political or even social group.

In sum, the locales of substantially-sized, permanent dwellings constituting residential occupation were selected by colonial authorities as the location of reserves and the legitimate site of Indigenous land ownership. Later in the post-European contact period, these locales on the south east coast of Vancouver Island gained currency by ethnographers as the late pre-contact locations of "winter villages," marginalizing the importance of corporately-held property at highly productive resource locales, some of which ethnographers have documented as "camps" located in the southern Gulf Islands. By shifting our analytical unit to the *social group* of the *hwunutsaluwum* or extended kin family, we both displace the centrality of the winter village residence group and at the same time as bring into view the settlement type of the *house*. This

seems appropriate given there are many words in *Hul'q'umi'num* to describe dwellings, but there is no word for “village” (Arnett 1999; Jenness, 1935; Thom 2005, 280n44). Nor does the term “seasonal camp” originate from a Salishan language term. These English-language terms come with baggage that may not correspond to pre-European contact Coast Salish understandings of their own settlement types. Suttles (1963) alludes to this in his critique of policy makers using the “village” (with all the trappings of European society this term includes) as the key unit around which to promote social development. The reservation of some Coast Salish peoples’ properties was at the level of the residence group. Indigenous peoples in the mid-nineteenth century would undertake activities or practices associated with farms or plantations in order to meet the colonists’ criteria for settlement, and to protect these localities from settler pre-emption. It was a desirable shift for colonial officials, whose project of assimilation was informed by the conviction of the moral superiority of settled lifestyles (Seed 2001) and which required constraining the mobility of Indigenous peoples (Raibmon 2007), thus inhibiting or compromising the management of their multiple properties at some distance from one another. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, anthropologists used reserves as a unit to construct property relations. They applied the term “village” to Indian Reserves, suggesting their nostalgia for a pre-Industrial-era European peasant social order. It certainly seems to be bound up in the social evolutionary view of Indigenous peoples’ lifestyles as less progressive (“evolved”) than their industrializing, settler counterparts. Central Coast Salish peoples’ residences, sociality and organization stood to model that out of which Europeans had evolved. In this way, the “village” as with its “reserve” contemporary functions to deny the coevalness (Fabian 1983, 23) of Coast Salish peoples by placing them in another time. The same critique of the village holds for archaeological interpretation, as I will argue in the next chapter.

### **Narrative Reproduction: Ethnography in Archaeological Reports**

The value of ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources in archaeology should be for their potential to enhance the interpretation of past lifeways at an ancestral place (Grier 2007; Stahl 1993).

Ethnographies are too often treated as fact repositories for of “facts” to be mined in the ethnographic report sections of CRM grey literature.<sup>27</sup> This is evident, I argue, by examination if and how provincial archaeological reports deal with the more challenging subjects of post-European contact historical context and the complexity of Coast Salish social organization.

Problematically, only 14 (46.6 percent) of CRM reports explicitly state that Coast Salish peoples used and or occupied the Gulf Islands in the post-European contact period. This oversight by one half of the authors is not insignificant. It reflects the idea that these places were not settled or that they were “abandoned” prior to European contact. Only 8 (26.7 percent) selected CRM reports mentioned colonialism and its implications for interpreting ethnography, and even these were cautiously worded around the links between pre-and post-colonial Coast Salish territorial relations. Pratt (2011, 5), for instance, cautions that “aboriginal societies underwent significant changes as a result of their contact with Europeans, and some cultural aspects reported in the literature may not accurately reflect those cultures prior to contact.” We can infer that she means here the loss of use and occupation of many sites throughout the region. In the introduction of the first extensive archaeological survey of the Gulf Islands, Acheson *et al.* (1975, 11) implicated the uncritical use of DHA for inferring settlement and subsistence patterns: “Problems, however, begin to arise with ethnographic accounts and its often direct application to

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<sup>27</sup>Of the 39 provincial permit reports identified in RAAD and PARL and retrieved through PARL for archaeological sites within the section of the study area overlapping with HTG statement of intent boundary (Appendix III), 9 (23.0 percent) did not have report sections of ethnographic, site-specific information. The calculations on ethnographic report sections are for the total number of reports containing ethnographic report sections, or 30 out of 39 reports. The statistics presented here are descriptive. The sample size is too small for these results to be statistically significant.

the prehistoric situation. In the case of settlement and subsistence patterns, historical perspective has often been forsaken for cultural continuity.” The ethnographic analogy—disrupted by colonialism—is limited in its power to inform archaeological interpretations of culture and settlement change in the Gulf of Georgia region (Grier 2007; Hanson 1991; Moon 1985; Moss 2011; Stahl 1993).

Regional specialist archaeologists spoke to the general absence of colonial period history and colonial processes in CRM reports. One contributor referred to this as a lack of historical consciousness among archaeologists who are simply not interested in colonial period history because it’s not *their* history (anonymous specialist archaeologist, unpublished interview, July 21, 2015). An important limitation to including historic-period information about First Nations’ peoples is its perceived absence in the documentary record—though some admit that such information may exist in undocumented oral histories (Duncan McLaren, unpublished interview, April 15, 2015; Eric McLay, unpublished interview, February 23, 2016; Morley Eldridge, unpublished interview, June 30, 2015).

Concerning all 39 CRM reports reviewed, there is a point in time where narratives of territoriality become firmed up as exclusively occupied traditional territories after 1993 (the inaugural year of the BC Treaty Process). Prior to 1993, 2 reports use the language of “traditional territory” (Carlson 1986; Hutchings and Maxwell 1987) and 1 of “linguistic division” (Wilson 1987) to describe their respective study areas. All 3 of which locate the WSÁNEĆ or “Straits linguistic division” in the southern Gulf Islands. From 1993 onwards, 11 out of 17 reports describe Coast Salish peoples pre-contact connections to the site area as Saanich “traditional territory,” “traditional aboriginal territory,” “asserted traditional territories,” or “territory.” Only 6 reports recognize the southern Gulf Islands as shared territory. The language of “consultative

boundaries” (Pratt 2011) appears in only one report, despite how it seems to best relay the fact of uncertainty by the state as to which First Nations the lands slated for development are ancestrally significant. The use of language in post-1993 reports of “traditional territories” reflects the state’s requirement that bands participating in contemporary treaty negotiations articulate ancestral to present-day territorial connections in terms of exclusive use and occupancy.

The relatively new concept of “exclusive use” of lands by individual bands (or First Nations) emerged ironically at the time of our disciplinary grappling with the constructedness of anthropological units of analysis. I label the ethnographers playing into this concept as the New Sheriffs in Town, who work in both academic and commercial contexts. In the latter, they are contracted directly by government and archaeologists to write ethnographic reports and report sections, or their publications are consulted directly as *de facto* ethnohistories of contemporary groups. In CRM reports dating from 1993 onwards (17), 10 specifically cite the ethnohistoric works of Bouchard and Kennedy (1996) and Kennedy et al. (1993), who made a case for exclusive W̱SÁNEĆ territory in the southern Gulf Islands around the date where Aboriginal title “crystallizes” in 1846 (SCC 1997 Delgamuukw).<sup>28</sup> These ethnohistories leave little uncertainty on whose traditional territories archaeology is being conducted.

The use of other sources which do not make politically-motivated territorial claims leads to more than one interpretation. Suttles (1990), for instance, is cited to establish the territory of a First Nation as this boiler-plated ethnographic report excerpt makes clear:

The Handbook of North American Indians is a standard reference for an overview of First Nations culture and traditional territory for Northwest Coast First Nation groups. In this volume, the study area is identified as being within Northern Straits territory. (Suttles 1990

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<sup>28</sup>This choice to frame connections in exclusive terms perhaps stands paradoxically against the choice elsewhere, and for other groups, to be represented in terms of interrelatedness and shared lands (Kennedy 2007). This framing by Bouchard and Kennedy is perhaps a business decision, a conscious choice to align with the interests of the fiduciary.

in O'Neill 2006, 6; 2007, 6; Wilson 2006, 9)

Suttles (1990) can also be cited to make a case for the contrary, that rights to productive resource locales were established by individuals through ties to resident and extended-kin groups (e.g. Mathews 2005). Seven reports (out of 17) cite ethnographic sources that point to ancestral connections to the Gulf Islands by numerous communities (such as the W̱SÁNEĆ, Tsawwassen, Hul'qumi'num, Lummi and Malahat). Among the latter group of reports, 2 cited well-known ethnographic works by Barnett, Jenness, and Suttles to acknowledge the complexity of central Coast Salish social organization, such as the creation of inter-village ties through marriage, leading to "a co-operative system for resource procurement, including shared access to specific resource locations and shared labour" (Arcas Consulting Archaeologists 2003).

The 5 remaining reports incorporated lesser-cited ethnographic works (e.g. Boas 1887; Rozen 1985; Thom 2005a), problematizing the language of exclusive territory. For example, North Pender Island may have been an "overlapping" use areas by W̱SÁNEĆ and Hul'qumi'num peoples (Mason 1994, 2), and the Nanaimo, Chemainus, Cowichan, Saanich and Songhees "owned and shared resources in the southern Gulf Islands" (Stafford 2008, 4).

Consulting reports (and some academic work, e.g. Clark 2013) reproduce the Gulf Islands "seasonal camp" narrative. For the 39 CRM reports reviewed, 8 did not contain ethnographic sections about First Nation peoples. Of the remaining 31 reports, 17 (54.8 percent) cited seasonal (spring, fall and or summer) use, 5 used the language of "camp," "campsites," or "lean-tos," while 7 used either "dispersal through" or "travelled through," to describe Coast Salish pre-contact connections to the southern Gulf Islands. Thirteen (41.9 percent) referred to mainland and Vancouver Island settlements as "winter villages." The framing of mid-twentieth century ethnographies has been replicated, not necessarily adapted, in the framing of

archaeological interpretation and language. This in turn has been reproduced through time, naturalizing the camp-village distinction that continues to do work in contemporary and commercial contexts of archaeology on private property in the Gulf Islands.

### **Closing Remarks**

In the present-day, the terms “camp” and “village” have flowed out into other discourses, specifically that of the consulting archaeology grey literature and those of the Gulf Islands National Park Reserve. However, the nuance afforded by some ethnographic descriptions of Coast Salish “camps” has not been taken into account in many of these reproductions. The insight by McIlwraith (2012) that Iskut “camps” have ephemeral connotations is the same for Central Coast Salish “camps;” in that these are not perceived as a type of *home*. There are material consequences to the reproduction of these terms (Cruikshank 2005). They negate Hul’qumi’num peoples’ understandings of their own place-based connections. They result in differences in land management decisions for places outside of Central Coast Salish First Nations’ authority and jurisdiction. They also perpetuate territorial dispossession, as labelling a place “camp” or a “village” has direct legal consequences for recognition of unceded Aboriginal title. This point is further examined in the conclusion of Chapter 5.

## Chapter 5: Archaeological Narratives of Hul'qumi'numMustimuhw Territories and Territorialities

Coast Salish peoples were not the primary authors of the popular and public narratives about their territories and territorialities that have come to dominate public and state perspectives. Such narratives emerged from discourses of early colonial land policy, and were reproduced in ethnographic and ethnohistoric texts written through the late-nineteenth to late-twentieth centuries. Roy (2010) argued in a nearby Coast Salish case that anthropological and state narratives of Musqueam peoples' pre-contact territory and territoriality legitimized Musqueam territorial dispossession. This raises the important challenge of: “who claims the authority to assign meaning to the ancestral remains and cultural objects taken from these places?” (2010, 8). Foregrounding this chapter is a non-comprehensive, though illustrative review of the institutionalization of archaeology in British Columbia, to show how academic anthropologists have long been privileged as authors of Coast Salish peoples' history.

I weave in the insights of eight regional archaeologists who have worked in the Gulf of Georgia, and particularly in the Gulf Islands. These discussions reveal specific challenges for archaeological interpretation since its commercialization in the 1980s, leading me to argue that the kind of archaeology practiced in the context of a competitive market has gradually and almost completely forsaken historical knowledge production for profits and provincial economic development.

I then conduct a discursive analysis of dominant narratives produced by the actors and institutions who have exercised authorship over Coast Salish peoples' deep and recent histories in the southern Gulf Islands. The *seasonal rounds* narrative for Coast Salish peoples living in the Gulf of Georgia region was constructed on “village” and “camp” settlement types; where language of “abandonment” (Watkins 2006) and “dispersal” structure movement through space,

and “temporary” and “permanent” characterize movement through time. Ethnographic and ethnological publications have been of particular interest to regional processual-era archaeologists reconstructing the pre-European contact history of Coast Salish peoples. Sometimes ethnographies were commissioned by university departments of archaeology for the purpose of determining “who occupied the islands in most recent times and to get the location of village and camp sites” (Suttles 1974[1951], i). This information would become a baseline dataset used to develop patterns of long-term cultural and economic change. In that “camp” and “village” are equivocal is a significant critique applicable to archaeological narratives. Deconstruction of these narratives attends to how these terms and others have been developed in archaeological model building, and replicated in the grey literature of provincial CRM.

In the present-day, the reification and reproduction of these types have effects (Cruikshank 2005). Labelling a place “camp” or a “village” has direct legal consequences for recognition of unceded Aboriginal title. The popularized seasonal rounds narrative for the Gulf of Georgia region posits “camps” as the characteristic settlement for the southern Gulf Islands since approximately 2,200 BP. This narrative has been challenged by archaeologists focused on sites in the Gulf of Georgia region, who have been working in a long-term and researching capacity, but continues to be reproduced in the grey literature of consulting archaeology, more commonly referred to as cultural resource management (CRM). As CRM represents the dominant mode of archaeology in the Northwest Coast in recent times (La Salle and Hutchings 2012; Nicholas 2006), 39 archaeological reports (Appendix III)<sup>29</sup> for sites in the southern Gulf

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<sup>29</sup>Archaeology and its publications vary in objective, methodology and scope. These include archaeological impact assessments (AIA), archaeological impact surveys (AIS), archaeological surveys, archaeological inventories, archaeological heritage impact assessments and archaeological monitoring.

Islands were examined for how the dominant narratives are *reproduced*, the majority of which were conducted at North and South Pender Islands.

### **A Brief Review of Culture History, Processualism and Post-Processualism in North America**

Archaeological work and publications in the 1960s to 1980s continue to influence archaeological interpretation in the region. I review syntheses of history of archaeology in North America by Bruce Trigger (1989) and Mathew Johnson (1999), tracing the major assumptions underpinning the study of cultures and cultural change across currents known as Culture History, the New Archaeology (processualism) and Post-processualism. I pay particular attention to the development of the world prehistory project as part of a processual and scientific archaeology associated with the New Archaeology. Post-processualist critiques bring into view how world prehistory until recently, has been conceived in social evolutionary terms. I consider the implications for the typological framing of time in archaeological discourses of prehistory, and for the typification of lifestyles in relation to steps in a pathway towards complexity.

Culture-historical archaeology in North America (circa early twentieth century) espoused a normative view of culture, which saw artifacts as the manifestation of cultural norms: the ideas in people's heads which "define what 'culture' is" (Johnson 1999, 14). "Archaeological cultures" and cultural chronologies were construed upon concepts in Boasian anthropology, cultural evolutionism and evolutionary ethnology from the preceding and overlapping period (Trigger 1989, 145, 399). Culture-historians made use of evolutionary ethnologists nineteenth-century cultural evolutionary schemes (1989, 399) or "styles of thought" (Fabian 1983, 30) of "savagery, barbarism, and civilization" (e.g. Morgan 1877; Tyler 1871), reviving the Enlightenment view of (essentially) non-European societies as "uncivilized."

Henry Lewis Morgan's idea that native cultures "of the entire New World were inherently primitive and had been static throughout prehistoric times" (Trigger 1989, 121) informed the view of pre-European contact "archaeological cultures" as synchronic, and cultural change as a result of either the diffusion of *traits* (observable, material artefacts) from other societies (Johnson 1999, 18) or from human migrations (Trigger 1989, 194). "Archaeological cultures" and cultural traits were identified and developed through the comparative method of measuring "quantitative similarities" and correlating archaeological "data," largely consisting of tools and artifacts (1989, 191).

Trigger explains how archaeological cultures

were viewed as forming mosaics, in which each unit had its own empirically defined spatial and temporal limits. Cultures, as well as artifact types, were viewed as persisting, possibly with slow modifications, to form traditions, or spreading geographically to create cultural horizons, which were one of the devices used to align traditions chronologically. (1989, 192)

Culture-historical archaeology produced descriptive narratives that lacked explanatory power (Johnson 1999, 17). Moreover, the comparative method was thought to "[permit] the "equal" treatment of human culture at all times and in all places" (Fabian 1983, 16-17), but it required a "radical naturalization of time" which assumed "positivist neutrality and detachment" from archaeological objects of analysis (1983, 17). The New Archaeology of the 1950s emerged out of this need explanation, and was concerned with adopting positivist approaches and use of the scientific method to study archaeological pasts. The view of diffusing, static cultures was supplanted by a view of adaptive, dynamic cultures. Processualism, a current emerging from the the New Archaeology in the 1950s and 60s studied *internal processes* to explain sociocultural change, those "regularized" human responses and adaptations to external (environmental)

determinants, which “[took] the form of generalizations about systemic change and cultural evolution” (Trigger 1989, 296). The emphasis on cultural evolution put

conscious stress on generalities rather than particularities. Cultures might differ in their specific forms of jewelry and house type, one pottery style might zig and the other zag. But both societies might be comparable on the same level on an evolutionary scale. So we could generalize about, say, the evolution of state level societies from chiefdom level societies, without worrying too much about the different art styles or pottery decoration in each case. (Johnson 1999, 22)

Influential theoretical frameworks for this period were cultural materialism and cultural ecology, high-level theories (Trigger 1989, 22) which see “natural” processes (i.e. environmental factors, such as climate and temperature) as determinants of cultural change. Sociocultural change was viewed as sequential and directional, where “cultures” were “evolving” from simple to complex (Johnson 1999, 22). Pre-European contact “cultures” were classified in a *phase* of an evolutionary sequence of social, political or economic orders. Unilinear evolutionary schemes of politics, such as “band, tribe chiefdom, and state” (Fried 1967 in Trigger 1989, 292) informed and paralleled the construction (and in some cases, reproduction) of economic, evolutionary classification schemes: hunter-gatherers, nomadic pastoralists, agrarian societies, state societies (e.g. Service 1966). This particular scheme has had troubling implications for Stó:lō Coast Salish communities in British Columbia, where it was used to argue that their economies were not sufficiently “evolved” enough to have commercial fishing rights (Pinkoski 2008).

The interest in origins of human societies and cross-cultural comparisons is marked by numerous studies and publications seeking to identify and explain the essential characteristics of “hunter-gatherers” and small-scale societies (Binford 1980; Service 1966; Steward 1955). The evolutionary view of culture as a system holds that if a single part of the system is determined, then the rest of the system can be predicted (Trigger 1989, 393). Technology (tools) and subsistence (fauna/flora) were parts of the system most closely related to environment, and the

*culture core* of cultural ecologist and ethnologist Julian Steward (1955). Sociocultural evolutionary modeling was posited on the technology and subsistence data from so-called simple societies because it was thought their lifestyles were most directly shaped by the environment compared with “complex” societies. The analogical reasoning of the DHA was used to compare archaeological cultures and ethnographically-documented peoples, but largely used to establish the similarities between them. Selected for their studies were both ethnographically-documented communities and communities contemporaneous to *ethnoarchaeological* research (e.g. Binford 1978) which were seen as “more or less” like their pre-European contact ancestors.

Despite critiques of Culture History, New Archaeologists relied on and reproduced some of the same problematic temporal assumptions in the reconstructions of archaeological prehistory. Hierarchical cultural evolutionary schemes naturalized the distinction between non-Europeans and Europeans in terms of mental progress. The cultural-historical synchronic view of cultures reproduced the notion that the “Other” was fixed on a lower stage of the evolutionary scheme, with cultural change attributed to external influences. New Archaeologists returned to cultural evolution, construed now as social evolution, and essentially reproduced and extended culture-historical typological classifications to argue for the environmentally-driven, more or less unilinear evolution of polities (bands, tribes, chiefdoms, states) and economies or lifestyles (hunter-gatherer, pastoralist, agriculturalist, industrialist). The study of “simple societies,” specifically societies labelled as “hunter-gatherers” was framed as a scientific endeavor. Processualists reified these classifications in the world prehistory project of generating universally comparable cultures and predictive models.

Post-processualism, also called contextual archaeology, emerged from questioning the “science” of the New Archaeology and its claims to objectivity and universalism in the project of

world prehistory. Archaeological models and some of its concepts are epistemologically biased, and this is evident by examining how archaeologists espousing different theoretical views define and apply archaeology's key conceptual tools differently, such as the *archaeological record* (Patrik 1985). Paralleling the Writing Culture movement in Anthropology, archaeologists were cognizant of the spectrum of possible interpretations of material culture, and some explored these different avenues while rejecting "one conclusion that explains everything" (Johnson 1999, 107), and to recognize the politics inherent of archaeological interpretation (1999, 107). Seemingly valid cross-cultural generalizations were made between non-European societies, which deflected from looking at "Native American tradition in its own right" (1999, 108). Very little academic archaeology and CRM in British Columbia have followed the post-processual approach.

Indigenous peoples' voices have been entering archaeological discourses and narratives from a growing acknowledgment for a multiplicity of views on the past (Johnson 1999, 107). This current has come to known as *Indigenous archaeology* and is broadly concerned with decolonizing archaeology (e.g. Nicholas 2006, 2008, 2014). Decolonizing archaeology has involved, for example, re-jigging of the concepts used to describe Indigenous peoples for the period of cultural entanglements with Europeans (Silliman 2014) and for framings and scales of time (Jordan 2014) used to study the transition into the so-called historic period. There is an absence of serious focus on the so-called historic period by archaeologists (Liebman 2012), a period which has often been defined by colonialism and by extension frames Indigenous peoples' identities in these of being colonized (Jordan 2014). In a nearby Coast Salish case, long-term collaborative relationships with Sq'éwelts peoples supported their views in the re-lexification of certain archaeological concepts and terms to describe cultural objects, ancestral peoples and places in a public-facing website, with implications for "anthropological

conventions of naming and knowing as they relate to Indigenous histories” (Lyons et al. 2016, abstract). Very little Indigenous archaeology is happening in my study area, and even nearby (e.g. Grier 2006, 2014; Mathews 2014; Roy 2010) works are not taken into account in the dominant archaeological discourses, especially in CRM.

Historical archaeology was influenced by the linguistic/literary turn, and has been taken up largely in colonial contexts of Africa and North America (Johnson 1999, 155).<sup>30</sup> In the study of the “historic period,” or the period of literacy and the written word, other types of evidence, such as written records and oral traditions, are explored as sources to support reconstructing archaeological pasts. The notion of cultural continuity through the period of cultural entanglements was either problematized or rejected by archaeologists with recognition of colonialism, and context, such as the reality of inter-societal contact prior to and at the period of European-contact (Trigger 1989, 334; Wolf 1982). Attention to such contexts questions the validity of the *uniformitarian assumption* used in DHA, and problematizes the framing of so-called hunter-gatherer societies contemporaneous to archaeological research as “necessarily equivalent to Palaeolithic ones” (Trigger 1989, 335). Ann B. Stahl points out that using DHA with *illustrative* analogy, it “[stresses] the similarities between prehistoric and contemporary native groups” (1993, 243) and problematically “[precludes] the likelihood that an analogue would reveal significant differences in the past” (1993, 236). Through her long-term, historical archaeology conducted in Banda (Ghana), Stahl (2001) argued that equivalences made with DHA certainly perpetuates myths of progress while entirely glossing over the situation on the ground. However, DHA can also be used in a way that does not freeze the ethnographic present

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<sup>30</sup> This contrasts to historical archaeology as an anthropological view of history (the post-European contact period) following Binford in the 1960s and 70s in North America. Historical archaeologists sought diagnostic patterns of artefacts to generalize about the societies under study, and were often concerned about the “more rigorous definitions of ethnicity based on quantitative measures” (Johnson 1999, 155).

(Stahl 2016). By using DHA with *comparative* analogy to assess, rather than assume, historical processes of continuity and change, we may “appreciate how people built on prior practice as they responded to novel circumstances—in short, to appreciate how they improvised” (2016, 5).

### **A Brief Review of Settlement Archaeology and Landscape Archaeology**

Early theorizing on settlements and settlement patterns arose in tandem with ecological archaeology in the late 1930s, when social organization was also becoming a legitimate object of archaeological study in the Americas. Studying settlement patterns over artifacts posed an advantage over studying artifacts because they provided “direct evidence about the settings in which human activities were carried out” (Trigger 1989, 282). Gordon Willey initiated the development of settlement archaeology from a functionalist approach with his pioneering study of *PreHistoric Settlement Patterns in the Viru Valley, Peru* (1953). Where ethnologist and cultural ecologist Julian Steward viewed settlement patterns as “a reflection of the general patterns of ecological adaptation” (Trigger 1989, 282), Willey viewed them for their potential to systematically study “the economic, social, and political organization of ancient societies” and “to interpret long-term social change” (1989, 282, 284). Willey relied on DHA to establish similarities in the Viru Valley between buildings and structures “that appeared to be contemporary” with those identified archaeologically in order to reconstruct patterned change over the long-term.

Settlement archaeology developed following Willey’s functionalist approach, but continued to rely on ecological studies of settlement patterns as a baseline for social and political archaeological interpretation (Trigger 1989, 286). Settlement patterns were thought of as hierarchical levels: “activity areas within structures, associated activity areas around structures, communities, and the distribution of communities across landscapes” (1989, 284-5). The factors

influencing each level were different, where “individual structures reflect family organization, settlements community structure, and spatial distributions the impact of trade, administration, and regional defense” (1989, 285). Focusing on multiple “levels” strengthened the archaeological interpretation of cultures, and challenged simplistic views attributing cultural change to a single variable (e.g. some technological development, such as irrigation agriculture) and views of cultural change as a slow and gradual (1989, 286). Significantly, they shifted from examining a single site as “representative of a single culture or region,” and instead how many sites relate to one another within a network (1989, 284). Such interests resulted in “unilineal schemes of types of community patterning,” as well as new terminological classifications for the settlement and subsistence of native North American people, such as “free wandering, restricted wandering, central based wandering, and semipermanent sedentary” (1989, 286).

Functionalist and processualist archaeology saw settlement change at the “tribal level” for its value to elucidate social change and “the origin and development of civilizations” (Trigger 1989, 286), part of the broader world prehistory project characterizing this period of archaeological thought. Lewis Binford, a neo-evolutionist and ethnoarchaeologist strongly influenced by neo-evolutionist and cultural ecologist Leslie White, pioneered the development of predictive models for archaeological manifestations of “hunter-gatherer” settlement-subsistence patterns (1980). Binford’s seminal piece *Willow Smoke and Dogs’ Tails* was particularly influential for archaeological interpretation at localities associated with highly “mobile” (as opposed to “settled”) societies. His method began with DHA. First he determined the *ethnopaleolithic* elements of the pattern (season/time, settlement type and resource), drawing from his own ethnographic research with the Nunamiut Eskimo (a circumpolar “collecting” society), and from existing ethnographic studies on the San Bushman (an equatorial “foraging

group”). In the logic of unilinear evolution, collectors are more “complex” than foragers, producing more types of settlements and slightly different settlement patterns. As such, the site formation patterns or archaeological manifestations for the two “types” of societies were also thought to be different. “Collectors” were thought to have more enduring connections place in the form of “permanent settlements,” and would reflect more “complex” archaeological assemblages (“fine grained deposits”). “Foragers,” by contrast, were associated with “less permanent” human activities/behaviours, and produced less “complex” assemblages (“coarse-grained deposits”). Binford produced a settlement-subsistence model which could apply groups characterized as collectors or foragers in specific types of environments (measured as a function of climate and temperature). The logic of patterning and site formation for hunter-gatherers has indeed been applied to the Gulf of Georgia region for Coast Salish peoples more generally, and is discussed further in the following chapter section.

In the context of the post-processualist period, landscape archaeology emerged as a focus and rejected the rational cultural ecological and functionalist perspective of “landscape-as-set-of-resources” (Johnson 1999, 103). Within household archaeology, the functionalist view which posits family structure can be derived by looking at individual structures was expanded to look at the meanings of *spaces* inside houses, “which is rarely discussed, but which are manipulated by social actors with reference to certain rules” (1999, 103). Phenomenology encouraged thinking of landscapes in a bodily metaphor, where “the physical experience of the monument affects its perception” (1999, 114) or the idea that landscapes are perceived and experienced differently by different people. A phenomenological perspective, which “posits environments as ideational constructs, where the objective conditions of the environment are mediated by or secondary to experiencing the world” (Grier 2014, 211), brings into view the context of localized histories,

and “settlements” as one of many variables in archaeological interpretation. Colin Grier, who has engaged in Indigenous archaeology on Valdes and Galiano Islands (just north of the study area) since the 1990s, has argued that cultural ecological-modeling of “hunter-gatherer” settlement patterns is challenged by recognizing the role of individuals in ancient societies as agents in the every-day and long-term construction and mediation of their landscapes (2014, 212). He argues that viewing environment in social contexts is necessary, because “without the social context, economies, social processes, are fundamentally reduced to ecologies” (2014, 212).

## **Production of Archaeological Narratives of Coast Salish Peoples and the Gulf Islands**

### **Settlement Patterns in the Gulf of Georgia Culture History Model**

Pre-European contact societies on the Pacific Northwest Coast are not exemplars of hunter-gatherers in world prehistory. Their incompatibility is discernable in the following excerpt from a volume on Northwest Coast prehistory, where archaeology for the Gulf of Georgia is generalized to a Northwest Coast model.

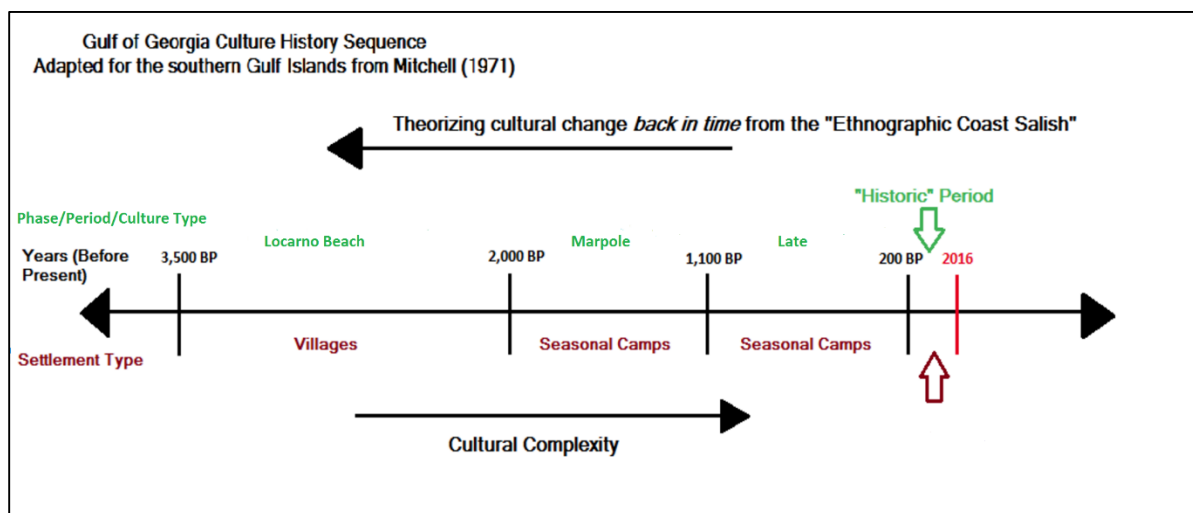
By the middle of the Marpole phase (2,000 BP–1,100/1,500 BP), the developed Northwest Coast pattern of winter villages with large planked houses, dependence on stored fish, usually salmon, abundant sophisticated art, and ascribed status, as well as seasonal moves to specialized resource procurement, had evolved. (Matson and Coupland 1994, 224)

Residential permanency, presence of social inequality and larger populations were thought to require the development or adoption/adaptation of agriculture (Ames 2014, 1613), leading to designate peoples of the Pacific Northwest coast, who were otherwise “hunting and gathering” for subsistence, as *complex hunter-gatherers* (2014, 1613).

In the 1970s, grand narratives of Northwest Coast precontact history presented the settlement type of “winter villages with large planked houses” as a trait of social complexity. This is also true for the regional model for Coast Salish archaeological history, in spite of the

challenges associated with these terms (Chapter 4). Before addressing the terminological and interpretive challenges of this assumption in regional archaeological theorizing, a brief overview of the regional archaeology concerning Coast Salish peoples pre-history is needed.

The ‘Gulf of Georgia Culture History’ (1971) was proposed by the late and locally renowned archaeologist Donald Mitchell. It is based on “culture types,” each representing a synchronic “phase” in the development of Coast Salish social complexity. Informed by functionalist and cultural ecological views, culture types or phases are arranged into an evolutionary scheme depicting Coast Salish peoples’ ancestral societies progressing from “simple” to “complex” (Figure 4).



**Figure 4: Gulf of Georgia Culture History sequence adapted from D. Mitchell (1971) for the southern Gulf Islands**

This model for social development and complexity was built on DHA, used to establish the *similarities* between ethnographically documented representations of Coast Salish individuals’ lifestyles and archaeological manifestations. Ethnographies on “ethnic groups” and

regional ethnologies<sup>31</sup> on the Coast Salish were selected as sources to construct an “ethnographic Coast Salish” culture type (Mitchell 1971, 48);<sup>32</sup> a type antecedent to the “Late period Gulf of Georgia” culture type (1,100 BP – 200 BP).

The use of DHA was limited to identifying similarities between ethnographic representations and archaeological representations—and not differences. The *uniformitarian assumption* (same conditions of past as early-contact period) was assumed to be generally true, specifically as it concerned the subsistence-technology base—specifically, the continuity of use of marine and terrestrial resources characterized by the Gulf of Georgia ecosystem. Thus in the logic of cultural ecology, the ethnographic model is applicable to the past 5,000 years of Coast Salish prehistory (Mitchell 1990, 340). The diverse and distinctive environmental and ecological regional character would have required close and complex adaptation, a process that would have happened *in situ* and over the long term (Abbott 1972, 277).

Archaeological manifestations appear to change between the Locarno Period and the Marpole Period. At least in the academic literature of this time, little in the way of concrete models had been expressed for the settlement patterns for the “Locarno Beach” period, limited by dearth of sites dated between 3,500 BP and 2,000 BP (1971, 56-60). It was inferred from the general absence of large house posts at these Gulf Islands sites that for this period “settlements do not seem to have been large” (59). There was uncertainty about the sociality of cultural groups, the size, seasonality and organization of settlements, and the relationships between settlements within a region (territory); however, Mitchell suggested that “the few clues available

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<sup>31</sup> E.g. Suttles (1963, 1974[1951], 1990), Barnett (1938, 1955), Boas (1887, 1890, 1894), Hill-Tout (1907), Duff (1952) and Jenness (2017[1935]).

<sup>32</sup> Mitchell notes that while the Gulf of Georgia Culture Type constitutes a single culture type, it has many names: Developed Coast Salish, Late, Recent, or Strait of Georgia (Mitchell 1990, 346).

on Locarno Beach society suggest more egalitarian arrangements than appear to have characterized the subsequent culture types” (Mitchell 1990, 344). This interpretation was clearly informed by social evolutionism, which would see earlier societies as “simpler” (socially equal, cooperative) than later ones (socially hierarchical, competitive) on an evolutionary scale.

The Marpole phase was characterized by a comparatively rich archaeological record, containing the telltale signs of “complexity” for the broader region; the moment which settlements in the form of “winter villages with large, planked houses” emerge in the record (Matson and Coupland 1994, 224). Archaeological interpretation changes little from the Marpole phase to the “ethnographic Coast Salish,” and sees relatively undisturbed cultural and social continuity for about 2,000 years (Abbott 1972, 277), up to the point of European contact in the early 1800s.

Subsequent to Mitchell (1971), investigations of large, stratified shell middens on Gulf Island shorelines posited a major settlement shift at around 2,000 BP, framed as a cultural shift between the Locarno Beach Period to the Marpole Period in the Gulf Islands. For the Gulf Islands, interpretation shifted from seeing these sites as “winter villages” to “seasonal or temporary camps” (e.g., *Tl'e'ult-hw* at Pender Canal [DeRt-1 and DeRt-2] [Carlson 1986; Carlson and Hobler 1993]; *Sum'nuw'* at Montague Harbour [DfRu-13] [Mitchell 1971]; Georgeson Bay [DfRu-24] [Haggarty and Sendey 1976]; *Stsa'tx* at Long Harbour [DfRu-44] [Johnstone 1988, 1989, 1991]; *Xixnetun* at Helen Point [DfRu-8] [Carlson 1970; McMurdo 1974]; Poet's Cove/Egeria Bay [DeRt-4] [Wilson *et al.* 2006]). Intensively occupied sites thought to date predominantly to the Marpole period and Late Period were labelled as “seasonal camps” (at the head of Ganges Harbour [DfRu-003] [Brolly *et al.* 1994]; *Senewelets* at False Narrows [DfRu-008] [Burley 1989]; *Shyia'hwt* at Walker Hook [Wilson *et al.* 2004]). Winter

villages once described in the Gulf Islands were in effect now largely relocated in the archaeological narrative to mainland BC and southeastern Vancouver Island.

Now the prevailing archaeological interpretation of the Gulf of Georgia Culture History suggests that apart from a few well-known (and archaeologically investigated) village sites (i.e. *Senewelts* at False Narrows [DfRu-008] [Burley 1989]; Poet's Cove/Egeria Bay [DeRt-004] [Wilson et al. 2006]; *Tl'e'ult-hw* at Pender Canal [DeRt-001 and DeRt-002] [Carlson 1986; Carlson and Hobler 1993]; *Sum'nuw'* at Montague Harbour [DfRu-013] [Mitchell 1971]; *Xixnetun* at Helen Point [DfRu-4] [McMurdo 1974]; *Stsa'tx* at Long Harbour [DfRu-44] [Johnstone 1988, 1989, 1991]) the Gulf Islands have not been intensively occupied for about 2,000 years. This has contributed substantively to the dominant narrative of ephemeral use, which has been variably reproduced over time and is prevalent in more contemporary archaeological publications, specifically CRM grey literature.

### **Challenges the Dominant Archaeological Narrative of the Processualist Era**

There is reason to question the dominant narrative that posits the southern Gulf Islands as an area for “seasonal camps” for the past 2,000 or so years. I touch on the more provocative of these reasons, beginning with an examination the elements constructing the seasonal rounds model with respect to seasonal camps and winter villages.

Although a close reading of the ethnographic literature shows how “seasonal camps” may overlap with “winter villages” in terms of their material components (Chapter 4), archaeologists have differentiated archaeologically between what constitutes a village and a camp. As an example, I consider how Johnstone (1991) draws from Suttles' (1990) ethnographic model for Cowichan peoples' seasonal rounds and occupation types, and how the Gulf Islands are thought to figure in the context of a broader settlement pattern:

*Villages* would “have *permanent dwellings* to structure the space”, with cemeteries, and infrequently fortifications, such as palisades. *Seasonal sites* consisted of *single family mat lodges* constructed on pole frameworks”, which are difficult to distinguish archaeologically from drying racks. In fall, sometimes families would bring boards with them from winter villages to make *more permanent structures* for an occupational duration of several weeks. *Temporary camps* “lacked permanent features due to the short length of use. Structures, if present, consisted of *mat lodges* or *lean to’s* on pole frameworks”. Temporary camps are characterized as being “the locus of a specific abundant resource”, such as “clam gathering locales, camas gathering camps, trolling camps, halibut fishing camps, and inland sites. (Johnstone 1991, 14-15, emphasis added)

The terminology for settlements and the pattern of “seasonal rounds” closely follows that in the ethnologies about Coast Salish peoples. The terminological choices, pattern *and* the logic of the archaeological interpretation (visible and material manifestations if a permanent structure/invisible and no material if a non-permanent feature) closely follows the hunter-gatherer model for settlement patterns proposed by Binford (1980). Binford’s comparative study had arguably reified the terminologies identified in this thesis as problematic, and it deserves attention here.

Binford used different terminologies to describe Bushman and Nunamiut settlement types; and developed one terminology based on the idealized or generalized “types” from the two case studies for his predictive model on two “types” of hunter-gatherers. The idealized “types” for foragers are the *residential base* and the *location*, where those of collectors include those of foragers—plus *field camp*, the *station*, and the *cache* (1980, 10). For the Bushmen, Binford reproduced language of the ethnographic sources he consulted: *rainy season huts*, *dry season shelters*, *camps* (1980, 6). For the Nunamiut seasonal round, Binford used the terms: *winter village*, *summer village*, and *summer residences*. For both collectors and foragers, the language of “seasonal round” describes the totality of movements between different localities and locales for the purpose of “resource procurement” (1980, 7). In this

narrative, peoples classified as “hunter-gatherers” are easily perceived as always being *on the move*, even though they clearly had settlements and resided at particular localities.

The “functionally specific” idealized types proposed by Binford are not used in regional settlement models and anthropological narratives of Central Coast Salish peoples. The term “winter village” can be considered as culturally-specific terminology for the Nunamiut *residential base*, but it is also used for the Central Coast Salish. This is problematic in that the model is constructed with environment and ecology as determinants of mobility and settlement types—and not with respect to social, political and economic factors. Nowhere does the notion of *property relations* figure in the model. Moreover, Nunamiut villagers broke off into “task groups” to procure resources within the context of a politically and economically cooperative matrilineal clan society. In the view of culture as a system, to examine settlement patterns of a society based on classificatory terminology for “collecting” hunter-gatherers may necessarily assume other similar qualities of culture and society. Coast Salish peoples, however, do not ethnographically conform to that of the Nunamiut, nor to the criteria upon which “hunter-gatherers” are classified. Trigger observes that at around the same time of Binford’s (1980) piece on *Willow Smoke and Dogs’ Tails*,

it has become evident that the more sedentary collecting societies, such as those that were encountered on the west coast of Canada in the nineteenth century, have more in common, demographically and in terms of social and political organization, with sedentary tribal agricultural societies than they do with big-game hunters. (Trigger 1989, 399)

The recognition of Pacific Northwest Coast communities as more sedentary and socially hierarchical than hunter-gatherers eventually led to the conceptualization of “complex hunter-gatherers” (Ames 2014, 1613). Within this classification, ethnographically-documented Coast Salish peoples and their lifestyles differentiate still from neighbouring coastal communities, particularly in their property systems, social organization (cognatic,

bilateral descent) and the house styles of their multiple residences (Suttles 1963, 1991). Coast Salish households and families, in contrast to the Nunamiut, left their respective residence group property on their own accord, and did not necessarily have political or economic obligations towards other households sharing the residence group. Mobility was motivated towards the success and well-being of both the *hwunulatsuwum* and the residence group. The multiple residences of the household, the household's relative autonomy with respect to the residence group, and the structuration of mobility based in part on village-exogamous relations poses problems for Binford's model, which sees the winter village as *the* residential base around which a *cooperative* group would radiate to other smaller, less permanent settlements for essentially resource-procurement tasks. The model does not apply to the ethnographically-documented Central Coast Salish people, as they could reside at number of different localities for which they had access and or rights, some of which were quite far from the shared "residential base" on the southeastern coast of Vancouver Island.

There is something dignified about calling a place a "residential site" as opposed to a "camp site." Residency implies permanency, and by extension, has connotations of property. Moreover, the term "residential site" recognizes that people *occupied* the local it references. "Camp" has ephemeral connotations due to its peripheral status relative to the village. The centrality of the winter residence is clearly implied by the position of the "winter village" as the locale from which all other "sites" radiate in the model (1980).

In terms of seasonality, the Nunamiut peoples live in a circumpolar environment, with a climate characterized by two seasons (winter and summer) (1980). The season of "winter" is similarly found in continental Europe. However, this season is not exactly characteristic of the Northwest Pacific coastal rainforest climate, but has been privileged in terms of importance for

its correspondence with a period of (perceived) sedentism that spanned winter months (Suttles 1990). Such sedentism was certainly more pronounced following Reserve creation (1850-1870s) (Raibmon 2007), which coincides with the period of ethnographic documentation. It is poignant to remark that seasonality studies and reviews by regional archaeologists point to variable seasonality of use and occupation; “seasonal camps” are also occupied in winter, and “villages” are also occupied in non-winter seasons (Grier 2007; Hanson 1991, 1995; Johnstone 1991, 14; Mitchell 1979, 99; Thom 1992; Wilson et al. 2004). An ethnology of Pacific North Coast Indigenous peoples’ patterns of seasonality of aggregation and dispersal led Donald Mitchell—the creator of the Gulf of Georgia Culture History model—to conclude that “no single [settlement] pattern dominated the central Northwest Coast and there is considerable variety in the seasonal sequence of concentration and dispersal” (1979, 99).

Binford (1980) developed this model in order to elucidate site formation processes associated with his proposed settlement types. Coast Salish peoples’ settlement patterns in terms of the “winter village” and “seasonal camp” construction generally corroborate with his proposition. As can be seen with the link between ethnographic settlement types and site formation patterns in the earlier example from Johnstone (1991, 14-15), archaeological sites with evidence of habitation structures are “villages” and those without habitation structures are either temporary or seasonal “camps”. For processualists and cultural ecologists, however, even the presence of settlement structures was not the exclusive criteria for designating a site a “village.” There was always some missing element precluding the designation of Marpole or Late period sites as “villages.” This could be from sample limitations (Haggarty and Sendey 1971, 75), the presence of exploitative (seasonal) tool assemblages (McMurdo 1974, 156), an absence of burials (1974, 160), the presence of faunal remains for non-winter species (Mitchell 1971, 220),

or the absence of the right diameter of stake molds (Brolly 1993, 53).<sup>33</sup> The result is that where the strict criteria of a “village” could not be satisfied archaeologically, representing a great diversity of “sites,” it would be labelled a “seasonal camp.” “Seasonal camp” thus appears to be the cautious default label in the absence of any one of these lines of evidence.

The binary settlement construction being used by ethnographers and ethnographies was perceived as a reliable source of data on Coast Salish peoples and lifestyles *before* the implications of colonialism for Coast Salish land tenure. In the project of generalizations, the similarities between the Late period and early post-European contact period were emphasized in DHA. The ramifications for archaeological theorizing and regional settlement modelling has been observed, but not critically integrated into the culture history for the region. In particular, the notion that Coast Salish peoples maintained the same settlement system over 2,000 years, with the implication that the Gulf islands has long been a site for “camps,” becomes untenable if population displacement and resettlement lead to a major shift in how lands were occupied and used in the 1800s—prior to ethnographic documentation.

Recalling the project of processual-era predictive modelling, Mitchell (1990, 340) broadly defined the culture types/phases out of recognition of the scale and scope of Coast Salish peoples’ mobility in support of their various properties, and significantly, the limits of the archaeological data upon which the model is constructed. Although the New Archaeology was characterized by the importance of understanding site variability, and the need to

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<sup>33</sup>Stake molds are categorized as being less than 20 cm in diameter, usually (but not always) with a tapered base and in some cases set at an angle. Stake molds are considered to be the remains of either drying racks, smoking racks or small shelters. Post molds are larger than 20 cm in diameter, usually with straight sides and a flat or convex base. Post molds represent the remains of larger posts associated either with more permanent structures like houses or large drying racks which differ in diameter. The former was smaller in diameter and indicative of “lean-to’s” or “shacks”, while the latter was larger in diameter indicative of large, multi-platform structures and shed-roof houses. (Brolly 1993, 53)

examine generic or smaller sites in order to better understand settlement systems (Johnson 1999, 27), this remains elusive in the project of Gulf of Georgia archaeology. In practice, little archaeological interpretation has been given to “sites” that did not appear to be “complex” (i.e. did not fit the criteria of “winter villages”). “Complexity” was thought to be evidenced by *stratified shell middens*: the “long-term residential sites” around which “special purpose and seasonal sites revolve [and were believed to] contain the most complex mix of archaeological remains...” (Johnstone 1991, 29). This has been the exclusive focus of the major excavations in the Gulf Islands in the era of processualism. Dr. Colin Grier, an associate professor at Washington State University with a specialization in Northwest Coast archaeology, archaeozoology and a theoretical interest in household archaeology, explained the limitation of this perspective:

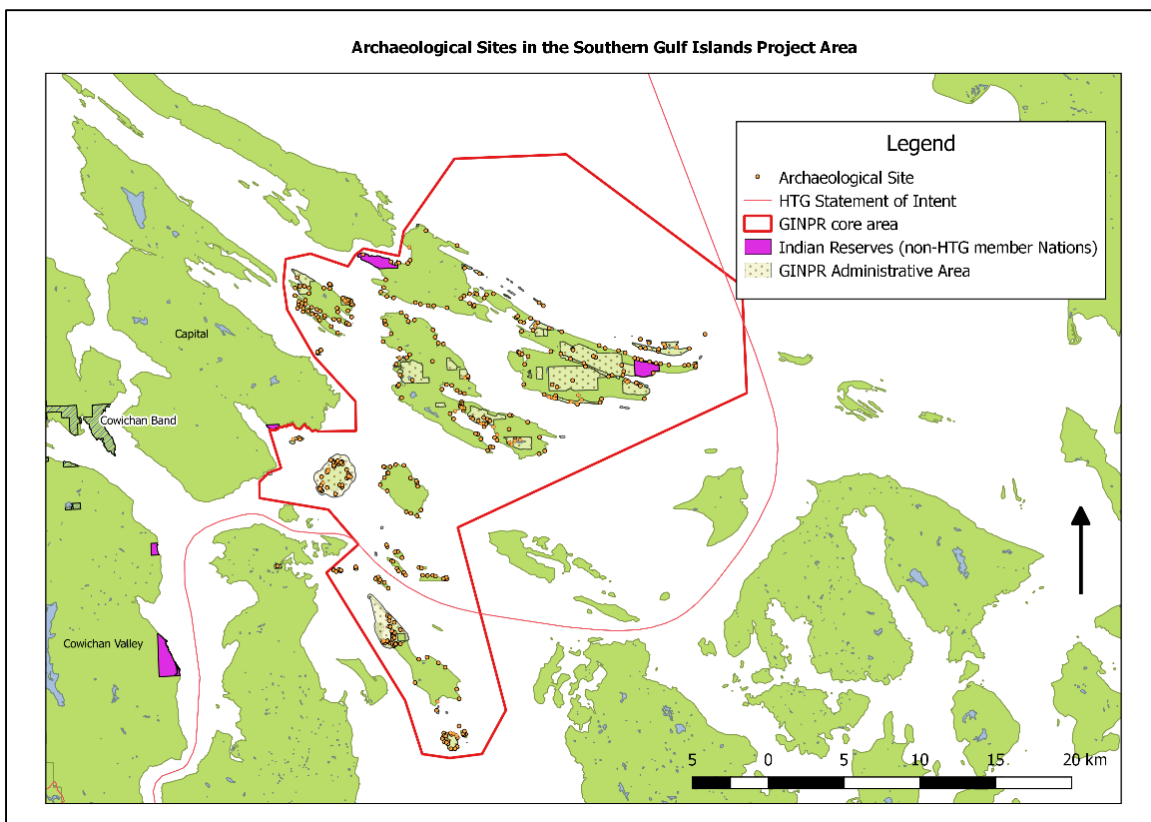
In the 1960s people were mostly approaching archaeological sites as shell middens. So the kinds of things I'm seeing is houses, communities, landscape evolution were thought of as shell middens. Piles of shell held chronologies of settlement and not even settlement in the expansive houses and communities sense but in the just basic, 'Ah these are the layers that record time, and there are different tool types representing different cultural phases embedded in these midden layers.' So this is an issue that until the nineties and this emergence of a household archaeology in the northwest coast, people thought of all of this stuff as just shell middens, refuse. They knew there were burials in them. They knew there were probably features in them and the remnants of shellfish rows, but they were really pushing them as, in the classic culture historian sense, in the sense of these are layers of time that record different cultural phases that had these specific artifacts that illustrate that it was from this phase or that phase, and that was really about it. I mean Don Mitchell was a bit more elegant about it, so that's useful, but people just thought of them as just, they're just shell middens, and even when they were digging inside houses they dug them like they were shell middens. They dug one by one, down and identify the layers and count up the number of this kind of artifact versus that kind of artifact and just arrange them in a chronology and that was very useful, but it really wasn't much more than an organizing the archaeological record kind of approach.

Colin Grier (unpublished interview, November 13, 2015)

By and large, the development of the Gulf of Georgia Culture History preceded many of these excavations, and was based largely on data from sites on the lower mainland British Columbia which became generalized to the Gulf Islands (Mitchell 1971; 1990, 340). Around the time of these large-scale excavations, Gail Thompson (1978) observed that the myopic focus on large, complex localities with lots of artifacts upon which to gauge human origins and development left understanding the functionality of other types of sites through space and time largely speculative. Twenty years later, as part of the PMHL and joint agreement between provincial and federal governments, I.R. Wilson Consultants Ltd. conducted an armchair survey and inventory of Gulf Islands sites within the potential area of selection (1996). They stated that the focus of 1970s-era surveys skewed data towards shoreline sites and shell middens (62). Although 342 archaeological sites were identified within the PMHL area (larger than the GINPR core area), the authors concluded that

...only a handful of sites have been systematically listed and few of these have been analyzed in any detail. Determining site function at more than the most basic level or addressing seasonality is fruitless. This lack of site specific interpretation is definitely the most serious gap in our knowledge of Gulf Island prehistory. Only relative site density and a rough culture history can be interpreted with any level of confidence. (Wilson et al. 1996, 62)

While there are many “sites” within the known “archaeological record” for the region, the majority of these have only been inventoried through surveying and never revisited, and over a third of these sites are not available/listed in the provincial registry. In sum, there are 420 archaeological sites documented for the southern Gulf Islands study area (Figure 5). Only 263 (62 percent) are actually in the provincial archaeology sites registry (RAAD). Of these sites with Borden Numbers, 246 (93.5 percent) were inventoried in a 1973-4 provincial survey (Acheson et al. 1975; Cassidy et al. 1974). Only 53 (21.5 percent) of those sites were re-visited in some capacity by commercial archaeologists or Archaeology Branch personnel over



**Figure 5: Documented Archaeological Sites in the Southern Gulf Islands Project Area**

the following four decades, and only 12 newly identified archaeological sites were registered with the provincial Archaeology Branch for the study area.

In 1997, a PMHL inventory identified 6 new sites in the study area and 11 previously documented sites were revisited (Maxwell et al. 1998). These sites were registered with provincial Archaeology Branch because at the time, PMHL lands were still under provincial jurisdiction and authority. Comparatively, the GINPR archaeology cultural resources management programme (2004-2011) inventoried 205 archaeological sites in the study area, constituting 157 previously undocumented sites and a re-survey of 48 provincially-documented sites. These 157 sites do not have Borden Numbers, are not listed in RAAD and the reports for which are not available in PARL. Thus, the locations and interpretations of over a third (37.4 percent) of documented archaeological sites in the study area are not readily available for review

by archaeologists working in the provincial commercial context, and this has serious implications for current knowledge of the regional archaeological record.<sup>34</sup>

The problems with the general absence of interpretation of archaeological sites in the Gulf of Georgia can be seen, for instance, in two statistical studies linking climate change with settlement types and patterns in the region, for which the absence of data led to competing views. Lepofsky et al. (2005, 275) suggest a proliferation of sites during Marpole on the Gulf Islands and the Fraser River Valley coinciding with the Fraser Valley Fire Period (FVFP), but lack of settlement type data precluded understanding of whether there was an actual shift in “the location of certain site types (e.g., short-term camps or villages).” In other words, it is uncertain if there was a shift of large settlements from the Gulf Islands to lower mainland BC and Vancouver Island sometime in the last 1000 years. In a statistical study on midden accumulation rates on the neighbouring San Juan Islands, Taylor et al. pointed to the “greater availability in freshwater and other resources” (2011, 301) at the end of the FVFP between 650–300 cal BP, to explain Late period trends of more sites, larger sites, and large multi-family houses on the San Juan Islands (309). They argued that such findings may apply to the neighbouring Gulf Islands, challenging Lepofsky et al. (2005) in one respect that the overall increase of sites and diversification of site types occurred during the Marpole period. For both studies, the notable absence of dating and identification of site types in the Gulf Islands posed problems for their analyses.

New directions in methodology and theory have both challenged the conceptualization of the Gulf Islands as a site for “camps,” and given fresh perspectives on archaeological

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<sup>34</sup> This statement is factual as of May 2017. The first documented site in the GINPR outside of the provincial registry was in 2003/4. Whether or not GINPR site information will eventually be submitted is to be determined.

interpretation of Coast Salish lifestyles—confounding, in effect, the dichotomy of “camp” and “village” designations and the seasonal round.

Paleoenvironmental archaeology that looks at relative sea-level (RSL) change has helped to address the dearth of identified Locarno Beach period sites in the Gulf Islands. Ethnographers and archaeologists have correctly posited that settlements were located largely near freshwater sources, at river outlets and along shorelines, locations which may include some larger islands. These are the locations of large-scale excavations informing the Gulf of Georgia settlement model. The implication of RSL for understanding site temporality and functionality was acknowledged by some processual-era archaeologists (e.g. Carlson and Hobler 1993, 36), but at these locales and at this time, a subtidal and intertidal record was not methodologically nor technologically feasible to access and examine. In recent times, RSL is now vital for archaeological interpretation in the Gulf Islands, with “consequences for the visibility of the archaeological record, especially as most habitation sites and many activity areas are associated with the marine shoreline” (Fedje et al. 2009, 236). Daryl Fedje, a paleoarchaeologist and regional expert archaeologist with over 30 years of experience in the field, discussed the finding of a paleoenvironmental study on relative sea-level (RSL) in the southern Gulf Islands, GINPR. The lower than present-day RSL interval between 12,000 and 3,000 BP is a 9,000 year period of obscured archaeological record which Fedje calls “the drowned story.” He shared the exciting results of a supratidal and intertidal archaeological investigation of Hook Spit on Sidney Island (a small Gulf Island east of Victoria):

The long and the short is we did some more intensive work on the beach and we did a little bit of testing on these depressions and we did some ground-penetrating radar and we determined for sure that these were large—relatively large— semi-subterranean rectangular houses, house features, and got a series of dates and they dated between 2000–4,000 YA as the time frame of the occupation. So all-in-all anyway what we come up with a very interesting story about a type of site that's just virtually unknown in this area because in

hindsight now, we have a much better idea that the sea level had risen over top of these over the past several thousand years because in this area the sea level is constantly rising. [...] So therefore, it sort of opened our eyes and then hopefully opened other peoples' eyes that there's a lot more potential in the intertidal zone for finding the longer archaeological record.

Daryl Fedje (unpublished interview, April 2, 2015)

Inter and supratidal archaeological work has expanded the types of settlements that are known for the Gulf Islands such as semi-subterranean houses that were thought to be unique to the lower Fraser Valley area at these times (e.g. Barnett 1939, 244). The potential association between submerged, intertidal and shoreline site components has also deepened the temporality of sites to the Locarno Beach period at places such as Shingle Point on Valdes Island (Grier 2014) and Shell Beach and Arbutus Point on Portland Island (McLaren et al. 2010; Wharren et al. 2013). McLaren et al. (2013, 226) also point to strong potential for intensive occupation at particular locales over long-periods of time in the Gulf Islands “because of the shoreline orientation of Coast Salish occupation, ancient villages may have shifted in relation to rising seas.” Significantly, the dating of these substantial settlements as early as the Locarno period problematizes the assumption of a leap to complexity in the Marpole phase.

Dr. Duncan McLaren is an assistant professor of archaeology at the University of Victoria with 18 years experience working in the broader Gulf of Georgia region in consulting and research capacities. His research interests are focused on the Northwest Coast culture area, and on the similarities and differences between archaeology, oral history, and paleo-environmental research. As the lead archaeologist on two GINPR field schools, I asked him the implications for the archaeological work conducted at Portland Island and Sidney Island for our long-term understanding of Coast Salish settlement patterns and territoriality.

Well I think first and foremost is this idea that there's no village sites on the Gulf Islands. That it was only a place of seasonal use and village sites were in places like Cowichan Bay and you know, Saanich Peninsula, but I think that that's very likely not the case of these fairly sizeable structural depressions at Sidney Spit as well as Dionisio Point. I think that for whatever reason that may have stopped in the more recent past. But that there was probably year-round villages on the Gulf Islands. The discovery of this pretty comprehensive shell midden deposits beneath the beach at both sites, Portland Island and Sidney Spit, is really important because if you want to really look at continuity of title or long-term occupation, you have to know where to look. While there are some sites that are on the backshore that are older, like Helen Point goes back around 4,500 years, if you really want to start pushing that you have to know where to look. We're really just starting to understand that as a discipline - at least on the northwest Coast.

Duncan McLaren (unpublished interview, April 15, 2015)

The idea of intensive, continuous occupation or presence at a particular locale is marked by a shift in theoretical archaeology from a spatially and temporally restricted view of settlements, to understanding landscapes. The potential for this method is critical, and it is relevant to recall that the impetus for many excavations then and even today were from imminent site destruction by erosion by wave action and human occupation and activities (Carlson and Hobler 1993, 25). The Gulf Islands surficial landscape has been dramatically transformed throughout the late pre- and post-European contact period from residential development, canal dredging, forestry, agriculture, open-pit mining, tourism and recreation. A rapidly changing surficial landscape in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, in conjunction with 5,000 year old occupations moving around in a highly localized area, considerable site complexity has been produced. As such,

at sites where the stratigraphy is complex and crowded or where the importance of stratigraphic considerations is otherwise increased, small test units, even at close intervals, are limited in their ability to reveal the true picture of a midden's constituents and organization. (Wollwage et al. 2015, 55; also Taylor et al. 2011)

Landscape perspectives elucidate how vertical spatial distribution and variation of archaeological features and cultural objects may reflect changes in the layout and operations of a settlement over the long-term. Such a perspective contrasts sharply with the view of equating locales with extensive midden depths as “sites” of intensive and long-term occupation. Moreover, landscape perspectives frame Coast Salish peoples as agents in the active modification of landscapes in response to multiple factors—not just climate change—such as increase warfare, needs for food, and rising sea levels. Place-based investments by residents are viewed on long and short-term time scales, producing anthropogenic landscapes with considerable spatial variability. Grier (2014) and McLay et al. (2010) applied this lens to Montague Harbour (Galiano Island), Dionisio Point (Galiano Island), Shingle Point (Valdes Island), Cardale Point (Valdes Island) and Penelakut Spit (Penelakut Island)—locales lying north of the study area—and posited long-term, continuous occupations.<sup>35</sup>

Two archaeologists interviewed for this study explicitly pointed to the presence of structures as *de facto* evidence for Pacific Northwest Coast villages in the present day (Daryl Fedje and Duncan McLaren, *pers. comm.*, November 21, 2016). For many of the 1970s-1990s archaeological investigations I reviewed, however, the wide-area excavations that would reveal the structures or features associated with houses were not undertaken by the archaeologists. This research design limited the archaeologists’ ability to actually find and comment on structural remains and relationships as settlements. Moss (2011, 23-4) also reminds us that “in many

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<sup>35</sup>Shingle Point is described as a Late period plankhouse village occupied continuously from 4570 cal BP to the historic period, with evidence for human habitation beginning as early as 5370 cal BP (Grier 2014, 218-19). Montague Harbour (DfRu-13) is a long-term habitation occupied between 3,300 BP to the Late period (McLay et al. 2010, 66) consisting of seventeen distinct sites. Several investigations over a 20 year period at Dionisio Point also revealed two substantial plankhouse villages occupied between 1,500 to 1,300 BP (DgRv-003) and 1,000 to 700 BP (DgRv-6), respectively (Grier 2014, 230). Penelakut Spit (DfRv-11) is also a long-term habitation landscape on a coastal spit. It still requires more dating. Occupation continued into the Late period (450 BP) (2014, 227). Cardale Point is another coastal spit with the earliest occupation dated to 4700 BP (2014, 228).

archaeology sites, house remains are never identified, not because people did not live in houses, but only because house remains typically decay in the forest soils of the Northwest Coast.”

Indications of houses may also include the presence of a hearth or difference in soil texture (Fedje et al. 2009, 238; Moss 2011, 23-4). For sites without visible evidence of structures, Dr. Colin Grier explained the value of a landscape perspective for theorizing, for example, long-term change and continuity with respect to multi-family and community occupation at Montague

Harbour:

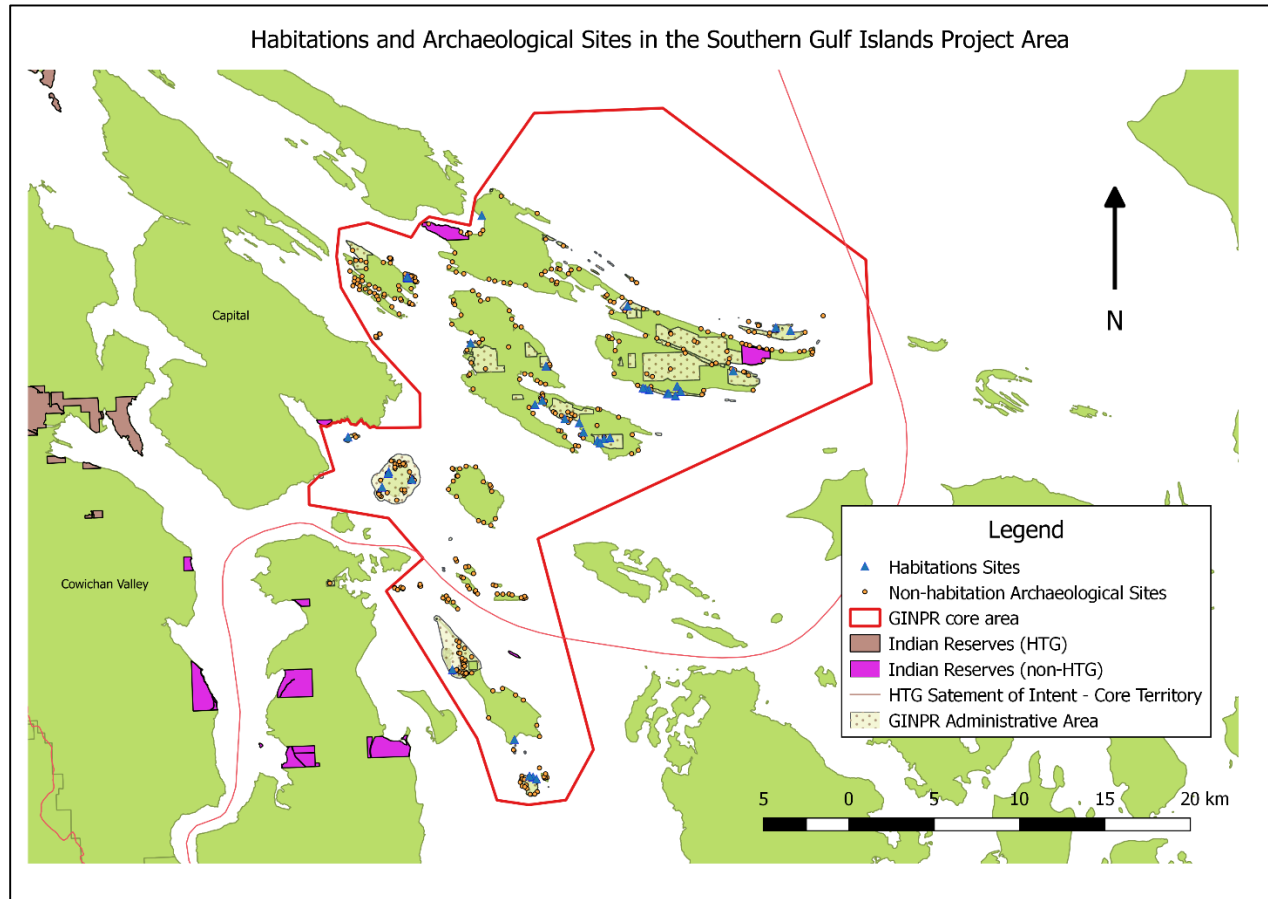
Montague Harbour is interesting to note in that respect because there is no really obvious surface expression of houses or communities at Montague, but there are large middens. So it's the same kind of substantial settlement location as those others [Dionisio Point and Shingle Point] but for various reasons: maybe modern land use and parks and orchards and all this kind of stuff. The surface expression of houses aren't visible there so you have to take kind of a different attack when you don't have the actual houses to really structure the way you're going to investigate an archaeological phenomenon. Montague Harbour is interesting in that it made clear to me that when you don't have the houses you have to think at a landscape scale anyway, and so Montague Harbour was kind of the eventuated thinking about all of these locations as longstanding, anthropogenic landscapes that involves houses, communities, but so much more in terms of cemeteries and landform construction and all this kind of stuff. So these three sites [Dionisio Point, Shingle Point, Montague Harbour] were really kind of gateways to the paper you kind of mentioned, the 2014 on landscapes in CJA. That really is the most expansive way of thinking about these locations: as long-standing village locations that emerged relatively early relative to the known archaeological record and are fairly continuously inhabited and just become more and more anthropogenic about landforms. I talk a lot in there about the co-evolution of landforms and human settlement, natural and human processes. They all come together in this kind of interesting way to think about the evolution of social organization, political organization and economic complexity through the evolution of landscape. So that's kind of the big picture that all these sites fit together in this kind of emerging way of thinking about the landscape.

Colin Grier (unpublished interview, November 13, 2015)

More recent and federally-funded archaeological work has identified “habitation sites” within the study area, as well as having implemented a broader definition of what constitutes a “village” in archaeological contexts. Among the 48 provincially-surveyed sites that were

revisited in the GINPR archaeology program, 11 were identified as having habitation components—eight more than were previously documented over the 40-year period these lands were under provincial jurisdiction. These 11 sites were re-framed from “shell middens” (RAAD typology) to “habitations,” *a choice of terminology that reflects an important incorporation of First Nations framing for this archaeological work*. In addition, 23 sites with habitation components were identified from the 157 newly identified sites. Seventeen of these habitation sites are “rock or boulder habitations,” a type with no equivalent in the existing provincial archaeological database for the study area. Sixteen other habitation sites are evidenced by house depressions or house posts and are located at several of the southern Gulf Islands: Bedwell Bay (Pender Island), Shell Beach (Portland Island), Winter Cove (Saturna Island), the north and northeastern shores of D’Arcy Island, and Hook Spit (Sydney Island) (Figure 6).

Settlements ranged in size from 1,515 square meters to 21,750 square meters, estimates which are inclusive of site components extending beyond the shell deposit itself. Sometimes only a single habitation feature or house depression was identified, pointing to a rather inclusive notion of what qualifies a particular site to be classified as a “village.” This reframing within the GINPR has significant implications for archaeological narratives in the region.



**Figure 6: Archaeological Habitations in the Southern Gulf Islands Project Area**

## **Ancestral Places in Provincial Archaeology**

### **Institutionalizing Archaeology in the Pacific NorthWest Coast: Legitimizing *Hwunitum* Authorship of Coast Salish “Prehistory” and Ownership of Ancestral Places**

First Nations people have been removed from the exclusive decision-making and management of their own cultural materials and lands (Hutchings and La Salle 2012), particularly since the exercise of provincial (and to a lesser degree federal) legislative authority over these objects and places. Here I briefly examine how *power* imbues the process through which Coast Salish peoples’ ancestral places and properties become provincial property and objects of archaeological analysis. This transformation has been underway since the mid-twentieth century,

and coincides closely with the institutionalization of archaeology and legitimization of archaeologists as authors of Coast Salish peoples' deep history.

The production of narratives and history is a process which always imbues power (Trouillot 1995). I trace how ancestral places have been transformed through state-sanctioned processes of archaeological knowledge production, with particular emphasis on the process of distancing First Nations from ancestral places through discourses of *provincial heritage* and *archaeology*. This context is important for understanding the complexity of ongoing land dispossession facing Hul'qumi'num peoples and their leadership.

In BC Archaeology, the perspectives of Hul'qumi'num Nations are not significantly empowered by legislation or provincial mandates to contribute to interpretation for the construction of ancestral places as archaeological sites. Following Trouillot's (1995) framework for historical and narrative production, I look at how ancestral places emerge as "provincial heritage," "archaeological resources," "archaeological sites" through the selective processes of BC provincial archaeology. Locating, naming and documenting ancestral sites is the creation of *facts* and the making of *sources*. "Facts" on the now "archaeological site" can be assembled as *archives*; the publication of results from archaeological investigation. Such publications are fodder for deliberations over "prehistory" within academic archaeology scholarship and practice; the production of narratives about First Nations history and heritage when publications circulate between prehistory experts situated at different institutions.

The provincial government created the Archaeological and Heritage Sites Protection Act (1960), the first legislation which re-framed First Nations' ancestral places and material cultures as *provincial heritage* under provincial government jurisdiction and control. The concept of *heritage* dissociates Indigenous peoples from ancestral places "by making the past an

archaeologically constructed past” (McNiven and Russell 2005, 7), and by extension, negates the notion of a living culture.

The province established the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board (ASAB) in the 1960s, in part from aggressive lobbying for protective legislation by key archaeologists, notably Charles Borden, in keeping with the spirit of salvage archaeology (Roy 2010, 129). The ASAB was authorized to issue permits for archaeological surveys and excavations to those “*qualified* individuals whose interests are scientific or cultural” (Carlson 1970, 13, emphasis added). Aboriginal peoples served on the ASAB in advisory roles (Roy 2010, 130), and at the time, few had the academic credentials required to conduct permit-issued archaeology in the province.<sup>36</sup>

As the official repository for archaeological objects and records from sites under the ASAB, in 1913 the Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM) became an important site for the production of knowledge about First Nations peoples’ pasts. Through the Museum Act, it was given “formal operating authority” over the collection of “anthropological material relating to the aboriginal races of the province” (“Museum History” 2017). Historians and archaeologists in its employ contributed substantially to the provincial archaeological record through collecting and curating ‘artifacts’ and ancestors in repositories, conducting excavations, authoring, archiving and distributing reports from ‘results’ and displaying cultural materials as “provincial cultural heritage.” Today the RBCM has the largest collection of First Nations cultural heritage objects and remains from British Columbia. Of the over 192,000 artifacts—“most of these are related to First Nations history, with less than 1% being restricted to Euro-American history” (“Archaeology” 2014).

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<sup>36</sup>The dearth of Aboriginal people with the right academic credentials who could be authorized to do archaeology was in part from the prohibitive Indian Act (1876), which until 1951 “forbade Aboriginal persons... from attending university unless they voluntarily relinquished their status as an Indian under a process called enfranchisement” (The Indian Act, 1876 in CRRF 2014).

Academic institutions concentrated around the Gulf of Georgia on both sides of the border became important sites of archaeological knowledge production from the early-to-mid-twentieth century. Tenured professors at such regional institutions including Simon Fraser University, University of Victoria, University of British Columbia and Washington State University are still recognized today as regional experts of Coast Salish peoples' *prehistory*, a temporal concept that assumes the structural (read: cultural) coherence of Coast Salish peoples culture prior to its conjuncture with European cultures and the introduction of the written word (Stahl 2001, 5). These influential figures and key institutions developed the culture of archaeology within institutions. Their practice, publications, theories, methods and attitudes would inform those of their students working in the Gulf of Georgia region (Mitchell 1971).<sup>37</sup>

The relationship between academic archaeologists and the state was mutually beneficial. Academic archaeologists legitimized the state's claim to First Nations history and heritage by framing the endeavour as “scientific,” distinguishing their practices from those of curio or pot hunters, labels for “amateur” archaeologists (Roy 2010, 129). The provincial government in turn enlisted the services of archaeologists and historians in the identification, documentation and evaluation of heritage “sites,” provided funding for archaeological field schools such as SFU Salvage 71', and endorsed the RBCM as a repository to preserve and display collected artifacts

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<sup>37</sup>The Department of Archaeology was created in Simon Fraser University by Roy L. Carlson in 1971, where he worked as a professor until 1995. The Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) has called him “a Canadian expert on the Northwest Coast” and listed his lectures, conferences, public interviews, tutelage of “thousands” of students, including twenty MA and eight PhD students (including Hanson 1991; Johnstone 1991; McMurdo 1974). Carlson and Phillip M. Hobler ran field schools, such as SFU Salvage 71', which resulted in over 28 publications. Carlson, Hobler and David V. Burley all worked as tenured faculty at SFU. Carlson (BA, MA) attended Washington State University, as did Jim Haggarty (PhD) and Gail Thompson (PhD). Carlson, R. G. Matson (Emeritus Faculty UBC) and the late Donald Mitchell (former Faculty UVic) have all received the prestigious Smith-Wintemberg Award as members of the “Canadian archaeological community who have made an outstanding contribution to the advancement of the discipline of archaeology, or to our knowledge of the archaeological past of Canada” (CAA website).

as *provincial cultural heritage*. These evolving relationships set the groundwork for how Coast Salish First Nations heritage and history would be recorded and shared with a broader public.

Transformation of First Nations' ancestral places into "archaeological sites" legitimized Coast Salish property as an official part of the provincial "archaeological record," and privileged the interpretations of ancestral places by archaeologists and historians in the mid-twentieth century. Archaeologists such as Roy Carlson, Phillip H. Hobler, Donald Mitchell and Burley conducted the first large-scale excavations in the Gulf Islands between the mid-sixties and late eighties. The first (and to this day, unparalleled in scope) wide-scale inventory of the Gulf Islands was conducted in the mid-1970s. The places of excavated cultural materials and First Nations' peoples' ancestors were designated as "archaeological sites" and assigned Borden numbers—after archaeologist Charles E. Borden—based on their time of discovery and location within a new landscape conceptualized as a grid of squares. The results of their publications have significantly informed processes of interpretation of the regional archaeological "record." Their major findings and conclusions are "data" informing regional archaeological syntheses, case studies in textbooks and "prehistory" sections in provincially-mandated archaeological reports.

### **Creating an Archive: Assembling Facts in the Provincial Archaeological Sites Registry**

The provincial government has established the criteria by which ancestral places are documented and reported as part of the provincial archaeological sites registration process. This documentary and reporting process has become more standardized in recent times. The nature of archaeological information submitted to the province is comparable to that which was documented by processualists of the 1950s-70s, around the time when the provincial registry process was developed and systematized (Fladmark 1980). The reproduction of the terminology and framings of ancestral places developed in 1970s archaeological practice and reporting

continues to be used by commercial archaeologists today. I examine how ancestral places become a part of the provincial archaeological record, and the implications for this transformation for Indigenous peoples' histories.

Consistent with the placement of the Archaeology Branch within the Ministry whose jurisdiction is over forests, lands and natural resources, First Nations' ancestral places are classified with "mineral deposits, arable land, forests, fish and wildlife" (Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations 2016). Ancestral places "older than" 1846 are framed as a "precious non-renewable resource." The temporalization of "archaeological resources" is effected by defining when the First peoples' history ends, and settler/colonial history begins. The year 1846 is not arbitrary, marking the moment when the British declared sovereignty over the place now known as British Columbia through the Treaty of Oregon. "Archaeological resources" is a concept that "marks a separation" between First Nations' peoples' in the present and in the past (Fabian 1983); a distancing tool to legitimize the decision-making and management over First Nations' cultural objects and ancestral places by the Province.

Within the Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations is the Archaeology Branch. The Archaeology Branch is one of two major archives for the "official" archaeological record for Coast Salish ancestral places, cultural objects and ancestors, the other being RBCM archaeology division. As state *resources*, ancestral places become "archaeological sites" and provincial property through the registration and reporting process. This process applies to any archaeological work that is conducted on lands under provincial jurisdiction and authority, and academic, researching or commercial archaeologists are mandated to comply by heritage legislation. The submission of site forms and descriptive reports to the Archaeology Branch and the RBCM's archaeology division creates an archive.

The Archaeology Branch defines the documentation standards and registration procedures for First Nations ancestral places, which can be found in their Site Guide (2015). The province has thus established a framework through which facts are produced.

The Archaeological Site Inventory Section of the Archaeology Branch maintains the Provincial heritage register in a database called the Heritage Resource Inventory Application (HRIA). The HRIA stores site records for over 45,000 known archaeological sites in British Columbia. Archaeological site data must be submitted to the Archaeology Branch in a format that is compatible with the HRIA. The British Columbia Archaeological Site Inventory Form (“site form”) is designed to ensure that archaeological information is reported in a consistent format for the HRIA. (BC Archaeology Branch 2015, 1)

Recently, site forms have been standardized with many fields having pre-determined classes and types hosted in drop-down menus, further reifying these typologies. The older form, by contrast, gave the opportunity for using non-standardized types and language to describe cultural places from being manually filled out. Archaeological site forms are digital MSWord documents. The content is formatted in 17 numbered topics. Each topic has a set of data fields for more specific information about the ancestral place. Data field inputs are either manual (a numeric or typed response) or a choice amongst pre-determined variables listed in a drop-down menu.

The content of site forms is largely concerned with empirically-derived, quantitatively data, measured in terms of time, space and form. The Site Typology Table in the form “describes sites from general to specific” (2015, 9). Cultural material may be classified according to Class (time); Type (cultural material-object); Subtype (object); and Descriptor (qualities; materials; conditions: animals, plants, rock, human-altered objects/materials, “middens” and “wet site”). Elsewhere in the site form, “features” are further defined with a unique ID, by their dimensions (length and width), depth below surface (dbs) (for below surface features), depth and height (for

above surface features), shape, orientation, and presence of a berm or rim. Any other information can be added to a descriptive section entitled “feature remarks” (those conditions/qualities not conforming to any of the aforementioned quantitative measures organized as data fields under the 17 topics).

Provincial classificatory site typology is a data organizational structure with potential consequences for interpretation of an ancestral place. While archaeologists have indicated a range of evidence for residency that extends beyond settlement structures, this typology separates “habitation features” from other kinds of information that may also point to occupation. “Subsistence feature,” for example, includes “descriptors” such as hearth and post mold, both of which are evidence of occupation (Moss 2011). Earthworks, which includes “fortification” and “trench embankment,” interpreted as evidence of defensive structures (BC Archaeology Branch 2015, 26), which in turn may further be interpreted to mean property and settlement. Such a view resonates with the statement by Florence James, for whom conflict signifies a defense of lands (property), values and a way of life. For the reports that I reviewed, in the (perceived) absence of structures and a substantially thick village midden, the logic follows that a place was a seasonal site for specialized resource use and therefore a camp occupied on a temporary basis (if indeed any interpretation is even made for the site).

I am specifically interested in how places of settlement get construed through these typologies. Examination of the Site Typology Table in *Appendix I* (BC Archaeology Branch 2015, 25-26) reveals a first organization level based on European conceptions of time. While the precontact typology for “habitation structures” includes 10 possible “descriptors,” the postcontact typology has 1 descriptor (house posts/molds), suggesting that lodges, plank houses, and other indications of occupation found under “precontact habitation features” were no longer

present nor being constructed upon contact with Europeans in the late-eighteenth century, or are types that cannot be expected to be inferred from evidence at the archaeological site in the present-day. Significantly, evidence of structures dated to the post-contact period which do not fit the pre-contact characteristics are typically attributed to the new, settler residents of that place.

In the third level of typological interpretation, the only common logic underpinning “descriptors” for “habitation features” is their signification of (what are presumably distinctly) different material conditions (BC Archaeology Branch 2015, 26). It is notable that some descriptors are expressed as explicitly spatial impressions (e.g. post mold, platform) or culturally-defined physical structures (e.g. “mat lodge,” “menstrual lodge,” “refuge,” “plank house”). Presumably, all of the descriptors can be objectively/empirically determined from material evidence. How these “types” relate to material evidence is not indicated in the Site Form Guide, which leaves interpretive license to permitted archaeologist(s).

Of the 263 provincially-registered sites with Borden Numbers, more than half (180, or 68.4 percent) have a relatively non-descript typology of “Cultural Material, Subsurface, Shell Midden” for sites thought to date to the “Pre contact” period. Of the 263 sites, only 4 are identified with typologies that identify some kind of living feature associated with the pre-contact period (post mold, hearth [1]; cultural depression [1]; habitation feature [2]). These sites with post mold, hearth and cultural depression were not accompanied by the language of “habitation features.” Among the 263 sites documented for the 1973-4 provincial survey, only 10 (3.8 percent) had limited excavations to provide more detail than what could be seen from the surface. Notably, 3 sites where excavations had been conducted, and for which the RAAD typology does not indicate “habitation feature” descriptors, are described in reports submitted to

the Archaeology Branch as “village sites” (DeRt-1; DeRt-2; DeRt-4, all located on Pender Island).

It seems significant that neither “camp” nor “village” are among the “descriptors” for habitations. Ethnographic and archaeological literature would point to “mat lodges” as evidence for camps, and “plank houses” as evidence for either a camp or village. The absence of provincially-defined or endorsed criteria for establishing either of these archaeologically means the designation of a locale as a “village” or “camp” in an archaeological report is an act of interpretation and terminological choice. It must be shaped by a pre-conceived notion and conviction of what archaeologically constitutes a camp versus what constitutes a village. This is important metadata/context that we cannot “see” in site forms nor in archaeological reports, unless the rationale is explicitly mentioned in a descriptive report or under “additional considerations” at the bottom of a site form.

A typology that separates the material world of Indigenous peoples into categories underpinned by processualist logic is also not without broader political consequences. Specifically, the absence of “habitation features” could be used by the state to ‘read down’ the extent of aboriginal title or rights asserted by a First Nations based on past property or occupation of a place. Indeed, such archaeological narratives perpetuate the colonial discourse of property-less aboriginal peoples, and legitimate the ongoing state denials of indigenous land rights.

### **Commercial Archaeology: Reproducing Mechanisms for Dispossession**

When you read through the report, [there is] no interpretation like you said. And you have to question, yes, what were they doing out there? You know, why is this called archaeology? And what I've discovered is that it's development under the guise of archaeology. It's really not archaeology at all.

Eric McLay (unpublished interview, February 23, 2016)

In the twenty-first century, the discipline and practice of Archaeology in the Northwest Coast has gradually shifted to be more inclusive of First Nations in matters over their own cultural heritage on private and provincial lands (Nicholas 2006); however, First Nations people today are generally kept at arms-length from the actual management and decision-making over archaeological sites. Change towards inclusion appears more pronounced among academic or researching archaeologists who see how building collaborative relationships with First Nations communities is integral to their successful pursuit of reconstructing First Nations' pasts through long-term research. While archaeologists working in commercial capacities are mandated to 'consult' with First Nations through the referral and permitting process by the Heritage Conservation Act (1996), there is no requirement to include First Nations in interpretation, framing and use of terminology in describing their own short or long-term history in archaeological reports.

The administrative and documentary process transforms an ancestral place into an archaeological resource. Now it can be assigned a significance rating according to provincially-construed evaluative criteria (Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations 2016). The significance criteria is different for 'pre-contact' or 'post-contact' resources. For pre-contact resources, criteria are scientific, public, ethnic and economic. The class of criteria greatest in number and detail is scientific, followed by public, and then by 'ethnic' (clearly referring to First Nations, to whom the large majority of 'archaeological sites' belong), and finally, economic significance. For 'ethnic' significance, there is one question guiding this evaluation: "Does the site presently have traditional, social or religious importance to a particular group or

community?” (Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations 2016b).

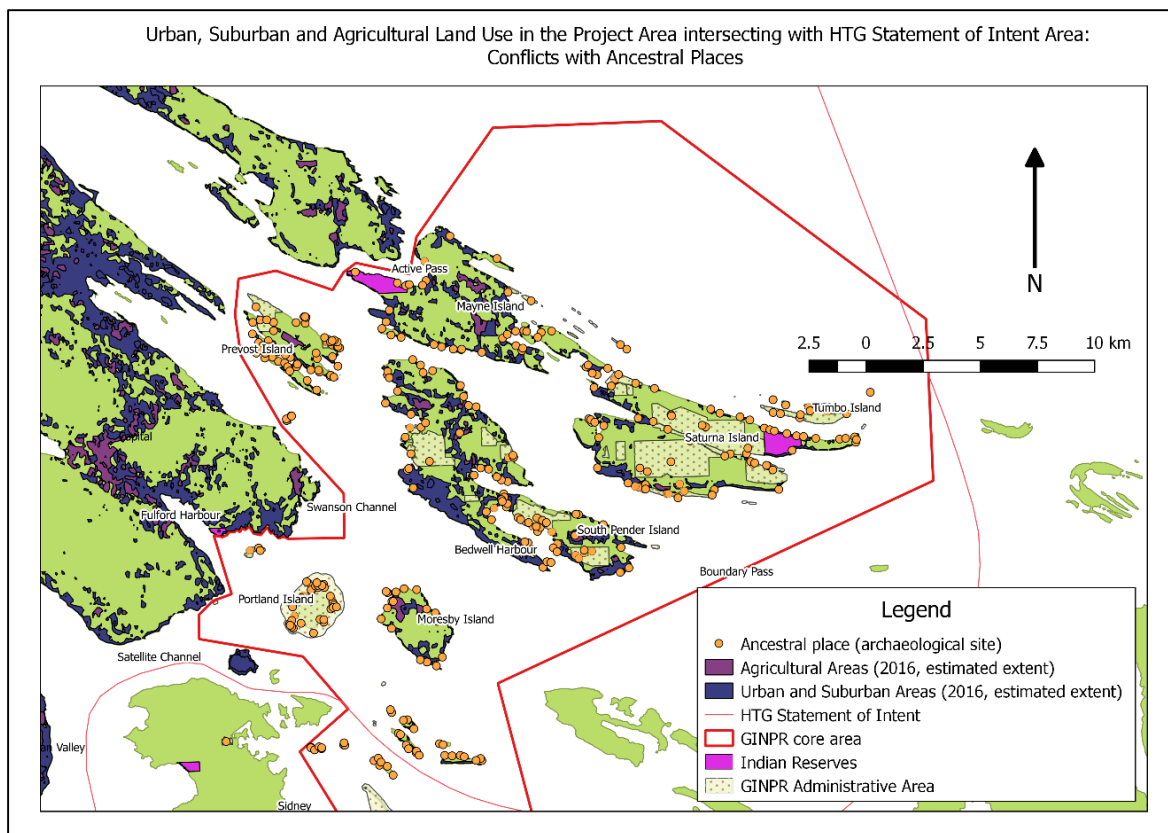
Archaeologists are prompted to think about this potential in light of an “ethnographic or ethnohistoric reference” and then by any “documented local community recognition or concern for the site.” The significance rating of the site is determined primarily through scientific, then public criteria—and then First Nations’ concerns.

The level of significance given to an archaeological resource matters because it determines the level of protection afforded by the provincial government. Legislation for cultural heritage is defined for the province of British Columbia on lands outside of federal jurisdiction under the Heritage Conservation Act (HCA 1996) and by the British Columbia Archaeology Branch.<sup>38</sup> The areas of the southern Gulf Islands not included in GINPR are mostly in privately-held lands.<sup>39</sup> The majority of known archaeological sites are moreover located on shorelines—where urban and suburban development is also concentrated (Figure 7).

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<sup>38</sup>The HCA applies to BC Crown lands, municipalities, privately-held lands, as well as any provincial Crown lands leased or licensed for resource development.

<sup>39</sup> This representation of the land regime is grossly oversimplified. In reality, individuals, corporations, public entities and First Nations interests, legal rights, etc. are overlapping and complex.



**Figure 7: Urban, Suburban and Agricultural Land Use Conflicts with Ancestral Places**

This is relevant as land ownership implicates decision making over the management of archaeological resources. The shift to commercial archaeology in the 1980s resulted in the majority of archaeological impact overviews, assessments and monitoring on non-Crown lands being financed by land developers as opposed to the state. This in turn has created a competitive market for archaeological and anthropological services in the province, differentiating this archaeology in many ways from archaeology done in non-commercial contexts.

There is a general concern expressed by regional archaeologists participating in my research as to the value of commercially-driven archaeological work for Coast Salish deep history. Morley Eldridge is an archaeologist, and president and founder of Millennia Research

Ltd., an archaeological consulting firm based out of Victoria, B.C. Eldridge offered insight into the implications of archaeological practice in the commercial context for interpretation:

The thing is, most of that is more like what Parks does is as part of their mandate is to tell the story of the land and the people on it. By and large that's not all we get to do doing consulting work. You have to make up some sort of a story or the potential for one to be able to say something is significant and it either needs preservation or mitigation and so you have to say: "This has deep stratigraphy, there's lots of materials for dating here. There are materials we can use for seasonality assessment. What time of year were people here? Were they here year around?" Those kinds of things, you know? Features and this and that, but the times that that actually gets—it's a relatively small part of the report that that's worked into and the story itself doesn't often come out. It's like, well, there's the potential for this and this site, but I find by and large there's way too little story-telling or making history that comes out of the archaeology. If anything, there will be a listing of artifacts, description of them, limited comparison to other artifacts that might be similar, that have been found in the region, and their dating and that kind of thing. But even that is often pretty thin. Often it will just be a straight description with no real, even distressingly little interpretation that goes on in most of the archaeology, and that's where the story comes in.

Morley Eldridge (unpublished interview, June 30, 2015)

Eldridge aligns archaeological interpretation with story-telling and history-making, and differentiates between this and the "straight description" that he sees as typical in archaeological reporting. A parallel can be drawn between his view and that of cultural historical archaeologists, in which interpretation was forsaken for simply listings of artifacts. Unlike culture-historians, however, archaeologists adopting this approach are not even engaging in artifact comparisons. Eldridge begins this discussion with the function of storytelling: providing the justification for the protection of archaeological sites against unmitigated development and eventual destruction. The need to say something significant about ancestral places was re-iterated by anonymous specialist archaeologist for the PMHL archaeology conducted at particular localities in the southern Gulf Islands:

The PMHL report we did, it was essentially supposed to be a report that somehow demonstrates that yes, there were archaeological values to these properties. I think it did that. This is of course was one of the reasons I wanted to make it exciting and interesting too. It was my understanding anyway that this report would help make it possible for the Park to have

more archaeology to proceed. Once it became a Park, of course, Parks Canada archaeologists or whoever Daryl was working with wound up doing these various other projects there. That's how I understood it.

Anonymous specialist archaeologist (July 21, 2015)

They went on to explain that the value of the report was “that there's all kinds of valuable stuff here and it's worth protecting and taking care of and learning from too” (anonymous specialist archaeologist, unpublished interview, July 21, 2015). However, this perspective does not appear to reflect the tone of archaeological reporting for the province. Dr. Duncan McLaren gave some insight into this absence of interpretation with respect to differences in reporting over time for federal and provincial agencies.

There is a template, at least for provincial reports and there is some kind of template for Federal reports, archaeological reports which are quite different - the general scope and shape of them. But there's, you know, other than the templates there's huge differences in the quality and quantity of the reporting that happens. Like sometimes some sections will be cut and paste from one report to the next by the same company—so that's not actually written. It's the boilerplate that they use in every report. So it becomes absolutely, incredibly dull if you have to review a whole bunch of them. Then you have really quite the difference in time too. The reports from the seventies are really bare bones and thrown together. [...] Later ones tend to be a little more professional and polished in appearance. Particularly in contracting reports or field reports even for research have very little in terms of interpretation because they're geared towards the field results in terms of inventory or they're geared towards impact assessment, so avoiding or managing impacts to archaeological sites. That's their primary purpose. Not to interpret what's going on with what they found in terms of history. One thing you really see is a difference between a lot of the contract work that's done is done without any chronological knowledge because they rarely do chronological dating. That's changing a bit though. You're starting to see that happening a little bit more. But my experience first seeing someone who's visiting a site asks you is: 'How old is this?' In any context, whether it's First Nations or with settler communities, they ask the same question: 'How old is it?' If you don't ask that question then I don't know if - you can't really begin a proper interpretation of the site. Archaeology is essentially an historical discipline. You have to know where you are in time to orient yourself.

Duncan McLaren (unpublished interview, April 15, 2015)

For McLaren, the absence of interpretation in contracting reports and field reports is because this is simply not the objective of the archaeological work. Moreover, in his view of archaeology as an historic discipline, McLaren sees the general absence of chronological dating in contract archaeology as a significant limitation which precludes “a proper interpretation of the site.”

Other reasons for the dearth of interpretation in provincial archaeological reporting is the condition of ancestral places under investigation. The 1974 report for the provincial archaeological survey of the Gulf Islands stated that

construction generally destroys any site upon which it is built and severely damages the immediate surroundings. It is, with wave action, the most common form of archaeological site disturbance and with the increasing pressures of population and associated development, it will become the primary threat to the prehistoric record. (Acheson et al. 1975, 4-5)

Since the time of this survey, few identified archaeological sites have been revisited for more thorough investigation until the creation of the GINPR. Sites that have been re-visited are indicated in RAAD, and sometimes result in permit reports listed in the provincial archaeology report library (PARL). From this grey literature, it is evident that 150 years of intensive and passive land use by settlers directly upon or near First Nations ancestral places has compromised the integrity and provenience of cultural materials to a point that often precludes interpretation. As forecasted by Acheson et al. (1975), development from increasing population pressure has become the predominant threat to those ancestral places. Mr. Eldridge explains the implications of de-contextualization for the interpretation of archaeological sites.

I don't know. I've puzzled with that my whole career because it seems that—I don't know if it's just difficult for people to do. I mean there's certain—some of the major culture histories have sort of talked about and put things in the big picture and use data but on individual projects it's rarely done. Partly it takes time and someone has to pay for that time. So either the developer has to be willing to actually pay for analysis and interpretation time or you have to take it out of overhead and do it on your own time and not bill it to the client and still do it and put it in the report. Certainly we do that from time to time, but it's got to be pretty interesting before we do that. Those kinds of stories and histories aren't told that—I find they're not often built up. There's a great deal of archaeology done, but few large

projects which find a lot of material and most of those ones that have been done have been on stuff that's already been dug up. There's no context. There's no real archaeology to it. It's a treasure hunt. For everything but the really interesting stuff gets described and maybe a little bit of analysis done. But because it's all out of context, if it's already been dug up by the back hoe, then you're redoing road basis or something like that that's made out of midden, there's limited what you can say about it anyway.

Morley Eldridge (unpublished interview, June 30, 2015)

Eldridge defines archaeology as an interpretive practice, a practice which differentiates it from a “treasure hunt.” The de-contextualization of archaeological sites before they can be investigated precludes interpretation and story-telling. A more critical view of the absence of interpretation through provincial archaeology was given by Eric McLay a PhD candidate in archaeology researching inland archaeological landscapes in the southern Gulf Islands and long-time archaeological consultant working primary on behalf of First Nations and BC Parks. He explained how development has often proceeded without even triggering impact assessment and mitigation process.

On Salt Spring, I think it was 138 sites over a two month period, and that would include a complete shoreline survey as well as talking to local residents about local inland sites, and you know in the last forty years, since 1974, there's only been about 35 sites recorded, and most of those sites were regional inventories for provincial parks or for large scale developments. So I think there were 2 or 3 projects where those 30 sites were recorded. So in 30 years in the consulting industry, we really haven't learned anything and we haven't added to our site knowledge for the most part, which is a bit shocking. ... Development's been going on, but there's been no impact assessments, no sort of inventories or mitigation. It's been sort of unregulated development. And so it's a bit disconcerting that even though we have this information, we're not sort of actively protecting these sites through local government processes or provincial government permit processes, and we're not learning anything at the same time. So we're spending a lot of money doing impact assessments, yet at the same time, they're not contributing anything except bureaucracy.

Eric McLay (unpublished interview, February 23, 2016)

For McLay, in spite of a vast inventory of known archaeological sites, municipal and provincial-level governments have not been proactive in their management nor their protection.

McLay's view that there is a general absence of impact assessments, inventories and monitoring leads him to conclude that there is "unregulated development" going on. To give some context, results from the GINPR inventory (I.R. Wilson Consulting Ltd. 1996) pointed to how British Columbia has not been exhaustively surveyed for archaeological sites. Perusing through the list of archaeological publications in PARL suggests that hundreds of sites continue to be either registered or re-visited in some capacity every year in British Columbia. However, the majority of these places are not being actively identified in surveys or re-visited in inventories, but emerge or re-emerge in the context of commercial and provincial development activities. Private developers encountering evidence of cultural resources are required by law to cease their operations immediately and to report the existence of a site to the Archaeology Branch. This typically triggers an impact assessment, the archaeological services for which are paid by the developer. This presents a conflict of interest in terms of how existing and newly identified sites are approached and managed.

The notion of the Archaeology Branch as facilitating development is consistent with the province's position that "it is rare that development will be prohibited because of the presence of an archaeological site, however, some modifications to development plans may be recommended" (Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations 2016a). In reality, only a handful of sites in the province have ever been seen as significant enough to warrant protection-measures done at the expense of the tax payer which would prohibit development (Genevieve Hill, Archaeologist and RBCM Curator, *pers. comm.*, August 23, 2016).<sup>40</sup> Where a site is deemed significant, the archaeologist would advise the developer to modify their plans

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<sup>40</sup> Notable among the sites completely protected from development are at Departure Bay, Willows Beach, Hatzic Rock (*Xá:ytem*), Grace Islet and *časnaʔəm*, where in each case provincial government funds provided the land owner compensation for not proceeding with their development plans.

(not halt them completely), such as creating a covenant so as to avoid (often further) impacting the ‘intact’ components of a site. Daryl Fedje, a former Parks Canada archaeologist and Hakai scholar at UVic, explains how Parks Canada operations in a different context than this provincial regulatory system:

Part of Parks Canada the mandate is supposedly conserve and protect kind of thing, so we're able to make a lot of decisions that would mitigate by moving a development or adjusting the way things are done rather than in the province for example where they have built that highway that way or whatever, certain very tight constraints or perceived constraints or things like that. So in government and perhaps academia, you have more latitude to do the right thing. In contract world perhaps you just have to do what the developer wants more or less or they'll just hire another archaeologist.

Daryl Fedje (unpublished interview, April 2, 2015)

Fedje touches on two different ideas with respect to how cultural heritage sites are approached by archaeologists, which are engaging in “responsible work” and “doing the right thing.” *Doing the right thing* might be understood as an ethical position on how an ancestral place is approached and managed with respect to those with the most at stake—First Nation communities. The notion of *responsible work* might be understood as doing the best archaeology one can do given the context of work. It is perhaps the difference between doing a ‘good job’ versus doing ‘a bad job.’

Engaging in responsible work appears dependent in part on who is financing the archaeological work. Commercial archaeologists in a competitive market are incentivized to offer the lowest bid in order to win contracts for archaeological and heritage impact assessments. While it becomes more affordable vis-à-vis the developer, this also translates into less time and resources to do a good job.

Darcy Mathews, a regional archaeologist who has worked extensively in southeast Vancouver Island as an academic and consultant, explains how the *ad hoc* nature of consulting work makes relationship building with First Nations quite challenging.

Now working as a consultant it's really difficult to have the kind of collaborative practices that I think many consultants would like to have. If you're working for a large company, you're working in Whitehorse one week and Haida Gwaii, then you're working in Prince George, then you're in Vancouver. So it's really difficult to have that kind of collaboration than if you just work with one or two clients for five or six years.

Darcy Mathews (unpublished interview, March 31, 2015)

An investment of time, over multiple years on the same project or over multiple projects, would create a sense of responsibility to the communities whose cultural heritage is at stake.

Re-visiting sites is also part of the process of an archaeologist's storytelling:

One of the benefits of working with Parks Canada is they have a longer-term perspective in their full-time job goes on for years and years, therefore we're in the position where we can spend time to learn something about an area, get some feedback from the archaeology and environment, go and do some more work and get some more feedback and develop a much stronger understanding of the story there.

Daryl Fedje (unpublished interview, April 2, 2015)

Fedje went on to explain how there is no incentive, financial or otherwise, for developers or the Archaeology Branch to follow-up in the commercial context. Moreover, the Archaeology Branch is limited in resources, generally understaffed, and have a huge amount of work to do—for the whole province. However, Eric McLay considers the absence of any long-term management or vision of management as more so an ethical issue versus a cost issue.

I think that's the case. We're trying to avoid archaeology, or at least save money, and that's not how it should be, because you know looking back at that 1974-1975 survey, you know they did a lot in two months on Salt Spring, and more than has been done in forty (40) years. So it's not an issue of cost, perhaps, it's an issue of attention and just caring about preserving these sites, because most of them haven't been seen in forty (40) years since.

Eric McLay (unpublished interview, February 23, 2016)

Darcy Mathews' experience as an archaeological contractor with the Department of National Defense (DND) resonates with McLay. With no financial or legislative impetus to do so, the DND elected to 'do the right thing':

So in my experience – [...] I think the Department of National Defense really deserves some acknowledgement here for their very proactive management of archaeological sites at Rocky Point. They've taken a level of stewardship that I think is really respectful and enlightened. It's kind of in contrast to the inconsistencies and the way that the Province of British Columbia for example approaches archaeological sites where the DND has said, 'Look this is a priority and we're just going to do it.' They don't have a federal level heritage legislation or even necessarily an overt mandate to do this but they're doing it because that's what they think is the right thing to do.

Darcy Mathews (unpublished interview, March 31, 2015).

'Doing the right thing' and engaging in 'responsible work' from the perspective of these regional specialist archaeologists is a choice. The challenges with doing 'good work' explained as an issue with cost is not tenable, as there are clearly archaeologists who grapple with time constraints and budgets, but still see the value for science, the public and especially First Nations in responsible archaeological practice. As state-recognized experts in matters of cultural heritage and with state-granted authority to evaluate and recommend protections and mitigations to First Nation ancestral places, archaeologists have the power to enable and constrain development where it conflicts with an archaeological site.

## **Concluding Remarks**

Critiques of the patterns of naming are not just esoteric arguments over language use. There are consequences in the way archaeology shapes public, legal, and political discourse (e.g., Martindale 2014; Nicholas 2006). The false dichotomy of camp-village has gone largely unacknowledged in contemporary land claims contexts. It is significant that equating "camp"

with use and “village” with occupancy, relates to the legal concept that says Aboriginal title requires evidence of exclusive occupancy, while aboriginal rights requires only evidence of “use.” Therefore the property claim of First Nations to “camps” is diminished to a passive usufructuary right (which does not have to be exercised at a particular place) rather than ownership/title to that very locale (which is more than likely someone’s private property on the Gulf Islands).

The reproduction of popular narratives that portray Indigenous peoples just haphazardly floating by the islands on the way to somewhere else delegitimizes First Nations claims by negating the operation of Indigenous land tenure systems. The “seasonal use” narrative has been reified in textbooks of archaeological syntheses, which are circulated and taught to budding archaeologists at post-secondary institutions. These in turn, produce the graduates who work in consulting archaeology who reproduce the standard models and frameworks.

Archaeological evidence can also be a powerful source for countering silences and or producing mentions (e.g., Stahl 2001). Archaeological texts for Gulf Islands sites must shift to incorporate the insights that these places have a more complex settlement pattern history, and not just reproduce the language of “seasonal sites.” The more recent transformation of these discourses to “exclusive use and occupancy” of lands by particular communities, and not by others, has further exacerbated tensions between neighbouring communities in ongoing land claims disputes (Thom 2009). Evidence for such occupation is sought in large part from archaeological research, a legitimate source of “that which is said to have happened” (Trouillot 1995, 2).

The pro-development thrust of the HCA (1996) presents anthropologists with an ethical quandary. Our predecessors have fundamentally reconfigured Indigenous peoples’ territorialities.

By choosing to problematize these narratives by embracing the complexity of Indigenous land tenure systems, we resist complicity with the colonial agenda and have a chance to produce something meaningful in collaboration with those very people whose histories we purport to know and continue to represent.

## **Chapter 6: Gulf Islands National Park Reserve Narratives of Coast Salish Territories and Territorialities**

The GINPR was established in 2003 with a commitment to establish cooperative management with First Nations. Since forming early in 2004, the H-GINPR Committee has a long-term goal to increase the presence of Hul'qumi'num peoples in the park through integrating their perspectives, stories and histories in Park interpretive information, and in the exercise of Aboriginal rights. I consider how the H-GINPR Committee is effecting this through a cooperative co-management arrangement where Hul'qumi'num people successfully negotiated a rare form of *consensus* decision-making with respect to these issues, and shed some light on the challenges for the committee with reaching their objectives. I then engage in a discursive and metanarrative analysis to examine power relationships and dynamics within the context of this arrangement and in current Park non-personal interpretive materials.

### **The Co-operative Management of GINPR Interpretative Materials for Coast Salish Cultures, Histories and Languages**

During an internal H-GINPR Committee meeting I attended in late fall of 2014, Stz'uminus First Nation representative and committee member Mr. Terry Sampson (*pers. comm.*, November 16, 2014) spoke to the room: "We have a heritage of a thousand years here." He asked: "What are the priorities of leadership? They need to get our history out. Our histories need to be developed." Although the oral history, traditional use and place names studies constitute a documentary record of Hul'qumi'num peoples, histories, cultural practices and language in the southern Gulf Islands, there is still no Hul'qumi'num narrative of territorial relations for the southern Gulf Islands "out there" in the public view.

This was echoed by Park Superintendent Marcia Morash, who during our interview spoke to her impression of the Coast Salish presence in the GINPR compared to that of the Haida in Gwaii Hanaas National Park Reserve.

When I came to Gulf Islands and visited Gulf Islands National Park Reserve for the first time, one of the things that I was surprised about—and I said this to all the First Nations committees, and I've said this to all of my staff as well—the lack of presence of First Nations in Gulf Islands. Although we have signage and we have some interpretive panels, there isn't nearly as much as I would have expected to see and what I think needs to be seen. There was no presence from an architectural perspective. Again I came from Gwaii Haanas, which is a very remote National Park Reserve, but there's the evidence of poles [...], [and] also house posts and actual longhouse types structures that have been constructed in Gwaii Haanas to support the Haida Gwaii Watchman Program. There was no such presence. There was no similar presence in Gulf Islands. [...] There was an absence to me of First Nations on the land. So one of the things that I've been working very hard to try to address here is looking at ways that we can change that.

Marcia Morash (unpublished interview, August 27, 2015)

In the 13 years since park creation, strong sentiments are shared by H-GINPR Committee and GINPR Superintendent Morash that First Nations peoples' presence is lacking in the Park. This silence persists in the face of HTG's negotiated veto over decision-making for interpretation of Hul'qumi'num culture, history and language in the GINPR (2006).

To conceptualize the co-management arrangement as a relationship means that any conclusions I draw would only be applicable only to this particular case, and to the particular moments in time during which this relationship has been my analytical object (e.g. Spaeder 2005). My analysis identifies challenges with achieving the committee's objective to increase Hul'qumi'num peoples' presence in the GINPR. In the context of the committee-parks relationship, power is mutable and dynamic. Drawing on Foulcault's notion of *power relations*, "power" is seen as embedded in social relations and historical processes and emerges through contexts of interactions (Dirks et al. 1994, 4). For co-management in the GINPR, the H-GINPR

Committee members can be seen as *agents* who are “constantly negotiating questions of power, authority and the control of the definitions of reality” (1994, 4). The observation that some co-management arrangements may still offer opportunities for the role of communities to be enhanced, and a greater mutual understanding to be built between individuals, groups and institutions (Kofinas 2005) applies, in a general sense, to the aspirations of both the Superintendent and the Committee members for ameliorating their relationship.

I discuss how co-management of interpretive information has played out on-the-ground. This focus elucidates some challenges with realizing the potential of the consensus-based decision-making clause of the agreement. These challenges are arranged thematically and discussed in turn: communication and collaboration; privacy and intellectual property; and multiple interests and voices.

### **Communication and Collaboration**

The absence of regularized, ongoing communication underlies several of the challenges faced by the H-GINPR Committee to meet their objectives. Although management planning is supposed to be undertaken collaboratively, Committee members are concerned that Parks Canada fails to communicate its management planning actions in timely fashion. This communication problem may be exacerbated by the fluidity of staff coming in and out of the positions of First Nations Program Coordinator and Superintendent, positions—which work most closely with First Nations committee representatives. Not having consistent, long-term relationships with these individual staff creates discontinuity in relationship and trust building processes.

A brief background of how the H-GINPR Committees objective has figured into GINPR management plans provides important background how management planning is a pivotal step in consensus decision-making. Superintendent Morash explains that there is a ten-year adjustment

process when a National Park Reserve is first created. The Park Establishment Agreement (Parks Canada 2003, 14.3) requires a park has Interim Management Guidelines (IMG) to guide the operation of the Park Reserve once it is established but before the more comprehensive Parks Management Plan (PMP)—which is approved and tabled in Parliament—is developed. The IMG outlined strategies to achieve management goals in the Park over a five year period.<sup>41</sup> IMG Interim goal eight of 10 is to develop cooperative relations with First Nations that “respects their unique history and current use” (Parks Canada 2006a). The IMG identifies the need for “local history research and studies of traditional use” (2006a) in order to inform future management decisions around accommodating the exercise of First Nations’ Aboriginal rights and for appropriate interpretive content about First Nations’ lifestyles and history in the area.

While the integration of HTG’s goal in the IMG is a positive indicator of GINPR’s intent to accommodate of First Nations’ interests, in 2005 the HTG saw room for improvement:

While the strategic management actions set out in the draft IMGs are positive, the practices to date have not yet met the expectations of the HTG Park Committee in terms of collaboration. While the place names and cultural story projects for the 2005 visitor guide were successful endeavours, the HTG Park Committee [now the H-GINPR Committee] requests greater involvement in reviewing draft materials (text and images) which concern Hul’qumi’num culture, language and history before they are made public. (Thom 2005b, 19)

The H-GINPR Committee was given a one-month window prior to the public release of the IMG to review the draft IMG and submit their concerns (2005b, 7), largely precluding the possibility of any meaningful dialogue about how their interests should be framed and integrated in this important pre-Park Management Plan document. These concerns were reiterated in results

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<sup>41</sup>The IMG focus is on the requirement to “protect ecological integrity and provide guidance for visitor use and communications” (Parks Canada 2006b). There is also a special need to address cultural heritage management and direction in the GINPR, a key priority of First Nations engaged in Park management planning (Thom 2005b, 4).

from interviews conducted in 2009 with First Nations for the State of the Park Report's (SOPR)

#### Key Planning Considerations:<sup>42</sup>

It is also important for Coast Salish Nations themselves to communicate their stories to park visitors. For interpretive programming purposes, determining what information is appropriate and how it can best be shared with the public requires ongoing collaboration between First Nations and Parks Canada. (Parks Canada 2010b, 13)

Five more detailed Area Plans were created between 2007 and 2011, of which four are focused on areas in HTG's core territory. Locations for Area Plans to be developed are identified by the IMG in key visitor use areas and detailed plans are needed to "establish protection and use plans for a specific location" (Parks Canada 2009, 1). Portland Island, Roesland (North Pender Island), Narvaez Bay and Winter Cove (east and west ends of Saturna Island, respectively) were reviewed for management goals, objectives, actions and timelines to develop interpretive materials cooperatively with First Nations for these areas (Appendix II). These plans solicit and weigh a range of perspectives from the public, the Park Advisory Committee, First Nation committees and other stakeholders into mid-term area planning.

It is significant that First Nations objectives and goals appeared in these documents, as they are one voice of many in this process and particularly early on were quite marginalized in these planning processes. Moreover, this was a productive collaboration. New signage was developed as part of the area plan process at Winter Cove, Narvaez Bay and Portland Island. Many of the signs feature Coast Salish First Nations history, language and culture. A GINPR staff member explained how these pieces came out of First Nations committees:

So in terms of First Nation connection to lands and waters within the Park Reserve we have multiple lines of information that are used to foster our understanding of these places.

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<sup>42</sup>Subsequent to publishing the IMG, GINPR undertook park management and monitoring activities between 2003 and 2008 with the purpose to identify parks management planning challenges and to prioritize potential issues in future management planning (Parks Canada 2010b, 1, 6). Chapter Two of the SOPR is dedicated to "Aboriginal Perspectives" (9-13) on this process, garnered from interviews conducted with First Nations' committees and community members in 2009.

As I mentioned before there's experts that, scientific experts that may provide information like the archaeological studies that are done in the Park Reserve, the settlement and landscape histories that have been done, the structural histories that had been done. So experts have written those. There is information that comes directly through the committee structures and through First Nations. Sometimes through the area plans that are produced there are specific components that are provided by and prepared by and written by some of our Coast Salish partners. Sometimes part of those area plans are contracted out and they provide information which gets brought into the area plans. So other things are projects that are—information that comes directly from First Nations through contracts to undertake work which they provide to us. Sometimes there are First Nations that are directly writing those pieces of information that comes directly to us. So there's various lines of information, then there's sort of the written record that exists as well.

Anonymous GINPR personnel (unpublished interview, August 20, 2015)

In addition to fieldtrips and individual interviews, my fieldwork from 2013 to 2016 consisted of my attendance at several Internal Meetings at the H-GINPR Committee table. Here, I learned of committee members concerns that Parks Canada has not taken First Nations interests in communication seriously, concerns exacerbated by Parks further seeking to reduce the number of meetings with their Hul'qumi'num partners to quarterly versus the practice of monthly meetings that had gone on since 2004. GINPR Committee Coordinator Kathleen Johnnie replied that the status-quo of one internal meeting per month is the minimum required to continue in a cooperative management relationship in a meaningful way. Also revealed in these discussions was how GINPR has required that any proposals for Park management—in essence the values, goals and objectives the First Nations themselves may want met—must be submitted two years in advance and even then may not be considered or prioritized by a Parks Agency which was faced with diminishing resources and human capacity. This may have been the impetus for the H-GINPR Committee's development of their own Strategic Plan (Appendix I) in 2013 outside of a highly anticipated, state-sanctioned Draft Management Plan (Parks Canada 2013). The H-GINPR Committee's plan clearly articulates the processes through which Hul'qumi'num Coast Salish

peoples will increase their presence in and use of lands in the GINPR. H-GINPR Committee also identified that other First Nations with interests and rights in Park lands have given negative feedback on how Parks Canada similarly responds to their interests in GINPR as a result of this restrictive two-year pre-planning submission requirement.

Adding to this challenge is that “participation in park management was underfunded and their ability to engage was seriously impacted by the lack of adequate resources” (Parks Canada 2010b, 12). Funding agreements are updated annually, and even while funds are targeted to committees, as I witnessed in the 2015-16 fiscal year transition, they may be caught up in bureaucratic process for several months at a time. This stalls the continuation of internal and external committee meetings, resulting in serious lapses in the dialogues needed for long-term planning and fully consensus-based decision-making. Moreover, while the platform of the recently-elected Liberal government shows renewed funding earmarked for Parks Canada, this was specifically targeting park visitors—namely waiving parks fees to make them more financially-accessible for citizens—as well as newcomers. It is striking that in the twenty-first century—where First Nations’ unceded title and ongoing Aboriginal rights have been recognized—*implementation* of those rights and authorities in a forum of joint-overlapping jurisdiction, and in spite of a co-management agreement that at least on paper provides a suitable framework, remains elusive.

### **Multiple Interests and Voices**

The many distinctive rights-holder and stakeholder groups is a particularly unique and challenging aspect of GINPR co-management. Parks must consider the voices of other First Nations such as those represented by W̱SÁNEĆ and for the H-GINPR Committee, as well as to meet their own mandate to promote the park as a tourist destination and conservation area. Such

challenges point to the need for regularized, reliable two-way communication about how stories can be accommodated in the GINPR.

For the H-GINPR Committee, I specifically recall the preliminary research agenda for the PMHL, which focused only on W̱SÁNEĆ ethnographic and ethnohistoric information—a source of ongoing tension between Hul’qumi’num and W̱SÁNEĆ Nations. H-GINPR Committee Coordinator Kathleen Johnnie (*pers. comm.* October 25, 2014) reminds us that their relations with W̱SÁNEĆ Nations are also important because of family connections between W̱SÁNEĆ and Hul’qumi’num communities. This means they will strive to settle their issues together, before engaging with Parks. This was the position of the HTG stated nine years earlier in the initial planning consultation:

The members of the HTG Park Committee have, in their work, always recognized and expressed a desire to respect the Saanich area First Nations views and interests in the area of the park. As one Committee member expressed, “*Saanich must not be left out. They are important to us and share a lot of our values. It’s not our territory; it’s not their territory. It is shared territory.*” Though Saanich area First Nations have chosen to remain, to date, outside the HTG process, most communities have recently begun engaging directly with Parks Canada. (Thom 2005b, 6)

These relationships have implications for the development of interpretive content, an area of park management. An anonymous GINPR staff member and Superintendent Morash spoke to how the interpretive content emerging through the work of the First Nations’ committees is shaped by this contemporary context.

For us it's developing that relationship with First Nations so that we're able to tell the stories that they'd like us to tell. We are trying to learn about what information is appropriate for us to be sharing and whether they're comfortable sharing that information or not. [...] We take our lead from them. And for us a lot of the times we would much rather have First Nations people being able to tell their own story as opposed to it being told by us. It's more appropriate that they should be able to tell their own story. So, the information that we gather and share comes directly from the Nations and [we] make sure it's being told that way. And hopefully that we can find ways in the future to promote First

Nations opportunities to be able to tell their story directly to the public. In terms of the challenges that exist in doing that, those challenges are a result of contemporary relationship structures that exist within and among local Nations; be it involving treaty processes or assertion of rights and title. It's just how those play in the broader context and how that influences what people would be willing to share with us.

Anonymous GINPR personnel (unpublished interview, August 20, 2015)

This is not an easy area to be portraying First Nations history or language simply because this is an area where we have three (3) dialects. Where we have nineteen (19) First Nations. We have overlapping territories, and as I'm sure you're aware not all the First Nations agree on whose territory belongs to whom. As an organization that is trying to accurately story-tell and share information that can present an incredible challenge from an interpretive perspective, from a story-telling perspective, from an educational perspective and just from a practical perspective. If you have five (5) languages that you try to somehow capture, how do you do that? How do you do that in a way that's both accurate, practical, affordable and that still makes sense to the audiences that you're trying to reach?

Marcia Morash (unpublished interview, August 27, 2015)

Parks Canada's position is that they are taking their lead from First Nations' committees to ensure that interpretive content about First Nations peoples' histories draw upon or entirely reproduce those stories deemed appropriate by the committee. In the view of Parks Canada, there are practical, financial and political challenges to representing a multiplicity of views. Parks Canada representatives specifically point to overlapping territories in the context of "contemporary relationship structures" as the major constraint in the selection of stories for the production of history in the GINPR. However, an unequal power dynamic is evident. If Coast Salish First Nations want be accommodated, they must conform to producing a history that is "accurate, practical, affordable and that still makes sense to the audiences that [Parks Canada is] trying to reach" (Marcia Morash, unpublished interview, August 27, 2015). By placing the onus on First Nations to sort out their issues, so to speak, Parks Canada avoids engaging them in a major way over the co-development of interpretive content. Coast Salish First Nations are left with few choices. The "choice" is to undermine the integrity of their social and political

organization and cultural practice by simplifying and streamlining their stories and histories in order to be accommodated by the state.

### **Privacy and Intellectual Property**

This notion of “shared territory” alludes to another selective process constraining which knowledge and stories emerge in the GINPR: concerns arising from the unresolved nature of title and rights for Hul’qumi’num peoples. Many place names and stories for the southern Gulf Islands are withheld from public forums given their status as potential evidence for Aboriginal title litigations and their key role in informing negotiations. This explains the wording used in the 2004 HTG Traditional Use Study report:

The selected place-name information shared with Parks Canada for the specific purpose of public education should not be assumed by any party to represent the scope of Hul’qumi’num information in this region, nor should Parks Canada interpret the selection of this place-name information to define the extent of any Hul’qumi’num peoples’ knowledge, oral history, traditional use or cultural relationship to these lands in the [GINPR]. (Joe et al. 2004, 2)

The strategic omission of place names and stories of Hul’qumi’num peoples by PMHL shapes knowledge about Hul’qumi’num connections to place that gets integrated into GINPR interpretive materials. Adding to this complexity is the lack of trust of Parks Canada to be stewards of Hul’qumi’num histories and knowledge. One Elder I approached declined to participate in this project because the individual was uncomfortable with family knowledge being in the hands of government. There was also concern that Parks Canada would benefit financially from sharing Coast Salish stories and knowledge with park visitors (anonymous individual, *pers. comm.*, March 30, 2015).

The H-GINPR Committee took one novel step towards addressing the issue of intellectual property in part through the creation of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on *Hul’q’umi’num’ Oral Histories* with the GINPR, and subsequently with the joint publication of

the Ecosystem Guide which prohibited Parks Canada from selling it for money (only giving it away). However, some research spearheaded by the Hul'qumi'num and funded through the GINPR is still subject to Access to Information and Privacy (ATIP) requests,<sup>43</sup> and it was also highlighted to me that inter-departmental (i.e. Department of Fisheries and Ocean or Ministry of Justice, whose mandates are more adversarial than collaborative with respect to aboriginal title and rights) data sharing within the federal government may be of even greater concern for misuse and decontextualization. This context has undoubtedly shaped the nature of research H-GINPR Committee conducts collaboratively with the GINPR, and is part of the reason my research project did not obtain financial or logistical support from Parks Canada.

### **Shaping Public Perceptions: Interpretive Information in the GINPR**

There are four main non-personal public communication outlets for the GINPR: interpretive signage in the park (c.2003-2011), annual visitor guides (GINPR 2006-2015), the GINPR website and more recently the Gulf Islands trail guide (application for portable digital device “Explora”). I consider the material differences between these mediums, critically analyze their content and evaluate their implications for visitor perceptions of First Nations ancestral and ongoing territorial connections.

Non-personal interpretive information contrasts with personal interpretive information, the latter involving face-to-face interaction between GINPR visitors and GINPR interpreters and programmers. Though engagement with personal interpretive information and programming was beyond the scope of this research, I consider it briefly here because GINPR interviews revealed the perception that it is more influential in shaping public perceptions than non-personal

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<sup>43</sup>The appendix of the Agreement (2006b) deals with this a certain degree, allowing for some data not to be put into ATIP records.

interpretive information. Superintendent Marcia Morash sees the greatest potential for building understanding of First Nations peoples' and lifestyles through face-to-face interactions.

There has to be again—I'll speak to having an open mind and an open heart and anyone coming in with that, if they have that, I think there's absolutely the possibility to change an attitude and to teach. Again can you do that with simply an interpretive panel? I don't think so. My experience with any culture and speaking specifically to First Nations, some of my greatest teachings some of my greatest growth in terms of learning and understanding has come through the relationships; has come through the contact with the individuals, with the communities. It's the conversations and it's not necessarily the formal meetings. Sometimes it's attending a community event or it's having coffee and that is where understanding starts. It's being able to sit with someone face-to-face and talk to them, but again in doing that it has to be with an open mind and an open heart, otherwise things don't change, and it doesn't matter whether we're talking about Gulf Islands, anywhere else in Canada or anywhere else in the world.

Marcia Morash (unpublished interview, August 27, 2015)

Superintendent Morash's view of relationship building is consistent with the expectations of the H-GINPR Committee for Parks Canada, who expressed a sincere hope for an improved relationship since Morash joined the GINPR as superintendent. While this level of interaction is possible for engaged GINPR staff and leadership, far fewer opportunities exist for GINPR visitors. In 2016, for example, nine interpretive programs were listed on the GINPR website (Parks Canada 2016a), all of which ran in the high season for GINPR visitors. One event was specifically centered on First Nations knowledge of aquaculture (clam gardens) and ran twice a season. Two one-day events have included Coast Salish lifestyle components; a barbecue at Saturna Island where one can "learn traditional skills from our Coast Salish guest"; and a species inventory activity at which time one can "also join us to celebrate Coast Salish culture with traditional singing, dancing and clam tasting." That is a total of four facilitated opportunities to directly engage with Coast Salish peoples in the GINPR in this particular year. This stands in stark contrast with Pacific Rim National Park Reserve on the west side of Vancouver Island, which has an interpretive programme run by the Beach Keepers, knowledgeable Nuu-chah-

nuulth persons who can share profound and deep teachings with tourists and visitors in the park (Helweg-Larsen 2017).

With no intent to undermine these efforts, these opportunities are arguably too infrequent to establish in the public view the ongoing connections and presence of Coast Salish peoples in the GINPR. Non-personal interpretive information contrasts in this sense by its continuous, material presence.

### **The Medium: The Potential Power of non-Personal Interpretive Information**

The materiality of non-interpretive information configures its work. While Annual Visitor Guides (AVGs) may change yearly, they are a documentary text leaving material traces which can be stored or archived, and re-obtained and re-read. AVGs are portable and can be carried on someone's person before entering and while visiting the park. AVGs contain practical visitor use information for navigating the park, such as the location of camp sites and moorages, and so it might be tucked away until someone's next visit. AVGs can change annually (although sometimes the content changes little from year to year), and can be lost, damaged or intentionally used as fire-starter. Their permanence is variable, and unpredictable. In recent times, there has been a general shift to move AVG content online (Anonymous GINPR personnel, unpublished interview, August 20, 2015). There are implications for the digitization of GINPR non-personal interpretive content.

GINPR signage is created with the intent of relative permanence. Signage has a continuous presence in the space where people interact with and dwell in the park landscape. With text and images printed onto hardboard and protected with plastic, it is not intended to be regularly updated nor replaced. As such, it can be counted on to tell the same story every time it

is engaged. The story it tells is thus important, and by extension getting this story right is important.

Non-interpretive signage that does not tell a story is also significant. Directional and regulatory signs materially structure the experience of the visitor on the lands and waters by telling us where to go, where not to go, where we are going, the name of the place we are at, what we are seeing, and in some cases what we are not seeing. Signs are encoded with symbols, which become powerful when repeated in the material landscape. Signage as such is not benign. It acts on us in subtle ways of which we are not conscious.

In recent times Parks Canada has shifted to digitize non-personal interpretive information, perhaps to reduce their carbon footprint and likely from Harper-era budget cuts. In addition to a website, Parks Canada launched a Trail Guide App in 2014 for several visitor-use areas in the GINPR.<sup>44</sup> For a small fee, anyone with a portable cellular device can download the application. In addition to GPS functions, one can “discover” information pertaining to places, people, animals, plants and science in the GINPR. The APP at this point has limited content about First Nations peoples’ histories, knowledge, rights and lives, and most of this is focused on Sidney Island.

There will always be the practical possibility that many people will continue to choose non-digital methods for navigating their park experience. While certain mediums may be more influential on public perceptions than others, this has not been a topic of research in the GINPR. I maintain that the existence of non-personal interpretive information and its availability for public consumption means that it has potential to effect public perceptions of Coast Salish

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<sup>44</sup>Sidney Spit, Russell Island, Georgina Point (Mayne Island), Roesland (Pender Island), Winter Cove and Lyall Creek (Saturna Island), McDonald Campground (Sidney) and Portland Island.

peoples' connections to places in the GINPR. This is consistent with the negotiation by HTG that interpretive material is a consensus item in the Agreement, not a consultation item, and the desire by the H-GINPR Committee for a product from this research that will contribute to a textual-material re-storying of the Park Reserve.

### **Narratives of Dispossession: Reproducing Inequality in the GINPR**

As a site of narrative production (Trouillot 1995), GINPR narratives are examined following Cruikshank (1997, 2005), who argues that the process of making inequality involves transforming landscapes both symbolically and in practice. Symbols underlie park narratives about park places and the people connected to those places. Park narratives which reinforce the perception of a “natural” division between, for example, people (social, cultural) and places (natural), do not necessarily align with—or may be in complete disaccord with—how Indigenous peoples' see themselves and relate to their worlds (Cruikshank 1997, 2005; McIlwraith 2012; Nadasdy 2003a; Roy 2010; Thornton 2010). These divisions can be seen not only in verbal symbols (text) and images, but also in the structuring and arrangement of this content. For example, the divisions created through text headings and subheadings differentiate between natural and cultural resources, between First Nations values and Parks values, between visitor use and First Nations use, contemporary and archaeological First Nations connections, and between settler, natural and First Nations history. While the H-GINPR Committee can develop content about themselves, they cannot control other types of content and moreover, how their stories and knowledge are framed vis-à-vis newcomer-settler or nature narratives. The strategy for arranging and presenting First Nations content effects a subtle transformation of their territorial relations.

The narrative frame used by Parks Canada for any particular place concerning “that which is said to have happened” (Trouillot 1995, 2) is chronological and sequential.

Within archaeology, historical narratives are also not neutral; but present history in the form of a sequence informed by social evolutionism. In the context of Stonehenge, Bender explains how “sequential narratives of the past” invalidate the notion of Stonehenge as a place which is continually renewed, as a “living site,” as opposed to an “archaeological” one (Bender 1999, 9). In Parks Canada interpretive materials, history is periodized, with First Nations history and the so-called archaeological record narrating the past, measured as “time immemorial;” the interval or period before newcomer history begins.

For Parks Canada, this view enabled equality for all perspectives of the significance, value and function of the GINPR. But the framing and language of these narratives in non-personal interpretative materials reproduces inequality for First Nations people. Specifically, sequential narratives create disjunctures between Coast Salish peoples’ pasts and present, leaving the question of territorial alienation effected in the so-called historic period unanswered, and by extension naturalizing the displacement of Coast Salish peoples from the southern Gulf Islands. I offer insight as to why representations of First Nations are problematic for First Nation peoples from a framework of historical production and power.

### **The Authority of Parks Canada**

All place-based narratives in the GINPR are authoritative and written in the voice of third-person. The specific source or sources selected to developing the text, and the texts’ author or authors, are not indicated for the majority of non-personal interpretive pieces. Presenting a single, unified view elides how parks narratives are contested, and supports the notion that Parks

Canada is speaking for everyone equally, just as its mandate is to protect and preserve the natural and cultural heritage for all Canadians (S.C. 2002).

GINPR authority and jurisdiction are established through the use of verbal and representational symbols, such as text and icons. “GINPR,” “National Park Reserve of Canada,” “Canada,” the Parks Canada emblem of a beaver and the Canadian nationalist symbol of the bicoloured flag with a maple leaf, appear throughout the large majority of interpretive information, including non-interpretive signage such as directional and regulatory signs (Figure 8).



**Figure 8: Example of a Directional Sign with Canadian and National Parks symbolism at Mt. Warburton Trail, Saturna Island (c.2003)**

The icon of the beaver, in particular, is an historic symbol of the fur trade and perhaps Indigenous-settler relations in the early post-colonial period, but is not emblematic of Coast

Salish peoples' cultures. These federal identifications enclose the text on interpretive signs, located at the corners and heading (top-centre position) of a panel (Figure 9).



**Figure 9: Example of an Interpretive Sign with Canadian and National Parks symbolism at Monarch Head, Saturna Island (c.2003)**

Such text and symbols serve as a reminder that these lands are under federal jurisdiction and authority.

With respect to text, GINPR interpretive information establishes the exclusive authority of the federal government by putting its mandate, values, priorities and regulations at the forefront of AVGs and on signs at the entrance of GINPR trails. As a federal government entity, it is distinguished from other jurisdictions, rights holders and “interest” groups including First Nations. First Nations’ interests, values and priorities are segregated from those of the GINPR through separate headings and subheadings, positioning in text, page number (in the case of AVGs) and webpage (in the case of the GINPR website). In maintaining the distinctiveness of each entity in content layout and relegating First Nations’ interests, values and priorities in as the figurative footnotes of textual documents, the perception is that First Nations are taking part and

having “interests,” but are not quite management partners. The difference is subtle, but importantly reinforces the *authoritae prima* of GINPR above others, especially First Nations.

The role of First Nations in the GINPR is categorized in AVGs as advisory, and their influence on decision-making is framed as less significant vis-à-vis other advisory bodies: “Our work is guided by/through the wise counsel of the Park Advisory Board (representing other levels of government and the public), and by advisory boards and committees of interested First Nations” (GINPR 2006, 3; 2007, 3). In 2008 (GINPR 2008, 3), Islands Trust became the key partner with whom Parks Canada works closely in Parks stewardship, and among other groups are First Nations who are “in good company” with Parks Canada. As an exception to other AVGs, two pages of the 2008 guide are dedicated to “Building Relationships with First Nations,” detailing First Nations identities, the function and structure of committees and how First Nations’ interests and rights are factored into management planning (2008, 16-17). There is no recognition of outstanding issues of Aboriginal rights and title, or existing treaty rights in AVGs from 2009 to 2015 (GINPR 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015). On the GINPR website, there is a webpage with baseline information about the First Nations Park Committees, framing First Nations involvement as a choice and the state’s involvement as an obligation (although with no explicit mention of statutory obligation): “Parks Canada made a commitment to develop cooperative working relationships with those Coast Salish First Nations that wished to do so” (Parks Canada 2012). This stands in stark contrast to the webpage of the Park Advisory Board, which provides details of the function, purpose and terms of the Board, as well as detailed biographies of individual members. Such language and positioning further obscures and marginalizes the role of First Nations in park management planning, or worse, reflects how Parks Canada sees their role as marginal compared to the Parks Advisory Board.

The Parks Canada portrayal of the ancillary role of First Nations in the management of the GINPR is reinforced through omitting explanation at the outset of documents the legal significance of a Park *Reserve*. For example, an information bubble on "National Parks" (GINPR 2006, 3; 2007, 3) explains what a National Park is, but not that this is a Park Reserve—skirting explanation of outstanding title and rights of First Nations to these lands. Under “Park Planning,” “there are 19 First Nations who have an historical interest in the area in which Gulf Islands National Park Reserve is located” (GINPR 2006, 3; 2007, 3). The language of “interest” is inaccurate, as First Nations are rights-holders, which sets their “interests” apart from public stakeholders. The language of “historical” suggests that it is something long past, not current, or that their interest is only in historical matters, and not issues of contemporary significance. Furthermore, the lack of differentiation between “First Nations” glosses over the diverse interests and rights (treaty/aboriginal rights) of 19 different communities. Only in the 2008 AVG is there recognition of constitutionally-protected Aboriginal rights (GINPR 2008, 16-17). There is no such recognition in 2006 and 2007, or from 2009 to 2015. Acknowledgments on some signage that this is Coast Salish traditional territory first commemorate and acknowledge the sale, donation or transfer of lands to the GINPR by colonial pre-emptors, including the descendants of settlers and the state (Figure 10).



**Figure 10: Interpretive Sign (Commemorative Plaque) acknowledging private sale of lands to GINPR and traditional territories of First Nations at North Pender Island (c.2003).**

Furthermore, the acknowledgement is double-edged. While it is intended on the one hand to recognize prior indigenous presence, by generalizing and making plural “Coast Salish” First Nations and by making them “territories,” Parks Canada avoids making any specific commitments with respect to the recognition of aboriginal rights or title at this place; again saying something so general and without prejudice to Canada’s legal position (that indigenous property rights can not be recognized by the state unless defined by the courts or delineated through negotiation, it is like not saying anything at all.

The general absence of language that could be read as a position of recognition is important as it concerns First Nations peoples’ *rights* to continue their use of and connections to these lands, as opposed to suggesting they have special *privileges* vis-à-vis the non-Aboriginal

public. This framing obscures a history of dispossession through land alienation on GINPR and surrounding lands from public view and understanding.

### **Natural Landscapes and Tourism**

Welcome to Gulf Islands National Park Reserve of Canada

You are visiting one of Canada's newest national parks - one that protects a portion of the Strait of Georgia Lowlands natural region, one of the most beautiful and diverse ecosystems on the West Coast. Help us to protect them by making your visit one that leaves little trace of your presence by respecting the following. [...]

(GINPR Interpretive Sign, Winter Cove, Saturna Island, n.d.)

Parks Canada is presented as a protector and guardian of nature and fragile ecosystems, a narrative that legitimizes its authority and rationalizes GINPR's creation. It self-celebrates and congratulates through framing its acquisition as "a new legacy:" "Established in 2003, Gulf Islands National Park Reserve safeguards a portion of BC's beautiful southern Gulf Islands archipelago. These islands are among some of the most ecologically at risk natural regions in southern Canada" (GINPR 2006, 2007). It is a new legacy for Canadians, perhaps, but not for First Nations who successfully stewarded these lands for 10,000 years, until cultural entanglements with Europeans (see chapters 4 and 5) challenged and fettered First Nations' jurisdictions in their own homeland. The reality of successful stewardship and management is acknowledged marginally,<sup>45</sup> and is not visible at the onset of interpretive documents and signage. It is these introductory pieces that set the tone for the authority of Parks Canada and establishes this place as a trust and inheritance for "all Canadians"—displacing, muting and delegitimizing First Nations.

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45 Specifically in the way "indigenous traditional knowledge" supplements or helps inform "western science." E.g. "First Nations' scientific and traditional knowledge being used alongside modern science to help park managers make decisions on how to restore and maintain park ecosystems" (GINPR 2009, 10).

Ecologically protected areas are described using language that frames human interaction (by First Nations, visitors, commercial and other interests) with these places as threatening. Almost all islets are zoned as Special Protection Areas (SPA), and consist of a “vital refuge” for non-human species that are “endangered” and “fragile.” There are many islets in the Gulf Islands that serve as cemeteries and burial grounds for Coast Salish peoples’ ancestors. First Nations connections, taking a sign at Winter Cove as an example, are made in this way: “Many islets have cultural significance for the Coast Salish people” (“Fragile Islets”, Winter Cove, Saturna Island, n.d.). In these instances, however, the significance of these locales to First Nations are deliberately unqualified to strategically deter park goers from “exploring” these places, and to deter pot hunting and potentially disturbing Coast Salish peoples’ ancestors. This is a critically important consideration in decision-making around how to implement First Nations concerns for the protection of ancestral places from inadvertent or intentional impacts by park goers, while at the same time educating and informing park goers about First Nations’ connections to these locales.

All place-based descriptions in the GINPR are qualified in some way as an important ecosystem or habitat for non-human species. This sense of natural, de-humanized landscapes is important for park visitors, for whom the experience of the GINPR is marketed as an adventure and place of refuge from everyday life. In this way, the GINPR can achieve their mandate by carefully integrating “visitor use” within natural (read: non-human) environments.

Welcome to the Gulf Islands National Park Reserve [...]

Climb a mountain. Spot a whale. Learn to sail. Discover geocache treasure. Fall asleep to the sound of the waves. Shop at a farmers’ market. Sing a campfire song with a park interpreter. Choose a new adventure each weekend and experience first-and the distinct culture and lifestyle of each Gulf Island! (GINPR 2015)

The predominant focus of GINPR interpretive material is on place as a space for environmental conservation and visitor use (tourism), which has the majority of text and physical space in AVGs and signage. This is consistent with Park Canada's mandate: "[to protect and preserve for future generations of Canadians]". Park interpretive materials position youth visitors as "adventurers" and "naturalists" (Parks Canada 2016b). Taking AVGs as a chronological and sequential example of change in interpretive materials over time, there is a trend of the gradual omission of First Nations history and use of the Gulf Islands. This reduction in First Nations' content may be explained by Harper-era cutbacks to Parks Canada (Auditor General Canada 2013), leading to, for example, cost-saving measures such as reducing the 30-or-so paged and coloured-AVG to a 12-leaf pamphlet. It may perhaps have driven individual park agencies towards more revenue-generating activities, perhaps explaining the emphasized, pro-commercial thrust of Parks Canada visitor-targeted materials in more recent times.<sup>46</sup> A contributing factor to the omission of First Nations history and use in AVGs may also relate to the challenge of working with multiple First Nations who have differences in view on these subjects.

An effect of restructuring has been a reduction in the frequency of mentions of First Nations peoples, histories and cultures, and the re-positioning of First Nations content to the mid-to-back sections of AVGs. After 2008, there is more visitor information including where and when to camp and where to moor or dock, as well as more photographs of people enjoying scenic landscapes devoid of other people, and overall less text. In 2009, the first mention of First Nations is on the tenth page under "First Nations" consisting of two short paragraphs and a large

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<sup>46</sup>It is one public institution that understandably cannot operate on revenues from voluntary payment of campers (total revenue streams unknown). The present liberal government promised to remove park fees in their 2015 election platform, suggesting GINPR among other federal parks would be reinfused through the public purse.

image of people in a canoe in traditional hats for which there is a photo credit (Parks Canada/Matthew Payne), but no other identifying information (GINPR 2009, 10-11). I assessed the frequency of which First Nations use, cultures and histories are mentioned in AVGs for named places in the park (see Appendix V). These mentions peak at 35 percent in 2008, climbing from 24.4 percent in 2006. In 2009 and 2010 this drops to 5.4 percent and between 2011 and 2013 it climbs slightly to 8.1 percent. In 2014-5 AVGs, site-specific First Nations history or use is completely absent.

What might be a genuine effort to “balance” visitor use and First Nations use in text reads more as effort by Parks Canada to curb First Nations from impinging on visitor use and experience, and on fragile and vulnerable ecosystems. Coast Salish peoples’ continuation of “traditional use” in the GINPR is framed in a discourse of benevolism: they “*can* harvest,” “*may* access” and are “being *accommodated*.” These are too often articulated without explicit recognition that Coast Salish First Nations’ have Aboriginal or Treaty rights to harvest, hunt and fish in their territories. This may be explained by the fact that the *Canada National Parks Act* (S.C. 2002) provides a legislative framework for Parks Canada to infringe on the exercise of Aboriginal rights in justifiable cases. Underlying infringement logic is the division between *nature* and *culture*, and the assumption that natural states are healthier without the interference or influence of people. This stands in contradistinction, for example, to the growing understanding of how the landscape was produced through actions like clam gardening, which is acknowledged and elaborated elsewhere in GINPR documentation.

Coast Salish peoples’ and their ancestors co-constitute the places for which they were responsible to steward and manage. These locales were hubs for a range of life projects, such as socializing, ceremonializing, bathing, fishing and residing (see chapters 3, 4 and 5). The view of

“natural” spaces as *social* places stands against that where Aboriginal peoples lived in harmony and rhythm with natural environments. The latter view would support the narrative that Coast Salish peoples just floated by and did not leave physical traces or impressions, and did not modify the landscape in any way that would distinguish it from its “natural” state. This view is reproduced, for example, in the text for *First Nations* in the 2009 Annual Visitor Guide.

There are many Coast Salish First Nations who have long and continuous ties to the Gulf Islands. The Coast Salish people have special bond with the environment—a spiritual connection to the earth and the water. Their knowledge of natural systems has been passed down from generation to generation through their oral tradition. Over millennia, and to this day, the forests and seas have provided them with food, materials for everyday life and places for spiritual contemplation. (GINPR 2009, 10)

The social dimension of place is not evident from language that signifies Aboriginal peoples’ “spiritual connection with the earth and water.” Moreover, the paragraph presenting this view of Aboriginal synonymy with nature does work for understandings of contemporary Coast Salish peoples’ relations to lands and waters in the park. However, this view is perhaps untenable with acknowledgement that Parks Canada is shifting their representation of First Nations people relative to *nature* in the park. The quote above goes on to state:

First Nations’ scientific and traditional knowledge being used alongside modern science to help park managers make decisions on how to restore and maintain park ecosystems. (GINPR 2009, 10)

An anonymous GINPR staff participant pointed out that Parks Canada’s perspective is evolving at GINPR to see First Nations people less as “hunter-gatherers,” and more and more as resource and landscape managers:

Based on the conversations we've had with First Nations we try to increase the awareness amongst Canadians about Coast Salish use of the landscape as well in a way that's respectful of Coast Salish people and their history. So I think we're trying to have more, in some ways more of an increased opportunity for First Nations to engage in the land and to work with First Nations to tell a more representative story, more respectful story of First Nations use of the region. So that's kind of present day, and we're trying to undertake a bunch of restoration projects that occur within the region that look at combining ecological

restoration with cultural restoration. So a lot of these landscapes were actively managed by First Nations people. So clam gardens is one example of that where people were part of the ecosystem. So, can we start restoring these landscapes both the ecological side of things as well as the cultural side of things and have First Nations be a continued active presence in the Park Reserve?

Anonymous GINPR personnel (unpublished interview, August 20, 2015)

To date, this perspective is insufficiently elaborated upon in Park interpretive materials and the field over which they actually are involved in management seems to have been limited to the Clam Garden regeneration program—at least in the context of the internal committee meetings I attended. The more recent opportunities to be involved in the clam restoration garden project have produced limited special harvesting opportunities, that are not at a scale large enough to influence the lifestyle, diet or economies of families or communities outside the special events arranged by Parks Canada.

The third section from this selected AVG text states:

First Nations can pursue traditional activities—including hunting and harvesting of plants and other materials—within the national park reserve. Parks Canada works with First Nations to ensure that these activities are done in ways that respect the conservation of species and the ecosystem, and do not endanger the safety of other park users. (GINPR 2009, 10)

The subtext here is that Aboriginal peoples today are not in “harmony or in rhythm” with the environment as their ancestors were, playing into the trope of contemporary Aboriginal peoples as inauthentic descendants of their authentic, pre-European contact ancestors.

Other First Nations interests include using the Park as a stop-off point on Tribal Journeys, the annual Coast Salish canoe festival through *Sutl'quluts* (Salish Strait, Puget Sound) connecting US and Canadian Coast Salish peoples. There is a description of Coast Salish peoples embarking on this journey on two interpretive panels at East Point Trail, Saturna Island. It is perhaps more than just ironic that H-GINPR committee members reported to me that that during

that particular event, GINPR has restricted individuals participating in Tribal Journeys from actually landing and camping at the Park. This more pointed example of how the Hul'qumi'num people may see GINPR as being exploitative of their history, or at least their image of traditional canoes and hats, as they do not actually receive any benefits from these contributions.

### **Cultural Heritage, Archaeological Resources and Past Use**

For the most part, First Nations connections are framed in terms of contemporary spiritual and cultural significance, of past use, and as cultural heritage sites and cultural resources. The net effect is that forms of contemporary use are left ambiguous, while most connections are framed in terms of the past. Perhaps this reflects how they are in practice virtually non-existent or extremely rare, having been regulated so heavily, and for the longer colonial history, the southern Gulf Islands are sites of profound dislocation (see chapter 3).

In the GINPR, First Nations places and cultural objects are consistently, even persistently framed as “archaeological resources,” “archaeological sites,” “cultural resources” and “cultural heritage.” While First Nations’ peoples have selected terminology for such places and objects and entities, First Nations’ peoples did not figure in the early consultation and research processes—the moments of developing those early narratives, which have reproduced and reified the language of heritage and archaeology to describe, list, categorize and rationale First Nations’ ancestral places and objects (and ancestors, for that matter). PMHL press releases make no mention of First Nations ongoing use or the significance of these places to them, but make frequent mention of “cultural heritage” and “cultural resources,” blanket terms that include both First Nations and settler heritage.

The meaning of these terms in the GINPR would be further elaborated through archaeological surveys and inventories (Maxwell et al. 1998; Wilson et al. 1996), ethnohistoric

research (Bouchard and Kennedy 1996; Cox et al. 1997) and post-contact settlement and land use history (Cook and Dunster 2007). Such studies established the *cultural heritage* of the southern Gulf Islands in terms of human settlement, land use and occupation. This is an important moment of development for content about and framings of First Nations territorial connections in the park, as these have become treated as comprehensive reference materials for park staff. I observe here that although 95 percent of this “cultural heritage” is First Nations (Anonymous GINPR personnel, unpublished interview, August 20, 2015), First Nations were not authors of nor consultants for the publications arising through this research—it was all done at arm’s length and from existing documentary sources.

In that these terminologies are the same used in provincial archaeology and heritage legislation, and in the *Canada National Parks Act* (S.C. 2002), means that conceptualizations of history for places in the GINPR indeed was informed by history-making at other sites. These terms have temporal (and spatial) effects, with implications for the perception of ancestral places and objects of First Nations by the public.

Visible, material remnants identified and distinguished from “natural” remnants or traces become an “archaeological site” or “cultural heritage site” when they are identified and delineated in spatial and material terms. Such traces become a “resource” in GINPR management narratives, which can be thought of as an “asset” of the GINPR, insinuating possession and jurisdiction in a comparable way to “archaeological resources” within the provincial archaeological archival process. Although Coast Salish peoples have articulated a preference for the use of “cultural heritage sites” over “cultural resources” in the SOPR (Parks Canada 2010b), this terminological preference has been unevenly applied by Parks Canada. For example, the

term “resources” was still used in the SOPR “Summary” (2010b, 4) for the GINPR, and “resource” was also used in interviews with GINPR staff.

Labelling any of Coast Salish peoples’ ancestral places, objects and ancestors a “resource” qualifies it for consideration in GINPR management planning. In GINPR management, the IMG establishes a hierarchy to resolve land use conflicts, where the protection of “natural resources” trumps that of “cultural resources,” “both of which trump visitor use, in land use conflict decisions” (Thom 2005b, 14). First, this assumes that “cultural resources” are separate from “natural resources;” a distinction after which natural resources have higher value and higher management priority than the former. “Resources” in either category are then further classified typologically. For “cultural resources,” these become “middens,” “house depressions” and “post molds.” These discrete material and spatial units become “facts” through their naming and documentation in inventory. Such facts become value-laden when assigned a level of significance, determining their relative priority for monitoring and protection in the park.

This functionalist, classificatory logic can be seen to “make sense” within the context of the inventory and management approach mandated for all federal parks by the Parks Canada Agency. However, at least as it concerns the Hul’qumi’num peoples I spoke with, ancestral places were not referred to as “middens,” “house depressions” and “post molds.” In *’A’lhut tu tet Sulhween - Respecting the Ancestors: Report of the Hul’qumi’num Heritage Law Case Study* (McLay et al. 2004, 17), Hul’qumi’num elders Arvid Charlie and Roy Edwards deny the archaeological category of “midden” in favour of Coast Salish ones:

Arvid Charlie: Teachings about ancient sites...what’s an ancient site? An ancient site could be an old village, the *s-hiilthun* which is your midden. Midden, I guess is an early way of saying where you put your garbage, your shells. Your day it wasn’t garbage like it is today, it was shells and bones over time that accumulates. That’s an ancient site. It could be also important areas such as where *Stutson* landed or *Siyalutsu* or *Swutun*.

Roy Edwards: I was asking what a ‘midden’ was. He told me that it’s when they find clamshells

and the bones of the things that they used to eat a long time ago. I said, "That sounds like a grave". They shouldn't call them middens. That's what we call *shmuqwela*. That's the real word for grave. I don't like how they call them middens.

Moreover, this management regime emphasizes the *material* and *visual* things as valued and worth protecting; in other words, maintaining or mitigating impacts to things we can touch and see to keep them unaltered and unchanged. This is a perplexing "co-"management regime, in my mind, as it concerns the co- (i.e. First Nations). Defining "resources" is a definition of what is valued and what is protected by the state. Clearly, it makes the past worth protecting from the actors and their actions in the present. It leaves a gap in how those *immaterial* and or *invisible* things about places are protected and managed, such as cultural and spiritual practices that leave no trace (at least to the untrained eye), but which create and maintain territorial relations for *hwulmuhw*. Typologizing cultural materials thus creates manageable landscapes so the interests of stakeholders and rights-holders can be "balanced." First Nations are thus faced with a choice, to decide which "sites" are "most significant."

The protection of places designated as cultural heritage and archaeological sites is important to the H-GINPR Committee, and the language Parks Canada has used around this has changed over time, faced with these ongoing concerns. For example, in 2006 and 2007, visitors are called upon to "be an advocate for this special place by ensuring that your activities don't have a negative impact on the park's ecological integrity" (GINPR 2006, 3; 2007, 3). There is no mention at the outset about negative impacts to cultural heritage. The 2008 AVG gives the sense that Parks Canada is trying to accommodate protecting cultural heritage without significant impact to visitor use, privileging an unfettered visitor experience over First Nation peoples' values and priorities (GINPR 2008, 16-17). In the 2009 AVG, there was an evolution towards stronger language concerning the need to respect First Nations cultural places and materials under "Coast Salish ancestral sites" (GINPR 2009, 11). As with the sign on a trail at *Xwixwyus*,

they explain the Hul'qumi'num concept of *Xe'xe'*, and also that the removal of cultural objects is illegal. This language was crafted by the H-GINPR Committee and provided to Parks Canada as a way to change the focus of the public-facing text from western notions of 'conservation' to indigenous notions of ancestral power (Brian Thom, *pers. comm.*, April 13, 2017).

“Heritage” is a term with temporal baggage, creating static and timeless objects of First Nations’ material culture, and placing them in the past. This transformation effects further separation between First Nations from their material culture, places and ancestors. This is particularly evident in texts of cultural heritage sites that are framed in the vocabulary of archaeology. Archaeological time scales are often articulated in terms of a general past that flattens 10,000 years of time into a single moment, such as in this description of Portland Island:

Princess Margaret (Portland Island) was presented as a gift to Princess Margaret in 1958. She returned the island to British Columbia in 1967. The island features cliffs, protected coves and sand beaches. *The island has long been used by First Nations, and its shell beaches are the most visible reminder of their presence.* The fruit trees, roses and garden plants also found on the island testify to the more recent settlement by Hawaiian (Kanaka) immigrants in the 1880s. (GINPR 2011, 19; 2012, 19; 2013,19; emphasis added)

The value of archaeology is its long-term view; it has the power to establish the depth of time during which a place had human presence. The way that First Nations’ voices have been framed vis-à-vis archaeology, however, gives archaeologists authority in storying the past more so than First Nations. Consider this text from the GINPR webpage “First Nations Culture and Traditional Activities,” subsection “First Nations Culture:”

There are many Coast Salish First Nations who have long and continuous ties to the Gulf Islands. The Coast Salish people have special ties to the environment—a spiritual connection to the land, the earth and the water. Their knowledge of natural systems has been passed down from generation to generation through an oral tradition. (Parks Canada 2017)

Compare this to the text on the same webpage for the subsection “First Nations Cultural Heritage Sites:”

First Nations people have resided in and used the Gulf Islands for thousands of years. We are reminded of their long-time presence by the layers of shells found at various sites throughout the park reserve. These tell us that First Nations people had villages or camped at these locations while they made use of local natural resources. Archaeologists are able to determine the type of use at a site by the amount of layered shell: larger deposits indicate a village site. (Parks Canada 2017)

Archaeological narratives are authoritative, because archaeology is viewed a scientific discipline which is thought to provide our best guess at the character of society and culture in the past for so-called non-literate societies. These narratives support the view that the Gulf Islands were settled and occupied intensively by First Nations. Notably, the language of “villages” and “camps” are used, and the language of “layered shell.” The term “midden” is not used here. A Parks Canada staff member pointed out that this was an area of language they were beginning to adapt to First Nations’ perspectives. For example,

At a place like Shell Beach [at north end of Portland Island] there's noted burials that exists there. There's the midden that exists there. So midden is not really a term that we use too much anymore from the advice that we've had from the Hul'qumi'num committee as well as others the term they prefer us to use is ancient village sites. So that's sort of the phrase/term we try to use these days.

Anonymous GINPR personnel (unpublished interview, August 20, 2015)

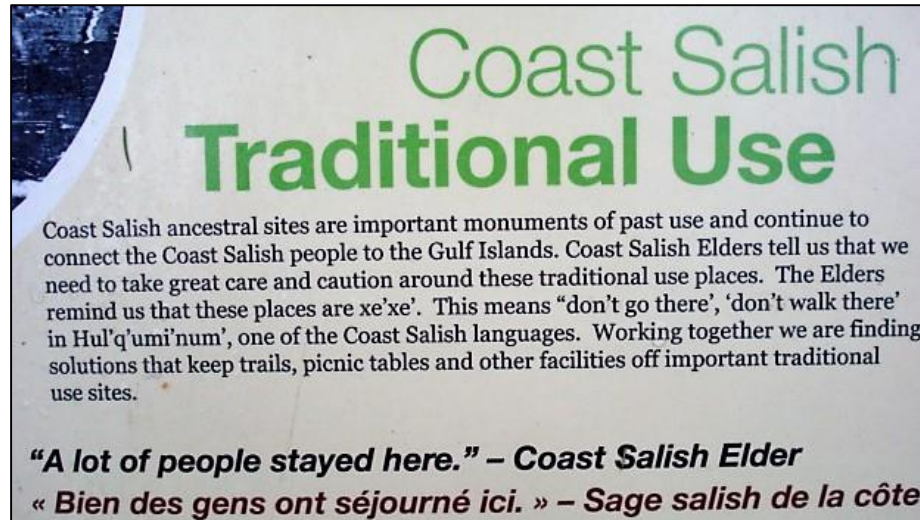
Returning to the excerpt from Portland Island, the problem with privileging archaeological evidence for *past use* and occupancy is that it elides the possibility that these places continued to be used in the twentieth century and beyond. Interviews with Hul'qumi'num peoples contest this assumption. Mr. Arvid Charlie recalled frequent visits in his youth and adulthood to Portland Island for clamming and finding refuge in its bays during storms, a practice that is encoded in the *Hul'q'umi'num'* names for Portland and Brackman Islands (“sheltered place”). The beach on the northwest end of Portland Island was occupied by *Tslhaqwuluq*, Arvid Charlie’s relative through his Malahat roots, which he traces to the late

nineteenth century—approximately the time it was *re-settled* by Hawaiian (Kanaka) immigrants. It is this recent settlement that has become the dominant human historical narrative in the GINPR, and has been reinforced through a unique interpretive program facilitated by Parks Canada for Mahoi descendants on Russell Island (Parks Canada 2017).

The past-present dichotomy informs the distinction between “traditional use” and “ongoing significance” in interpretive materials and planning documents. The former is constructed on *typological time* (Fabian 1983), and refers to specific “resource”-acquisition activities undertaken in the pre-colonial or early colonial past. *Ongoing significance* refers to a particular place, and points to continuity of the value that place has to Coast Salish peoples (generally) between some past and the present day. I take as an example a sign that I had come to learn was carefully crafted with a lot of input from the H-GINPR Committee and is perhaps the most substantive incorporation of their view in public interpretive materials to date (Brian Thom, *pers. comm.*, May 23, 2017). It is located on a trail at *Xwixwyus* (Winter Cove). Entitled “Coast Salish Traditional Use,” it explains *xe 'xe'* (stay away; don't go there) and a vague quote from an anonymous Elder (Figure 11).<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Not included in Figure 9 but also featured on the sign is an image of a named person, and text about the plank house settlement at Winter Cove.



**Figure 11: Image of text from interpretive sign "Coast Salish Traditional Use" at Winter Cove, Gulf Islands National Park Reserve (c.2003)**

This panel is among the few in the GINPR that leans more towards historical particularity—as opposed to presenting a Coast Salish history in grand narrative form. The narrative for *Xwixwyus* is constructed with respect to chronological time: “Coast Salish ancestral sites are important monuments of past use and continue to connect the Coast Salish people to the Gulf Islands” (GINPR Interpretive sign, Winter Cove, Saturna Island, n.d.). It is left to the park goer to interpret how this “traditional use” area has “ongoing significance” for Coast Salish peoples today. The ambiguity of what qualifies “ongoing significance” arises in part from concern that ancestral places will be disrespected by park goers if they were privy to the true significance said place (Brian Thom, *pers. comm.*, September 27, 2015). The choice to explain the concept of *xe'xe'* to a public audience is to educate the public about a Coast Salish (or Hul'qumi'num) principle of appropriate conduct for being around these places—and indeed an engagement with Coast Salish ontologies. The un-qualification of “ongoing significance” may result in a settler (such as myself) to assume that its significance is as a *heritage* site; a place of *the past*—which exists now as a memory of “what happened” (Trouillot 1995, 2) and not as an

active, social landscape. Such language may naturalize a division between Coast Salish peoples' today and their ancestral places in the park. However, it may also reflect that the H-GINPR Committee themselves have felt this separation.

To segregate First Nations' use (present) and cultural heritage sites (past) separates First Nations connections along a European conception of time where archaeology and post-European history are temporally distinct (Fabian 1983). First Nations histories are also distinguished from settler histories in place-based narratives in time. This creates a space between them which is the perceived moment in time where First Nations history ends and settler history begins. Such artificial disjunctures in time beg the question of why did Coast Salish peoples stop going to *Xwixwyus*, *Tl'uqtuqsun* and *Tsawhwalhuq*?

### **Human History and Colonialism**

First Nations history and the significance of the Gulf Islands to First Nations' lifestyles is absent from descriptions of land parcel acquisitions during PMHL years leading up to the creation of the GINPR. The following description of Tumbo Island, which was acquired March 24, 1998, is a case in point.

Tumbo Island has long been recognized as one of the gems of the southern Gulf Islands. For decades, it has figured prominently in park plans for the Gulf Islands. Now, this 121-hectare island, located off the southern tip of Saturna Island, is protected forever. Except for a caretaker, the island has been uninhabited for many years. It has recovered well from the fur farming, timber harvesting and mining activities that have highlighted its rich and varied past. First settled in 1877, the island features historic relics that include an early log cabin and a bunkhouse built in 1888 for Japanese miners. Today, the island is largely forested, with many fine examples of old-growth Douglas fir trees. Tumbo Island has one of the finest remaining stands of Garry oak and arbutus parkland in the southern Gulf Islands, representing one of the most endangered ecosystems in Canada. (Parks Canada 1998)

Coast Salish First Nations peoples are written out of Tumbo Island history, the place where hundreds of families would meet before embarking to *Tl'uqtinus* and other fishing settlements on the lower Fraser River (Arvid Charlie, unpublished interview, March 23, 2015; Ruby Peter, unpublished interview, June 29, 2015; Florence James, unpublished interview, June 29, 2015). The locales of preparation and departure along the outer southern Gulf Islands did not figure in historic records documenting the substantially-attended embarkments across the Salish Sea (see Suttles 1998). But archaeological research (Fedje et al. 2009; Maxwell et al. 1998) has identified seven archaeological sites on Tumbo Island, including house platforms and burials—evidence for a pre-European contact village—which means that Tumbo Island was not *first settled* by Japanese Miners. This is perhaps one instance where archaeology has supported oral history, and has informed a piece silenced in the documentary record for the early period of cultural entanglements between *hwulmuhw* and *hwunitum* in the Gulf of Georgia region.

Parks Canada later describes in AVGs how, “First Nations used the island for shelter while hand trolling for fish offshore or on their journeys across the strait. The island remains an important spiritual place” (GINPR 2010, 23; 2011, 23; 2012, 23; 2013, 23). There is ongoing use of the waters around Tumbo Island for people like Arvid Charlie and Alec Johnnie Sr., as well as in commercial fishing capacities for Tom Peters and his sons Marvin and Irvin, and Dan and Ben Norris and their grandparents up to the mid-to-late twentieth century. This was the most extensively cited locale for fishing among the elders participating in oral history research with the HTG and GINPR (HTG 2007-8). There are place names in both *Hul'q'umi'num'* and *SENĆOŦEN* for Tumbo Island and its reefs.

First Nations connections to places are not explicitly mentioned in any of the acquired land parcel descriptions in PMHL press releases, largely reporting on the financial details of land

purchases and transfers and the post-European historic and current ecological significance of newly acquired lands. Concerning the former, human history on the Gulf Islands as an exclusive settler history is not entirely unsurprising, given that lands donated and sold by private landowners have often been descendants of the first European settlers in the area. Another explanation for this omission is settler denial: the uneasiness in GINPR to acknowledge colonial history and its impact to First Nations connections to the GINPR. This silence was evident in my interview with an anonymous Parks staff member when they shared the GINPR perspective of the human history in the park.

So you know, that's kind of common for all these places, and the other piece to that is just the regular—what we see is the evolution of use of these places from First Nations to a point when we start seeing the arrival of what has been termed here as new settlers. So, we see the arrival of the Spanish, the English and different groups, waves of settlement that occurred, settlement patterns that occurred post-contact.

Anonymous GINPR personnel (unpublished interview, August 20, 2015)

This “evolution of use” perspective begs the question of events in the early colonial period. When asked about this disjuncture in GINPR historical narratives, this anonymous participant explained,

I think there is some acknowledgement to that effect when we talk about area plans or history when we hear from First Nations about families that used to occupy that area and that sort of thing. You know we talk about First Nations saying: “Well we used to go harvest here but now we don't.” That's the information that First Nations share with us. [...]

I think again if it's one of those things where we evolve our understanding over time that's something we can learn more about and potentially share with the public if that's something that First Nations are comfortable in sharing. We have talked in some of our documentation specifically about First Nations harvesting of certain places that this did occur in the past and hasn't occurred in—for large statements there's talk about just sort of acknowledging the things that occurred. The development of the reserve system the development of the *Indian Act* and all those sort of things that occurred which caused a massive change in First Nations way of life. There are sort of broad statements about that and then we kind of get more into specifics about whatever we're talking about. I'm not

sure in specific some of that information isn't presented. I'm just not sure. There was never a focus or intent to omit that piece of history.

Anonymous GINPR personnel (unpublished interview, August 20, 2015)

Thus, while there is recognition of colonial-period history, this has not been a history that the H-GINPR Committee has prioritized for discussion in terms of representation in the park. The position of Parks Canada is that it was never a deliberate choice to omit this history.

In materials reviewed, some GINPR area plans use of the language *pre-emption* in describing settler acquisition of lands, but no context of the negative bearing this had to First Nations peoples and their lifestyles. It also strongly insinuates that these places were not settled (i.e. owned) by First Nations at or before that time. Of the 68 interpretive signs whose content were reviewed (Appendix VI), only three (4.4 percent) explicitly mention colonization. At Saturna Island, First Nations' populations were more substantial before colonialism, *suggesting* that with colonialism this reality changed. At Sidney Island there is more strongly worded sign that explains how the colonial surveyor did not document *SENĆOŦEN* place names for Sidney Island. At Portland Island there is explicit language of how Coast Salish land tenure was disrupted through colonization and Reserve creation.

AVGs do not mention colonialism with reference to First Nations, though they explain the impetus for Kanaka settlement at Russell Island by colonial processes which alienated Kanaka peoples from their Hawaiian homelands. The former Chinese Leper colony at D'Arcy Island is acknowledged under "Suffering in Isolation," where this "sad chapter of Canada's history" is memorialized in a commemorative plaque (e.g. GINPR 2006, 17). On the GINPR website, there is no mention of colonialism in "First Nations Culture and Traditional Activities" and "First Nations Cultural Heritage." While these sections share a webpage with "European

Culture,” the reason the Gulf Islands was settled by Europeans, and why First Nations no longer lived in the Gulf Islands, constitutes a substantial silence.

Recognition of colonialism and processes of dispossession can function to bridge these histories by answering how and why First Nations stopped living at the Gulf Islands. Challenges exist with language that circumvents links between colonial process and changes to First Nations connections. For example, at Saturna Island there are two panels at a lookout facing east towards the San Juan Islands about the creation of an international boundary. One features a Coast Salish perspective, and also includes an historical nugget about the US prohibition on alcohol, and the other from an exclusively settlers’ perspective. The heading on the former is “the effects of an invisible line,” which is not explained in terms of that effect on Coast Salish mobility, the restructuring of their social and kin relations, and the restrictions to their access to family-owned places across the now-border.

Coast Salish people were traveling back and forth between these islands and the mainland long before the international boundary was created. Salmon has always been an important food for Coast Salish people. Some harvest salmon from streams on Vancouver Island, others travel to the Fraser River for fish. For those without access to large salmon streams, family-owned reef net sites were very important. Reef net fishing was outlawed in Canada in 1916, but has continued in US waters on a small scale. (“The Effects of an Invisible Line”, Interpretive panel at East Point Trail, Saturna Island, n.d.)

What would be arguably equally as important to mention here is the resilience of First Nations in maintaining kin-connections and trade relations in spite of the creation of this border.

For this panel as with other interpretive information there is a discursive strategy that avoids privileging a particular group or family’s connections, such as the use of “Coast Salish peoples” to describe marine-based use of *all* Coast Salish First Nations. While such generalizations are perhaps not inaccurate, they lack the nuance and detail that makes a peoples’ history interesting, detracting from its potential for greater value in the eyes of the public. Where

newcomer histories are frequently framed in terms of individual and family efforts, interests, activities and pioneering successes, First Nations' peoples' connections are in majority bereft of details including names of individuals and families, time periods, particular aspects of lifestyles and significantly the complexity of social relations and land tenure. This generalized Coast Salish historical narrative, however, must also be understood as a product of the challenges faced by multiple First Nations with differences in "that which is said to have happened" (Trouillot 1995, 2) and Parks Canada's duty (and failure) to accommodate them.

### **Other Transformations of Coast Salish Territorial Connections**

Interviews with GINPR personnel reveal the desire of the Parks Canada Agency to achieve a "balance" in perspectives with respect to the history of use of GINPR lands over time. However, this balancing act has fundamentally transformed the narratives of Coast Salish peoples' their connections to places. By way of example, Ms. Florence James' origin story of the Gulf Islands (Chapter 3, p.69) tells us that Coast Salish peoples *are* the land. Where land (non-sentient) and people (sentient) and animals (unintelligent, sentient) are distinct in GINPR, they are not from Indigenous peoples' perspectives offered through oral tradition. The inseparability of culture and nature in this Coast Salish sense which does not appear in GINPR texts suggests the irreconcilability of western and indigenous ontologies, or a deferral to a narrative strategy that subsumes Coast Salish perspectives in GINPRs interest-balancing effort.

Introductory and summative texts such as "Echoes of the Past" (GINPR 2006, 2007, 2008) are a case in point: "In quiet moments, the hills, valleys, and sheltered coves may speak to you of the First Nations, explorers, settlers and early entrepreneurs who were drawn by the spirit and opportunities of the Gulf Islands." Such a generic statement suggests that the reason for First Nations, explorers and settlers' interests in the Gulf Islands is the same. It elides ontological

differences that emerge in the perception of and value for place and obscures transcendental connections of First Nations people to these places evident from oral tradition and origin stories; some of which could be shared if Parks Canada and the H-GINPR Committee were so inclined.

Origin stories and oral tradition give context to places named in Coast Salish languages. Of the 68 interpretive signs reviewed, only 10 (14.7 percent) mentioned Coast Salish named places. These mentions were often translated, but not consistently appropriately contextualized. For example, at a sign on East Point Trail, Saturna Island, *Tl'uqtuqsun* is translated in *SENĆOFEN* and *Hul'q'umi'num'*, and then given the following context:

The Coast Salish names mean "long nose." If your nose was sensitive enough, what might you smell, standing on East Point? Food cooking from the restaurants of Vancouver to the north? Coffee shops in Seattle, at the south end of Puget Sound? The open ocean to the southwest? One goal of Gulf Islands National Park Reserve is to protect representative examples of this ecoregion. (Interpretive sign, East Point Trail, Saturna Island, n.d.)

*Tl'uqtuqsun* is a place name with a shared translation in English from both *SENĆOFEN* and *Hul'q'umi'num'*. For many named locales in Salishan language, there are multiple place names in more than one language. There can also multiple locales that share the same place name. At Boat Passage for example, a sign titled "Choose your footsteps carefully:" "Boat Passage is also known as *Kw'ulhutsun*. *Kw'ulh* is "to spill" in *Hul'q'umi'num'*. With each tide, water spills back and forth between the cove and the Strait of Georgia through this narrow passage" (GINPR Interpretive sign, Winter Cove, Saturna Island, n.d.). I have also heard *Xwixwyus* as the name for Boat Passage, which translates to "swift, fast waters." The online GINPR digital map of *Hul'q'umi'num'* place names locates *Xwixwyus* at the southeastern end of Mayne Island, which is where Duff (1956) documented Andrew Mischael's location for *Xwixwyus*. Where a single place name is attached to a single location (in particular those locations where names in multiple languages are found), it privileges the voice of the speakers or

descendants of speakers from a particular language, languages now tied up with contemporary band divisions. The reality of multiple place names at a single locale, and by extension the potential for connections to places by peoples from different speech communities, is obscured from view in GINPR. Again, while I recognize the challenges faced by both Parks Canada and the First Nations committees on how to address the multiplicity of views for a single place, the process of fixing these names through maps, signs and narratives illustrates the dynamics of power relations involved.

More generally, indigenous place names are not integrated in interpretive materials. Directional signage and maps with place names are always in English and French, but not in *Hul'q'umi'num'* or *SENĆOFEN* when they are in fact known. For every *interpretive* sign that acknowledges a Coast Salish language name for a place, you have approximately 10 (or 9.6) *directional* signs establishing, for example, that you that you are on the Narvaez Bay trail or on your way to Mt. Warburton Pike—rendering it easy to overlook the Coast Salish presence here (Appendix VII). English and French place names reinforce the colonial erasure of Indigenous languages and histories, as many of these places were renamed for the explorers and settlers who “discovered” and “settled” places like Narvaez Bay, Mt. Warburton Pike, and Taylor Cove. Concerning AVGs, a special “First Nations” section is dedicated in the 2006 and 2007 AVGs, but while place names are listed beside the map in both *SENĆOFEN* and *Hul'q'umi'num'*, the map itself has the English-colonial named places. Again, no context or significance is given for these named places in Coast Salish languages.

Park interpretive materials were reviewed for framings of First Nations’ territorial connections according to intensive occupation type (village, settlement or cedar plank house); temporary occupation type (jump off, shelter, refuge), resource use (hunting, harvesting, fishing),

other use (navigational, spiritual, cultural) and inappropriate or completely decontextualized framings. More generally, AVGs have few mentions of First Nations in site-specific descriptions. The most popular among these framings seem to be “resource use” and the “other significance” categories.

Mentions of intensive occupation generally refer to settlements, villages, village middens and cedar plank houses or cedar plank big houses, and appear in AVGs published from 2006 to 2013 (Appendix V). In 2014-15, there is no mention of any land use or occupation by First Nations at all. Prior to 2014, although mentions of villages are relatively sparse, they outnumber mentions which suggest ephemeral (temporary) territorial relations. There is a change in the description of Mount Norman/Beaumont to include “ancient village site” in 2008, but in 2009 this description was removed. The description for Portland Island indicates the presence of a village in 2008, but similarly to Mount Norman’s description in 2009: “The island has long been used by First Nations, and its shell beaches are the most visible reminder of their presence (GINPR 2009, 17).”

Of 68 interpretive signs reviewed in GINPR, 14.4 percent mention the presence of villages, plank houses or homes (Appendix VI). The most explicit of these is at Portland Island on a three-panel signage area with one describing how “each Coast Salish family lived in several permanent homes spread across their homeland” (“Coast Salish homes and homeland,” Portland Island, GINPR, n.d.). This is perhaps the most accurate description of how First Nations occupied their lands in all of the park materials I reviewed. An existing challenge is the language around occupancy which is relegated to some moment(s) in the past, sometimes a distant, “ancient” past – which is an interesting choice of language considering many of these villages are not dated (radiocarbon). Those which are not dated are given a pre-/post-contact dating

estimation, suggesting some may have been occupied into the post-European contact period.

In spite of the paucity of mentions of First Nations “camps” in site-specific descriptions, there is still language that denotes a lack of intensive occupation of the Gulf Islands. For example, a sign at Winter Cove states: “You are standing near the geographic centre of the Salish Sea. These waters and adjacent lands are the traditional homeland of the Coast Salish nations. For millennia Coast Salish people *have traveled throughout this place* to maintain family ties, harvest resources and trade” (GINPR interpretive sign, Winter Cove, Saturna Island, n.d.). It is problematic that we only see the language of “traveled throughout this place” and not also “settled this place” or “stayed here for months” or “stayed here for years.” These would all be valid with respect to a generalized past, such as the one their past is already characterized.

Concerning language for occupancy, there is more nuance in later park materials and in new signage. At Saturna Island, settlements are called villages in one sign, they are also called big houses and cedar plank houses in another. As opposed to calling Tumbo Island a camp, it is called a jump-off point, echoing how it was referred to by Hul’qumi’num elders. The term “village midden” may be inaccurate to explain Coast Salish houses, but it can be argued that newcomers have an understanding of what a village is, and, it is effective to convey the message that this place is important.

## **Concluding Remarks**

The arrangement between Parks Canada and six Hul’qumi’num Nations is a case of co-management, where negotiated, consensus-based decision-making guides development of interpretive content over Coast Salish peoples’ heritage, language and culture for places in the park. In the 14 years since the GINPR’s inception, Parks Canada has supported the H-GINPR Committee to undertake research and documentation of select place names, oral histories and

traditional use of *Hul'q'umi'num* peoples. These documents entered into the GINPR archives, and were drawn upon in the production of First Nations histories in park planning documents, such as the park area plans. The area plans guided the development of interpretive materials with representations of Coast Salish peoples. The narratives from signage at Winter Cove and Portland Island are exemplary products of these efforts, resembling less like the voices ethnographers or archaeologists—and more like those of Coast Salish peoples.

This new signage can be seen as the first of many steps on the long journey to re-story the Coast Salish landscape, as both Superintendent Morash and the H-GINPR Committee still remark the silence of First Nations people in the park. I have argued that this silence is a product of infrequent and non-regular communication, and inconsistency in the relationship between the committee and the park—in essence the poor implementation of a novel and potentially powerful consensus-based decision-making agreement. Constraints on information sharing resulting from First Nations' concerns with other governmental departments using the information against them in negotiations or litigation, their concern with having their information appropriated and financially exploited by outsiders (governments, eco-tourism companies, etc.), their concern that their ontological and epistemological priorities and concerns will be belittled and derided by an unappreciative public (based on a long history of racism in Canada). This has precluded the disclosure of certain knowledge and stories to Parks Canada, and by extension, sharing those with the general public.

There were many *Hul'qumi'num* stories I read and proposed for this projects' Digital Atlas that were deemed appropriate for a *hwunitum* audience. This leads me to suspect that the most inhibiting factor for the H-GINPR Committee to increase the presence of *Hul'qumi'num* people in the park is that ultimately, they are one of many voices Parks Canada must

accommodate in what is ultimately a *state* park and that these narratives must be consistent with the goals and narratives of a nation state founded on colonial principles and which continues to operate on lands and waters that have unextinguished, unrecognized indigenous titles and rights.

These constraints have deeply affected the representational-choices of Parks Canada, and of the First Nations' committees. The historical narratives in the park generalized to "Coast Salish peoples" is a way to deal with this complexity, avoiding privileging specific families, *hwunutsaluwum*, residence groups or Nations. In terms of balancing voices, it is not just First Nations peoples' histories that are being represented; there are "natural histories" and "newcomer histories." "Balancing" these histories has been achieved by representing them in a chronological frame, naturalizing First Nations peoples' displacement by silencing the story of newcomer-Indigenous interactions, or *hwulmuhw* entanglements with *hwunitum*. The chronology begins with First Nations' history, which is construed in archaeological discourse. This past is flat, compressing a minimum 5,000 year occupation of the Gulf Islands by Coast Salish peoples into synchrony. The perceived significance of places to First Nations is more pronounced *for the past*, distancing First Nations peoples today from ancestral places by situating them, as Fabian (1983) would say, in another time. Acknowledging that "traditional use" and "ongoing connections" exist is important, but begs the *why* question. Again, a strategy to deter park visitors from harassing ancestors or removing cultural or natural materials from the park.

There has been an "evolution of language" in the park (Anonymous GINPR personnel, unpublished interview, August 20, 2015). Terminologies such as *resource managers* and *midden village* emerged from park's recognition of First Nations' perspectives. For an anonymous GINPR staff member, these choices reflected an important development of the collaborative work undertaken with First Nations committees. But while the H-GINPR Committee can author

and must approve what the GINPR shares about their perspectives and lifestyles, they cannot control how their contributions are physically arranged or located in textual sources of interpretive material vis-a-vis other voices and perspectives. The notion of First Nations' people as offering just another perspective parallels their treatment in AVGs and the website as just another stakeholder group with interests in the park. The *advisory* role of the committee is reflected in the relatively non-descript GINPR website page on the First Nations committees, and in the AVG foregrounding pages. First Nations' values and visions are not integrated with those of the vision statement and mandate of the GINPR, insinuating that they are not significant management partners. Their role and perspective is further marginalized by the increasingly priority focus of the park visitor experience and tourism more generally. This shifting focus is reflected in the annual visitor guide, which has reduced First Nations' presence to a singular cultural event (cedar hat weaving), with no references to any particular place.

This co-management arrangement remains an important opportunity to re-shape the popular and public perceptions of people about Coast Salish, and in particular Hul'qumi'num, peoples' histories of places in and around the park reserve. The Hul'qumi'num committee, other First Nations' committees and Parks Canada face a unique situation for which creative solutions are required. The language of "plank houses," the notion of "multiple residences/homes" in signage at Portland Island and Saturna Island, and the sign for *xe'xe'* at Winter Cove, are examples of how the consensus-based model offers hope for this creative solution. It is significant that we do not see this language or these framings in the grey literature of consulting archaeology for the southern Gulf Islands. It is an outcome of a co-management arrangement where Hul'qumi'num peoples have a voice in the production of the narrative, which has no equivalent in commercial contexts of CRM. In order for these kinds of developments to continue,

more resources and effort by Parks Canada is needed to make the collaboration actually work.

Otherwise we are left with a terrible silence.

## Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

### Discussion

This research has supported the view that in spite of the transformation of places within Hul'qumi'num territory and the perception of their abandonment, particular locales and the broader Gulf of Georgia region still remain part of Hul'qumi'num territoriality in the twenty-first century. This was the impetus for the Hul'qumi'num leadership to engage with Parks Canada in co-management, in spite of the fact that Parks Canada undermined the land selection efforts at the treaty table and thwarted attempts at regaining exclusive authority over their ancestral lands by asserting *Canada Parks Act* (S.C. 2002) jurisdictions over these lands to the exclusion of First Nations jurisdictions.

The H-GINPR Committee is actively generating spaces to both develop and articulate their perspectives of culture, society, language and history appropriate for a public audience. During the period of early colonial entanglements, the choice of Hul'qumi'num peoples to withhold place-based information from ethnographers and other *hwunitum* has shifted as a result of changing legal and political contexts, whereby “stories” of Coast Salish land use and occupancy have wrought serious social, material and cultural (read: economic, legal) consequences. Hul'qumi'num *mustimuhw*, as with other Indigenous peoples whose mode of knowledge and historical transmission was (and in many respects, continues to be) oral, have always understood the power of storytelling to do work. However, oral traditions and histories as modes of storytelling have connotations of being unreliable and biased interpretations of the past by state-sanctioned decision-makers. This view persists in spite of critiques from academia that “history” in its literary permutation is certainly not objective and is not objectively produced (Trouillot 1995; White 1973). Following Trouillot (1995, 26), I suggest that Hul'qumi'num

perspectives have been *silenced* in the southern Gulf Islands as a result of the incompatibility of oral histories and traditions with western academic and state views of indigenous territorialities, and the perceived inauthenticity of Coast Salish peoples' lifestyles contemporaneous to anthropological research.

I stand with Bierwert (1996, 70), who argued that Indigenous peoples' stories should be taken at face value. Florence James and Arvid Luschiim Charlie are two elders participating in my research who shared historical knowledge and *syuth*, showing remarkable consistency in their telling and retellings over multiple meetings, spanning in some cases a year in between. They are held as cultural experts within and beyond their communities. They have leadership roles as councillors and educators in the Coast Salish and *hwunitum* worlds in varying capacities. The networks they weave transcend the confines of bands and anthropologically-reified linguistic boundaries. For my other participants, I have strong reason to believe that many had more knowledge and history in and of this area than they were willing or able to share. After all, I am not a member of a First Nations' community and my ancestry is Eastern European, and the results of this project would not only circulate in their families, but also with broad academic and government audiences. Although many could speak *Hul'q'umi'num'* (were raised speaking and can understand *Hul'q'umi'num'*), this was not always evident in the interviews. Only later would I hear individuals speaking in informal contexts with each other in the language.

The history of cultural entanglements between Coast Salish peoples and Europeans, however, led to the perception of Coast Salish peoples living at the time of anthropological research as inauthentic vis-à-vis their ancestors. This brings into view how the acknowledgement of history in anthropology has been a double-edged sword for Coast Salish peoples: at once providing some basis for understanding transformative factors to Indigenous peoples' territorial

relations (land tenure systems), it had instead become the justification for anthropologists' selective use or complete dismissal of Indigenous perspectives in reconstructing "that which is said to have happened" (Trouillot 1995, 2). I have contended that this period of entanglements is worth examining vis-à-vis understanding transformations to Coast Salish land tenure.

The colonial period has had direct consequences to territorial relations. The early colonial period, preceded in chronological time by smallpox and overlapping with a period of regional warfare and unrest, wrought change to Coast Salish social organization and orders, cultural and political institutions, and economic practices (Kew 1990). Scholars assert that the most transformative element in this extended period of change was colonial policy and practices (Kew 1990; Lutz 2008; Raibmon 2007). Ethnographies and oral histories point to material consequences from displacement through late eighteenth and early nineteenth century virgin soil disease (Harris 1994) and from the approximate 60 year period of raiding (1790-1850) by Kwakwaka'wakw residing north of Hul'qumi'num territory; both of which led to seasonal absences of certain Gulf Island "villages" (Rozen 1985, 108). The shifts of land use at some locations to "seasonal" occupations that resulted from smallpox and inter-regional battles did not affect an overall alienation from these places. Instead, alienation was largely effected through pre-emption of *hwulmuhw* properties during periods of seasonal absence (Suttles 1974[1951]), reserve creation (Raibmon 2007), and destruction of large settlements by colonial officials (Arnett 1999; Cryer 2007). By the late nineteenth century, "the huge, shed-like dwellings" occupied in the pre-colonial period by Central Coast Salish and Northern Straits peoples were "abandoned" or "destroyed" (Jenness 1935, 4). In a nearby Coast Salish case, Richardson (1979) documents how Nooksak Indians constructed and landscaped for homesteads as opposed to long houses for the purpose of having some form of settlement for which property rights would be

recognized by federal government—even though this was accompanied by disenfranchisement. These processes are not isolated to the Coast Salish world but have been experienced by Indigenous peoples elsewhere (e.g. Jordan 2014).

In the interests of resettlement and natural resources extraction (Harris 1994), the state surveyed Indian reserves at some of the locations of larger settlements, configuring Indigenous peoples' identities (the name for Indian bands) and restricting their mobility to non-reserved locations. Place-based practices were affected by the prohibitive and exclusionary licensing regimes restricting the practice of economic activities as formerly (Bierwert 1996). Economic practices were linked to the institutions associated with long houses, which prior to being criminalized (Laforet 1974), were a key site to reproduce and transmit the cultural, political and economic orders of Coast Salish societies, and in particular Indigenous land tenure (i.e. Amoss 1978; Suttles 1991).

We cannot risk overgeneralizing or oversimplifying the effects on lifestyles and cultural practices for this period (see Silliman 2014) because there was still a certain degree of continuity in the cultural practices and land tenure systems of Coast Salish peoples (Suttles 1963, 1974[1951]). For example, families such as the Norris' continued to leverage kin ties to live at different reserves belonging to different bands, and family members of my Hul'qumi'num participants owned property at non-reserved locations. Today, *hwulmuhw* families and groups recognize the long-standing connections of particular individuals and their families to highly localized areas based on their relationship to an ancestor who lived there (Thom 2005a, 2009, 2014b; Thom and Morales, under review). For elders' working as commercial fishermen, Tumbo Channel and the east side of Saturna Island—a remarkably productive ecotone and a lucrative place for extremely skilled navigators to catch all types of cod, halibut and even salmon—

continued to be important into the twentieth century. DFO-imposed licensing in the 1950s which favoured large-scale industrial fishing fleets squeezed many small-boat indigenous fishers out of the industry. This meant the justification, rationale and even economic means for going out to the area was no longer there, as seen in stories by Florence James, and the Norris and Peters Family. For those who had access to a vessel, many did not go on land during these fishing excursions which was by now almost entirely alienated to private land owners, unless it was an emergency or they had a camp there. It cannot be overstated that transportation to islands was limited by the diminished small boat fleet in Hul'qumi'num communities, where for most families a boat became too expensive to own and run (see Fediuk and Thom 2003). Even the canoe, which requires a high degree of skill from practice and training beginning early in life, became limited to racing craft, not small ocean-going work boats. This has been a limiting factor for many individuals and families to access locations without ferry service such as Portland, Piers, Russell, Tumbo and other islands. In spite of these challenges, short planned or sporadic excursions to the southern Gulf Islands for hunting, fishing and clam digging were conducted by numerous individuals as children, adolescents, adults and elders.

Even when places were “unsettled” through displacement, Coast Salish peoples maintained territorial connections—albeit in a fundamentally changed context. The southern Gulf Islands, now largely privately-held lands, is the collective site for numerous shell midden village sites. Hul'qumi'num *mustimuhw* reference this material presence at locales where they express both recent and long-standing connections. For some such as Alec Johnnie Sr., alienation from islands/lands in the north and on Salt Spring from urbanization, pollution, racism-fuelled violence towards Indigenous peoples, has changed their trajectories to places further towards the southern Gulf Islands—some distance from their reserves—establishing for some new connections

to places that were not formerly frequented in their lifetime. For some, residential schools undoubtedly shaped their capacity to continue cultural practices and learn *Hul'q'umi'num'* (Peters and Norris family, unpublished interview, June 15, 2015). For others whose histories and knowledge of particular areas are sought by bands in treaty and land claims efforts [and education; and parks committee], field trips to the Gulf Islands become an infrequent, though much enjoyed, time to revisit these places with community members, kin and friends.

Elders could identify the bays, islets, and water channels by their particular English names, but were limited by not being out in the landscape as they were sharing stories and memories of these places. The importance of being out in the land and waters, and having knowledge of place, is an undeniable, critical link, and something that must continue to be actively enable and promoted for both young and old. For Florence James, it had been years since she was out on a boat to some of these places she grew up and for which she had extensive historical/ancestral knowledge. She explained how there is a “gap” in what she knows—she knows the stories, but she does not always know the precise places. This link, she believes, can be re-forged by her son, who works for the Galiano Conservation authority. As inheritor of her knowledge and histories, he has invested an interest in locating significant places without precise geographic referents in Florence’s stories (like ‘monster rocks’), about which Florence knows but which she has not seen. In this instance, there is a revitalization of place-based knowledge practices in which the stories circulating about place have withstood the test of lands dispossession.

Oral histories and *syuth* are not easily parsed into the anthropological classifications of government site record forms, and they do not resolve the partiality of or transform anthropological and state views. It was not my intent to treat *Hul'qumi'num* voices and

perspectives as a panacea to these challenges, but to bring in the oral histories and traditions shared with me by Hul'qumi'num elders as *mentions* to help mitigate powerful *silences* in reconstructions of “that which is said to have happened” (Trouillot 1995, 2). Storytellers link memories and experiences of events, people and other places into a broader socio-cultural landscape (Feld and Basso 1996). Stories were often shared as movements through the landscape, where moments inhere particular places (Morphy and Morphy 2006; Poirier 2004; Povinelli 1994). These relations and relationships established through storytelling were not compatible with the colonial project of Reserve Creation, defined by residence group localities, and enshrined through the *Indian Act* (1876).

The emphasis on residence group properties was reproduced when the residence group was selected as the unit of analysis for both ethnographers and archaeologists in their knowledge production project during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Until recently, few ethnographers had attempted to model Coast Salish land ownership and property systems (Kennedy 2000; Thom 2005). These models are important for recognizing outright that Coast Salish peoples have property: they did not just *disperse* to different locales solely based on subsistence needs and climate conditions in a kind of property-less “hunting and gathering” (c.f. Binford 1980).

Moreover, there was second property-owning entity: the corporate-property owning *hwunutsaluwum*. The silence of the *hwunutsaluwum* in nineteenth and twentieth century anthropological and archaeological literature has been reified through the “seasonal rounds” narrative, or “that which is said to have happened” (Trouillot 1995, 2). This narrative used the binary settlement construction of village-camp, where “winter villages” were framed as *de facto* sites of Indigenous peoples’ land ownership and “camps” were framed in opposition—as being

less significant than the “winter village” locale, and for which no form of property right existed. This is more broadly rooted in the assumption of Indigenous peoples and their societies as less “evolved” in social and cultural evolutionary schemes, the origins of which reside in nineteenth century Enlightenment thinking (Deloria 2004) and were reproduced in processualist archaeology’s world prehistory project. The settlement construction is based on an social construction and anthropological nostalgia for European peasant villages (Suttles 1963), and one that remains problematically invoked in models of Coast Salish land tenure by many anthropologists.

The camp-village binary has no equivalence in documented *Hul’q’umi’num’* language for dwellings or their locales. The term “village” is somewhat consistently construed (Kennedy 2007; Suttles 1963, 1990; Thom 2005a, 2009) compared with the term “camp.” Problematically, there is considerable overlap in what they are meant to convey in terms of the types of structures at these locales, the season of occupation, duration of occupation and in the numbers of people who occupied them for Central Coast Salish peoples. In spite of such material differentiation, these cultural constructions were reified through processualists’ World Prehistory project as settlement classificatory scheme for so-called hunter-gatherer societies (see Binford 1980). The terms for settlements in the grey literature of consulting archaeology are most consistently “camp” and “village”—terms which do not exist in the archaeological sites registry *forms* at the Archaeology Branch—but in the narratives of archaeological interpretation in *reports* submitted to the Archaeology Branch. Moreover, adjectives such as “temporary” and “seasonal” have come to strictly denote small structures such as “lean-tos” as a camp settlement sub-type within the literature of consulting archaeology.

The village-camp dichotomy has been mobilized to establish the validity of land claims by certain First Nations in later ethnographic and ethnohistoric syntheses during a period of comprehensive land claims (Bouchard and Kennedy 1996; Kennedy and Bouchard 1991). These works have informed the majority of post-1993 grey literature of consulting archaeology for the study area, as well as for the early framings of Coast Salish First Nations' historical narratives in the GINPR. The view of the southern Gulf Islands as exclusive W̱SÁNEĆ territory by virtue of ethnographically-documented winter villages and the presence Indian Reserves (Barnett 1938, 1955; Jenness 1935; Suttles 1974[1951]) has silenced the narratives of Hul'qumi'num, Malahat or Tsawwassen peoples,' which point to ancestral villages, family-owned properties, and oral traditions for key locales in the southern Gulf Islands. The notion of extended-kin ties tying individuals and families to multiple communities have been construed to delegitimize the claims of these persons', by extension, the claims by the First Nation to which they are affiliated—even though ethnographers with long-term relationships with Coast Salish communities have emphasized the importance of the extended-kin and family network for Coast Salish property systems (Kennedy 2007; Suttles 1963; Thom 2005a). The comprehensive-claims era documents do not constitute primary documentary sources, but are the standard sources identified in this study for the ethnographic backgrounds found in consulting archaeology's grey literature for the southern Gulf Islands, as well as for the ethnographic portrait of the GINPR *prior to* oral history research conducted by the HTG.

Parks Canada is gradually stepping away from the use of the term camp at the behest of First Nations, who have been concerned about the implications a term like “camp” brings to bear and have expressed these concerns in the context of their formal cooperative management arrangement. Today Parks Canada has taken a position of formal recognition that Coast Salish

peoples had multiple residences/homes by integrating this narrative into an interpretive panel at Portland Island.<sup>48</sup> Florence James and Arvid Luschiim Charlie used the word “home” to describe the localities with a structure present in *any style*. These reputable cultural authorities indicate that having multiple homes in the Coast Salish world was the norm. Individuals, families and residence groups had access to, rights of use, and or ownership to multiple locales. They erected houses at certain times of the year at these different localities—and which they frequented as needed.

The language of “plank houses” and the notion of “multiple residences/homes” is seen in Parks Canada public-facing interpretative material, but not in the grey literature of consulting archaeologists for the southern Gulf Islands. This is an important point. One sign may seem insignificant in the grand scheme of GINPR signage; however, it points to an outcome of a co-management arrangement where Hul’qumi’num peoples have a voice in the production of the narrative, which has no equivalent in commercial contexts of CRM. The outcome is a difference in how territorial connections of particular groups are framed in a general sense.

I re-situated Hul’qumi’num *mustimuhw* perspectives atop the hierarchy of narratives (Cruikshank 1998) in this thesis. My thesis and its public-facing deliverable digital atlas will join the current of scholarly works produced through collaborations with Hul’qumi’num peoples’, and contribute to a broader, longer-term effort to re-story Hul’qumi’num peoples’ lands. This is one example of how anthropologists can be useful to First Nations’, when they support the mobilization of their interests (Deloria 1969, 100), whether in advisory, research, advocacy, employee or other capacities (Miller 2011). Universities, as institutions of knowledge

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<sup>48</sup>Although notably on an island without ferry access and with lower visitor use than other Park locales with signage.

production, have attempted to instill the need for collaborative work concerning First Nations' peoples—reinforced through the expectations of Ethics Boards—and this project has emerged in part from this disciplinary current. The dominant narratives emerging from the so-called archaeological and ethnographic record for the Gulf of Georgia region have been subject to substantial interrogation and revision by anthropologists working in long-term research contexts with First Nations' people or with their deep or more recent histories. This is nothing new in anthropology, and in academia it is arguably the only way to conduct research today.

An emergent body of critically-engaged scholarly anthropological and Indigenous literature arising through long-term relationships between archaeologists and First Nations' has been in production since the era of post-processual archaeology. The major insights from these works reveal that there is a benefit to considering multiple indicators for “village”-type settlements. This makes sense, as locating and thoroughly investigating house depressions can take considerable effort and time, requiring labour intensive methodologies. Such work has been taken up by academics or archaeologists working in the GINPR, but generally not by commercial archaeologists. This is significant, as the time and expertise required to uncover a dwelling structure is a level of investment that is simply not amenable to the kind of lowest-cost bid commercial archaeology generally practiced in BC today (Hutchings and La Salle 2012). Given this, few structures are actually ever found in the Gulf Islands outside of academic or Park-based investigations. Other evidence for occupation, such as the number and arrangement of hearths—which Hul'qumi'num cultural authorities and Suttles (1991, 464) have explained can be an indicator of the number of households at a particular settlement area—but are rarely taken to signify “occupation” in the sense implied by the language of “winter villages.” In the perceived absence of structures, there is a propensity to designate any particular locale a “temporary camp”

or to withhold site interpretation in the southern Gulf Islands. This is the case—in spite of obviously complex “midden sites” with depths indexing thousands of years of continuous and intensive residency.

While the grey literature for the Gulf of Georgia is seen by some to have “enhanced the overall understanding of archaeology of the region” (e.g. Miller 2007, 13), commercial archaeological work in the southern Gulf Islands have contributed little to our understanding of Coast Salish deep history. Literature developed through longer-term academic and researching archaeology in the post-processualist era (Fedje et al. 2009; Grier 2014; McLay et al. 2010) has not been used as a source for historical reconstruction by commercial archaeologists, which is significant because CRM is the context in which the majority of anthropology is actually practiced and professionalized today (Waldram 2010; Warry 2008). By and large, commercial archaeologists reproduce familiar narratives grounded in notions of “settlement” and duration that serve to silence the presence of First Nations on the land.

Anthropology underwent a “commercial turn” in the 1980s in British Columbia, which in some respects is a continuation of our complicity—either directly or indirectly—with the colonial agenda of land surveying and expropriation of lands of Indigenous peoples (Miller 2007). The commercialization of anthropological work has allowed for numerous graduates to be situated as cultural anthropologists, physical anthropologists and archaeologists in contexts of resource extraction, industrialization and private residential development—whether on small or large scales. The process of registering and working at an ancestral place is documenting on government-established and designated site forms First Nations’ ancestral places designated and renamed with Borden numbers and with English place names. These site forms are now systematized with drop down menus for site types and classifications, meaning ancestral places

must be typologized by state-sanctioned categories. Problematically, these types have integrated the language and concepts some First Nations and critically-engaged scholars have identified as inaccurate, thin and problematic. This systemization, however, leaves little room for doubt or uncertainty for the uncritical consumers of the discourses they create.

Consulting archaeologists continue to engage with First Nations whose ancestral places are within “consultative boundaries,” a neologism for “territory” without the baggage of “ownership and rights,” but these might amount to a mere notice that there is archaeological work being conducted. Such relations are structured through provincial heritage legislation, but constrained through the neo-liberal processes of a competitive market which problematically results in ‘just enough’ methods (Nicholas 2006), an absence of interpretation and in general no value added to our understanding of deep history in the region. The mandate of the province to protect our “shared” cultural heritage (HCA 1996)—although it is in large majority First Nations’ heritage—conflicts with their operations in practice; where there is no actual permanent protection for even the most culturally significant sites uncovered in BC without First Nations’-driven escalations towards litigation, suggesting that the process is in place to create bureaucratic hoop jumping for First Nations, many of whom (especially those without well-funded self-government operations) do not have the capacity nor the resources to adequately or substantively respond, investigate, and or collaborate on these *ad hoc* projects. As such, commercial archaeology results often in bare-line consultation and a general absence of formal contestation by First Nations—two ingredients that further enable the green light for development on ancestral sites.

In light of these challenges on private property and places under provincial jurisdiction and authority, the federal jurisdiction of GINPR has provided a unique vantage-point to examine the reproduction of these narratives in public-facing interpretive documentation. Particularly key

is the chance to see any points of departure that may have arisen through the negotiated “veto” (consensus-based decision-making) over interpretive information in the co-management agreement with the HTG. In general, there are a number of concerns among Hul’qumi’num peoples about sharing their knowledge and history with state entities—and the ongoing nature of treaty process withholds specific and private cultural information from entering the public sphere. Parks Canada appears to have dealt with this privacy of information, as well as issues around fair representation vis-à-vis other First Nations’ with asserted rights and interests in the park, in an extremely cautious way, glossing details of individuals, families and even bands, activities or rationale for significance of a place, and through the virtual silencing of a sordid, shameful colonial history in their public interpretation efforts. This is all effected to a point where narratives are, I would argue, too generic to be memorable, distinctive or interesting for a public audience. For now, however, it is a strategy to perhaps keep the peace between many interested parties and rights-holding Nations.

While the H-GINPR Committee can vet and even author interpretive information about their history, culture and language, if and how this gets incorporated and arranged is still not in their power under the co-management arrangement. This means that the position of First Nations-authored texts in various park documentation such as signage and annual visitor guides is still ultimately out of their control. Positioning text vis-à-vis settler history and natural landscapes in a chronological time frame means that even though the language used to describe things such as dwellings may evolve, the arrangement of place-based stories and information reproduces the notion that First Nations were ‘naturally’ displaced, not violently and illegally dispossessed. It is the absence of the violent history of displacement in these narratives and the higher proportional representation of the Park as a place of conservation and of adventure

tourism which leaves First Nations' language, culture and history as "another" perspective—as opposed to an "integrated" perspective—on lands, waters and otherwise in the GINPR.

Archaeological narratives positively contribute to First Nations narratives in its support for the sheer longevity of time which First Nations settled places like the southern Gulf Islands, but parks authors have flattened the archaeological story into a single moment, negating dynamics and currents of social, political and cultural change and continuity over the millennia.

## **Conclusion**

The framing of First Nations' territorial connections and contemporary engagements with their lands, waters, ancestors and ancestral places remains largely in control of the federal and provincial states. First Nations perspectives are by and large not *integrated* into representations about them, their interests, cultures, languages and histories. There is a dogmatic and staunch resistance to reaching truly collaborative engagements and often First Nations' interests and legally sanctioned rights are inadequately accommodated. Every conversation feels clouded by the spectre of legal action by or against First Nations in respect of their decision-making over their lands. However, there is not the time nor resources for First Nations, burdened indefinitely by draconian colonial policy and the contemporary treaty process, to undertake legal action unless absolutely necessary.

The full-potential of the cooperative co-management arrangement to enable the H-GINPR Committee to realize their goal to control representations of their histories, cultures and languages remains to be realized, even though it has been nearly 14 years since the GINPR's inception, and 12 since the formalization of the Agreement. To focus on these arrangements contributes to the debate around whether co-management arrangements between the government

(state) and Indigenous peoples are empowering, subverting, or somewhere in between, for Indigenous peoples. In the GINPR, such a determination remains inconclusive.

Consultants working in the Gulf Islands and elsewhere need incentive to do the right thing, and in the context of commercial archaeology and land claims ethnography, this appears to need to be a monetary incentive. Now that the state no longer requires an “ethnography section” for permit reports and openly acknowledge that reflexive “interpretation” is not a requirement for issuing development permits, the proclamation by archaeologist Eric McLay (unpublished interview, February 22, 2016) rings true: “This isn’t archaeology. It’s development in this guise of archaeology.” The frustration of some people, such as those who have worked to develop relationships and see this as an actual provincial resource in their values and practices—is understandable. Consultants need regional syntheses that are critically engaged, but layperson oriented. First Nations should be making substantial contributions to authoring these. If there were not the perceived constraints within politics and development, I ask: what would our collective history look like? Archaeologists and Parks Canada are in a privileged position to rewrite history with Coast Salish peoples—one that does not simply continue to pay lip service to First Nations because of *some* reason, the explanation for which can only be understood as an excuse.

Parks Canada and the co-management agreement in GINPR is seen as a forum to assert the perspectives of Hul’qumi’num leadership of their histories, culture and language in the southern Gulf Islands. In the time that I was doing fieldwork, apart from my project—which was seen as important by the H-GINPR Committee—there were not many other discussions about interpretation per se. There was more discussion about environmental management and conservation. The reality that there is limited operational funding for Parks Canada and limited

funding allocated to the Committee has led to prioritization of objectives based more so on Parks Canada mandates than those of the committees. This is perhaps ironic, as it has consistently been identified as a priority in community plans, and indeed the hopes of the Superintendent. The focus on language, culture and history is secondary or even tertiary in the majority of parks planning documents (see Area Plans). As one colleague working for a local First Nation expressed to me, the limits on First Nations' funding from federal governments requires that day-to-day living issues and infrastructural and treaty issues, trump any interest in language, culture and history projects and studies (Amy Becker, *pers. comm.*, January 11, 2017). In a similar way, interpretive information takes a backstage to more "pressing" issues of day-to-day park management—which ultimately favours ecological integrity and an unchallenging "visitor experience" over reconciliation.

There are many perspectives on "that which is said to have happened" (Trouillot 1995, 2). How they are used must be debated and discussed, as this is what challenges the status quo and where power to author history and First Nations' pasts and present lifestyles is negotiated. Such efforts constitute "revisionist history," a revisioning of history that attempts to not just "fill the empirical void" (Stahl 2001, 2), but to substantively problematize the epistemologies and methodologies that reproduce dominant narratives. In the twenty-first century this is the "right thing to do."

Hul'qumi'num peoples point to a wide range of purposes for attending to different places, with social and kin relationships being a significant determinant in who goes where and why they go there. This presents problems for a wholesale adoption of the settlement types "camp" and "village" and the "seasonal rounds" model, which sees environment and ecology—not sociality, politics, conservation, property rights, etc.—as the key determinants driving mobility.

Regional anthropologists with long-standing relationships with Coast Salish peoples and who have attempted to elucidate through modelling the complexity of Coast Salish land tenure system(s) tell us that property rights were significantly structured along the lines of extended-family, corporate kin groups *and* winter group residency for the time leading up to and characterized by the cultural entanglements with Europeans (Kennedy 2007; Suttles 1963, 1991; Thom 2005a, 2009). The significance of the band and coastal Vancouver Island residential localities in early anthropologists' framings was tied up with a colonial agenda to control Indigenous peoples' mobility (Raibmon 2007) in order to make space for development (Harris 1994). Today, the state only finalizes treaties with individual First Nations. The treaty process produces "certainty" for economic and resources development in British Columbia by defining the nature of Aboriginal rights and title (Blackburn 2005) with respect to individual First Nations. This also reproduces and reifies the residence group as a politically autonomous unit, and has undoubtedly shaped the local histories or "that which is said to have happened" (Trouillot 1995, 2) which continue to circulate in treaty negotiations, park co-management forums and in archaeological CRM grey literature.

This is not just an esoteric argument over language use. These narratives and terminological choices have consequences (Cruikshank 1998, 2005; Roy 2010; Watkins 2006). To call a something a "camp" has social, legal, economic and political consequences, particularly in forums that for First Nations constitute the spheres of debate over long-held grievances over the illegal expropriation of their properties. "Camp" locales are not recognized as places that were "settled" by the colonial state, and therefore may not be eligible for recognition as sites for First Nations' title. In a region that is characterized by a high proportion of land privatization, there is clearly ongoing settler denial over the violent acquisition of lands by their recent

newcomer ancestors. To uphold these familiar colonial narratives protects the contemporary economic and commercial interests of the state and private-land owners. It does not contribute to further our knowledge of the past nor to achieving justice for a marginalized people in a so-called multicultural society in the twenty-first century.

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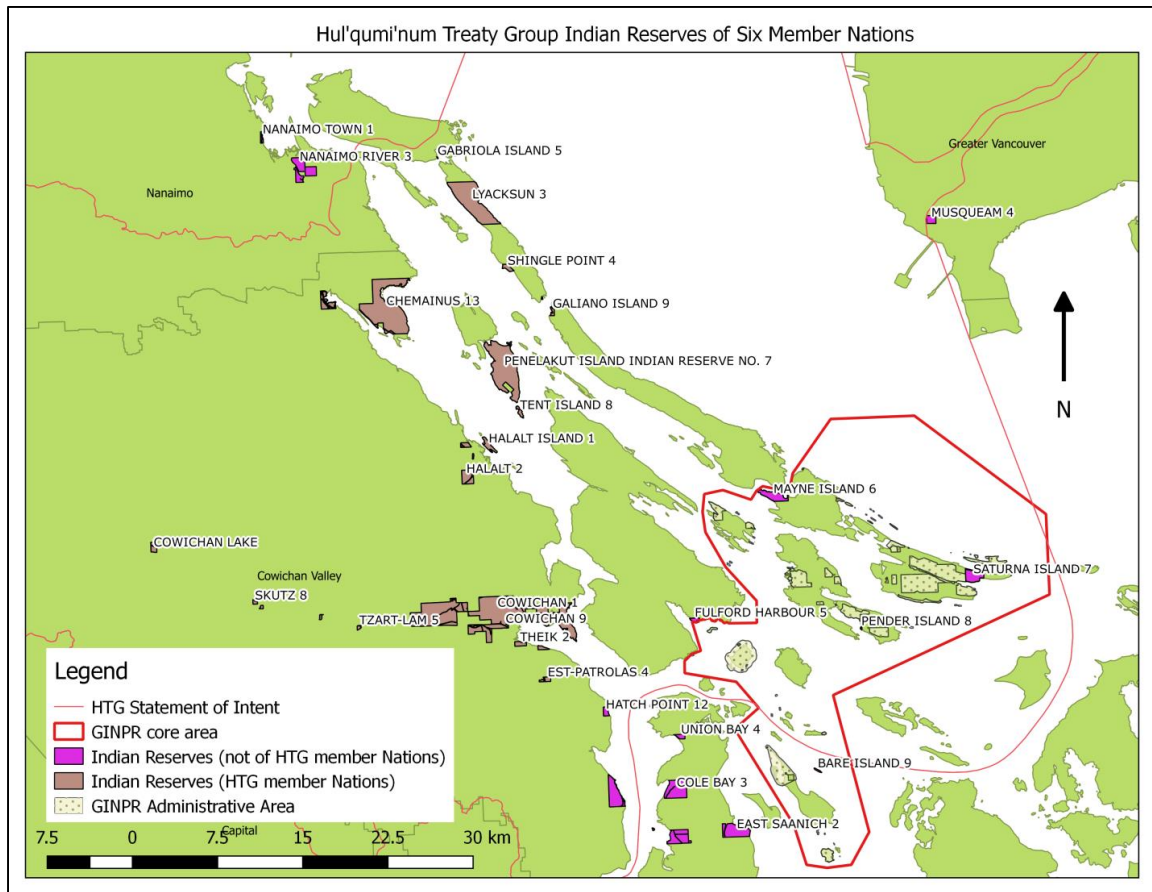
## Appendix II

Planning components for Interpretation of Cultural Heritage in GINPR Area Plans at Four Key Visitor Use Areas within asserted Hul'qumi'num core territory.

Area Plan	Goals	Management Objective	Proposed Actions	Anticipated Implementation Strategy	Implementation Priority	Notes
<b>Roesland (2011)</b>	Offer opportunities that enhance the public's understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of the Park's natural and cultural heritage values	Increase visitor awareness of the ecological significance and cultural heritage of the site through personal and non-personal interpretation	Work in cooperation with interested Coast Salish First Nations to develop opportunities for their culture and history represented.	Work with interested Coast Salish First Nations to develop opportunities for their culture and history represented	Second Priority Action	No timeline indicated
<b>Winter Cove (2007)</b>	Provides opportunities for park users to increase their awareness and understanding of the national significance of GINPR and to learn about the park's natural and cultural heritage.	To provide appropriate heritage presentation (interpretation) opportunities.	With First Nations input, develop appropriate FN messages for public; Consider opportunities through the GINPR: HTG-PC Joint Communications Strategy (special project), Cultural Heritage Strategy, Heritage Presentation Strategy.	Key Recommendations #8 and #9 (/10): Provide public with key messages of the site's natural and cultural history (personal services and/or non-personal media)	Summer 09*; Development of non-personal media - Spring 09*.	*These dates are subject to change based on approval date and resource availability
<b>Narvaez Bay (2007)</b>	Provides opportunities for park users to increase their awareness and understanding of the national significance of GINPR and to learn about the park's natural and cultural heritage.	To provide appropriate heritage presentation (interpretation) opportunities.	With First Nations input, develop appropriate FN messages for public; Assess cultural heritage values at Narvaez Bay for interpretation opportunities and protection needs; Consider opportunities through the GINPR: HTG-PC Joint Communications Strategy (special project), Cultural Heritage Plan, Heritage Presentation Strategy.	Key Recommendations #8 and #9 (/9): not indicated		No timeline indicated
<b>Portland Island (2010)</b>	To interpret the site's values and key themes to the public.	Develop visitor awareness and appreciation of First Nations and Hawaiian (Kanaka) heritage, Princess Margaret's connection to the island and the ecological values and natural features of Portland and Brackman Islands and the adjacent islets.	Provide interpretive information about natural history (old forest, restoration, landscape change), cultural history (First Nations, Hawaiian settlement and the Princess Margaret's connection to the island) and Special Preservation Areas (Brackman Island and islets). An interpretive site plan will be prepared to provide details.	Work with Coast Salish First Nations to develop appropriate public information to communicate about First Nations culture and connections to the area.	Year One (primary) Priority Action	

## Appendix III

Location of Indian Reserves of HTG member Nations relative to the GINPR: Cowichan Tribes, Lake Cowichan First Nation, Halalt First Nation, Lyackson First Nation, Penelakut Tribe, Stz'uminus First Nation.



### Description

Software: QGIS 2.14.2-Essential

CRS and Projection: NAD 83/BC Albers

*Geospatial data sources:*

1. Indian Reserves and GINPR Administrative Area: Geobase Data Collections, Government of Canada (<http://www.geobase.ca/>)
2. HTG Statement of Intent: Mapping Contemporary Challenges to island Hul'qumi'num Peoples' Territories, Ethnographic Mapping Lab (<https://sites.google.com/site/htgcasestudy/>)
3. GINPR Core Area: traced from overlay in GINPR source material

## Appendix IV

## Archaeological Content of Thirty-Nine (N=39) Permitted Archaeological Reports for Study Area.

No.	Report	Borden No.	Site Type	Seasonality	Time of Occupation/ use	Historic Aboriginal occupancy/use_N1_Y2	Arch Sequence N1_Y2	Site disturbance? N1_Y2	Disturbance
1	Chapman, Margo, 1971-020, Salvage Excavations at Two Coastal Middens: Hamilton Beach Site DeRt-011 and the O'Conner Site EeSu-005	DeRt-11	Resource procurement site (sea mammal; fish; deer)	n/a	1	1	1	n/a	Resort Construction
2	Mcmurdo, John Salvage Excavations At The Canal Site, Pender Island Report For Asab Permit 1971 - 20 Pender Island.	DeRt-1	n/a	n/a	Artifact typology	1	DeRt 1: Mayne, Locarno, Marpole, San Juan (Stselax)	2	Canal dredging
3	Cassidy, Stephen, Michael Cranny and Philip Murton 1974 Report of the Gulf Island Archaeological Survey.	Survey	Shell midden	n/a	4000 years of use	1	1	2	Construction; Recreation; Water Erosion
4	Acheson, Steve, S. Cassidy and C. Claxton 1975 Report of the Gulf Island Archaeological Survey. Report prepared for the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board of British Columbia.	Survey	Shell midden	n/a	n/a	1	1	2	Construction; Erosion; Relic Hunting
5	Duff, T. and R.P. Brolly March 31, 1978 Report on Archaeological Impact Assessment of Department of Highways Construction Projects in Southwest British Columbia	DeRs-17	Shell midden	n/a	n/a	1	1	2	construction
6	Lynne Melcombe October 1979 Report on the South Coast Regional Impact Assessment Project	DeRt-20; DeRt-82	<b>Shell Midden</b>	n/a	n/a	1	1	yes (DeRt-20); not specified (DeRt-82)	trail (provincial parks - DERT-20; n/a)
7	Easton, Alexander 1984. Underwater Archaeological Survey of Straits Salish Reef-Netting Locales. B.C. HERITAGE CONSERVATION BRANCH PERMIT REPORT NO. 1984-12 N. Department of Anthropology, UVIC	Underwater	Reef-net fishing sites	seasonal	historic (c.1800-1916)	2	Historic	2	tidal erosion

8	Carlson, Roy L April 1986 The 1984 Excavations at the Canal Site (DeRt 1 and DeRt2) 1984-13; Heather Moon, Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University 1984 "The 1984 Excavation at the Canal Site (DeRt 1 and DeRt 2)" P. 9-47b	DeRt-1; DeRt-2	DeRt-1: Specialized seasonal exploitation for clams (late period); DeRt-2: Burial grounds/ancestral food offerings (late period)	Seasonality change over time (from permanent settlement to seasonal use site)	Prehistoric, continuously from 4,000 BP	2	2	n/a	n/a
9	Carlson, Roy L April 1986 The 1985 Excavations at the Canal Site (DeRt1 and DeRt2) 1985-10	DeRt-1; DeRt-2	DeRt-1: Specialized seasonal exploitation for clams (late period); DeRt-2: Burial grounds/ancestral food offerings (late period)	Seasonality change over time (from permanent settlement to seasonal use site)	Prehistoric, continuously from 4,000 BP	2	2	2	canal dredging
10	Carlson, Roy L. The 1986 Excavations at the Canal Site (DeRt 1 and DeRt 2) 1986-7	DeRt-1; DeRt-2	DeRt-1: Specialized seasonal exploitation for clams (late period); DeRt-2: Burial grounds/ancestral food offerings (late period)	Seasonality change over time (from permanent settlement to seasonal use site)	Prehistoric, continuously from 4,000 BP	2	2	2	erosion; canal dredging
11	Wilson, Ian R. Excavation of a burial cairn DeRu 17, Piers Island, B.C. August 1987	DeRu-17	Middens, 3 burial cairns, several artifacts; possible defensive site (spit formation)	n/a	n/a	1	2	not specified	n/a
12	Wilson, Ian R. Archaeological monitoring of House Construction DeRu 17, Piers Island, B.C.	DeRu-17	Middens, 3 burial cairns, 1 additional artifact. Deposit of dense shell and charcoal (possibly hearth?)	n/a	n/a	1	1	2	construction (permitted by province)
13	Hutchings, W.K. And D.B.S. Maxwell August 7, 1987 An Analysis Of Burial 87-1 From The Canal Site (Dert 2) 1987 – 2f Vol. 1 Department Of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University	DeRt-2	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	1	1	n/a
14	Stryd, Arnoud. May 1990 Bedwell Harbour Hotel, South Pender Island, B.C., Archaeological Impact Assessment And Excavation Monitoring	DeRt-4	Village	n/a	Prehistoric	1	1	2	construction (bedwell harbour hotel)
15	Wilson, Ian R. January 1991b Heritage Resource Assessment Land Subdivision, Saturna Island Part of Plan 749R North ½ Section 18	DeRt-77	Occupation (3m midden depth); shellfish processing	n/a	n/a	1	1	2	ground testing

16	I.R. Wilson Consultants July 16, 1991 Dert41 South Pender Island Subdivision Permit #1991-70	DeRt-41	Possible burial site	n/a	possibly historic	2	1	2	construction (clearing)
17	Eldridge, Morely July 19, 1991 Archaeological Impact Assessment of Proposed Subdivision of Lot 5, Sections 2&4, Spalding Valley, Pender island. Under the conditions of Permit 1991-71. Millenia Research Ltd.	DeRt-54 (does not extend within project area)	not specified	n/a	mid to early prehistoric; Locarno Phase (2 of 14 artifacts)	1	1	2	relic hunting; agriculture; logging; hydro poles (recent)
18	Wilson, Ian R. September 1991 Heritage Resource Assessment Land Subdivision, Saturna Island Breezy Bay	DeRt-8	burials; faunal remains; deep midden areas (1.5-2m)	n/a	n/a	Not specified whether cabins are historic, and whether they are Aborigina/non-Aboriginal in origin, but from images they appear to be mid-20th C. in age (1999:6-7)	1	2	erosion (water, freighter and boat traffic); agriculture (inferred)
19	Twohig, Kevin November 22, 1993 Archaeological Impact Assessment of DeRt-12, Pender Island for the Proposed Subdivision of Subdivision NE 1/4, Section 11, Pender Island Cowichan District. Millenia Research Ltd.	DeRt-12; T- 1 (new site)	burials; faunal remains; deep midden areas (1.5-2m)	n/a	n/a	"There is a distinctive elongated mound in this area which runs parallel to the shoreline. A small cabin, without foundations, sits on the edge of the midden " (1993:4)	1	2	relic hunting (property owner); agriculture; erosion (water); midden mining (gardens)
20	Simonsen, Bjorn O. 1993 Results of an Archaeological Investigation at Site DeRt 74, Horton Bay, Mayne Island	DeRt-74	Shell midden	n/a	n/a	1	1	2	"development of property"
21	Coates, Clinton D. March 31, 1993 Impact Assessment For Dert-58 Lot 1, Section 11, Pender Island, Cowichan District, Plan 2731.	DeRt-58; DeRt-12	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	1	2	erosion (tidal and wave); ground leveling; mobile home platform; septic field installation
22	Mason, Andrew R. July 17, 1994 Archaeological Impact Assessment of Lot 9, Section 6, Pender Island, Cowichan District, Plan 1084 Archaeologist and Heritage Consultant	DeRt-16; DeRt-119	DeRt-16: shellfish and herring procurement and processing site (Marpole to contact; late winter/early spring); DeRt- 119: temporary overnight camp (occasional)	DeRt-16: late winter/early spring; DeRt-119: occasional	DeRt-16: used repeatedly for a long time period- Marpole (2400- 1400 BP) and/or Late period (1400-200 BP) component(s) may be present, also older deposits may be present" DeRt- 119: " limited duration campsite.	1	1	yes (DeRt- 16); minimal (DeRt-119)	road building; logging

23	Dahlstrom, Bruce November 1995 Archaeological Inventory and Impact Assessment of Proposed Subdivision of Parcel A and Remainder of Parcel B of Section 4, Pender Island, Cowichan District	DeRt-102; DeRt-120	DeRt-102: Temporary occupation; DeRt-120: Temporary camp (processing site)	n/a	n/a	1	1	not specified	not specified
24	Maxwell, John, David O'Regan and Jacinthe Messier December 16, 1996 An Archaeological Impact Assessment of Proposed Community Hall, Lot 2, Section 18 and 19, Plan 14577, Cowichan District, Pender Island (Site DeRt-55)	DeRt-55 (does not extend into project area)	Camp (inland)	n/a	Marpole	1	1	2	agriculture; animal husbandry (sheep)
25	Maxwell, John, Tina Christensen, Jim Stafford and Tal Fisher Millennia Research Ltd. February 27,1998 Southern Gulf Islands, B.e. Pacific Marine Heritage Legacy Lands Archaeological Inventory and Assessment.	Survey	Midden, Plow zone lithics, 3 cairns, CMTs, possible house depression	n/a	Marpole; Strait of Georgia components	1	1	2	
26	Brolly, Richard P. May 1998b Proposed Subdivision of Spalding Property, South Pender Island, Archaeological Impact Assessment	DeRt-57	not specified; buried cultural features could be present	n/a	n/a	1	2	2	logging (old growth); bulldozing
27	I.R. Wilson October 1999 Archaeological Inventory & Impact Assessment Site DeRt 41, Ainslie Point Pender Island, B.C. Permit 1999-287 I.R. Wilson Consultants	DeRt-41	Fish processing (drying or smoking); deer drive trench embankment	n/a	n/a	1	1	2	logging; leveling; "past machine activities"
28	Hewer, Tony 2000 Archaeological Inventory & Impact Assessment D'Arcy Island Provincial Park British Columbia.	DdRt-32	Midden, burial cairns (possibly Chinese)	n/a	prehistoric	1	1	2	park (camp pads; trails); orchard; other pre-park disturbance factors
29	Hewer, Tony August 2001 Archaeological Inventory & Impact Assessment, Active Pass Lightstation Mayne Island, B.C. Prepared for Department of Fisheries and Oceans and Canadian Coast Guard (Pacific Region), Heritage Conservation Act Permit 2000-179.	DfRt-3; DeRs-8	temporary camping, fishing, possible shellfish harvesting or even a lookout	temporary use	prehistoric (inferred)	1	2	2	erosion (tidal and wave); visitor traffic and use; construction (lighthouse)
30	I.R. Wilson Consultants August 25, 2000. Re: Site Alteration Permit 2000- 187	DeRt-41	Fish processing (drying or smoking); deer drive trench embankment;	n/a	n/a	1	1	2	logging; leveling; "past machine activities"

			hide preparation						
31	Wilson et al. May 2006 Archaeological Studies DeRt 4, Poets Cove at Bedwell Harbour Pender Island, B.C. Heritage Conservation Act Site Alteration Permit 2002-388 I.R. Wilson Consultants	DeRt-4	Village (Locarno Period); Resource-based use site (Marpole, historic)	year-round	Continuously since 5000BP	2	2	2	construction (hotel, pool facility and marina)
32	Arcas Consulting Archaeologists Ltd. March 2003 Georgia Strait Crossing Project. Natural Gas Pipeline: Underwater Archaeological Assessment (Gsx Pipeline)	Underwater		n/a	n/a	n/a	1	n/a	n/a
33	Mathews, Darcy October 2007 BC Hydro Blanket Permit 2005-202,226: Archaeological Impact Assessments-Final Report. Drew Pawlowski, compiler, Millennia Research Ltd. Prepared for BC Hydro, Permit No. 2005-202, 2005-226.	DfRt-5	Five houses	summer	Historic	2	1	2	Erosion (tree roots; tidal and wave); other disturbance (not specified)
34	Christensen and Stafford June 29, 2006 Pender Pool Project Archaeological Impact Assessment	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	1	n/a (no site within property, but perhaps as a result of extensive historic land use and development)	n/a
35	O'Neill, Casey November 2006 Archaeological Impact Assessment Lot 1, Section 20, South Pender Island, Cowichan District, British Columbia	DeRt-121; newly identified site	DeRt-121: human habitation (rock-lined cultural depression; a frequently used cooking area or ceremonial feasting location; noted potential for burials)	n/a	Prehistoric	1	2	2	forestry; agriculture
36	O'Neill, Casey March 2007 Archaeological Impact Assessment 4246 Armadale Road, RR#1, North Pender Island, Lot A, Section 22, Plan 28142, Cowichan District, British Columbia	DeRt-66	n/a	n/a	n/a	Scattered historic debris is located throughout the property, on the beach and on adjacent properties. ... product of the late 19 <sup>th</sup> C. and is not protected HCA (2007:18)	2	2	brick manufacturing and distribution facility (construction and operation of)

37	Pratt, Heather April 2011 Final Report for Archaeological Impact Assessments on Vancouver Island Conducted For BC Hydro Pole and Anchor Line Projects Heritage Inspection Permit 2007-366 Baseline Archaeological Services Ltd.	DeRt-103	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	1	2	urbanization
38	Stafford, Jim. Coast Interior Archaeology, Final Report April 28, 2008 Site Dert-22, Pender Island: Archaeological Impact Assessment Of Proposed Sea Wall At "Camelot By The Sea" (1215 Otter Bay Road)	DeRt-22	large habitation; burials	short-term seasonal use (winter)	within last 3000 years	1	2	2	house construction; beach access; driveway
39	Commisso, Rob, 2001-288, Archaeological Research Investigations at DeRt-08 and DeRt-20, Saturna Island, British Columbia.	DeRt-08; DeRt-20	Shell middens	n/a	prehistoric	1	1	2	settlement; recreational use (historic)

### Description

Data generated from analysis of “background,” “methodology,” “results/discussion” and “recommendations” report sections for permitted archaeological work of thirty-nine (N=39) written reports within the study area. Reports were identified through Remote Access Archaeology Database (RAAD) and Provincial Archaeology Report Library (PARL) and retrieved using PARL. Fourteen (N=14) additional permitted documents were identified in RAAD for the study area but were not available through PARL (often with this notice in place of permit report: “Under federal copyright law, the Province of British Columbia does not have permission to copy and distribute this report”).

## Appendix V

Frequency and Type of mentions of First Nations peoples' place-based relations in content of Named locales in GINPR Annual Visitor Guides 2006-2014.

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Named locales with mentions of First Nations peoples' place-based relations	10	12	14	2	2	3	3	3	0
Total of Named locales (places with names in English featured in AVGs)	41	40	40	37	37	37	37	37	14
<b>Frequency</b>	24.4%	30.0%	35.0%	5.4%	5.4%	8.1%	8.1%	8.1%	0.0%

<b># mentions for intensive occupation</b> (village, big house, cedar plank house, settlement)	4	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b># mentions of temporary occupation</b> (safe harbour; launching spot; camp)	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	0
<b># mentions of resource use</b> (harvesting, fishing, hunting)	6	5	5	1	1	2	2	2	
<b># mentions for other place-based relations</b> (spiritual; religious; "traditional cultural" (SPA); landmark)	4	7	8	1	1	1	2	2	0
<b># mentions of vague or decontextualized place-based relations</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0

Sources: GINPR 2006-2014.

## Appendix VI

Frequency and Type of Frequency and Type of mentions of First Nations peoples' place based relations in content of Named locales in GINPR Signage c.2003-2016.

Place	Total Number of Interpretive Signs	Signs with mentions of First Nations	% Mentions of FN	Villages/settlements	Ephemeral use Language	Place Names	Colonialism	Notes
<b>Saturna Island</b>	16	8	50.0%	2	5	5	1	
<b>Mayne Island</b>	5	1	20.0%	0	0	2	0	Sign w/mention of FN not appear to be affiliated with GINPR; meaning of Active Pass imprecise ("pass")
<b>Pender Island</b>	10	3	30.0%	1	1	0	0	Two of these signs simply mention that this is CS territory (commemorative plaques to donors); other sign is about village and seasonal use sites, SPA, and xe-xe
<b>Portland</b>	16	7	43.8%	3	1	1	1	Two of these signs simply mention that this is CS territory (commemorative plaques to donors); other sign is about village and seasonal use sites, SPA, and xe-xe
<b>Sidney Spit</b>	21	6	28.6%	4	3	2	1	Majority of signs are about Sencot'en speakers' use and occupancy; no Hul'q'umi'num place names - only xe-xe
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>68</b>			<b>10</b>		10		

Sources: Researchers' private photo collection of GINPR signage from fieldwork conducted in study area

## APPENDIX VII

## Ethnographic and Ethnohistoric Content of Thirty-Nine (N=39) Permitted Archaeological Reports for Study Area

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	Ethnographic Settlement Type for G.I.	Ethnographic Identification(s)	Ethnographic temporal framing	Place Names, Oral Tradition, Oral History	Ethnographic References
1	2	1	1	1	Occupation	Saanich Indians	Historic	n/a	n/a
2	2	1	1	1	not identified	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
3	1	1	1	1	Seasonal resource gathering (Spring/early summer)	Nanaimo, Cowichan, Saanich, Songhees	Prehistoric (ethnographic)	n/a	Barnett (1955); Suttles (1951)
4	1	2	2	2	Seasonal use	Halkomelem: Nanaimo, Chemainus, Cowichan; Straits Salish (Saanich); Linguistic divisions map (P.10-11)	Prehistoric	n/a	Suttles (1960); Barnett (1955 map); Murdock (1937); Barth (1969)
5	1	1	1	1	"Aboriginally occupied"	Straits Salish Lekwungen and Klallam people who live in the Songees, Esquimalt, and Beecher Bay reserves (Duff, 1964); Southern Nootka Pacheenaht people who reside in Port Renfrew	"Aboriginally occupied"; Historic (Reserve locations)	n/a	Duff (1964)
6	2	1	1	1	Occupation	The Comox, the Sechelt, Fraser River Delta group, lower Vancouver Island Salish group, Islanders	Historic; Ethnographic	n/a	Barnett (1938, 1955); Drucker (1938); Hill-Tout through Maud (1978)
7	2	2	1	1	Seasonal reef-netting camp	Saanich	ethnographic	n/a	Suttles (1951, map Saanich Reef Nets (Pender Islands, Active Pass); Barnett (1935, 1955, 1968); Boas (1890, 1897); Drucker (1939, 1943, 1958); Duff (1952, 1969); Elmendorf (1960); Hill-Tout (1907); Hewes (1947); Jenesss (1955); Kew (1976); Kroeber (1939); Mitchell (1983); Suttles (1951, 1954, 1957, 1958, 1960, 1963, 1968); Taylor (1969); Turner, N. (1975, 1979); Turner and Bell (1971)

8	2	2	2	2	Resource use area; Resource use area (year-round) and fishing locales (summer)	Saanich and Hul'qumi'num; and Saanich	Historic; Ethnographic	Bedwell Harbour and South Pender Island place names; St'e'yus (1984:14, 16); no place name for Pender Canal (the isthmus joining the two), but there are several other place names cited from Suttles' interview with Louie Pelkey, including two Xe'els stories	Barnett (1955); Hudson (1971); Rozen (1978); Suttles (1951a, 1951b); Taylor and Duff (1956); Aural History Programme (interviews with non-Aboriginal locals); Menzies (1975)
9	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Reef-net fishing (salmon); Fishing (herring); Hunting (large mammals, elk and deer)	Cowichan (North Pender); East Saanich (South Pender); Saanich ("Pender")	Ethnographic	n/a	Barnett (1955); Suttles (1974)
10	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Short-term camp; food procurement and processing	n/a	Ethnographic	n/a	Carlson (1984:42, 45); Barnett (1955); Suttles (1951, 1990)
11	1	1	1	1	Seasonal Resource Use	Saanich; West Saanich	Ethnographic	n/a	Elmendorf (1960); Suttles (1985:69); Suttles (1968); Barnett (1938, 1939, 1955); Suttles (1958, 1960); Mitchell (1971)
12	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
13	2	1	1	1	Fishing area (summer)	Saanich	prehistoric	n/a	Moon (1985)
14	n/a	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
15	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
16	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
17	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		n/a
18	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
19	1	1	1	1	n/a	Tsawout	n/a	n/a	n/a
20	1	1	1	1	Occupation (summer and early fall)	Tsartlip and Saanich First Nations	Ethnographic; Historic	n/a	Barnett (1955)
21	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
22	1	1	2	2	Seasonal resource use and procurement	Saanich, and possibly Cowichan - overlapping use areas	Ethnographic	"Ethnographic information concerning the Coast Salish, including place names, may be found in Bameett (1938, 1939, 1955), Jenness (1934-35), Rozen (1978) and Suttles (1951, 1958, 1960, 1968, 1990)." (1994:6)	Rozen (1978); Duff (1969); Suttles (1950, 1951, 1958, 1960, 1968, 1990:456); Easton (1990:161); Elmendorf (1960); Bameett (1938, 1939, 1955), Jenness (1934-35).
23	2	2	1	1	seasonal resource use/procurement (spring); fishing; sea mammal hunting (summer)	Saanich subdivision of Straits Salish; Island Salish	Historic (early)	n/a	Barnett (1938, 1939, 1958); Suttles (1958, 1960); Duff (1964)
24	2	2	1	1	plant gathering; wood procurement	Lekwammen people; Saanich	Prehistoric	n/a	Suttles 1951; Bouchard and Kennedy 1993; Turner and Bell 1971

25	1	1	2	2	Seasonal resource use and procurement (spring/summer/fall); Villages (winter)	Northern Straits and Island Halkomelem (speakers of); Saanich	Ethnographic	Otter Bay, where the ferry docks on Pender Island, was named sk'a7et'em or k'a7t'l'eng which both mean "place of otter" (Bouchard and Kennedy 1996:98). Much evidence of otter was observed during field survey. Another place name (xexiacsen) was recorded for the bluffs in Shingle Bay. The meaning of this term is "narrow neck".	Bouchard and Kennedy (1996); Boas (1887 map, 1928); Suttles (1990); Elliott and Poth (1990) in Bouchard and Kennedy (1996); Barnett (1955)
26	1	1	2	1	Resource procurement area; village	Saanich	Ethnographic	only (1998b:4) one named traditional village site is identified from this area. This is the Saanich village of 'eelay ("houses"), situated on the western side of Mayne Island in Active Pass (1998b:5)	not identified
27	1	1	1	1	Seasonal Use: Deer Drive; Aerial duck netting (in vicinity of "permanent settlement" see notes)	Saanich	Ethnographic	"The Indian name for South Pender Island has been recorded as xwu7s 'in front of all the islands' (Hudson 1971). Montler (1991:85) applied the term iletset to Bedwell Harbour while Claxton (c.1985) and Elliot and Poth (1990:33) applied this term to the northwest point of South Pender Island which forms the eastern shore of Bedwell Harbour"; <Kwane!fves> a hairy man who lived alone in the harbour, transcribed as 'body hair' (Hudson 1971) or 'lost middle' (Elliot and Poth 1990)." (1999:6)	(Bouchard and Kennedy 1996); Hudson (1971); Montler (1991); Elliott and Poth (1990); Claxton (c.1985); Duff (1953-1956)
28	2	2	2	1	camping	Tsartlip	Ethnographic	Mitchell (1976): group of Tsawout people camping on D'Arcy Island were killed in one of these raids. One woman and her nine year old son only survivors. They wandered the Saanich Peninsula until she came to a place she named xwits 'alhelhp ("Tsartlip"). Barnett (1955) identified Kwelaxwenthet who moved to Tsartlip from a creek in East Saanich as "forefather" of Tsartlip people. Former inhabitants of Tsartlip were apparently dead by the time Kwelaxwenthet arrived" (2000:7)	Barnett (1995); Bouchard (1971-1975); Bouchard and Kennedy (1996); Mitchell, M (1976); Suttles (1990); (Thompson and Kinkade 1990)
29	1	1	1	1	seasonal resource use (spring, summer, fall)	Tsartlip; Saanich	Ethnographic	n/a	Bouchard (1971-1975) Suttles (1990); Kennedy et al. (1993); Thomas and Kinkade (1990); Barnett (1935-1936, 1938, 1955); Hudson (1971); Jenness (1938); Suttles (1951)
30	1	1	1	1	deer drive	Saanich (inferred)	ethnographic	n/a	Elliott and Poth (1990: 42-43); Claxton (c.1985, map)

31	2	1	1	1	Seasonal resource use, procurement and "less permanent structures" (spring, summer, fall); Villages (winter)	Saanich; Saanich	ethnographic; historic (19th C.)	"The Indian name for South Pender Island has been recorded as xwu7s 'in front of all the islands' (Hudson 1971). Montler (1991:85) applied the term iletsen to Bedwell Harbour while Claxton (c.1985) and Elliot and Poth (1990:33) applied this term to the northwest point of South Pender Island which forms the eastern shore of Bedwell Harbour." (2002:11); "Suttles suggests the reef net site was known as st'áyes, the term most often used to refer to all of North Pender Island. The reef-net site was owned by a succession of named people from East Saanich and Tsawout (Suttles 1951:196)." (2002:12)	Barnett (1935-6, 1938, 1939, 1955); Bouchard (1971-1975); Bouchard and Kennedy (1996); Claxton (c.1985); Duff (1956, 1975); Elliott and Poth (1990); Jenness (1934-1936); Kennedy et al. (1993); Kennedy and Bouchard (1990); Suttles (1951, 1983, 1984, 1987, 1990); Teit (1900); Thompson and Kincade (1990)
32	1	1	2	?	Seasonal Use (fishing)	Coast Salish (Cowichan Tribes, Semiahmoo First Nation, Tsawwassen First Nation, Tseycum Village, Malahat Nation, Tsawout First Nation, Tsartlip First Nation, Pauquachin First Nation)	Traditional (Historic and Prehistoric)	n/a	General: Barnett (1955), Hill-Tout (1978), and Suttles (1990); Specific: Bouchard and Kennedy (1991); First-Nations authored: Claxton 1993; Claxton and Elliot 1994; Marshall 1999
33	2	2	1	1	temporary camp (reef-netting)	Tsartlip First Nation	Historic; ethnographic	Wendy Edwards of the Tsartlip First Nation provides information that DfRt-5 was the location of a historic Tsartlip village called ÁLENLEN. (2007:11)	Suttles (1951); Barnett (1955); Wendy Edwards (member of Tsartlip)
34	1	2	2	2	Seasonal round (spring, summer and fall)	Saanich Bands (Pauquachin Indian Band, the Tsawout Indian Band, the Tseycum Indian Band and the Tsartlip Indian Band), the Cowichan Tribes, the Malahat Band, and the Tsawwassen First Nation	ethnographic	n/a	Bouchard and Kennedy 1996; Suttles 1951, 1990; Hill-Tout 1978; Maxwell et al. 1998
35	2	1	1	1	villages (winter)	Songhees, Saanich, Lummi and Samich	Historic (late 1800s)	Possibly a permanent Saanich settlement on S. Pender Isl. prior to establishing Saanichton Bay village of Tsawout (Suttles 1951). In late 1800s, a plank house was inside Hay Point and later on Hay Point itself (Suttles 1951:26, 196). Description "inside Hay Point" refers to Egeria Bay (Bouchard and Kennedy 1996). The house said to belong to owner of nearby reef-net location. Suttles: reef net site known as st'áyes, term most used to refer to all of North Pender Island (U note: according to Sencot'en sources). Reef-net site owned by a succession of named people from East Saanich and Tsawout (Suttles 1951:196).	Suttles (1990); Bouchard and Kennedy (1996) ["Considerable ethnographic information on the Northern Straits and Saanich peoples is available in the works of Barnett (1935-1936, 1938, 1955), Hudson (1971), Jenness (1934-1936), Kennedy et al. (1993) and Suttles (1951)" (2006:7)]

36	2	1	1	1	Village (winter)	Songhees, Saanich, Lummi, and Samich	Historic (late 18th C.)	Saanich is an anglicization of the Native term s̓s̓ánets which refers to those First Nations people who speak the Saanich dialect of the Northern Straits Coast Salish language. The Saanich people themselves are known as xws̓ánets (Bouchard 1971-1975; Suttles 1990).	Suttles 1990; Bouchard and Kennedy 1996
37	1	2	1	1	Seasonal resource use and occupation	Cowichan Tribes, Esquimalt, Halalt, Lake Cowichan, Lyackson, Malahat, Pauquachin, Penelakut, Semiahmoo, Snaw-Naw-As, Snuneymuxw, Stz'uminus, Tsartlip, Tsawout, Tsawwassen, Tseycum	Prehistoric	n/a	n/a
38	2	2	2	2	Villages; reef-netting; Shared resource use	Saanich; Saanich and Malahat; Nanaimo, Chemainus, Cowichan, Saanich, Songhees	Historic (20th C.); ethnographic and historic	One such reef-netting site with an associated placename is located near the study area at James Point (Bouchard and Kennedy (1996:98-99). This site was said to 'belong to the Malahat' by Earl Claxton Sr. Other reef netting sites are located at or near Stanley Point and Mouat Point.	Suttles (1951); Bouchard and Kennedy (1996); Thom (2005); Duff (1961); Barnett (1935-1936)
39	1	1	2	2	Seasonal villages	Central Coast Salish (Squamish, Halkomelem, Nooksack, Northern Straits and Callam + regional dialects within the languages)	Ethnographic	n/a	Suttles (1990); Thompson and Kinkade (1990); Mitchell (1971); McMillan (1995); Wright (1999)

### Description

Refer to *Appendix VI* for full Report titles. Report Numbers in Appendix VI correspond with “No.” column 1 left-hand side of table for this Appendix. Data generated from analysis of “Ethnography” report sections for permitted archaeological work of thirty-two (N=32) written reports. Seven (N=7) reports did not have “Ethnography” sections, but had some historic or ethnohistoric content in other report sections. Reports were identified through Remote Access Archaeology Database (RAAD) and Provincial Archaeology Report Library (PARL) and retrieved using PARL. Fourteen (N=14) additional permitted documents were identified in RAAD for the study area but were not available through PARL (often with this notice in place of permit report “Under federal copyright law, the Province of British Columbia does not have permission to copy and distribute this report”).

### Column Headings

<b>A. Mentions of “Historic”(post-European contact) period occupation and or use by Aboriginal peoples. (No=1; Yes=2)</b>	<b>B. Mentions of Historic Context, specifically of settler pre-emption, displacement, resettlement of Indigenous peoples. (No=1; Yes=2)</b>	<b>C. Mentions of Social Organization, specifically inter-marriage between groups with differences in language or consultative boundaries. (No=1; Yes=2)</b>	<b>D. Explicit mentions of overlaps between groups with differences in language or consultative boundaries. (No=1; Yes=2)</b>
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