

Pacific Rim National Park

Ethnographic History

by Richard I. **Inglis** and James C. **Haggarty**

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Pacific Rim National Park

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ABC - Archives of British Columbia
 AVM - Alberni Valley Museum
 BCPM - British Columbia Provincial Museum
 NMC - National Museums of Canada
 PAC - Public Archives of Canada
 WSHS - Washington State Historical Society

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Prologue

The Western World is still struggling to **come** to terms with indigenous minorities. There is no longer even a generally acceptable label for such people. Once commonly referred to as primitives . . . and before that, around the beginning of this century, as savages and barbarians, indigenous peoples are now more likely to be called **tribals**, natives, or more possessively, "our native peoples." None of these **terms** are happy choices, being if not insulting at least either misleading or condescending.

... only slowly and reluctantly do we learn simply to call others by the names they call themselves . . .¹

Abstract

This report **presents** the histories of the Sheshaht, Ucluelet, Clayoquot, Ohiaht, Ditidaht and Ucluelet, groups whose traditional territories today are encompassed in part by one of the three units of Pacific Rim National Park. These groups are the modern day survivors two hundred year period of intense socio-political change in the region study.

A minimum of twenty-two independent groups once operated in the region. The reduction is attributed to the dramatic changes that **result** from contact with the first European and American explorers and traders. Disease and **warfare were** the prime reasons for the decline in population by as much as ninety percent and the number of independent political units by over sixty percent.

Preface

The histories of the Sheshaht, **Ucluellet**, Clayoquot, Ohiaht, Ditidaht and Pacheenaht have been reconstructed from **three main sources**: historic documents, interviews of native people and the physical evidence on the landscape of use and/or occupation.

In this report each of these data sets is presented and analyzed separately. It is only after this that integration occurs. **The** ethnohistoric data set documents chronologically **observations** of native people in the region of study by individuals (generally whites) who are external to the culture. It spans the period from 1787 to around 1920. The ethnographic data set consists of historical traditions from the region of study that were obtained by interview of knowledgeable members of a native community. It spans a time **period** of approximately two hundred years. The archaeological data set consists of physical evidence of use and/or occupation that has been identified primarily by archaeologists. The time span of this record is not known for the region, but is hypothesized to span several thousands of years. After these analyses the information from each of the data sets that relates specifically to the area of the Park is extracted and integrated by park unit.

Acknowledgements

Two people deserve special recognition for their contributions to this report: Cairn Crockford for the quality time, energy and **rigour** she gave to the research and Elaine **Hebda** for the untiring commitment to detail and format she gave to the production of the final manuscript. The excellence of the figures reflects the talents of Nancy **Condrashoff**, illustrator, and Burt **Storey**, photograph production. Others who assisted in the research for the project include Verna Charleson, Florence Wylie, Wilfred Robinson, Richard **Mackie**, **Jacquie Sim** and **Bianca Message**. Those who assisted in the typing of various drafts of the report include Erica Bates, Sally Watson, **Vanessa Hebdon** and Pauline McDonald.

Colleagues who have contributed personal research information and/or critical dialogue to the project include **Denis St. Claire**, John **Thomas** and Eugene **Arima**.

Completion of this report was facilitated by the support of Bill Barkley, Director, Ted Miller and Bob **Peart**, Assistant Directors, at the British Columbia Provincial Museum and Dr. Rick Stuart, Regional Historian at Parks Canada, Calgary.

Introduction

Terms of Reference and Project Overview

The objectives of the Pacific Rim Ethnographic History Project as stated in the Terms of Reference were:

1. To identify and retrieve from archives written and/or taped native texts pertinent to understanding location, function and ownership of territories and sites within the three units of Pacific Rim National Park (Fig. 1).
2. To retrieve other native texts, including interview of present day elders, to further understand the native history of the park units.
3. To translate and to transcribe **where** necessary any of the above materials.
4. To produce a final report that synthesizes **and integrates** the ethnographic, ethnohistoric and archaeological data.

The identification and retrieval of ethnographic texts from archives was highly successful. The primary sources retrieved were the Edward **Sapir** notebooks from his 1910 and 1913-14 field **wor**k in **Alberni**, the Alex Thomas manuscripts collected between 1914 and 1923 in the **Barkley** Sound area, the Mary **Haas** and Morris Swadesh **field** notebooks from their 1931 field work in Port **Renfrew** and the Morris Swadesh notebooks from his 1949 field work in Port **Alberni**.¹

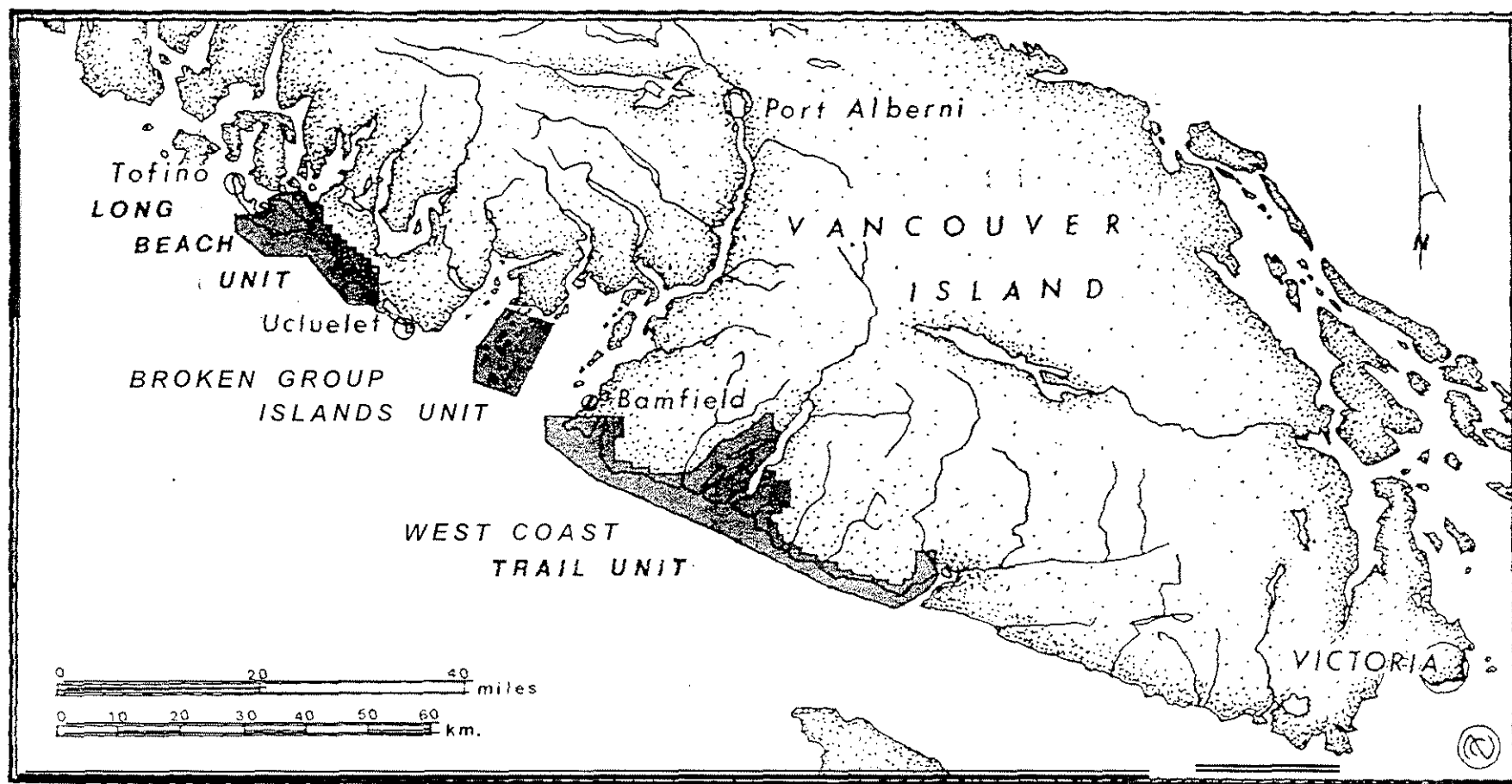


Fig. 1. Map of the Long Beach, Broken Group Islands and West Coast Trail units of Pacific Rim National Park, west coast of Vancouver Island.

Additional ethnographic information was collected for the project in interviews with three Ucluelet elders, one Sheshaht elder, two Ohiaht elders, one Opetchesaht elder, one Toquaht elder and **two** Ditidaht elders. **Denis** St. Claire conducted all but the Ditidaht interviews. During various phases of this work, translations were provided by Alice **Paul**, Lawrence Paul and John Thomas. Transcriptions were provided by Randy **Bouchard** and John Thomas.

This new interview and archival information along with the earlier published works of G.M. Sproat, F. Boas, A. Carmichael, E. **Sapir** and M. **Swadesh**² and the recently completed manuscript by **E. Arima**³ from field work in the **1960s**, **forms** one of the major bodies of ethnographic material on the Northwest Coast.

To accomplish the fourth objective, the synthesis of this wealth of ethnographic data and integration with other data sets, this report has been divided into five main sections. The first outlines the research design employed and the theory and methodology that provided the framework for the analysis and synthesis of the data. The second section, the ethnohistoric data set, documents chronologically the observations of native people **by individuals** external to the **society** in **the** historic period. It includes the descriptions of people, settlements, and activities recorded by early explorers, fur traders, government agents and missionaries. The third section, the ethnographic data set, consists of historical traditions that have been obtained by interview of knowledgeable members of a native community. The history of research is presented, followed by overviews which focus on the identification Of

people, settlements and activities with the three park units. This section is augmented by geographies for the Sheshaht, Ucluelet, Clayoquot, Ohiaht, Ditidaht and Pacheenaht which are included as Appendices A to F. The fourth section, the archaeological data set, summarizes the results from the Historical Resources Site Survey and Assessment Project. It consists of the physical evidence on the landscape that has resulted from occupation or utilization by a person or persons sometime in the past. The fifth section integrates the data from the ethnohistoric, ethnographic and archaeological data sets.

As Nuuchahnulth history spans at least 4,300 years from a scientific point of view,⁴ or since the time the world was created from the native point of view, each of the above sources has valuable information to contribute from its own unique perspective. It is the integration of these different perspectives of history that can provide the most balanced view of past events and ways of life. But before integration each data set must be critically analysed to allow for independent appraisal.

The report is not an attempt to write a comprehensive ethnography of the native peoples whose traditional territories are encompassed within the boundaries of Pacific Rim National Park. Certainly much of the data necessary for such an undertaking has been collected, but it would be a massive task well beyond the financial and human resources available at this time. Two ethnographies that relate to the study area in a general way, however, have been published: The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes by Philip Drucker and The West Coast People by Eugene Arima.⁵

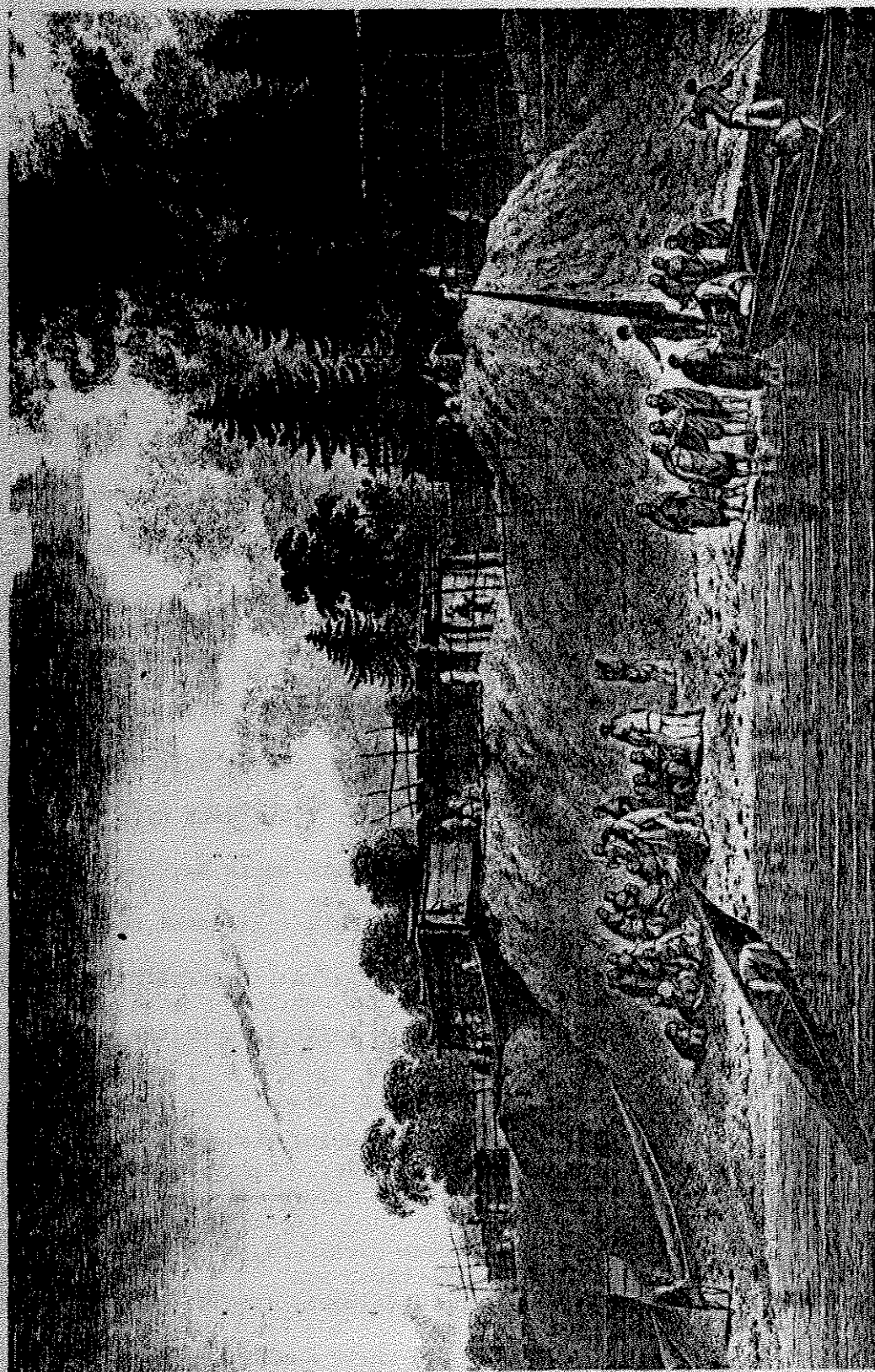


Fig. 2. Drawing of a village in Nootka Sound by Webber, 1778 (Photo: BCPN FN 4645).

Native Peoples of Pacific Rim National Park

Pacific **Rim** National Park is located within the southern half of Nuu-chah-nulth territory which extends from Cape Cook in the northwest to Sheringham Point in the southeast (Fig. 3). This area has been the homeland of the **Nuu-chah-nulth** people for **millenia**. In the late 1880s nineteen separate groups were recognized by the Indian Reserve Commission as resident **in** the area. There were many other groups however, which had not survived as separate political entities. They had fallen victim to the ravages of disease and warfare in the late eighteenth **and** early nineteenth centuries. The only record of their existence now is in the oral traditions. In 1986 there remain fifteen politically separate "bands", six of whom **have** portions of their traditional territories encompassed by one of the park units: the Clayoquot and Ucluelet in the Long Beach unit, the **Sheshaht** in the Broken Group Islands unit and the Ohiaht, Ditidaht and Pacheenahht in the West Coast Trail unit (Fig.4).

Prior to **Euro-American** contact the three park units had numerous villages and a population in the thousands. Life was oriented towards the sea. Bill **Holm** recently characterized this lifestyle in graphic terms for another Northwest Coast people. It is equally applicable to the **Nuu-chah-nulth**. He wrote:

The salt water was the front doorstep and the road of the village. It was also the larder. Every kind of living thing within reach of the canoe-borne hunter or fisherman; the weir or trap, the digging stick or quick fingers of seaweed gatherers, and was sweet or good tasting, or nutritious, was harvested. Special tools were developed, like the sharp canoes and paddles and the sea hunters' three-fathom long harpoons, with their double foreshafts and ingenious detachable points that

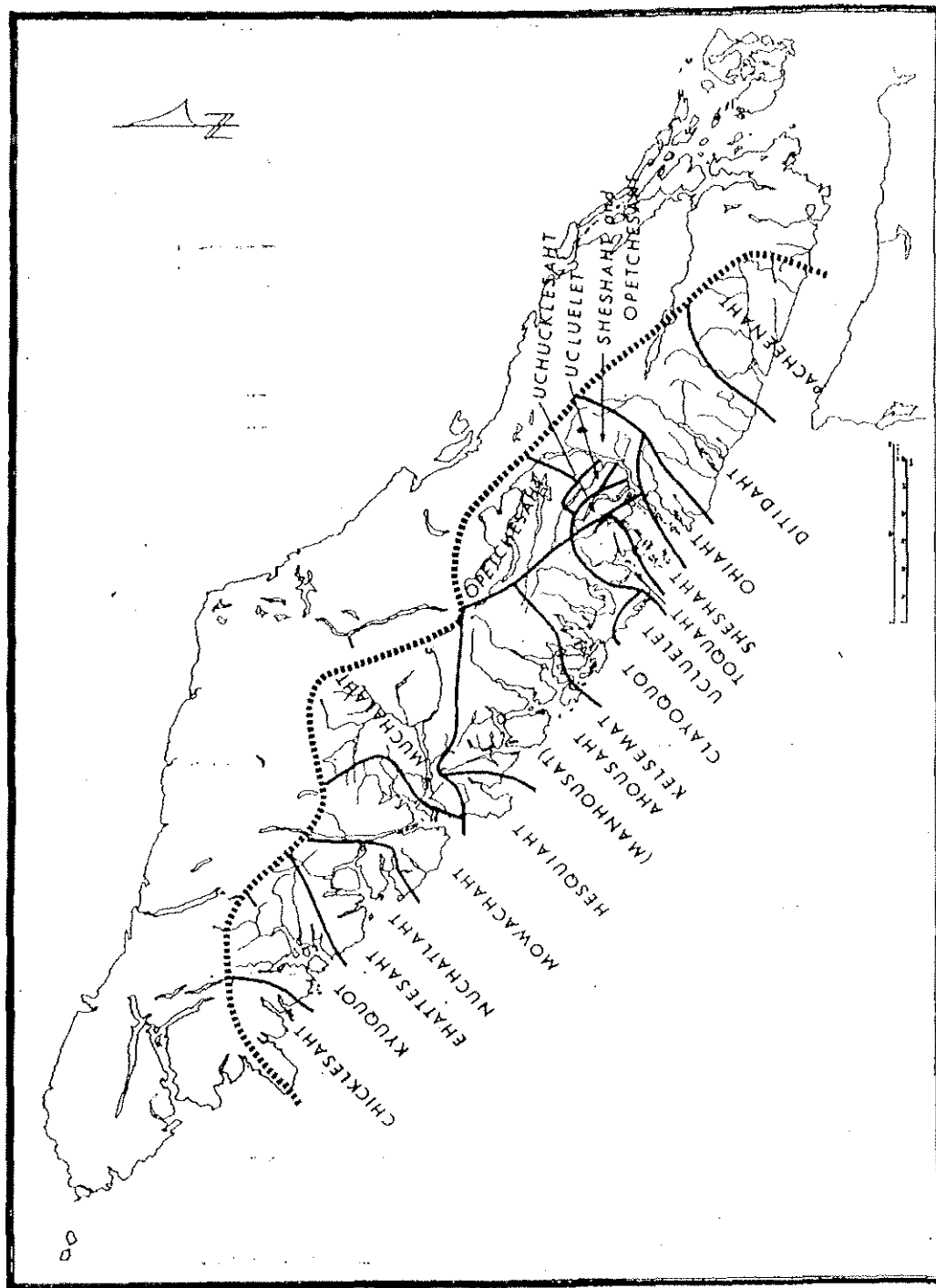


Fig. 3. Map of late nineteenth century boundaries for Nuw-chah-nulth groups on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

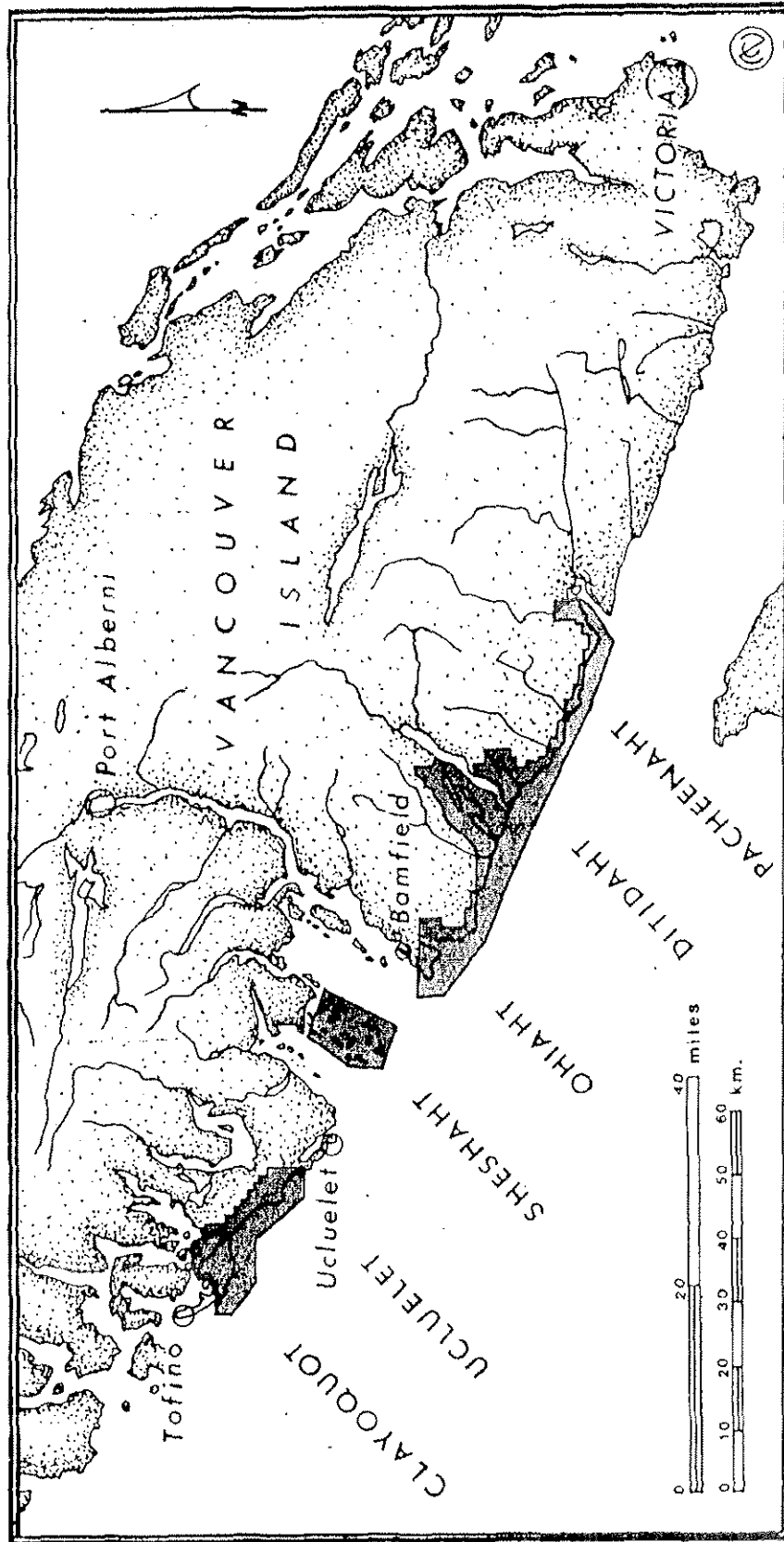


Fig. 4. Map of the territories of the six bands with traditional territories encompassed by Pacific Rim National Park.

anchored the **long** braided line in the hide of a seal or sea lion and let it be played like a giant salmon . . . 6

The sea furnished ... other important materials, such as the skins of sea otters, seals and sea lions, and the bones, sinews, stomachs, and intestines of various sea creatures, which became the materials of technology. Skins were turned into clothing and **armor**, the bones became tools and weapons, the sinew was used for cordage, and the intestines, stomachs, and bladders became containers and buoys for harpoons and halibut-fishing lines. ... Fish were cleaned and filleted with the curved, sharpened edges of giant mussel shells . . . (Materials came from the forests as well) ...-inner bark of the yellow cedar for robes, kilts and capes; of the red cedar for baby bedding, towels, baskets, mats . . . The wood, bark, roots and branches of almost every tree and shrub . . . were used . . . each according to its strength, suppleness, or ease of splitting or working into some implement or necessity of life.⁷

Food came from the land, too. **Salal** berries, salmonberries, huckleberries, strawberries, and many others were gathered and some preserved by drying or stored in (fish or seal) oil. The shoots of salmonberries and thimbleberries were peeled and eaten as a special treat in the spring. Roots and rhizomes were important staples, and the **cambium** of hemlock trees was scraped, steamed, and **dried** into cakes for future use. Dye for **cedar bark mats** and ceremonial dress came from the inner bark of trees, hemlock for black and alder for red. Meat, furs, and hides came from the animals of the land: deer, black bears and **grizzlies**, **mink**, marten, **otter**, and others.⁸

The two hundred and eighty-nine native archaeological sites, forty-six in the Long Beach unit, one hundred and sixty-three in the Broken Group **Islands** unit and eighty in the West Coast Trail unit reflect the physical expression of this lifestyle. With contact came dramatic changes particularly to settlement and subsistence patterns. As population declined villages were abandoned and the **survivors** moved to

partake in the new economic order. Today the sixteen reserves, four in the Long Beach unit, three in the Broken Group Islands unit and nine in the West Coast Trail unit and the two hundred and eighty-nine archaeological sites remain as reminders of the once thriving communities. Only one, **Esowista** (Clayoquot IR 3) is still occupied on a year round basis. The **Ucluelet** today are **centred** at Ittatsoo (IR 1) in **Ucluelet** Inlet, the Sheshaht in Port Alberni at Tsahaheh (IR 1), the Ohiaht at **Anacla** (IR 12) near **Bamfield**, the Ditidaht at **Malachan** (IR 12) at the head of **Nitinat** Lake and the Pacheenaht at Gordon River (IR 2) near Port **Renfrew**. Utilization of traditional territories and reserves is generally on an individual basis. There are still structures at Whyac (Mtidaht IR 3), **Iktuksasuk** (Ditidaht IR 7) and at Cleho (Sheshaht IR 5).

The native history presented in this report will focus on these sites and the identity and activities of the people who inhabited and utilized them. Before proceeding it is important to understand two concepts, the so-called "ethnographic period" and the "**Nootkan** local group", as they provide the theoretical and methodological framework around which **the data has been analysed, synthesized and integrated;**

Research Design

The "Ethnographic Period"

Much of the writing about native history is **based** on **the** belief that there is an "ethnographic period", a span of approximately one hundred years after contact when native cultures operated largely along traditional lines. In this period the Euro-Canadian presence was sporadic and restricted. Native communities generally were isolated and therefore **protected** from disruptive influences. It was not until the first decades of the twentieth century that traditional native life changed dramatically, and native people assimilated to the new order.

Anthropologists **are** largely responsible for this belief. Douglas Cole wrote **in** his excellent and highly readable study of the frenzied museum collecting on the Northwest Coast between 1875 and the Great Depression:

Anthropological collecting had special impetus behind it: the realization that time was essential, that civilization was everywhere pushing the primitive to the wall, destroying the material culture and even extinguishing the native stock itself. Once the culture of these people was gone, wrote Adolf Bastian, . . . it could not be recalled to fill the gaps required by an inductive ethnological *science*. "What can be done must be done **now**. If it is not, the possibility of ethnology is forever annulled". This sense of urgency, this notion of a scientific mission, was a constant theme of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century anthropology. "In a few years it will be impossible" wrote John Wesley Powell, "to study our North American Indians in their primitive history" .¹

Pioneer ethnographers like Franz Boas and Edward Sapir believed that they were documenting the end of an era, the last knowledge of traditional customs and patterns of life. Boas wrote on his perceptions of the Northwest Coast during the late nineteenth century in a report published in 1889 :

I wish to close with a few words about the anticipated future of these Indians. We find here **very** gifted people fighting against the penetration by the Europeans . . . Their ethnographic **characteristics** will in a very short time fall victim to the influence of the Europeans . . . 2

This belief that traditional native culture **was** intact in the late nineteenth century and then destroyed by advancing civilization early in the twentieth century is maintained in the anthropological literature of today. For example, Michael Ames in a recent review of 'Smoky-Top', The Art and Times of Willie Seaweed describes the life of an elder in this duality:

Willie Seaweed was born **in** a cedar plank house on the shores of an inlet that knew only canoe travel . . . He has lived through a century of rapid and disruptive change during which the very foundations of his society were being questioned, his people dislocated, divided and proselytized, their traditional economic pursuits eliminated and their ceremonies suppressed.³

While it may be true that the last century has seen perhaps the greatest political, social, economic and technological change ever to native cultures, it should not diminish the impact of earlier contact.

The authors have argued elsewhere that contact with Euro-Americans at the end of the eighteenth **century** resulted **in** immediate and profound changes to economic patterns and to **socio-political** and settlement patterns for **groups** at the trading centres.⁴ In areas peripheral to

this intensive contact changes were likely less radical and **the** traditional patterns persisted longer. Changes still occurred, however, but as a result of changing relationships with their **neighbours**.

The historic period was a time of constant disruption to the traditional way of life. Survival was dependent upon re-defining group composition and settlement pattern. In order to comprehend the magnitude of change to traditional patterns it is important to look at the historic period not in **terms** of a temporal duality, traditional versus acculturated, but in terms of a series of time frames which reflect the ongoing changes brought about by such factors as population decline, warfare and changing economic pursuits.

The Nootkan Local Group

Fundamental to understanding Nuu-chah-nulth culture is the concept of **the** local group, **the** basic socio-economic unit of society. **Drucker** first described the local group as:

centering in a family of chiefs who owned territorial rights, houses and various other privileges. Such a group bore a name, usually **that** of their "place" (a site **at** their fishing ground where they belonged) . . . and had a tradition, **firmly** believed, of descent from a common ancestor.⁵

Kenyon elaborated:

... the Nootkan local group was conceived of as an idealized family, expanded over time, which owned a distinct territory and shared **common** ceremonial and ritual property. Members of this family were ranked on the basis of primogeniture and it was the highest ranking member who **was** regarded as the owner of most of the group's property.⁶

Commoners established their presence in the local group on the basis of kinship ties. Explaining the role of commoners Drucker quoted an informant:

"The people who lived in the houses used to move in and out all the time. After a man had stayed with one chief awhile, fishing and working for him, he would decide he had helped that chief enough, and would move to the house of another chief to whom he was related . . ." 7

Ownership of the local group's heritage was vested in the highest ranking chief, and was passed on to his eldest son, often long before his death. The magnitude of ownership and **accompanying** privileges in the economic realm are illustrated in the following passages from Drucker:

Not **only** were houses themselves owned, but the entire village sites as well were the property of the chief of the local group or tribe residing there. If others built houses at the place, it was with the **owner's** express permission . . . In fact, all the territory, except for remote inland areas, was regarded **as** the property of certain chiefs.⁸

Salmon streams constituted the most important economic properties of the Nootkan chiefs. Though they gave rights to set salmon traps in certain places to kin and henchman, the chiefs exercised their right to claim the entire first catch of the traps made in their individual rivers.⁹

The conditions under which a group member was permitted to exploit a chief's territory expressed public acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the ownership. They were as follows: No one might fish on any important fishing ground until the owner formally opened the season either by ordering **some** man to go out to procure the first catch or the first two catches for him, or by calling on all to accompany him on the first expedition of the **season**. . . After this, men could go when they pleased. Sometime during the season, or afterward when the product had been dried, the chief sent men to collect "tribute" (**o'umas**) for him. This was nothing more or less than a tax exacted in kind for the use **of** his domain. No definite amount was

specified: it was left to each man to give what he would. Informants say, "the fishermen gave all they could spare. **They** didn't mind giving, for they knew the chief would give a feast with his tribute." The foodstuff collected in this fashion was always used to give a great feast, at which the giver announced it had been obtained as tribute, and explained his hereditary right to demand tribute from that place. He invariably concluded by requesting the people to remember that the place belonged to him, "to take care of it for him," though they might use it when they wished after the formal seasonal opening. The right to exact this tax demonstrated very neatly the relationship between chiefly status and property ownership. Each chief collected this tribute from whatever **fishing** grounds he **owned, river, inlet, or** fishing banks. ¹⁰

A chief owned also the important root and berry patches along his river. When the berries, or roots ripened, he sent some women from his house to gather the first crop for him. With this harvest he gave a feast to his people. The crew of berry pickers or root diggers were "paid" in kind.¹¹

The ownership of a territory included rights **not** only to foodstuffs procured from it by human labor, but also to salvage. Whatever was found derelict in a chief's ocean territory stranded on his beach, or lost on his land, was salvage (**honi**) and belonged to the chief owning the place. The finder of such property was obliged to bring it to the chief, or at least notify him, and was in return given payment. This right of salvage applied to anything from a whale, a canoe, a good log, or a runaway slave to a dentalia shell or a canoe **bailer**.¹²

From these examples it is clear that the local group, headed by a chief, owned a well-defined territory and controlled access to every aspect of the economy within that area. Therefore, in order to understand the social context of the archaeological record, the physical evidence of habitation and **resource** exploitation, it is **essential** to identify the local group that was responsible for that record.

This is not an easy task, however, as the social units that operated on the **landscape**, **underwent numerous** redefinitions **during** the **historic** period as a result of population decline, warfare, amalgamations and changing economic patterns. It is necessary, therefore, to document these changes before one can identify the social units responsible for the archaeological **record**.

Ethnohistoric Research

Introduction

In this report ethnohistory is defined as the study of primary historic documents in order to gain knowledge of a particular native culture as it existed in the past and how it has changed since contact. This study relies on analytical skills derived from both history and anthropology. The methodology is historiography with the context of anthropology needed to evaluate and critically analyze the data. One aim of ethnohistory is **to penetrate** through the events of the historic period to reconstruct a **precontact** baseline of native culture to which the vast majority of archaeological sites relate.

The historic period on the **west** coast of Vancouver Island commenced in 1774 when the Spaniards aboard the Santiago **traded with Nuu-chah-nulth** people in several canoes near the entrance to Nootka Sound. For the purposes of this report, the 212 year interval between this first contact and the present, **is** divided into two periods: Period I, 1774 to 1839, and Period II, 1840 to the present. Period I is **characterized by** a maritime focus to European and American approaches to the new land. Contact with native groups was generally sporadic and **of** short duration as the primary interest of the foreigners was in the trade of the fur of the sea otter. This was a time of internal change for the native cultures. The impact of Euro-American contact was dependent on the degree of access to the foreigners. The social, economic and political adjustments occurred using

traditional mechanisms. They **were not** imposed. This does not mean, however, that there was little cultural disruption. Disruption was profound and the changes immense.

Period II **is characterized** by a land focus to an ever increasing foreign presence, brought about by the **ascendency** of the Hudson's Bay Company in the fur trade. This was a time of decreased autonomy for native people; First there was the imposition of colonial rule and gunboat enforcement of the new order. This was followed by full government **administration of** many aspects of native life through the Indian Act and what was to become the Department of Indian Affairs. The result for the native people was restricted access to the land through the reserve system and **to-the** resources through newly imposed laws, settlements and commercial developments.

The Nature of the Documentary Sources

Primary historical documents are accounts which include observations of people and events written by eyewitnesses to those events. **These** accounts must be critically evaluated. Facts of history never come in a pure form. They are always refracted through the mind of the recorder. As recorder **bias is always** in the writings, the objective is to separate that which is bias (the judgemental statements) from that which is fact (the observations). To accomplish this the first concern is to evaluate the recorder. **Who was** the writer-the actual observer or a ghost writer? When was the document written-at the time? Shortly afterwards? Years

afterwards? What was the purpose of writing--posterity? Political ambition? Duty?

Equally important is to identify about which people the recorder was writing. For example, the impact of early contact was not uniform along the coast. Groups whose traditional territories encompassed the trading centres of Friendly Cove (Nootka Sound) and Clayoquot Sound had far greater access to and contact with the Euro-American traders. It is not surprising to find that most observations of Nuu-chah-nulth culture have come from these areas. But to what extent do these descriptions apply to Nuu-chah-nulth peoples as a whole? It is clear from first contact that groups with access to the foreigners made significant changes to traditional patterns to capitalize fully on the wealth of the trade.¹ What was happening in these locations was in many ways unique and cannot be applied to other groups except in a generalized context. Consequently for this report it is only the documents that contain descriptions of people and/or places in the areas of Pacific Rim National Park that have direct relevance.

In Period I the historic documents include the journals, logs, letters, drawings and charts of explorers and fur traders.. Those consulted are listed below in chronological order .by ship; captain and area visited.

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1787 | <u>Imperial Eagle</u> , captain Charles Barkley , Broken Group Islands and entrance to Juan de Fuca Strait |
| 1788 | <u>Felice Adventurer</u> , captain John Meares , Broken Group Islands; longboat from the <u>Felice</u> , under Robert Duffin, north shore of Juan de Fuca Strait |

- Washington, captain Robert Gray, off the Broken Group Islands
- 17a9 Washington, captain Robert Gray, Barkley Sound area, Juan de Fuca Strait, Port San Juan
- 1790 Princesa Real, commander Manuel Quimper, survey of Juan de Fuca Strait including Port San Juan
- Argonaut, captain James Colnett, Barkley Sound area
- 1791 Santa Saturnina, commander Jose Maria **Narvaez**, survey of Clayoquot and Barkley Sounds
- San Carlos, commander Don Francisco **Eliza**, survey of Clayoquot Sound, Juan de Fuca Strait
- Columbia, captain Robert Gray, Juan de Fuca Strait
- La Solide, commander Etienne **Marchand**, off Ucluelet region
- Mercury (Gustavus III). captain Thomas **Barnett**, Barkley Sound region
- 1792 Adventure, captain Robert **Haswell**, Barkley Sound region
- 1793-94 Jefferson, captain Josiah Roberts, Broken Group Islands and Barkley Sound region
- 1795 Ruby, captain Charles Bishop, Ucluelet region
- 1817 Le Bordelais, captain M. Camille de Roquefeuil, east shore of Barkley Sound

In Period II documents include reports and maps of colonial and government **agents**, **exploration** parties identifying the mineral resources of Vancouver Island, and Indian Reserve commissioners. Also included are the diaries and reminiscences of traders, store keepers, **travellers**,

missionaries and settlers. Those consulted are listed below in chronological order by **author**, occupation and **area** visited.

- 1847 Royal Navy hydrographer, Port San Juan
- 1858-62 William E. Banfield, trader and government agent, West Coast Trail, Barkley and Clayoquot Sound regions
- 1860 Bishop Hills, Barkley Sound region
- 1861 Captain Richards, Royal Navy hydrographer, Clayoquot and Barkley Sound regions
- 1860-64 Gilbert M. Sproat, businessman and government agent, Alberni and Barkley Sound regions
- 1861-65 Reverend C. Knipe, missionary, Alberni
- 1864 Captain Brown, Vancouver **Island Exploration** Expedition, **Nitinat Lake** and coast to Port San Juan
- 1868-71 Reverend Xavier Willemar and Mr. Guillod missionaries, Alberni and Barkley Sound region
- 1874 Reverend Charles J. Seghers and Reverend A.J. Brabant, Catholic priests, Port San Juan and Barkley Sound regions
- 1874 George Blenkinsop, Indian Reserve Commission, Barkley Sound region
- 1878-80 Reverend Peter Joseph Nicolaye, Catholic priest, eastern Barkley Sound
- 1881-1903 Harry Guillod, Indian Agent, West Coast Agency
- 1882 Peter O'Reilly, Indian Reserve Commission, Pacheenah, Ohiaht, **Sheshaht** and **Ucluelet reserves**
- 1883 Ashdown Green, Indian Reserve surveyor, some of the 1882 allocations

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 1889 | Peter O'Reilly , Indian Reserve Commission, Pacheenaht and Ucluelet reserve additions. Clayoquot reserves |
| 1890 | Peter O'Reilly , Indian Reserve Commission, Ditidaht reserves |
| 1893 | E. M. Skinner Indian Reserve surveyor, 1882, 1889 and 1890 allocations |
| 1894-1904 | Reverend Swartout , Presbyterian missionary, Barkley Sound region |
| 1903-11 | A.W. Neill , Indian Agent, West Coast Agency |
| 1913-16 | McKenna - McBride Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, 1914 west coast of Vancouver Island |

The **McKenna-McBride** Royal Commission on Indian Affairs has been chosen as the cut-off date for documents used in this report. This Commission marks the official end for native people to freedom of movement on and utilization of the landscape.

In the following section observations from the documents listed above that are relevant to the location of settlements and identification of people and activities within the region of the three park units ~~will~~ be detailed. Quotation from original source documents will be used extensively to provide the reader with a feeling for the time.

Overview

The first Euro-American to enter Clayoquot and Barkley Sounds was Captain Charles Barkley. The official log from this voyage has been lost

but his wife, Frances, kept a journal which has survived. She wrote in July 1787:

A day or two after sailing from King **George's** (Nootka) Sound we visited a large sound . . . which Captain Barkley named **Wickaninnish's** sound, the name given it being that of a chief who seemed to be quite as powerful a potentate as **Maquilla** at King George's Sound. **Wickaninnish** has great authority and this part of the coast proved a rich harvest of furs for us. Likewise, close to southward of this sound, we came to another very large sound, to which Captain Barkley gave his own name, calling it Barkley Sound. Several coves and bays and also islands in this sound we named. There was Frances Island, after myself; **Hornby** peak, also after myself; Cape **Beale** after our purser; Williams point and a variety of other names, all of which were familiar to us. We anchored in a snug harbour in the sound, of which my husband made a plan as far as his knowledge of it would permit. The anchorage was near a large village, and therefore we named the island Village Island. From here my husband sent the boats out to trade under the charge of Mr. Miller, second mate, and Mr. **Mackey**, and they were again very successful. ²

The anchorage which Barkley mapped (Fig. 5) was in the bay on the northwest side of Effingham (Village) Island (Fig. 6).

Barkley was also the **first** trader to identify Juan de **Fuca** Strait. His wife recorded this discovery:

"a large opening extended to the eastward, the entrance of which appeared to be about four leagues wide, and remained about that width as far as the eye could see . . . which my husband immediately recognized as the long lost Strait of Juan de **Fuca**, and to which we gave the name of the original discoverer."³

No mention was made of entering the **Strait**.

Captain John **Meares** aboard the Felice Adventurer entered the same anchorage one year later on July 11 likely using the plan and log confiscated from Captain Barkley. **Meares** wrote:

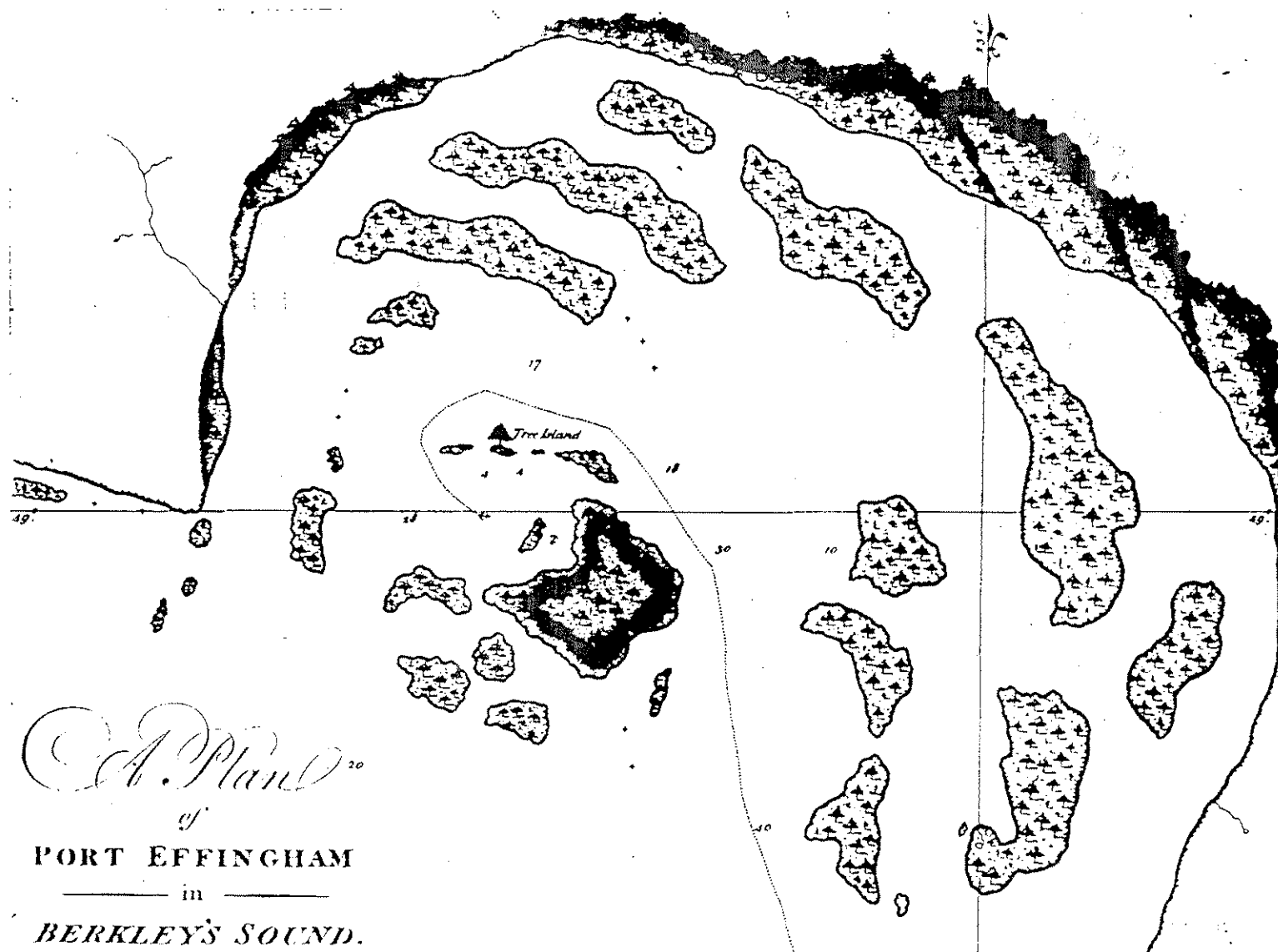


Fig. 5. A plan of Barkley Sound published by Meares in 1790 but attributed to Captain Charles Barkley (from Meares, Voyages to the Northwest Coast, opposite p. 172).



Fig. 6. Aerial view of the fur trade anchorage used by Barkley in 1787 and Meares in 1788. Effingham Island, Broken Group Islands unit (Photo: BCPM 1984B:189).

On the 11th, in the morning, we "are off the mouth of this sound, which appeared extensive, hut of no great depth. Several islands were placed nearly in the middle of it, which were rather high, and well wooded. The long-boat was sent to find the anchoring-ground; and, above eleven o'clock, she returned to pilot us into a fine spacious port, formed by a number of islands, where we anchored in eight fathoms water; over a muddy bottom, and securely sheltered **from** wind and sea. A large number of natives immediately came off in their canoes, and brought abundance of fish, among which **were** salmon, **trout**, **cray** and other shell-fish, with plenty of wild berries and onions. These people belonged to a very large village, situated on the summit of a very high hill. This port we named Port **Effingham** in **honour** of the noble Lord of that title.⁴ ..

Meares continued:

On the mainland there are large and populous villages, well watered by rivulets, where great numbers of salmon are taken.³

Unfortunately, the location of these villages cannot be determined from the journal entry. While at anchor in **this** station **Meares** traded for numerous furs **along** with salmon, large quantities of shellfish, wild onions and berries.

On **the** 13th of July Robert **Duffin** with thirteen man and the ship's longboat, was sent to explore Juan de **Fuca** Strait, thus becoming the first European to enter the Strait. He wrote:

14th . . . came to in a sandy bay opposite to the village of Attah. Came along-side, a number of canoes; but no appearance of any furs: Bought from them **some** hurst-skins and a few fish, for beads . . .

Steered . . . along **the coast**, at the distance of a quarter **of** a mire. This coast, in general, to a village called **Nitsee** Natt, affords a very pleasant prospect: is mostly a sandy beach . . . There are also a number of water-falls, and the surf breaks very high all along the coast.

15th . . . ran into a small sandy bay, seeing two or three houses there, and came to; upon which all the natives quitted the place, they **being** only fishermen, taking their fish with them. Seeing no probability of getting any furs here, I weighed and ran out again, and came to off the village of **Nittee** Natt . . . attempted to enter a rivulet there, but found too great a surf on the bar to approach . . . came along-side the chief, named **Kissan**.

16th . . . weighed, having purchased several skins, ran into a sandy bay, or rather cove, where there was a village, two canoes in company decoying us in. when, immediately on our approaching the shore, the natives assembled on the beach with spears, bludgeons, bows and arrows making at the same time a dismal howling . . . Weighed and ran **out** . . . At day-light found ourselves a-breast a small village; several canoes came off, but no appearance of any furs . . . Coasted along shore . . . This coast is entirely a bed of rocks . . . saw **the** entrance of a deep bay . . .

17th . . . came to in a small cove . . . close to the rocks . . . came along-side the boat several canoes . . . One of the canoes put off a little from the boat; when one of the savages in her took up a spear pointed with muscle-shell, and fixed it to a staff with a cord made fast to it . . . Upon inspecting . . . their canoes, I **found** them all armed **with spears**, bludgeons **and** bows and arrows; I also perceived a number of armed people amongst the trees on shore . . . I saw the spear just coming out of his hand . . . I ordered (my men) to fire . . . We instantly had a shower of arrows poured on us from shore . . . We weighed anchor . . . A great quantity of arrow and stones came into the boat, but fortunately **none were** wounded mortally.⁶

Duffin named the bay Hostility Bay. The long boat returned on the 20th of July and **Meares** sailed northwards on the 21st after a **stay** of **ten** days in Barkley Sound.

Later in the same year the Washington under Captain Gray, was becalmed off Barkley Sound which **Haswell** described as "a very deep bay in the entrance of which lay a great **maney** Islands to this was given the

name of **Companeys Bay**". **Haswell** wrote on the afternoon of the 28th of August:

... we were visited by 3 Canoes containing 46 people from among the islands in **Companeys Bay**. as soon as they came within **Muskit** shott of us they paddled with exceeding great haste singing an agreeable air and keeping stroke in time to the tune with there Paddles and at the end of every cadence all together they would point there paddles first aft and then forward first **hooping** shrill and then **horce**. they went three times round the vessell performing this manual **exersise**, and then came alongside without further seremoney. the principle Chief in the Canoes came **onboard** on the first invitation. they had no sea otter skins and but **fue** of aney other sort its beyond a doubt some English Ship must have **visited** here this season for they plainly articulated several English names. they were very **extravigant** in there demands for every thing we wished to purchase in **concequence** of which but little **commertial intercourse** took place. it was late in the **afffternoon** when they Departed but they **first** sang a song the air of which was very agreeable
... 8

The Washington did not enter Barkley Sound.

After wintering In Nootka Sound with her consort the Columbia under the command of John **Kendrick**, the Washington sailed south on the 16th of March in pursuit of trade. Again passing "Companeys Bay" (Barkley Sound) the Washington entered Juan de Fuca Strait, passed the village of "**Nitenat**" and anchored in Port San Juan. **Haswell** wrote on the 29th of March:

... a good **maney** of the natives in two or three Canoes came off **with** Salmon for sale and they remained with us all day.

These people have seen vessels before as they are acquainted with the **effect** of Fier arms but they all say they never saw a vessell like ours and I believe we are the first Vessel that ever was in this port ... This place by the natives is called Patchenat and by us Poverty Cove.⁹

The reference to another vessel and the effect of firearms likely relates to the conflict with Robert Duffin. Only one "deserted hut" and the "smoak of the Natives habitation" at the head of the bay were seen. No furs were traded and the Washington quit the area on the 21st of March.

On the 12th of April the Washington entered "Companeys Bay"¹⁰ and stayed until the 17th. It is impossible to identify from the journals where the ship anchored. Two villages, "Cechasht" and another unnamed, were mentioned. Trade was poor as "Wickananish had been down there and purchased all they had".¹¹ On the 21st of April the Washington was again off the "Nittinat" village from where the chief came out to trade. Captain Gray exchanged commands with Kendrick at the end of July and left the coast for China and Boston.

In 1790 the Spanish began their explorations south of Nootka Sound. On June 11 Don Manuel Quimper, commander of the Princesa Real, entered Puerto de San Juan (Port San Juan). Upon anchoring in the "middle of the port . . . a large canoe came out . . . with two chiefs, between whom I divided a large copper sheet . . .".¹² Quimper's diary entry for June 12 contained other observations of the native people:

During the morning some canoes of Indians came out from two small settlements which can be seen on the two streams which empty into this port . . . They stayed until 2 in the afternoon, having been presented with some beads and pieces of copper . . . Their color is a clear brownish and their stature and features good. The chief was named Xanape. He told me that some ships had been in this port . . . saying that they had given them the copper bracelets, ear rings and beads with which all were adorned.¹³

The longboat with the pilot and the canoe with a second pilot spent two days charting this port (Figs. 7,8).

On the 13th **Quimper** wrote:

... the pilot told **me** that the two rivers of the port are of delicious water, **that** the Indians had their settlement in a very pretty small meadow and **that they apparently** numbered about two hundred altogether.¹⁴

After the pilots had finished taking soundings of the port the Princesa Real continued southeastwards on the 15th of June reaching the area of Victoria on the 30th. Their plan of Juan de **Fuca** Strait (**Fig. 9**) **is** the first on record.

The only trader along the southern coast in 1790 was James Colnett, captain of the Argonaut. The ship's long boat under the command of Mr. Robert Gibson traded along the coast from northern California to the appointed rendezvous, Barkley Sound. The Argonaut, however, was forced by weather to anchor in "Port **Wickinnishes** or Cleaquot" where she would spend the winter. Gibson arrived in Barkley Sound on the 17th of October and traded there until the 22nd, "when the Indians growing refractory" forced him to quit the area. "An Indian fishing" informed him of the anchorage of the Argonaut.¹⁵

Spanish explorations continued in 1791. The San Carlos, under the command of Don Francisco **Eliza** with Don Juan **Pantoja** as pilot, and the Santa Saturnina, under the command of Jose Maria **Narvez** with Juan **Carrasco** as pilot, entered "Puerto de Clayocuat" (Clayoquot Sound) on the 7th of **May**. Over the next two weeks the Spanish surveyed the region. **Eliza** wrote:

The Puerto de Clayocuat is formed by various islands ... Five large settlements were observed in all this **archipelago**, each one of **which, in** view of the multitude of Indians to be seen, might contain upwards of 1500 of both sexes. The largest of all

PLANO DEL ESTRECHO DE FUCA

reconocido por el Alferes de Navio de la R Armada D^o Manuel Quimper, en la Expedición
que hizo con la Balandra de S.M. de su mando nombrada
la Princesa R^o en el año de 1790.
Levantado por su Primer Piloto D^o Gonzalo Lopez de Haro.

Nota:

La Cruz manifiesta la verdadera situación en que se halla situado las Ruinas

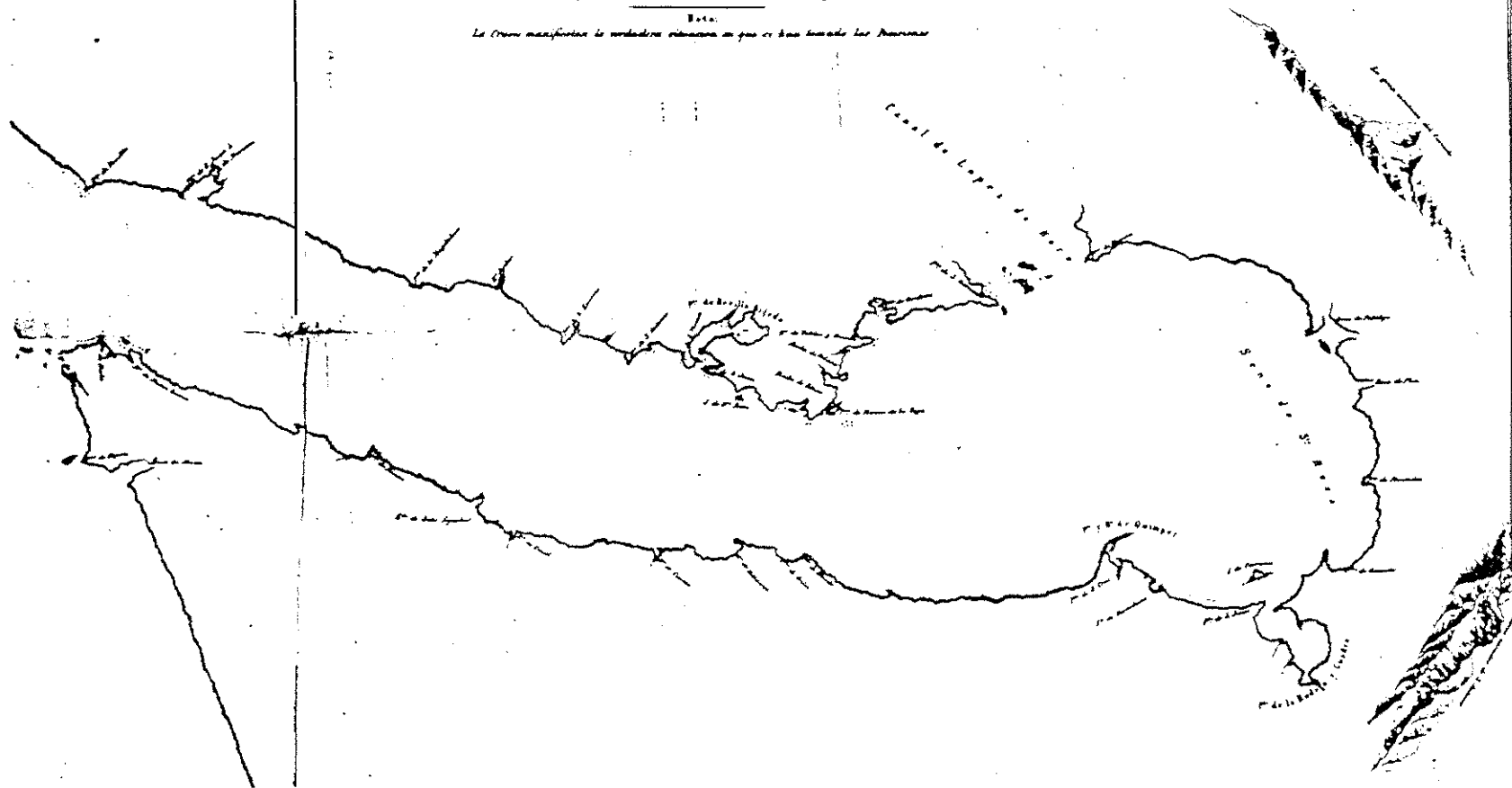


Fig. 9. Spanish plan of Juan de Fuca Strait, 1790 (from Wagner, Spanish Explorations, opposite p. 82):

is that of Guicananich (Wicannanish), in which the number of both sexes may pass 2500, as simply in a dance of young men which Guicananich gave me in his house, more than 600 took part. Their language and customs are similar to those of **Nuca**.¹⁶

The plan of Clayoquot Sound (Fig. 10) shows four villages: one on Echachis Island, one on Stubbs Island and one on either side of the entrance to Sydney Inlet.

On the 21st of May the Santa Saturnina was sent to survey "Puerto de Carrasco" (Barkley Sound). Pantoja reported the findings of the expedition:

... the entrance or inlet of the **Boca** de Carrasco was a great archipelago of small islands extending 6 leagues from east to west and 4 from north to south. Inside there were two arms of the sea half a league wide, which extend inland from some distance, one in the direction of the first quarter and the other in that of the fourth. These he could not explore for more than 3 leagues on account of the heavy storms with much rain which lasted for 12 days. Finding his food exhausted he had found it necessary to leave without concluding his task. During that ~~time~~ the Indians had attacked him three times. He repulsed them with the artillery, firing various shots in the air, in order to drive them away from the schooner. This he succeeded in doing in a very short time. If he had allowed them to persist in their actions he could visualize the great destruction that would be made among them with the grape-shot from the cannon, because the Indians were very numerous and close together in many canoes, showing themselves to be very warlike and daring. In what he had traveled over he had seen four large settlements. They all dress ~~in the~~ same way as those at **Noca** but there is some difference in the language. ¹⁷

The plan of Barkley Sound (Fig. 11) shows five villages, not four as recorded in the journal. The first is located on ~~the northwestern~~ shore, the second on the northeastern shore in the vicinity of the Alma Russell Islands, the third in the Broken Group Islands, the fourth on the western

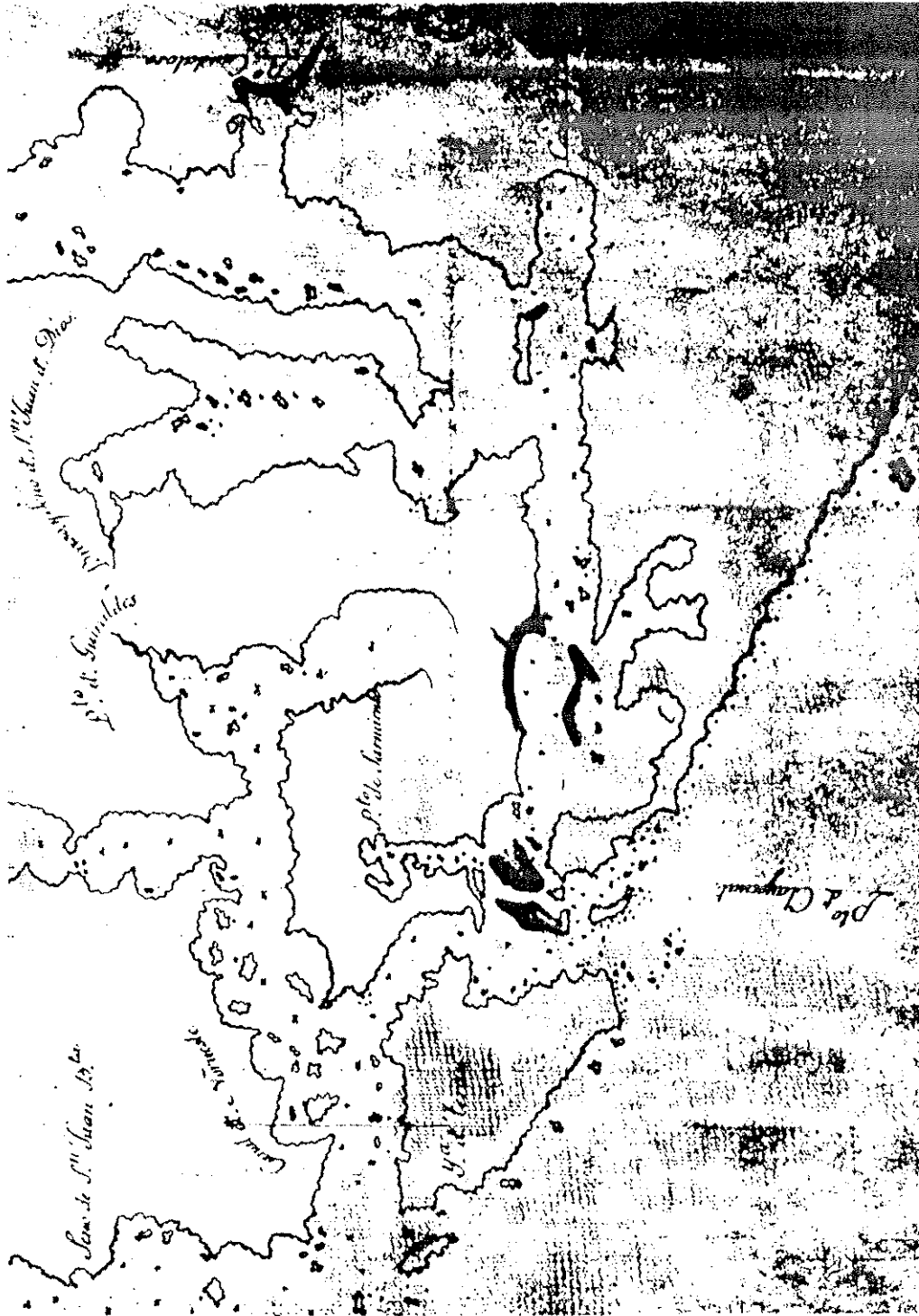


Fig. 10. Spanish plan of Clayoquot Sound, May 1791 (ABC, Maps Collection).



Fig. 11. Spanish plan of Barkley Sound, May 1791 (ABC, Maps Collection).

shore of the entrance to **Alberni** Canal and the fifth on the western shore of **Tzartus** Island.

The expedition commander Don Francisco de Eliza, aboard the San Carlos, entered Juan de Fuca Strait. On the morning of the 26th of May he wrote:

On passing the **Punta** de Bonilla (Bonilla Point) twenty canoes came alongside from the large settlement at this point to exchange skins, mats and some fish . . . ¹⁸

After this brief exchange Eliza continued into the Strait.

The Columbia returned to the **Northwest** Coast in the spring of 1791. On the 28th of June while off the village of "Nittenat", they met a "canoe with ten men . . . bound a whaling; the natives requested us to go to their village" .¹⁹ **Hoskins** wrote further:

. . . when the village was between **two** and three miles distance; **several** canoes came off, in one of which was Cassacan the Chief and his Lady . . . the natives tarrying with us until evening; . . . during which time several very valuable skins were purchased for copper and **cloathing**; also a few fine hallihut for trifles . . .

The village Nittenat . . . has no **harbour** or any other shelter before it; and is only rendered remarkable by a large cataract or water fall a few miles to the northward of **it**.

Cassacan we found troubled with the venereal to a great degree . . . on questioning Cassacan, he says sometime since a vessel came to this place; to the Captain of which he sold a female prisoner or slave girl for several sheets of copper; On the vessels going away, the-girl **was** sent ashore; he afterwards cohabited with the girl, who shortly after died; caught the fatal disease and communicated it to his wife, who, he says, has it equally as bad as himself; thus this most baneful disorder will **e'er** long prove fatal to this pair, and possibly spread **throughout** the village; making the most dreadful

destruction: we dressed Cassacan and gave him several medicines; . . . Cassacan has also had the small pox; of which his face bears evident marks.²⁰

Boit, aboard the same vessel commented further on disease:

Twas evident that these Natives had been visited by that scourge of mankind the Smallpox.²¹

Two other vessels traded in the area in 1791, the Mercury or Gustavus III under Captain Thomas Barnett and La Solide under captain Etienne Marchand. The Gustavus III reached the Northwest Coast on the 5th of March and ran into "Bartlett's Sound . . . coming to anchor with great difficulty . . .".²² The next day the anchorage was changed to "the lee of a small island where the canoes came off to us to trade with fish and furs".²³ This anchorage proved unsatisfactory and not being able to find another in the sound the Gustavus followed the coastline north for several days finally reaching Clayoquot Sound where she **traded until** the 26th.

La Solide lay off "**Berkley** Sound" in the fog from the 6th to the 8th of September. When the weather cleared a three **masted** vessel was seen coming out of the sound. Marchand, judging the trade to have been ruined, decided to quit **the** coast for China. Despite being anchored two and one half to three leagues west of the northern point of **Barkley** Sound La Solide did come into contact with people from the area. Fleurieu recorded valuable descriptions of the people, **canoes** and whaling gear. He wrote on the 7th of September:

... at six o'clock in the morning, were perceived five canoes, which had come from the part of the coast that bore north-north-east, steering for the ship which then successively approached. **E**ach of these canoes carried six men, all of a certain age: in that which first came near the ship, was a man

somewhat more advanced in years, who stood up, on approaching the side, and sang for several minutes. In these five canoes, no other furs were seen than some tolerably large pieces of bear-skin.

... After having stopped near the ship for half an hour, they directed their route towards the offing, where, no-doubt, they were going to wait for whales; and they drew up in a well-formed line, leaving an equal interval between each canoe.

... their whole clothing consisted of rugs, some of which were woven of the filaments of bark, and others, of wool, appeared, from the pattern, to be of Spanish manufacture; they also wore necklaces of glass-beads, ear-pendants, and bracelets of plaited brass wire, from which hung some bobs of the same metal. . . . Some had, round their head, a piece of blue cloth, twisted . . . Their hats of rush, **plaited...in** shape, which is that of a flowerpot turned upside-down, with strait rims, and terminated like a bell in its upper part. Our voyagers did not see them long enough to be able to examine their persons minutely; they appeared strongly made and robust, but very ugly and rather thin; their hair is black and straight: five or six only among them had their face smeared with a sort of ochre.

Their canoes are constructed with still greater intelligence and art than any of those which had been seen on the coast . . . they are likewise larger. They are from thirty to thirty-five feet in length, and their greatest breadth is three feet: they are hollowed out of a single trunk of a tree, and the stem is raised by pieces joined firmly, and in a workmanlike manner, to the body of the **canoe**: the after part is terminated in a round and perpendicular stern: they have throughout their whole length a slight sheer; and the rising of their floor forward and aft is fashioned in a manner so advantageous for going through the **water...The** Americans move them with paddles which appear intended to serve both for an oar and an offensive weapon; for the blade, or the part which is dipped into the water, is terminated in a point; and, on the whole, this paddle bears a resemblance to a lance.

No other weapon was seen in their canoes, nor any other European commodities than those which have

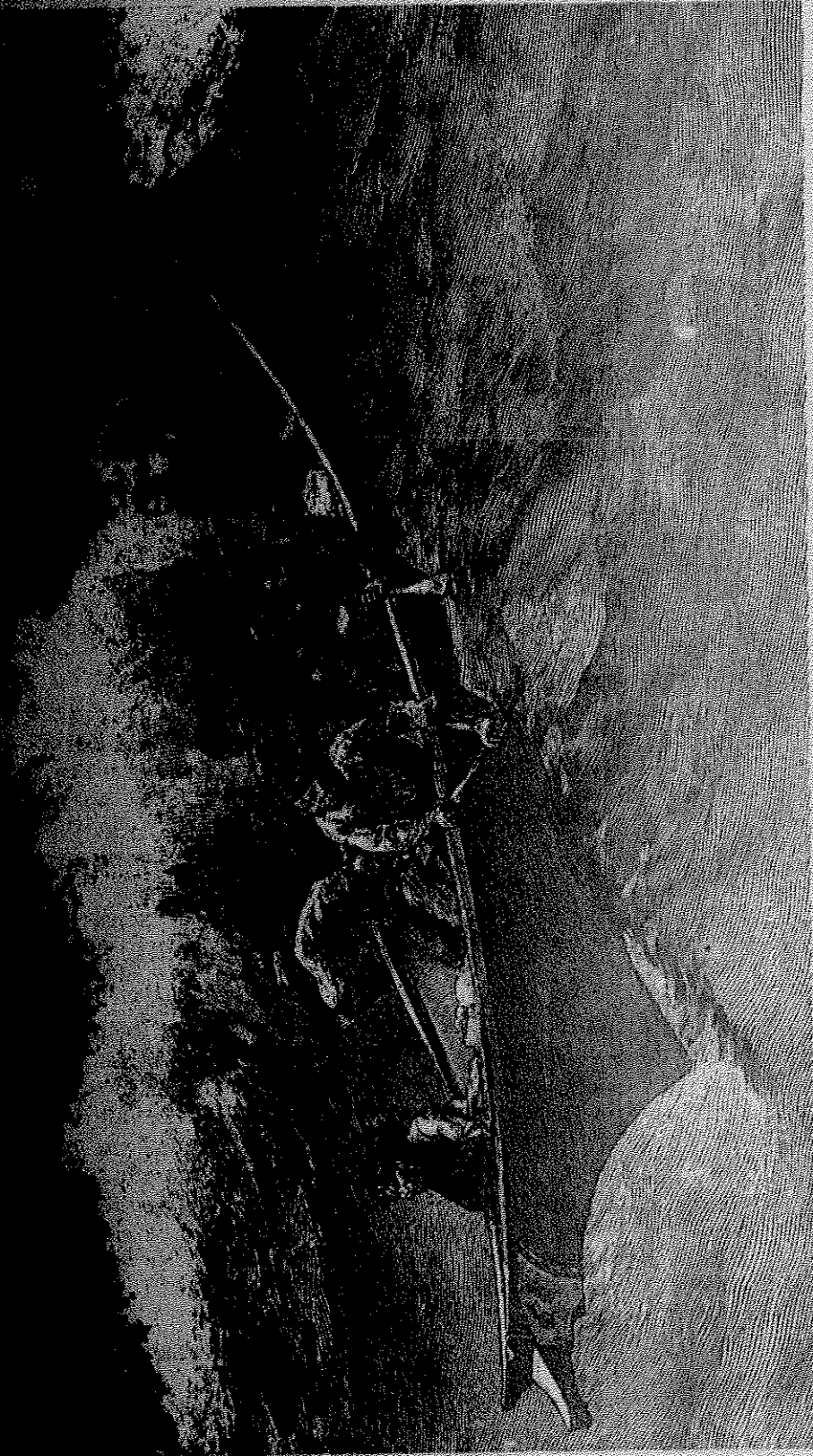


Fig. 12. Frederic Remington drawing of a Nuu-chah-nulth canoe, published in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, December 1891, opposite p. 186 (Photo: BCPM PN 7774).

been mentioned. But **their** implements for fishing particularly attracted the attention of the French seamen. A strong lance, twelve or thirteen feet long, cut to a point at one of the ends, and strengthened, at certain distances, by broad wooldings of cord which afford to the hand points of rest., **and** prevent it from slipping; two or three lances, more slender and without being strengthened, but of the same length; two or three pieces of rope of two inches or two inches and a half in circumference; an equal number of leathern bottles, three feet long by fifteen inches, diameter, filled with air; lastly, a chest containing harpoons, lines, fish-hooks, and other fishing gear, composed the equipment of each of the canoes.

On the request of the French, the natives were eager to explain to them, in the **best way** they could, the use which they make of all this furniture . . . in their great whale-fishing. The strong lance . . . is intended for striking the whale, when he presents himself on the surface of the water; . . . the slighter lances are employed for darting the
• harpoons, to each of which is fastened one of the long pieces of rope: the other end of the line is fixed to one of those large bladders filled with air: this sort of baloona, floating on the water, cease not to indicate the place where **to** find the whale, dead or wounded, that has carried with him a harpoon: and the fishermen, directed by this signal, follow him up, and celebrate, by songs of **joy**, **their** victory and conquest. But the most difficult is not, undoubtedly, to deprive the monster of life; it remains for them to get possession of him: and it would never be believed, if we were not assured of the fact, that with skiffs so slight and ticklish, as canoes hollowed out of the trunk of a tree, a few men should succeed in dragging the space of four or five leagues an enormous mass, and contrive to run it on shore on a beach where they can cut it up: it, cannot be believed that **it** was given, to men, who are not **sons** of gods, to execute, with the sole help of their hands, these real **labours** of **Hercules**.²⁴

In 1792 only one vessel traded along the southern coast. On **the 2nd** of April, **Haswell** in command of the sloop Adventure, which had been bui t

on **Meares** Island during the winter of 1791-92 by Captain Gray and the crew of the Columbia, entered "Cechaht Cove" in Company's Bay. **Haswell** wrote:

Several natives alongside who traded with me on a very friendly footing . . . a **Highua** Chief of **Hichaht** was **alongside** 'all the morning.²⁵

On the 7th of April the Adventure sailed northwards.

The most important voyage from the point of view of observations of villages, people and trading practices was that of the Jefferson under Captain Josiah Roberts. The Jefferson first entered **Barkley** Sound on the 29th of May, 1793 staying until the 10th of June, then returning on the 7th of September to winter over before leaving on ~~the~~ **12th** of April, 1794. Bernard **Magee**, the first officer, kept a journal of the voyage which remains unpublished.

On the 31st of May, 1793, **Magee** accompanied by the doctor and **six** hands all well armed left in the jolly boat on a trading expedition around the sound. His journal reads:

31st . . . I first visited the village on the west side of the **enterance** of the middle bay where I yesterday passed by . . . it was large and populous . . . a great number of canoes kept around us in one of which was the Chieff of the village. I presented him with a copper cap, a jacket and trowsers in hope it would cause **some** trade to commence . . . but I **soon** found it to have no effect tho he had a few skins in his canoe . . . he soon left us and hauled his canoe up on the beach without presenting us with anything in return for what he received excepting an old red jacket and **trowsers** . . . they frequently would tell us that **Wickinenish** collected all their skins . . . having no prospects of any trade at this village my stay were but short . . . I then proceeded across **the sound** (where) directed by some canoes to a village on the east side on the mainland . . . were likewise large and very populous . . . I **anchored close** in with it . . . a great **number** of canoes put off to us full of inhabitants but **no** skins . . . my stay was about

one hour as the evening was advancing and time to look out a place to anchor for the night . . . I then put off to the lee of an **Island** in a small creek **where we** took a small repose to wait the morning when we again revisited the above village where a great number of canoes put off too **us** as before . . . purchased one prime skin for 10 **towees** (chisels) and two small skins for other articles . . . I made but a short stay as I was determined to have no part of the sound unexamined . . . this sound which goes under the name of **Barkly's** sound is very extensive . . . it forms ~~in the~~ entrance 3 large bays that is from one extreme to the other . . . and the bays (are) seperated from each other by numbers of islands with sufficient passages for ships of any berthing to navigate through from one bay to the other . . . I went **up** near the head of the middle bay where I was directed by **some** Indians in a canoe that accompanied us . . . **got up** to it in the evening . . . the **enterance** to the village were but very small when I got in along side the village which was the largest of any we had visited . . . a great number of canoes came around us . . . brought no skins . . . for which reason I suppose (they are) obliged to bring all (their) skins as **Wickenenish** the head **Chieff** who resides at Port Cox . . . **and whose territories this sound is** apart . . . I put off from **the** village to an island a little to the north of it and anchored for the night . . . **in** the morning I went to a village on the west side of the bay which was still larger than any we had before visited . . . I anchored in close to the village . . . a great number of the natives came along side us but no trade took place . . .

June 2nd this was the 4th village we visited during our cruise and collected but one prime skin and two **inferior ones** . . . I then gave over any further researches . . . I proceeded to the ship on the west side of the sound.²⁶

The rest of the time was spent graving the ship and taking on water. On the 6th of June "Too too **tiche** egettél the next brother to **Wicananish**" visited the ship. The Jefferson sailed north on the 10th of June for "Port **Cox**" (**Clayoquot** Sound).

On the 7th of September the Jefferson returned from trading in the north to the anchorage where the trading schooner Resolution was up on the

graving **beac** h. The next day they moved up the sound to their winter quarters at the head of **Toquart** Bay. The crews then busied themselves preparing the ships for the winter lay up and cutting wood for **the** kiln.

Magee's entry for the period September 13th to 22nd reads:

Every day around the ship full of the **natives** . . . all hands industerishly employed . . . the carpenters sheethed the schooner, smith's making iron **swords** for the trade to the south . . . sawyers sawing boards and a number **of** hands cutting wood for **coal** . . . Collected a quantity of muscle shells which we burnt **to** lima for the purpose of dressing some of our largest size seal **skins** to leather, in hopes. to answer for some trade with the northern Indians . . . The **course** of the week purchased 23 **Clammons** (tanned hides) generally at the rats of a **yard and half** squair of cloth with **some towees** in addition . . . we were fortunately supplied with fresh grub since our **arivel** as we every day killed a quantity of geese and deer.²⁷

Magee continued:

... the 28th (of September) was visited by Tatoocheticus with his **sute** from Cleoquot . . . (they) remained on board during the night . . . the next morning **(they) went** on shore to the village . . . (I) wrote to Wicananish at the instance of that Chieff in respect to selling him the schooner with her **appertenance** for 50 **prime** skins . . . in the evening **arived** a canoe of Capt. Hannah a Chieff a little to the north of **Clioquot** who tarried on board the night together with Tatootcheticus . . .

... 3 (**clammons**) purchased from Tattaio the Chieff of **the** Clahasset who came alongside the evening of the 2nd (October) in a large canoe . . . the next morning visited us again when we **purchased from** him 6 good sea otter skins for 2 iron swords . . .²⁸

In the entries for October **Magee** recorded a unique event:

... Tatootcheticus with his people left **us** giving us to understand that he was going but a **short distance** and would soon return and requested the lend of our jolly boat which was complied with . . . he promised to return the **same** evening but 5 days was already lapsed.²⁸

Tatootcheticus returned with the jolly boat on the 11th of October **along** with **Wicanninish's** answer to the letter "agreeing to the price preposed for the **schooner**".³⁰

The appearance of a congenial relationship between the Americana and the native **people** **was** shattered on the 8th of October. **Magee** wrote:

... we observed that no natives appeared as (usual) and a number of guns heard from the village **and** 2 men stationed . . . at the mouth of the river as upon the look out . . . all these circumstances seemed to denote that something or other was planing not much **for our benefit** . . . heard a call from the island astern of us . . . immediately followed by a large canoe from behind the island with 18 men and **Hyuquis** the Chieff standing in her bow clad in his war jacket as were some of the rest and having (their) **spears** with them.³¹

Nothing developed. **Magee's** entry for the 9th explains:

... were visited by a Chieff of a **vilege** a little to the east who informed us that 2 or 3 nights past (they) had been **surprized** and set upon by Tattaio the Chieff of Clahasset who plundered him of everything (they) could carry off besides 2 girls of 6 or 7 years age. ³²

On the 15th of October one of the **seamen** who ventured alone from the ship was murdered. **Magee wrote:**

... from the 15th to the 19th few natives were to be seen when on the 19th . . . a canoe approached . . . and signified that those of **Hyuquis** were good and innocent of the murder **committed** . . . that the other tribes were bad.³³

Trade continued. On the 20th traders from Clahasset and on the 21st "**Hiuquis**, Chief of Tooquot" visited the ship. On the 25th a canoe from "Nittenat" came to trade and "**Wickaninish**" and his 3 brothers in 2 canoes arrived to view the schooner. **Magee** wrote:

... in mentioning to them the murder of **one** of our people by the natives here **Wickanenish** himself mentioned strongly to us to kill 2 of them in retaliation . . . that he was under the necessity himself to kill 40 of them no long since on account of (their) abstenable and troublesome disposition ... that (they) paid him but little tribute.³⁴

Little trade occurred in November and December although two chiefs, "**Hyuquis**" and "**Heocheenook**" were seized on the 7th of December and held until restitution was made for various thefts from the **ship**.

On the 24th of January, 1794, "**Wickanenish**" in one canoe arrived to trade. In the exchange he received two brass field pieces for ten prime sea otter skins. He stayed on the **ship** overnight and borrowed the jolly boat the next day to transport his guns to Clayoquot. Two other chiefs arrived to trade on the 25th, Hannah from Ahouset and "**Tatooseh** the Chieff of an island in the mouth of the straight of that name --- he **lately** had married a daughter of Capt. Hannah."³⁵ A new item in the trade was "**hiqua**" (dentalia) for which the Americans gave five "pounds" of powder for a fathom in length, an iron sword for two fathoms and a musket for six fathoms. **Clamons** were traded at the rate of a musket for one, leading **Magee** to comment that "muskets has got to be of little value on every part of the coast."³⁶ **Towees** (iron chisels) were however in **demand** much to the surprise of the traders "as almost any quantity of them when we first arrived on the coast would not purchase a skin".³⁷ The rate now was forty for a prime skin or **clamon**.

On the 25th of February "Chief Tattaio of **Clahasset**" with four large canoes visited the ship to trade. The chief and three others spent the **night** on board, the others camped on the island astern. **Magee** wrote:

... the next day a brisk trade took place . . .
purchased of him 4 sea otter skins and 26 clamons
... among other *articles* sold him the cabin carpet
for 5 clamons and 4 sheets of copper for 2 clamons
each. 38

Depradations continued throughout the winter. To punish the **thiefs**
a raid was planned on the identified culprits at the village of

"**Seshart**". **Magee** wrote on the 31st of March:

... At day light ... got abreast of the village
being about 6 miles distance from the ship . . . the
natives were considerable in number and **apeared** to
be much alarmed at our **arivel** there . . . upon
demanding the stolen articles which at first (they)
denied ... but on threat of firing on them if not
immediately produced (they) then went and brought
down our canoe with the part of the cable . . . at
(their) going off from the beach we discharged a
number of swivels and blunderbushes at them . . . set
them in great confusion . . . I then landed in the
pinnacle with a number of hands and forced my way
into the village . . . we then **rumaged** (their) houses
took everything of any consequence . . . a great
quantity of dried fish, some **toweess**, bits of copper,
one musket . . . tore down a number of (their) houses
... stove some of (their) large canoes and took off
6 of the best canoes.39

The results of the, **raid** were reported over the next few days. **Magee** wrote:

5th April . . . were visited by a canoe from Nittinsh
. . . (they) informed us that there was 3 men killed
in the skirmish at Seshart . . . besides some wounded.
8th April . . . was visited by a canoe from **Hachart**
. . . (they) informed us that 2 men were killed at
Seshart in the attack in that place, one wounded in
the hand and another in the ankle.
9th April . . . was visited by **Hahiw.way** the Chieff of
Hashart . . . he says that none were killed only 2
were wounded at **Seshart**.40

On the 12th of April the Jefferson got underway but it was not until
noon of the 13th that they reached the entrance of the sound. **Magee** wrote:

Could not weather the rocks that form the eastern passage . . . was obliged to bear away within them but in this sound there (is) nothing to fear but what the eye can **perselve** . . . we soon got out **clare** of all many canoes at the rocks **afishing** but at our **aproach** (they) put if for the shore to **avoid us** as much as possible.⁴¹

It **was** over a year before the next vessel, the Ruby under captain Charles Bishop, traded in the region. Bishop wrote on the 28th of September, 1795:

Last night we anchored at the **Entrence** of this **Place** thinking it to **be** Port Cox. **Nor where we undeceived** 'till this Morning when the Chief came out to us, in a Large **canoe** attended by many Smaller ones. He said his Name was Ryhocus, & was Subject to Wiccannanish at Claoquoit about 3 Leagues to Westward of this Place, but that if we would go into his Port, he had 50 skins and would sell them to us, and would also send a **Canoe** to Claoquoit to inform Wiccannanish of our situation, who he said would come to his Place with Skins . . . the wind being **unfavourable** to go to the residence of that Chief, we weighed our anchor **and run into this snug Haven**, formed by many small Woody Islands and the West shore of Berkleys Sound and anchored in 15 **fathems**, muddy **Ground** . . . ⁴²

The Ruby had entered present day **Ucluelet** Inlet where she lay anchored until the 14th of October.

"Wiccannanish with his two brothers" **arrived** to trade on the 2nd of October. Bishop wrote:

The trade being done Wiccannanish with his two Brothers Partook of some refreshments with **us**, when we where **Surprized** by his demanding to know if **we** would sell the Ship, and for which he offered to Procure a Cargo (sic) of Furs.⁴³

The deal for the schooner of the Jefferson had fallen through for unknown reasons but "Wiccannanish" remained determined to purchase a sailing vessel.

The trade with "Hyhocus" netted only two of the fifty skins promised as the chief "frankly **acknoledged** that he had before **dispos'd** of them to his Sovereign,, **Wiccannanish**."⁴⁴

Bishop described "Hyhocus" and his activities:

Hyhocus is an agreeable looking young man, but Ns **mind** forms a striking contrast to his Person. That he is a **liar** we have experienced as well as **some** Petty Thefts, committed by him and his People. He **went** out to day in a War Cannoe, and fell in with a Small Fishing **cannoe** belonging (sic) to some of the Poor People, under the command of a Chief to the Northward named **Clahoamas** and which Wiccannanish is at War with. They took these Poor Fellows and after riffling the Cannoe, **cutt** off **their** heads, and then Sunk her with the **boddies**, coming alongside of us rejoicing at this victory, that is 9 to 2.45

Wiccannanish on the other hand was described as:

... one of the most easy People to deal with I ever knew: He Prides himself in having but one Word in a Barter: he Throws the Skin before you, these are the Furs, I want such an Article: if you object, they are taken back into the Cannoe and not offered again. ⁴⁶

On the 8th of October, "two Chiefs from the East shore, their Names were Yapasuet and Annathat" came to trade. Bishop wrote: "I believe these People are **independant** of Wiccannanish, but speak the same language and are of the Same 'Manners' and Persons."⁴⁷ After three attempts to leave the anchorage the fourth, on the 14th of October, was successful and the Ruby headed south for her winter anchorage.

It was not until 1817 that there is evidence of another trading vessel in Barkley Sound. By 1795 the sea otter had been hunted to near extinction on this part of the coast, and the trade had moved to the north. M. Camille de **Roquefeuil**, captain of **Le Bordelais**, was at end of

the season's trade when he entered the eastern channel of Barkley Sound.

He wrote:

This port, into which the natives told us no vessel had ever before entered, is situated two leagues from the passage, on the east side of the bay,... The only mark is a steep hillock, destitute of trees but covered with a beautiful verdure, which is on the sea side, some cables' length to the south, and which has the appearance of a ruined fortification.

As far as I could understand, the natives call by the names of Anachtchitl and Oheia the district which **surrounds** theft bay . . . They give the name Tchaxa or rather Tchacktaa, to Port Desire, and the district which surrounds it.⁴⁸

Roquefeuil continued:

The Indians on the Nitinat shore are generally better made and more cleanly than those at Nootka . . . We saw several men and a greater number of women, whose complexion differed f **rom** white only by a tinge of pale yellow . . . The greater number of the Indians have black hair, the remainder a light red, all wear the hair long, and the women **comb-it** carefully and divide it over the middle of the forehead. Both sexes dress the same as in Nootka, with this difference, that the women wear under their other garments a kind of apron of bark . . .

We observed here the same hierarchy and the same subordination as at Nootka. **Nanat** appeared to be the grand chief (Cia a lesser chief).⁴⁹

During the sea otter fur trade period (1785 to **1825**) **there** were approximately three hundred voyages to the northwest coast. The relative paucity of ships on this part of the coast (fifteen) was the result of **two** main factors. First, captains wishing a safe port to repair ships, replenish supplies or to rendezvous chose Nootka Sound, the "friendly" harbour since the time of Captain Cook. Second, except in the very first years, few furs were available in direct trade from Barkley Sound. **This**

area became known to the traders as the "dominion" of Wicanninish who had monopolized all trade to himself. Consequently, Clayoquot Sound (also known as Port Cox **and** Wicanninish **Harbour**) became the trading centre for this part of the coast.

When traders did enter the Barkley Sound region it was often after they had visited either one or both of the two trading centres, Nootka Sound and **Clayoquot** Sound. It was at these centres where the ships laid over, often for considerable periods of time, that the "manners and customs" of **Nuu-chah-nulth** people were described in detail. The peoples of the Barkley Sound generally **were** compared to those of the two regions, and inevitably were described as like those in Nootka or Clayoquot Sound though they spoke a slightly different language.

The nature of the trading voyages that entered Barkley Sound also affected the quality of observations. It was the combined scientific and trade voyages **of the** earliest years of the trade that described the "manners and customs of the native people". The purely commercial voyages, that are more typical of those that entered Barkley Sound, recorded the nature of the trade itself, such things as who **conducted the** trade and from where they came, rates and products of **exchange** and everyday events, that **affected** the crew. It is not until the mid-nineteenth century that there are detailed descriptions of the native people in the region of study.

In Period I, the focus had been trade in sea otter and other fur pelts. Visitations generally were of short duration, lasting only as long as there was potential for trade. In Period II the nature of

Euro-American contact **on** the west coast of Vancouver Island changed. The impetus was now toward identifying the resources of the area, commercially developing them and establishing settlements.

Maritime trading, however, continued into the early decades of Period II. The initial traders were Americans,, operating small schooners out of Port Townsend, Neah Bay or San Francisco. In 1852, W.C. Grant noted that the Americans had bought one hundred and twenty barrels of **salmon** from the native people in **Barkley** Sound for trade in Honolulu.⁵⁰ In 1854 William Eddy **Banfield** in **partnership** with Peter Francis and Thomas **Laughton** of Port San Juan became the first of a new breed of trader on the coast. They operated a small trading schooner as well as stores in Port San Juan, Clayoquot Sound and Kyuquot Sound. Competition in the trade continued to be provided by American schooners. The primary commodity of trade at this time was dogfish oil.

As part of his duty as a loyal British **subject**, **Banfield** communicated on a regular basis with Governor James Douglas in Victoria. One of his first letters **written** in 1855 with Francis reported on the native populations along the **west** coast of Vancouver Island:

Nettinets total population 800 including men women and children (250 warriors). **Oh-I-aha** . . . 500 in total and about 180 able bodied men above 20 years of age. She-shata . . . from the group of Islands in Nettinet Sound . . . about 200 . . . their warriors might amount . . . to about 50. YOU clue1 yet' . . . the total population is about 350 . . . about 100 warriors. **Clayuquot** . . . they number about 550 and about 175 men fit for fighting.⁵¹

In the summer of 1858 **Banfield** explored the coastline from Victoria to Clayoquot and wrote a series of eight articles for The Victoria Gazette

entitled "Vancouver Island: Its Topography, Characteristics, etc.". His primary purpose appears to have been to draw attention to the resources of the land and sea for future development. Also included were descriptions, some lengthy, of the native people and their activities in this area.

Banfield wrote of the Pacheenaht in Article Number II on August 14:

About twenty Indians, a branch of the Nitinett tribe are located on the eastern inlet (of Port San Juan). They were formerly much more numerous, but war with the **Songish** Indians has reduced them to this number in connection with the small pox which ravaged them eight years since. They were at that time nearly annihilated . . .

The bay, inlet and river, abounds in salmon and various rock-fish; the water is also perfectly alive at this season of the year with dog-fish . . . and for the four antecedent years from five to six thousand gallons of oil have been produced from these fish each year (and) bartered by white traders resident in the bay. (Thomas Laughton) . . .

The tribe have also another important fishing ground . . . **Carlante (Cullite** I.R. 3). It is . . . where they migrate in the early part of March, and remain until June for the purpose of fishing halibut. These fish are caught by thousands . . . The fishing banks are distant from the shores, varying from fifteen to twenty **ive** miles. The fishermen start about midnight, so as to arrive early on the ground, and remain about seven hours in hundreds of canoes, the sea for miles being dotted with them. The Macaws, as well **as** the whole Netinett tribe, fish on these banks. From two to three men are in each canoe, and invariably, if the weather and sea are at all moderate, they load their tiny crafts down to the gunwales; and should the seas or wind make up quick, so as to at all seem to endanger their return, they lash large inflated skins to either side of their canoes, which render them buoyant and safe with their experienced and expert management. They never **think** of throwing a fish overboard for the purpose of lightening their canoes; yet but few cases of drowning occur. The skins referred to are seal skins with the hair side in, inflated so as to form a perfectly compact and ornamental life buoy;

various devices, emblematical of some event in their history, being painted on them. Seals are abundant in this neighborhood. The flesh the savages eat, and deem it quite a luxury. The Indians frequently dive in six fathoms water and bring up young pup seals two and three at a time, knowing from long habit the precise resorts of these animals.

The hooks by which the halibut are taken, are of native manufacture, being made from a stringy tough part of the red pine, which is cleaned and trimmed up nicely to a proper size, and then it is steamed for **some** time, until it becomes perfectly flexible, when the Indians **form** it to their **taste**, and let it remain for twentyfour hours. It then is fit for use. They prefer it to the steel hook for halibut, but for salmon and dog-fish they invariably use the steel hook. They also use small thongs of sea weed, bent on neatly together for lines. Hemp lines are rarely met with. Near the hook, **about** a fathom of neatly **twisted fibres** or sinews from the **deer** **are** bent on. These are very strong, and not easy to bite through.

The halibut fishery forms a great article **of** traffic with neighboring tribes, with whom the fish are exchanged for potatoes, blankets, **Cummasse (camas)** and other articles of food, clothing, or ornament . . .

Nearly every tribe has a different **mode of** burial. The Pachinetts place their dead above the ground, enclosed in a **box**, and covered over with loose pieces of cedar plank, and to denote rank in, or particular affection for the deceased, large pieces of white or red calico are extended in front of the pile of boards. These Indians bewail their dead long and loud, the female part of the **community** manifesting much feeling; but the **men** show **no** outward signs of grief.⁵²

Article **III** published on August 19 **was** subtitled "Whale Killing by the Netinett Indian":

Netinett proper extends from Pachenett on the east to Ohiat head (Cape **Beale**) on the west . . . The tribe **that** inhabits this coast number about five hundred and during the spring and summer months they divide themselves into different encampments, or kinds of clanships, each having a **recognised chief** or head of

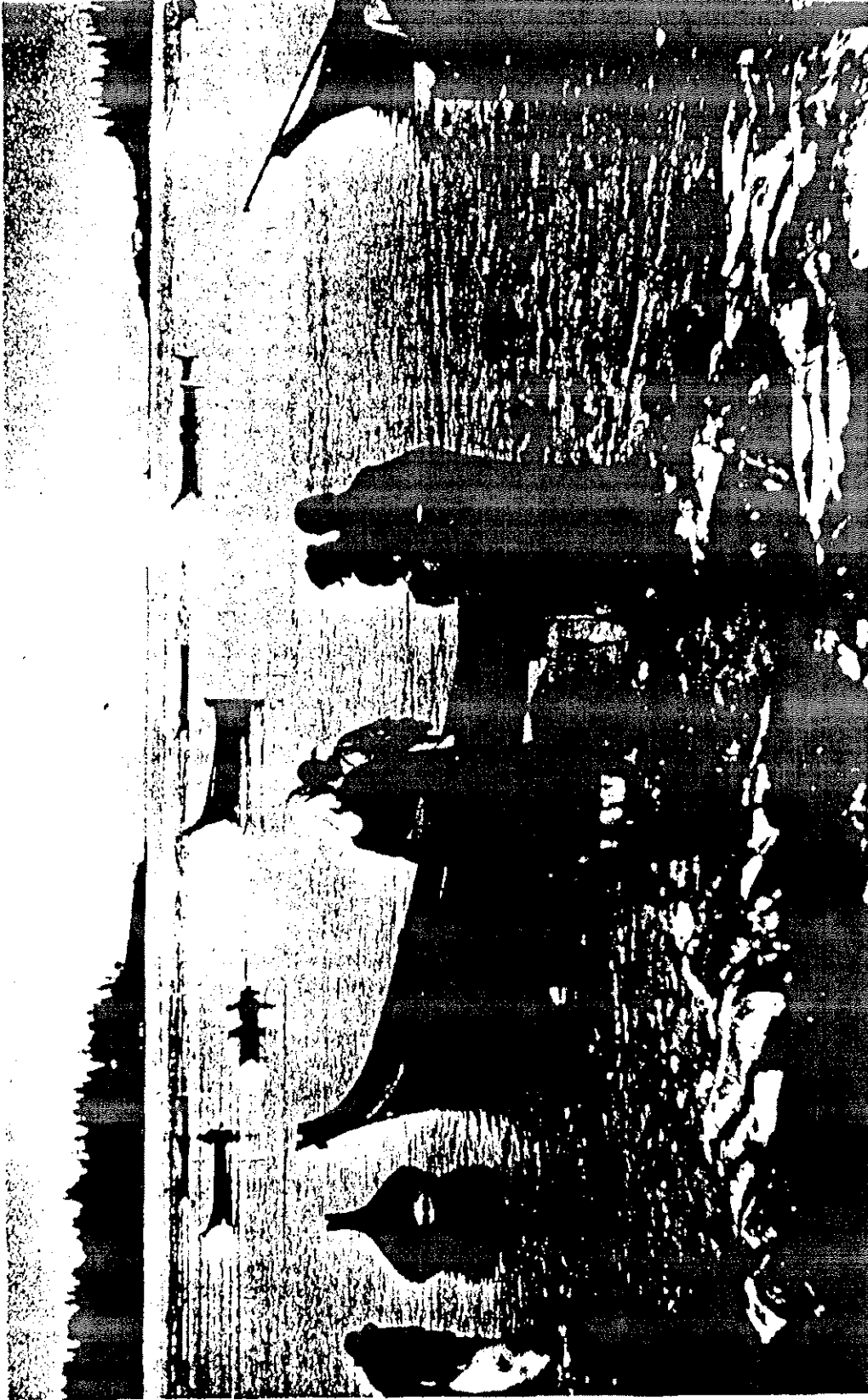


Fig. 13. Unloading a catch of halibut from the canoe at Neah Bay, around 1900 (Photo: WSHS).

a house; but withal acknowledging one as supreme. They are different in this respect, from any other tribe I have met with. The principal chief's name is Maacoola, a man about forty years old. The Netinetts fish halibut and salmon in great quantities.

A large number of whales frequent the waters on this coast, and the Netinetts, as well as the Macaws, kill a great many in a season. They manufacture their own harpoons and gear, and it is a sight well worth seeing, **their** mode of attack and killing a whale. The season is looked forward to with intense interest, and preparations are making for months prior to the time. It ~~is~~ considered a sacred season . . .

Very few attain the honor of using the harpoon - probably some twenty men. This is an hereditary prerogative, descending or bequeathed from father to **son**. However there are instances **of** its being attained by merit, but they are invariably most dexterous with the weapon, and its use likewise gives them a seat in the council board of **their** tribe. They have the choice of their own crews, and go with eight - sometimes nine - in a canoe. These canoes are magnificent models, and are handled admirably. For two moons previous to commencing operations, they have to conform to stringent regulations - a sort of savage Lent. **Sexual** intercourse is strictly prohibited and **they are** restricted to a certain description of food, compelled to make frequent ablutions, morning, noon and midnight, also to rub their flesh with a rough stone, as well as to undergo other ceremonies too tedious to enumerate.

When **the** whales near the coast, **the canoes** are out all day, blow high or blow low. They do not go in a body, but each have different cruising grounds, some little distance apart. The gear consists of harpoons, lines, inflated seal-skins and wooden or bone spears. The harpoons are very delicately made. A piece of the head iron hoop of a stout bound porter cask is what the most of them use. It is cut with a cold chisel into the shape of a harpoon blade - and affixed by the means of gum on to this iron are two barbs made from the tips of the antlers of deer. Attached to this is a stout piece of line, made of sinews, and served **round, with** the



Fig. 14. A Nuu-chah-nulth whaler, Neah Bay around 1910
(Photo: BCPM PN 5393).

same tough material. This then is spliced on to a long line, about three inch stuff, made from cedar twigs by the hand. They use no (winch), but put a good lay in the rope; it is also moderately strong. Within about two fathoms of the harpoon, a number of large sized inflated skins are seized on. The harpoon is then stopped on slightly to a long wooden handle made from the yew tree, about ten feet in length.

When they get near enough to a whale to strike, the harpooner who is in the bows of the canoe, throws his weapon and in most cases with effect. Sometimes the iron will double up; instantly the barb enters, the stop breaks and the wooden handle becomes detached from the line. The whale directly he feels the harpoon, starts down at a great rate with the seal skins attached to him, which tend to impede and cramp his movements much. The fishermen always are well supplied with length of line. Presently the whale will again appear on the surface in the vicinity of another canoe, the **fishermen in which** are ready to attack him in the same manner, until he gets from forty to fifty large buoys attached to him, which prevent his disappearing below the surface of the **water**. He **now** beats and plunges in a fearful manner, **overturning** and breaking canoes, till at length he becomes fatigued, so much so that they surround him in their canoes and goad him with their short spears until he becomes exhausted and dies; but it sometimes happens he carries all before him, snaps ropes, harpoons, seal-skins and all go **with** him, the savages seldom give up the combat with one failure. Pursuit is made by all hands, at times successfully; but should the whale escape and afterwards die from wounds, and be washed on shore on the territories of another tribe, or picked up at **sea**, the harpoons, rope, buoys, etc., are returned to their original proprietors with a **present** of a large piece of the fish.

The noise attendant on killing a whale is fearful, the whole crowd of savages yelling horribly from the first attack until the death. When they succeed in killing him, all hands clap on, and with a song that would paralyze a strange white man, move off with him cheerfully, keeping time with their **paddles**.⁵³

It is interesting to note that after over seventy years of contact with Euro-Americans and Western material culture the only change in the technology of the whale hunt was the replacement of the mussel shell blade of the harpoon with an iron blade,

'In the fourth article, published on August 28, **Banfield** described the distribution of the whale:

The piece which is considered the most desirable, is cut off for the chief, and generally weighs about **one hundred pounds**. The next in priority is the individual who first harpooned the whale. Then division is made among **the** subordinate chiefs in quantities according to **their** rank, and thus the whale is divided and subdivided until the huge carcass is exhausted. Next, the feast takes place. The chief of the tribe invariably sets the example in the beginning. Two or more heralds, attired in red and blue blankets, arranged very tastefully, so as to have the appearance of a scarlet tunic, and blue kilt, or vice versa, proceed to each lodge, and in a loud voice issue their invitations, commanding all men of the tribe to attend at the chief's lodge, as an entertainment is about to be given. The plebeian order generally hasten to attend early and take **their** seats near the door or aperture through which they enter. The whole lodge is cleared of any **incumbrance**; the divisional planks which separate the different families are removed, and a clear area is left varying from eighty to one hundred and sixty feet square.

The cooking takes place in one corner of the lodge. A large pile of stones are heated, and large wooden **boxes**, containing a small portion of water, are placed near them, the stones are put into the boxes by means of a wooden tongs until the water boils. The blubber is cut into slices about an inch in thickness, and put into the boiling water, **which** is kept boiling by means of a supply of hot stones till the **fish** is considered ready for serving.⁵⁴

The Ohiat District was featured in Article V, August 28:

The Ohiat Indians are a large tribe, about four hundred and fifty or five hundred strong. They inhabit the eastern side of Nitinat (**Barkley**) Sound



Fig. 15. Cutting up of a harpooned whale, Neah Bay around 1910 (Photo: BCPM PN 6408).

... The Indian villages are numerous from the very point. They are traceable for twelve or fourteen **miles up** the Sound, but in winter they assemble in one encampment, showing a full mile frontage. One chief controls the whole; his name is **Cleshin**.

Herrings come on this coast in February and March in immense quantities . . . They are caught with a small bag net; . These Indians also **catch a** number of whales, and make a quantity of oil from dog-fish and seals. They are likewise great **hunters-of** bears, land-otters, martins, beavers, mink, raccoons, and **sea-otters**. They exchange these **commodities** with white traders and the Indians in the interior for blankets, tobacco, powder, shot, calico, etc.⁵⁵

In Article VI, entitled "**Ohiat** and Nitinat Sounds", **Banfield** discussed briefly **the Sheshaht**, Toquaht and **Ucluelet** people of Bsrkley Sound :

The largest group of islands (in Barkley Sound) is inhabited during the summer months by a tribe of Indians named Sheshats, numbering about two hundred. Like the other tribes, they subsist by fishing and hunting; in the winter months they migrate to an inland water **near** the mouth of the Alberni canal. This is the great mart of inflated prepared seal-skins, most other tribes on either side coming here to purchase. The Sheshats also have some considerable traffic with the Macaws in cedar planks for building **lodges....They** excel too in a sort of historical painting, on these prepared planks, which frequently may be seen on the front boards **of an** Indian lodge. All such decorations have a design, and boards of this description bring a high price. The Macaws transport these planks across the open sea in their canoes - voyages frequently attended with much risk, the distance from Cape **Classet** to this Sound being about thirty five miles. About eight miles from Sheshat, on a deep indentation of the bay, is a small tribe of Indians, about twenty in number, celled Tsquats, once a much larger tribe, but some ten years since they were engaged in an intertribal war with the Nitnats, and in consequence were reduced to their present small number. The quantity of salmon and herring caught here is actually incredible.

On the western extremity of the Sound, is a large tribe of Indians, numbering about four hundred and fifty, called **Youcloulyets**. 56

Article VII, entitled "Clayoquat Sound . . . The **Tonquin** Massacre" and Article VIII entitled "A Chief's Death-Bed and Burial" related to the Clayoquot among whom **Banfield** was living. He wrote in Article VII:

The Clayoquots number about five hundred, and are the **most warlike Indians** on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and the most feared by **other** tribes. They are governed by a good old chief named **Tackwizep** . . . Whales, dogfish and sharks are caught in large quantities here, for their oil; also, halibut, salmon and codfish. This is the **great** canoe mart of the west coast. The Indians make canoes varying from ten to sixty feet in length, of the most accurate workmanship and perfect design . . .

Immense quantities of potatoes are purchased every year by this tribe from white traders and the Macaws. They make large feasts. I have seen seventy bushels of potatoes cooked at once, 'in two piles on hot stones. They eat whale oil in quantities with potatoes. 57

On the 29th of April, 1859 **Banfield** was appointed government agent by Governor Douglas. He chose the **Ohiaht** area as his **centre** of operations, buying the island known as Osmetticey in **Banfield** Inlet. A title deed was signed by "**Cleeshin**", the Chief of **Ohiaht**, and **Howeeseen**, the next in rank, on the 6th of July 1859.⁵⁸ During the nearly three years before his death **Banfield** wrote twenty reports to Douglas.⁵⁹ Again his emphasis was to describe the **resources and the "capabilities** for settlement" of the **Barkley** Sound region. There are no descriptions of native life in these reports, other than the observation that they were "quiet" or "peaceable".

To **encourage** and facilitate development on the coast the British navy initiated hydrographic surveys of the coastline; Port San Juan was

mapped in 1847, and Barkley and Clayoquot Sounds in 1861. The British Admiralty also published The Vancouver Island Pilot in 1864 which contained sailing directions for the coast.⁶⁰ There were numerous editions of the maps, which contained both major and minor corrections to information. The original survey date, however, remained in bold print in the title while the edition date was almost illegible on the bottom. For example, the Barkley Sound chart (592) was first published in 1865.⁶¹ The following native settlements were plotted: two on the east shore of Ucluelet Arm, one on the western shore of Barkley Sound, Seshart on what is now **Equis IR 5**, one on the northwest shore of Robbers Island, one at **Numukamis** and several on the south shore of the Sarita River, the Ohiaht village at what is now Keeshan **IR 9** and one on the north shore of Kirby Point on Diana **Island**. No white **settlements** were noted. Major corrections were made to this map in April 1866 and August 1897.

The native settlements plotted on the 1898 edition include one on the east shore of Ucluelet Arm, one on Village (Effingham) Island in the Broken Group Islands and one each on **Diana** and **Haines** Islands in the Deer Group. The Ohiaht village of the 1865 edition was noted as "ruins": Stores were plotted at **Ecoole**, at the west **entrance** to Ucluelet Arm and on the east shore of Ucluelet Arm. Anderson's wharf and mine were located on the north shore of Seshart Channel.

Commercial development, however, occurred slowly. In the spring of 1860 **Banfield** reported **the** arrival of a Captain Stuart in Ucluelet to establish the first trading store in the Barkley Sound region. Later in the same year **Banfield** entered the employ of Captain Stamp and acted as

his agent in making arrangements with the Chiefs of **the Sheshaht** for land for a sawmill and **townsite** at the head of Alberni Canal. Banfield's quarters in **Banfield** Inlet were taken over by Captain Stamp in the fall of 1861 for a temporary trading post. **Banfield** remained in the employ of Stamp until July 1862 when he resigned "because I could not serve correctly two masters. Therefore . . . I judged **it better** to have and devote my whole time to **the** government **service**."⁶² ..

Banfield's 1862 reports remarked on the increasing commercial activity **in** Barkley Sound. Included were details on the shipping traffic to the mill in Alberni and the prospecting and mining activities on **Tzartus** (Copper) and Santa Maria Islands in eastern Barkley Sound. **Banfield** had reported on the potential for a cod fishery in several of his early reports, and in June 1862 he noted:

A small schooner has been purchased here by Messrs. Stamp & Company for the purpose of fishing codfish, halibut, etc., on the banks outside Barclay Sound but no attempt has been made as yet to fish . . . ⁶¹

The first mention of the operation is in an 1866 newspaper account of a voyage by **HMS** Scout. The party visited a fishing **establishment** of Messrs. Sproat and Co. that was set up on Village island Where "they salted down vast quantities of excellent cod".⁶⁴

The sawmill operation in Alberni, first known as Stamp and Co. and later as Anderson and Co., was the focus of a small white settlement during its four years of operation. **One** of the people associated with **the** operation was G.M. Sproat. **During** his stay in Alberni he collected information on **the** native people which he published in 1868 under the title Scenes and Studies of Savage Life. **He** wrote in the preface:

My **private and** official business on the west coast of Vancouver **Island** gave me an advantageous position for studying the natives, themselves, **and** also the effect upon them of intercourse with civilized intruders. I lived among the people and had a long acquaintanceship with **them....The** information which I give concerning their language, manners, customs, and ways of life, is not from memory, but from memoranda, written with a pencil on the spot-in the hut, in the canoe, or in the deep forest; and afterwards verified or amended by my own further researches, or from the observations of my **friends.**⁶⁵

The account is a generalized description of the life of the Aht (Nuu-chah-nulth) people in the 1860s. Topics discussed include physical traits, materiel- culture, economic activities, social life, **religious** practices and ceremonies.

One of the major exploration parties of this period was the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition under Captain Robert Brown which assessed the country from Cowichan Lake to the entrance of Nitinat Lake in the summer of 1864. Travelling down the Nitinat River the expedition passed numerous salmon weirs in the river and a total of eleven uninhabited Indian lodges along the **banks.**⁶⁶ Continuing down the lake the party passed several abandoned villages on the right side, one of which was stockaded in front.⁶⁷ On the 29th of June they reached the mouth of the inlet, called "**Etlo**", and the village of '**Wye-yack**' (Fig. 16.17). Brown wrote:

... we camped in the middle of the village square, and until late at night our camp was (a) queer scene of trading for tobacco, begging, talking, smoking and watching them. As the Nitinats bear a very bad name I thought it only prudent . . . to use the necessary precaution against theft or treachery.⁶⁸

He continued on the 30th:

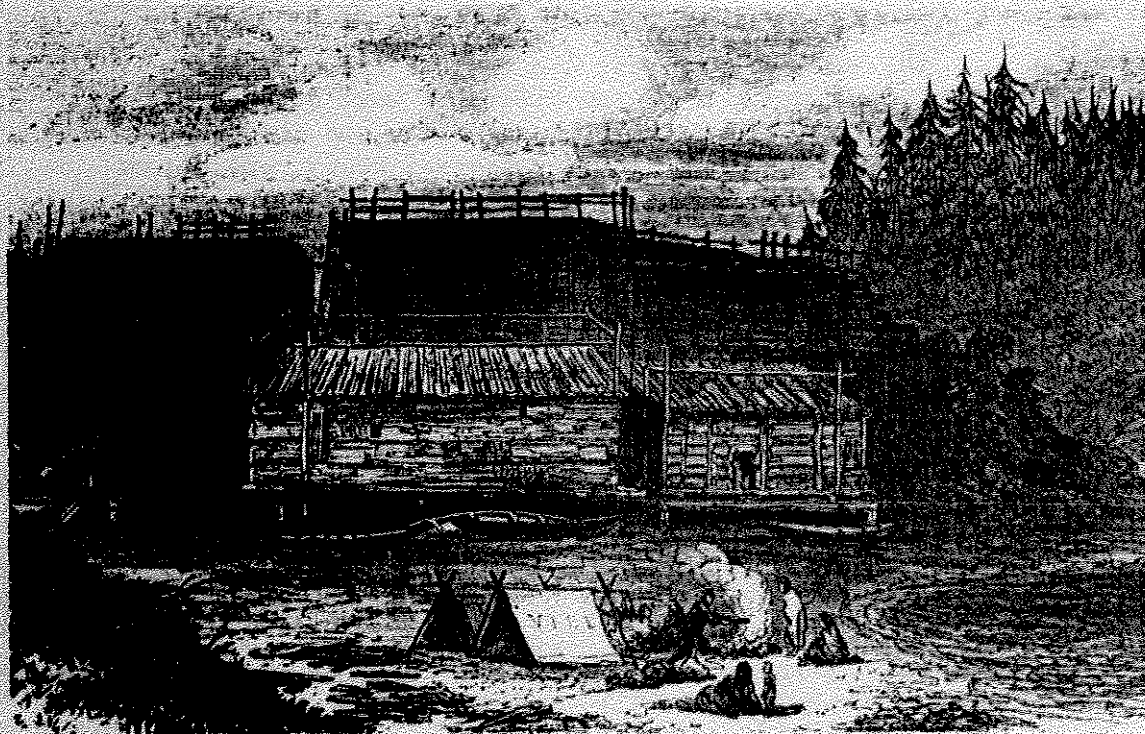


Fig. 16. Drawing of Whyac village as viewed in 1864, published in The London Illustrated News, 24 November 1866 (Photo: BCPM PN 15522).



Fig. 17. A similar view of Whyac village in 1983 (Photo: BCPM 19833:116).

The village is almost unpregnable and stockaded facing the sea . . . The Nitinahts were at one time a very powerful tribe, the terror of the coast but they have shared in the universal decay, and do not number more than 400 fighting men - They are still great bullies . . . **They** have not been at war now for four years when they took 22 heads and many prisoners from the Elwhas (a sub tribe of the **Scallams** or Scallan Say Indians). They have been often at war with the Clay-o-quots and **Kar-o-quots** . . . They are noted whale fishers and were at present in the stir of the halibut season.⁶⁹

Brown hired a 'large war canoe and three good pilots' from the village to take him to Port San Juan. He wrote:

. . . About 2 miles down we passed **Kloos (Clo-oose)** a large village of the Nitinats situate(d) in a sandy bay and further on **Quamadooa** (Carmanah) . . . Then came Echwates a small village . . . Further on is **another-village** called Karliet (one house) . . . Further on we passed Wawa-hades - about a dozen lodges. This is the eastern **boundry** of the Nitinat territory.⁷⁰

Brown described the San Juan or Pachena Indians as:

. . . once a principal tribe but . . . with war and disease (last winter many died of dysentery) they are now so thinned that they have amalgamated with the Nitinats. The Thongees from Victoria decimated them a few years ago - Their head Chief is Qaistoch . . . Their borders, are the Jordan **River** on the east and **Karlait** on the west.⁷¹

Brown mentioned two villages, one on the right as they rounded the point into San Juan and one on the left bank of Coopers Islet (eastern arm of San Juan giver).

Missionary activity on the west coast of Vancouver Island was initiated in 1860 **when Bishop** Wills visited Barkley Sound aboard **HMS Grappler**. He spent from the 20th of October to the 28th in the **Alberni area**.⁷² On the **29th**, Hills visited "**Cleeshin**", Chief of the Ohiahts who was living at the head of **Bamfield Inlet**. gills wrote:

The principal village of the **O-hy-ats** is higher up the Sound . . . Here (**Bamfield** Inlet), however, lived the Chief Cleeshin and a few **famillies** a part of the year . . .

The interior of **his** lodge was the same as the universal type. Salmon hanging up to dry. Fires burning in the midst. Women engaged in diligent mat making . . . ⁷³

In 1861 **Rev.** C. Knipe, on the recommendation of Bishop Hills, established the first mission in Alberni to serve the Sheshaht, Ecoolaht and Opetchesaht. He stayed until early 1865 **when** the **white** settlement and mill were abandoned. He authored an account of the Tahk-aht language.⁷⁴

The Alberni Mission was re-established in 1868 under **Rev.** Xavier Willemar. Harry Guillod was the native catechist. **Willemar** wrote of the first year of missionary work at Alberni:

The wandering habits of the Indians are a very great obstacle to Mission work: the Barclay Sound **Indians, are** always dispersed during the year except for three or four months in the winter time. In the spring they are to be found in every creek and inlet, busy catching dogfish for the sake of the oil which they make out of them, and herrings for food. In summer, they again shift their quarters for the sea-coast-whence they carry on a lucrative trade in seal skins.

During the absence of the Indians, Mr. Guillod and I employed ourselves in cultivating **the** Mission garden, hoping that, by teaching the natives to obtain their livelihood from agricultural pursuits, we might cure them of their migratory habits; and when once settled at Alberni, we could probably obtain a permanent hold upon them.⁷⁵

In **November**, 1868 Guillod reported an outbreak of smallpox among the "The Ohy-aht Indians". He wrote:

40 Ohy-ahts had died of the disease which was fast spreading . . . those who were affected by it were **so** terrified that they were neglecting to lay in their winter's store of salmon, so that starvation would probably ensue upon the disease.⁷⁶

The result of this epidemic, in the words of **Guillod**, was that:

they were all very **ill-disposed** towards us on account of the fatality caused by **the** small-pox among the Ohyahts, and which the Indians think was communicated to them purposely by the white men.⁷⁷

Trade was an important adjunct to missionary activity. The inventory for the mission included rice, tobacco, blankets, soap, biscuits, molasses, shot, gun powder, gun flints, **shirting** cotton, printed cotton, shirts, thread, needles, butcher knives, axes and pipes. **Guillod** wrote:

The trade here which we have carried on to get acquainted with the Indians and learn the language is very little. The profits to the mission during 2 1/2 years is after all expenses are paid perhaps £ 20. It takes up a good deal of time and we are continually abused and told that we steal the skins and make lots of money by them.⁷⁸

Willemar and **Guillod** continued their work at Alberni and in Barkley Sound until 1871 when the mission was abandoned and moved to **Comox** on the east coast of Vancouver Island. **Guillod** wrote in his year end report for 1870:

Another year has passed and I am sorry to say I have very little progress to report with regard to our work at Alberni. The Indians have been more migratory in their habits **this year than** before, if they kept more together it might be advisable to travel with them, but the Sessahts alone have the following distinct stations, Alberni, **Somass** River, **Ecooh**, **Homoah** and Equis, and it is seldom that the whole of them are **at** any of these places together. Part of the tribe are constantly moving about, so that it is very difficult to make any good impression collectively.⁷⁹

The Roman Catholic missionaries Right Rev. Charles J. Seghers and Rev. A.J. Brabant were the next to visit the west coast of Vancouver Island. They left Victoria on the trading schooner Surprise on **the** 12th of April 1874 **and** returned on the 15th of May. Brabant kept a daily diary of the trip. A selection of his observations of the native people follows:

April 14 . . . Enter San Juan harbour . . . The schooner Favorite, Captain McKay, and the schooner Alert, Captain J. Christianson . . . were making preparations to go out sealing . . . with a crew of Nitinat and **Pachena** Indians. (The Chief of this area was Kwistog) .⁸⁰

April 16 . . . Entered Dodger Cove . . . The Chief was living alone on Mission Island (Diana). Two canoes full of Indians **came** over from Keehan . . . ""

April 17 . . . Said Mass in the house of Mr. Andrew **Lang**, the storekeeper . . . The Indians arrived from Kaehan and other camping places and assembled in the house of an Indian called "Jenkins" . . . We' left' . . . and went to our anchor et **Clarkhonikose**, Village Island, Barclay sound.⁸¹

April 18 . . . arrived at Ucluelet . . . young '**Wishkoutl**', the Chief . . .

April 19 . . . Mass . . . in the storekeeper's house and then . . . off to the ranch. The Clayoquot Indians came over to join the **Ucluelets** . . . ⁸²

In September 1874 a second trip was undertaken by Right Rev. Seghers and Reverend Brabant to determine the site for a mission. On the 7th of September they arrived in Dodger Cove aboard the Surprise only to find that the "Ohiat Indians had moved up the Sound".⁸³ From here they headed north in a sealing canoe, returning to the **Ucluelet** area at the beginning of October. Again Brabant noted: "the Indians were all away to their salmon **rivers**."⁸⁴ They next visited **Ecöole** and **Numukamis** before returning to Victoriavia **Alberni** Canal and then overland.

The first Catholic mission was established in 1875 at Hesquiat under Father Brabant. A second mission was built under the supervision of Brabant at Numukamis and named St. Leo's, being blessed on Christmas Day, 1877. Father Nicolaye was given charge of **the** mission and **the** six tribes of Barkley Sound, and the Nitinaht and Pacheenaht. He was replaced by

Father **Eussen** in 1880 who was in turn replaced by Father **Verbeke**. In 1891 a new church, residence and school house were built at the summer village of the Ohiahts on Diana Island. **This** mission was abandoned around 1896.

In 1894 two other religious denominations initiated missionary work in the region. Reverend **Stone**, a Methodist, established at **Clo-oose** to administer ~~to the~~ Ditidaht, and Reverend Swartout, a Presbyterian, settled at Alberni. Swartout moved to Ucluelet (Ittatso) in 1895 and travelled extensively to the native communities in Barkley Sound. The Presbyterians had three missions with schools by 1899: Miss Armstrong at Ucluelet, Mr. Taylor at Alberni and Mr. McKee at Dodger's Cove. They were under the superintendence of Reverend Swartout.

Swartout wrote a manuscript **under** the pseudonym C. **Halcks** based on **his** missionary work and observations of native life in the Barkley Sound region. Of particular value are lengthy descriptions of a **high** ranking wedding ("Klootch-Ha") ritual preparations for hunting ("**Oos-im-itch**"), spiritual beliefs ("**Min-nock-eck**"), the potlatch, the wolf ritual ("**Klo-quan-na**"), Indian doctors, death and commercial sealing. **Also included** are descriptions of the native settlements at Ittatso, **Omoah** and Dodger Cove. **The** manuscript entitled "On the West Coast of Vancouver Island" remains unpublished.⁸⁵

When British Columbia entered Confederation in 1871 jurisdiction over Indian affairs fell to the Dominion Government. (Clause 13 of the Terms of Union). In 1872 Dr. I.W. Powell was appointed first Indian Commissioner for the new **province**. He identified the land question as a major priority and in **May** 1874 he instructed George Blenkinsop to reside



Fig. 18. Group of Barkley Sound Indians aboard HMS Boxer during tour by Dr. I.W. Powell, Indian Commissioner, in 1873 (Photo: BCPM PN 4708).

among ~~the~~ Indians ~~of~~ Barkley Sound "for the 'purpose of acquiring an intimate knowledge of **their** wishes in regard to lands to be hereafter reserved for them . . . ".⁸⁶

Blenkinsop wrote an extremely valuable report of his observations from the three months he spent- **travelling** amongst the tribes of Barkley sound.⁸⁷ Appended to his report were a statement of their Resources and Occupation during the year; an account of their Villages and Fishing Stations; a census of the different tribes of the Sound; and a map locating the boundaries of the tribal territories and the villages (Fig. 19). The ultimate intent of his visit was noted by Blenkinsop in several passage* in **his** report:

It would no doubt have a good effect . . . if these
• Indians were supplied with tools for clearing land at an early opportunity. It would show them that the Indian Department is in earnest in **endeavouring** to improve their condition and take that interest in their welfare . . . ⁸⁸

They are prepared to submit to be ruled by the Department under your authority and have shown a ready willingness to relinquish all claims to the country, with exception of their winter and summer villages and some of their principal fisheries . . .

... (**and**) giving them permission to fish as usual at their different stations until the country becomes of more importance to settlers and others . . . when other arrangements would have to be made regarding their exclusive right to fish in these waters.⁸⁹

I believe **I am** warranted in saying that they are a race of people easily controlled . . . it requires but firm and judicious management to bring them under the sway of civilization as far as is practicable with any of their **race**.⁹⁰

As regards the people Blenkinsop wrote:

The numerous old village sites, some of them several hundred yards in length, now overgrown in some

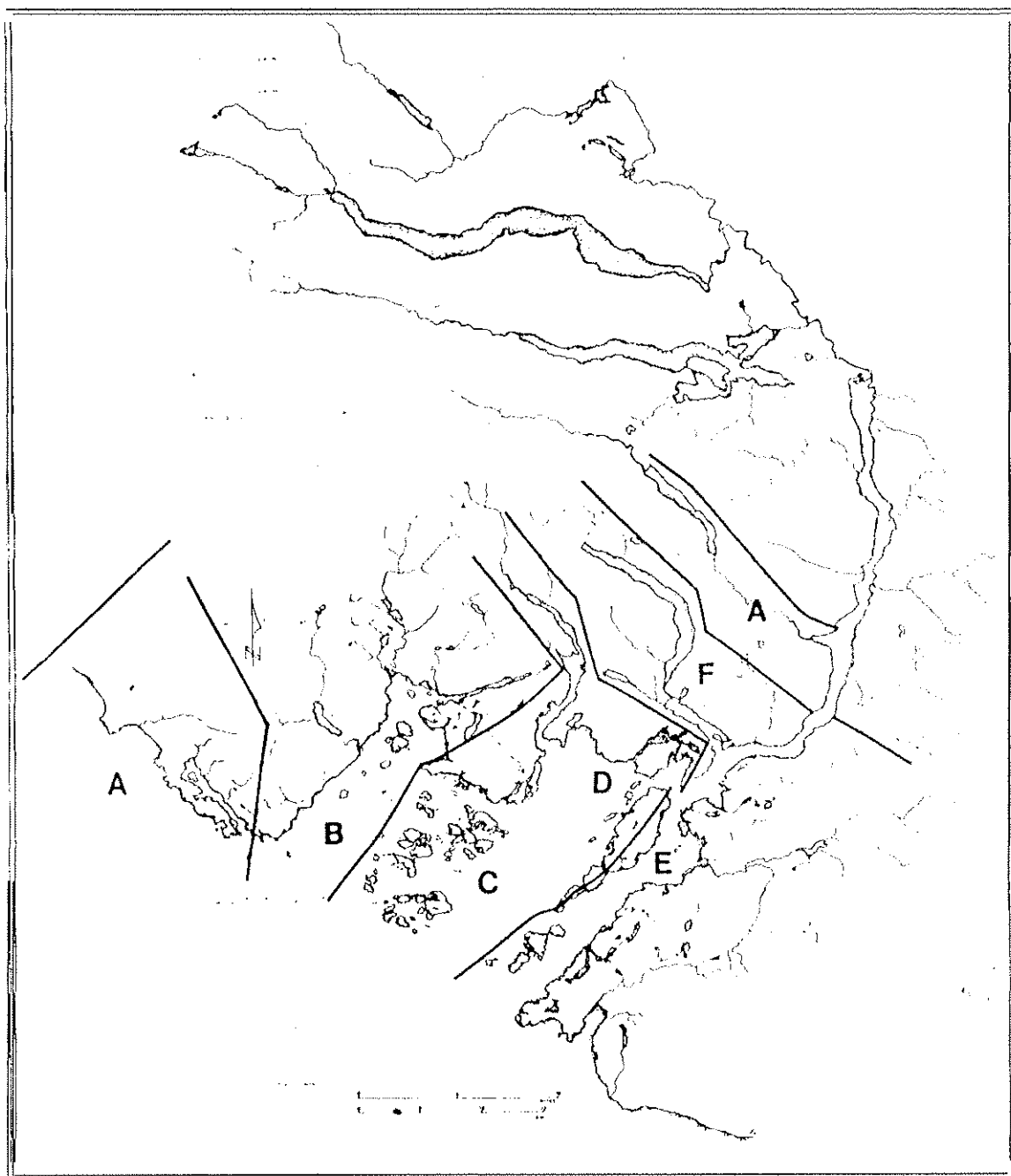


Fig. 19. Redrawing of "Map of Barclay Sound showing the boundaries of each Indian Tribe", made by Blenkinsop in 1874.

- | | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| A. Ucluelet | D. Ecoolthaht |
| B. Toquaht | E. Ohiaht |
| C. Sheshaht | F. Uchucklesaht |

instances with gigantic maples . . . prove **incontestably** that the population of Barclay Sound must have been at no very remote period ten times its present number.

War in former years, and disease . . . in latter years have wrought **this** change.⁹¹

Scrofula, and **diseases** of the lungs seem most prevalent. ⁹²

Blenkinsop's census listed nine hundred and forty-nine people for the seven tribes of Barkley Sound. He wrote of his methodology:

Each **fire** place Was visited in succession and the different families counted as they either reclined on their beds, or sat at their hearths, **which** ensured the greatest degree of accuracy . . . one or two who were overlooked for the time came some distance to my camp to have their names inserted on the list.⁹³

In regards to social organization Blenkinsop wrote:

Rank . . . **is** hereditary. The sister of a **chief** taking precedence of a younger brother in case of the Chief's death without issue.

The nearest relative at all time succeeds to power . . .

Whenever the son of the head **chief** arrives at the age of maturity he invariably assumes the reins of power and the father retires in his favor.⁹⁴

Although the minor **chiefs** have each their respective fishing streams yet they are all under the control of the head chief of the tribe, to whom, the former invariably contribute a portion **of** their take whenever the salmon season is over; and this rule applies to food of all kinds.

Even the trees of which they make their canoes and the wood used in constructing their dwellings have to be paid for; and **whenever** a bear is killed the skin has to be surrendered to the chief . . .

Property cast on shore, whales included, and all animals killed swimming in the water are given up to the chief, who selects that **portion** which, according to usage, he is entitled to.⁹⁵

I experienced great difficulty in arriving at the names of those holding minor rank in the different tribes of the Sound owing to the great jealousy entertained of each other. No one individual of this class being willing to acknowledge another of equal importance with himself, and the lower class too indifferent on the subject to give the desired information.

One and all claim to have but one chief.⁹⁶

The first Indian agent for the newly **formed** West Coast Agency was Harry Guillod, who arrived in Alberni on the 27th of **June**, 1881. Guillod **found** Alberni too isolated from the coast and moved the agency office from Alberni to Ucluelet in 1884. It was moved back to Alberni in 1890. A.W. Neill replaced Guillod as Indian agent in 1903.

The annual reports of the Indian agents **were** a major source of information on events on the coast. The reports ranged from one page overviews to a structured format divided into categories: principal reserves, population, health and sanitary conditions, **resources** and occupation, education, religion, buildings, stock and farming implements. Of particular interest was information on population, economy and settlement.

One of **Guillod's** first tasks was to undertake a census on the west coast of Vancouver Island. In 1882 he visited **the main** villages of the nineteen **Nuu-chah-nulth** tribes recording names, sex and age of individuals by household unit. The total population was **3,610**. **These** population figures were updated each year, and reasons for changes noted. Throughout this period population declined (Table 1). Diseases such as measles, whooping cough, and consumption (tuberculosis of **the lungs**) were the main

	Clayoquot	Ucluellet	Sheshaht	Dziahkt	Ditidaht	Pacheensht	Area of Pacific Rim National Park
Year	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total
1855	(550)	(350)	(290)	(500)	(900)	N/A	(2400)
1860	(570)	(360)	(300)	(560-550)	(600)	(60)	(2320)
1874	N/A	287	209	262	N/A	N/A	750
1881	324	250	176	240	290	82	1332
1882	327	225	174	236	271	84	1317
1883	329	225	175	238	271	84	1322
1884	304	222	171	233	269	79	1270
1885	305	215	170	235	269	80	1274
1886	302	210	I 173	232	243	73	1233
1887	299	206	175	230	238	72	1220
1888	282	185	165	218	223	64	1137
1889	280	176	144	214	220	63	1117
1890	280	174	165	214	219	63	1115
1891	256	179	153	199	197	81	1063
1892	250	170	155	194	192	80	1041
1893	253	174	154	200	191	80	1052
1894	253	174	159	196	192	80	1054
1895	253	175	157	202	191	81	1059
1896	266	176	150	193	190	89	1064
1897	263	176	152	190	202	71	1034
1898	246	174	150	183	215	72	1014
1899	246	160	171	173	210	70	986
1900	245	160	124	I 181	208	69	970
1901	240	156	130	163	212	63	964
1902	245	155	132	159	209	56	956
1903	243	152	130	156	210	53	946
1904	241	150	130	149	202	50	930
1905	239	146	122	148	203	53	913
1906	231	140	125	145	198	54	893
1907	224	130	123	152	199	57	885
1908	217	134	119	148	195	53	866
1909	211	133	124	142	194	53	859
1910	208	132	127	138	181	54	840
1911	209	134	128	131	180	56	830
1912	213	---	136	125	175	55	837
1913	205	123	138	118	171	50	805

Table 1. Population Estimates and Census Returns (1855-1914) for Tribes with Territory within Pacific Rim National Park.

factors for the steady decline. Children, in particular, were the most severely affected which had serious implications for future population.

A selection of observations of economic activities and settlement **from** the annual reports follows:

1882 - The Tseshahts had left **their** winter quarters and were making fish oil in the canal in December last year, but all assemble at **the** sealing stations in February. In the month of **June**, or ~~as~~ soon as sealing is over, they begin to travel, some to potlatches, others to Victoria, *New Westminster* or the American ~~side for~~ goods or work; others again are scattered along **the** coast fishing till it is time to get **their** winter supply of dry salmon up **the** rivers; this secured, they settle at their villages in **November**.⁹⁷

1885 - The prices of fur seal still being low, the catch small, and fish oil having declined twenty percent in value . . . so most of them are away, to the American side for **the** hop picking and other work; there being little work and low wages at the canneries in British Columbia.⁹⁸

1889 - Nittenahts and Ucluelahts bought schooners for sealing purposes. ⁹⁹

1890 - In several of the villages a great improvement has **taken** place in the class of houses lately and now being built.¹⁰⁰

1891 - Of late years many of (the) Indians **have** got into the way of visiting distant **places in** search of employment at the canneries and hop-fields . . . The catch of fur seal has . . . **been** large and of considerable value.¹⁰¹

1893 - Ohiaht Tribe *are turning* their attention to canoe-making . . . the Indian catch (of fur seals) on the coast by canoe **was** good.¹⁰³

1896 - The **Alberni** Indians . . . move down to **the** islands in Barclay Sound early in **the** spring, **where** the men seal on fine days and fish, **the** women gathering a plentiful harvest of shellfish; herrings and herring spawn . . . The dogfish-oil industry used to be of importance but owing to the low price and limited market very little is made; there **are four** sealing schooners owned by Nitinaht Indians.¹⁰³



Fig. 20. Jackson Jack, Ohiaht, hunting fur seal around 1930s (Photo: AVM 1854).

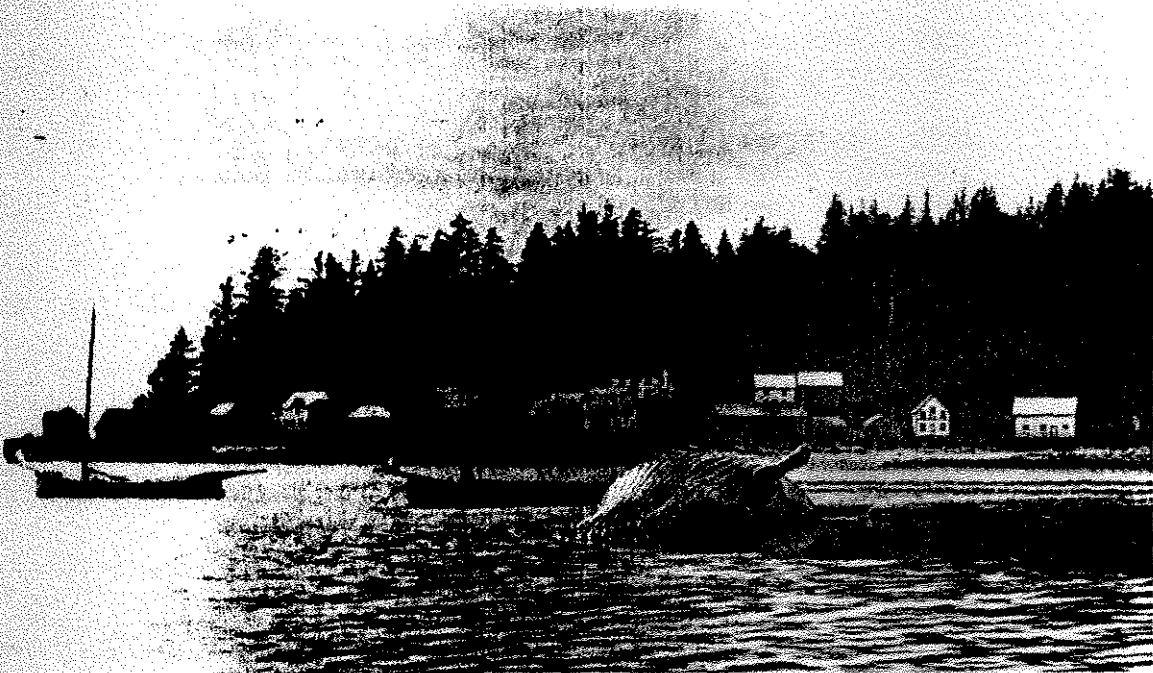


Fig. 21. Recently killed humpback whale in Dodger Cove around 1900 (Photo: BCPM PN 16345).

1897 - Ohiahts brought in two small whales which they harpooned outside, off Cape Beale; **these are** much prized for food and are a source of profit to them, the oil and blubber being readily saleable to other bands.¹⁰⁴

1901 - seal-hunting is **the** principal and most **renumerative** occupation; . . . Indians from the west coast **fish and** sell salmon and clams in Victoria and Seattle; . . . several whales have been harpooned and brought in by the Ohiahts and **Clayoquots**.¹⁰⁵

1904 - The Indians of this agency are all practically wage-earners in some way or other and their prosperity from year to year is to a great extent governed by causes over which they have no control. A poor run of fish on the Fraser, a surplus of **labour** in the hop-fields, or a small catch of seals in the **Behring** Sea, will all operate to produce distress . . . ¹⁰⁶

1906 - The Indians have almost entirely ceased building the huge old-fashioned Indian houses which can still be seen on all the reserves, with beams consisting of **whole** trees . . .

Those Indians who do not go sealing will leave about the end of June or early in July for canneries on the Fraser or at Rivers Inlet, where the men catch salmon . . . and the women work inside . . . cleaning fish. When the season is over, the Indians will either return home or . . . proceed to the hop-fields in the state of Washington . . . Sometimes, a portion of a band will remain in Washington State for the winter . . . (employed) digging clams.

With the recent erection of new saw-mills in the agency, a small number of Indians have obtained. . . work in the logging **camps**.¹⁰⁷

1908 - A number of the Kyuquot Band . . . and of the Tseshaht Band . . . obtained . . . **employment** at the whaling stations . . . it afforded them the opportunity of getting an abundance of whale meat, a diet of which they **are** fond.

The number of new buildings erected . . . has been small . . . As a rule the Indian postpones building operations until he has a chance to collect some lumber from the sea, thrown or washed overboard from some vessel in distress or perhaps part of the cargo of a total wrack.¹⁰⁸

Negotiations on the 'Indian land **issue**' on the west coast of Vancouver Island began in **1882**. On the 26th of May, Peter **O'Reilly**, the Indian Reserve Commissioner, arrived at the Ohiaht village of Dodger Cove in **Barkley** Sound to begin the government allocation of reserves. **O'Reilly** wrote:

The **chief (Keeshan)** expressed his satisfaction and that of his tribe at my visit and the prospect of having their fishing stations secured to them, and after a good deal of conversation to the same effect, I proceeded to mark . . . plots of land, 13 in all, as reserves for their use.¹⁰⁹

Three are within and two are adjacent to the boundaries of the West Coast Trail unit of ~~the~~ Park. **O'Reilly** wrote:

No. 9 **Keeshan** is ~~the~~ principal **summer** residence of the Ohiet tribe. I have here reserved 375 acres, which includes several old potato gardens, and gives a frontage of **Bamfield** Creek, a small but secure **harbour** at the entrance of Barclay Sound. About 100 acres of this land when cleared may be brought under cultivation. Cedar of large size is abundant, and is especially valued by the Indians for making canoes, an industry successfully carried on by them at this place.

No. 10 Rich-ha, one and a-half mile east of Cape **Beale**, **is** a fishing station used during the summer when the Indians are engaged in the halibut fishery. It contains 12 acres, the greater part of which when cleared may be utilized . . .

No. 11 Clutus is a rocky point at the western entrance of Pachena Bay, and is used by the Indians when halibut fishing. It contains about 80 acres, of **which** five acres is fairly good land; the greater part, however, is rocky and comparatively worthless.

No. 12 A reserve of about 200 acres on the **Ana-c la** River at the head of Pachena Bay. Although densely covered with timber and underbrush, the land is for the most part level and rich, is well watered, and will **be** valuable when the Indians, turn their attention to agricultural pursuits.

Here the Indians during the autumn obtain a large supply of salmon, it being one of their old established fishing stations.

No. 13 Ma-sit, situated four and a-half miles south east of Cape **Beale**, contains about 80 acres of rough, broken land. Though worthless and difficult of access, except in calm weather, it is prized by the Indians as a halibut fishery.¹¹⁰

The next tribe visited was the Sheshahts. O'Reilly wrote:

In the course of a long conversation with the Chief Hi-you-pa-nool, and some of the leading men, in which I fully explained the object of my mission, the chief laid claim to fishing stations, extending at intervals from the entrance to Barclay Sound to the first rapids on the **Somas** River, at the head of **Alberni** Canal, a distance of 40 miles . . .

... he accompanied me and pointed out the various places he was desirous of acquiring nearly all of which were reserved for the use of his tribe.¹¹¹

Nine reserves were allocated, three are within the Broken Group Islands unit of the park. O'Reilly described them:

No. 6 Cle-ho, a reserve of 12 acres, for fishing purposes, situated on Nettle Island. It is covered with fine timber, but otherwise is valueless.

No. 7 Keith Island contains about 25 acres; on it stands the fishing station of Ka-ka-muck-a-mil. The timber on this island is unusually fine, and is much prized by the Indians.

No. 9 O-mo-ah, a reserve situated on **Village** Island, contains 30 acres, and is a favorite seal fishing station. As regards soil it is worthless, being all rocky, there is, however, an **abundance** of timber for all purposes . . . ¹¹²

On the 5th of June **O'Reilly** visited the Ucluelet tribe at their principal village (Ittatso) in Ucluelet Arm. As the Chief had died the previous year and had not been replaced a spokesman was **chosen** to represent the tribe, **and** to point out the several fishing stations used by

them . . . After a careful examination of each, I assigned to the Indians . . . five **reserves**".¹¹³ None are within Pacific Rim National Park.

After leaving Barclay Sound en route to Victoria O'Reilly stopped at San Juan **Harbour** on the 6th of June. He wrote:

After a lengthened conversation with the **chief** (Christopher) in the presence of his people, in which he explained his wants, I made (two) reserves:

No. 1 Pacheena village stands on **this** reserve, which contains 230 acres; it **is** situated at the mouth of **the** South Branch of the San Juan River . . .

No. 2 A reserve of -220 acres, situated at the mouth of the North Branch of the San Juan River . . .

Two small gardens on the left bank of the **river** have been **cultivated** . . .

The salmon fisheries on both the North and South Branches of the San Juan River are very valuable, as supplying the entire wants of the tribe with **this** staple article of consumption; the right to fish has been reserved to them on both branches from the head of tidal water **to** the Forks, a distance of about two and a-half miles.¹¹⁴

A number of the 1882 reserve allocations were surveyed the next year by **Ashdown Green**.

O'Reilly returned to **the** west coast of Vancouver Island on **the** 14th of June, 1889 stopping first at Port San Juan., **Harry Gulllod** the local agent met **O'Reilly** there and accompanied him through the district. A **third** reserve (Cullite) was allocated to the Pacheenaht:

No. 3 Cullite, a fishing station about five miles west of the entrance to Port San Juan contains 90 acres . . .

As a halibut and dogfish station **this** is much valued by the Indians; it is the only place within **many** miles where a canoe can land with **safety**.¹¹⁵

A visit to the Ditidaht was again aborted because of rough weather. O'Reilly then proceeded to Ucluelet where he defined four additional reserves, two of which are in the Long Beach unit of the Park. He wrote:

No. 8 Oo-oolth, a well sheltered fishery to which the Indians resort for halibut is situated at the northwestern extremity of Wreck Bay. Four houses have been built here . . .

No. 9 Qui-si-tis, this reserve is situated about one mile northwest of Wreck Bay and contains 14 acres, mostly rock and sand.¹¹⁶

On the 19th of June, O'Reilly met the Chief of the Clayoquot "and such of his people as were not absent engaged in sealing or working at the canneries."¹¹⁷ He wrote:

... after a long conversation I ascertained from them where the several fisheries were situated that they wished to have reserved; all these I undertook to visit, and invited them to accompany me in the steamer, or if they preferred it, to have them towed in their canoes, an offer which they gladly accepted.

With the assistance in every case of some members of the tribe, I defined . . . 29 reserves, all of which are fishing stations.¹¹⁸

The Clayoquot at this time were considered one tribe with four branches, the Clayoquot, Ahousat, Kelsemart and Manhouset. Two of the 29 reserves are within the Long Beach park unit. O'Reilly wrote:

No. 3 Esowista, situated in Long Bay....contains 19 acres. There are three houses upon it. Except as an Indian camping ground it is valueless.

No. 4 Koo-to-wis contains thirty six acres, and is situated at the head of a slough southeast of Indian Island, Tofino Inlet. A limited quantity of salmon of inferior quality are taken here. The land is low, and covered with Cedar, spruce and hemlock of good size.¹¹⁹

O'Reilly finally managed to meet with the Ditidaht on the 31st of July, 1890. He wrote:

... On my arrival I was waited upon by Sewish the Chief, and a large number of the tribe, and I then explained to them the object of my coming at which they were much pleased; they stated that they had been expecting me for a long time, and complained that several white people had taken up lands belonging to them.

I ~~promised to~~ visit the various places referred to and this I afterwards did in company with the Chief and those interested.

Having ascended the Nitinat river for about ten miles I found that the Indians (in addition to their ancient fishing stations) had staked out large tracts of land, and in many instances had built houses thereon of a very temporary character. This was done very recently, and in anticipation of my visit; with a view to establishing their claim to those lands.

I explained that it would not be advantageous to them should they be allowed to occupy the lands they wished for, as when this part of the country became more populated they would find themselves constantly in difficulties with their neighbors . . .

The reserves I subsequently defined include a sufficient quantity of land for all purposes, they embrace the sites of all their fisheries and villages, and the places occupied by them when canoe making; an industry of much profit to them . . .

The Nitinat Indians number 220; their principal occupation is that of fishermen, they are eagerly sought after as seal hunters and find ready employment at the sawmills, canneries and hopfields . . . 120

Sixteen reserves were allocated to the Ditidaht. Eight are within or adjacent to the West Coast Trail unit of the park. O'Reilly described the reserves:

No. 1 Ah-"k, situated in the eastern shore of Ah-uk lake contains 105 acres. The Indians find profitable employment at this place in the **construction** of canoes . . .

No. 2 Tsu qua na, about one mile west of the outlet of Nitinat Lake . . . This was once the site of a large village of which but five houses remain. It is a good fishing station being convenient to the halibut banks off Cape Flattery, and to the **course** followed **by** the fur seals when migrating northward . . .

No. 3 Wyah, the principal village of the Nitinat tribes . . . there are many old potato patches which would repay cultivation. Halibut, and dogfish are plentiful in the **neighbourhood**.

No. 4 Clo-oose....is situated at the mouth of the Sarque river . . . On it stands the winter village comprising seven houses. **Its** principal value to the Indians is a fishing station, for in addition to the deep **sea** and seal fisheries, **the** sockeye salmon frequent the Sarque river in great numbers . . .

No. 5 Sarque, a salmon fishery situated on the **right** bank of the Sarque river, about two miles from its mouth . . .

No. 6 Car mah na. . . is situated 1 1/2 miles west of Bonilla Point . . . It is a favorite camping place for the Indians when **travelling**, and is one of the few spots on the exposed coast where a **canoe** can land with safety. Five houses have been built here, and are occupied during the halibut and dogfish season.

No. 7 Ik tuk **sa** suck, situated on the northern shore of Nitinat lake about 3/4 mile north of Reserve No. 3 . . . This was formerly the site of a large village at present there are 'but 7' houses upon it.

No. 8 **Homitan**, on the northern shore of Nitinat Lake . . . is situated at the mouth of the outlet of a large lake, much frequented by the sockeye salmon. It is the most **prized** of any of the salmon fisheries of the tribe.¹⁷¹

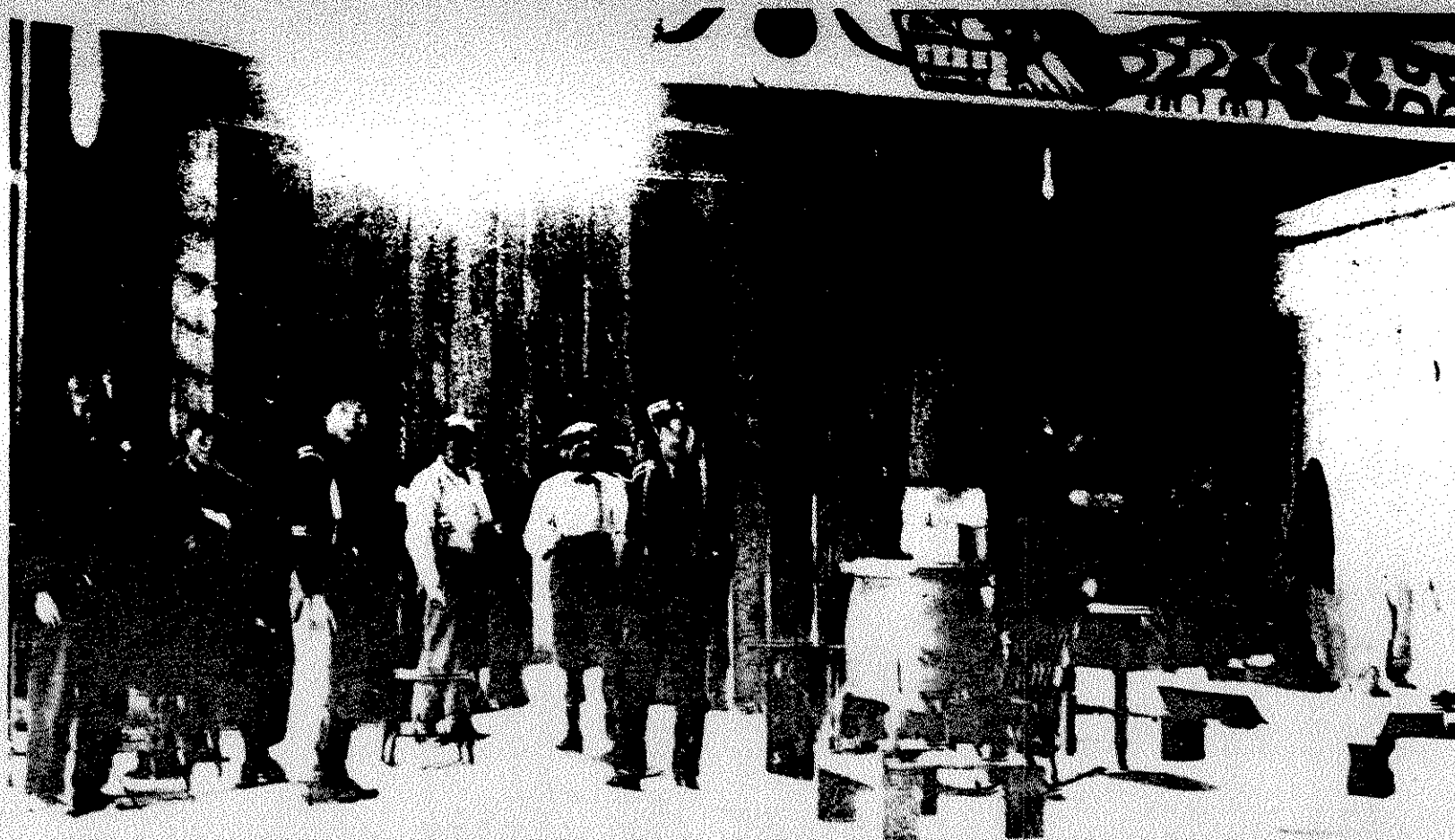


Fig. 22. Meeting of members of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs with Pacheenaht at IR 1, May 1914 (Photo: BCPM PN 12473).

The reserves defined in 1889 and 1890 and the remaining 1882 allocations were surveyed by E.M. Skinner in 1893 and all reserves were confirmed by the **McKenna-McBride** Indian Reserve Commission of 1913-1916.

The native people were no longer able to move freely on the landscape. Their settlements were restricted to lands that had been reserved for them by the government authorities. Subsistence activities were restricted by government fish and game laws and International treaties such as the fur sealing treaty of 1911. All other aspects of their lives were controlled by the Indian Affairs Department through the Indian Act and administered by the Indian Agent.

Summary

Since first contact with European explorers and traders, native peoples have experienced dramatic and profound changes to all aspects of their lives. ~~The~~ three most important areas of change will be summarized in **this** report: population and group composition, subsistence and settlement.

The early estimates of the numbers of people on ~~the coast~~ reveal a thriving population. In 1788 **Meares** wrote:

... to ~~the~~ Southward of Port Cox to Port **Effingham**, and in that Port, two thousand; and in the other villages which are situated as far as the mouth of the Straits of John de Fuca, on the Northern side there might be about seven **thousand** people.¹²²

This means that the area of Barkley Sound and the north shore of Juan de Fuca Strait, the area of **this** study, had a population of approximately nine thousand people in the late eighteenth century. **Eliza**, reporting on

Narvaez's survey of Barkley Sound, estimated the population to be larger than both Nootka and Clayoquot Sounds.¹²³ **Blenkinsop** writing less than one hundred years later, felt that the population of Barkley Sound in the past had been ten times that of the nine hundred and forty-nine counted in his 1874 **census**.¹²⁴ This would give a figure of between nine and ten **thousand** people, which does not include the Ditidaht and Pacheenaht of **Meares'** estimate. Ten thousand people appears at first to be a high estimate but there is enough indirect evidence from the historic records to warrant confidence in this figure.

What happened to reduce the population by up to ninety per cent? New **diseases** carried by the European and American crews of the exploration and trading vessels and increased warfare had perhaps the greatest impact. The diseases came in two forms: epidemics of infectious diseases producing spectacular mortality in short periods of time and chronic diseases which produced a continuous long term impact.

Epidemic disease, in particular smallpox, was known on the coast of British Columbia in the late eighteenth century and the officers of the Columbia recorded it among the Ditidaht in 1791.¹²⁵ The first description of the ravages of epidemics, however, are not found until the **1850s** when whites became year round residents on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Samuel Hancock wrote of an outbreak of smallpox in Neah **Bay in 1853:**

It was truly shocking to witness the ravages of this disease . . .

In a few weeks from the introduction of the disease, hundreds of natives became victims to it, the beach for **a distance** of eight miles was literally strewn with the dead bodies of these people.¹²⁶

The impact was felt far beyond the confines of the area of the outbreak. Fear and panic, combined with a lack of knowledge of quarantine, saw people try to escape the disease by fleeing from their community. Hancock wrote of the exodus from Neah Bay:

... those who had escaped became almost frantic with grief and fear, and conceived the idea of crossing the Strait and going to the **Nitinat tribe** living on Vancouver's Island. They crossed over to this place, carrying the infection with them, and soon nearly all those who fled from Neah Bay, besides a great many of the native tribe, became victims of the epidemic.¹²⁷

The loss of life must have been devastating, but without census information an absolute appraisal is impossible. The impact was noted in general terms by people like **Banfield** in the 1850s when, for example, he described the Pacheenaht as being "nearly annihilated."¹²⁸

Measles was another epidemic disease which affected children in particular. Brabant wrote in 1887:

...sickness (was) amongst the thousands of Indians who were in the hopfields (in Puget Sound).

Later on some of the people began to come home, their children had died of measles. Others brought their little ones home, but they had **the sickness** with them... Before long I counted over forty children of Hesquiat alone who had become victims of disease and had died.¹²⁹

The 1831 census had listed about seventy children in Hesquiat.

Chronic diseases, such as scrofula (tuberculosis of the lymph **glands**), lung diseases and dysentery, had a less immediate and dramatic impact. Table 1 presented census figures for the area of study from the last half of the nineteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth

century. The continuous decline in population that is attributable largely to chronic diseases is clear.

It is more difficult to assess the impact that warfare had on the population. As with disease the references in Period I documents are not based on direct observations but on **second** hand reports or impressions. A number of conflicts were mentioned as occurring in the Barkley Sound region, the most severe being the report by **Wicanninish** in 1793 that he had recently killed forty people. Another imminent conflict, between the Clayoquot and a Barkley Sound group called the "**Hichaht**",¹³⁰ was reported by **Hoskins** in 1792:

... having heard several guns fired the last evening I asked the Chiefs the cause of it when Tootoocheetticus informed me he had been learning his people to fire **having** placed up a board on which he drew a figure the size of a man. As they were shortly a going to fight the Hichaht people he wanted his people to know how to fire in the night. 131

... they were making spears barbed arrows **etca** others prepairing guns and making shot etc. I demanded the cause of all this preparation they said shortly they were going to destroy a tribe not far distant called **Hichahats** who had not of late in **every** respect paid them that homage which they thought due to so great a nation. I returned to old Wickananish and **enquired** concerning this war and when it was to commence. He said in **two** months.132

The end of the war may have been recorded by John Jewitt, survivor of the capture of the Boston and slave to Chief **Maquinna**, at Yuquot in Nootka Sound. On the **1st** of November 1803, he wrote in his diary:

... arrived a canoe from the **Wikeninqish**. Our chief was informed that they had been at war with another tribe called Ah-char-arts, and killed men and women to the amount of one hundred and fifty. They brought to our chief nine slaves as a present . . . 133

Perhaps an observation of the aftermath of another war was Roquefeuil's description in 1817 of "a steep hillock.. **which** has the appearance of a ruined fortification"¹³⁴ on the east **shore** of **Barkley** Sound.

In Period II, warfare **was** restricted to the early decades. The last documented conflicts on the coast were the raid by the Clayoquot and their allies on the Kyuquot in 1855,¹³⁵ and by the Ditidaht on the **Clallam** on the American side of Juan de Fuca Strait around 1860.¹³⁶

What impact these and other conflicts had was not recorded until the last half of the nineteenth century when warfare was attributed together with disease as the primary cause of the dramatic decline in population. A description of the Toquaht by Blenkinsop in 1874 is representative:

Continual wars with their more powerful neighbours and disease have reduced **them** to their present weak state. **On** one occasion dysentery swept off more than half the tribe, and smallpox and measles decimated them frequently.

They are now the smallest tribe of the Sound numbering only forty-seven men, women and children. ¹³⁷

The ultimate result for some groups was amalgamation and consequent loss of autonomy and identity. Blenkinsop wrote:

About sixty years since (the Ekoolthahts) being hard pressed by the other Indians, and having through sickness and war become unable to cope with their enemies, they of their own accord joined the **Se.shah.ahts**, as they say for protection.¹³⁸

Banfield considered the amalgamated community to be the general pattern, in the late 1850s. The Ditidaht were the one group he considered different as they maintained four traditional villages each with its own chief.

One of the frustrations of the **ethnohistoric** documents is the paucity of references to names of people or groups and to their villages or territory. This is due in large part to the nature of the trade, where the **chiefs** came to the ships rather than the Euro-American traders going into the villages. Consequently names recorded were *most* often those of the visiting chiefs, and only occasionally was there a group affiliation. Names of chiefs **recorded for** Barkley Sound in Period I were: **Hyuquis**, Chief of Toquaht (1793), **Heocheenok** (1793), **Hahiw.way**, Chief of Hashart (1793), **Hyhocus** from the area of Ucluelet Arm, (1795), **Yapasuet** and **Annathat** from the east shore (1795), and **Nanat** and **Cia** from the area of **Bamfield Inlet** (1817).

It is interesting to note that chiefs from other parts of the coast were referred to more often in the records than those from Barkley Sound. In particular, Chiefs **"Wicanninish"** and **"Tatoocheticus"** from Clayoquot, Chief **"Hannah"** from **Ahouset**, Chief **"Tattalo"** from Clahasset and Chief **"Tatooseh"** from Tatoosh Island were mentioned.

The changes to ~~the~~ subsistence pattern of the people living in the region of study were likely less dramatic in Period I than they were in Period II. As noted earlier, **this** part of the coast was at the periphery of the sea otter trade of Period **I**, and consequently there do not appear to be the adjustments to traditional economic activities that have been documented **for the same** time period in Nootka Sound for example.¹³⁹ The vessels that did visit Barkley Sound were not guarded by a particular group nor did the native people constantly supply them with fresh foodstuff **s** as in Nootka Sound. In fact, the crews of the ships did much

of the procuring of fresh food themselves. What descriptions there are of observed subsistence activities are traditional and are very similar to those observed early in Period II. For example, there is little difference in the description of whaling in **terms** of the gear and the method of the hunt by **Fleurieu** in 1791 and that of **Banfield** in 1858, or **Blenkinsop** in 1874. As well, there are no descriptions in Period I of people moving their settlements on a seasonal basis, as for Nootka and **Clayoquot** Sounds at this time, suggesting either that this pattern was not observed or had not developed here.

In Period II, however, there is a definite seasonal pattern with people moving from station to station procuring food. For all groups in the study area this pattern had an inside/outside focus. The Pacheenahlt spent the winter at the head of San Juan **Harbour**, and the **spring** and early summer at their halibut camp at Cullite. For the Mtidaht the pattern was less defined as they basically lived year round at their outside villages with only a brief excursion inside in the fall to procure salmon. For **the** Ohiaht, the movement was from **Numukamis**, their winter village, to Keeshan, their summer village, from where **they** dispersed to smaller camps at **Malsit**, Clutus and **Kilcha** for example. This **pattern changed** towards the end of the nineteenth century when Dodger Cove became the main settlement and the people scattered in the fall to numerous inside salmon stations. The Sheshahlt spent the winter at the head of Albarni Canal and **the** spring and **summer** at their various stations from **Albarni** Canal to the Broken Group Islands. The Ucluelet lived in Ucluelet Arm **during** the winter and scattered to **their various** fishing stations on the outside of Uculth Peninsula in the summer and to their inside salmon stations in the fall.

Further modification to this pattern were brought about by **the** increasing presence of whites. The trading stores established in Port San Juan around 1854, **Ucluelet** Arm in 1861, Dodger Cove around 1868 and Ecoole around 1870 created markets for new products. The first was the trade in dogfish oil **which was** produced in great quantities by all groups.

Banfield reported the trade by the Pacheenaht in Port San Juan at five to six thousand gallons a year in the **1850s**. **Blenkinsop** reported the production of dogfish oil in Barkley Sound at twenty to twenty-five thousand gallons'per year in 1874 which sold for twenty-five cents per gallon. **O'Reilly** in 1882 reported the production at **Numukamis** by the Ohiaht at fifteen thousand gallons annually. The **liver** from ten dogfish was said to **produce one** gallon of oil. In Barkley Sound the dogfish were most abundant in March, August and December. **Along the** coast of the West Coast Trail and **in Port San Juan** the oil fishery took place in August.

Pelagic fur sealing took on increased importance as a wage earner in the 1870s as schooners from Victoria came to the coastal villages to pick up crews of hunters with their canoes (Fig. 22). **Blenkinsop** reported that from fifteen hundred to two thousand skins annually were taken by **the** Barkley Sound tribes in April, May and June. The Ditidaht and Pacheenaht also were renowned sealers.

New employment opportunities arose in the 1880s in the Fraser **River** canneries and **the hop** fields of Puget Sound. The more people participated in these wage earning activities, the more they had to give up traditional subsistence pursuits. All the major wage earning opportunities occurred in the spring and summer, thereby restricting subsistence activities to

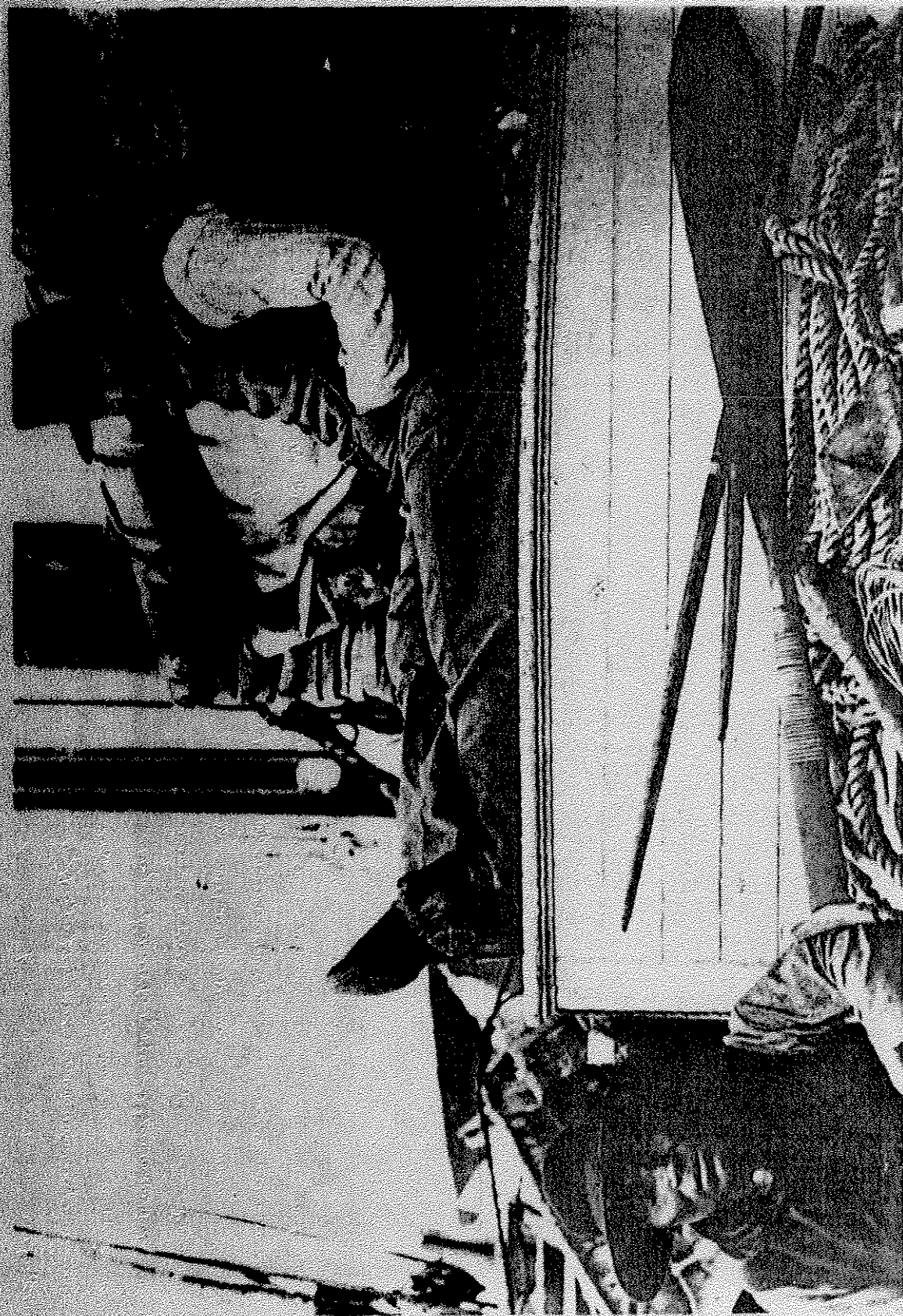


Fig. 23. Unidentified Nuu-chah-nulth sealers on schooner, around 1900. Note traditional hunting gear in foreground and canoes in background (Photo: Pacific Northwest Collection, University of Washington).



Fig. 24. Cannery on the Fraser River, late 1890s (Photo: BCPM PN 13609).

the fall. Salmon became the major food resource, supplemented by flour, sugar, tea, biscuit, molasses and potatoes-from the traders. The cash economy had replaced many traditional pursuits.

Changes in settlement occurred in response to both population decline and change in economic patterns. Again there is little information from Period I. Villages **that were** observed were described as large and populous. No other information was recorded and the only settlement that was entered was "**Seshart**" in Barkley Sound during the retaliatory action of 1794. In Period II there are descriptions of abandoned villages overgrown with vegetation, evidence of population decline and the amalgamation of remnant groups into new village structures.

Focus for settlement in Period II became the trading centres. The first stores were established in or near existing communities and as the wage economy took on increased importance people began to gravitate to these centres. The best example is Dodger Cove where Spring and Co. established a store around 1868. Only one Ohiaht house was in the area at the time but by the end of the century Dodger Cove was the main **Ohiaht** village.

The allocation of reserves in the 1880s reflected **the subsistence** and economy of the time. Outside of the village sites the reserves were either salmon stations, where the fall supply of food was obtained, or they were outside fishing camps from which **people participated** in the wage economy. The land was considered valueless by the reserve commissioners unless it had potential for cultivation.

The intent of both government agents and missionaries was to end the migratory habits of the native people and bring them under the guidance of

"white civilization". To this end missions were established at Alberni, **Ucluelet**, Numukamis which was later moved to Dodger Cove, and **Clo-oose**. The government funded the religious schools at Alberni, **Ucluelet** and **Clo-oose**. The economic foundation of this sedentary life was to be farming. Correspondence from the Indian Agents to the Indian Affairs Department in Ottawa on behalf of the Ohiaht exemplifies the pressures to change. Indian **Agent H. Guillod** wrote in 1902:

Their principal village at present with the best houses is at Dodger Cove their sealing station, here there is not suitable land for cultivation and Mr. Swartout has persuaded them to try and build a proper village at Numukamis. I visited the proposed town site on my last visit to the tribe and found some clearing had been done; roads were marked out and it was agreed to have lots about 50 by 75 feet so that each would have its own garden, some lots were already marked out.¹⁴⁰

Indian Agent A.W. Neill wrote Ottawa in 1904 forwarding an Ohiaht resolution requesting that band funds be spent on lumber for housing at Numukamis. In the 1911 annual report, both villages were listed as the principal residences of the Ohiaht, Numukamis in the winter and Dodger Cove in the spring.¹⁴¹

Native cultures by the early decades of the twentieth century had experienced over one hundred years of dramatic changes as a direct result of contact with Euro-Americans. In this section these changes have been presented as seen through the eyes of the foreigners. Another way to look at native history is presented in the next section.

Ethnographic and Oral History Research

Introduction

An equally important way of looking at native history is through the eyes of the people themselves. This is not a written history but an oral history. It is a living knowledge that is passed **down** from generation to generation in daily life and at ceremonial gatherings. In part it is legend and myth, **Sapir** wrote of its importance:

Legend and myth permeate the whole of Indian life . . . The Nootka Indians . . . distinguish very strictly between myths proper and legends. Both are believed to be true, but the myths go back to a misty past in which the world **wore** a very different aspect from its familiar appearance of today. They go back to a time when animals were human beings, to be later transformed into the creatures we know, and the tribes of men had not yet settled in their historic places nor started upon their appointed tasks. The legends, on the other hand, deal with supposedly historical characters of human kind, are definitely localized, and connect directly with the tribes of today and what is **of** ceremonial or social importance to them. A myth--is no one's special property. It may be told by anyone and is generally known to a large number. A legend, however, is family property. Only those may tell it who have an inherited right to it.¹

In part it is also life history. Phillips wrote:

. . . the life history is still the most cognitively rich and humanly understandable way of getting at an inner view of culture. [No other type of study] can equal the life **history** in demonstrating what the native [**him/herself**] considers to be Important in his [her] own experience and how he [she] **thinks** and feels about that experience.²



Fig 25. Ella Jackson, assisted by Mrs. Agnes Peters, relating Ohiaht historical traditions (Photo: BCPM 1984B:410).

Life histories can be avenues to understanding subsistence **activities**, beliefs, marriage, rank, rights and ceremonies for example. As Margaret Blackman wrote: "the basic fabric of ethnology is woven from **the** scraps of individuals' lives, from the experiences and knowledge of individual informants".³

This is the data set **that** anthropologists **use** to write native history. It is collected **by** interview of **knowledgeable** community members, generally the elders. Edward **Sapir** wrote to Alex Thomas, his assistant, on the importance of the methodology of collection:

... of course we know that old Indians often do better when they tell **things** of their own accord than **when** they **are** bothered by precise questions **which** they do not always understand.⁴

Ethnographic recording results in two types of native history. The first is the publication of **the** verbatim recording of traditions as ethnographic texts. The second is the writing of history based on interpretation of these traditions and publication as an ethnography **which** is structured according to **categories** of anthropological **study**.⁵

A major problem encountered when using native historical traditions is time frame. When working with **Swadesh** and **Haas** in 1931 Pacheenaht Chief Peter talked of four time periods for traditions: "story of old **people**, of ancestors", "story of one's own life time", "story of a little **while** ago" and "a dream".⁶

Time is also referred to in terms of generations. It is, however, a relative concept not an absolute one. When events are said to occur at the time when the respondent's father's father was a young man, how long ago was that? Does it depend on the age of each individual or can an

average number of years per generation be used? If events are said to have happened when **the** first sailing vessel arrived, does this refer to the first European vessel on the coast, e.g.: Perez in 1774 or Cook in 1778? Or is this a reference to the first sailing vessel to enter that specific place, perhaps seventy-five years later?

Is it possible to date **the** memory span of respondents? Is it accurate for one hundred years? Two hundred years? Longer? These and others are crucial types of questions that must be answered before oral historical traditions can be used effectively to reconstruct native history.

History of Ethnographic Research in the Barkley Sound Region

The first anthropologist to undertake field work in the Barkley Sound region was Franz Boas, who spent two weeks in Alberni in August 1889. **This** field work was part of the project to document the "Northwestern tribes of the Dominion of Canada" by the British Association for **the** Advancement of Science. Boas' paper on the Nootka appeared in the 1890 report.

Boas wrote of the focus of his article:

Our knowledge of the Nootka is not so deficient as that of most other tribes of British Columbia, as their customs have been described very fully by G.M. Sproat in his book . . . I confine myself . . . to recording the new facts that I have observed or learnt by inquiries among the older **Indians**.⁷

The only respondent named was "**Tlutisim**, a man of about thirty years old belonging to the **N̓t̓c̓imu'asath** sept."⁸ Interviews were conducted in the

Chinook Jargon. Topics discussed by Boas include political organization, the potlatch, games, customs relating to birth, puberty, marriage and death, religion and shamanism and the **wolf** ritual. Twenty-three legends collected at the same time **were** published separately in 1895.⁹

The next anthropologist to work in the region was Edward Sapir, who had done his doctoral dissertation with Boas **at Columbia** University between 1904 and 1906. Sapir had taken a position as Chief Anthropologist at the National Museum of Canada in June, 1910. From the 20th of September to ~~the~~ 6th of December he undertook field work among the Nootka at Alberni. His reasons for choosing this region for study, however, are as yet unknown. During these two months he collected six notebooks of ethnographic information, made recordings of sixty-seven songs, witnessed six ceremonies and collected ninety-one artifacts for the National Museum. His respondents were: Sayaach'apis (Sheshaht), Big Fred (Sheshaht), William (Sheshaht), Douglas Thomas (Sheshaht), Tyee Bob (Opetchesaht), **Cultus** Bob (Sheshaht), Frank Williams (Sheshaht), **Dan** Watts (Opetchesaht) and Mr. Bill (**Sheshaht**).¹⁰

Sapir returned to the Alberni area in October, 1913. Over the next five months he collected eighteen notebooks of ethnographic information from Sheshaht and Opetchesaht respondents and another eighty-three artifacts for the National Museum. He also witnessed four ceremonies. His respondents were: Big Fred, William, Sayaach'apis, Frank Williams, Douglas Thomas, Mr. Bill, Captain Bill (Sheshaht) **and** Hamilton George (Opetchesaht).¹¹

During his second field season Sapir trained two native assistants, Alex Thomas and Frank Williams, in procedures for collecting and recording



Fig. 26. Alex Thomas in 1968 (Photo: NMC J.21201).

ethnographic information. They were paid fifty cents a page plus paper and postage. Thomas in particular became a valuable recorder of ethnographic information for Sapir. Between 1914 and 1923 he collected thirty-eight ethnographic manuscripts containing seventy-two texts, a number of these from groups in **Barkley** Sound other than the **Sheshaht** and **Opetchesaht**. Among those Thomas worked with were Tom Sayaach'apis (Sheshaht), **Kwishanishim** (Ucluelet), Dick **Thlaamahuus (Ohlaht)**, Kloodasee (Sheshaht) and Douglas Thomas (**Sheshaht**).¹²

Sapir's strategy was to publish the myths and legendary texts first, which would then serve as a solid basis for the systematic discussion of various aspects of "Nootka" culture. It appears from his files that he intended **also** to write an ethnography of the "Nootka". Typewritten "notes" taken from his twenty-four field notebooks were organized into thirty-one topic areas which range from technology to ceremonials and potlatches.¹³

The analysis of the Nootka material and publication plans were disrupted in 1925 when Sapir left the National Museum of Canada for a teaching position at the University of Chicago. One of his students, Morris Swadesh, began to work with Sapir in 1930 as a research assistant. In 1931 Sapir left Chicago for Yale University. Swadesh accompanied him to collaborate in preparing the "Nootka" data for **publication**. In the summer of 1934 Alex Thomas was brought to Yale to assist in the project. The American Council of Learned Studies funded this trip and provided Swadesh with a **fellowship**. This work, Nootka **Texts**. **Tales** and Ethnological Narratives with Grammatical Notes and Lexical Materials, was

published in 1939, shortly after **Sapir's** death. The purpose of the volume was outlined in the introduction:

The 44 texts of this volume consist partly of folk tales, partly of ethnographic narratives intended to give some idea of the life of the natives.¹⁴

In 1914 Edward Curtis worked in the Clayoquot region gathering ethnographic information on the "**Nootka**" for his study on the North American Indian. George Hunt appears to have been his assistant at this time and likely recorded the historical traditions and ethnographic notes. The names of the Clayoquot respondents, however, were not recorded in the 1916 **publication**.¹⁵

The work of two individuals in the 1920s added new ethnographic information **of importance** to this report. In August 1922 Alfred Carmichael, an early resident of the area, was on holidays in the **Bamfield** area. During this time he developed a relationship with an Ohiaht Sa-sa-watin (Mr. Sport) and his wife Yim-a-uk (Lucy). He wrote:

On several occasions-we were visited by two old Indians ... Gradually we gained the confidence of the two, (after buying model canoes and baskets) and from them or **through** them I was able to hear many tales, of long ago.¹⁶

Carmichael had previous experience collecting stories when he was working in the **Alberni** area in the 1890s. He talked with Mr. Bill, a Sheshaht. Again he was interested in writing down the stories told him but times, had changed. He **wrote**:

News that I was interested in Indian folk lore had **already** reached the village (Dodger Cove), but I found that since my early visits (ie. **1890s**), stories had become of commercial value. Had not Dr. **Sapir** from Ottawa paid \$2.00 per hour for every hour it took to tell a story, and would I not pay the same? ... After much talking I made a bargain to

pay \$2.00 per story . . . several stories took **more** than one day to tell . . . For hours they talked and I questioned, as **the** Chinook jargon is limited in vocabulary and much patience is required on the part of both narrator and hearer if a true impression of the story is to be gathered.¹⁷

Carmichael published one volume of stories in 1922 **and a second** volume remains in manuscript form.¹⁸

Reverend Vincent A. Koppert spent two summers, 1923 and 1929, at Opitsat studying Clayoquot ethnography. He wrote:

I was only a casual observer on my first **trip** to Opitsit; my second, was undertaken with the view of conducting a systematic field study. My investigation was chiefly confined to material culture . . . My chief informants were, Chief Joseph Weekinnanich, aged sixty-nine, David James, aged seventy-five and Yeskan Jack (age **68?**) . . . There was also old Peter, aged eighty-one, and his wife . . . Whenever possible the indirect question was used.¹⁹

Reverend Charles Moser served as Koppert's primary interpreter., Assistance was provided by Hyacinth David and George Dan. The material was written up by Koppert for his Doctorate from The Catholic University of America in Washington, **D.C.** Koppert's earlier **Masters Degree** on Clayoquot mythology²⁰, was based on texts recorded by Reverend Moser.

In 1923 and 1926 while working at Neah Bay Frances **Densmore** recorded a number of songs from two Clayoquot women who were married to Makah. Annie Long Tom was the **grandaughter** of a warrior. Sarah Guy was the daughter of a hereditary chief. The songs were published in 1939. In 1926 **Densmore** recorded songs from people who had come to work in the hop fields near **Chilliwack**. Frank Knightun and Wilson Williams from **Carmanah** and Annie Tom from the Nitinat village contributed a number of songs including war, medicine and dance songs which were published in 1943.²¹

During the 1930s there were two field projects in the region of study. In 1931 Morris Swadesh and Mary **Haas** collected ethnographic material from Chief Peter at Port Renfrew. The material ranges from vocabulary, to place names and includes a large number of texts. The fourteen notebooks of information remain unpublished."

In the period 1935-36 Philip Drucker received a pre-Doctoral Research Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council to study Nootkan social organization. He collected enough data, however, for a general **ethnography which** was published in 1951. Drucker's primary field work was with the Nuu-chah-nulth people who lived from Nootka Sound north, but he did collect some data from the central Nuu-chah-nulth people including historical details on the Clayoquot. His principal respondents were Jimmy Jim and **yaksu'is**. Drucker also made a short visit to Alberni where he made:

Brief checks with element **lists...of the Alberni**
Canal people to determine their cultural position
with respect to their kinsmen of the outer coasts.
I obtained no information from **the** Barkley Sound
tribes nor from the Nitinaht.²³

His field notes; **however, show** that he did collect some texts on the doctoring ritual and **Tlokwana** and about twenty place names in Barkley Sound. Hamilton George, Opetchesaht and Jackson Dan, Sheshaht were his respondents. Alex Thomas was the interpreter.²⁴

Swadesh was the only active researcher in the area in the 1940s. From 1946 to 1948 he received a fellowship from the Guggenheim Foundation to continue preparations of the Sapir-Thomas texts for publication. In 1949 he received a field research grant from the Social Science Research **Council** to "round out the picture of Nootka culture." He went to Port

Alberni where he worked for several weeks in August with thirteen respondents: Seymour **Gallic (Sheshaht)**, Billy **Yuukum** (Sheshaht - Opetchesaht), Tom Tootchie (Ucluelet), Chief **Nuukmis** and **Aida Nuukmis** (Ohiaht), Willie Joe (Ohiaht), Sarah Bill (Sheshaht), Eva Thomas (Sheshaht), **Katie** Jackson (Sheshaht), Chief Jacob Sheewish (Sheshaht), Jimmy Santos (Sheshaht-Ecoolthaht), Eva **Watta (Sheshaht)** and Emma David. Swadesh recorded **five notebooks** of ethnographic information which remain unpublished.²⁵

In 1955 the Nootka songs collected by **Sapir** in 1910 and 1913 were published by Helen Roberts and Morris Swadesh.²⁶ Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography was published in the same **year**.. The thirty-five texts of this volume were offered to "give a more complete account of the **culture**".²⁷ A third **volume**, Nootka Legends and Stories which was to include an ethnographic index, was planned but was never completed.

Wilson Duff, anthropologist at the British Columbia Provincial Museum, undertook a number of studies relating to the Nuu-chah-nulth beginning in 1951 when he filmed the **George Clutesi** dance group performing "Nootka dances" during the 24th of **May** celebrations in Port Alberni.²⁸ In the summer of 1954 he worked briefly with Mrs. Joshua **Edgar** and in 1961 with **George** Clutesi. In the mid 1960s Duff interviewed a number of canoe makers including Jimmy Jones of Port Renfrew for his research on the Nootka canoe and whaling. His study on canoes was published in 1965.²⁹

In 1963, Duff introduced Eugene **Arima** to Pacheenaht Chief Charlie Jones and his wife Ida in Port Renfrew. This grew into a long lasting relationship which has resulted in a number of manuscripts and

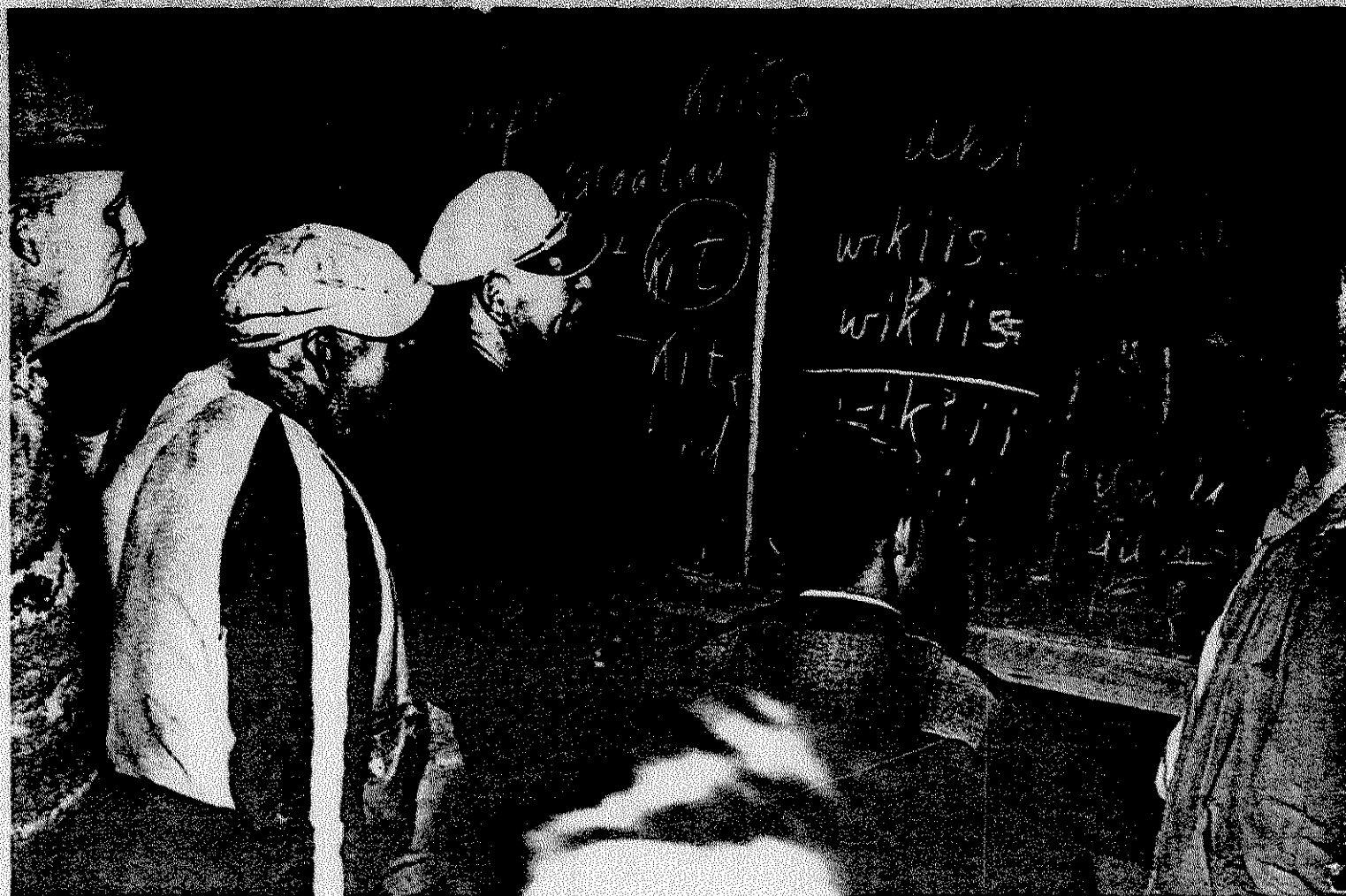


Fig. 27. Morris Swadesh working with Roy Taylor, Jacob Shewish and Alex Thomas, Port Alberni 1949 (Photo: AVM 3624).

publications by Arima. In the same year Arima accompanied Don Abbott of the British Columbia Provincial Museum, during a survey for the proposed National Park. It was at this time that he interviewed Chief Louie of the Ohiaht. These accounts were transcribed and translated by Alex Thomas in the late 1960s and written up by Arima in 1984.³⁰ Arima also worked with Alex Thomas in Ottawa in 1968 to produce a practical orthography for the Nootka language which was published in 1970.³¹

In the 1970s there was increased **ethnographic activity** in the **Barkley** Sound area. In 1973 **Denis** St. Claire began what has become a long term interest in collecting information on place name, site usage and territorial boundaries of the native groups of the region. His primary respondent during this period was Mabel Taylor of the Sheshaht. Other Sheshaht respondents were Jacob **Gallic** and Adam and Margaret **Shewish**.³² From 1973 to 1977 Barbara **Moon** collected information from unnamed Ohiaht and Pacheenaht elders on the changing role of animals in the Nuuchah-nulth world which included both utilization of animals and the spiritual relationship with them. The results of this study have been published only in summary form.³³ In August 1978 Kathleen Mooney interviewed Pacheenaht Chief Charlie Jones. This material, is unpublished.³⁴

John Thomas (Ditidaht), **Bernice** Touchie (Ditidaht) and Mabel **Denis** (Ohiaht) were among a number of individuals who received diplomas from the Native Indian Language **Programme**, Department of Linguistics, University of Victoria in the 1970s. Mabel **Denis** worked with Ohiaht elder, Robert Sport in 1974. In 1977, Touchie worked with several Ditidaht elders for a report on Whyac for Parks Canada.³⁵ John Thomas has concentrated on

linguistic studies and has translated material for **Arima** and for the Pacific Rim Project.

In 1980 Nancy Turner, John Thomas and others recorded traditional information on the names and uses of plants among the Ditidaht. This major study, Ethnobotany of the Nitinaht Indians of Vancouver Island, was published in 1982.³⁶

In 1981, 'James **Haggarty** and Richard Inglis of the British Columbia Provincial Museum initiated a major project to research the native history of Pacific Rim National Park. Interviewing of contemporary elders was undertaken for the project primarily by **Denis** St. Claire and John Thomas. During this period St. Claire worked with Mabel Taylor (Sheshaht), Robert Sport (Ohiaht), Jim McKay (Toquaht and Ucluelet), Sarah **Tutube** (Ucluelet), Rose Cootes (Ucluelet), Leonard **Mack** (Ucluelet), Ella Jackson (Uchucklesaht-Ohiaht) and Ernie Lauder (**Opetchesaht**).³⁷ John Thomas interviewed Ida Jones (Ditidaht) and Charles Jones (Pacheenaht). As well, Inglis worked with John Thomas (Ditidaht) and with **Haggarty** interviewed Joshua Edgar (**Ditidaht**).³⁸ These interviews were aimed primarily at recording place name, site usage and historical information for each of the six groups whose traditional territories are encompassed by Pacific Rim National Park. **St. Claire** also attempted with some of his respondents to identify place names gleaned from earlier studies. Nearly seven hundred place names have been compiled from both the contemporary and **archival** sources by Cairn **Crockford** and are included as appendices A to F to **this** report.

In 1984 and 1985 St. Claire worked with the Ohiaht Ethnoarchaeology Project collecting similar information. Respondents interviewed were Mary

Moses (Ohiaht), Bill **Happynook** (Ohiaht), Alex Williams (Ohiaht), William Sport (Ohiaht) and Eunice and Angie Joe (Ohiaht). St. Claire's manuscript will form part of the final project report which is in production at **this** time.

The data collected by the ethnographic research outlined above are immense. Most of it has not been **analysed** and very little has been published even as ethnographic texts. Unquestionably there is the information to write a comprehensive ethnography of the peoples of the Barkley Sound region. It is not, however, within the mandate of this report to consider such an undertaking. Instead **only information** that will assist in understanding the historical context of the archaeological data base will be extracted. This includes information on group composition, changes in group territory and population shifts brought about by warfare and migration, resource exploitation and settlements.

Sheshaht History

Introduction

The modern Sheshaht are an historic period **amalgamation** of at least six independent groups of people from the central region of Barkley sound. Sapir described them as:

. . . a cluster of various smaller tribal "units, of which the **Ts'isha'ath**, that gave their name to the whole, were the leading group. The other **subdivisions** were originally independent tribes that had lost their isolated distinctiveness through conquest, weakening in numbers or friendly removal and union. Each of the tribal subdivisions or "**septs**" had its own stock of

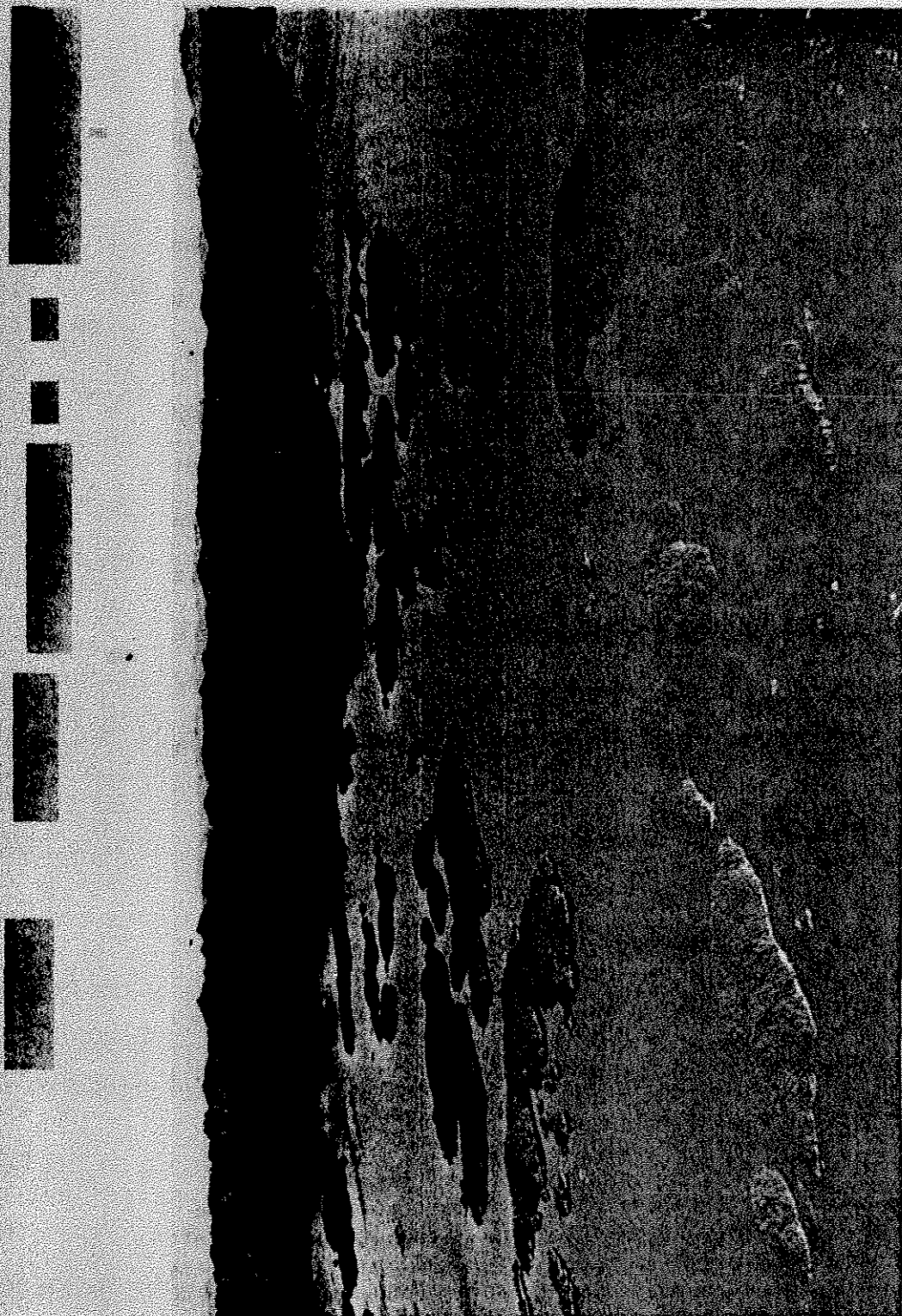


Fig. 28. Aerial view of amalgamated Sheshaht territory including the Broken Group Islands (foreground) and the Vancouver Island shoreline (Photo: BCPM 1982B:642).

legends, its distinctive privileges, its own houses in the village, its own village sites and distinctive fishing and hunting waters that were **still remembered** in detail by its members. While the **septs** now lived together as a single tribe, the basis of the sept division was really a traditional local **one**.³⁹

Sheshaht territory at the end of the nineteenth century included all of the Broken Group Islands, much of the north shore of Barkley Sound, the **west** shore of the Deer Croup Islands and much of the Alberni Canal and lower **Somass** River (Figs. 29, 30). Today the Sheshaht are **centred** in Port Alberni at **Tsah.ah.eh**, IR 1.

Our knowledge of Sheshaht history is extensive. There are probably more texts recorded for this group than there are **for** all of the others in Barkley Sound together. George Blenkinsop, in 1874, was the first to collect Sheshaht historical **traditions**. He recorded information on their amalgamated territory, village and fishing station **locations** and economic activities in interviews with Chief **Iya.pa.noolth**. In 1889 Boas worked for two weeks with an unknown number of Sheshaht elders in Alberni. The only one he named was **Tlutisim**. **Sapir** undertook field work in Alberni in 1910 and in 1913-14. He recorded particularly valuable information on Sheshaht local group origins and composition from **Sayaach'apis**, and on local group composition and territories from William. Unfortunately the map that accompanied William's territory information has not been located to date. Additional pertinent ethnographic notes were collected from Sheshaht respondents Mr. **Bill** and Frank Williams. Alex Thomas continued the recording of historical traditions for Sapir from 1914 to 1923. Of particular note are two texts, recorded from Tom **Sayaachapis** entitled 'The

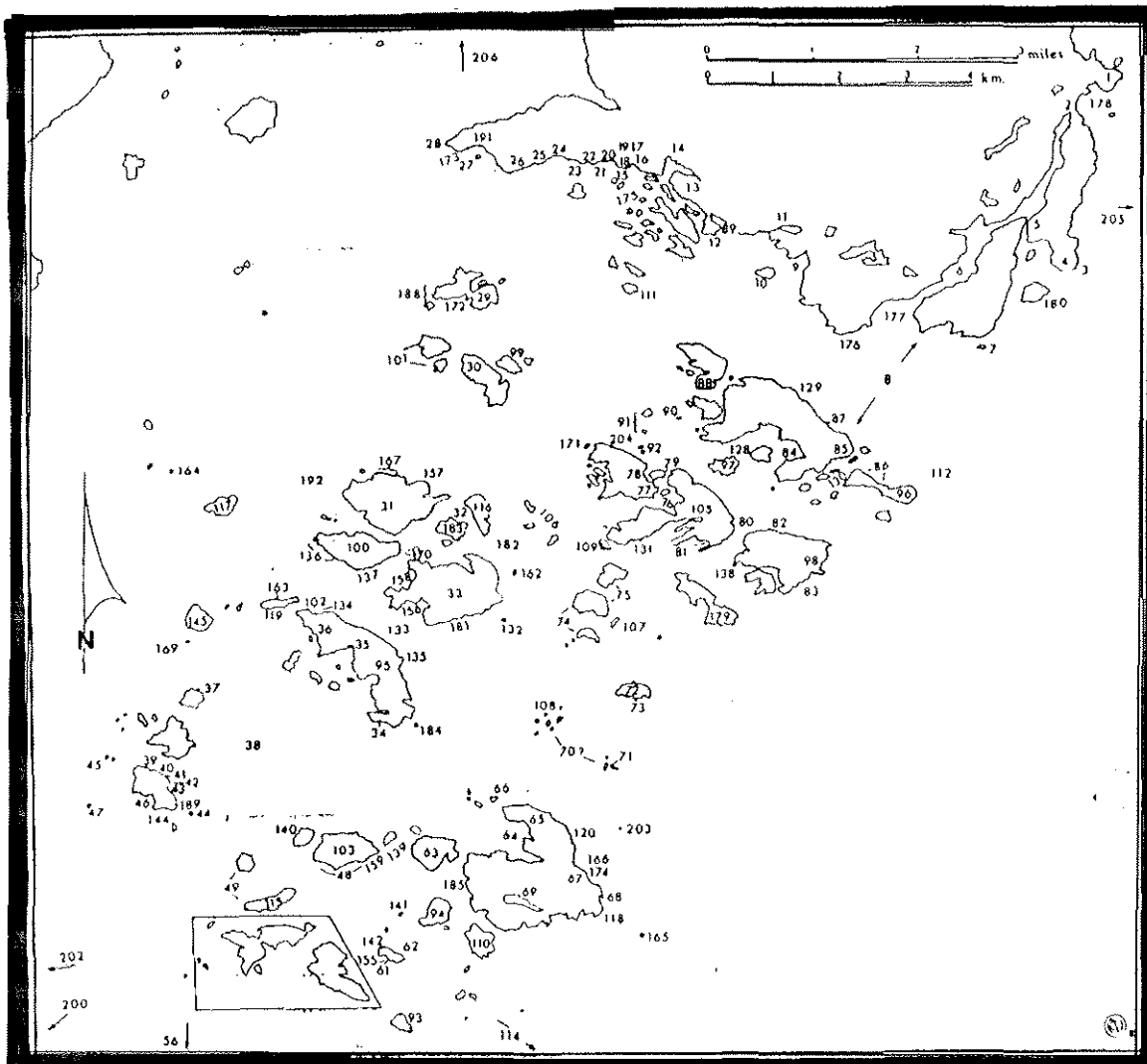


Fig. 29. Map of the western area of amalgamated Sheshaht territory with known places numbered (for key see Appendix A).

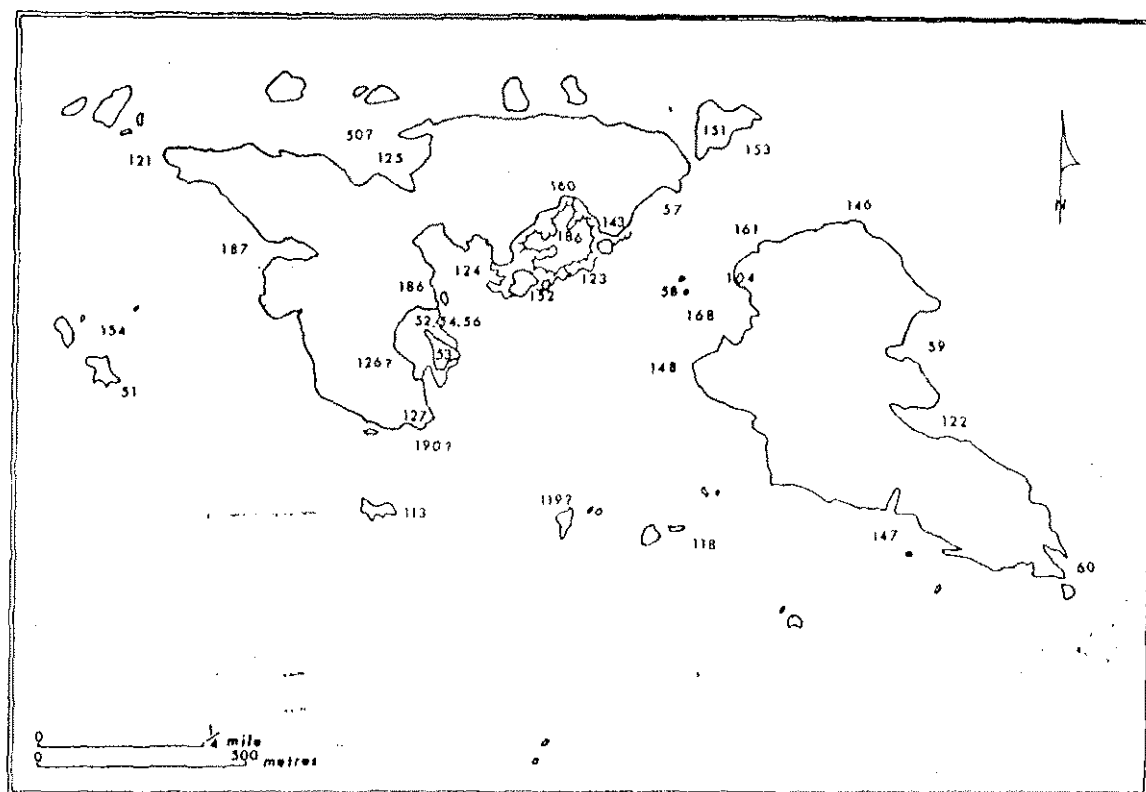


Fig. 30. Detail of Wouwer and Howell Islands from Fig. 29.



Fig. 311 Sayaachapis | Sheshaht in 1910 (Photo: NMC 26543) |

Yearly Round' and the '**Tsishaa** Defeat, **Ahouses'**. Both have been published.⁴⁰ From 1976 to 1983 St. Claire worked extensively with Mabel Taylor recording information on place names, site usage and seasonal round. The work of **Drucker** in 1935-36 and **Swadesh** in 1949 contain little information pertinent to the specialized interests of this report.

The place name data compiled from these sources by Cairn Crockford are presented in Appendix A, Sheshaht **Geography**. They are included to provide a geographical framework in which to locate the events of the historical traditions.

Component Groups of the Sheshaht

Before proceeding with an analysis of the historical traditions it is necessary to identify the participant groups and their relationships. There are two sources for this information: lists of group names with accompanying notes that were elicited by explicit questioning and historical traditions from which names can be gleaned.

Boas was the first to collect information on the component groups of the Sheshaht. He listed nine septs according to rank:⁴¹

1. **Ts'ēcā'ath**
2. **NE'c'asath**
3. **NEtcimū 'asath**
4. **WaninEa'th**
5. **Mā'ktl'aiath'**
6. **Tla'sEnuesath**
7. **Ha'mēyisath**



Fig. 32. Mabel Taylor, Sheshaht (Photo: BCPM 1983B:262).

8. Ku'tssEmhaath

9. Kuai'ath

The Ekū'lath (bushes on hill people) and the Hatcā'ath were listed as separate tribes.⁴²

In 1910 Frank Williams listed ten "bands of Ts!icya^ath^a" although he was "not certain about the order of the septs."⁴³

1. Ts!icyā'^ath^a
2. Nac^εas^εath^a
3. Hatc!^a'^ath^a
4. Makl^εaiya'th^a
5. Hikuł^εath^a
6. Natcim^εoas^εath^a
7. Mok'wa'^εath^a
8. Wanine^εa'th^a
9. L!asimi'is^εath^a
10. Hem^εaiyis^εath^a

These bands were "originally separate tribes that joined together to make bigger tribe".⁴⁴

Mr. Bill listed eight "septs of the Ts!icya^ath^a:"

1. Ts!icyā^εath^a or Ts!icya^εath^ataqemił
2. Nac^εas^εath^a
3. Natcimwas^εath^a
4. MakL^εai^εath^a
5. L!asimis^εath^a
6. Wanina^εath^a

7. Hík'ũł'atH^a

a. Hatc!á'atH^a

The last two "were really another tribe".⁴⁵

Ethnographic texts collected by Sapir from two other Sheshaht respondents, Sayaachapis and William, add significantly to our understanding of the relationship between these groups and the process of amalgamation to form the modern Sheshaht. The first, recorded in 1910 from Sayaachapis, listed eight "bands" of the Ts!icyá'atH^a:⁴⁶

1. Ts!icya'atH^ataqemíł, main village was Ts!icya' in winter and summer (Sheshaht #41)
2. Nac'as'atH^a or 'oq'wátis'atH^a, main village was 'oq'wátis (Sheshaht #18)
3. MakL'ai'atH^a, "higher than others", main village was MakL'ai (Sheshaht #52)
4. Hémaiyis'atH^a, main village was Hémaiyis (Sheshaht #43)
5. Muk'wa'atH^a, on island Muk'wa'a' (Sheshaht #36)
6. Wánína'atH^a, main village was Hík'wis (Sheshaht #22) old village was Wanín (Sheshaht #19)
7. Natcimi'as'atH^a, "people (who have) whale fins all around (their) island"
- a. L'asimi's'atH^a, main village Hík'wis, formerly occupied L'asimí's (Sheshaht #21)

According to Sayaachapis "one band is not higher than another; chief of one band is as high as another. These bands became one because united in war against other tribes."⁴⁷

The Ts!icya^{ath}, were centred at Benson Island. Sayaachapis described them as one **tribe** with four bands:⁴⁸

1. ta^{ac}ath^a (located at Sheshaht #40)
2. Ts!icyā^{ath} (located at Sheshaht #41)
3. T!ok!waq!L!á'ath^a (located at Sheshaht #42)
4. Hém!yis^{ath} (located at Sheshaht #43)

The main chief was from the Ts!icya^{ath}. He owned the island. The other three bands "came from **them** by moving to **other beaches** because crowded".⁴⁹ The Hém!yis^{ath}, were described by Sayaachapis as slaves living in separate houses because Ts!icyā proper was too crowded. The first to come to Hemayis was Qwāyáts!ik'uł, who drifted **there** from an unknown place. He was not a slave and became chief of the village.⁵⁰

Sayaachapis named a fifth group of the Ts!icyā^{ath}, the Nanatsukw!łtaqem!ł. Nanatsukw!ł was another person from an unknown region who drifted into Ts!icya after the flood. He married **the** eldest daughter of **the** Ts!iaya^{ath} chief and established his house at the village.⁵¹

William listed five "tribes" in order of rank within the Ts!icya^{ath}:⁵²

1. Ts!icya^{ath}, including Mukwa^{ath}
2. Wanin^{ath}
3. 'oqwát!isath^a
4. L'asim!is^{ath}
5. Hemayis^{ath}

William described **the** territory of these groups as **the** western side of the Broken Group Islands including Benson, Clarke, Turret, Dodd, Willis,

Keith. **Jarvis**, Brabant and Hand Islands, the Pinkerton Islands and the Vancouver Island shoreline (Fig. 33:II). The **Wanin^εatH^a**, the **'oq^εwatisatH^a** and the **L'asim^εis^εatH^a** "had their own secondary chiefs and places to live, but owned no country, were **má'stcim** of the **Ts'icya^εatH^a** and always moved where **Ts'icya^εatH^a** moved."⁵³ Their land belonged to **Ts'icya^εatH^a**.⁵⁴

In his version of the "Legendary History of the **Ts'icya^εatH^a**" William described the formation of the **Muk'wa^εatH^a**.⁵⁵ The eldest son of the head chief of **Ts'icya** died. The chief burned his house and abandoned the village moving to **Muk'wa^εa** on Turret Island (Sheshaht #36). Here he founded a new village, and was joined by his brothers. Because they had moved away from **Ts'icya** they ceased to be chiefs of that village⁵⁶ but they were still considered part of the **Ts'icya^εatH^a**.
Syaachapis related:

Ts'icya^εatH^a kept apart from **Muk'wa^εatH^a** when wealth was distributed; **Ts'icya^εatH^a** would come before **Muk'wa^εatH^a**; these two always invited together, because always considered one tribe.⁵⁷

The **Nác^εas^εatH^a** or **'oq^εwatis^εatH^a** were considered by Syaachapis originally to have been a separate group. The name **Nác^εas^εatH^a** refers to the flood legend, the name **'oq^εwatis^εatH^a** refers to the mountain behind the village where they tied onto during the flood and also to the beach in front. He listed four "families" for the **Nác^εas^εatH^a**⁵⁸:

1. **Tc!omap^εis'atH^a**, "people of little point" (Sheshaht #17)
2. **k!ĩ'na?a'atH^a**, "people of k!ĩ'na?a creek " (Sheshaht #16)
3. **L'asimiyis'atH^a**, "people of L'asimiyis creek (Sheshaht #21)
4. **'oq^εwatis'atH^a**, "people of fine on the beach" (Sheshaht #18)

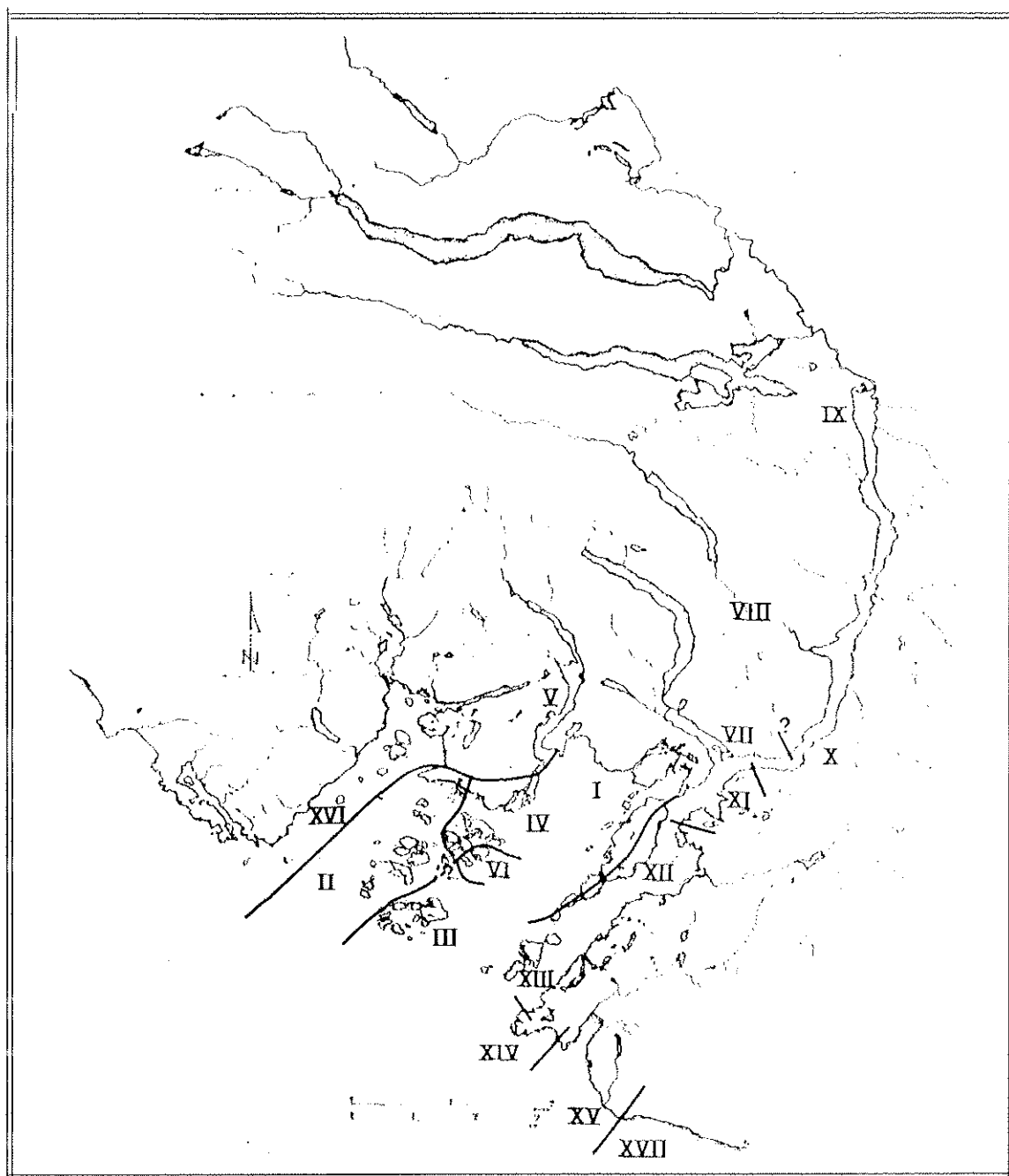


Fig. 33. Reconstruction of Sapir's map of tribal territories in Barkley Sound based on interview of William in 1914.

I*	Hikul'ath ^a	X	Ts!omas'ath ^a
II	Ts!icya'ath ^a	XI	P!op!om'a'ath ^a
III	MakL'ai'ath ^a	XII	Ho?ai'ath ^a
IV	Hate'a'ath ^a	XIII	Ki'x'inI'ath ^a
V	?a'uts'ath ^a	XIV	Tc!mat'aqso'ath ^a
VI	T!o'mak'Lai'ath ^a	xv	?an.aq'L'a'ath ^a
VII	Houtc'uq'Lis'ath ^a	XVI	T'ok'wa'ath ^a
VIII	Na'mint'ath ^a	XVII	Nitinat
IX	Ts!omas'ath ^a		

* The Roman numerals correspond to Sapir's coding.

Each family had its own chief and village. The main chief lived in **ʰoqʷatɪs**.

According to Sayaachapis a fifth group, the **WanɪnʰatHʰ**, joined the **NáçʰasʰatHʰ**:

WanɪnʰatHʰ were really **MakLʰaɪʰatHʰ** but chief of the **ʰoqʷatɪsatHʰ** gave salmon creek on mainland named **Wanɪn** (Sheshaht #19) in exchange for copper. whence their name; this family built village on mainland and became **separate ʰuctaqemɪʔ** tho they kept up relations with Storm Island (i.e. **Maklɪ**).⁵⁹

Where this group came from in **MakLʰaɪʰatHʰ** territory was not recorded. The copper may relate to sheet copper, a popular trade item in the early historic period. . .

According to Sayaachapis the **TsʰɪçyaʰatHʰ** conquered the **NáçʰasʰatHʰ** and took their country as **hɪsʰõkʰt** "Only their **NáçʰasʰatHʰ** relatives were preserved". This was when the **TsʰɪçyaʰatHʰ** moved to **Hɪkwɪs**.⁶⁰

The **MákLʰaɪʰatHʰ** were originally a separate people with distinct territory **centred** on **Wouwer** Island. Sayaachapis described them as "one tribe with four bands":⁶¹

1. **MákLʰaɪʰatHʰ** (located at Sheshaht #52)
2. **ʰostʰɪsʰatHʰ** (located at Sheshaht #54)
3. **TʰɪmɪkʰaqʰɪsʰatHʰ** (located at Sheshaht #55)
4. **TcʰapʰɪsʰatHʰ** or **NatcʰimwasʰatHʰ** (located at Sheshaht #53)

Each of these bands owned not only its village but also a number of islands which were considered family property.⁶² The main chief was from the **MákLʰaɪʰatHʰ**. Sayaachapis later listed two family groupings for this band:⁶³

1. K!walo'astaqemix
2. Hayuqwi'acteqemix

William mentioned another subgroup of the **MakL^{ai}ath^a**:

Used to be village at **hóts!atswix** (Sheshaht #62)
inhabited by **hots!atswixath^a**, on top of hill, sept
of **Makl!ai'ath^a**.⁶⁴

"When William "as young (the **MakL!ai'ath^a**) had already joined **Ts!icya^{ai}ath^a**, also during his father's days; thinks they joined before white people came --- Joined because reduced in **numbers** by fighting with **Hatc!á'ath^a**."⁶⁵ **MakLai'ath^a** territory was described by William as including **Wouwer**, **Howell**, **Dicebox**, **Effingham** and **Wiebe** Islands⁶⁶ (Fig. 33:III). According to William when they joined the **Ts!icya^{ai}ath^a** and "even no" drift rights in **MakLai'ath^a** country went to **MakLai^{ai}ath^a** chief, not **Ts!icya^{ai}ath^a**."⁶⁷

Another independent group, the **T!o'mak'Lai'ath^a**, "as discussed by William but not included in any of the lists of Sheshaht bands. According to William they "never joined the **Ts!icya^{ai}ath^a** but disappeared even before white people came. Village "as at northeast side of Gibraltar Island in little bay within three small rocks"⁶⁸ (Sheshaht #28). William described their country as small (Fig. 33:IV). It was lost to the **Hatc!á'ath^a** "long before his father "as young."⁶⁹ What happened to the people "as not recorded.

The **Hatc!á'ath^a** were another independent group whose territory in the Broken Group Islands included **Prideaux**, **Reeks** and **Jaques** Islands (Fig. 33:IV). There is only one reference to a named group in this area. **Sayaachapis** while relating names he had rights to, named the

Hop'kisaqó'atH^a, "a band of Hatc!a'atH^a formerly living on island of Hop'kisaqó'a"⁷⁰ (Jaques Island, Sheshaht #81).

The Hiku⁴'atH^a were another independent tribe who became part of the amalgamated Sheshaht. William listed three subgroups of this tribe and their territories:

1. T!tc!iminActa qemix, west side of Tzartus Island, Chain Croup Islands
2. 'yaqéLimif'atH^ataqemix, north shore of Imperial Eagle Channel from Seddall Island to Vernon Bay,
3. Tcutcú'up' taqemix, Chup Point area

Their main village was at hiku⁴.⁷¹

Based on analysis and interpretation of this information a minimum of six independent local groups have been identified. They are listed below with their known component groups.

1. Ts!icya'atH^a
 - a. L'a^các^catH^a
 - b. Ts!icyá^catH^a
 - c. T!ok!waq'L!a'^catH^a
 - d. Hemiyis^catH^a
 - e. Nanatsukwix^ctaqemix
 - f. Muk'wa^catH^a
2. Ná^cas^catH^a
 - a. Tc!omapis'atH^a
 - b. K!l̄'na?á'atH^a
 - c. L!asimiyis'atH^a

- d. $\text{C}^{\circ}\text{oq}^{\circ}\text{watis}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}$
- e. $\text{Wanin}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}$
- 3. $\text{MakL}^{\circ}\text{ai}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}$
 - a. $\text{MakL}^{\circ}\text{ai}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}$
 - $\text{K}^{\circ}\text{walo}^{\circ}\text{astaqemi}\text{X}$
 - $\text{Hayuqwi}^{\circ}\text{acteqemi}\text{X}$
 - b. $\text{C}^{\circ}\text{ost}^{\circ}\text{is}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}$
 - c. $\text{T}^{\circ}\text{imik}^{\circ}\text{aq}^{\circ}\text{is}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}$
 - d. $\text{Tc}^{\circ}\text{ap}^{\circ}\text{is}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}$ or $\text{Nac}^{\circ}\text{imwas}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}$
 - e. $\text{Hots}^{\circ}\text{atswi}\text{XatH}^{\text{a}}$
 - f. $\text{Wanin}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}$ (later joined the $\text{Nac}^{\circ}\text{as}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}$)
- 4. $\text{T}^{\circ}\text{o}^{\circ}\text{mak}^{\circ}\text{Lai}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}$
- 5. $\text{Hac}^{\circ}\text{!a}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}$
 - a. $\text{Hop}^{\circ}\text{kisaq}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}$
- 6. $\text{Hiku}\text{XatH}^{\text{a}}$
 - a. $\text{Titc}^{\circ}\text{iminActaqemi}\text{X}$
 - b. $\text{'yaq}^{\circ}\text{elimix}^{\circ}\text{atH}^{\text{a}}\text{taqemi}\text{X}$
 - c. $\text{Tcutc}^{\circ}\text{u}^{\circ}\text{up}^{\circ}\text{taqemi}\text{X}$

Two of the **septs** listed by Boas, the $\text{Ku}^{\circ}\text{tssEmhaath}$ and the $\text{Kuai}^{\circ}\text{ath}$ are anomalies and have not been included.

Historical Traditions

Much of the **information** on Sheshaht history occurs as ethnographic notes rather than as narrative. There are, however, a number of historical traditions which provide insight into the changing political

structure within what became amalgamated Sheshsht territory. The traditions selected for discussion include:

"How the **Hikuł'ath^a** Explored the Head of Alberni Canal,"

told by William;

"The **Ucluelets** Seize **Effingham Inlet**," told by Kwishanishim;

"**Tsishaa** Defeat **Ahousets**," told by **Sayaachspis**;

"The **Long** War in Barkley Sound: told by Kwishanishim;

"The Yearly Round"; told by **Sayaachapis**.

Notes gleaned from other respondents that have information that relates to these traditions also will be included for analysis and discussion.

"How the **Hikuł'ath^a** Explored the Head of Alberni Canal" was told to **Sapir** by William in 1913-14.⁷² It has not been published. According to this tradition the **Hikuł'ath^a** were the first to explore the head of Alberni Canal. "This land was unknown; not one of all the tribes new of it."⁷³ It was a young chief from **hikuł** who discovered a village inhabited only by women at the head of the Canal. "The one who found this place was my former grandfather, a long time ago."⁷⁴ Later a marriage was arranged with the daughter of the **Ts'óma?as'ath^a** chief. The **Hikuł'ath^a** received half their land as dowry.⁷⁵

The **Hatc!á'ath^a** also expanded their territory to include the **Somass** River at the head of Alberni Canal. According to **Tyee Bob**:

The **Hatc!á'ath^a** were first to come up here and occupied country from flats up to forks of river. **Hikuł'ath^a** came after **Hatc!á'ath^a** and took in country . . . on west aide of river; they and **Hatc!á'ath^a** used to fight about fishing places.⁷⁶

Hamilton George, another Opetchesaht respondent, related:

It was **Hikūf'ath^a** Indians who first pushed up Alberni Canal . . . Coast Indians were jealous of those about Sproat Lake because of their good hunting and river fishing country . . . these Nanaimo-like people . . . were displaced by **Hikūf'ath^a** who held West side of Somas River and **Hate!á'ath^a** who held east side. . . **Ts'icyath^a** were last to come up Alberni Canal.⁷⁷

Johnny Yocum told Sapir that it was the **Ts'omá'as'ath^a**, a distinct tribe, who owned the Somass River. They fought with the "**Hate!á'ath^a** and **Hikūf'ath^a** for lands about head of Alberni Canal, before **Ts'icá'ath^a** came in from coast."⁷⁸ Sayaachapis related a slightly different sequence of events:

Hikufath^a and **Hate!á'ath^a** banded together against **Ts'omasah** and got their land (as **his'ōk't**). This was before white people came. **Ts'icyath^a** came to help **Hikufath^a** and **Hate!á'ath^a** later.⁷⁹

The Haachaht were involved in a number of other territorial expansions. According to William territory added as **his'ōk't** included that of the **'á'uts'ath^a**, centred in Effingham Inlet, and that of the **T'o'mák'Laí'ath^a** on Gibraltar Island in the Broken Group Islands.⁸⁰ According to Sayaachapis they also fought with the **MakLaí'ath^a**, **Natc'imwas'ath^a** and **Wanin'ath^a** who were "reduced to 15 men . . . All this happened before **Ts'icyath^a** moved to **Híkwis;** hence (the three tribes) formed one with **Ts'icyath^a** on island of **Ts'icá**. (**Nác'as'ath^a** not yet incorporated)".⁸¹ The village of Omoah (Shesahat #67) likely became **Hate!á'ath^a** at this time.

Haachaht territorial expansion also figured prominently in "The Ucluelets Seize Effingham Inlet," a war story told by **Kwishanishim**, a Ucluelet, to Alex Thomas in 1914.⁸² The conflict began as a dispute

between the **Haachaht** and Toquaht over land at **kacna?a** (Sheshaht 626) located near **Equis** (Sheshaht 822). This occurred "before the Tsishaa had come into possession of the land of Hiikwis."⁸³ A jumping competition was arranged to settle the matter in which the Toquaht competitor was killed. Both sides claimed victory, and war broke out. In one night raid the **Haachaht** killed "a group of **Ucluelet**, mistaking them for Toquahts. The Ucluelets sought revenge and together with the Clayoquot, who brought with them the first guns, attacked and defeated the Baachaht at the fortified village of Tayaanita (Sheshaht #3 on Alma Russell Island). According to Peter **Kishkish** one-third of the **Haachaht** people were killed and the survivors scattered."⁸⁴

In another version of the jumping competition it was the Sheshaht and the Toquaht who competed. Again the Toquaht competitor was killed and both sides claimed victory. Blenkinsop wrote in 1874:

Years of dispute and contention have even now left undecided the right to Pt. **Lyall**, Ah. **to.shep** (Sheshaht #28), between the **To.kwah.ahts** and the Seshahahts. each party up to the time of my arrival claims it as their exclusive right and actually felt like the old feud in my presence.⁸⁵

William also mentioned fighting between the Toquaht and Sheshaht over the boundary in this region.⁸⁶

The third tradition "Tsishaa Defeat **Ahousets**", is another war tradition.⁸⁷ At the time the Sheshaht were living at "**Hutsatsswithl**" (Dicebox Island, Sheshaht 662). A passing party of Ahousahts killed a fisherman from the village. In revenge the Sheshaht ambushed the Ahousaht canoes on their return up coast. In the battle, fought with bows, arrows and shields of whale shoulderblades, the Ahousaht were defeated.

The Sheshaht also were involved in territorial expansion obtaining the Sarita River on the eastern shore of **Barkley** Sound. There are two accounts, one by Sayaachapis and one by William, of this event. Both agree that the Sheshaht used to own the Sarita River, Sayaachapis claimed that "the **Ts'icya^catH^a** killed off "the tribe who lived there (the **?eniq'cīL'atH^a**) and got the Sarita River as **his'ōk't** before the **Alberni** country.⁸⁸ William, on the other hand, said that the **Ho'ai'atH** killed off the **?eniq'cīL'atH^a**, and that the Sarita River was given **to** the Sheshaht by them as **tutcha**, to help them against an enemy. This happened at the time of William's grandfather, long after the **Alberni** country.⁸⁹

"The Long War in **Barkley** Sound" is another **tradition** told by **Kwishanishim**.⁹⁰ The primary combatants were the Ucluelet and Ohiaht. The Sheshaht participated as one of the tribes allied against the Ucluelet. At the start of the war the "Ucluelet houses filled the space from end to end at **Hikwis**"⁹¹; they "always lived at **Hikwis** all winter".⁹² **Himayis** (Sheshaht #43 on Benson Island), **xicxic?aq** is (Sheshaht #37 on Owen Island) and **Cleho** (Sheshaht 685 on Nettle Island) were used as camping places. During the hostilities the Sheshaht took part in raids on the Ucluelet at the **Nahmint** River, at **Yasaayis** (Sheshaht #14) and at **Waayi** (Ucluelet #30). The Sheshaht were not attacked by the Ucluelet in the **Kwishanishim** tradition although **Blenkinsop**, writing in 1874, inferred that they did not escape the hostilities. He wrote:

This tribe not many years since were obliged to seek the protection of the **Oheh,ahts** in order to escape total destruction at the hands of the **U.tloo.ilthl,ahts** . . .

Increasing after a time in numbers and their enemies becoming less warlike, the **Se.shah.ahts** again returned to the homes of their forefathers at **E.kwis** . . . 93

Sayaachapis talked of the time when the war was over in "The Yearly Round" :

I saw Hiikwis at the time the Tsishaa Tribe ceased to be at war with the **Ucluelet**. I was still a small boy.94

We always moved away (~~from Hiikwis~~) when the herring finished spawning. We would go to **Huumuuwa** (Sheshaht #67), the whole Tsishaa Tribe staying together because the war **had** ended only recently. We did not want to get separated.95

Sayaachapis was born in 1843. It was not until he was "a young man" that peace seemed a reality. He related:

War was (**no** longer) in season. **So** the Tsishaa moved apart. The Maktlii tribe to Maktlii (**Storm/Wouwer** Island). The Tsishaa Band was with the Nachimwas at Tsishaa. The Himayis people went to Himayis. The **Wanin** people went to **Wanin**. The **Nashas** people went to Dutch **Harbour**. The Tlasimiyis people went to Tlasimiyis. The **Hachaa** people lived on Village Island, for that **was** their land. The **Hikuuthl** people went to **Shaahuwis**. I used to live at **Mokwa'a**.96

In 1874 Blenkinsop described the Sheshaht as an expansionistic people, having acquired first the territory of the "**Haht.chah.aht**" and the territory of the "**E.koolth.aht**". He wrote:

About sixty years since being hard pressed by the other **Indians**, and having through sickness and war become unable to cope with their enemies, they (the **E.koolth.aht**) of their own accord joined the **Se.shah.ahts**, as they say for protection only and did not at the time surrender the right to control their own **lands**.97

In fact, they had lost control of their territory, Blenkinsop described Chief **Hylth.che.nuk** and a number of his people as living "a wandering life . . . having no village they can call their own."98

In 1874, Equis (Sheshaht #22) was the Sheshaht winter village, the principal fisheries were at **Omoah** (Sheshaht #67 on **Village/Effingham** Island), **Se,shah** (Sheshaht #41 on **Green/Benson** Island) and on one or two other islands of the Broken Group. On the map accompanying his report, however, six fishing stations were plotted: one each on Wouwer, Turret, Dodd and Chalk (?) Islands, and two on Nettle Island.⁹⁹ The principal salmon fishery was on the **Somass** River.

Summary

The events leading to the formation of the modern Sheshaht were violent. The primary **cause** of amalgamation in all cases appears to be related directly or indirectly to warfare. A discussion of these events and a reconstruction of the sequence of the amalgamation process follows.

Prior to the changes brought about by territorial expansions and conflicts, outlined above a minimum of five independent local groups existed in the region of the Broken Group Islands: The **Ts'icya'ath^a** at Tsicya (Sheshaht #41 on Benson Island), **hemayis** (Sheshaht #43 on Benson Island) and **Muk'wa'a** (Sheshaht #36 on Turret Island); the **Mak'L'ai'ath^a** at **MakLai** (Sheshaht #52 on Wouwer Island) and **hots!atswil** (Sheshaht #62 on Dicebox Island); the **T'o'mak'Lai'ath^a** at **TomakLai** (Sheshaht #28 on Gibraltar Island); the **Haachaht** at **Haacha** (Sheshaht #3 on Alma Russell Island) and **Hop'kisaqo'a** (Sheshaht #81 on Jaques Island); and the **Nác'as'ath^a** at 'oqwatis, k'í'na'!a, Tc'ónapis and L!asimiyis (Sheshaht #18, 17, 16 and 21 on the Vancouver Island shoreline). A sixth local group, the **Hikuí'ath** was centred at **Hikuí** at the head of Imperial Eagle Channel.

The first territorial expansion was made by the **Hikuł'atH^a** and the Haachaht to the head of **Alberni** Canal. About the same time the Haachaht also took the territory of the **T'ó'mak'Lai'atH^a** by **his'ók't**. Shortly afterwards they went to **war** against the **Mak'L'ái'atH^a** reducing them to "15 men" and capturing the village of **Omoah** (Sheshaht #67). The **Mak'L'ái'atH^a** joined the **Ts'icya'atH^a** at this time as a result of the reduction in their numbers. What happened to the **T'ó'mak'Lai'atH^a** survivors was not recorded. The next conflict the Haachaht initiated was against the Toquaht. What is interesting about this territorial dispute was its location near **Hikwis**, a region that belonged to the **Nac'as'atH^a**. There are two possible explanations. The first has the Haachaht taking the **Nac'as'atH^a** territory as **his'ók't** in an undocumented war and then coming into conflict with the Toquaht; the second has the Sheshaht conquering the **Nac'as'atH^a** and coming into conflict with the Toquaht. Whatever the scenario this **region is** documented as part of **Ucluelet** territory at the start of the **Long War**. The Ucluelet could have obtained it either as **his'ók't** from the **Haachaht** in the documented conflict that occurred early in the historic period or from the Sheshaht in an unrecorded conflict inferred by Blenkinsop.

Another **conflict involving** the **Sheshaht** was against the Ahousaht. This conflict had to occur after the **Mak'L'ái'atH^a** had amalgamated with the **Tsicya'atH^a**, as the Sheshaht were living at **Hots!at'awik** (Sheshaht #62) a **Mak'L'ái'atH^a** site. Only traditional weaponry was used in the conflict leading to the conclusion that it took place before guns were readily available.

The "Long War in Barkley Sound" was the last war in which the Sheshaht were involved. The fighting had ended by the time Sayaachapis was a small boy, estimated to be around 1850. There are few details, however, regarding the Sheshaht participation in this war. At the beginning of the tradition the Ucluelet controlled several areas within Sheshaht territory including Benson Island, Owen Island, Nettle Island and the area of Equis. It is unclear where the Sheshaht were living, but it does not appear to be in the Broken Group Islands. As the Sheshaht were allied with the Ohiahts it may be at this time that they gained the Sarita River, or it may be at this time that they moved to the Somass River. At the end of the war, estimated to be around 1840, the Sheshaht re-established in Barkley Sound.

Initially the Sheshaht continued to live as an amalgamated group moving on a seasonal basis to various stations in the Broken Group Islands and along the Alberni Canal. The initial seasonal movement was from Equis, the winter village, to Omoah, the spring and summer village, to salmon fishing stations on the Alberni Canal and Somass River in the late summer and fall and then back to Equis. A number of variations to this pattern developed as the Sheshaht moved apart. The major change was the increased use of the Broken Group Islands as groups returned to their traditional sites where they set up seasonal resource camps. Equis and Omoah continued as amalgamation sites. This was the pattern observed by Blenkinsop in 1874.

By the early decades of the 1900s the Sheshaht were centred in Port Alberni at Tsahaheh (IR 1), and moved to the coast in the spring

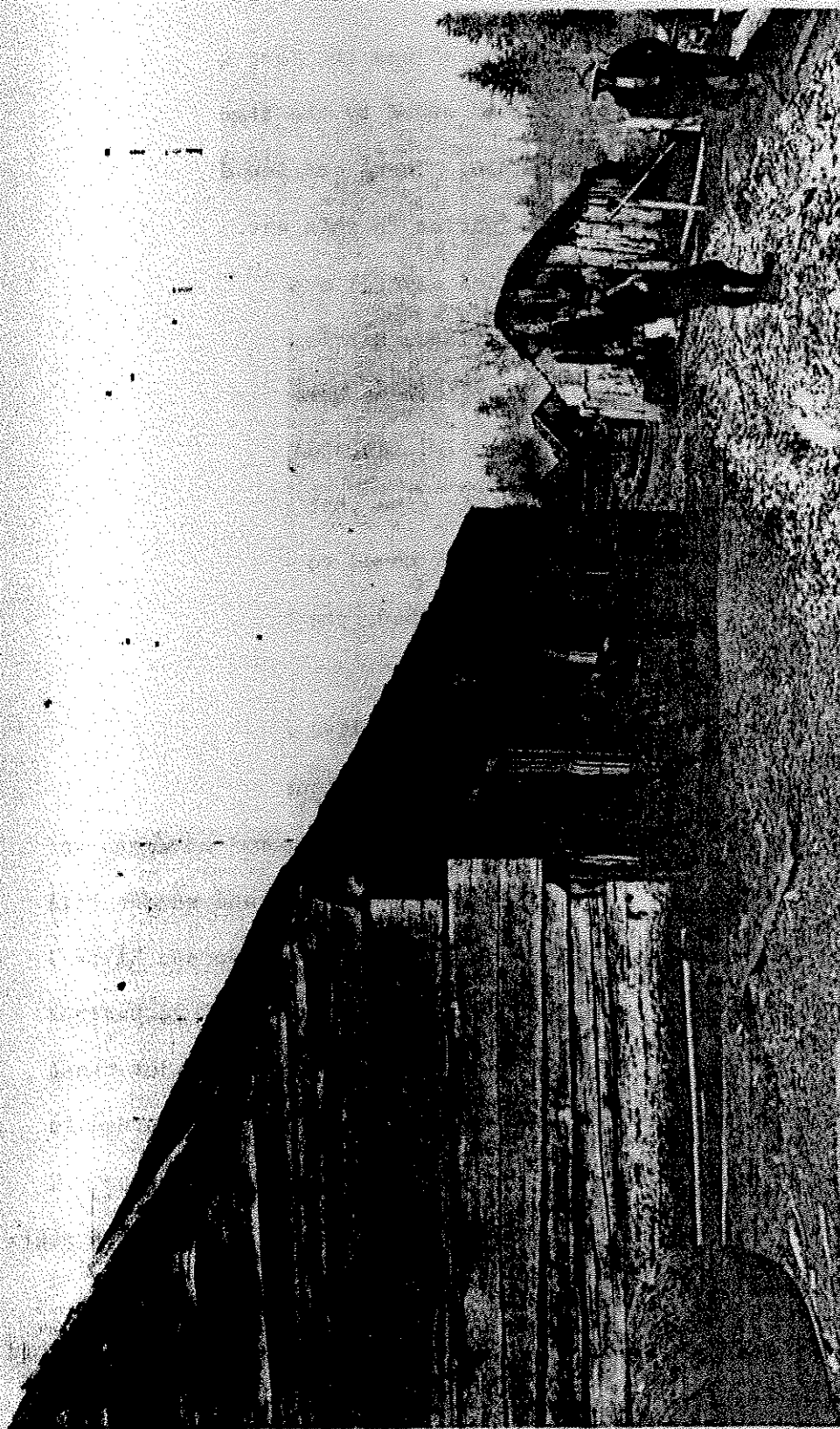


Fig. 34. Tsahahen, Sheshah Reserve #1 on Sonass River, near Alberni (Photo: NMC 26541)

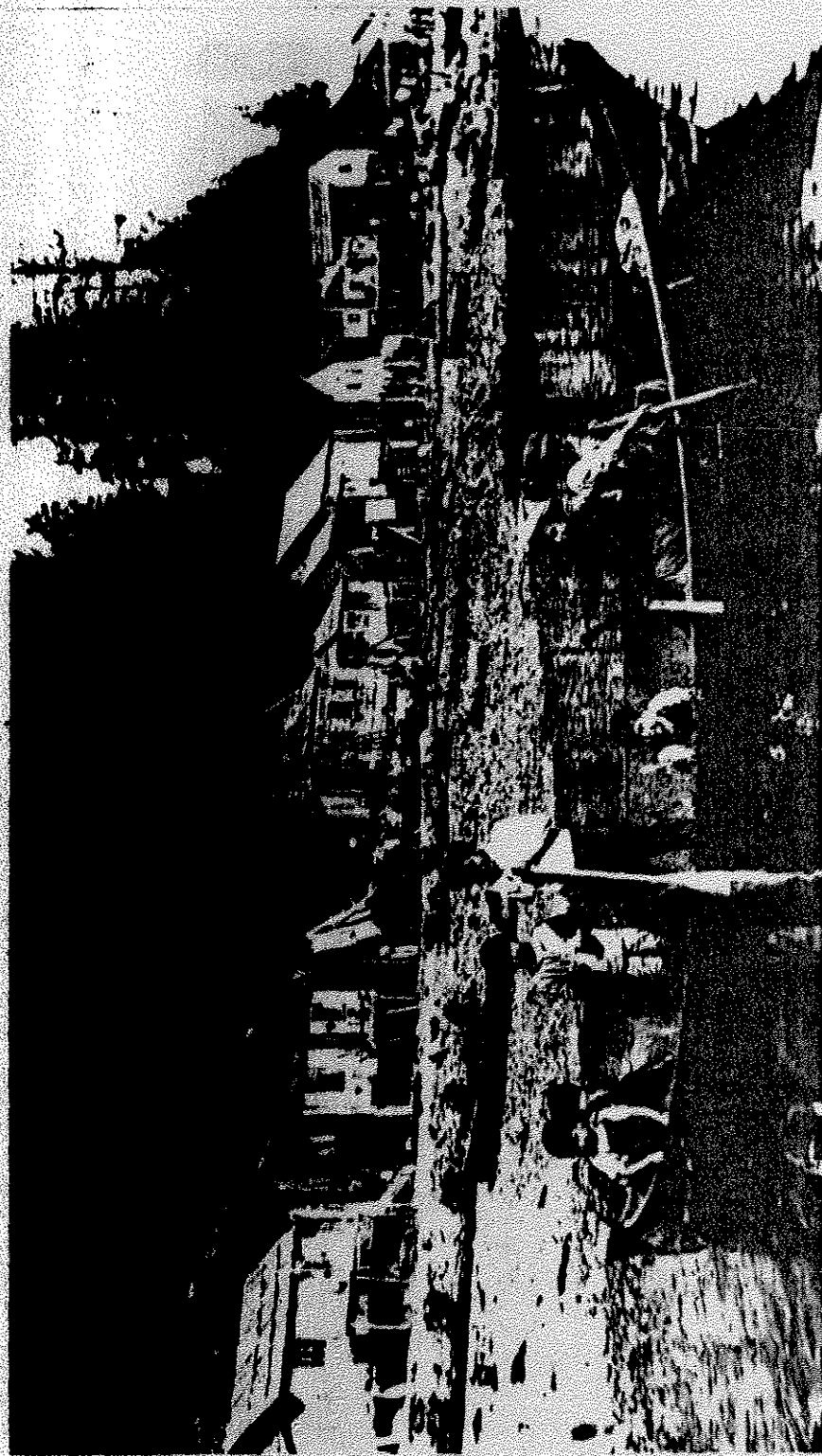


Fig. 35. Sheshaht village of Cleho (IR 6) on Nettle Island, Broken Group Islands, around 1930s (Photo: private collection).

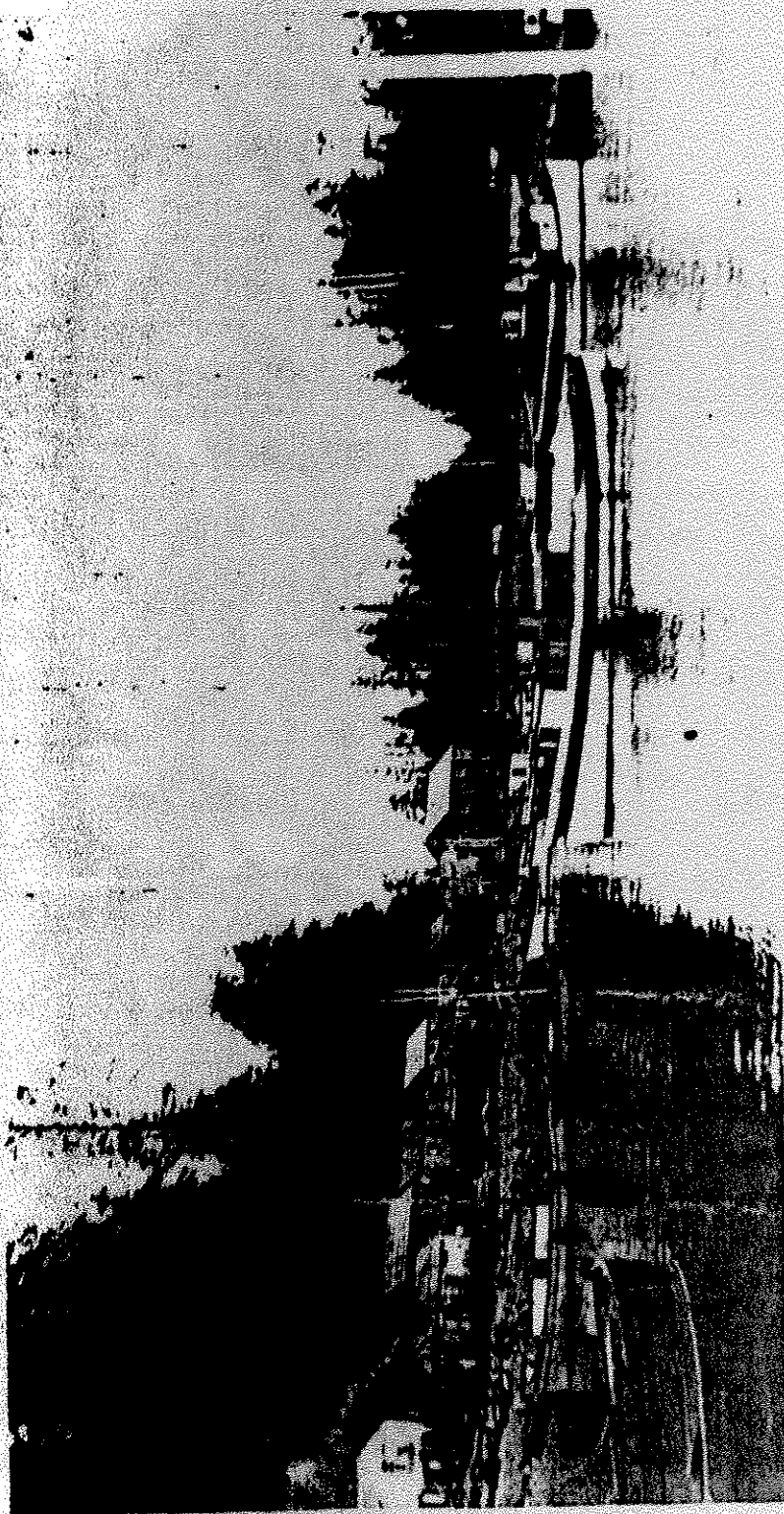


Fig. 36. Sheshaht village of Cleho (IR 6) on Nettle Island, Broken Group Islands, around 1930s (Photo: private collection).



Fig. 37. Sheshaht village of Omoah (IR 9) on Effingham Island, Broken Group Islands, around 1925 (Photo: private collection).

through the summer to villages at Cleho (Sheshaht #85), Keith Island (Sheshaht 175) and **Omoah** (Sheahaht 667).

Ucluelet History

Introduction

The **modern** Ucluelet are an historic period amalgamation of at least six **independent groups of people** who lived in the region of Ucluth Peninsula. Today they are **centred** in Ucluelet Arm at Ittatsoo IR 1. Ucluelet territory at the end of the nineteenth century extended from the area of Green Point (**ča.win?is**, Ucluelet #33), where it bordered with the Clayoquot, to the eastern entrance of Ucluelet Arm (**tu'maqʔi**, Ucluelet #1) where it bordered with the Toquaht (Fig. 38). It also included the **Nahmint** River on the Alberni Canal and **Effingham** Inlet at the head of Barkley Sound.

Our **knowledge of** Ucluelet history comes from several sources. In 1874, **George** Blenkinsop interviewed Chief **Kla.ow.wit.too.ah**, for the Indian Reserve Commissioner. **He** recorded information on **contemporary** territory, village and fishing station locations and economic activities. In 1910 and in 1913-14 **Edward Sapir** collected outline information on Ucluelet social organization from three Sheshaht respondents: Tom **Sayaach'apis**, **William** and Frank Williams. In November, 1914, Alex Thomas collected a number of texts from **Kwishanishim**, a Ucluelet elder who was born towards the end of the Long War in Barkley Sound (**ca.** 1840). His mother was Toquaht and his father was **Angryface**, a chief of the Ucluelet local group. 100

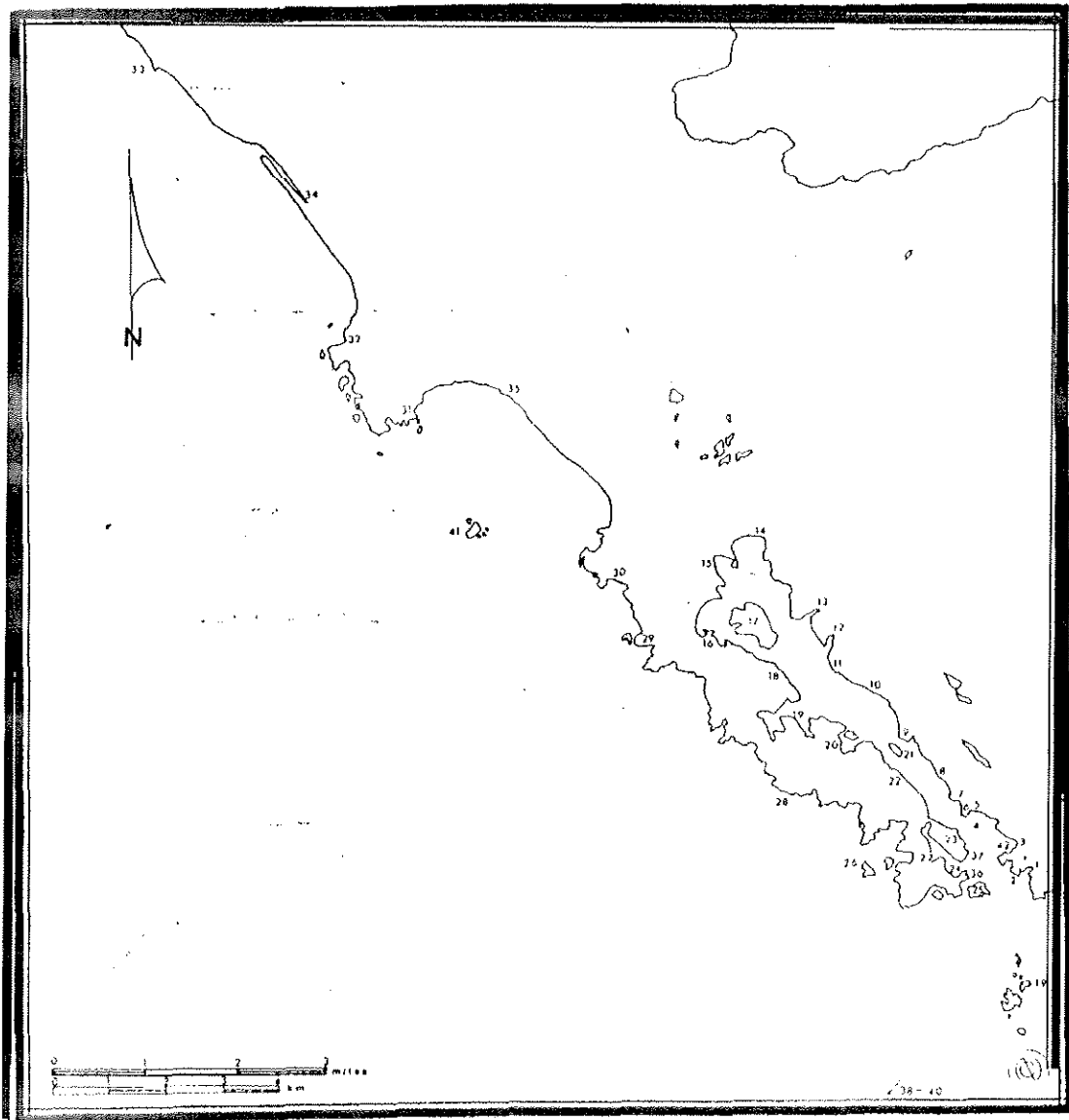


Fig. 38. Map of amalgamated Ucluelet territory with known places numbered (for key see Appendix B).



Fig. 39. Aerial view of coastline between Oo-cooth and Quisitis in Ucluelet territory
(Photo: BCPM 1984B:237).



Fig. 40. Mr. Roberts, Ucluelet (Photo: PAC c89143).

In 1981, **Denis St. Claire** collected information on Ucluelet place names, site usage and social organization during interviews with Sarah **Tutube**, Rose **Cootes**, Jim McKay and Jessie **Mack**. The place name data from the above sources have been compiled by Cairn Crockford in Appendix B, Ucluelet Geography.

Component Groups, of **the** Ucluelet

To understand the events of Ucluelet history it is first necessary to identify the various groups that formed the modern Ucluelet. Two types of ethnographic information have been used to identify groups and their relationships: listings and historical traditions.

In 1914 Alex Thomas collected a text entitled "Ucluelet Bands and Seatings" from **Kwishanishim**. In it were listed the names of seventeen bands who comprised 'the Ucluelet at that time.

1. **L!a'wiHtactaqimʔ**
2. **Hayupiʔyactaqimʔ**
3. **waʔo'atH**
4. **ts'āx'winoptaqimʔ**
5. **k!inaxom'as'atH**
6. **L'akmaqis'atH**
7. **tce'is'atH**
8. **WāLwāyactaqimʔ**
9. **hitats!o'atH**
10. **ho'oʔ'atH**
11. **t'okwī'is'atH**
12. **L'axwaqtis'atH**, died out

13. ts!akwistis'atH, died out
14. ts'aHt!as'atH, died out
15. totkwisistaqimʔ
16. yuʔu'itʔatHsa
17. ʔaʔat sqicraqimʔ, bald-headed people¹⁰¹

Kwishanishim then discussed the relationships between groups. Bands 12 and 13 were part of the hitats!o'atH, but had no survivors in 1914.¹⁰² Bands 15 and 17 were part of band #5, the k!inaxom'as'atH.¹⁰³ six bands, 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 14 and 16 made up the yuʔu'itʔatH proper.¹⁰⁴ The L'a'wiHtactaqimʔ was the highest ranking of these bands. The head chief of the Ucluelet came from this group. In 1914 Tyce Jack, Lillwito'a, was the chief. His eldest daughter, Nina, held the highest seat and "would hold this seat as long as she remains unmarried, and when she marries: her younger sister (Viola) would then take her place, and like her older sister she would occupy the seat as long as she also is unmarried."¹⁰⁵ The hitats!o'atH were not represented in the seating as "those who belong to that band have gone to the other bands where they have a higher standing than they have from the hitats!o'atH".¹⁰⁶ A restructuring of the list taking into account the relationships follows:

hitats!o'atH

L'axwaqtis'atH

ts!akwistis'atH

k!inaxom'as'atH

totkwisistaqimʔ

ʔaʔasqicraqimʔ

yuʔu'ix'atH

L!a'wiHtactaqimʔ

Hayupiʔyactaqimʔ

waʔo'atH

ts'āx'winoptaqimʔ

WāLwāyactaqimʔ

t'okwi'is'atH

ts'aHt!as!atH

yuʔu'ix'atHsa

L!akmaqis'atH

tce'is'atH

ho'oʔ'atH

Tom Sayaach'apis listed three tribes with fifteen component groups (septs or bands) for the Ucluelet:

Ucluelet septs:

1. Yŭʔu'ix'atH
2. Hāyupi'Actaqemix, "lo-on-forehead family"
3. wāLwāyictaqemix, "coiled-lanyard family"
4. ts'āxwinup'taqemix, "spearing-at-neck family"

Hitats!o'ath^a septs:

1. 'i'was'ath^a
2. Ts!akwistis'ath^a
3. L!axáq'tas'ath^a, "house-in-hollow-of-wedge family"
4. L!itsát!as'ath^a, "small-neck (creek)-running-down-muddy family"
5. Ts!a'ht!as'ath^a, "creek-coming-out-of-the-woods family"

6. māsōctaḡemīʔ, "house-under-the-vlater family"

7. k!wāyímit!a'atH^a

K!inixumAs'atH^a tribe had bands:

1. Wíwita?aiktaḡemīʔ, "always-potlatching family"

2. Tot'kwíśístḡemīʔ, "always-thundering-as-they-arise-from-beach family"

3. Kwíspisístḡemīʔ, "always-going-on-the-othe,frside family"

4. Numíats' 'yak'ṭaḡemīʔ, "whose-house-is-dec&tedAwith-tcakwas is family"

"These people now amalgamated with Ucluelet".¹⁰⁷

William listed six bands for the Ucluelet area in 1914:

Tc!u'mat'atH^a, originally separate tribe. main village
at Stewart Bay

Hitáts!o'atH^a

Tcé'is'atH^a

Yuʔu'ʔ'atH^a

'Wāyí'atH^a

Ho'uʔ'atH^a

The K!inaxumAs'atH^a were listed as a **seperate** group.. They "used to talk
like Clayoquot s".¹⁰⁸

Frank Williams listed seven "septs" for the Ucluelet in 1910:

1. tce'is'atH^a = (k!wāyímit!a'atH^a), "people living on beach
near where are rocks (islands)sticking out of sand"

2. Yuíú'íí'atH^a

3. Hit'áts!o'atH^a, "people living in bay"

4. **Hin'ap!c'isath^a**, "people- living on other side, across"
5. **hó' 'uḵ'ath^a**
6. **K!inexumAS'ath^a**
7. **'wayi 'ath^a**, "people living on high hill"

Based on analysis and interpretation of this information a minimum of six local groups have been identified. They are presented below with component groups and geographic location. How many of the component groups may have been independent at an earlier time is unknown.

The **Kinaxum?as?ath** were the northermost of the Ucluelet outside local groups. They were **centred** at **Quisitis** (Ucluelet #32), present day IR 9, at the south end @Long Beach. Five component groups have been identified:

1. **Wíwita'aik'taqemíḵ**, "always potlatching family"
2. **Tót'kwísfístqemíḵ**, "always-thundering-as-they-arise-from-beach family"
3. **Kwíspisístaqemíḵ**, "always-going-on-the-other-side family"
4. **Numímats'yak'taqemíḵ**, "whose-house-is-decorated-with-tcahwasis family"
5. **?á?atsqictaqimíḵ**, "bald-headed family"

The **hu?uḵ?ath**, "flock-place-people" were the next local group south. They were **centred** at the village of **hu?uḵ** (Ucluelet #31), present day **Oo-oolth** IR 8, at the north end of Wreck Bay. No component groups have been identified,

The **yu.ḷu?iḵ?ath** local group held the outside of the **Ucluth** Peninsula. They were **centred** at the village of **yu.ḷu?iḵ** (Ucluelet

#29), within present day IR 6. Seven component groups have been identified:

1. L'a'wiHtactaqimĭ, "band of pointed stick"¹⁰⁹
2. Yuĭu'ix'ath
3. Hayupi?yactaqemĭ, "lo-on-head-f amily"
4. wa?o'atH
5. wāLwāyictaqemĭ, "coiled-lanyard family" ...
6. ts'áxwinoptaqemĭ, " spearing-at-neck family" ...
7. t'okwi'is'atH

The Hitats!o'atH^a, "people-living-in-bay" were ~~centred-in~~ Ucluelet Inlet. Seven component groups have been identified:

1. 'í'was'atH^a
2. Ts!akwistis'atH^a
3. L!axaqtas'atH^a, "house-in-hollowof-wedge family"
4. L!itsat!as'atH^a, "small-creek-running-down-muddy family"
5. Ts!aht!as'atH^a, "creek-coming-out-of-the-woods family"
6. māsoctaqemĭ, "house-under-the-water family"
7. k!wāyimit'a'atH^a o r tcé'is'atH^a, "people-living-on-beach-near-where-are-rocks-sticking-out-of-sand" ...

Two other groups also held territory within Ucluelet Inlet. The ċu.ma?as?ath main village was at ċuma.ṭa (Ucluelet #41) in Stewart Bay near the eastern entrance. The ĭakmaqisath were from ĭakmaqis (Ucluelet 814) at the head of the Inlet. No component groups have been identified for either group.

Two groups, the wa.yi.?ath (from Ucluelet #30) and the hinaṣi?is?ath (from Ucluelet 824) were within yu.ĭu?iĭ?ath territory. It is unclear

whether they are independent peoples or component groups of the **yu.ʔuʔiʔ'ath**.

The status of another group is also unclear. The **tc'ū'tcath** were named by yaksuis, one of **Drucker's** Clayoquot respondents, and described as a "small family from Ucluelet place, **tcū'tca**, moved in here (Opitsat)."¹¹⁰ **ĆuĆuʔa** (Ucluelet #19) is the name for the George Fraser Islands.

Historical Traditions

Much of the information on Ucluelet history came from five traditions told by **Kwishanishim** to Alex Thomas in 1914. Four of these were war stories **which** were published in 1955:

74. Ucluelets Seize **Namint**
75. Ucluelets Seize **Effingham** Inlet
76. Ucluelets Fight Uchucklesits
77. The Long War in Barkley Sound¹¹¹

Kwishanishim related these traditions because of the recent interest in war as a result of the outbreak of World War I. The sixth tradition, "Origin of the **ho'oʔ'ath**", is unpublished.¹¹²

Historical **events** documented in these narratives will be augmented by relevant notes collected from other respondents in the following analysis and discussion of Ucluelet history.

The "Origin of the **ho'oʔ'ath**" documents the migration of a Clayoquot group to the area of Wreck Bay.¹¹³ A Clayoquot whaler named **'a'atʔop** hunted whales in the area of **Florencia** Bay. He used the island called

qāmintc!a (Florescia Island, Ucluelet 840) as a lookout. 'a'at?op felt that whaling in this area created too many hardships so he proposed, along with the head chief t'o'waqlmik, to move to no'oł, "place for singing" (Ucluelet #31). Their relatives agreed. The ts!aht!as?ath, a subgroup of the Clayoquot who were related to them, followed. The chief, t'o'waqlmik, built his house at the new village on the hill. It was called sayātc!aq'as. 'a'at?op built his house in the middle of the village. It was called 'ap'win'as'i. Another house built was t!istcimk!wa?a, "stones piled on rocks". The house at the far end of the village was called cu'o'wath, "place for shitting". The village site was at first called no'oł. This was changed to ho'oł because the tribe was noisy and always squabbling. They became known as the ho'oł'ath, the noisy, always talking band like the small sea birds.

To cement their claim to the area the eldest daughter of chief t'o'waqlmik was given by łutcha to the son of the chief of the L!a'wihtactaqimł band of the Ucluelet local group, their neighbours to the south. The second daughter was given by łutcha to the K!inaxumAs'ath^a, their neighbours to the north.

The first of the war traditions, "Ucluelets Seize Namint"¹¹⁴ begins with the Ucluelet Arm people, the hitacu?ath, looking for a productive salmon river. Only the łakmaqisath with łakmaqis creek and Pathluus, a chief of the yu'łu?il?ath, with Yasaayis creek (Sheshaht #14) had rivers. Travelling around Barkley Sound, the hitacu?ath visited and were feasted by the Toquaht, the A'uts (Effingham Inlet people), the Uchucklesaht, the Ohlaht at Numukamis and the Namint. From these visits

they determined that the **Namint** had the best salmon. In a series of raids the **hitacu?ath**, assisted later by several other groups, defeated the **Namint**. The territory "as divided among the Ucluelet victors, the **hitacu?ath**, the **hu?uɬ'ath** who were given this right by a Toquaht warrior, and three Ucluelet component groups, the **wa.lwa.yastaqimɬ**, the **ca.x^win?upstaqimɬ** and the **tuk^wi?s?ath**.

The second war story, entitled 'Ucluelets Seize Effingham Inlet', ¹¹⁵ resulted in further territorial gain by the Ucluelets. The conflict originally "as between the Toquaht and the **Hacha?aht** and **A'uts?aht**. In one of their night raids the **Hacha?aht** mistook a Ucluelet camp for that of the Toquaht and killed all. The Ucluelets then raided the **Hacha?aht** and **A'uts?aht** in retaliation. Soon after the Clayoquot joined in, bringing with them the first guns. The **Hacha?aht** were wiped out in one raid and the survivors scattered. Later the Ucluelets alone attacked the **A'uts?aht** in their villages in Effingham Inlet. Among the Ucluelet raiders "ere the **hu?uɬ'ath**, the **hitacu?ath**, and two Ucluelet component groups, the **wa.lwa.yastaqimɬ** and the **maawicinstaqaɬ**. **Maawitsin** "as chief of the Spearing Neck Band, the **ca.x^win?upstaqimɬ**. ¹¹⁶ The **A'uts'aht** were defeated and their territory "as absorbed by the Ucluelet.

The third conflict, 'The Ucluelets Fight **Uchucklesits**', ¹¹⁷ occurred after the previous war as the Ucluelet owned Effingham Inlet. The war "as precipitated by the Uchucklesahts killing Dog-Dancer, a Ucluelet whaler who "as living among them. The Ucluelets raided in revenge, killing many Uchucklesahts. The nephew of Dog-Dancer, Two-hundred-up, "as not soothed by this action, and continued to kill Uchucklesahts secretly.

Another conflict related as part of this **tradition** was with the **Neah** Bay people. The conflict began with Two-hundred-up stealing a whale from the Makah and taking it to Himayis (Sheshaht 843) to 'butcher. The **Neah** Bay raided the Ucluelet at **Himayis** in revenge, wounding Two-hundred-up. The Ucluelet then moved to **Yasaayis** (Sheshaht #14) where Two-hundred-up died. His death brought an end to the **conflicts with** the **Uchucklesaht** and the **Makah**.

The Ucluelet local group was following a seasonal round economic pattern at the time of this tradition in order to exploit the **resources** in the new territories gained in the two previous wars. The shifts in settlement were from **hinapi.7is** (Ucluelet #24), the winter village, to **wa.yi** (Ucluelet #30), the spring village, and in the summer to the salmon rivers at Namint and Effingham Inlet. Himayis (Sheshaht 843) and **kacna?a** (Sheshaht #26) were other seasonal camps.

The "Long War in **Barkley** Sound" ¹¹⁸ happened in the time of **Kwishanishim's** father, Angryface. The conflict was characterized by numerous raids and changing **alliances** that lasted several years. The Ucluelet at this **time** lived at **Equis** (Sheshaht #22) **during** the winter, moving to Ucluelet Arm in the springtime (herring spawn season) and to Namint in the summer (drying fish season). Hostilities began with the Ucluelet "roughing up" the Toquaht. **Kwishanishim** related:

They (the **Ucluelets**) did not break the houses down. They would rough up any Tukwaa who tried to show fight. They would let him go when he was nearly dead. They only roughed him up pretty well. They did not break up their buckets, nor split the boards all to pieces nor take everything away from **them**.¹¹⁹

...

The **Toquaht** wanted revenge. They gave girls in marriage to the Ohiaht, Sheshaht, **Uchucklesaht** and **Opetchesaht** as payment to make war against the Ucluelet. "They were willing because the Ucluelets bullied every tribe."¹²⁰ A combined raid was carried out, intended to annihilate the Ucluelets while they were stopped at their camps on their way to the **Namint**. Many were spared, however, because of kinship ties with their attackers. The survivors regrouped at Yasaayis (Sheshaht #14) near Equis, "it being . . . suitable if they were at war with the tribes, since the beach was slippery and of a war party fighting there many would fall down on the beach".¹²¹ Here the Ucluelet built "a shooting platform of saplings, and set up a wall in front of the houses the whole length of Yasaayis".¹²² A series of raids and counter-raids followed, the primary adversaries being the Ucluelet and Ohiaht. The raids were generally against small parties out procuring resources or against villages when ~~the~~ men were away. One such attack by the Ohiaht and other tribes occurred at Yasaayis while the Ucluelet men were off raiding Shaahuwis (Ohiaht #188). Many Ucluelet women and children were captured, the village was set on fire and the canoes broken up. When the Ucluelet raiding party returned many were wounded and killed.¹²³ Yasaayis was abandoned. Some of the survivors went to live with their Clayoquot and Ahousaht relatives. Others went to live at Tsiithluukwis (Ucluelet #16) at the head of Ucluelet Arm. Times were hard. Kwishanishim related the impact the war had on Ucluelet seasonal movements:

It was difficult for the Ucluelets to move to **Namint** passing between the Tsishaa and **Huu'11'a** . . . They would tie the canoes together. **That** was so they would not get scattered in a fight. They would paddle off

in that formation. As soon as they left the land, they would take their guns. They would fire. . . . It was as tho the land were bursting from much shooting, since they had many guns. . . . The same way, when they moved down to the coast, they would **by tied** together and shooting as they went. 1 %

The Ucluelet then moved to **wa.yi** (Ucluelet # 30) where they could fish for halibut. While the men were out on the halibut banks the Ohiaht and other tribes attacked again, setting the village **on-fire**. The fires were seen by the Ucluelets from **k^wisitⁱs** (Ucluelet #32) and **hu?uʔ** (Ucluelet #31) and the Clayoquots from Esowista. All rushed to the fight but by the time they arrived the raiders had left. Among those killed were three chiefs of the Ucluelets. The Ucluelet moved from **Waayⁱ** into Ucluelet Arm. "They no longer lived at **Waayⁱ**".¹²⁵ After several other raids the fighting was brought to an end by the exchange of women.¹²⁶

Contemporary respondents provided details on the fortunes of some of the other Ucluelet groups. According to Rose Cootes the **hitacu?ath** were once a "big tribe" who were "cleaned off" on the way to or at the **Nahmint** River by the Ohiahts. The **hita²cu?ath** turned to the **kinaxum?as?ath** for assistance, offering them fishing rights at the **Namint** and a village site in Ucluelet Inlet.¹²⁷

The **kinaxuma?as?ath** were also decimated by war. According to Sarah Tutube they were attacked by a combined Opitsat and 'Ahousaht force and nearly wiped out.¹²⁸

Blenkinsop described the Ucluelet as once holding the "position of notorious pre-eminence" in **Barkley** Sound and of being the "terror of their neighbours".¹²⁹ In 1874 the population was 280 men, women and children.¹³⁰ They were living in "two villages, distant from each other

about four hundred yards. . . . named **Kwi.yim.tah** (Ucluelet #7) and **Ik.tate.so** (Ucluelet #5), the latter being the largest and nearest to the sea."¹³¹ They had four fishing stations for halibut on the seaboard: **U.tloo.ilthl** (Ucluelet #29), **Wy.ee** (Ucluelet #30), **Kwis.it.is** (Ucluelet 832) and **Oo.oolth** (Ucluelet 831). They had "no summer village in which they all congregate for the season similar to the other tribes (in Barkley Sound), but scatter over the Sound and its different arms securing food and (dogfish) oil until the arrival of severe weather compels them to go into winter quarters".¹³² The Namint River was still the principal salmon fishing station of the Ucluelet. By the end of the century, however, the **Namint** was no longer used as "all would go sealing and be absent for long periods of time".¹³³

Summary

The four war traditions are a **yu.lu?il?ath** local group version of Ucluelet history. This should not be surprising as **Kwishanishim** was of the **L'a'wih'tactaqimX**, the highest ranking of the **yu.lu?il?ath** component groups. He was a younger brother of the chief's (**Tyee** Jack) father. From these traditions, the **yu.lu?il?ath** are pictured as an aggressive, expansionistic people who were involved for much of the early historic period in a series of conflicts with a number of other groups in Barkley Sound. the **Toquaht**, the **Haachaht**, the **A'uts'ath**, the **Sheshaht**, the **Uchucklesaht**, the **Opetchesaht** and the **Ohiaht** as well as the **Makah**. These wars either directly or indirectly were responsible for the formation of the Ucluelet as we know them today. A discussion of these events and a reconstruction of the sequence of the amalgamation follows.

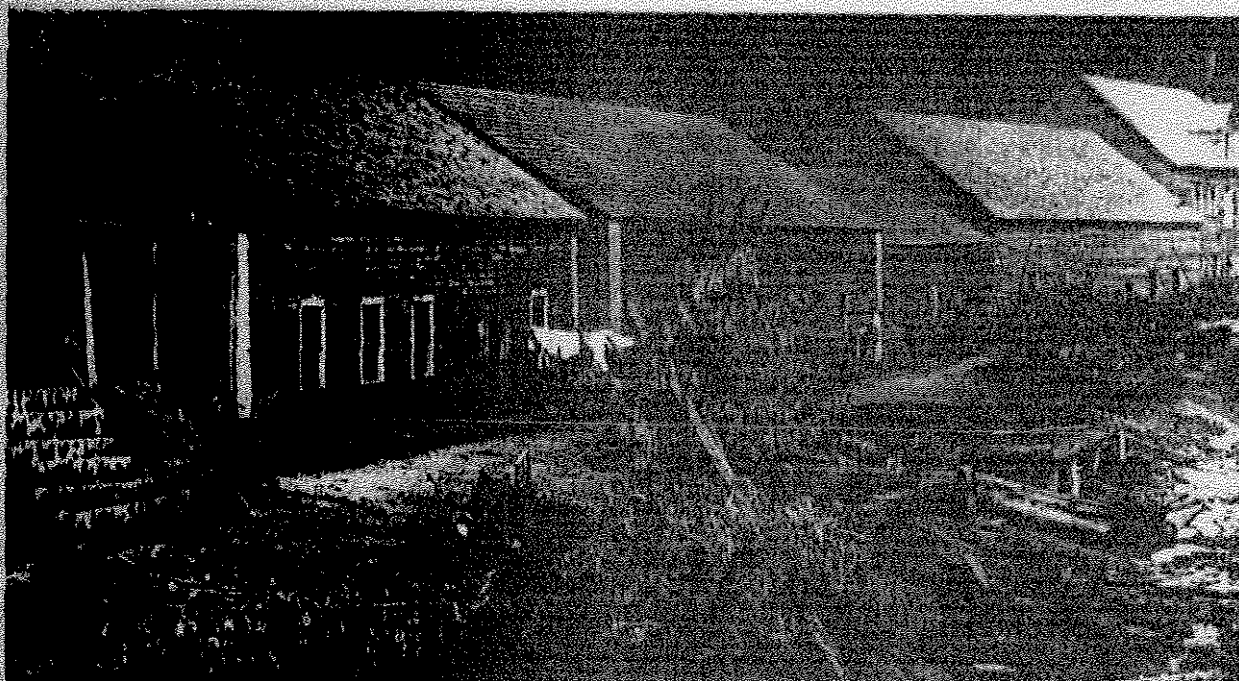


Fig. 41. Ucluelet village of Itatsd (IR 5) around 1905
(Photo: BCPM PN 1176).

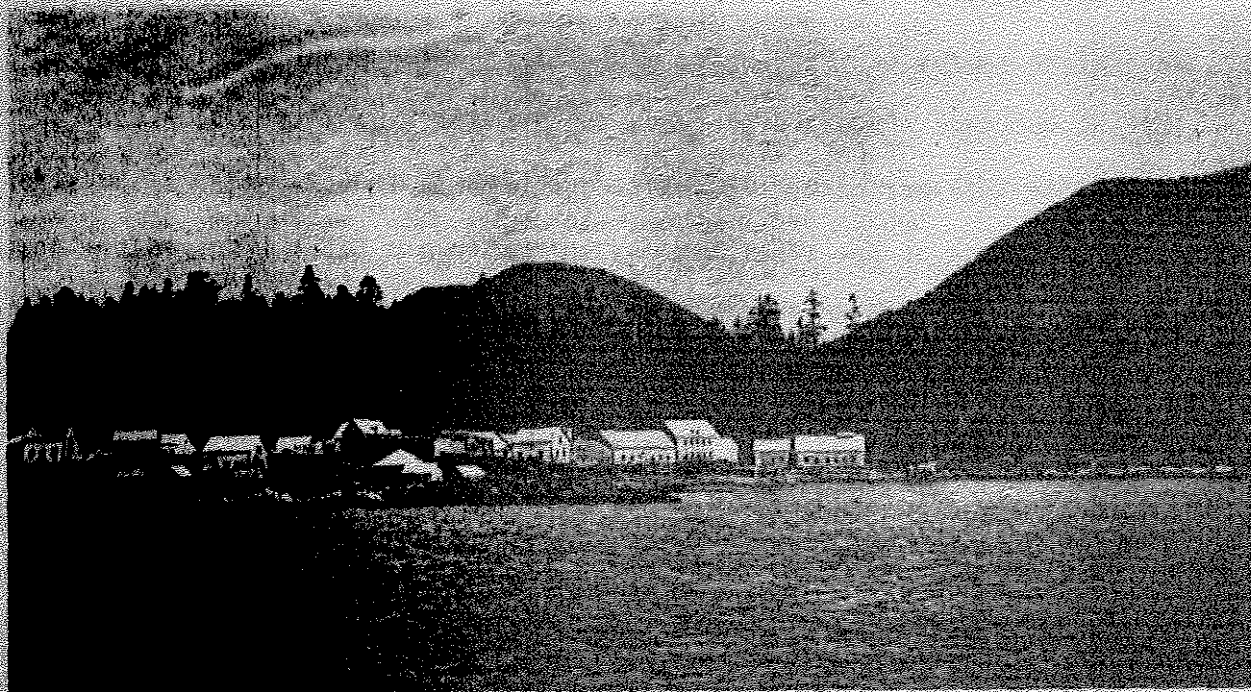


Fig. 42. Ucluelet village of Itatsd (IR 5), 1904
(Photo: BCPM PN 4934A).

Prior to the changes outlined above a minimum of six independent local groups lived within the region defined as modern Ucluelet territory: the **Kinaxum?as?ath** at **k^wisit^{is}** (Ucluelet 132) on Long Beach, the **hu?uɬ?ath** at **hu?uɬ** (Ucluelet #31) on Plorenzia Bay, the **yu.ɬu?iɬ?ath** at **yu.ɬu?iɬ** (Ucluelet 829) on the outside coast of the Uculth Peninsula, the **hitač^u?ath** at **hitadu** (Ucluelet #5) on the eastern shore of Ucluelet Inlet, the **č^u.ma?as?ath** at **č^u.ma.č^a** (Ucluelet #41) at the eastern entrance to Ucluelet Inlet, and the **ɬakmaqisath** at **Rakmaqis** (Ucluelet #14) at the head of Ucluelet Inlet.

The first territorial expansions occurred at about the same time, the Raachaht war and the taking of the Nahmint River. The Raachaht conflict is hypothesized to have taken place slightly earlier as Yasaayis (Sheshaht #14) was owned by the Ucluelet at the time of the Nahmint war. This site was in the region of the jumping competition which precipitated the initial outbreak of war between the Toquaht and Raachaht. The first use of guns in this war dates the conflict to around 1790.

The capture of the Nahmint River and **Effingham** Inlet involved the same Ucluelet groups, the **yu.ɬu?iɬ?ath**, the **hitač^u?ath** and the **hu?uɬ?ath**. To utilize these newly acquired territories the three local groups developed a seasonal round moving from their traditional territories to the salmon rivers in the late summer.

An unrecorded conflict with the Sheshaht is hypothesized to have occurred before the next conflict with the Uchucklesaht as several sites in the Broken Group Islands were being utilized by the **yu.ɬu?iɬ?ath** in the tradition.

The "Long War in Barkley Sound" brought an end to Ucluelet dominance in the region and major changes to group composition and settlement. As a result of raids over a number of years by the Ohiaht and their allies the **yu.ḷuʔiḷʔath** and the **hitaʕuʔath** were reduced greatly in numbers. The **huʔuʔath**, because of their close Clayoquot connections, were not attacked. By the end of the war the **yu.ḷuʔiḷʔath** had moved to **hitacu** (Ucluelet #5). The **Kinaxumaʔasʔath** had also moved in at the invitation of the **hitacuʔath**. The Ucluelet local group name became the name of the amalgamated entity and from their senior component **group** came the head chief. When the **huʔuʔath** joined the amalgamation is unknown.

In 1874 the Ucluelet were living in two villages in the eastern shore of Ucluelet Inlet, **k^wa.yimta** (Ucluelet #7) and **hitaʕu** (Ucluelet #5). The four outside village sites **k^wisitis** (Ucluelet #32), **huʔuʔ** (Ucluelet #31), **wa.yi** (Ucluelet #30) and **yu.ḷuʔiḷ** (Ucluelet #29) had become halibut fishing camps. The **Nalmint** giver was their major salmon river.

Clayoquot History

Introduction

The modern Clayoquot are an amalgamation of a number of independent peoples from the Clayoquot Sound and Kennedy Lake region (Fig. 43). Today the Clayoquot people are **centred** in two settlements, Opitsat (IR 1) on Meares Island and **Esowista** (IR 3) at the north end of Long Beach.

The Clayoquot were one of the prominent groups in the **historic** period literature and their chief, Wicanninish, **was** perhaps the most powerful

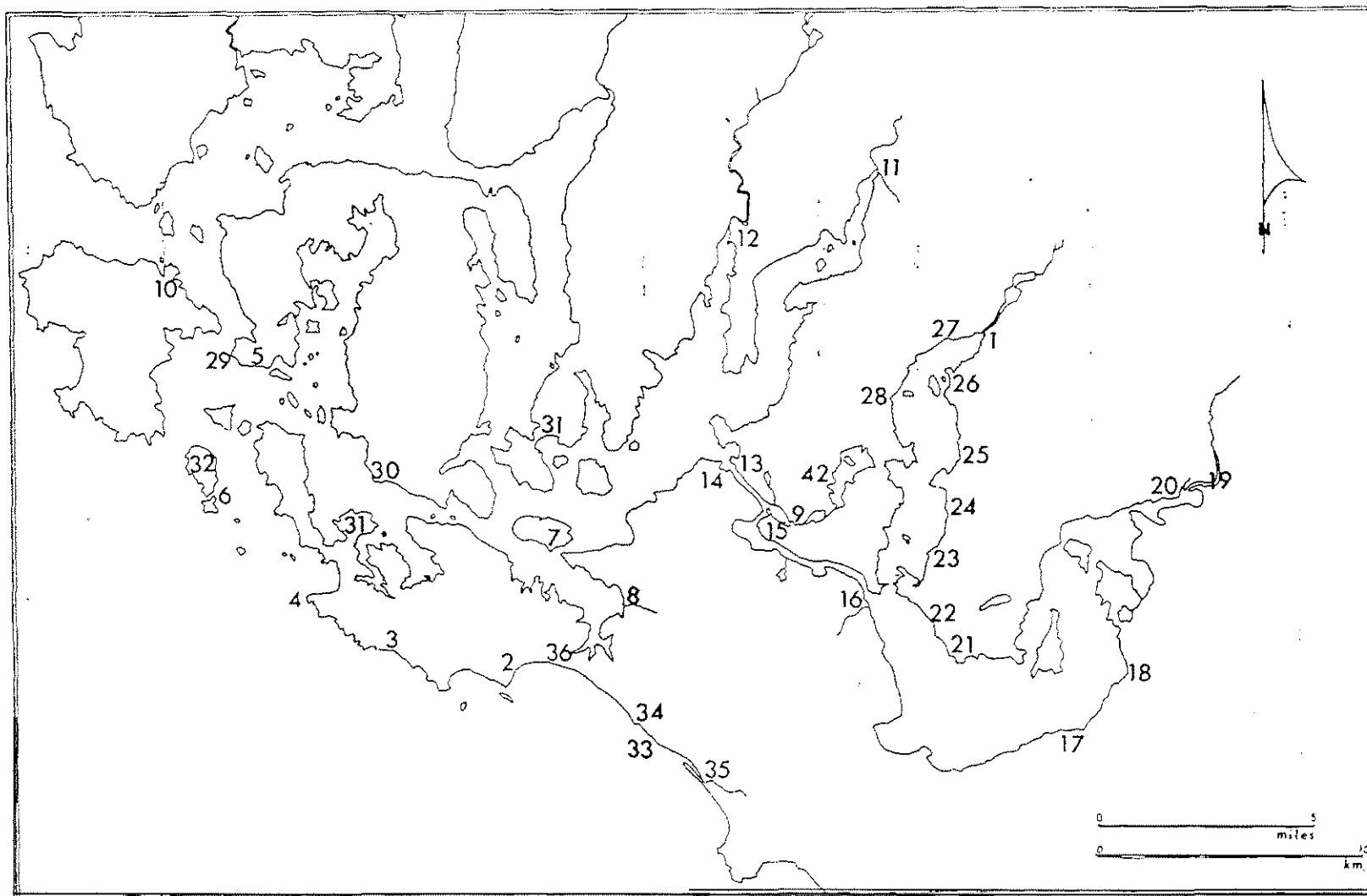


Fig. 43. Map of amalgamated Clayoquot territory with known places numbered (for key see Appendix C).



Fig. 44. Aerial view of the north end of Long Beach, Clayoquot territory (Photo: BCPM 1984B:298).

chief on the west coast of Vancouver Island during the years of the sea otter trade. The Clayoquot were renowned warriors and had a reputation of only needing to raid once to annihilate an enemy.

Our knowledge of Clayoquot group composition and historical traditions comes from several sources. Although the Clayoquot were not one of the groups of research focus by **Sapir**, he did collect some relevant ethnographic data **from** Sayaachapis and William. Sayaachapis had connections with the **Hisawist'ath^a**. He relates a text on "The Origin of the **Hisawist'ath^a**", and listed the order in which Clayoquot groups attacked in war. William included a number of the Clayoquot groups in his list of tribes north of Barkley Sound. The Clayoquot were also prominent in several **traditions from the** Barkley Sound area, particularly "Ucluelets Seize Ef f **ingham** Inlet" and "The Long War in Barkley Sound", collected by Alex Thomas **from Kwishanishim**. Curtis worked in the Clayoquot region in 1914 gathering **information** and photographing for his study on 'The North American Indian'. George Hunt likely recorded the Clayoquot traditions and ethnographic notes for Curtis at this time. Who George Hunt interviewed was not recorded in Curtis' publication on the Nootka. Rev. Vincent A. Koppert was the next person to record Clayoquot ethnography. His study emphasized material culture. His respondents at Opitsat in 1929 were Chief Joseph Weekinnanish, David James, **Yeskan** Jack and Old Peter and his wife. In 1935-36 Philip **Drucker** collected information from Jimmy Jim and **yaksu'** is. Of particular interest are the several lists of Clayoquot groups, houses, **and** chiefs and the historical tradition of the Clayoquot Wars.



Fig. 45. Chief Joseph, Clayoquot, around 1940 (Photo: PAC PA 140976).

place name data from the above sources have been compiled by Cairn Crockford in Appendix C, Clayoquot Geography.

Component Groups of the Clayoquot

There are a number of different lists of component groups of the modern Clayoquot. These lists will be presented, analyzed and integrated in the following **discussion**.

Sayaachapis, while working with **Sapir** in 1913-14, listed eleven groups of the Clayoquot:

1. 'ap'winI'as'atH^a, "in the middle of the village"
2. ʔutCH^a'uk'taq^ɛmiʔ, "obtaining by ʔutcha people"
3. Kwáq'L'as'atH^a
4. Kátcké'is'atH^a
5. !aqIwitis'atH^a
6. Lá'okwi'atH^a; Clayoquot proper
7. tc!utc!ā!atH^a
- a. P!ayá'atH^a
9. Hayuqwi!actaq^ɛmiʔ
10. Qoā'na:atH^ataq^ɛmiʔ
11. kitsis'atH^ataq^ɛmiʔ

This was the order in which they entered war. "This is all I know",¹³⁴

William, when listing tribes north of Barkley Sound, named three "tribes" in Clayoquot territory:

Hisāwist!atH^a (Clayoquots got land as his'ōk't)

Hop!its'atH^a (Clayoquot band)

La'ó'kwi'ath^a (real Clayoquots, main band) ^{1 3 5}

Curtis listed sixteen "septs" for the Clayoquot:

1. Hluchháuqt^ttákú^míhl, named from wedding ceremony
2. Másashtákú^míhl, house growing higher
3. Haiyúq^uishtakumíhl, "ten feathers on the head"
4. Kachkí^sut^{ha}tákú^míhl, hair in a knot on the top of the head
5. Paiyáshtákú^míhl, to distribute presents ...
6. Nutumú^kstishtákú^míhl, twin child or congenital cripple
7. Sichúⁿiya^{ha}miúshtákú^míhl, a whale in the position of diving
8. Shiwaut^{ha}tákú^míhl, from an island, Shiwua, near Clayoquot
9. Kitsisut^{ha}tákú^míhl, log on the beach
10. Tlíchú^út^{ha}takumíhl, a whale near the entrance to the sound
11. Mahltsúsút^{ha}, house by a hill
12. Úpwinúsút^{ha}tákú^míhl, house in the middle
13. Akowítisút^{ha}tákú^míhl, from a place, Akowitis, on Vargas Island
14. Qátsíwiút^{ha}takú^míhl, from Qatsiwi, a place in Mosquito Harbour
15. Qáktlisút^{ha}tákú^míhl, from Qaktlis, a place on Kennedy Lake
16. Issáwistaut^{ha}takú^míhl, from Issawista, a place at Long Beach¹³⁶

The source(s) for this list is (are) not known at present.

Drucker collected a number of lists of Clayoquot groups in 1935-36.

One list, obtained from yaksu'is, named twelve families at Opitsat (Clayoquot #5):

1. kutchaoktakamí, "first chiefs bunch"
2. qatcqí^sisath, from here (hair tied on top of head)
3. paiyactakimiaí, from here (giving out potlatch gifts)

4. kwəkLasath, used to be kwəxLisath, small tribe from Kennedy Lake
5. aqowitisath, lived at place aqowitis (whalers)
6. tsah'tasath, from here
7. ap'winasath, from here
8. kitsistakamʔ, from here
9. maltsasath, from here
10. ciwəath, from ciwə, up the inlet
11. tc^uut^ucath, small family from Ucluelet place tcūtca (Ucluelet #19?)
12. mas^ucath, from here, not related, given seat because helped the chief much¹³⁷

In a second list Jimmy Jim named seven "tribes", when describing houses at Opitsat:

1. tutch^uo^uktakiml
2. haiyuhwsetakimʔ (used to be hisauistath)
3. masactakumʔ
4. aqōw^utisath
5. kitsistakumʔ
6. paiyactakumʔ
7. katch^uisath

Tribes 2 through 6 used to own their own places but when ya'ailstohsmaʔni (Wicanninish) became head chief he took their places away from them.

"This was five generations ago."¹³⁸

Jimmy Jim also mentioned four other groups:

8. timika:sath
9. ti^unama

10. hopitcath (or **ciwath**)

11. **kwaklasath**

Groups 9 and 10 moved to Opitsat after war with the histaiusath. 139

Drucker integrated the information from yaksu'is and Jimmy Jim in a list of seventeen Clayoquot groups:

1. **ʔutchaōkrakumʔ**, from Kennedy Lake, outside place at itcatcict
2. aqowitisath, "washed down from **actis (Kyuquot)**"
3. hopitcath, **ciwath**, "different names for same bunch"
4. **kwaklasath**, small group from Kennedy Lake
5. **aphwinasath**
6. **qatcqi'isath**
7. **kitsistakumʔ**
8. **katchkisath**
9. **tcūtcath**, small group from Ucluelet
10. **masath** (also **masactakum1**)
11. **paiyactakumiʔ**
12. **tsahlasath** (house on site of mythical **tsahlas** house)
13. **maltsasath** (house at end of village)
14. hisauistath, exterminated by #1 under **ya'aistoHsnaʔni**
(Wicanninish)
15. **La'ō'kwath**
16. **timikasath**, exterminated, sub-division of hisauistath
17. **tsiqtakisath**, exterminated^{1 4 0}

For a number of reasons it is difficult to identify the original local groups who held territories in the Clayoquot Sound region from these

lists. First, territories and groups changed significantly as a result of wars which will be discussed later. Second, a number of the groups were newly created by the head chiefs for family members from the spoils of the wars and were not independent. And third, the lists generally reflect the social organization **after** this period of turmoil when the Clayoquot were living at Opitsat, the amalgamation site.

As a result only three pre-amalgamation groups have been identified with certainty: the hisauistath at esowista (Clayoquot #2) and Indian Island (Clayoquot #7), the hopitcath at hopitc (Clayoquot #3) and echachis (Clayoquot #6) and the Clayoquot at **La'o'kwa** (Clayoquot #1) and **yalapis** (location unknown, but likely on Esowista Peninsula around Tofino).

Historical Traditions

There are a number of recorded historical traditions and ethnographic notes that **elucidate the** origin of the independent local groups and the formation of the modern Clayoquot.

In the "Origin of the **Hisawist!ath^a**" told by Sayaachapis the sky chief created the first person "Sunbeams-on-the-beach" and named the 'land **hisawist!a'**. He then created first woman and named all the things that came to be **foods.**¹⁴¹ The hisauistath came to be the dominant group in the region, **and fought with** both the hopitcath and the Clayoquot. The hopitcath appear to have been forced from their homeland by these conflicts. The Clayoquot were nearly "cleaned **out**" in another.¹⁴²

The last war between the hisauistath and the Clayoquot began as a dispute over **salvage** rights to a killer whale that had drifted ashore on

the inside of Tofino Peninsula. The hisauistath saw the whale first and salvaged it although it was on Clayoquot territory. Some Clayoquot youths who witnessed the salvage **went** into the hisauistath houses on Indian Island (Clayoquot #7) and **took** back the whale meat. They were caught and the chief's son was killed. The Clayoquot raided in revenge, killing a few people. The hisauistath thought the matter was settled but the next summer, while most of the men were out fishing, the Clayoquot attacked the village of esowista. After killing the men who had stayed in the village the Clayoquot warriors then went after and killed the fishermen. Only a few hisauistath survived and they were taken as slaves. The Clayoquot got the hisauistath territory as **his'ōk't** including their sockeye rivers, bong Beach and the islands for sea lions on the **east end**.¹⁴³ There are references to a number of other conflicts involving the Clayoquot about this time, in which they consolidated their position of dominance in the region.

The Clayoquot also exerted their influence beyond Clayoquot Sound being involved in several conflicts in Barkley Sound. In the first, they attacked and defeated the **Haachaht** at Tayanita (Sheshaht #3). This war featured the first use of guns.¹⁴⁴ In the second the Claybquot came to the assistance of the **Ucluelet** in the Long War in Barkley Sound.¹⁴⁵

The last war in which the Clayoquot were **involved in** was the attack on the Kyuquot at Aktis around 1855.¹⁴⁶

Summary

At the earliest time represented in the recorded traditions a minimum of three independent groups have been identified: the hisauistath

located on the outside in the region of **Long** Beach and Schooner Cove with their village at **esowista** (Clayoquot #2) and on the inside in **Grice** Bay with their village on Indian Island (Clayoquot #7); the hophitcath in the region of the **Radar** Beaches and the offshore islands with villages at hophitc (Clayoquot #3) and echachis (Clayoquot #6); and the Clayoquot whose original territory is unknown, but who had villages at yalapis (location unknown, but hypothesized to be on the north end of Esowista Peninsula) and on Kennedy Lake at **La'okwa** (Clayoquot #1), their ancestral site.

The hisauistath were the group that initially dominated the region in a number of conflicts with the hopitcath and Clayoquot and probably other groups as well. These groups may have joined together at tsahsas, the original name for **Opitsit** (Clayoquot #5).¹⁴⁷ The hisauistath eventually were wiped out by the Clayoquot who absorbed their territory and became the new dominant force in the region. Once **Wicanninnish** and the Clayoquot had established their supremacy, other smaller groups joined.

The next recorded conflicts in which the Clayoquot were involved were in Barkley Sound. In revenge either for the killing of a Clayoquot in Barkley Sound or an attack on one of their villages,¹⁴⁸ the Clayoquot attacked the **Haachaht** at Tayanita, their defensive site. In the attack the Clayoquots used the first guns and wiped out the **Haachaht**. In the other conflict the Clayoquot assisted their **Ucluelet** relatives in fighting against the Toquaht during the Long War. The Clayoquot had a reputation as warriors who needed to attack only once to defeat an enemy. Their last attack was on **Aktis**, the Kyuquot village, around 1855.



Fig. 46. Opitsat, the main village of the Clayoquot, around 1910 (Photo: private collection).



Fig. 47. The Clayoquot village of Echachis, around 1900 (Photo: Mount Angel Archives).

In the **late nineteenth** century the Clayoquot **had** two main settlements: thirty-one houses at Opitsat (Clayoquot #5) and twenty-two houses at Echachis (Clayoquot #6). **Esowista** (Clayoquot #2) was used as a **fishing** station.

Ohiaht History

Introduction

The modern Ohiaht are an amalgamation of at least six independent peoples whose traditional territory encompassed the area from Tsusiat Falls or Pachena Point to Cape **Beale** and the eastern shore of Barkley Sound and the **Alberni** Canal to Coleman Creek, including many of the islands in **the Deer** Croup (Fig. 48). Their neighbours to the southeast were the Mtidaht, and in Barkley Sound the **Hikuł'ath^a**, the Uckucklesaht and the Sheshaht. Today the Ohiaht are **centred** at **Anacla** IR 13, located at the head of Pachena Bay.

Our knowledge **of** ONaht history stems from a number of sources. In 1874 George Blenkinsop interviewed Chief **Haht'sik** for the Indian **Reserve** Commissioner. He recorded information on contemporary villages, fishing stations and territory. **During the** 1913-14 field season Sapir collected information from William and Sayaachapis on Ohiaht group composition and territory. In 1922 **Alex** Thomas interviewed Ohiaht elder Dick **Thlamaahuus** obtaining information on the **subdivisions** and seating of the ONaht. Also in 1922 Alfred Carmichael recorded several ONaht **traditions** with explanatory notes from **Sa-sat-win**. In 1949 Morris Swadesh worked with



Fig. 48. Map of amalgamated Ohiaht territory with known places numbered (for key see Appendix D).



Fig. 49. Aerial view of Cape Beale headland with Outer Deer Group Islands in background, Ohiaht territory (Photo: BCPM 1984B:131).

Chief **Nuukmis** gathering data on village pattern and house composition. Eugene **Arima** worked with Chief **Louie** in 1964, recording a number of Ohiaht historical traditions which were translated by **Alex Thomas** around 1968 and written up by **Arima** in 1984.

In 1974 Barry **Carlson** and Mabel Dennis and in 1981 **Bernice Touchie** worked with Robert Sport collecting **information on** ONaht place names. Between 1982 and 1985 **Denis** St. Claire worked with a number of Ohiaht elders for both the Pacific **Rim** Project and the ONaht **Ethnoarchaeology** Project. Respondents included Robert Sport, Ella Jackson, Bill **Happynook**, William Sport, Mary Moses and Alex Williams. St. Claire's particular research interests were place names, site usage and **social** organization.

The place name information from the above sources have been compiled by Cairn Crockford in Appendix D, Ohiaht Geography.

Component Groups of the ONaht

As with the other groups discussed in **this** report, the composition of the Ohiaht has changed dramatically over the years. "These changes are reflected in the lists of component groups of the ONaht which have been collected.

In 1913 William named and defined the territories of 'seven independent groups which are now included **within** present day Ohlaht territory (see Fig. 33) :

1. **Yacti'qó'atH^a**: start on Alberni Canal at **Kaqo'a** (ONaht #7) up to **Ts'omasatH^a** country (east shore of Alberni Canal).



Fig. 50. Robert Sport, Ohiaht in 1975 (Photo: Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council).

2. P!op!una?á'atH^a: Region of San Mateo Bay. When they died out, Uchucklesaht got their country, then (before whites came) Ho!ái'atH^a got it by his'ók't.
3. ?éniq'cil'atH^a: region of ?éniq'cil River (Sarita).
4. Hō'aí'atH^a: Includes all ?éniq'cil'atH^a country, which was taken by his'ók't, and Banfield Creek. Boundaries start from Tsaxts!á'a point (Ohiaht #68) out to sea; other determined by Hikuǂ'atH^a. Main Ho?ái'atH^a village called ?a?lsowis on Diana Island (Ohiaht #140), the other one called Tcáp'is (Haines Island, Ohiaht #139).
5. Kíx'inǂ'atH^a: Territory begins at Tsaxts!á'a and goes along coast to point called LatsLaksilasa'a' (Ohiaht #100). Kix'in (Ohiaht #92) was their village;
6. Tc'imatáqso'atH^a: Rounds Tc'imatáq'suǂ (Cape Beale, Ohiaht #105) and goes down to point called kwisāyis?i kixá' (Ohiaht #182). On this beach was camping village of Kixá'. Main village was Tc'imatáq'suǂ, located on top of rocky_hill back of deeper inlet of two together.
7. ?ánaq'L!a'atH^a: Country ran down to point near Pachena Point called Ts!á'ts!axwAtc'a'aqath^a "place on rocks for spearing mā'ak' whales" (Ohiaht #203). After this to south came Nitinat country.

Groups 4, 5, 6 and 7 "all joined because (they were) reduced in numbers. They formed Ho?ái'atH^a bands; joined long before white people came." 149

In 1913 **Sayaach'apis** listed eight bands for the **Hó!ai'ath^a**. He did not know the order of rank.

1. **Kíx'in'ath^a**, originally separate tribe, now head of tribe.
Head band named **L!óL!áswi'Actaqemíł**, "putting-hands-thru-holes-in-rocks-family" .
2. **Kwí'iq'ts!iło'asath^a**, named from place to **T!ok!wa**,
"rocky-on-the-face-of-a-hill". **Hó!ai'ath^a** chief went to **T!ok!wa** to **łutčá** and got girl belonging to this house, hence name of descendants.
3. **Tuxu'ł'ath^ataqemíł**, "falls-people family". Name refers to falls on Sarita River; they used to have a village for trapping fish at this falls.
4. **TcatcaHatsi?as'atHataqemíł**. Named from creek of that name.
5. **tc!u'mat!ath^a**. Named after mountain called **tc!o'mat!á** near **t!ok!wā**. Name is of one of **T!ok!wa** bands; name came to **Hó!ai'ath^a** by **łut'čhá**.
6. **máłts!as'ath^a**, "houses-right-against-a-hill-people". No place so called; got name from custom of having their house at this spot. **Numu'q.Emis** present main village, but not formerly. There used to be another tribe there, perhaps named from **?é'niq'cíl**, present name of Sarita River. **Ts!ícyac'ath^a** killed them off.
7. **T!ok!wā'ath^ataqemíł**, so called because one of ancestors **łutčá** to **T!ok!wā**.
8. **łot!as!ath^a** younger line of **L!oL!ół**, to whom they were
mAstcim. ¹⁵⁰

According to Sayaachapis two of these bands (#2 and #8) moved to whaling camps in summer "being better lookout places than (their) regular villages." They would take on the name of their whaling camp at this time. Thus band 2 became the 'maIsit'atH^a, after 'maIsit (Ohiaht #123) and band 8 became the Kixa'ath^a after Kixa (Ohiaht #113).¹⁵¹ In a description of Ho!ai'atH^a names he had rights to, Sayaach'apis equated the L!oL!oIswi'Actaqemik to the tsAxts!aas'atH^a, "Bamfield Creek people" where they got their dog salmon.¹⁵²

In 1922 Alex Thomas recorded the subdivisions of the ho'i'ath' and their seating from Dick Thlamaahuus. Fifteen bands were listed:

1. 'ap'win?as'ath, "band of middle of village"
2. tcatca.htsi.?as'ath, "band of tcatca.htsi?as"
3. toxol'ath' , "band of Falls"
4. tcu'ma. tath. "band of tcu'ma. ta"
5. tokwa.'ath'taqimĭ, "band of tokwa.'ath"
6. ma.itsa.s'ath, "band of House against Hill"
7. toxwi.tstaqimĭ, "band of toxwi.t"
8. xa'ya?ath, "band of xa'ya"
9. ?anaqtla'ath, "band of ?anaqtla"
10. 'ma.Isit'ath, "band of Cold Water"
11. lu. tas'ath, "band of lu.tas"
12. kixa.'ath, "band of kixa"
13. tsaxtsa.?ath, "band of Banfield Creek"
14. tĭisnatcis'ath, "band of tĭisnatcis"
15. tĭihska.po'is'ath, "band of red-mouth-vessel-on-head"¹⁵³

Chief Louia mentioned- four groups of people within the texts of Ohiaht historical traditions recorded in 1964:

1. Ch'imataqsu?ath, people of Ch'imitagsul (Cape Beale)
2. ki:x'in?ath, village at Ki:x'in (Ohiaht 892)
3. tuht'a:?atH or ?Anaqt1'a (?ath), Pachena Bay tribe, village was tuht'a ' (Ohiaht #119?)
4. Hu:i:?ath, village at husmatqts'us (Ohiaht #148)¹⁵⁴

In 1984 Ella Jackson listed 13 "families" of the Ohiaht tribe:

1. xaya7ath
2. maalhsit7ath
3. lhuut'as7ath
4. anaklt'a7ath
5. kiixin7ath
6. kiixa7ath
7. huu7ii7ath
8. timk7ath
9. 7uts'uu7a7ath
10. tsaxts'aa7a7ath
11. chachaahts17as7ath
12. tlisnach'is7ath
13. ch'imataksu7ath

While discussing places Ella Jackson listed three other groups:

14. aa7ikis7ath
15. tuup'alhsit (7ath)
16. mukwchi7ath

Groups 14 and 15 were part of the **kiixin7ath** (#5), group 16 was part of the **chimataksu7ath** (#13). She also responded to the names of three groups from Dick Thlaamahuus' list:

17. **tuxwuulh7ath**
18. **ch'umaat'aa7ath**
19. **tukwuwa7ashtakmlh**

Ella Jackson also listed five house groups at Numukamis:

20. **maalhts'aas7ath**, "house against the bluff" people
21. **ts'atakwa7ath**, "people by the creek"
22. **hitakktlas7ath**, "people at the back"
23. **ap'win7as7ath**, "middle of village people"
24. **hi7stu7as7ath**, "people on other side of creek"

Two other places, **sayaach'a** and **ami7htaa**, were given as locations of houses. 155

Mary Moses listed eleven house groups at Numukamis in order from the north end:

1. **maalhts'a7asath**, to Dodger Cove in summer
2. **ts'a7akwath**
3. **ch'uumaata7ath** or **sayaach'a7ath**
4. **t'ak'ak'ts!as7ath**
5. **ustu7asath**
6. **apswin7asath**
7. **chu'uuhuulh7ath**
8. **ch'ich'ahch'i7as7ath**
9. **apswas7ath**
10. **kwisp'a7as7ath**

11. **hiistu7as7ath**, to ~~ku~~**.tas** in summer

Four other house groups were mentioned in discussion of where various families went in summer. Three were part of the **apawin7asath**:

1. **kiixin7ath**, went to **Kiixin** (Ohiaht 892)
2. **kiixa7ath**, went to **Kiixa** (Ohiaht 8113)
3. **7aanaktl'a7ath**, went to **7aanaktl'a** (Ohiaht #121)

The **kwisp'a7as7ath** (#10) went to Ihutaas (Ohiaht #119) in the summer and became the **lhuut'as7ath**.¹⁵⁶

There are significant variations in the groups on these lists. The process of defining the original local groups is not simply a matter of integrating the lists and coming up with a maximum number of groups. These lists in fact are not directly comparable as they reflect the composition of the Ohiaht at different times in the past. Only two lists, from Frank Williams and Chief **Louie**, relate to a pre-amalgamation social organization.

The lists of Sayaachapis, Dick **Thlamaahuus**, Ella Jackson and Mary Moses represent a new socio-political reality brought about by a prolonged period of warfare in what is now Ohiaht territory. The new pattern sees people taking their names from the houses they lived in at the winter amalgamation village of Numukamis, and then when they move to various seasonal camps they change their name to that of their camp. The number of names a particular group of people had depended directly on the number of places where they set up during the year. Those who stayed year round at Numukamis would have only one name, those who moved only to a summer or fall fishing station would have two names and those who moved to both a summer and fall fishing station could have three names. Another factor

further complicating the picture is that groups did not necessarily maintain the same composition during this seasonal movement. **How** they divided and re-combined has not been reconstructed for **this** report.

At this time, it is only possible to identify seven independent local groups as the original occupants of the area that' is today Ohiaht traditional territory. They are:

1. **Hō!áí'ath^a**, outer **Deer** Croup Islands
2. **Kix'in'ath^a**, eastern shore of Barkley Sound
3. **Tc!imatáqso'ath^a**, Cape **Beale** area
4. **?anaq'L?a'ath^a**, Pachena Bay area
5. **?eniq'cíl'ath^a**, **Sarita River** area
6. **P!op!um?a'ath^a**, San **Mateo** Bay
7. **Yacti'qó'ath^a**, eastern shore of **Alberni** Canal

Historical Traditions

As with the other independent groups in Barkley Sound the events of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth **centuries, especially** the wars, determined the fate of the groups and the eventual composition of the present day Ohiaht.

There are three war **texts** extant as well as brief mention of a number of other conflicts in which the above groups were involved. One of the recorded war texts, "**Uchucklesets** Exterminate **Kíihín**", featured the **Kí:x?in'ath** although the conflict likely involved other groups as well. The other two war texts, "The War with the **Clallams** and Barkley Sound Natives" and the "Long War in Barkley Sound" featured **the** amalgamated **Ohiaht**.

There are no traditions of the conflict between the **Ho'ai'ath^a** and the **?eniq'cil'ath^a**. In Ns description of tribal territories William remarked: "old tribe of **?eniq'cil'ath^a** were killed off by **Ho'ai'ath^a**", and their territory absorbed.¹⁵⁷

Another conflict, "Uchucklesits Exterminate Kiihin", was told by **Sayaachapis** in 1913. It is a Uchucklesaht historical tradition. The narrative began with the marriage of the daughter of **the chief** of **Kiihin** to the son of **the** Uchucklesaht chief. The Uchucklesahts were living at **Kelp-in-Bay** (Ohiaht #148, Kirby Point) at this time which is **Ho'ai'ath^a** local group territory. The Uchucklesaht received the drift-whale rights of the **Kiihin** as dowry, causing "miserable conditions" among the **Kiihin** commoners. They planned to kill the princess **and her** two sons but the plot was never carried out. In retaliation **the** Uchucklesaht raided the **Kiihin**. In subsequent raids, **the Kiihin** were killed off with the exception of the immediate relatives of the princess and the Uchucklesahts took over **the** country down to **Tsusayl'at** (Ohiaht #193).¹⁵⁸ According to Chief **Louie** it was the Uchucklesaht **chief** of **Kildonan** who raided as far as **Tsusayl'at** and killed off the **Tl'a:ni:wa?a** and **Ts'axq'u:ʔis** bands.¹⁵⁹

William implies that others besides the **Ki:xʔin'ath** fought with the Uchucklesaht as "long ago the (Uchucklesaht) claimed all of the land from **Tsusayl'At'** creek on open sea around to Uchucklesaht country. The **Hδ'ai'ath^a**, **Kixinl'ath^a**, **Tc!imataqso'ath^a** and **?anaq'L'a'ath^a** were subject bands."¹⁶⁰

An indirect reference to further **Ohiaht/Uchucklesaht** hostilities was made by William when he noted that **the Ohiaht** got the area of **San Mateo**

Bay from the Uchucklesaht by **his'ók't**. This happened "before whites came."¹⁶¹

According to Chief Louie, both the **Ch'imataqsu?ath** and the **tuht'a:ʔath** were wiped out by the aftermath of an earthquake. The **Ch'imataqsu?ath** had gone into a cave where they were trapped by a landslide;¹⁶² the **tuht'a?ath** were drowned by a tidal wave.¹⁶³ The only survivors of the **tuht'a?ath** were the people from the House-Up-Against Hill (**Ma:its'a:s**) at **M'a:itsit**¹⁶⁴ and the eldest daughter of the chief who had married a **Ki:x'in?ath**.¹⁶⁵

The war with the Clallam was related by Chief Louie in 1964.¹⁶⁶ The events took place four generations ago. **Tłi:shin** was the head chief. The Ohiahts at this time were a "nation" whose territory "reached the waterfall (Tsusiat) on one side and on the other went as far as Coleman Creek" (on Alberni Canal).¹⁶⁷ They numbered 2000 men. The narrative began with the murder of the young second chief of the Ohiahts who was half Clallam. **His** mother returned to Clallam Bay and a war party was organized to gain revenge. The Clallam raided the Ohiahts at **Ki:x'in** (Ohiaht #92), **Tł'inhapıs** (Ohiaht #90), Brady's Beach (Ohiaht #86), **Uts'u?a** (Ohiaht #84) and **Tla:ʔaktaqapiʔi** (location unknown). The survivors escaped to the Sarita River where they established villages at the **Tł'ihaska:puʔis** (Ohiaht #40), **Wihat'a** (Ohiaht #43) and **Ki:ki:xink'uk** (Ohiaht #44). The survivors of the Ohiaht who lived at **Husmatqts'us** (Ohiaht #148) on Diana Island hid at **Hu:ʔi** (Ohiaht #146). "They held onto this land . . . The Clallams were here for a long time, going about searching for people to kill here and there".¹⁶⁸ The Ohiaht stayed in hiding up the Sarita. As years passed they grew to be "big again" and came down the river to reclaim their old territories.

Soon after a Ucluelet war party killed the young Ohiaht chief leading to a war that eventually **embroiled** all of **Barkley** Sound. The fighting lasted ten **years**.¹⁶⁹ According to **Kwishanishim** the Toquaht "gave girls **to** the **Huu'ii** **as** **pay** to make war against the **Ucluelets**" (**lutchHa**).¹⁷⁰ The Ohiaht became the main combatants and raided the Ucluelet many times. They were attacked in return by Ucluelet war parties at Shaahuwis (Ohiaht #188), Flow-Point (Ohiaht #36), **Chachaahtsu'as** (Ohiaht #23), Shred Place at Poet's Nook (**Ohiaht** #48), **Tlisnachis** (Sarita area), **Bamfield** Creek and **Tabu** Beach (Ohiaht 825). The warring tribes eventually made peace by the exchange of women.

In 1874 Chief **Hač'sik** defined Ohiaht territory as extending from Coleman Creek on **Alberni** Canal (Ohiaht #1) to **Tsusiat** River (Ohiaht #193). Within this **territory** the Ohiaht had two villages, **Noo.muk.em.e.is** (Ohiaht #25) their winter village and **Keh.ahk.in** (Ohiaht #92) their summer village. Numerous camps dotted the islands and the Vancouver Island shore. **Blenkinsop's** **census** listed ten houses at **Keh.ahk.in** and one at Dodger Cove with a total population of 262.¹⁷¹

Summary

By the time the last of the wars ended the Ohiaht had experienced a period of intense fighting, long term dislocation and subjugation that likely spanned half a century. When they returned to their territories in peace it was not as the socio-political entities that had existed prior to this continuous series of events but as a new socio-political entity, the amalgamated Ohiaht.

Prior to the changes brought about by the various **wars**, a minimum of seven independent groups inhabited the area from Pachena Point to Coleman Creek: the anaqtla'ath or Yuhta'aht at **Yuht'a** (Ohiaht #119 at the entrance to Pachena Bay), the **chimataqsu'ath** at **chimataqsu** (Ohiaht #105 at Cape **Beale**), the Kixiinath at **Kixiin** (Ohiaht #92 on the eastern shore of Mills Peninsula), the Ohiaht at **?a?lsowis** (Ohiaht #140 on Diana Island), the **?eniqcil'ath** in the region of the Sarita River, the **P!op!um?a'ath** in the San Mateo Bay region, and the **Yacti'qo'ath** on the eastern shore of Alberni Canal.

The first territorial expansion was made by the Ohiaht, when they took the Sarita River from the **?eniqcil'ath**. This group subsequently disappeared from the record. The next conflict **was** the-subjugation of the **Popuma?a'ath**, Ohiaht, Kixiinath, **Chimataqsu'ath** and Anaqtla'ath by the Uchucklesaht. The Uchucklesaht expansion appears to have occurred sequentially along the eastern shoreline of Barkley Sound. The Ohiaht, for example, had already been defeated before fighting broke out with the Kixiinath as the Uchucklesaht were living at **Kelp-in-Bay** (Ohiaht #148, Kirby Point), an Ohiaht site, at the start of the conflict. The Uchucklesaht also continued their territorial expansion at the expense of several Ditidaht groups until they reached Tsusiat Falls (Ohiaht #193). The anaqtla'ath and chimataqsu'ath probably ceased to function as independent groups about this time. There are two possible explanations for their demise from the traditions: the war with the Uchucklesaht or natural disaster as a result of an earthquake.

How long the Uchucklesaht held this territory and how the various Ohiaht groups regained their autonomy was not recorded. The Ohiaht taking the region of San Mateo Bay by **his'ók't** from the Uchucklesaht argues for continued hostilities. By the time the Uchucklesaht had been forced out of the region the number of independent groups operating along the eastern shore of Barkley Sound had been reduced from six to two, the **Kixinath** and the Ohiaht. The territory of the **chímatagsu?'ath** and **anaqtla'ath** had been absorbed by the **Kixinath** and that of the **?eniqcíl'ath** and **P!op!um?a'ath** by the Ohiaht.

The Clallam War was the next conflict recorded for the region. The Clallam attacked both the **Kixinath** and the Ohiaht forcing their retreat to the Sarita River. Here the survivors established a number of villages where they stayed for an unknown period of time. Soon after they returned to reclaim their territory, the Barkley Sound Wars broke out. The Ohiaht were one of the principals. There are two accounts that explain their involvement: the first as a result of a raid by the Ucluelet in which their young chief was killed; the second as a result of **tutcha** by the Toquahts which possibly explains the Ohiaht group names that were derived from the Toquaht. During the war the **Ohiahts** were attacked by the **Ucluelets** at a number of villages from **Bamfield** Creek to the Sarita River. This was the last war in which the Ohiaht were involved.

In 1874 **Blenkinsop** described the **Ohiaht** as having two villages, **Noo.muk.em.e.is** (Ohiaht #25) where they resided from September to the end of January, and **Keh.ahk.in** (Ohiaht 1192) which was their "headquarters" between April and September. During February and March they were at

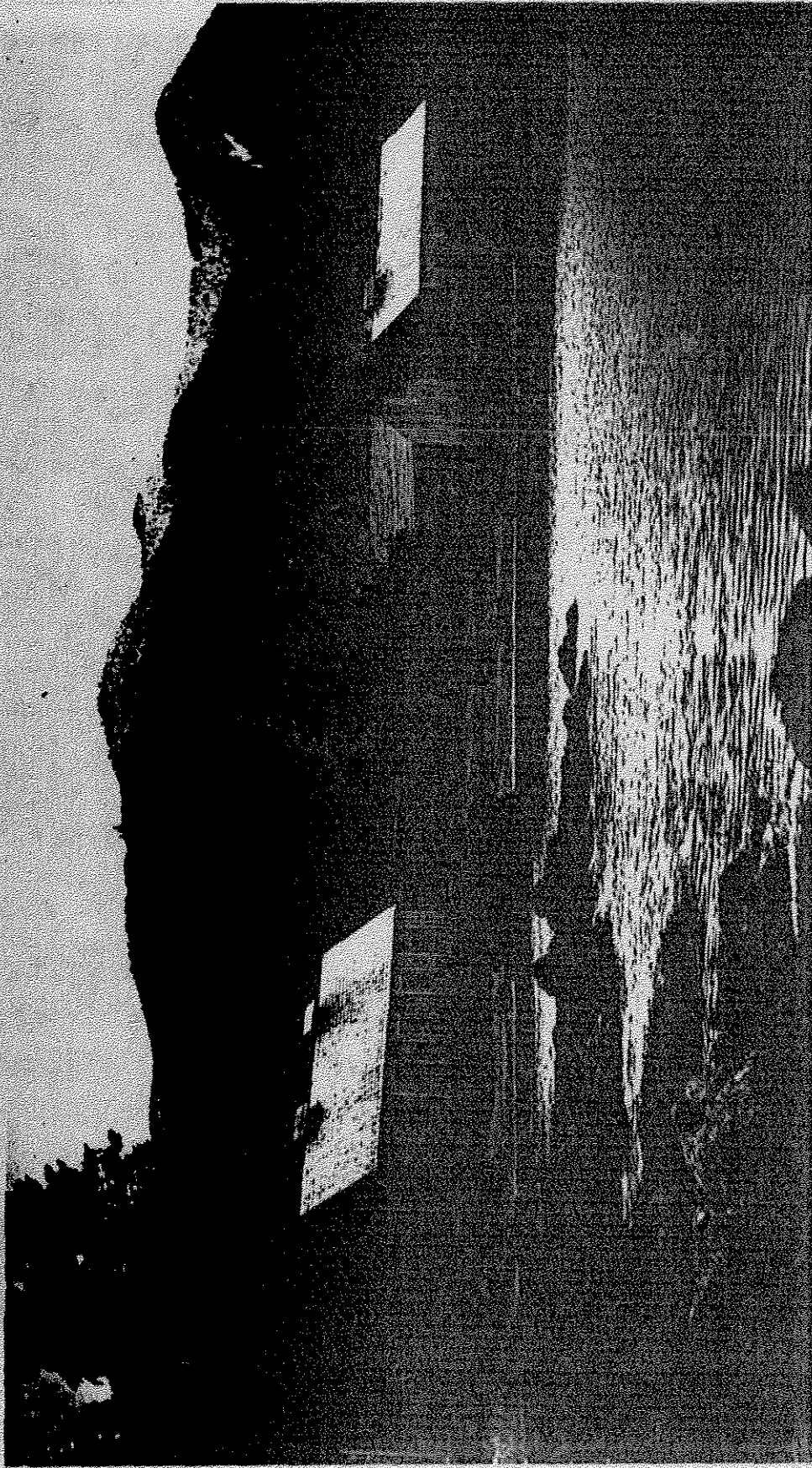


Fig 51 The Ohiaht winter village of Numukamis, around the late 1880s
(Photo: WSHS, Morse Collection 381).



Fig. 52. Ruins of the Ohiaht village of Kiixin, around 1900
(Photo: BCPM PN 495).

various camps "on the Islands". **Blenkinsop** also noted numerous old village sites within the boundaries of this tribe. The population numbered **262** men, women and children. It **is this** period that many of the **component** group lists apply.

Ditidaht History

Introduction

The modern Ditidaht are an amalgamation of at least ten previously independent groups. Their traditional **territories** extended along the coast from **č̣u?daqsu.ws** (Pachena Point, Ditidaht 832) in **the** northwest where it bordered with the Ohiaht, to **ba.lqaw.a?** (Bonilla Point, Ditidaht #1) in the southeast where it bordered with **the Pacheenaht**, and inland to near Cowichan Lake (Fig. 53). Today the main Ditidaht settlement is at Malachan IR 11 (Ditidaht 165) at the head of **Nitinat Lake**.

Most of our knowledge of Ditidaht history **comes** from unpublished sources and recent interviews. In 1913-14 Sapir collected outline information on the composition of the Ditidaht from William and an origin tradition for one of the groups from Sayaach'apis. In 1931 Swadesh worked with Chief Peter and collected a number of Ditidaht traditions. These were translated for this project by John Thomas. **Arima** worked with Pacheenaht chief Charlie **Jones** and his **Ditidaht wife** Ida in the **1960s** and **1970s** collecting a wide range of ethnographic information for **the** region. In 1976 **Bernice Touchie** worked with a number of Ditidaht and **Pacheenaht** elders gathering data for her report on Whyac village. In 1981 Inglis



Fig. 53. Map of amalgamated Ditidaht territory with known places numbered (for key see Appendix E).



Fig. 54. Aerial view of Bonilla Point, the boundary between the Ditidaht and Pacheenaht
(Photo: BCPM 1984B:43).

interviewed Ditidaht elder John Thomas and in 1983, with Haggarty, interviewed elder Joshua Edgar. John Thomas provided further information on Ditidaht places and history, including data he collected from Ida and Charles Jones, when working for the Pacific Rim Project in the fall of 1985 and spring of 1986.

The place name information from the above sources has been compiled by Cairn Crockford and Bianca Message, and is included as Appendix E, Ditidaht Geography,

Component Groups of the Ditidaht

There are a number of references to component groups of the Ditidaht in the above sources. In 1914 William listed eight tribes in what is now amalgamated Ditidaht territory. They are in order, starting from the north:

1. **Tsaq^cqó'is'atH^a**, now form band of "Nitinat"
2. **L!áńí'wa'atH^a**
3. **Tsuxkwána'atH^a**
4. **Na'ó'wa'atH^a**, used to be big tribe, now mixed with "Nitinat", one house still kept up in their country, but not occupied.
5. **'wayí'atH^a**, main band of "Nitinat"
6. **Ló'owis'atH^a**
7. **Wawáxw?is'atH^a**
8. **Qwāma'no'atH^a172**

Arima adapted this list when he discussed the composition of the Ditidaht in his 1983 publication.¹⁷³



Fig. 55. Joshua Edgar, Diliidah! (Photo: BCPM 1983c:2)

Sayaachapis listed three subgroups of the Na'ó'wa'ath:

'anímíyístaqemíʔ

lapHáítap^ctaqemíʔ

'áps.wípí'actaqemíʔ, "standing-in-middle-of-passage family"

He could not remember the name of the fourth subgroup.¹⁷⁴

The names of a number of groups have been extracted from the texts related by Chief Peter. In the "Nitinat defeat the Saanitch and the Cowichan" four groups from the Nitinat River and Lake region were mentioned:

1. 'íʔuuwaatx

2. xubítadaatx

3. qí.qo.wsaatx

4. hí.daadíaatx; "up the river people"¹⁷⁵

In "Old Time Nitinat Counting" two groups were mentioned in a note to the text:

1. hí.id'a.asaatx, "back of the bay people"

2. da'ow'a.atx, old time name of people inhabiting Nitinat¹⁷⁶

In 1981 John Thomas listed nine villages and tribes of the Ditidaht, starting on the coast from the north:

1. caqqawís (Ditidaht #29), main village of the caqqawísa?tx

2. ʔa.di.wa (Ditidaht #28), main village of the ʔa.di.wa.a?tx

3. cux^wk^wa.da? (Ditidaht #23), main village of the
cux^wk^wa.d?a?tx

4. wa.ya.ʔaq (Ditidaht #33), main village of the wa.ya?aqa?tx; this was the founding village of the Ditidaht; it is synonymous with Nitinat

5. ʔu.ʔu.ws (Ditidaht #15), main village of the ʔu.ʔu.wsaʔtx
6. ča.x^wi.yt (Ditidaht #14), main village of the ča.x^wi.ytaʔtx.
7. qaqbaqis (Ditidaht #11), main village of the qaqbaqisaʔtx; it "as known as "slave village"
8. wawa.xʔadiʔs (Ditidaht #6), main village of the wawa.xʔadiʔsaʔtx
9. qwa.ba.duwaʔ (Ditidaht #4), main village of the qwa.ba.duwaʔaʔtx

Each of the main villages had its own chief and sub-chiefs and territory.¹⁷⁷

In 1986 John Thomas confirmed the above listing and also named **three villages** at the south end of Nitinat Lake at the entrance to the Narrows and their group affiliation:

1. wiiqpalu.ws (Ditidaht #43), winter village of the Caqqawisaʔtx
2. hitiltaʔs (Ditidaht #46), winter village of **the** Cux^wk^wa.daʔaʔtx
3. hitacaʔsaq (Ditidaht #47), main village of the daʔu.wʔa.tx; **their** origin site **was** at the head of the lake at daʔuwaqc (Ditidaht #79)¹⁷⁸

From these lists a minimum of ten independent groups have been identified in **the** region of what is now Ditidaht territory:

1. caqqawisaʔtx
2. ʔa.di.wa.aʔtx
3. cux^wk^wa.daʔaʔtx
4. wa.ya.ʔaqaʔtx
5. ʔu.ʔu.wsaʔtx
6. ča.x^wi.ytaʔtx
7. qaqbaqisaʔtx

8. wawa.xʔadiʔsaʔtx
9. qwa.ba.duwaʔaʔtx
10. daʔu.wʔa.tx
 - 'anímíyistaqemíʔ
 - 1apHáítapʔtaqemíʔ
 - 'aps.wipiʔactaqemíʔ

The status of the groups named by Chief Peter is unclear at this time. According to John Thomas the villages at ~~ʔi~~ʔu.w (Ditidaht #64), xubítad (Ditidaht #62), qí.qu.ws (Ditidaht #63) were fall fishing stations of a number of the coastal groups. Apparently they changed names at this time. Whether this represents a traditional or a more recent pattern was not determined. If the Nitinat Lake region was the traditional territory of the daʔu.wʔa.tx then the original inhabitants of these sites would have been component groups. Following this scenario it would appear that the coastal groups' use of these sites was a recent occurrence.

Historical Traditions

There are two accounts, each with differing versions, of the origin of the Ditidaht. In the tradition "How the Nitinats came to Nitinat", related by Chief Peter in 1931 and translated by John Thomas in 1986, the Ditidaht settlement of the region was brought about by conflict with their enemies. According to this tradition the people from Tatoosh Island, off Cape Flattery in Washington, got into a fight with the Ozette and were forced to abandon their home. They moved to Jordan River (Pacheenaht 87) and became the Ditidaht. Here they lived for a long time. Again they got

into a number of conflicts, this time with the **Clallam, Sooke** and **Saanich**. These groups banded together and attacked the Ditidaht forcing them to move again. They settled at **qala.yit** (Pacheenaht #114), **q^wa.ba.duwa?** (Ditidaht #4), **ʔu.ʔu.ws** (Ditidaht #15) and **wa.ya.ʔaq** (Mtidaht #33).¹⁷⁹

In Joshua Edgar's version of the settlement of the region, the Ditidaht village at Jordan River became overcrowded. They began to look for a new village and travelled along the coast until they reached the entrance to Nitinat Lake. Here they met another people called the **Daʔu.wʔa.tx** whom they joined. "There were so many Ditidaht here at the time that they changed the name to Ditidaht . . . but-before that it was **Daʔu.wʔa.tx**."¹⁸⁰

The other origin account of the Mtidaht relates to the Flood. There are three differing versions of the events.¹⁸¹ According to **Sayaachapis**, a **Sheshaht**, the **Na'o'wa'atH^a** were the first people to settle in the region. Their origin goes back to the time of the Flood when the chief, **ʔa'ni.niyis** "Going above on the beach", loaded his children and his younger brothers into a large canoe and went to **ka.ka.piya** (Mt. **Rosander**, Ditidaht #74). When the waters subsided they came down from the mountain and built their houses-at **wa.ya.ʔaq** (Ditidaht #33).¹⁸²

liy-na-um, a Mtidaht, told Alfred Carmichael a different version of this tradition in 1922. With approaching flood waters **Cha-ats-sem**, the chief of Whyac, his wife, four boys and four girls, got into a canoe. The salt water rose over the land and covered everything. **Cha-ats-sem** sought

refuge on the top of **ka.ka.piya** (Ditidaht #74) where they stayed until the waters subsided. Then Cha-ats-sem went to Tatoosh near Neah Bay and **Niteena** at Jordan River where other survivors from his village had landed. They returned with their chief and again built houses at Whyac.¹⁸³

A third **version** of the Flood was told to **Bernice Touchie** by Bobby Joseph, her father, and Ida Jones, her grandmother. According to this tradition the people were living at **Di:ti:da?** (**Pacheenaht** 67, Jordan River). When the flood waters began to rise there was panic in the village as people tried to **save themselves**. One canoe with eleven people, a man and woman, eight sons and one girl, drifted until they landed on a dry shelf on **ka.ka.piya**. Here they lived until the **waters** subsided, when they began to explore the new country. They finally settled at Whyac, the place where one of the sons had obtained whaling power.¹⁸⁴

Common to all the traditions is the founding of Whyac as the first village. The **formation** of **most** of the other groups appears to be a budding off from this settlement, or from one of the bud-off groups. The original bud-offs are hypothesized to be the **caqqawisa?tx**, the **ka.di.wa.a?tx**, the **cux^wk^wa'da?a?tx** and the **qwa.ba.duwa?a?tx**. Little information, however, has been collected on the history of these groups. John Thomas¹⁸⁵ provided some historical details on the **caqqawisa?tx** and the **cux^wk^wa.da?a?tx**. He knew little about the **ka.di.waa?tx** as they had died out.¹⁸⁶ The **caqqawisa?tx** were an outside people who wintered at **wiiqpalu.ws** (Ditidaht #43). They were related to a number of other groups through marriage of the chief's three daughters. The eldest married the **qwa.ba.duwa?a?tx** chief,¹⁸⁷ the middle one married the

ca.x^wi.yta?tx chief and the youngest married the wawa.x?adi?sa?tx chief.

The cux^wk^wa.da?a?tx "are another outside people who were renowned whalers and raiders. They also had an inside winter village at hitiŋta?s (Ditidaht #46). They had close connections with the people at Whyac through marriage.

John Thomas related information on the founding of two other groups. the ŋu.?u.wsa?tx and ca.x^wi.yta?tx.¹⁸⁸ The founder of Clo-oose (Di tidaht #15) "as dawa. sab. He had three sons, ca.x^wi.yittx, ŋi.ŋal and rawinaqis (ta.wi?). The eldest son had no hier and the chieftainship passed on to ŋi.sal. Ta.wi? also had no sons and only one daughter. She married Chief Queesto of Pachida?, thereby giving up rights at Clo-oose.¹⁸⁹ ŋi.sal "as John Thomas' grandfather. The ca.x^wi.yta?tx "are formed by a budding off from Clo-oose.

The qaqbaqisa?tx were slaves of previously high status who belonged to either Whyac or Clo-oose. For reasons unknown they were allowed to set up a village at qaqbaqis (Ditidaht #11). They had a reputation as good hunters and as artists. According to John Thomas, they "era the first to hire out on sealing schooners, thereby accumulating wealth which they used to gain respect. They then joined with the groups at Whyac and Clo-oose.¹⁹⁰

According to John Thomas the wawa.x?adi?sa?tx came from the American side of Juan de Fuca Strait. They settled initially at qala.yit (Pacheenaht 8114) before they moved to wawa.x?adi?s (Ditidaht #6). They had a reputation as "brainy" people. Chief Peter was related to this group.¹⁹¹

There are a number of war traditions which impacted on the independence of these groups. According to Chief Louie, an Ohiaht, the *caqqawisa?tx* and the *ʔa.di.wa.a?tx* were killed off by the Uchucklesaht chief *N'a:si:smis* who raided as far as *cusi.yiyt* (Ditidaht #27).¹⁹²

In 1985 Charlie Jones related to John Thomas a tradition of a war between the Makah and the Ditidaht. The Makah were without salmon rivers and made war against the Ditidaht to obtain them. The **Ditidaht** were driven from the region of Nitinat Lake, the survivors scattering to camps along the shoreline to the southeast and to their *Pachida?* relatives. The Makah occupied Nitinat for a long time. When the Ditidaht became strong again they raided, together with the *Pachida?*, the Makah while they were fishing offshore. The Makah were defeated and the Ditidaht reclaimed their **lands**.¹⁹³ Many of the place names in the region are Makah and likely relate to the **time** of their occupation. Why these names were retained is not known.

Chief Peter also related two war traditions of the Ditidaht. In "The Nitinats Fight **the Saanitch**"¹⁹⁴ a war party of four canoe.9 of warriors attacked the **Saanich at cilli.dad**, killing many men. This tradition appears to date to the time the Ditidaht lived at *Di:ti:da?* (*Pacheenaht* #7). In the second tradition "The Nitinats Defeat the Saanich and the **Cowitchan**"¹⁹⁵ the **Cowichans** and the Saanich people raided the Ditidaht while they were up the Nitinat River drying salmon. The survivors of the raid sought **the aid of** the Ditidahts camped at *ʔiɬu.w* (Ditidaht #64), *ʔubitad* (Ditidaht #62) and *q̓i.qu.wə* (Ditidaht 863). Many Cowichan and Saanich were killed in the revenge raid.

There are brief references to continued ~~hostilities with~~ the Makah and the Clallam into the mid-nineteenth century. At this time there ~~were~~ still four villages occupied, **wa.ya.?aq**, **-ʔu.?u.ws**, **qwa.ba.du.wa?** and **cux^{wk}a.da?**, each with its own chief (Figs. 56 to 59).

Summary

Di:ti:da (Pacheenaht #7), at Jordan River, was the original village of ~~the Ditidaht~~ which "as abandoned as a result of either attacks by enemies, overcrowding or the Flood. In the Flood traditions **wa.ya.?aq** (Ditidaht #33) became the first **new** village while settlement ~~occurred~~ at a number of villages in the other migration traditions.

There is conflicting evidence whether the Ditidaht were the first to settle in the region of Nitinat **Lake** or whether the **Da?u.w?a.tx** were already there. Whatever the scenario ~~the~~ Ditidaht came to dominate the region. The settlements at **caqqawis**, **ʔa.di.wa**, **cux^{wk}a.da?**, **wawa.x?adi?s** and **qwa.ba.duwa?** are interpreted either as a budding-off of groups from the original settlement at **wa.ya.?aq** or as initial settlements themselves. The settlement, at **ʔu.?u.ws** is viewed as a bud-off from **wa.ya.?aq** while **ca.x^wi.yt** is viewed as a bud-off from **ʔu.?u.ws**. Qaqbaqis, the village of slaves, also is interpreted as a bud-off from either **wa.ya.?aq** or **ʔu.?u.ws**.

Unfortunately there are few details in ~~the historical~~ traditions to date events (i.e. wars) or to identify with certainty the participants. The conflict between the Uchucklesaht and the **caqqawisa?tx** and the **ʔa.di.wa.a?tx** resulted in their territories being absorbed by the

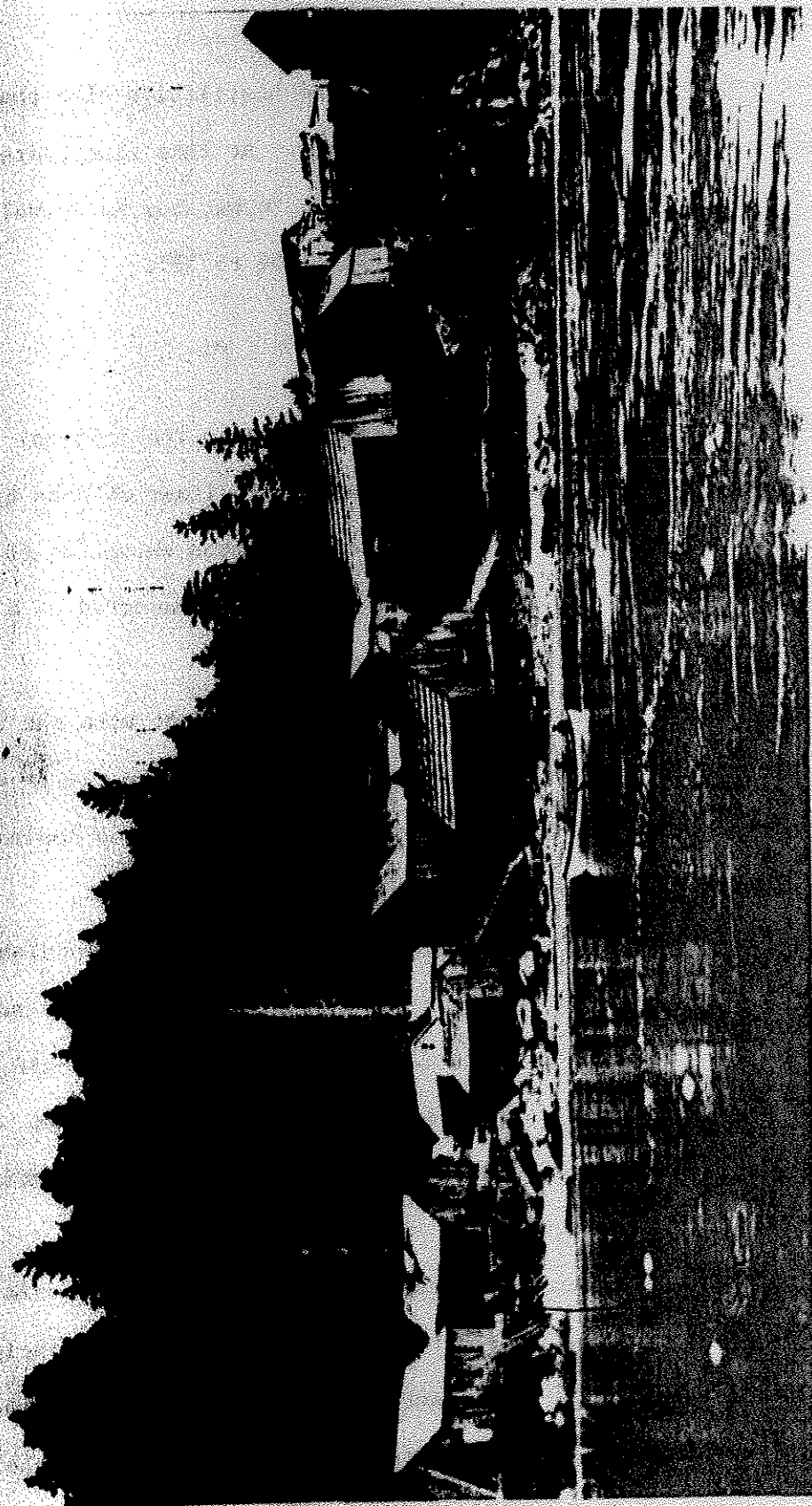


Fig. 56. The Ditidaht village of Whyac, around 1900 (Photo: private collection).



Fig. 57. The Ditidaht village of Tsuquadra, around 1890
(Photo: BCPM PN 897).



Fig. 58. The Ditidaht village of Carmanah, around 1900
(Photo: BCPM PN 896).



Fig. 59. The Ditidaht village of Clo-ocse, about 1900 (Photo: private collection).

Uchucklesaht. The survivors appear to have moved in to the Nitinat Narrows region. In the various conflicts with the Salish-speaking peoples and the **Makah**, it appears that most, if not all, of the Ditidaht groups were involved. Only the Makah **conflict resulted** in the temporary loss of territory.

At the end of the nineteenth century four of the villages, **wa.ya.?aq**, **ʔu.?u.ws**, **qwa.ba.duwa?** and **cux^{wk}a.da?**, still **existed** as separate entities with their own chiefs. The **Caqqawisa?tx** and **ʔa.di.waa?tx** had disappeared as separate political entities, possibly as a result of the attack by the **Uchucklesaht**. The **Da?u.w?a.tx** appear to have merged with the people at **wa.ya.?aq** and the **wawa.x?adi?sa?tx** with the **ʔu.?u.wsa?tx**. In 1882 the population "as two hundred and seventy-one, one hundred and seven at **wa.ya.?aq**, forty-six at **ʔu.?u.ws**, seventy-one at **qwa.ba.duwa?** and forty-seven at **cux^{wk}a.da?**.

Pacheenaht History

Introduction

Today the Pacheenaht are **centred** in Port Renfrew at Cordon River, IR 2. In the past they were a numerous people whose territory extended along the coast from **Sheringham Point** (Pacheenaht #1) to **Bonilla Point** (Pacheenaht #112) and inland up the San Juan **River valley** (Fig. 60). Their **neighbours** to the southeast were the Salish speaking **Sooke**, to the northwest their kin the Ditidaht, and inland the **Cowichan**.

Our knowledge of Pacheenaht history comes from two main **sources**: Chief Peter and Chief Jones. In 1931 Mary **Haas** and Morris Swadesh worked

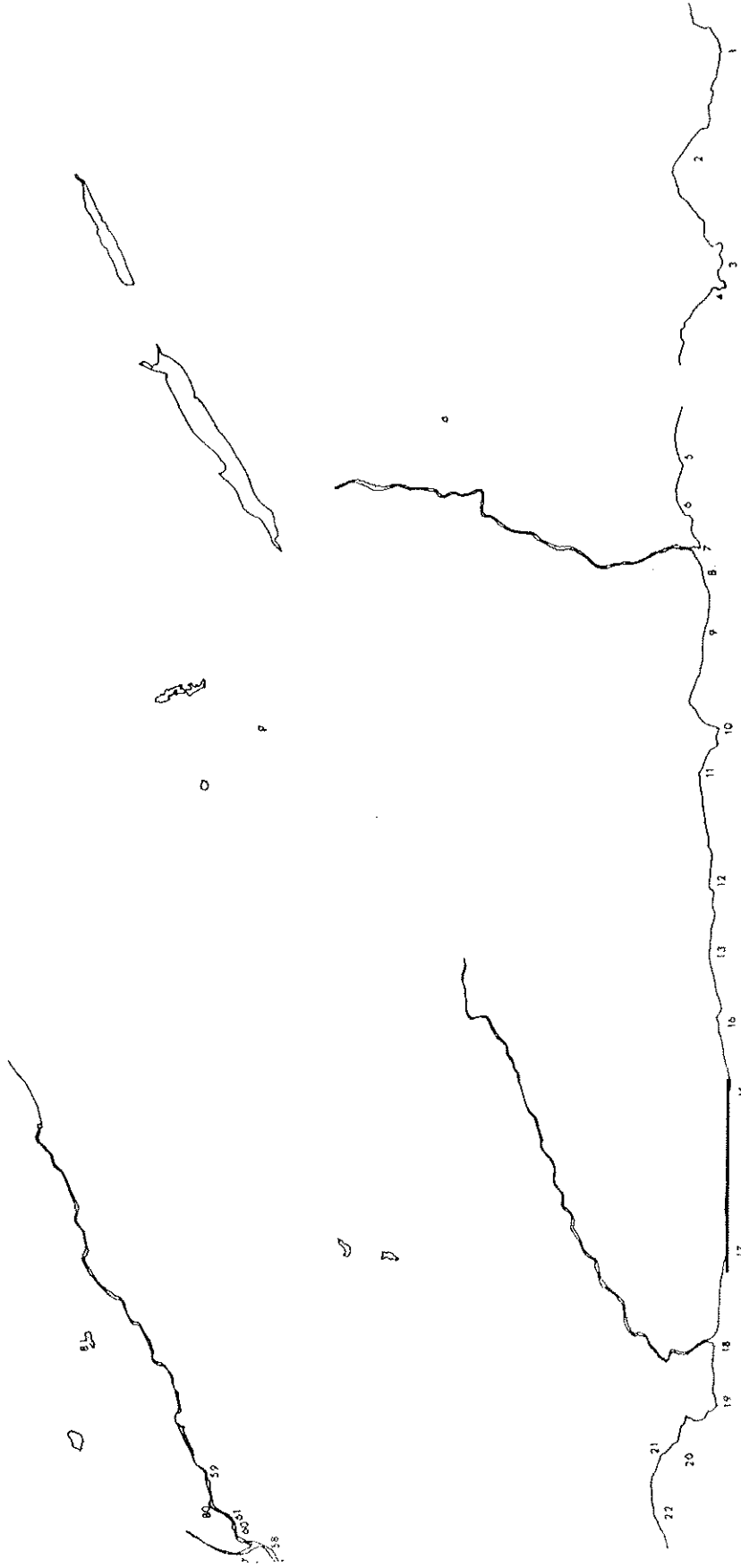


Fig. 60. Map of Pacheenaht territory with known places numbered (for key see Appendix F).

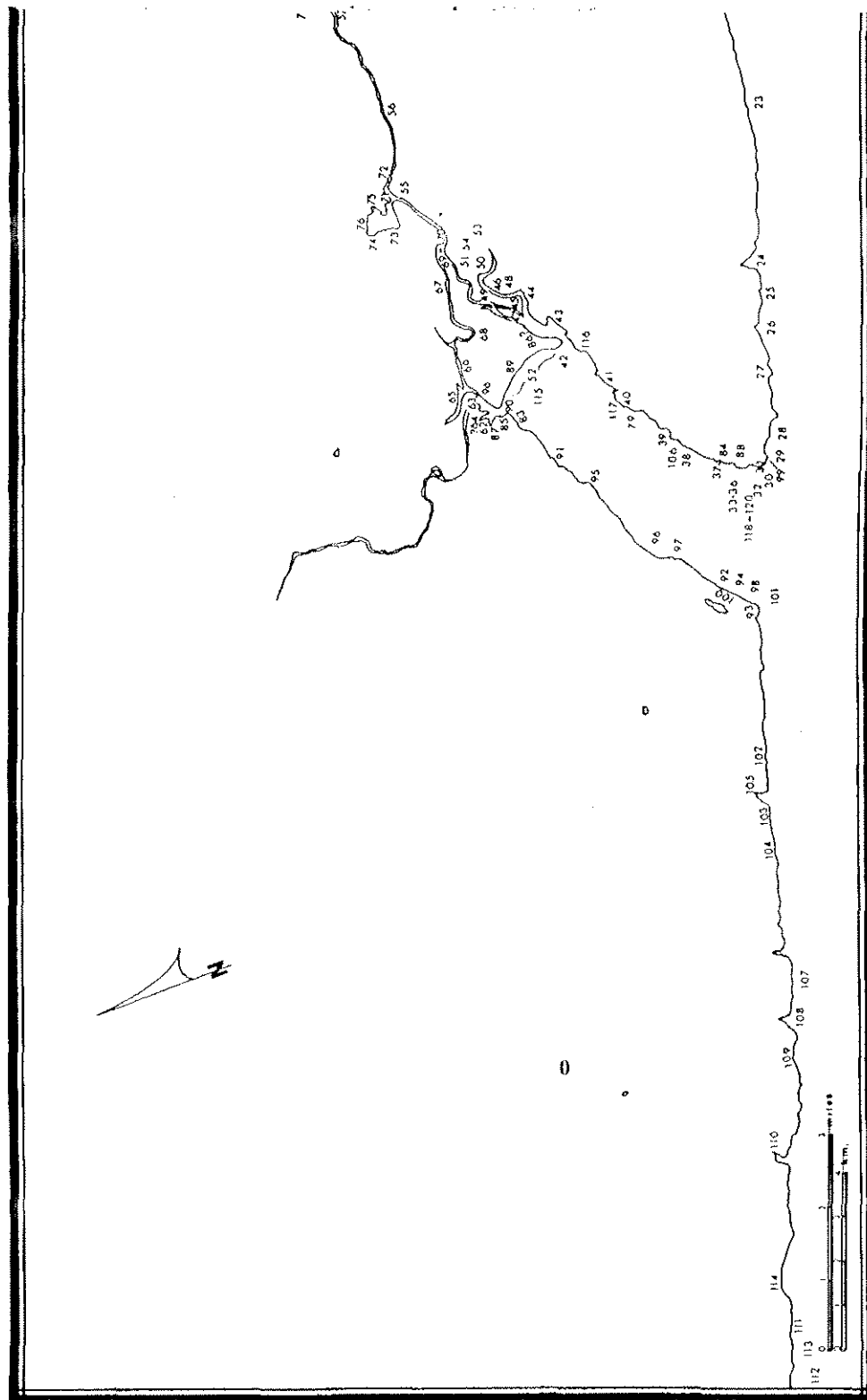




Fig. 61. Four "Ditidaht" chiefs, around 1910. Chief Peter is on the left, second from right is Chief Charles Queesto (Photo: United Church Archives).

with Chief Peter, who was the second chief of the Pacheenaht, and his son Jasper. Their emphasis was linguistic study and the collection of mythological and historical texts. Mary **Haas** also collected a valuable geography of Port **San** Juan. Eugene **Arima** worked extensively with Chief Charlie Jones, the hereditary chief, between 1963 and 1975. From these interviews **Arima** has produced manuscripts on the making of a west coast canoe, notes on Southern West Coast (**Nootka**) Natives and Native Peoples of Pacific Rim National Park¹⁹⁶ which includes some of the information from his 1976 manuscript. In 1985 and 1986 John Thomas verified place name and historical information with Chief Jones for this project. Edward **Sapir** also collected a number of brief references to groups and events within Pacheenaht territory from William and Sayaachapis in the 1913-14 field season.

The place **name** information from both Chief Peter and Chief Jones has been compiled by Cairn Crockford and **Bianca** Message in Appendix **F**, Pacheenaht Geography;

Component Groups of the Pacheenaht

There are few listings or discussions of component groups for the Pacheenaht. In 1914, William, **in** his list of tribes, named three groups in what is now Pacheenaht territory:

1. **Qanayit'atH^a**, "bad" people who were killed off by the
Ts!icya'atH^a
2. **P!ātcína?atH^a**
3. **Nití'na'atH^a**¹⁹⁷

Sayaachapis **described** the **Qanayit'atH^a** as a:

Nitinat tribe between Kloos and San Juan, who were giants, to whose hips common people would reach; burned all Ts!icya'ath^a villages when men were out whaling.¹⁹⁸

On the map of place names in Port San Juan collected from Chief Peter, Haas divided the bay in half. On the west side are named the San Juan Indians and on the east side are named the Pachena Bay Indians. As well two villages were plotted at the head of San Juan Harbour, t'luquxoct'aatx (Pacheenaht #63) and q̣awqa.d'aatx (Pacheenaht #86).¹⁹⁹ The suffix 'aatx, however, refers to people. If removed the place names are rendered correctly. It is inferred that these places represent the main villages of the two peoples.

Arima listed and briefly discussed the villages of the Pacheenaht from information he obtained from Chief Jones. Five villages are described as permanent:

1. Kw'itibe?t (Pacheenaht #43), Harris Cove, a village of 20 houses with a high knoll behind.
2. ?A?aqwaxtas (Pacheenaht #71), located on the north shore of Fairy Lake in San Juan River valley.
3. K'u?uba? (Pacheenaht #40), Robertson Cove, a village of 12 to 15 houses.
4. ?U:yats' (Pacheenaht #96), Thrasher Cove, a village of eight houses.
5. Qaṭa:yit (Pacheenaht #114), at Clyde Beach, a village of 18 to 20 houses.

Three are described as winter villages:

1. Bu:ṭapī?s (Pacheenaht #41), at Port Renfrew, a village of 12 houses.

2. **?Apsawa (Pacheenaht #31)**, south entrance to San Juan Harbour, a village of eight houses.
3. **Ti:xwa:p** (Pacheenaht #27), Botanical Beach, a village of six small houses at top of the bluff.

Another three villages are listed but not described:

1. **Tɬ'i:xsit** (Pacheenaht #53), a former large village on the south channel of the San Juan River.
2. **Ti'ehib** (Pacheenaht #12) a village at Boulder Beach.
3. **Di:ti:da?** (Pacheenaht #7), a village at Jordan River.

P'a:chi:da? (Pacheenaht #52) at the head of San Juan Harbour became the main village in recent times. There was no discussion by Arima of the groups associated with any of these villages.²⁰⁰

In summary, a minimum of three independent groups have been identified in what is now Pacheenaht territory:

1. **qala.yita?tx**
2. **p'achida.?tx**
 - t'luquxoct 'aatx
 - qawqa.d'aatx
3. **di:ti:da?a.?tx**

Historical Traditions

Chief Jones related the origin of the **pa.ci.d?a.?tx** to John Thomas in 1985. He stated that there were no **pa.ci.d?a.?tx** for a long time, they were only a branch of the Ditidaht. One morning sea foam filled the village at the head of Port San Juan. The chief sent out an old slave

woman to see if it was safe, which it was. They took on the name **pa.ci.d?** which meant "sea foam" after this event, and became a separate people.²⁰¹

Chief Peter related a tradition "**Pachena** once spoke **Salish**" to Swadesh in 1931. According to this tradition the **?a?a?uspay**, meaning Salish-speaking people were the **pa.ci.d?a.?tx**. They spoke like the **Sooke** people. A man from this group married a Ditidaht woman, another married a woman from **ʔa.di.wa?**. This is how they learned to speak Ditidaht. This happened a long time ago when there were no white men.²⁰²

The **pa.ci.d?a.?tx** were involved in a number of **conflicts** with Salish-speaking peoples, and in particular the Clallam. Unfortunately no recorded traditions of these conflicts were found.

summary

The **pa.ci.d?a.?tx** were originally a component group of the Ditidaht who became independent at an unknown time in the past. They became a numerous people in part through the addition of other peoples such as the **?a?a?uspay**. The **pa.ci.d?a.?tx** occupied at least eleven villages along the southwestern coast of Vancouver Island. Seven of these were located in the region of Port San Juan: four of the five permanent villages, two of the three winter villages and one of the three other villages listed by **Arima**. Of the remaining four villages, one, the fifth permanent village, was located on the outer coastline north of Port San Juan and the other three on the outer coastline south of Port San Juan. The identity of the social units that occupied these villages, however, is not known. The

relationship of the villages to each other, whether they were occupied contemporaneously **or** sequentially, also is not known.

The **pa.ci.d?a.?tx** appear to have suffered a number of setbacks in the historic period which forced their amalgamation at the head of Port San Juan. By the **end** of the nineteenth century they were a small band with a population of less than **one** hundred.

Summary

The ethnographic history section had two main objectives: first, to identify and **locate** the groups of people who lived in the regions of study before the massive changes of the historic period; and second, to document the events that resulted in changes to **the** composition of these groups **and/or** their territories. Two sources of ethnographic data were **analysed**: the published and unpublished information recorded by early ethnographers (e.g. **Sapir**, Thomas, Curtis, Swadesh), **and interviews** of contemporary elders collected primarily by St. Claire.

The overview histories generated from the ethnographic data **document** an estimated two hundred year period of profound socio-political change on this part of **the coast**. The six tribes that today claim the region of study within their traditional **territories** are the survivors of the events of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The other groups that have been identified were the casualties.

The socio-political changes that have been documented did not occur in a random fashion. There were cultural mechanisms that allowed for

flexibility: Restructuring of the social **unit** by fission (budding off) or fusion (amalgamation) was built in to the **cultural system** of the Nuu-chah-nulth. The local group, which generally took its name from the main village, was the basic social unit. It consisted of a number of ranked component groups that were represented as house **units** at the local group village. The local group chief came from the highest ranked house. The component groups were named after ancestral **events**, a chief, house location or reputation.

In pre-contact times restructuring of this unit is hypothesized to have occurred most often as a result of **population expansion**. When the main village became over-crowded a satellite village could be created by a budding-off process. Amalgamations were brought about as a result of warfare or natural disaster. In the historic period warfare, which resulted in group decimation and capture of territory, increased in intensity. It was the major factor leading to group and territory re-alignment **s**. Re-structuring took on two forms. When the conquering group claimed the territory (**hɪs'ɔk't**) then the other group lost all rights and ceased to exist as an independent entity. When the conflict did not result in territorial loss, or only partial loss, the survivors retained their rights. If, **however**, the group was left so weakened by the hostilities that they joined another their territory generally was absorbed by that new group, although they often retained **some** of their traditional rights in the area.

Whether new territories were acquired by conquest or amalgamation, local groups were forced to develop new subsistence patterns to

effectively exploit them. The pattern utilized was dependent on the size of the territory and the resource diversity, but all involved a shift in settlement on a seasonal basis.

Each amalgamation also necessitated an internal re-structuring of the local group. The ranking of an incoming group did not necessarily reflect the internal ranking of that group when it was independent, but depended on the relationships of the component groups with those to whom they were amalgamating. For example, a lesser ranked component group who had marriage ties with the new group would be ranked higher in the new structure.

A by-product of amalgamation was the creation of new group names. While some groups maintained their names derived from their traditional sites (e.g. Sheshaht) others took on new names which reflected their location in the amalgamated village (e.g. Ohiaht). Other name changes occurred in response to shifts in settlement, groups taking on names from their seasonal camps during the time they were at that location.

The net results of the amalgamations were a dramatic reduction in the number of independent groups and a corresponding increase in the size of the **territories** of the remaining groups. It is at this time that a seasonal round pattern was developed to fully utilize the larger territories.

This section has provided an outline of the events from the traditional **histories** that led to the formation of the Sheshaht, Ucluelet, Clayoquot, Ohiaht, Ditidaht and **Pacheenaht**, groups whose traditional territories are encompassed in part by one of the three units of Pacific

Rim National Park. The information that relates specifically to the park units will be extracted in a succeeding section and integrated and discussed with the archaeological data which **will be presented** next.

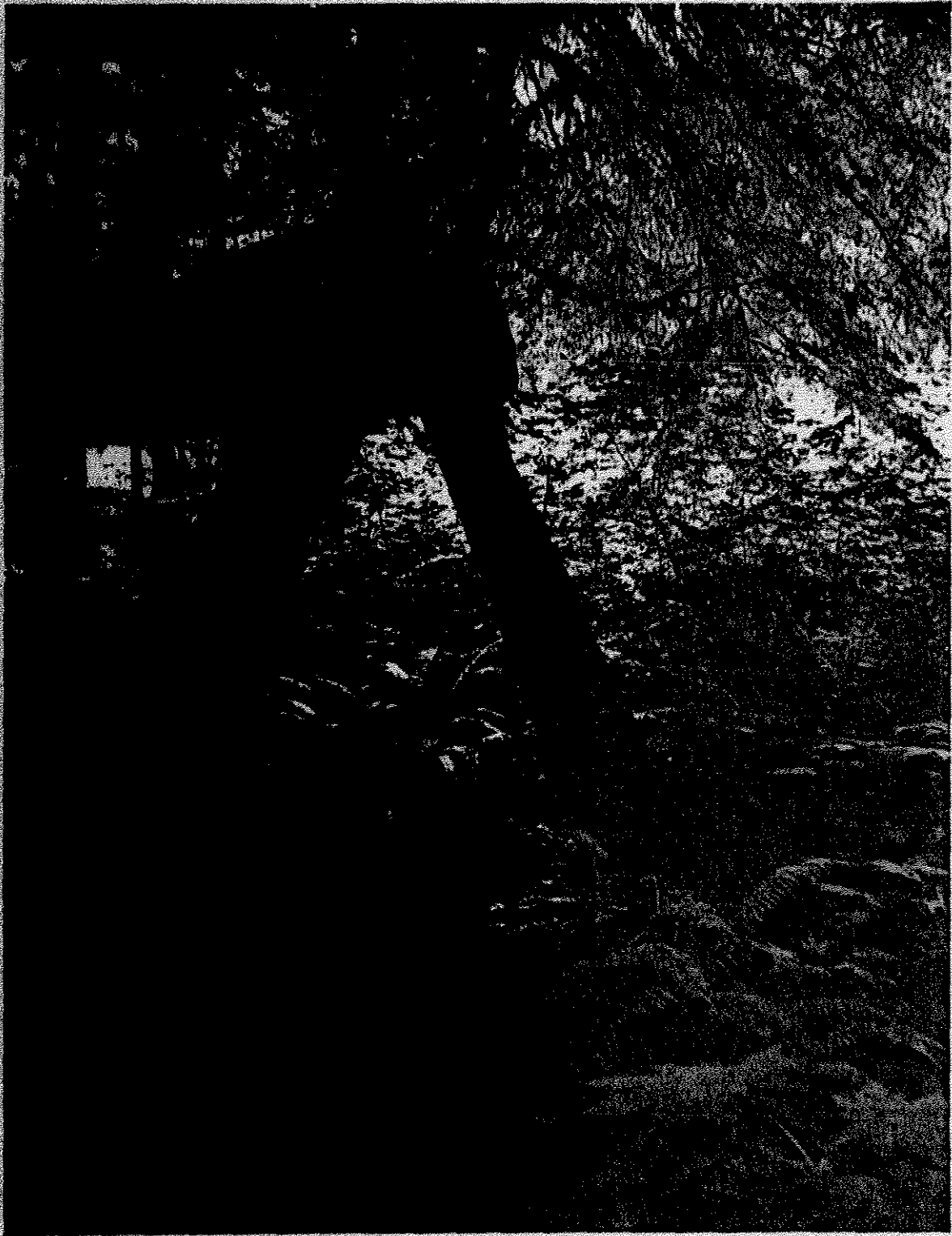


Fig. 62. Remains of a traditional style longhouse being reclaimed by the forest, Kilxin (Ohiaht #92) (Photo: BCPM 1983B:219) ↓

The Archaeological Record

Introduction

The archaeological record is the observable physical evidence on the landscape of modification resulting from human occupation and/or use. This evidence can be obtained only by direct observation and is recorded as sites based on the format outlined in the "Guide to the British Columbia Archaeological Site Inventory Form".¹ Site records are of varying quality depending on the reporting procedure and the standards at the time of recording. They range from general descriptions of sites that were reported by interested individuals to scientific descriptions that were obtained by systematic surveys by archaeologists.

Individuals who directed projects which recorded native archaeological sites in the region of study are listed below in chronological order by investigator(s) and areas visited.

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 1963 | Don Abbott and John Sendey, Cape Beale to Bamfield, Long Beach |
| 1971-73 | Dave Coombes and Barry Campbell, Esowista Peninsula |
| 1972 | Beth and Ray Hill, rock art survey, West Coast Trail and Long Beach |
| 1973 | Brian White, Broken Group Islands, Long Beach (?) and West Coast Trail (?) |
| 1973 | Alan Carl, Deer Group Islands |
| 1975 | Denis St. Claire, Barkley Sound region with emphasis on the Broken Group Islands |

- 1979 Lynne Melcomb and L. Mason, Long Beach
- 1980 Richard Brolly, Meares Island
- 1982 James Haggarty and Richard Inglis, Broken Group Islands,
Meares Island
- 1982 Al Mackie, Meares Island
- 1983 James Haggarty and Richard Inglis, Long Beach and West Coast
Trail
- 1983 James Haggarty and Richard Inglis, Santa Maria Island
- 1984 Al Mackie and Laurie Williamson, Bamfield Inlet, Mills
Peninsula and the Outer Deer Group Islands
- 1985-86 Arcas Ltd., tree resource area survey, Meares Island

As well, there have been two excavations in the region.² Catherine Capes tested the site at Green Point on Long Beach in 1962 and Judy Buxton excavated the defensive site at Aguilar Point near Bamfield in 1968. Only the Buxton material has been analyzed.³

There has been a major change in the methodology of archaeological survey since the early 1980s. Rather than focussing on locations extracted from ethnographic data or of known potential, surveys in 1982, 1983 and 1984, for example, were based on a rigorous examination of all the modern shoreline that was accessible. The results were impressive. In the Broken Group Islands, for example, the increased rigour resulted in a four hundred and sixteen percent increase in the number of recorded sites.

There will be a twofold discussion of the archaeological data in this section. First, a general overview of the archaeological record will be organized by modern tribal territory for the six groups who have territory within Pacific Rim National Park. And second, a detailed discussion will

focus on the archaeological record within the three park units. Before proceeding the archaeological site classification system employed in this report will be summarized to assist the reader in understanding the range and complexity of the archaeological record.

Archaeological Site Classification System

Six major site categories have been defined based primarily on the type of modification observed and secondly on the basis of function inferred both from existing ethnographic and 'historic' documentation and from their environmental setting. These six categories are: 1) General Activity; 2) Fish Trap; 3) Burial; 4) Rock Art; 5) Tree Resource Area; and 6) Isolated Find. Within each of the six categories **a number** of specific site types and sub-types have been defined. The range of potential site types within each major category along with a general discussion of the limitations inherent in classifying these data is presented below.

General Activity Sites

Archaeological sites **in** this category are characterized by the presence of **molluscan** remains throughout much of **the** deposit and **commonly** are referred to as shell **middens**. They range in length from a few metres to over three hundred metres, and in depth from a **few centimetres** to over four metres. A wide range **of** cultural activities **obviously** are represented by such a broad range in size. Sites have been classified based **on** physical characteristics and function **which has been** inferred from environmental setting and ethnographic analogy.

Shell **middens** which generally exceed one hundred metres in length and have well-defined house platforms, house depressions and back **midden** ridge, have been classified as villages. These sites occur in a variety of environments, from the exposed outer coast to protected bays. A major feature of their locations was protection from **severe** weather thereby assuring year round access for canoe*. **Favoured** locations were on the lee side of headlands, or areas protected by offshore reefs, islets or Islands.

Based on ethnographic documentation these structured **middens** represent the main settlements of independent local groups or their component groups. They **were** **occupied** either year **round** or on a seasonal basis. It is at these sites that the large, permanent post and beam or shed roof houses, typical of Nuu-chah-nulth culture, would have been erected (Fig. 63).

Shell middens which are generally less than one hundred metres in length have been **classified as** camps. These sites, based on ethnographic evidence, are the locations to which people from the main settlements moved to harvest various seasonal resources. They are located in a diverse number of environmental settings from exposed outer coast **to** protected island bays and lake margins. *Two general* functions have been inferred: 1) long *term*, multi-resource use, and 2) short term single resource use. Long term camps are generally larger than forty metres in length while short term camps are smaller. Assignment to specific function can be inferred from the physical setting of the camp and the resources available from **the** immediate environs (e.g. shellfish flats, salmon stream, halibut bank offshore, etc.). As well, function can be inferred from ethnographic information. Confirmation of inferred

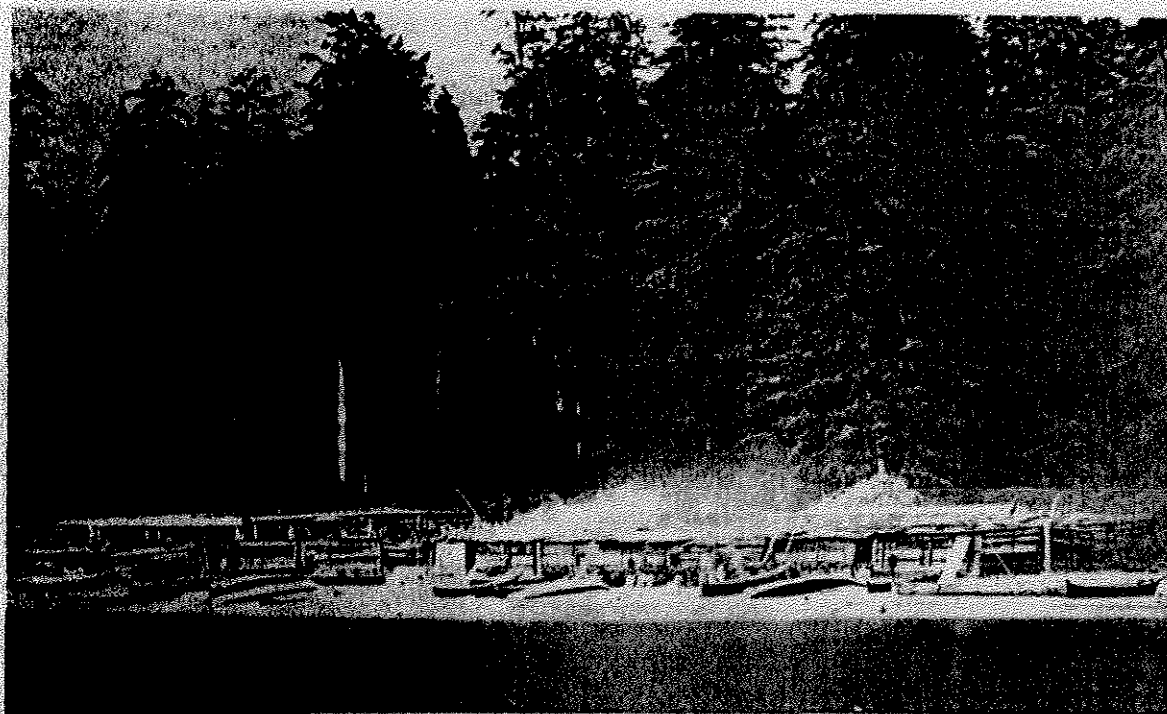


Fig. 63. A late nineteenth century village site
(Photo: BCPM PN 4650).



Fig. 64. A historic period camp site (Photo: BCPM PN 2095).

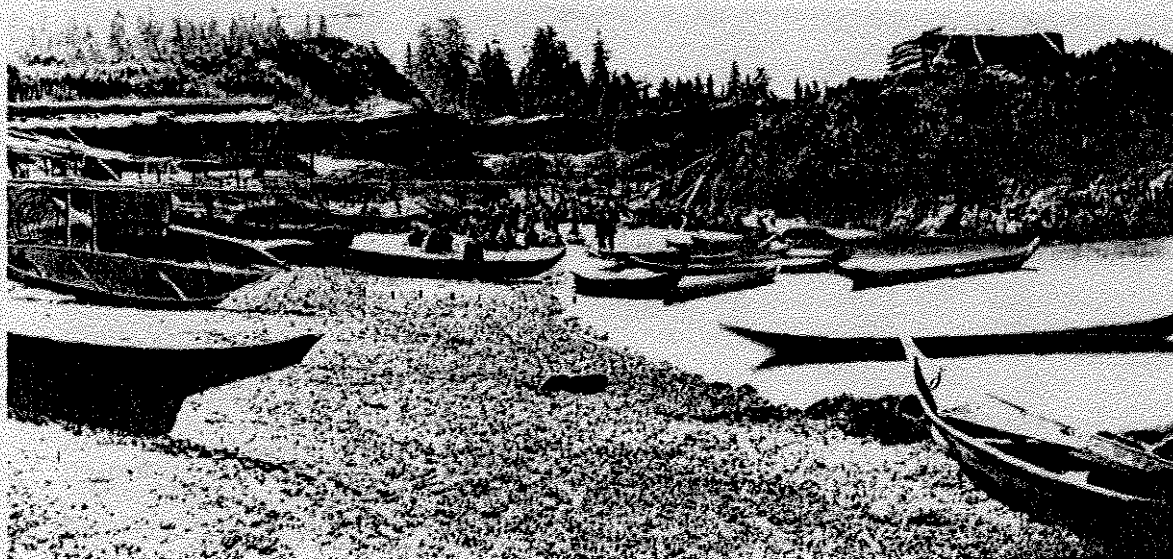


Fig. 65. A defensive site (far right) located adjacent to the main village (Photo: BCPM PN 1980).

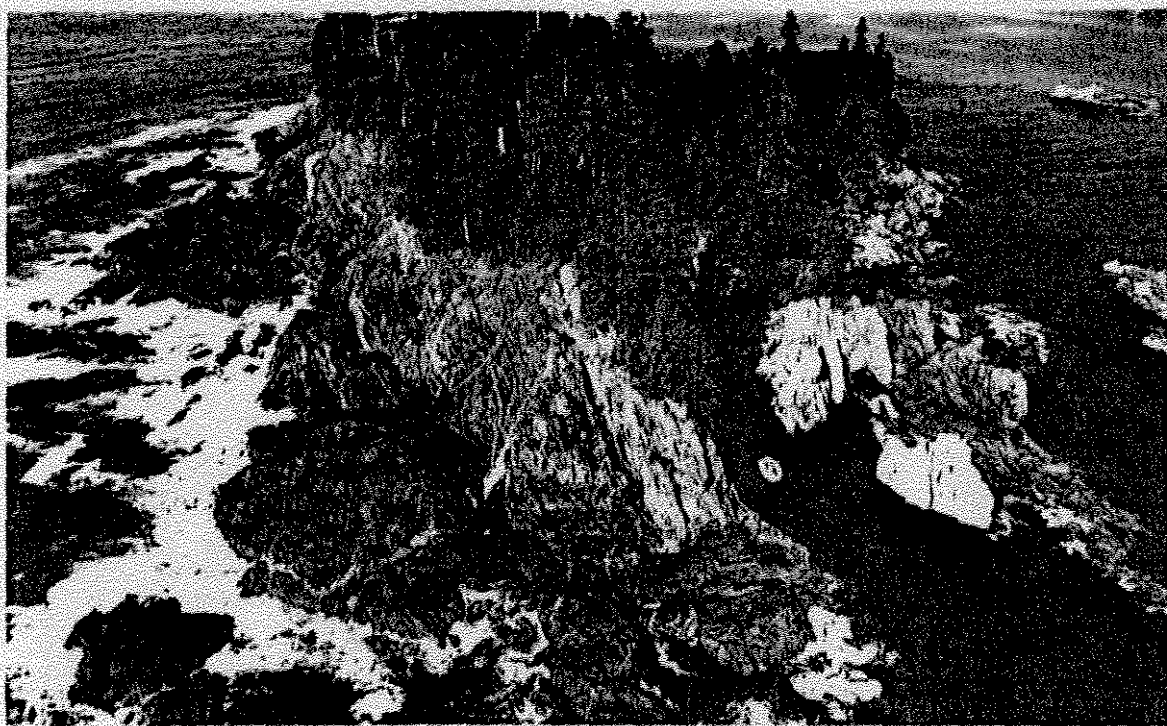


Fig. 66. Lookout site on Cree Island, Broken Group Islands (Photo: BCPM 1982B:467).

function, however, can be achieved only by the excavation and systematic collection and analysis of subsurface samples.

Structures, which often resembled small versions of village houses, were constructed at the long term, multi-resource camps (Fig. 64). No structures were built at the short term, single resource camps if procurement activities were scheduled on a daily basis. If the activity stretched over a number of days, a temporary lean-to or **mat** hut was built.

Two specialized functions have been inferred for a **few** sites in the general activity category. Sites which are located in areas difficult of access such as on high, steep-walled and flat-topped **promontories** are classified as defensive locations (Fig. 65). These sites have a number of physical characteristics in common with settlement sites including house **platforms** and house depressions. Because of restricted space, the sites and the features tend to be smaller. Defensive sites are interpreted as a specialized type of village which were used as retreats during periods of **hostility**.⁴ Their relationship to the settlement sites, however, is unclear.

Sites which also are situated in elevated locations and with a commanding view, but without a flat **area** for houses, are classified as lookout camps for observing resources and the movement of **neighbouring** groups (Fig. 66).⁵ Structures at **these** sites were likely temporary and **inconspicuous**.

Fish Trap Sites

The classification of sites within this category is based on three criteria: the material used in the trap construction, trap morphology and

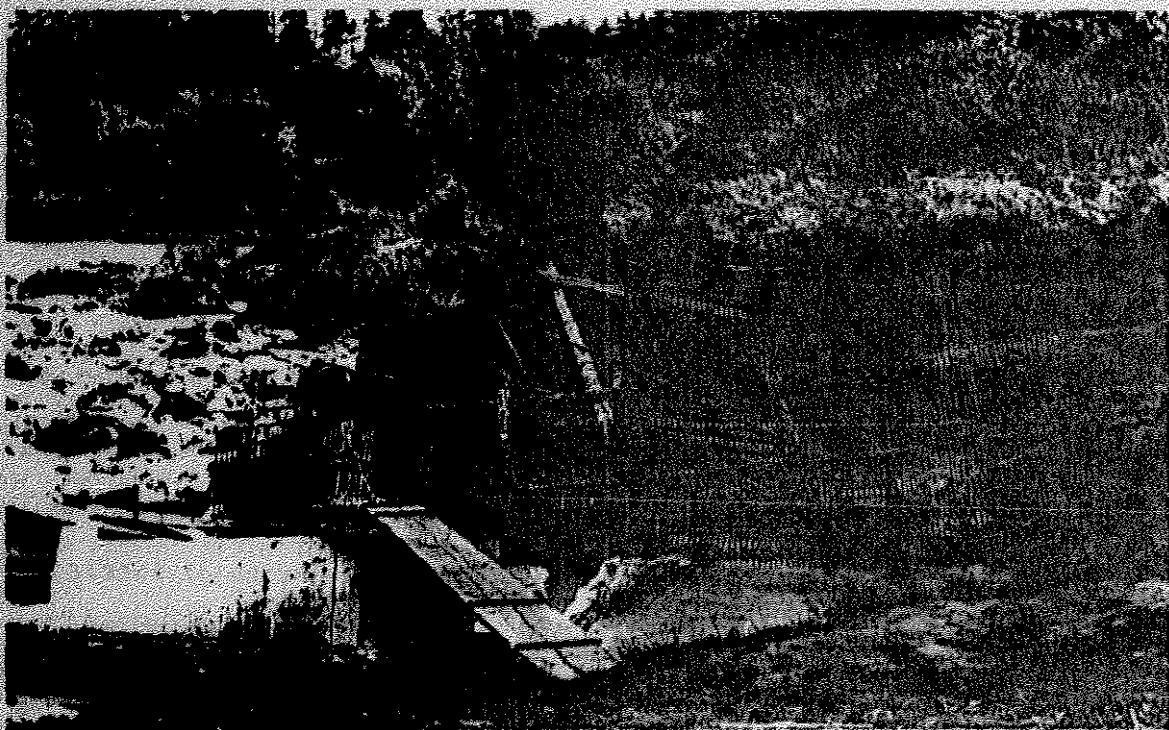


Fig. 67. Weir structure on Kitsuksis Creek, Port Alberni
(Photo: BCPM PN 4646)

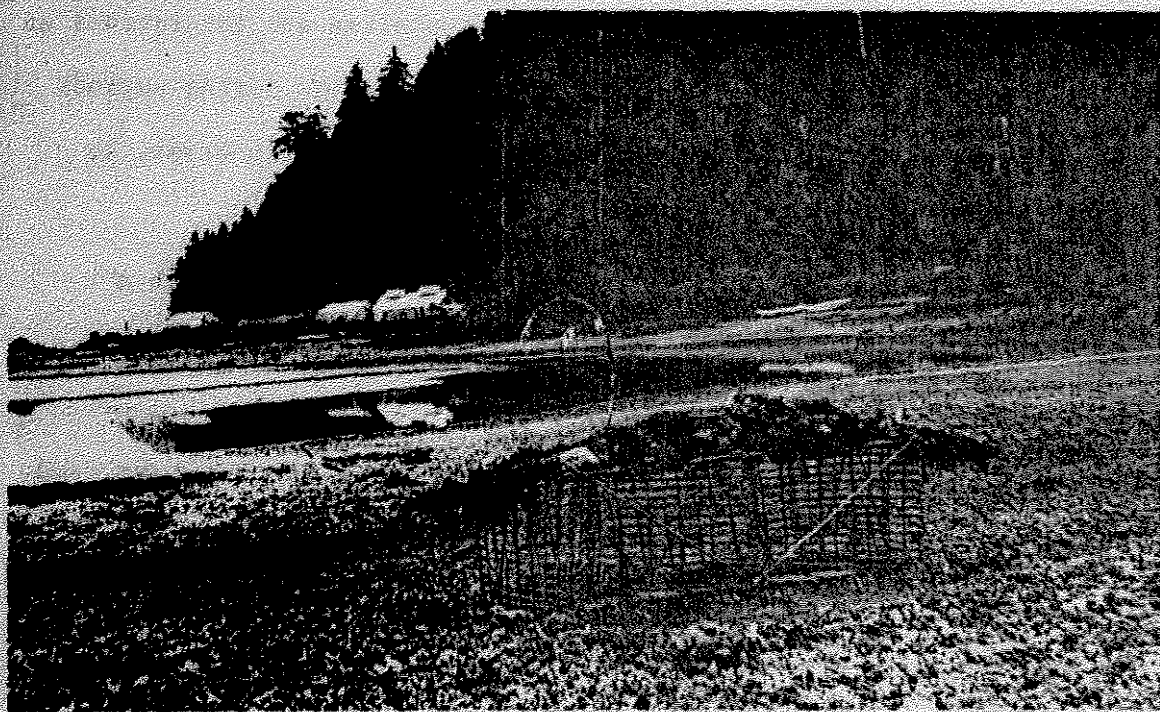


Fig. 68. Intertidal wicker trap, Nootka Sound (Photo:
BCPM PN 530).

microenvironmental setting. Initially, all sites are sub-divided on the basis of the **material used** in their construction: stone or wood. The vast majority of fish traps recorded in **this study are** constructed of stone.

Wood traps **are** divided into two sub-types: i) single stake; 2) multiple stakes. The stakes **are** the remnants of **weir structures**. These sites are generally associated with streams **or** rivets that support **runs** of **anadromous** fish of which there are few within the study region (Fig. 67).

Stone wall traps **have** been sub-divided **into three** sub-types based on morphology: 1) isolated, 2) aligned and 3) enclosed. The isolated sub-type includes all intertidal rock features which are hypothesized to relate to the **use** of wicker-trap **or** weir structures, known to have been used in the intertidal area in historic times (Fig. 68). The aligned sub-type includes both single and multiple features aligned parallel to a generally linear **or** curvilinear intertidal area (**Fig. 69**). Enclosed traps are distinguished by the fact that the outer-most wall of the trap is constructed so that all or portions of small embayments are closed off or are built so that the walls connect isolated bedrock outcroppings to create pen-like **enclosures** in the intertidal area (Fig. 70). At present, we have only limited knowledge regarding the **use** of these traps. **Drucker** briefly mentioned the use of stone weirs in a discussion of fish traps:

For shiners and similar small fish low stone weirs were built on shallows that dried at ebb tide. The fish remained trapped behind the **rows** of stones.⁶

This is the only ethnographic reference located that relates to the use of **intertidal** stone wall traps.

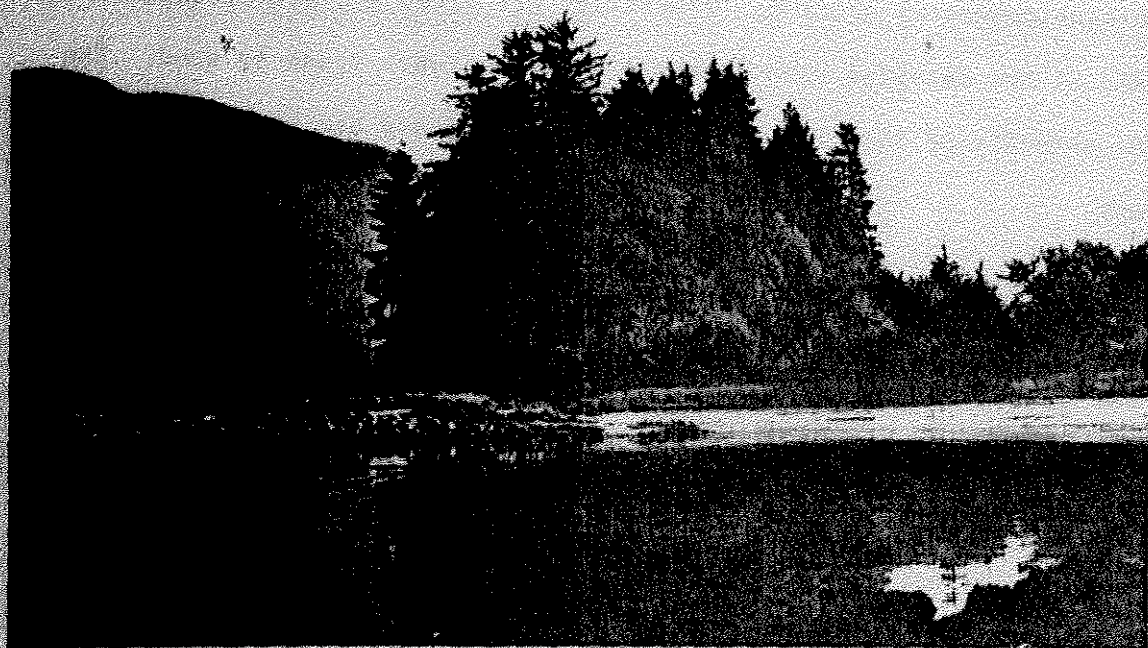


Fig. 69. Aligned stone wall fishtrap, Broken Group Islands
(Photo: BCPM 1982B:431) ↓

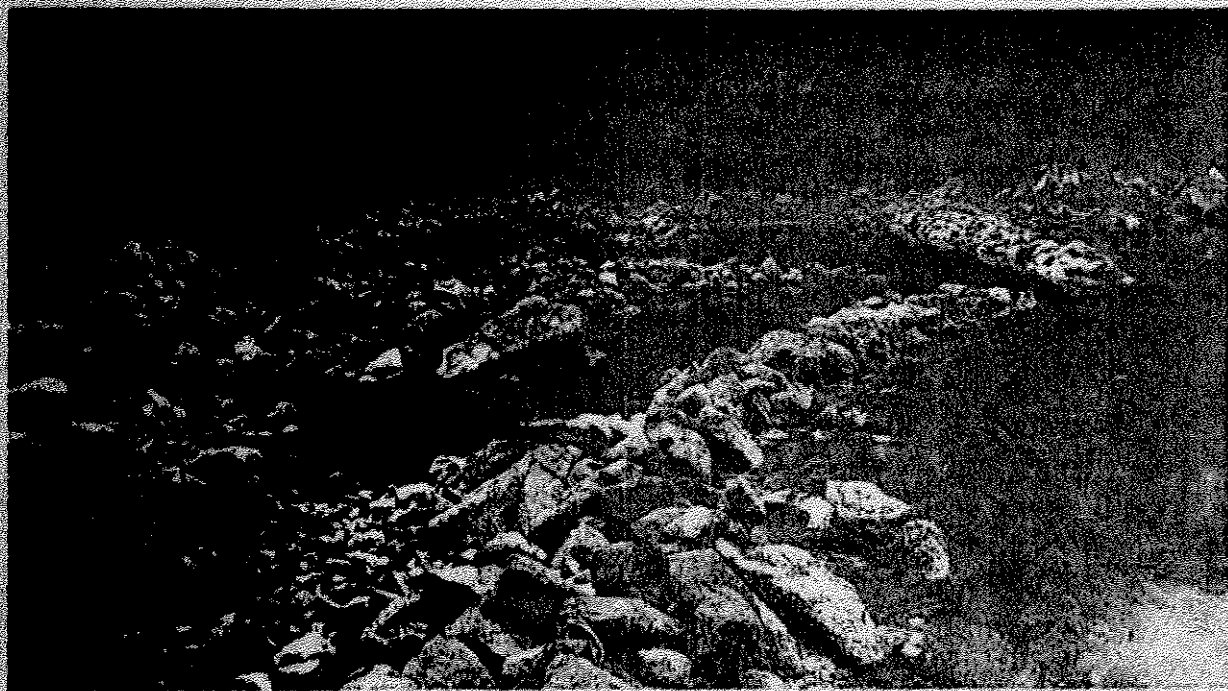


Fig. 70. Enclosed stone wall fishtrap, Broken Group Islands
(Photo: BCPM 1982B:151).

Burial Sites

Blenkinsop described the burial grounds of the **Barkley** Sound tribes in 1874:

They usually select for this purpose the most rugged spots they can find, not **unfrequently** caves which abound in numerous places on the Islands and along the steep rocky shores of the Sound . . . The **Se.shah,ahts** name their burial places **Che.am,ilth** from the word **Che.ah**, to put in a hole.

The bodies of their chiefs are placed in boxes on trees of some height and these are readily known by the numerous strips of blankets suspended on the branches around the box containing the **body**.⁷

The archaeologically recorded sites in this category are classified first on the basis of burial placement and second on the basis of location. There are two basic forms of burial placement, surface and interred. All burials located within the study region were surface placements. In terms of location the majority of burials were found in relic sea caves. The few remaining burials were located at the base of large trees on or near general activity sites. No **tree** burials were observed despite efforts to locate them.

Although only one form of burial practice was found and recorded interred burials will occur, based on evidence from past **archaeological** work on the Northwest Coast, particularly in the **midden** ridges located at the rear of major village sites. Again, no evidence of this form of burial practice was observed. All burials recorded appear to relate to the historic period.

Rock Art Sites

Rock art sites are classified into two distinct subtypes: 1) petroglyphs (rock carvings) **and** 2) pictographs (rock paintings). They are **differentiated further** based on imagery of the **glyphs**: zoomorphic (animal form), anthropomorphic (human form), geometric, historic, or combination. All rock art sites recorded in the study area are petroglyphs and all **occur** on the exposed, outer coast shoreline.

Tree Resource Areas

This site category includes all areas with trees that show some **form** of cultural modification. Utilization of trees within a single tree resource area varies from a single example of modification to numerous examples within a reasonably well-defined **area** such as a developing **deltaic** environment.

Tree resource areas are differentiated on **the** basis of 1) bark utilization, 2) **wood utilization** and 3) bark/wood utilization. Bark utilization is differentiated further on the basis of scar morphology: 1) notch, b) strip, c) slab, and d) combination. Wood utilization **also is** differentiated on the basis of scar morphology: a) notch, **b)** slab, c) plank, **d)** stump, and **e)** combination of any or all of the **preceeding**. Bark/wood utilization is a combined site type.

Isolated Finds

This category includes all sites that are a single artifact or feature which stand apart from any other identifiable human activity. These sites **are** classified into three site types: artifacts such as canoes or canoe

preforms; features such as isolated canoe runs or intertidal trench features; and structures.

The site classification system outlined above is designed specifically to interpret archaeological data recorded during systematic survey. The quality of other site records generally is not of sufficient detail to allow for inclusion in this system. Consequently the classification **will** not be fully utilized until the discussion of the archaeological record by **park** unit. The archaeological overviews by tribal territory will be brief and deal only with major site categories. Distribution maps will be provided only for general activity sites.

Archaeological i e w s

Sheshaht Territory

The traditional territory of the modern Sheshaht includes the Broken Group Islands, the north shore of Vancouver **Island** from **Lyall** Point to Chup Point at the entrance to **Alberni** Canal, and the western aides of **Tzartus** Island, and the northern Deer **Group** Islands.⁸ White, St. Claire and **Haggarty** and **Inglis** have recorded archaeological sites 'in this **region**. The only area that has been systematically surveyed is the Broken Group Islands by Haggarty and Inglis in 1982.

One hundred and eight-three site records exist **for this** region. Ninety of these are classified as general activity sites (Figs. 71 and 74) and forty-four as fish traps. The remaining forty-nine sites include twenty-six burial sites, eighteen tree resource areas and five isolated finds.

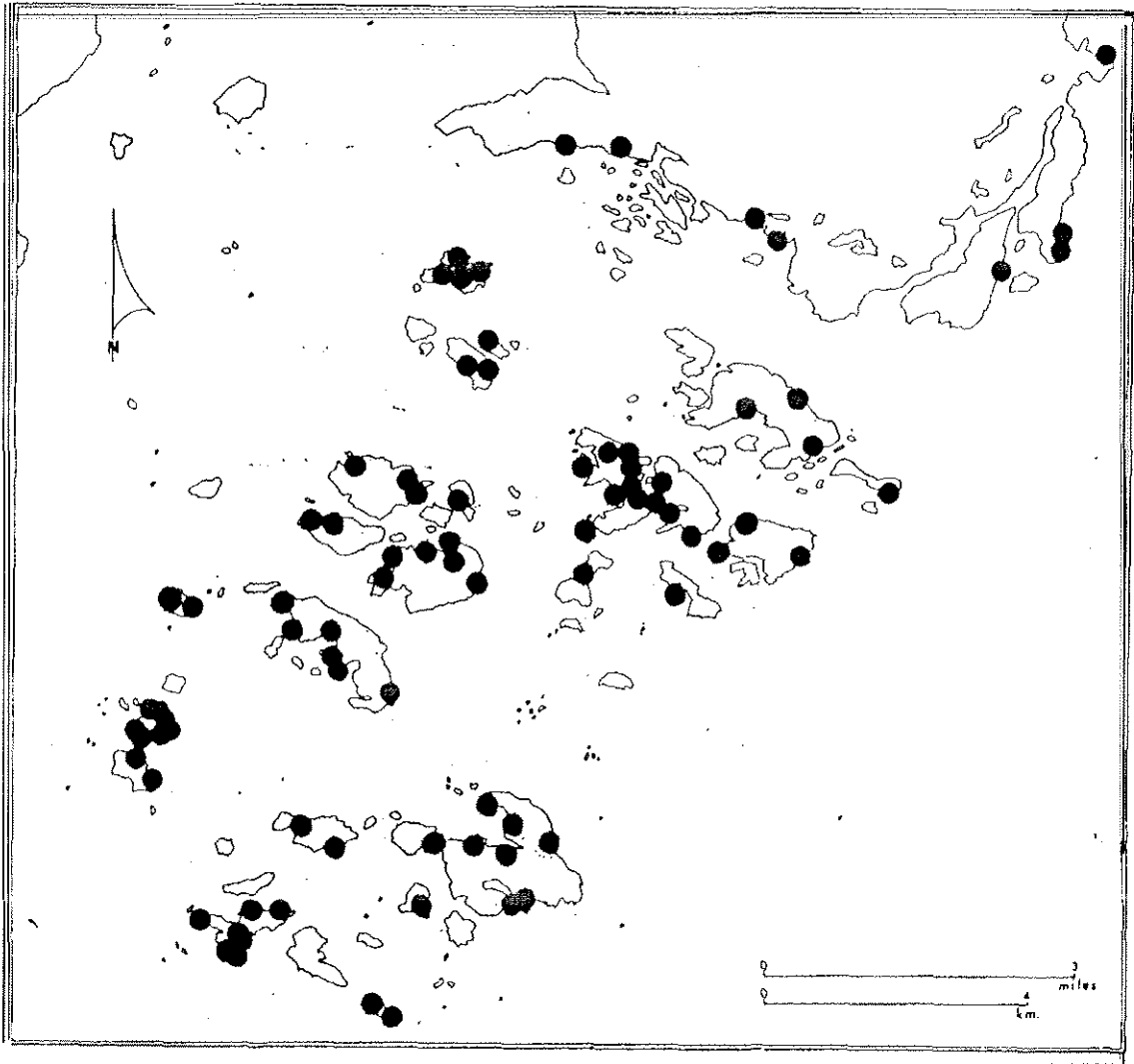


Fig. 71. Map of distribution of *general activity sites* recorded within Sheshaht territory.

Ucluelet Territory

The traditional territory of the modern Ucluelet includes the outer coast from Green Point south to **Amphitrite** Point and Ucluelet Inlet. There has been little archaeological work in this region. The only area that has been systematically surveyed is the ~~south-end~~ of Long Beach to Wya Point, including **Florencia** Island, by Raggarty and Inglis in 1983.

Twenty-seven site records are on file for Ucluelet territory. Nineteen of these are classified as general activity sites (Fig. 72). The remaining eight include one fish trap, one rock art site, four tree resource areas and two burial sites.

Clayoquot Territory

The traditional territory of the modern Clayoquot ~~includes~~ the Esowista Peninsula, a large part of **Meares** Island and the region surrounding **Tofino** Inlet and Kennedy Lake. Portions of this territory have been surveyed by Abbott and **Sendey**, Coombes and Campbell, **Melcomb** and Mason, Brolly, Mackie, **Haggarty** and Inglis and **Arcas** Ltd. The only systematic surveys were those of Mackie, **Haggarty** and Inglis and **Arcas** Ltd. covering **Meares** Island and the northern portion of the **Long** Beach unit of Pacific Rim National Park.

Two hundred and twenty-two sites have been recorded in this region. Ninety-eight of these have been recorded as general activity sites (Fig. 73), twenty-eight as fish traps and ~~seventy-two~~ as tree resource areas. The remaining twenty-four sites include fifteen isolated finds, one ceremonial site and eight burial sites.

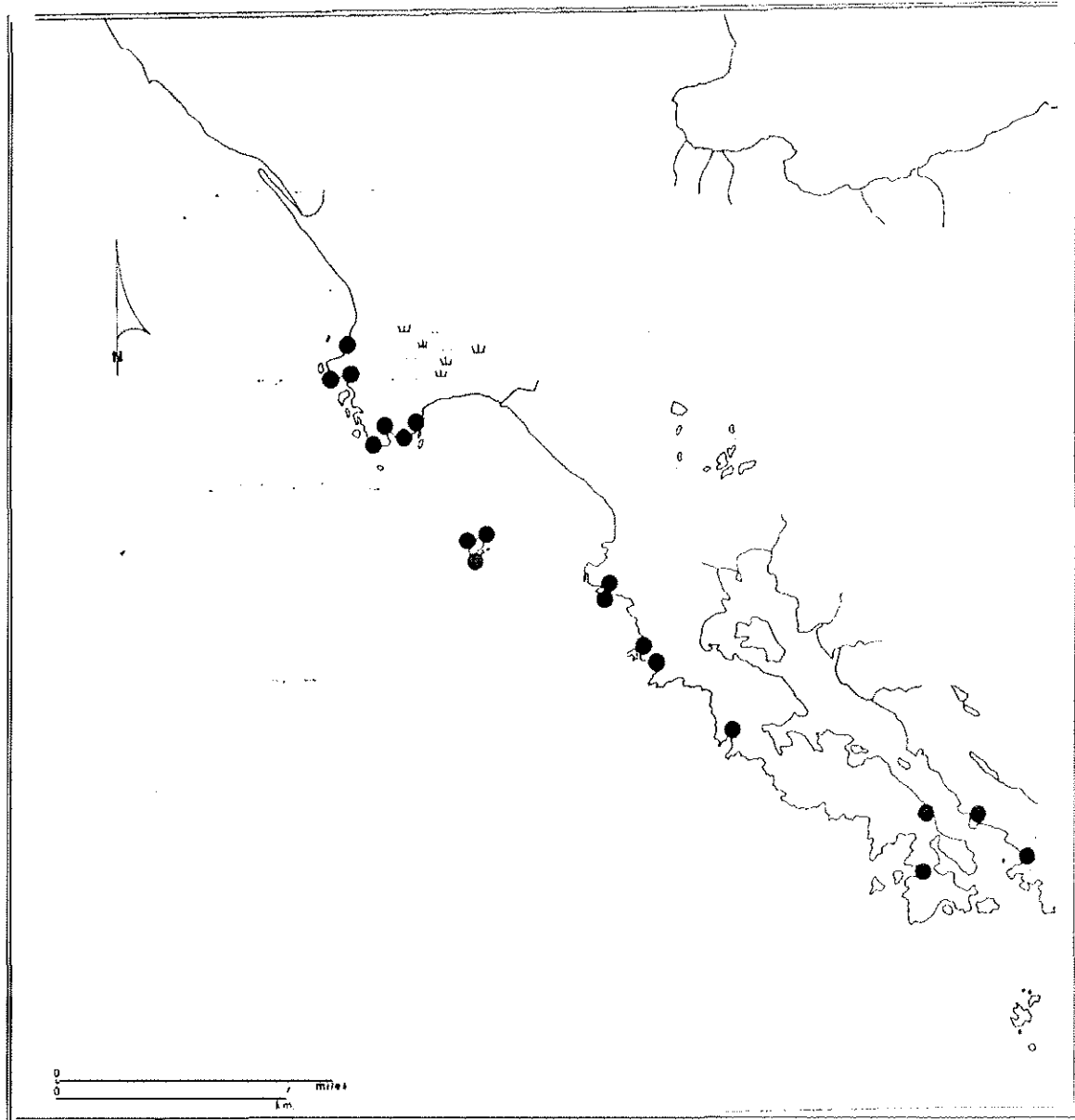


Fig. 72. Map of distribution of general activity sites recorded within Ucluelet territory.

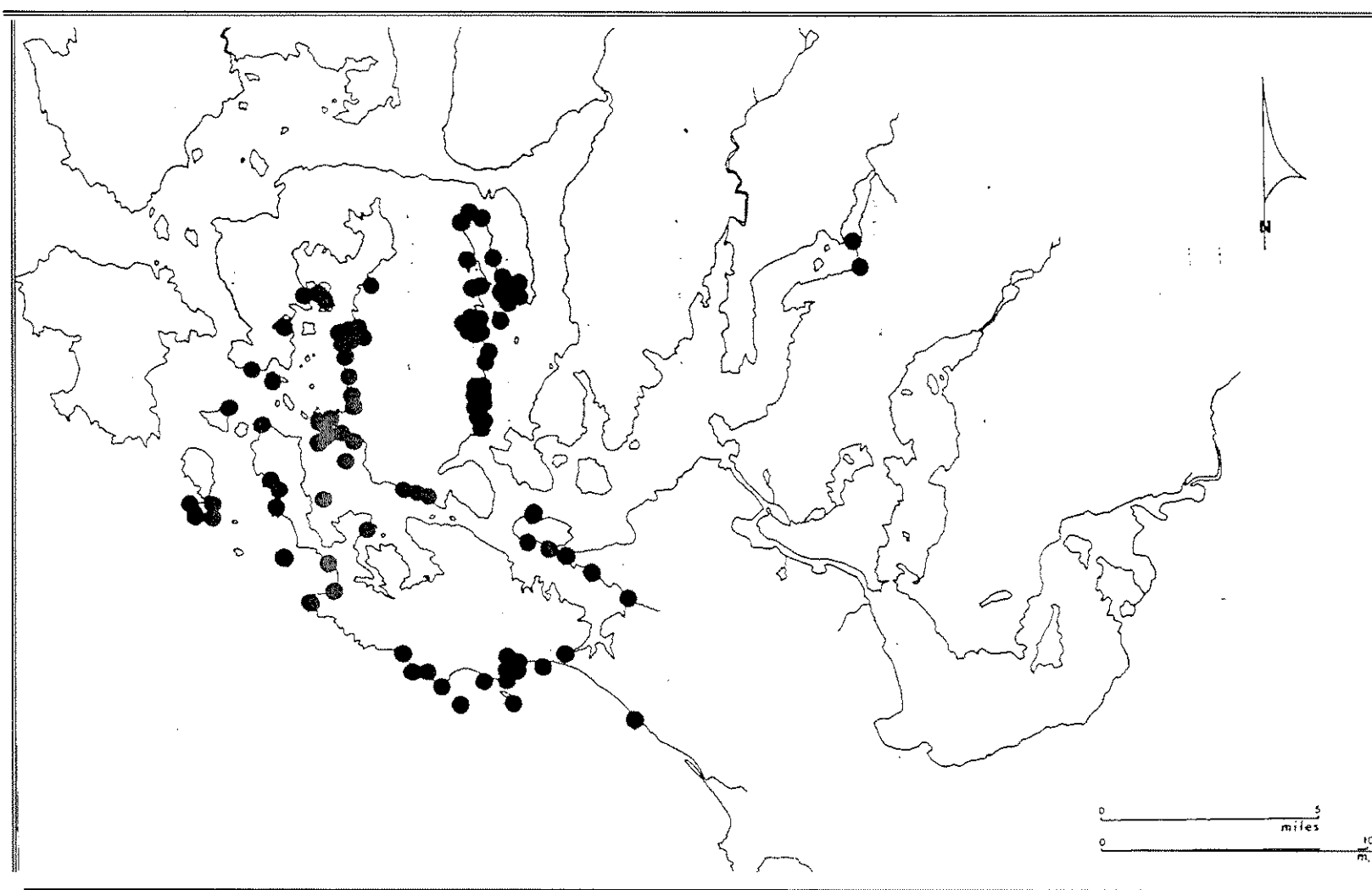


Fig. 73. Map of distribution of general activity sites recorded within Clayoquot territory.

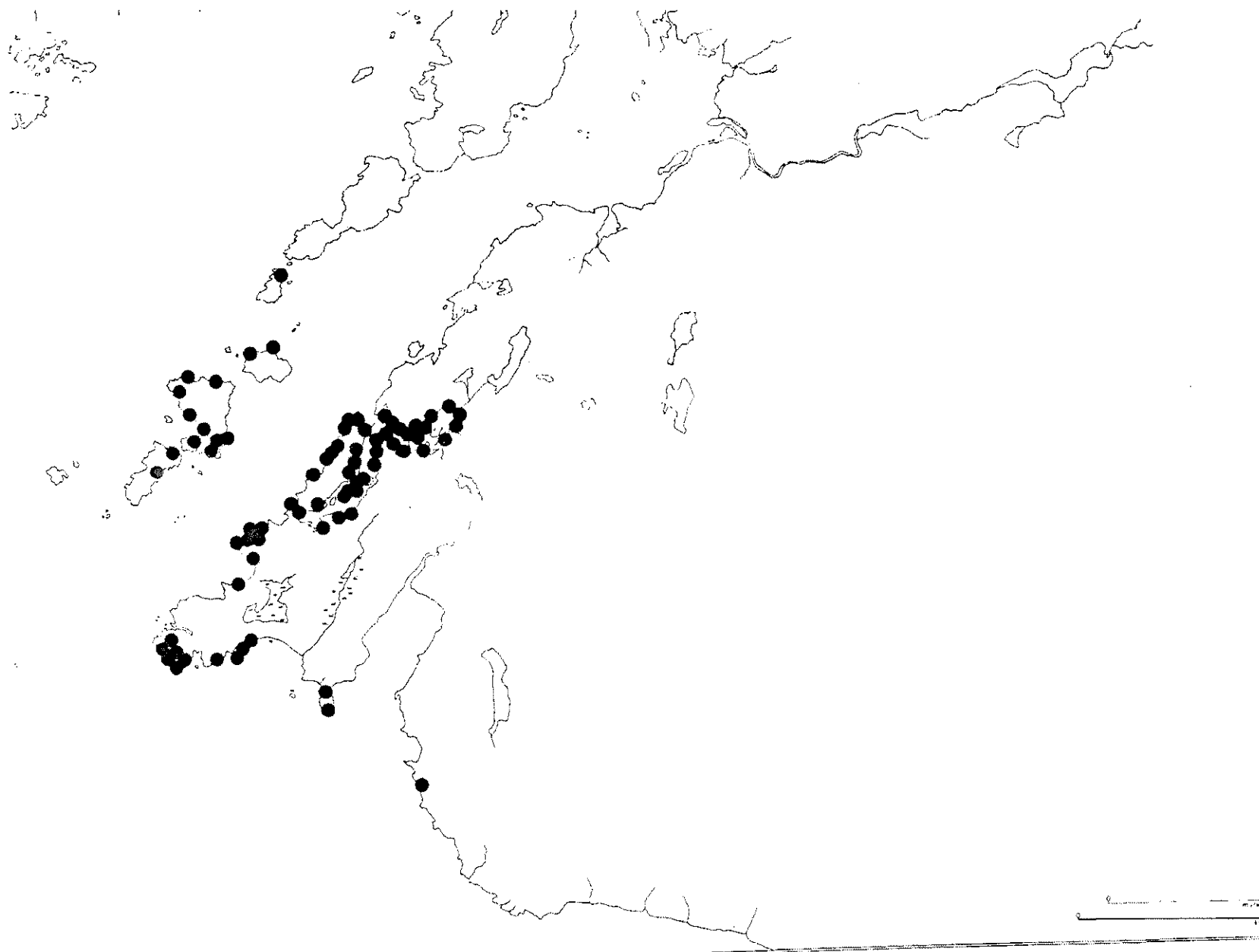


Fig. 74. Map of distribution of general activity sites recorded within Ohiaht territory.



Fig. 75. Map of distribution of general activity sites recorded within Ditidaht territory.

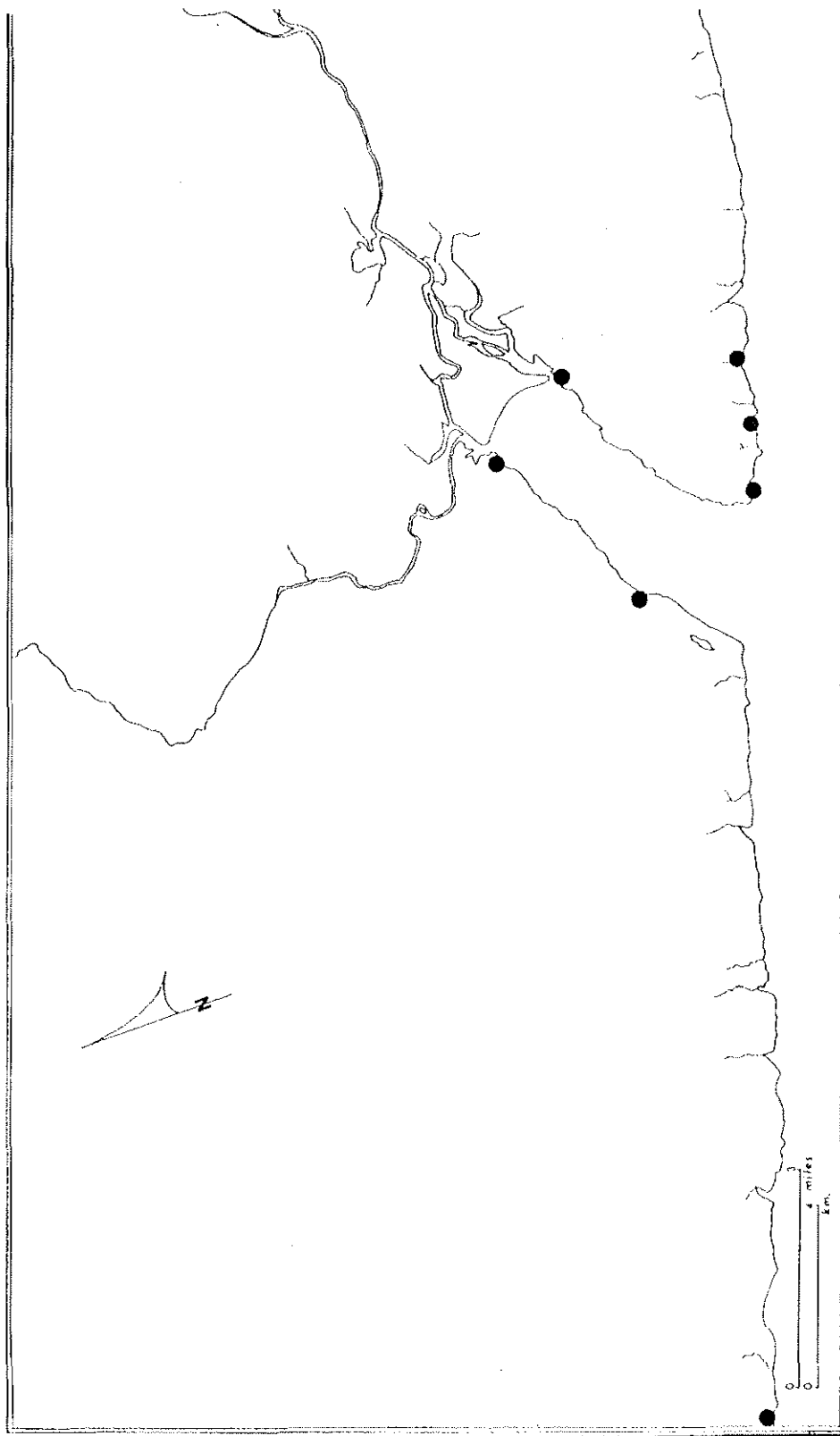




Fig. 76. Map of distribution of general activity sites recorded within Pacheenaht territory.

Pacheenaht Territory

Pacheenaht territory extends from Bonilla Point southeastwards to **Sheringham Point** and includes Port San Juan and the San Juan River valley. There has been almost no archaeological work in this region which is reflected in the site totals. The only systematic survey was by **Haggarty** and **Inglis** and **this** was restricted to the northern portion of the territory that was encompassed by the West Coast Trail unit.

Fourteen sites have been recorded in this extensive territory. Eleven are general activity sites (Fig. 76). The remaining three consist of one rock art site, **one burial** site and one isolated find.

Six hundred and thirty-two sites have been recorded to date within the traditional territories of the Sheshaht, Ucluelet, Clayoquot, Ohiaht , Ditidaht and Pacheenaht. Of these sites two hundred and eighty-nine (46 percent) are within the boundaries of Pacific **Rim** National Park. All have been recorded to modern standards **and** are documented in the Pacific **Rim** Heritage Assessment Project report .⁹ These sites will be the focus of the following discussion of the history of native occupation **and use of** the park region.

Broken Group Islands Unit

The archaeological survey of the Broken Group Islands was conducted during the **summer** and fall of 1982. One hundred and sixty-three native historical sites were recorded. This represents fifty-six percent of the

total number of sites recorded for Pacific Rim National Park and eighty-nine percent of sites in Sheshaht territory.

Eighty sites (49 percent of the park unit total) are classified as general activity or shell midden sites. Of these, eighteen (22.5 percent) are classified as villages and sixty-two (77.5 percent) as camps. Fifteen of the village sites are hypothesized to represent the main settlements of local or component groups that had territories within the boundaries of the Broken Group Islands Unit. The remaining three settlements are defensive villages. Sixty of the sixty-two camps identified represent single or multi-resource use either on a daily or long term basis. Two camps are classified as lookouts. The distributions of the fifteen settlement sites and three defensive sites are presented in Fig. 77, and the sixty resource camps and two lookout sites are presented in Fig. 78.

The forty fish trap sites (24.5 percent of the park unit total) recorded are all constructed of stone. One is an isolated sub-type, seven are of the aligned sub-type and thirty-two are of the enclosed sub-type. All traps were built in sheltered locations behind islets or reefs and in bays (Fig. 79). These sites appear to have been used on a daily basis as only six small camps were found in association.

The twenty-one burial sites (12.9 percent of the park unit total) all consist of surface placements. Eighteen of the sites are located in cave/rock shelter settings, while the remaining three are located at the bases of large trees. A minimum of sixty-one individuals have been placed in these 21 locations. All appear to relate to the historic period. Due to the sensitive nature and high incidence of vandalism associated with

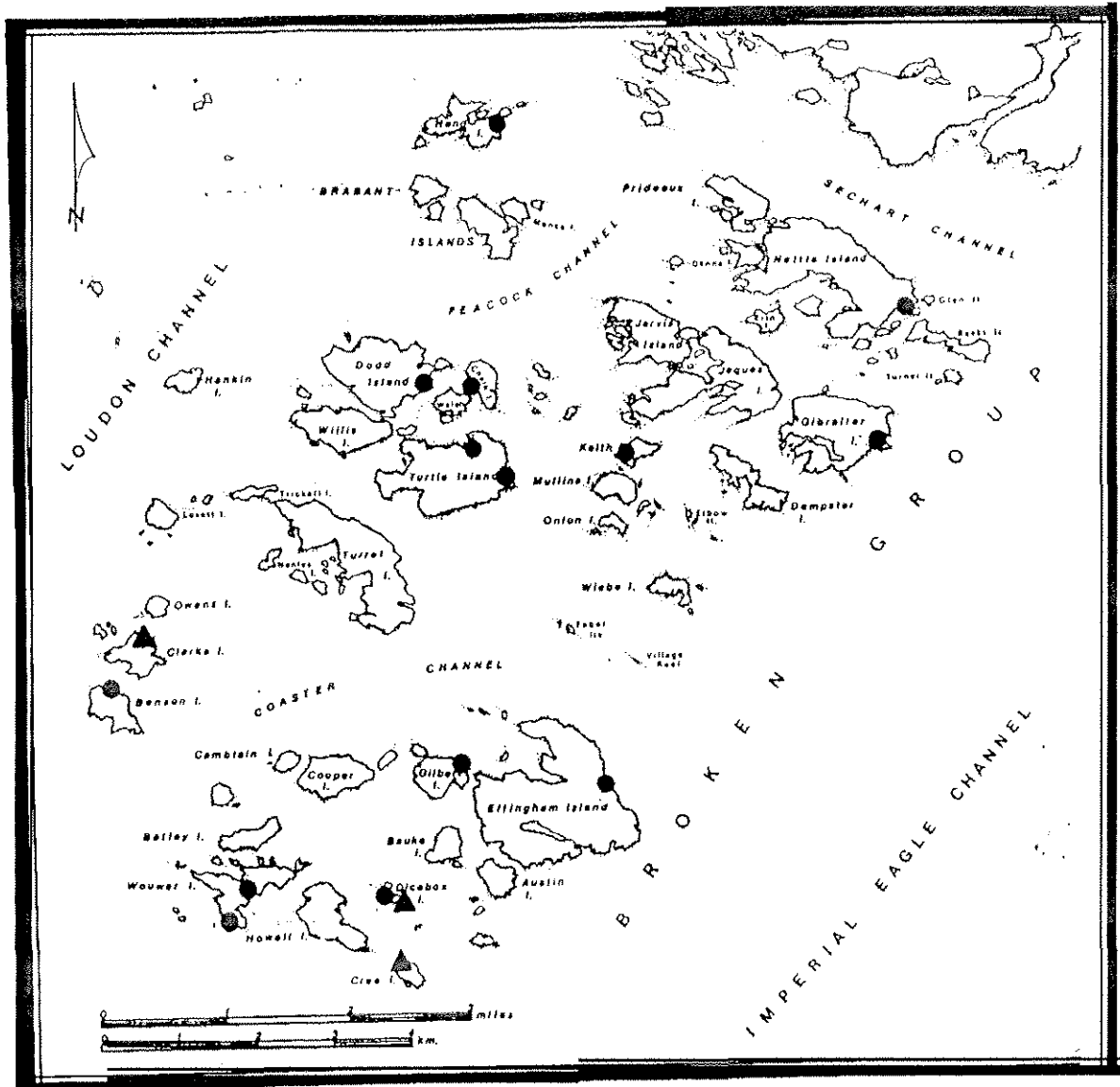


Fig. 77. Map of distribution of settlement and defensive sites in the Broken Group Islands unit.

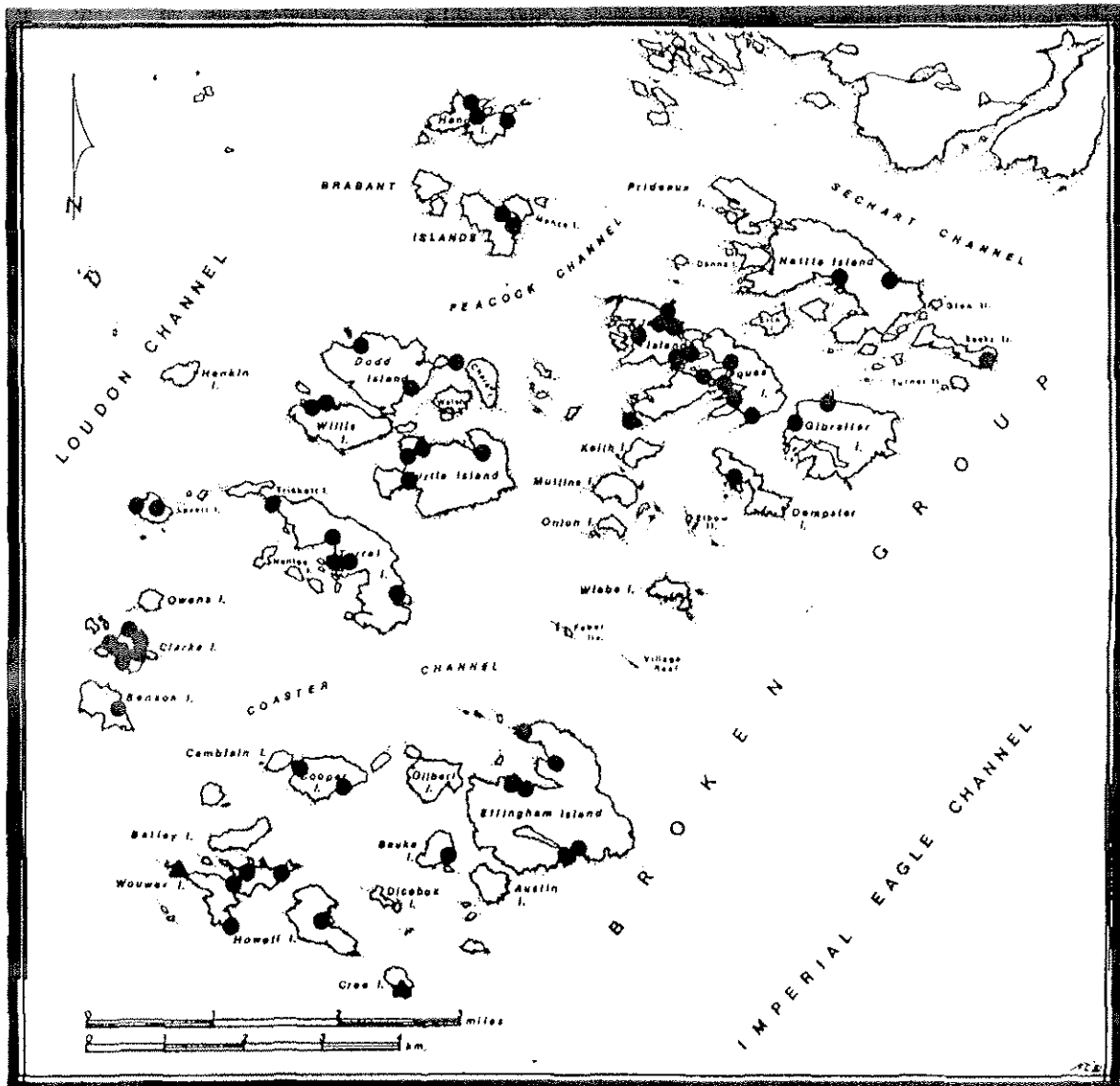


Fig. 78. Map of distribution of resource camp and lookout sites in the Broken Group Islands unit.

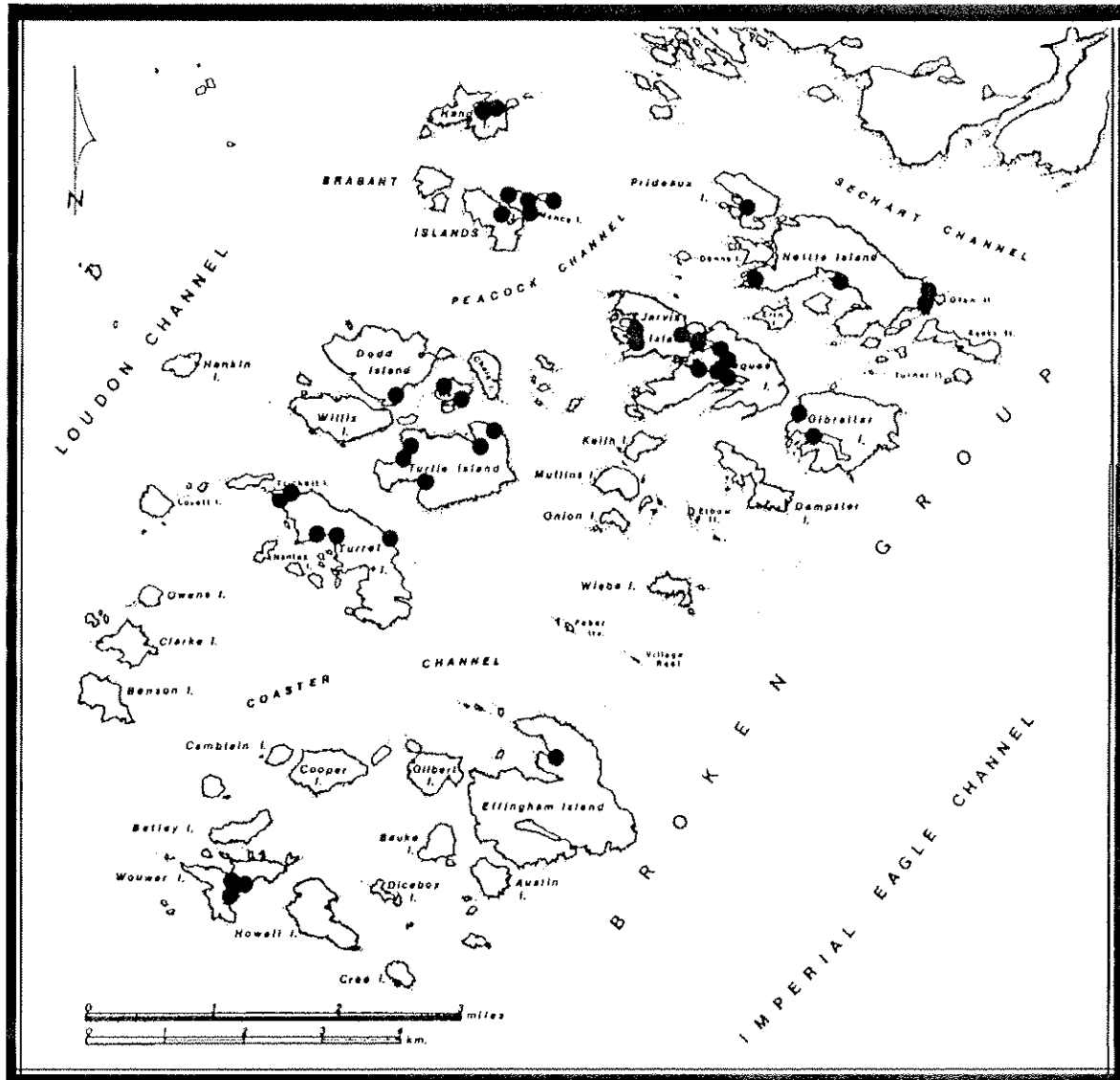


Fig. 79. Map of distribution of fish trap sites in the Broken Group Islands unit.

this type of site, no distribution map for this site category is included in this report.

No rock art sites were found in the Broken Group Islands unit.

Eighteen tree resource areas (11 percent of the park unit total) were recorded. Two of these are associated exclusively with bark stripping, eleven with different forms of wood utilization and five with a combination of bark and wood utilization. The four isolated find sites (2.5 percent of the park unit total) consist of three isolated **canoe** runs and one trench feature.¹⁰

Of the one hundred and sixty-three sites recorded for the Broken Group Islands, one hundred and thirty-eight (84.7 percent) are associated with some form of resource procurement activity. The remaining twenty-five sites (15.3 percent), twenty-one burial and four isolated find sites lack direct association with resource related activities. Of the one hundred and thirty-eight resource related sites, eighty-seven (63 percent) are hypothesized to represent a specific resource activity. Included in this total are the forty fish trap sites, eighteen tree resource areas and twenty-nine of the sixty-two camps **which** are associated directly with fish trap locations or extensive clam flats. The remaining fifty-one sites, (37 percent) are hypothesized to represent multi-resource activities. Included are the fifteen settlement sites, the three defensive sites, the remaining thirty-one camps and the two lookout sites.

Long Beach Unit

During the spring of 1983, forty-six native historical sites were recorded in the Long Beach unit. These sites represent sixteen percent of the total number of sites recorded for Pacific Rim National Park. Fifteen sites are in Ucluelet territory (56 percent of the total number of Ucluelet sites) and thirty-one sites are in Clayoquot territory (14 percent of the total number of Clsyoquot sites).

Thirty-four sites (73.9 percent of the park unit total) are classified as general activity or shell midden sites. Of these, nine (26.5 percent) are classified as villages and twenty-five (73.5 percent) as camps. Seven of the nine village sites are hypothesized to represent the main settlements of local or component groups that had territories within the boundaries of the Long Beach unit. The remaining two are defensive sites. Eight of the nine village sites are located on the exposed outer coast shoreline. The twenty-five camps identified represent both single and multi-resource use. Five are classified as lookout sites. The distributions of the seven settlement and two defensive sites are presented in Fig. 80 and the twenty resource camps and five lookout sites are presented in Fig. 81.

Two fish trap sites (4.4 percent of the park unit total) were recorded. The trap of stone construction is located on the exposed outer coast, and the one of wood construction is located at the mouth of a stream in the Grice Bay area. Both sites are associated with general activity sites. The outer coast trap is located directly in front of a settlement site while the trap in the Grice Bay area is associated with a resource camp located at the mouth of the same stream.

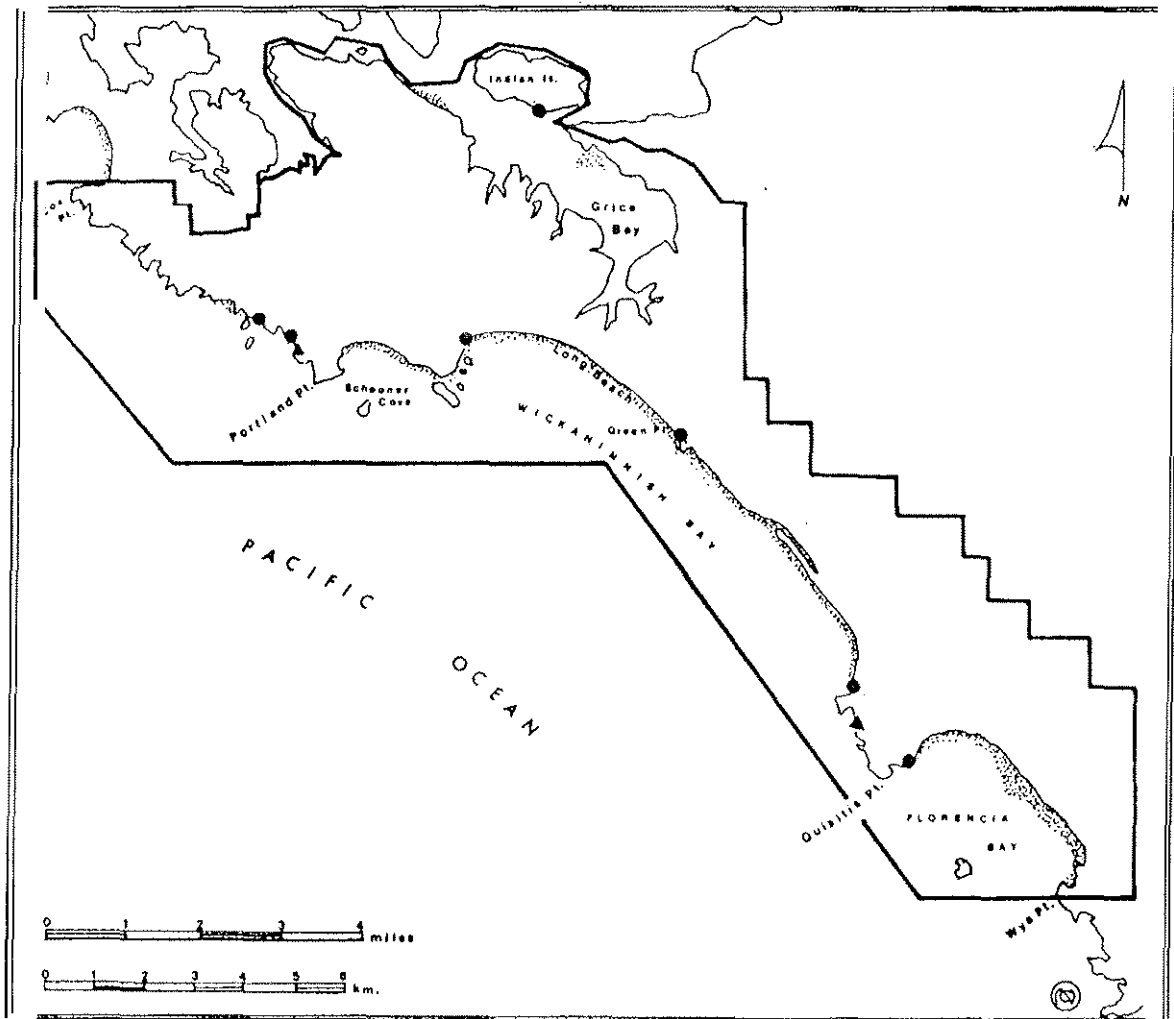


Fig. 80. Map of distribution of settlement and defensive sites in the Long Beach unit.

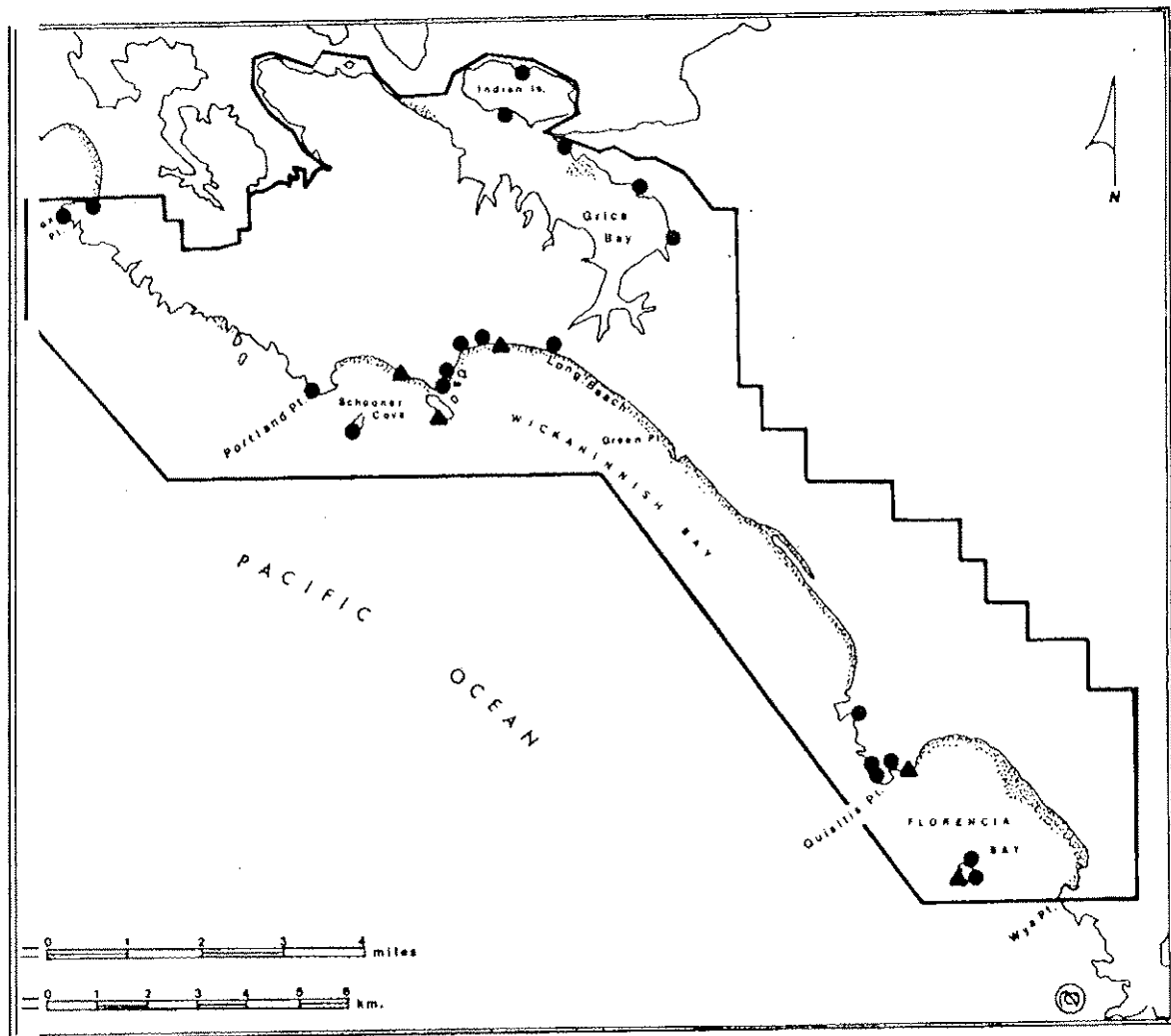


Fig. 81. Map of distribution of resource camp, lookout and fish trap sites in the Long Beach unit.

No burial sites **were** found in the Long Beach unit. The one rock art site (2.2 percent of the park unit total) occurs on the exposed outer coast shoreline. It consists of a vertical panel containing at least **six zoomorphic** images. Seven tree **resource** areas (15.2 percent of **the** park unit total) were recorded. Five of these **areas** are associated exclusively with bark stripping, one with plank removal and one with a combination of bark stripping and plank removal. The two isolated find sites (4.4 percent of the park unit total) consist of one canoe fragment and one isolated **canoe run**.¹¹

Of the forty-six sites recorded for the Long Beach unit, forty-three (93.5 percent) are **associated** with some form of resource procurement activity. Only the single rock art and two isolated find sites lack direct association with resource related activities. Of the forty-three resource related sites, seventeen (39.5 percent) are hypothesized to represent a specific resource **activity**. This total includes the two fish trap sites, the seven tree **resource** areas and eight of the resource camps, which are associated directly with fish trap or clam flat locations. The remaining twenty-six sites (60.5 percent) appear to be multi-resource sites. Included in this total are the *nine* village sites, the remaining twelve resource camps and **the** five lookout sites.

The West Coast Trail Unit

Eighty native historical sites were recorded during the archaeological survey of the West Coast Trail unit in the summer of 1983. These sites represent twenty-eight percent of the total number of sites recorded for

Pacific **Rim** National Park. Seventeen are in Ohiaht territory (14 percent of the total **number** of Ohiaht sites), forty-nine are in Ditidaht territory (95 percent of the total number of Ditidaht sites) and four are in Pacheenaht territory (29 percent of the total number of Pacheenaht sites).

Forty of these sites (50 percent of the park unit total) are classified as general activity or shell **midden** sites. Of these, fourteen (35 percent) are classified as villages and twenty-six (65 percent) as **camps**. Thirteen of the fourteen village sites are hypothesized to represent the major settlements of local or **component** groups that had territories within the boundaries of the **West** Coast Trail unit. Ten of these **thirteen** sites are located along the exposed outer coast shoreline. The remaining sites are located close to the outer coast shoreline near the entrance to **Nitinat** Lake. Only one defensive site was located. The **twenty-six** camps are classified as multi-resource sites. The distribution of the **thirteen** settlement sites and one defensive site are presented in Figs. **82a,b** and the twenty-six **camps** are presented in Figs. **83a,b**.

The two fish trap sites (2.5 percent of the park unit total) are of wood construction. Both are located in the **Cheewhat** giver (Fig. 83b) **which** has a substantial run of **small** sockeye salmon. The three burial sites (3.7 percent of the park unit total) all consist of surface placements in a cave/rock shelter setting. A minimum of six **individuals** have been placed at these locations, four at one site. Again, due to the sensitive nature of the burial issue and the high incidence of vandalism at these sites, **no** distribution **map** for **this** site category is included in this report.

The six rock art sites recorded (7.5 percent of the park unit total) are petroglyph sites and all are located on the exposed outer coast

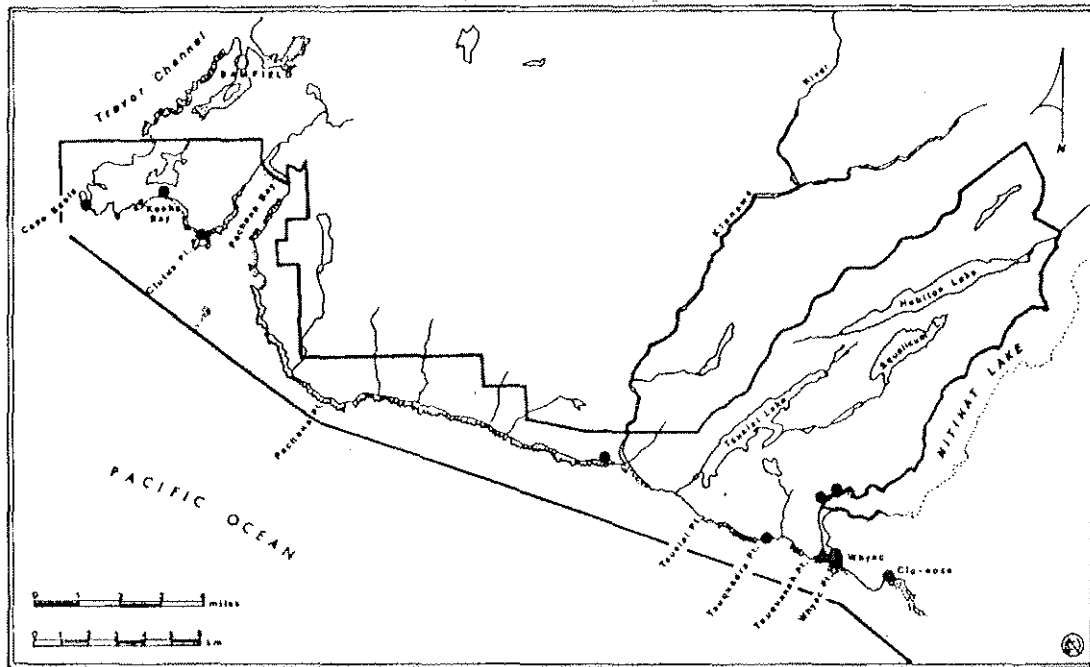


Fig. 82a. Map of distribution of settlement and defensive sites in the West Coast Trail unit (western section).

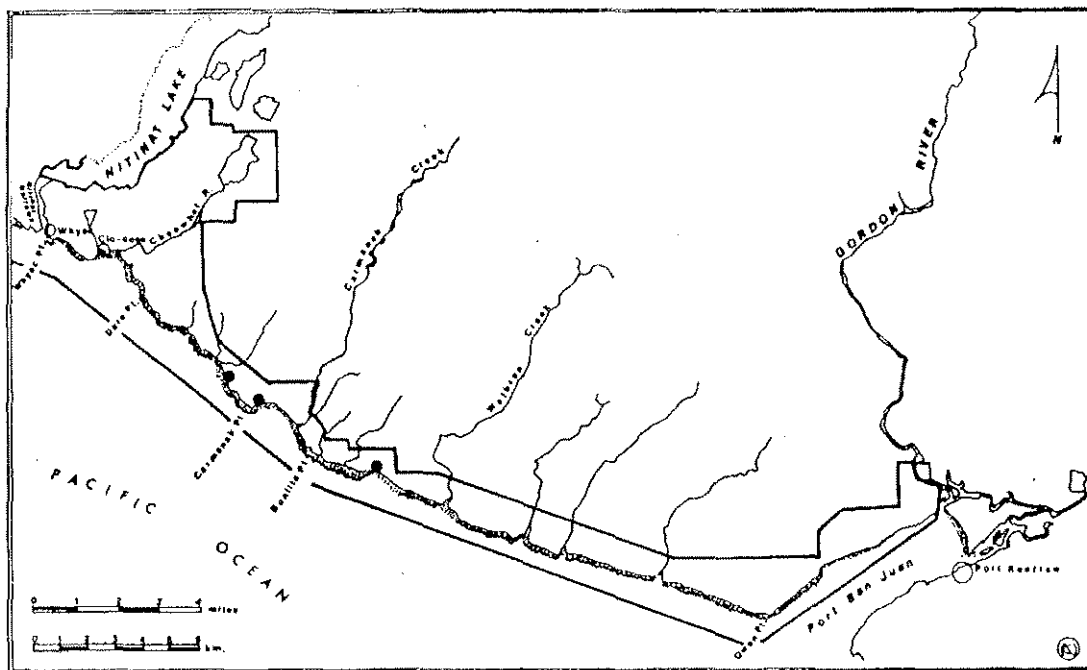


Fig. 82b. Map of distribution of settlement and defensive sites in the West Coast Trail unit (eastern section).

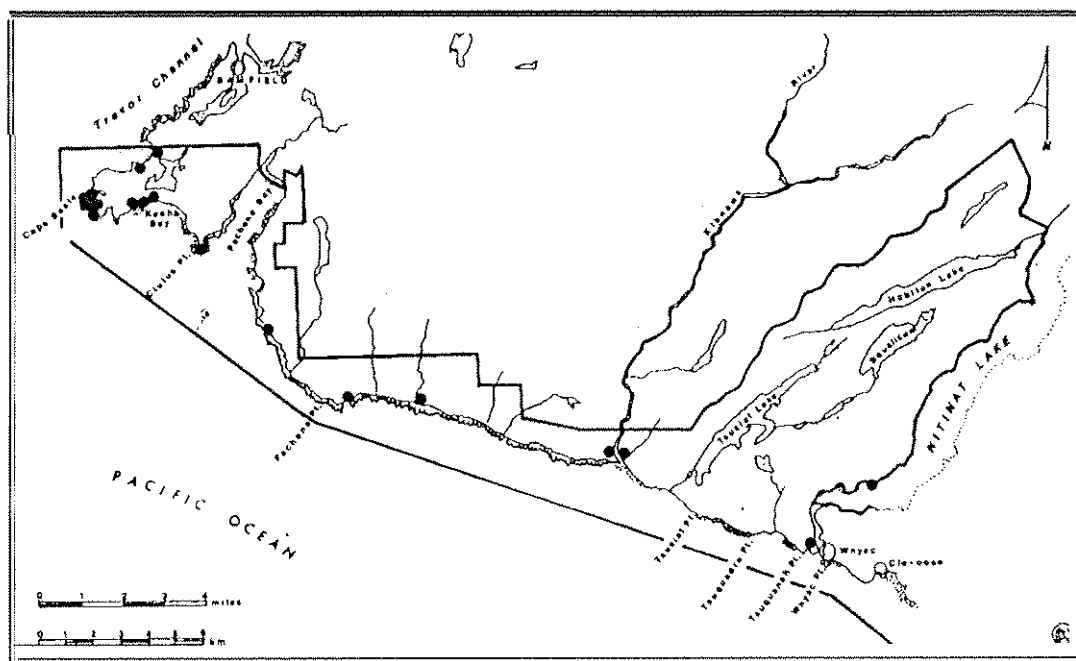


Fig. 83a. Map of distribution of resource camp sites in the West Coast Trail unit (western section).

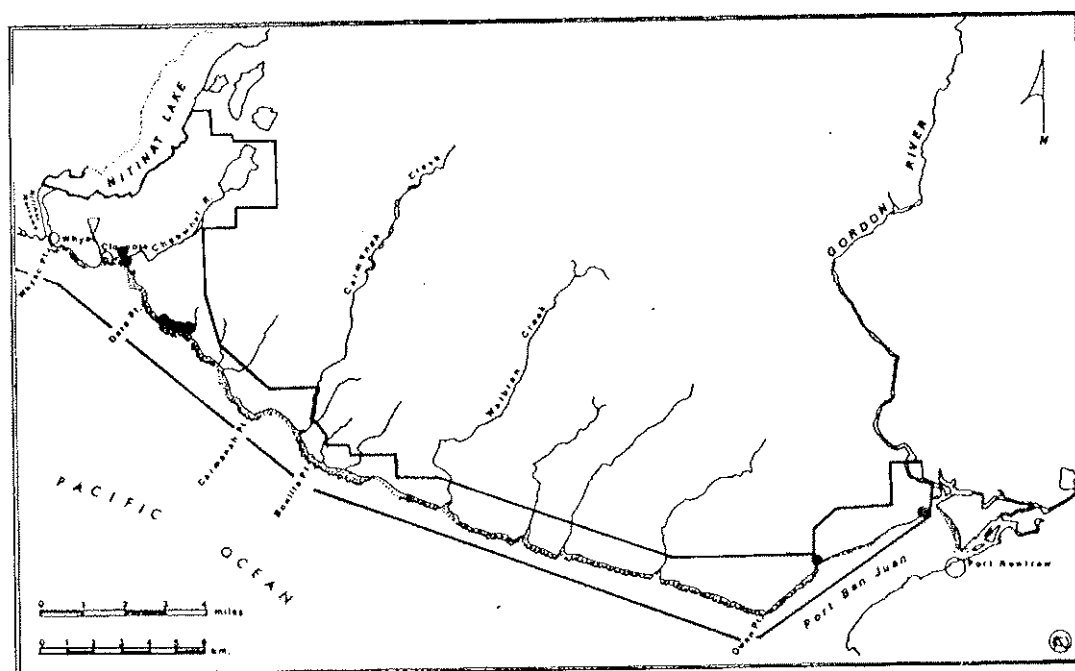


Fig. 83b. Map of distribution of resource camp and fish trap sites in the West Coast Trail unit (eastern section).

shoreline. Four of these sites are located on exposed rock **platforms** above mean high tide while the remaining two sites occur on the walls of two sea caves. Most of these sites contain a combination of geomorphic, **zoomorphic** and anthropomorphic images. One site also contains images that relate to the historic period. A minimum of one hundred and eighteen images are represented at the six sites. The twenty-seven tree resource areas (33.7 percent of the park unit total) are the second largest site category in the West Coast Trail unit. Twenty of these sites are associated exclusively with bark stripping, two with various **forms** of wood utilization and five with a combination of bark and wood utilization, primarily bark stripping and plank removal. Four of the five bark/wood utilization sites contain examples of plank removal from standing cedar trees. The two isolated find sites (2.5 percent of the park unit total) are classified as features. One is a collapsed structure and the other is an intertidal **trench**.¹²

Of the eighty sites recorded for the West Coast Trail unit, sixty-nine (86.2 percent) are associated with some form of resource procurement **or** subsistence activity. Only the six rock art, three burial and two isolated find sites lack direct association with resource related activities. Of the sixty-nine resource related sites, **twenty-nine** (42 percent) are associated with a single resource activity. Included in this total are the two fish trap sites and the twenty-seven tree resource areas. **The** remaining forty sites (58 percent) all appear to be multi-resource sites. Included in these totals are the fourteen village sites and twenty-six resource camps.

Summary

There are two hundred and eighty-nine recorded sites that relate to the native history within Pacific **Rim** National Park. One hundred and forty-four (53.3 percent) are general activity or shell **midden** sites. Of these, forty-one (14.2 percent) are classified as villages and one hundred and **thirteen** (39.1 percent) as camps. Thirty-five of the village sites are hypothesized to be the main settlements of local or component groups whose territories are entirely or in part **within** the boundaries of Pacific Rim National Park. The remaining six village sites are classified as defensive sites. Of the one hundred and thirteen camp sites identified, one hundred and six are classified as resource camps. The remaining seven are classified as lookout sites.

Forty-four sites (15.2 percent) are fish traps., Forty-one of these (93.3 percent) are of stone construction and are located in sheltered intertidal areas. They are likely associated with trapping small, inshore schooling fish. The three fish traps of wood construction are located in small streams and likely are the remains of weirs for trapping salmon.

All twenty-four burial sites (8.3 percent) consist of surface placements representing a minimum of sixty-seven individual burials. Twenty-one of the twenty-four sites occur in a **cave/rock** shelter **setting**. All appear to date to the **historic** period.

The seven rock art sites (2.4 percent) are all **petroglyph** sites. All are located on the exposed, outer coast shoreline, five on bedrock panels and two in caves. Most of these sites contain a combination of **geomorphic, zoomorphic** and **anthropomorphic** images. A minimum of one hundred and twenty-four images are represented at **these** seven sites.

The fifty-two tree resource areas (18 percent) are the **second** largest site category in the park. Twenty-seven of the tree resource areas are associated with bark stripping, fourteen with **some form** of wood utilization and eleven with a combination of both bark and wood utilization. This major site category is likely under-represented for the park as most sites were identified during the shoreline survey. Inland areas, other than lake margins in the West Coast Trail unit, were not investigated systematically.

Eight isolated find sites (2.7 percent) were recorded. Six are classified as features, one as a structure and one as an artifact. All the features (isolated canoe runs and trench features) are located in the intertidal **zone**. **The** structure site consists of a collapsed house located on a small island in a lake. The single artifact site consists of the remains of a dugout canoe.

The two hundred and eighty-nine native historical sites represent the documented physical evidence of native use of the land and resources within Pacific Rim National Park. Each of these sites is unique in terms of its **size** and composition. Each site contains information that is specific to it; information that relates exclusively to an activity or set of activities responsible for its existence. These activities once formed part of complex interactions between people and the cultural and natural environments in which they lived. Archaeological information on these interactions, however, is only available through systematic excavation.

The archaeological data set has contributed physical evidence of occupation and resource **utilization** to our knowledge and understanding of

the native history of the Pacific Rim National Park region. The contribution of the archaeological data set to a greater understanding of the native history of Pacific Rim National Park becomes apparent when it is integrated with pertinent ethnographic and ethnohistoric data in the following section.

Integration of the **Ethnographic, Ethnohistoric** and the Archaeological Data Sets

Introduction

In the previous sections three sources of data on native history were presented and **analysed**. Each was studied as a discrete data set to allow for internal evaluation of the information. The aim of this section is to integrate these separate data sets to provide the most complete possible reconstruction of the native history within the three units of Pacific Rim National Park. Before proceeding a brief summary of each data set will be presented.

The **ethnohistoric** data set, the observations and descriptions of native peoples in the region of study by explorers, traders, government agents, missionaries, etc., related to the period from **1787**, the year of first native-white contact in this region, to the second decade of the twentieth century. The first chroniclers in the late eighteenth century described a country inhabited by a people who lived in numerous, large and populous villages. These people, misnamed '**Nootka**', were great seafarers, whalers and astute traders. They **were** also warriors. The foreigners brought with them new items such as metals, guns and blankets. Contact also introduced new diseases, such as smallpox to the native population.

Seventy-five years later, when whites first became resident in the area, contact took on a different character. The native people were still '**Nootka**' although tribal names were **more** commonly used. The country was **more** carefully explored, mapped and named as exploration parties recorded

the resource wealth. Some of the names were derived from native terms, but more often than not names were given in recognition of early explorers and pioneers. Observations of native people took on a different quality now that white people were resident on the coast year round. Whereas earlier only the scars from smallpox were seen, now the full carnage was described. Rather than numerous populated villages, observers described numerous abandoned village sites. Although a few traditional subsistence activities, such as whaling, lasted into the twentieth century many other aspects of the native **economy** changed. Wages became the economic mainstay, first the production of dogfish oil for sale to the first trading stores, then the hunting of fur seals from white schooners, offshore and in the Bering Sea. Canneries on the Fraser River and hopfields in the Fraser Valley and around **Puget** Sound provided further employment opportunities before commercial developments began on the west coast.

By the late **1800s** many aspects of native life were controlled by government. Settlements were restricted to reserves and economic activities were limited by Canadian and international laws. Potlatching was forbidden by law and children had to go to white schools. Missionaries fought against traditional religious and medical practices. Eventually groups like the **Sheshaht** and **Ditidaht** moved away from the coastal areas of their traditional territories; others like the **Clayoquot**, **Ucluelet**, **Ohiaht** and **Pacheenaht** maintained settlements on the coast.

In summary, the importance of the **ethnohistoric** data set lies in the absolute time frame it provides for observed events and activities of native people since first contact in 1787.

The ethnographic data set parallels the ethnohistoric data set in **time**. Just as events from the former are presented from the **observers'/writers'** points of view, so are those in the latter. The major difference is that the participants in the latter are not outsiders but insiders who have a vested interest in knowing who they **are** and their relationships with others. They know their history, where they are from and who they are related to in the past and at present, because without that knowledge they have no identity.

The ethnographic data set presents history from the participants' point of view and in their terms. People are called what they called themselves and would like to be called today. Misunderstandings which have led to such terms as '**Nootka**' and '**Nitinat**' now become **Nuu-chah-nulth** and Ditidaht. The landscape is also seen in their terms. For example, Cape **Beale** at the southeastern entrance to **Barkley** Sound becomes **Ch'imataqsul** and Benson Island in the Broken Groups Islands becomes **Ts'icya**. The geographies, included as Appendices A to F, present over seven hundred native place **names** for the region of study.

In the ethnographic history section the events **leading** up to the formation of the modern Sheshaht, **Ucluelet**, Clayoquot, **Ohiaht**, Mtdidaht and **Pacheenaht** are **summarized**. This history is one of constant restructuring of the local and component groups brought about primarily as a result of intergroup warfare. A number of groups cease to exist as **socio-political** units on the landscape, others become so depleted in numbers that they are forced to join with stronger groups. As a consequence of these amalgamations not only do the number of independent

groups become fewer but the territories of surviving **groups** become larger **and** settlement and subsistence patterns change accordingly. It is at this time that the generalized seasonal **round** pattern described by **Drucker** and adopted by others applies.¹ The essence of this pattern is that groups wintered in protected locations, shifted to "outside" sites in the spring and summer then to "inside" salmon fishing stations in the fall before returning to the winter villages.

In summary, the ethnographic data set has established a minimum of twenty-two local groups and twenty-two component groups who operated within the **boundaries** of the three units of Pacific Rim National Park.

The archaeological data set represents the physical evidence of occupation and utilization of the landscape. The site types that have been defined represent the remains of the activities of the people who lived there or utilized the region. Who they ate by **name**, however, **cannot** be established **from** this data set. Through excavation of some **site** types, it is possible to characterize their culture by the artifacts, detritus and features uncovered. In particular archaeologists can talk about subsistence and technology. Archaeology can also provide time frame, but rather than the approximately two centuries represented by the **ethnohistoric** and ethnographic data sets, time goes back **millenia** to the first occupation or utilization of a particular place.

In **summary**, from the archaeological data set two hundred and eighty-nine sites representing the native history within the boundaries of Pacific Rim National Park have been identified. These break down into one hundred and fifty-four general activity sites of which thirty-five

represent structured settlements, forty-four fish trap **sites**, twenty-four burial sites, fifty-two tree resource areas, seven rock art sites, and eight isolated feature sites.

The following integration of these data sets will take place by present political group within park unit: **the** Sheshaht within the Broken Group Islands unit, the **Ucluelet** and **Clayoquot** within the Long Beach unit and the **Ohltaht, Ditidaht and Pacheenaht** within the West Coast Trail unit.

Broken Group Islands Unit

Sheshaht

The modern Sheshaht are an amalgamation of at least **six** independent local groups from the central **Barkley** Sound region. Two of these, the **Nac^εas^εatH** and the **Hiku^εatH** did not have territory within the Broken Group Islands and therefore will not be discussed further. The territories of the remaining four, the **Ts'icya'atH**, the **MakL^εai^εatH**, the **T!o'mak'Lai'atH** and the **Hatc!^aatH** are presented in Fig. 84. This **socio-political** reality is estimated to date to around 1775.

The four local groups with their known component groups and village locations are listed in columns 1 and 2 of Table 2. The village locations are plotted on Fig. 84.

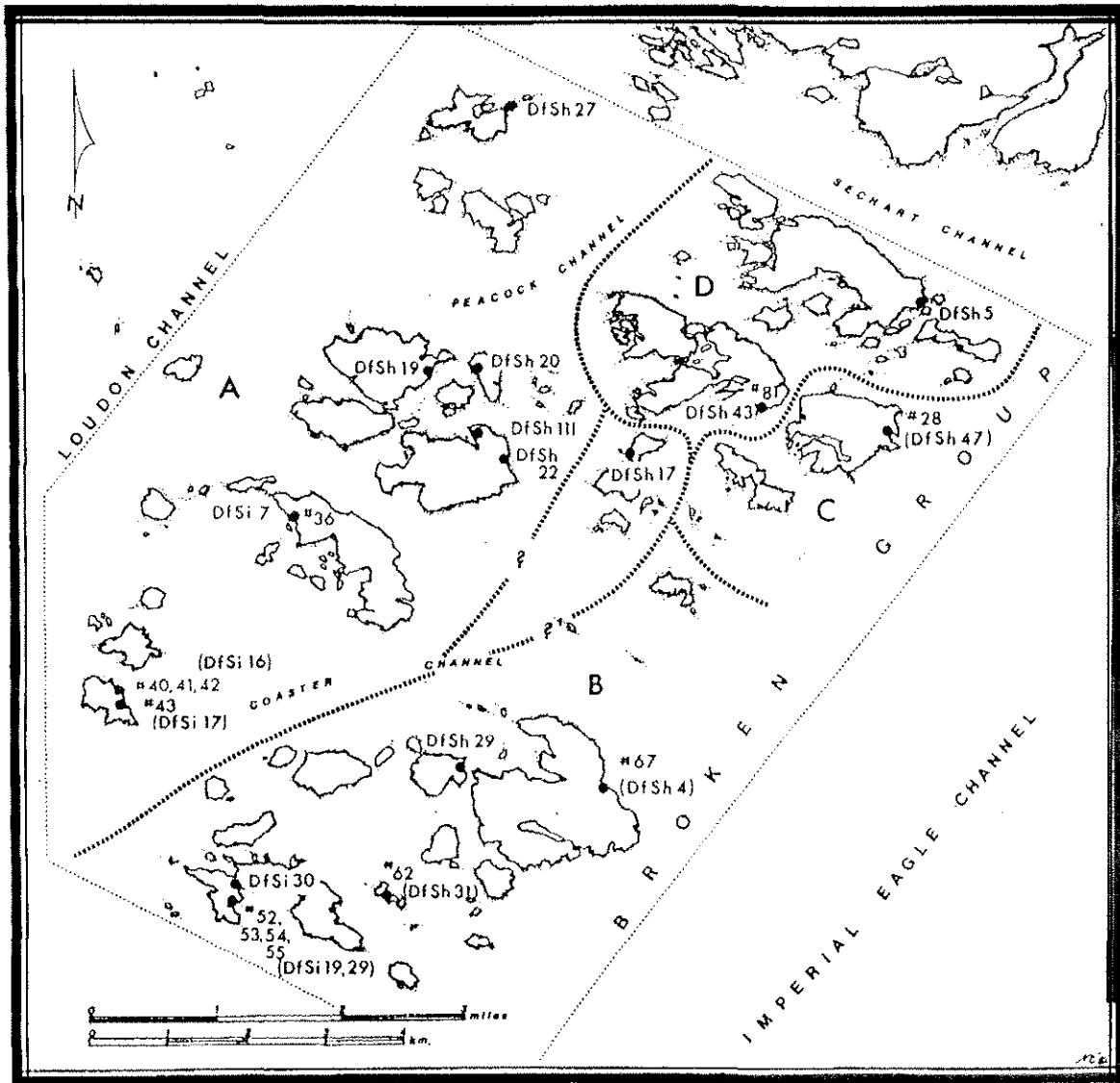


Fig. 84. Map of territories and villages of local groups within the Broken Group Islands unit (around 1775).

Table 2. Integration of **Ethnographic** and Archaeological Data on Village Sites within the Broken Group Islands

Known Social Units	Ethnographic Village Locations	Archaeological Village Sites
Ts'icya'atH		
L'a ^c ac ^c atH ^a	(Sheshaht #40)	DfSi 16
Ts'icya ^c atH ^a taqemif	Tsicya (Sheshaht #41)	DfSi 16
T'ok'waq'L! ^c atH ^a	(Shesbaht #42)	DfSi 16
Hemiyis ^c atH ^a	(Shesbaht #43)	DfSi 172
Nanatsukwi ^c taqemif	(Sheshaht #41)	DfSi 16
Muk'wa ^c atH ^a	Muk'wa ^c a (Sheshaht #36)	DfSi 7
		DfSh 19
		DfSh 20
		DfSh 27
		DfSh 22
		DfSh 111
		DfSh 17
MakL^cai^catH		
MakL ^c ai ^c atH	(Sheshaht #52)	DfSi 19
K'walo'astaqemif		
Hayuqwi'acteqemif		
Cost ^c is ^c atH ^a	(Sheshaht #54)	DfSi 19
Timik'aq ^c is ^c atH ^a	(Sheshaht #55)	DfSi 19
Tc'ap ^c is ^c atH ^a	Tc'ap ^c is (Shesbaht #53)	(DfSi 29)
(Nate'imwas ^c atH ^a)		
Hots'atswi ^c atH ^a	hots'atswi ^c (Sheshaht #62)	DfSh 31
Wanin ^c atH ^a 1 or		
an unknown subgroup	(Sheshaht #67)	DfSh 4
		DfSh 29
		DfSi 30
T'ok'mak'Lai'atH^a	(Sheshaht #83)	DfSh 47
Hate!^c'atH^a		
Hop'kisag ^c 'atH ^a	Hop'kisag ^c 'á (Sheshaht #81)	DfSh 432
		DfSh 5

1 This became their name after they joined the Nac as atH. There is no record of their name or where they lived when they were part of the MakL ai atH.

2 DfSi 17, DfSi 29 and DfSh 43 are classified as archaeological camps, not villages.

The fifteen archaeological sites that are classified as settlements are plotted on Fig. 84 and listed in column 3 of Table 2. It **is** hypothesized that these sites, **which** are major **midden** deposits with distinct house platforms and features and back **midden** ridges, represent the main villages of independent local groups or component groups. **Only** three of the fifteen sites, **DfSi** 16 and 19 and **DfSh** 47, however, can be confirmed as local group villages from the **ethnographic** data. The main village of the fourth known local group, the **Hatc!a'ath^a**, was located on the Alma Russell Islands outside of the Broken Group Islands.

DfSi 16 on Benson Island was Ts'icya (Sheshaht #41), the main village of the **Ts'icya'ath^a** local group (Figs. 85 and 86). According to tradition this was where they were created. As Ts'icya became crowded three of the component groups moved to adjacent beaches. **Only hima.yis** (Sheshaht #43), however, is distinguishable as a separate archaeological site (**DfSi** 17) (Fig. 85). The other two places (Sheshaht #40 and #42) form part of **the** deposit of **DfSi** 16. These were the original component groups of the **Ts'icya'ath^a**. A fifth component group, the **Nanatsukwi!taqemi!** formed later by marriage of **an** outside chief to the daughter of the **Ts'icya'ath^a** chief. They lived at Ts'icya. The sixth **group**, the **Muk'wa ath^a**, budded off from Ts'icya five generations before 1910, estimated to be around the mid-eighteenth century. They established a village at **Muk'wa⁶a** (Sheshaht #36) on Turret Island. There is a large structured **midden**, **DfSi** 7, at **this** location (Fig. 87).

DfSi 19 on Wouwer Island was **MakL'ai**, the main village of the **MakL⁶ai⁶ath^a** (Fig. 88). Similar to **Ts'icya** four of the component groups had

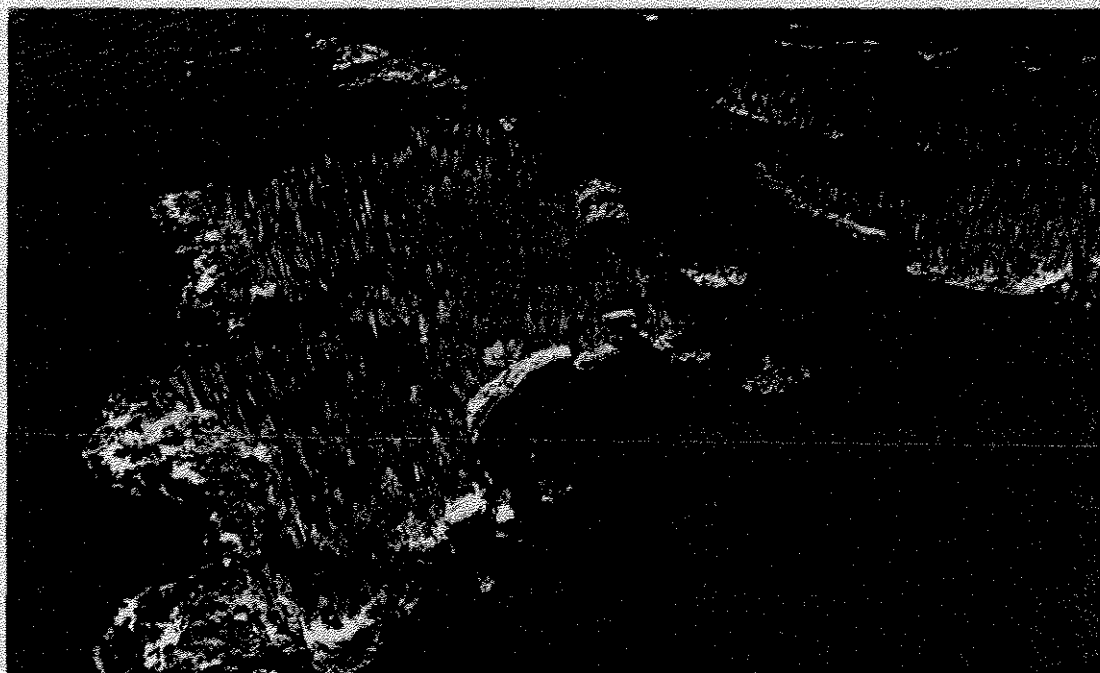


Fig. 85. Aerial view of Benson Island, arrows mark Tsicya and hima.yis (Photo: BCPM 1982B:644).



Fig. 86. Aerial view of Tsicya (Sheshahu #41) (Photo: BCPM 1984B:112).

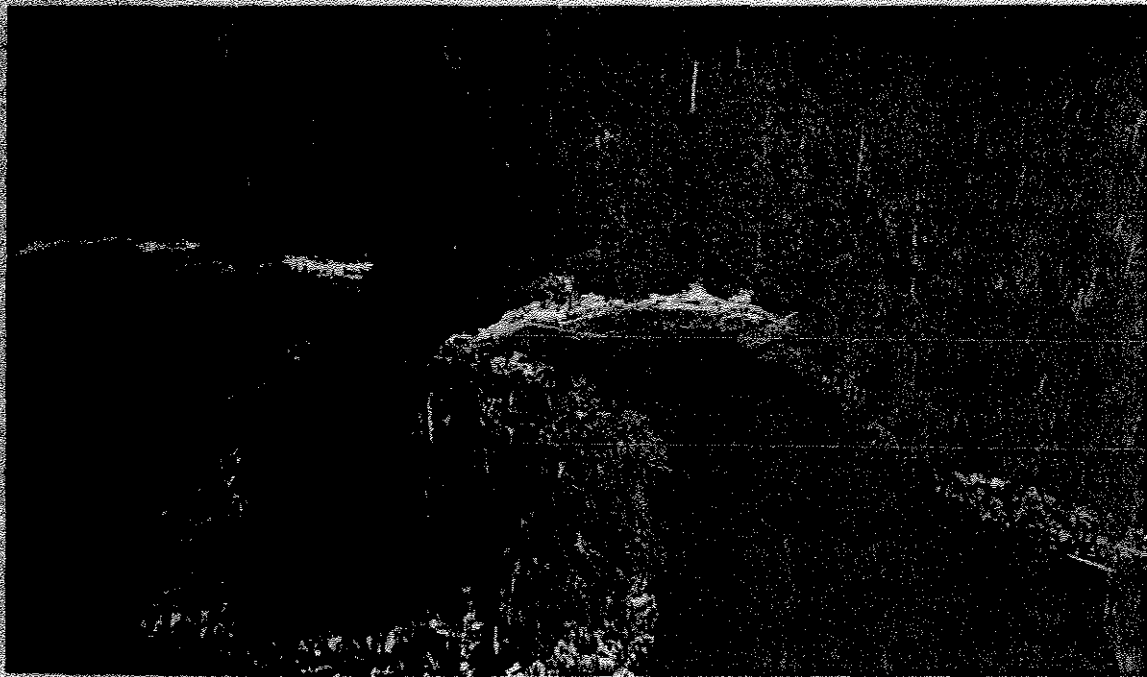


Fig. 87. Aerial view of Muk'wa'al (Sheshaht #36) on
Turret Island (Photo: BCPM 1982B:559).

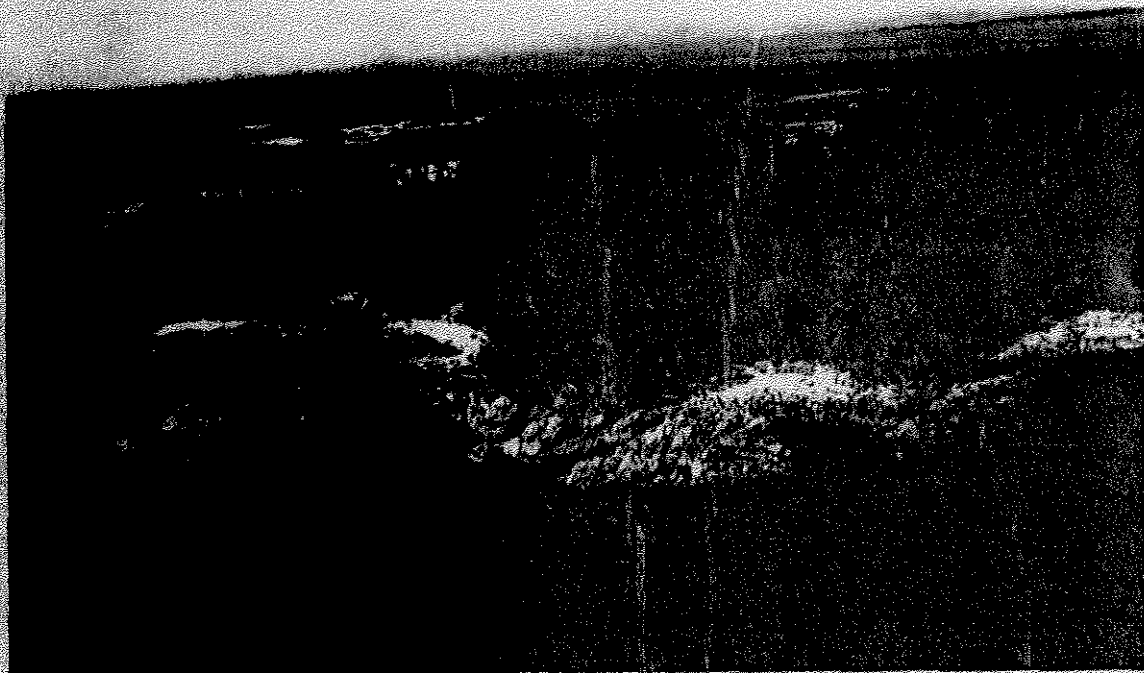


Fig. 88. Aerial view of MakL'aal (Sheshaht #52) on
Wouwer Island (Photo: BCPM 1982B:488).

separate named places where they lived (Sheshaht #52, #53, #54, #55). **Tc'ap^εis** (Sheshaht #53) is distinguished as a separate archaeological site, **DfSi 29**. The fifth **MakL^εai^εath^a** component group, the **Hots!atswi^εath^a**, lived at **Hots!atswi^ε** (Sheshaht #62). There are 'two archaeological sites on **Dicebox** Island. **DfSh 31** is a large structured **midden** located between two headlands. **DfSh 43** is a large defensive site, with a minimum of 21 house **platforms** evident on the **surface**, located atop one of the headlands (Fig. 89).

One archaeological site, **DfSh 4** on **Effingham Island** (Fig. 90), is known from the ethnographic data to have been a **MakL^εai^εath^a** village before it was taken by the **Hatc!a'ath^a** as **his'ōk't**. Whether a sixth **MakL^εai^εath^a** component group or one of the other five lived at **this** site is unknown. It may have belonged to the **Wanin^εath^a**, a former **MakL^εai^εath^a** group of whom little is known.

DfSh 47 on **Gibraltar Island** (Fig. 91) was the main village of the **T!o'mak'Lai'ath^a**. No other villages were recorded for **this** group. The only **Hatc!a'ath^a** village identified from the ethnographic **texts** as being located in the Broken Group Islands was **Hop'kisaqō'á** (Sheshaht #81) on the southern end of **Jaques** Island (Fig. 92). This was the home of the **Hop'kisaqō'ath^a** component group. The archaeological site **DfSh 43**, located here is a small, unstructured **midden**.

Four component group sites, **DfSh 47**, **DfSh 4**, **DfSi 30** and **DfSi 7** are large structured **middens** which are similar to the three known local group villages. The component groups that lived at these sites may have been separate and distinct local groups at one time, or the archaeological expressions may be that of groups of whom there is no longer any knowledge.



Fig. 89. View of the defensive site at hots!atswil (Sheshaht #62) on Dicebox Island (Photo: BCPM 1982B:175)↓

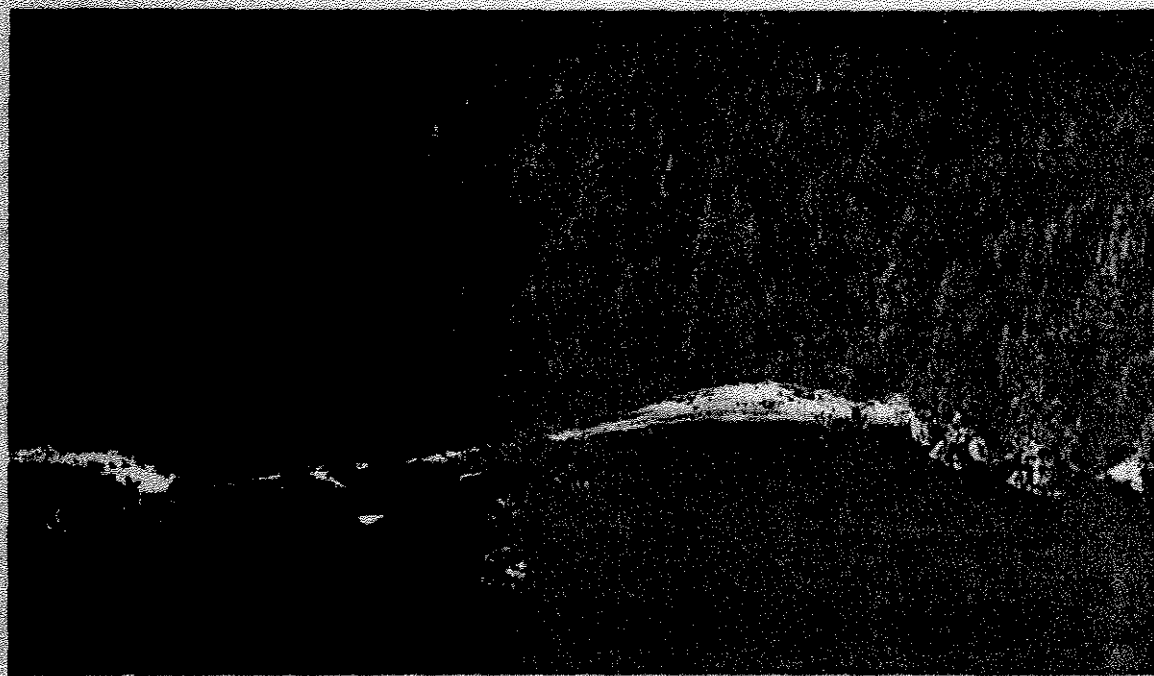


Fig. 90↓ Aerial view of Omoah (Sheshaht \$67) on Effingham Island (Photo: BCPM 1982B:667).

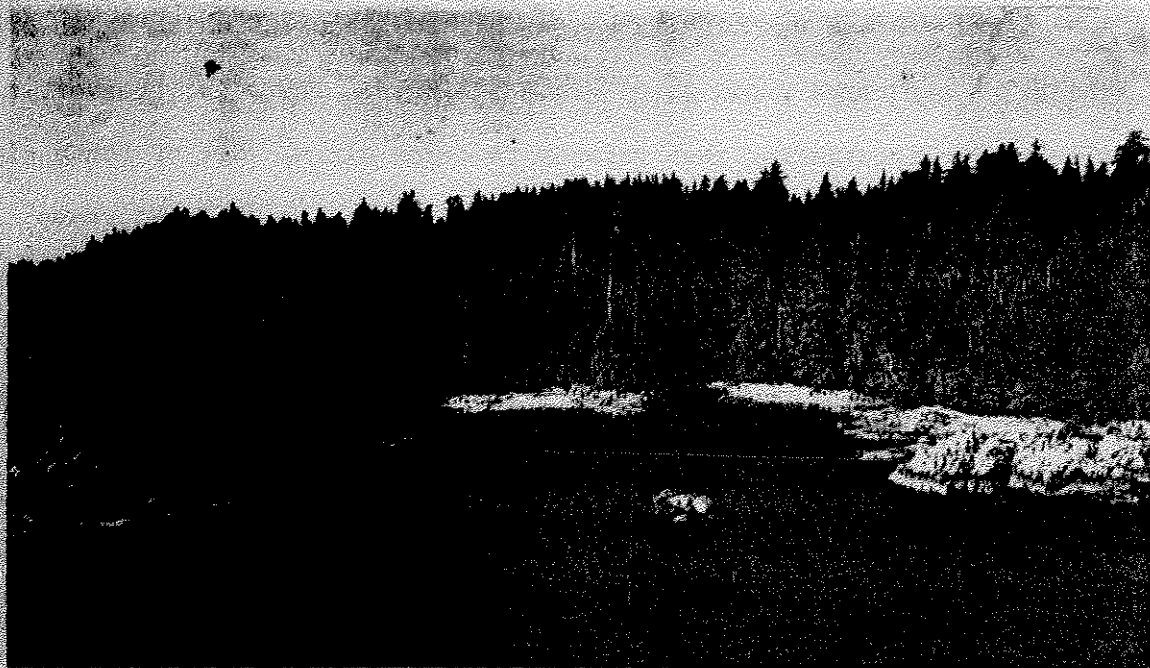


Fig. 91. Aerial view of Tomaklai'ath^a village (Sheshaht #83) on Gibraltar Island (Photo: BCPM 1982B:459).



Fig. 92. Aerial view of hop'kisaqó'a (Sheshaht #81) on Jaques Island (Photo: BCPM 1982B:601).

There are another nine large, structured deposits which again are similar to the three known local group villages. There **is**, however, no ethnographic information that relates to these sites. Six of these sites, **DfSh** 17, 19, 20, 22, 27 and 111, **are** within **Ts'icya'ath^a** local group territory. One site, **DfSh** 5 (Fig. 93), is within **Hatc!a'ath^a** local group territory and two, **DfSh** 29 and **DfSi** 30, are within **MakL ai ath^a** territory. These nine sites may have functioned as the main settlements of component groups of the local group in whose **territory** they were located or of another local group that occupied the area at an earlier time **and** for which no history has survived.

There are few references in the early **ethnohistoric** record to villages that can be positively identified to the Broken Group Islands. Most of the references came from the traders who were using the northwest bay of **Effingham** Island as an anchorage. In 1787 **Barkley** mentioned passing a large village when approaching the anchorage **which** is interpreted to be **Omoah** (Sheshaht #67). This village also appears to be one of the five villages plotted on **the** 1792 Spanish map of **Barkley** Sound, and one of the four visited by **Magee** in 1793. A second village mentioned by **Meares** **in** 1788 fits the description of **Dicebox** Island (Sheshaht #62). The location of a **third** village, **Cechasht**, mentioned by the Americans in 1789, cannot be determined accurately from the journal entries. It **may** be the same village as that called **Seshart**, **which** was attacked by the crew of the **Jefferson** **in** 1794. The inferred area of this attack and the similarity of these names to the **Ts'icya'ath^a** lead to the **conclusion** that this village was located in their territory.

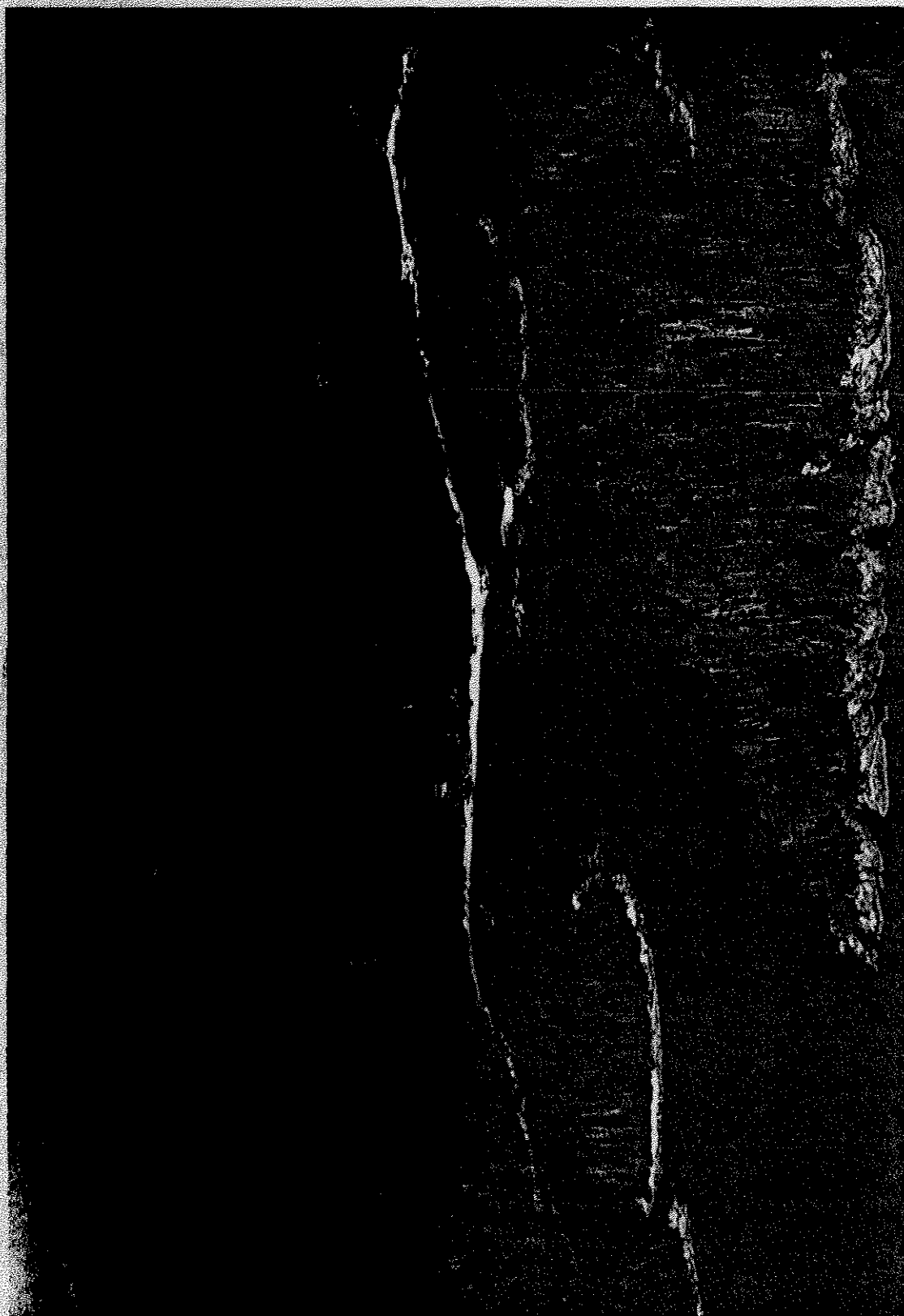


Fig. 93. Aerial view of Cleho (Sheshaht #85) on Nettle Island (Photo: BCPM 1982B:678).

In both the ethnographic and **ethnohistoric** data sets the last decades of the eighteenth century are portrayed as a time of intense conflict. The catalyst for these events is hypothesized to be the presence of the European and American traders, and the attempts of groups to control the sea otter trade. In 1787 and 1788 both Barkley and **Meares** were successful in obtaining furs in Barkley Sound. In 1792, 1793 and 1794, however, traders obtained few furs as the trade had been monopolized by Wicanninish, the Chief of Clayoquot. **Barkley Sound** was referred to as "the dominion of Wicanninish". In fact, while the Jefferson was anchored at the head of **Toquart** Bay, in the winter of **1793-94** the Clayoquot chiefs were frequent visitors, as were chiefs from **other** areas outside of Barkley Sound, including **Ahousaht**, **Ditidaht** and **Clahasset** (**Neah** Bay).

Magee, the first officer of the Jefferson, recorded two conflicts between the non-resident groups and those of the area. The first was reported by Wicanninish after one of the crew of the Jefferson had been killed **while** on shore. The chief recommended killing two of the culprits **in** revenge just as he had been necessitated to kill forty recently. The crew of the Jefferson took their revenge on the **village** of **Seshart** leading to the assumption that this was the same group that **Wicanninish** had attacked. This interpretation is supported by the fact that of the groups in the area of the anchorage only **Toquaht** and **Hatc'a'ath^a** chiefs, **and** no **Ts'icya'ath^a** chiefs were recorded as visitors to the Jefferson. The conclusion reached is **that** the **Ts'icya'ath^a** were the example used by Wicanninish to exert his dominion over Barkley Sound.

A number of territorial changes also took place at this time. The **Hatc'a'ath^a** were the most active. They went to war against the

T!o'mak'Lai'ath^a and absorbed their territory, and then against the MakLai'ath^a taking over Omoah. The T!o'mak'Lai'ath^a ceased to exist after their defeat while the MakLai'ath^a became part of the Ts'icya'ath^a. The Hatc'a'ath expansion at this time is hypothesized to relate to the presence of the Euro-American traders in Effingham Bay in the late 1780s and attempts to control access to the wealth they represented.

The next conflict in which the Hatc'a'ath^a were involved was with the Toquaht in the area of Equis. Again the reasons for this conflict are hypothesized to relate to their attempts to control the foreign trade. The Effingham anchorage did not develop into a fur trade port. In the winter of 1793 and 1794 the anchorage used by the Jefferson was in the region of Toquaht Bay within Toquaht territory. The Hatc'a'ath^a chief was a frequent visitor to the ship which likely increased friction and precipitated the conflict. The Toquaht were defeated by the Hatc'a'ath^a but in the hostilities the Ucluelet inadvertently became involved. The Hatc'a'ath^a in turn were wiped out by the Ucluelet and their allies the Clayoquot² who used the first guns. The Hatc'a'ath^a ceased to exist as an independent political entity operating in the Broken Croup Islands. The survivors scattered to other groups in the region. Their territory was eventually absorbed by the amalgamated Sheshaht. This conflict has been dated to somewhere between 1792 and 1803 based on the observations of the officers of the Columbia in 1792 and of Jewitt in 1803.

The Ts'icya'ath^a also were involved in a number of conflicts around this time. They probably lost forty at the hands of Wicanninish, and their villages were burned in a raid by the Qanayit'ath^a, a Mtidaht

group from the region of **Bonilla** Point. After the hostilities between the **Hatc'a'ath^a** and Ucluelet, the **Ts'icya'ath^a** appear to have come into conflict with the Ucluelet. There are no details of these conflicts but the Ucluelet came into possession of Himayis (Sheshaht #85) on Benson Island. Whether the **Tsicya'ath^a** were defeated or simply had abandoned **Ts'icya** and moved to the defensive site, **hots!atswil** (Sheshaht #62), on **Dicebox** Island for greater protection is unknown. While living at **hots!atswil** they were involved in a conflict with the **Ahousaht** in which they defeated a large war party. There is archaeological evidence from the defensive site **DfSh 43** on **Dicebox** Island to support an argument for **increased** activity at **this** site. The **presence** of eleven new house features to the north of the main site area is interpreted as a late expansion of occupation at **this** site.

How long the **Ts'icya'ath^a** lived at **Dicebox** is unknown. They appear to abandon the Broken Group Islands early in the nineteenth century. The sequence of the following events is unclear. They lived for a while at the mouth of the **Sarita** River and by around 1810-20 they were at the head of **Alberni** Canal. Whether these are sequential occupations or a division of the Sheshaht is unknown. During the Long War in **Barkley** Sound, estimated to be in the period 1830-40, there **is** no evidence of them returning to the Broken Group Islands. The **Ucluelet** had established a village in the **Hikwis** area and used Himayis (Sheshaht #43) and **xicic?aqtis** (Sheshaht #37) as resource camps and **Cleho** (Sheshaht #85) as a camping area on the way to the **Namint** giver. It was **while** the Ucluelet were at the **Namint** that the Sheshaht attacked them at the start of the Long War.

By the mid 1840s the amalgamated Sheshaht returned to the area of the Broken Group Islands. Hikwis (Sheshaht #22) on the mainland coast of Vancouver Island (Figs. 94 and 95) became their new village site in the winter part of a new seasonal round cycle. After the herring spawn season they moved "as a tribe" to Omoah and from August to December moved from fishing station to fishing station up the Alberni Canal to the Somass River. At the end of December they moved back to Hikwis.

This seasonal round pattern of subsistence or variations upon it lasted well into the twentieth century. Around the 1860s the Sheshaht moved apart into their component groups in the spring. The traditional village sites became resource camps for the component groups: the Ts'icya 'ath^a at Tsicya, the MakL^cai^cath^a at MakL^cai, etc. In 1874 Hikwis still was described as their winter village but by 1882 it was deserted. This abandonment likely occurred as a result of the increased importance of their spring camps. The restriction of settlements to reserves in the 1880s forced a re-amalgamation at one of the three reserves in the Broken Group Islands. On the 1893 survey maps of the reserves Omoah (IR 9) had nine houses, Cleho (IR 6) had seven houses while Keith Island (IR 7) had only one old house. In 1914 the houses at Omoah had burned to the ground, Cleho had three houses and Keith Island had six houses. In 1922 most of the people were staying at Cleho. In the 1930s both Cleho and Omoah were the major Sheshaht villages in Barkley Sound. By the 1940s Tsahaheh IR 1 on the Somass River was the major Sheshaht settlement. Utilization of the Broken Group Islands then became an individual pattern as it is today.



Fig. 94. Aerial view of Sheshart Channel and Toquart Bay
(Photo: BCPM 1982B:630).



Fig. 95. Aerial view of Equis (Sheshaht #22) on the Vancouver
Island shoreline (Photo: BCPM 1982B:511).

From an archaeological point of view the period from 1840 to 1940 represents the last period of occupation in the Broken Group Islands. The evidence for this occupation is on the surface in the form of features and/or artifacts or simply as vegetational **changes**. Sites which were abandoned early and never **re-occupied** would have mature forest growth. The vegetational cover on sites or portions of sites that continued to be occupied would, be reflected accordingly. This is exactly the pattern that was observed.

In **summary**, based on the archaeological data set, there are a potential fifteen local groups or component groups represented by the fifteen structured settlement sites. From the ethnographic data three of these were confirmed as local group villages and three were confirmed as component group villages. Nine of the archaeological sites were unknown ethnographically. In the period between 1785 and 1805 three of the four local groups known from the ethnographic data set to have held territory and occupied villages in **the** Broken Group Islands were wiped out by warfare. The survivors either amalgamated with the **Ts'icya'ath^a** local group at **Ts'icya** or scattered to other areas of **Barkley** Sound. The **Ts'icya'ath^a** local group in turn abandoned the Broken Group Islands for several decades in the early **1800s**. When they returned to the Broken Group Islands in the **1840s** the region was the **territory** of an amalgamated socio-political unit, the Sheshaht.

If as hypothesized the fifteen structured archaeological sites represent the main settlements of up to fifteen independent local groups or their component groups then the earliest historic records and the

ethnographic data set document only the end of the amalgamation process in the Broken Group **Islands**.

Long Beach Unit

The Long Beach unit of Pacific **Rim** National Park encompasses the traditional territories of at least four independent groups whose territory became included in that of the modern Ucluelet and **Clayoquot**. The history of each of these modern groups will be discussed separately.

Ucluelet

The Ucluelet, as we know them today, are a mid-historic period amalgamation of at least four independent local groups from the general area of **Ucluth** Peninsula. The territories of two of these **groups**, the **Hitats'o'ath^a** from Ucluelet Arm and the **Yu.Xu?iXath^a** from the outer coast of **Ucluth** Peninsula, are outside of the boundaries of the Long Beach unit, and therefore will not be discussed further. The territories of the remaining two, the **K!inaxumAs'ath^a** and the **'ho'ox'ath^a** are encompassed within the park unit boundaries and are presented in Fig. 96. The boundary between the two was not recorded.

The two local groups with their known component groups and village locations are listed in columns 1 and 2 of Table 3. The village locations are plotted on Fig. 96.

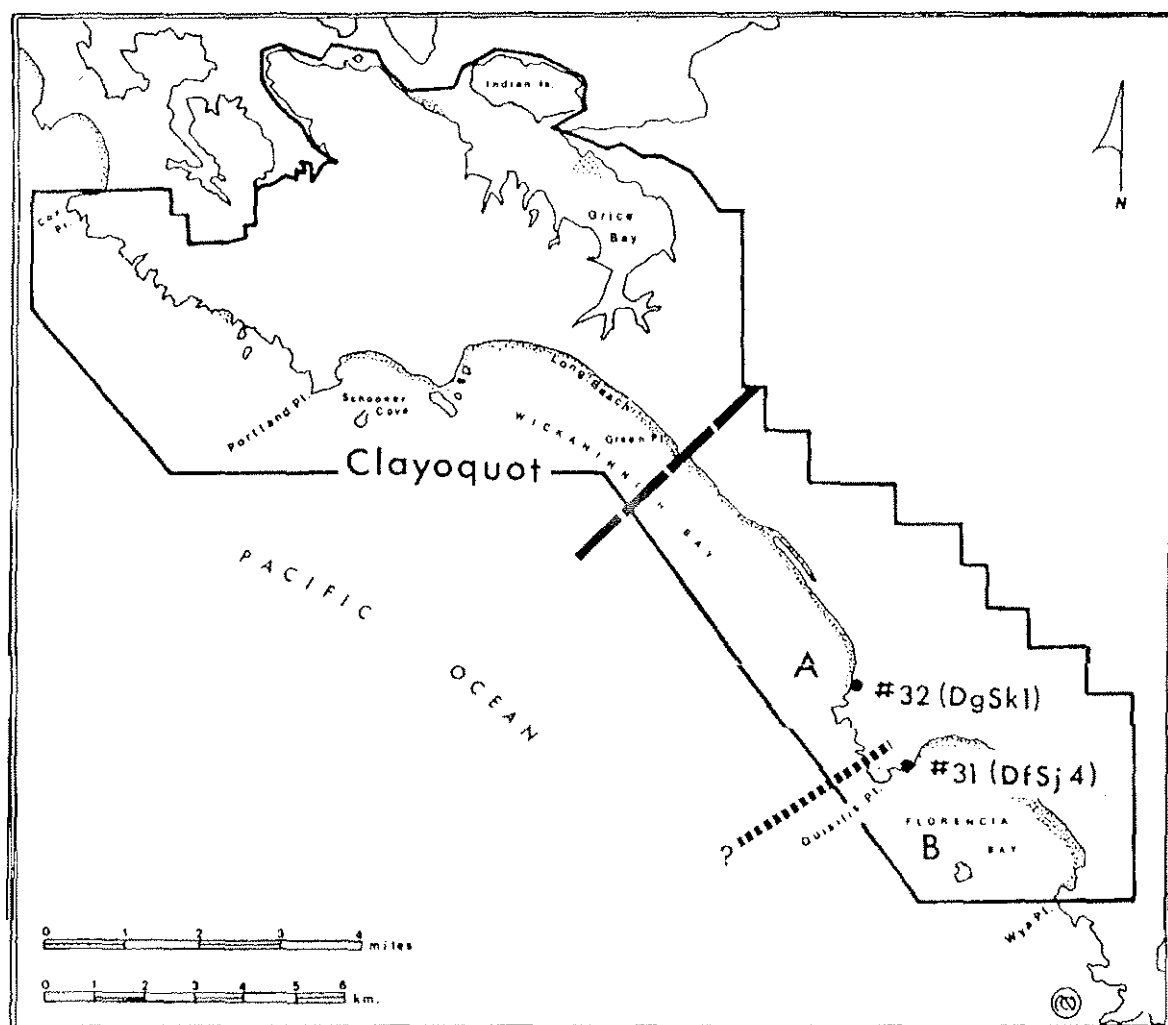


Fig. 96. Map of territories and village locations of Ucluelet local groups with the Long Beach unit.

Table 3. Integration of Ethnographic and Archaeological Data on Village Sites within Ucluelet Territory of the Long Beach Unit.

Known Social units	Ethnographic Village Locations	Archaeological Village sites
K'inaxumAs'atH ^a Wiwita'aik taqemil Tot kwisistqemil Kwispisistaqemil Numimats'yak tapemil ?a?atsictaqiml	Quisitis (Ucluelet #32)	DgSk 1
'ho'ok'atH ^a	Hu?u? (Ucluelet #31)	DfSj 4

Two of the **seven** archaeological **sites** from the Long Beach unit **that** are classified **as** structured settlements **are** within amalgamated Ucluelet territory. They **are** listed in column 3 of Table 3 and plotted on Fig. 96. It is interesting to note that only one structured village site **was** found within the territory of each of the local groups identified from the ethnographic data set. Both are large villages with **a** number of house platforms (Figs. 97 and 98). Each of the platform areas likely reflects the houses of one of the component groups. **Although** there are no component groups listed for the 'ho'ok'atH^a four **houses** were **named** and located at the village.

There are no early **ethnohistoric** descriptions of people or **villages** on this part of the coast. The linear shoreline and lack of safe anchorage discouraged **ships** from entering these waters. If either the K'inaxumAs'atH^a or the 'ho'ok'atH^a were in contact with the traders it would have had to occur out at sea or at one of the trading **centres**, most likely in Clayoquot Sound. The only reference to **a** trading vessel in Ucluelet territory **was** in 1795 when the Ruby anchored in Ucluelet Inlet.



Fig. 97. Aerial view of Quisitis (Ucluelet #32), site of the main village of the KinaxumAsath^a (Photo: BCPM 1984B:242).



Fig. 98. Aerial view of hu.uʔ (Ucluelet #31), site of the main village of the 'ho'of'ach̓ (Photo: BCPM 1984B:234).

Little ethnographic information has been recorded for the K'inaxumAs'ath^a. They were a large tribe who spoke the Clayoquot dialect of central Nootkan. They were involved in a number of disputes with the Clayoquot over the sea lion rocks at the northern end of their territory. In one conflict against the Clayoquot from Opitsat and the Ahousaht, the K'inaxumAs'ath were nearly wiped out. Whether it was at this time that they moved into Ucluelet Inlet or at another by invitation of the Hitatso'ath is not clear.

The 'ho'oi'ath^a, on the other hand, are quite prominent in the historical traditions. Originally a group from the Clayoquot area they moved to Hu'uŋ, possibly at the time of the Clayoquot wars (mid to late eighteenth century). They had close ties through marriage to the Yu'ku'ikath^a to the south, and to a lesser extent with the K'inaxumAs'ath^a to the north. It seems that they functioned as a sub-group of the Yu'ku'ikath^a in the historical traditions, being involved in three major wars with them: the war against the Hatc'a'ath^a and ?a'uts'ath^a, the taking of the Namint, and the Long War in Barkley Sound. Whereas the Yu'ku'ikath^a component groups were repeatedly attacked in the Long War by the Ohiaht, Sheshaht, etc. alliance, the 'ho'oi'ath^a were not, apparently for fear of involving their Clayoquot relatives. Heavy losses in the Long War forced the amalgamation of the Yu'ku'ikath^a and the Hitats'o'ath^a. It appears that the 'ho'oi'ath^a followed their Yu'ku'ikath^a relatives.

In 1874 Hu.uŋ and Quisitis were used only as fishing stations, for halibut. Both were allocated as reserves in 1890. On the 1893 survey map

Hu.uł (Oo-oolth IR 8) had 3 houses and 1 shack, Quisitis IR 9 had two small houses.

Clayoquot

The Clayoquot are a late **precontact** period **amalgamation** of an **unknown number** of independent local groups from the **Kennedy** Lake and Clayoquot Sound region. Two identified groups, the **Histau'istath** and the Hophitcath had territory or portions of their territories within the boundaries of the Long Beach unit (Fig. 99). The majority of amalgamated Clayoquot territory, however, **is** outside the park unit and therefore will not form part of the following discussion.

The two local groups and known village sites are listed in columns 1 and 2 of Table 4. The village locations are plotted on Fig. 99. The five archaeological sites in Clayoquot territory that are classified as structured **settlements** are listed in column 3 of Table 4, and plotted on Fig. 99.

Table. 4. Integration of Ethnographic and Archaeological Data on Village Sites within Clayoquot territory of the Long Beach Unit.

Known Social Units	Ethnographic Village Locations	Archaeological Village Sites
Histau'istath	Histau'is (Clayoquot #2)	DgSk 6
	Indian Is. (Clayoquot #7)	DgSk 7
		DgSk 2
Hophitcath	Hophitc (Clayoquot #3)	DgSl 17
		DgSk 38

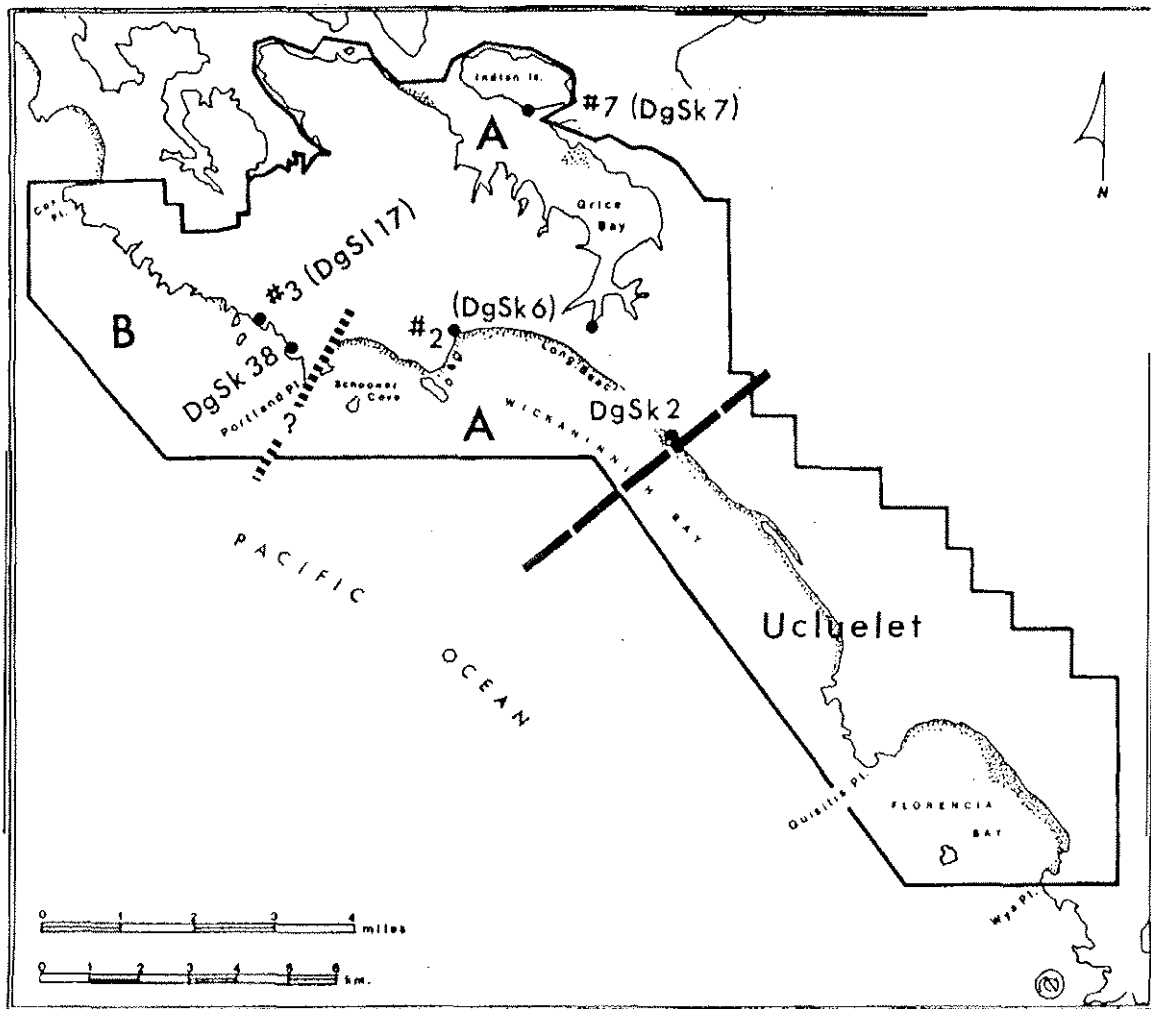


Fig. 99. Map of territories and villages of Clayoquot local groups within the Long Beach Unit.



Fig. 100. Aerial view of Histau'is (Clayoquot #2), north end of Long Beach (Photo: BCPM 1984B:246).



Fig. 101. Aerial view of villa ge site on Indian Island (Clayoquot #7) (Photo: BCPM 1984B:242).

All three of the ethnographically known villages are **confirmed** by major archaeological deposits: **histau'is** is **DgSk** 6 (Fig. 100), Indian Island is **DgSk** 7 (Fig. 101) and **Hophitc** is **DgS1** 17. There is no ethnographic information on two of the archaeological sites **DgSk** 2 and **DgSk** 38. **DgSk** 2 is located at Green Point near the boundary between the **Clayoquot** and **Ucluelet**. Whether this village was occupied when this was the boundary or at an earlier **time** is not known. **DgSk** 38, in Hopitcath territory, may represent the village of an unknown component **group**, or it may represent a shift **in** location of **Hophitc**, the Hopitcath main village.

As with the two **Ucluelet** local groups at the south end of the Long Beach **unit**, there are no early **ethnohistoric** references to the people of this area. The ethnographic references are sketchy.

The **Histau'istath** were created at **Histau'is** (Clayoquot #2). **Hophitc** (Clayoquot #3) was the traditional home of the **Hophitcath**. **I'teatcict** (Clayoquot #6) on **Echachis** Island was their summer village. The **Histau'istath** were an aggressive group who eventually controlled **much** of the area. They were defeated by an alliance of other local groups who were **centred** at **Opitsat** (Clayoquot #5) sometime **in** the last half of the **eighteenth** century (estimated to be around 1780). Their land was absorbed by the **Clayoquot**.

In 1890 **Histau'is** was allocated as a Clayoquot reserve (**Esowista** IR 3). In 1893 there were eight houses mapped on the reserve. Indian Island was not allocated as a reserve **until** 1914. The reserve was **mapped** in 1926. At that time there were three shacks with fish drying houses on the site. The two sites **in** **Hophitcath** territory and Green Point were not allocated as reserves.

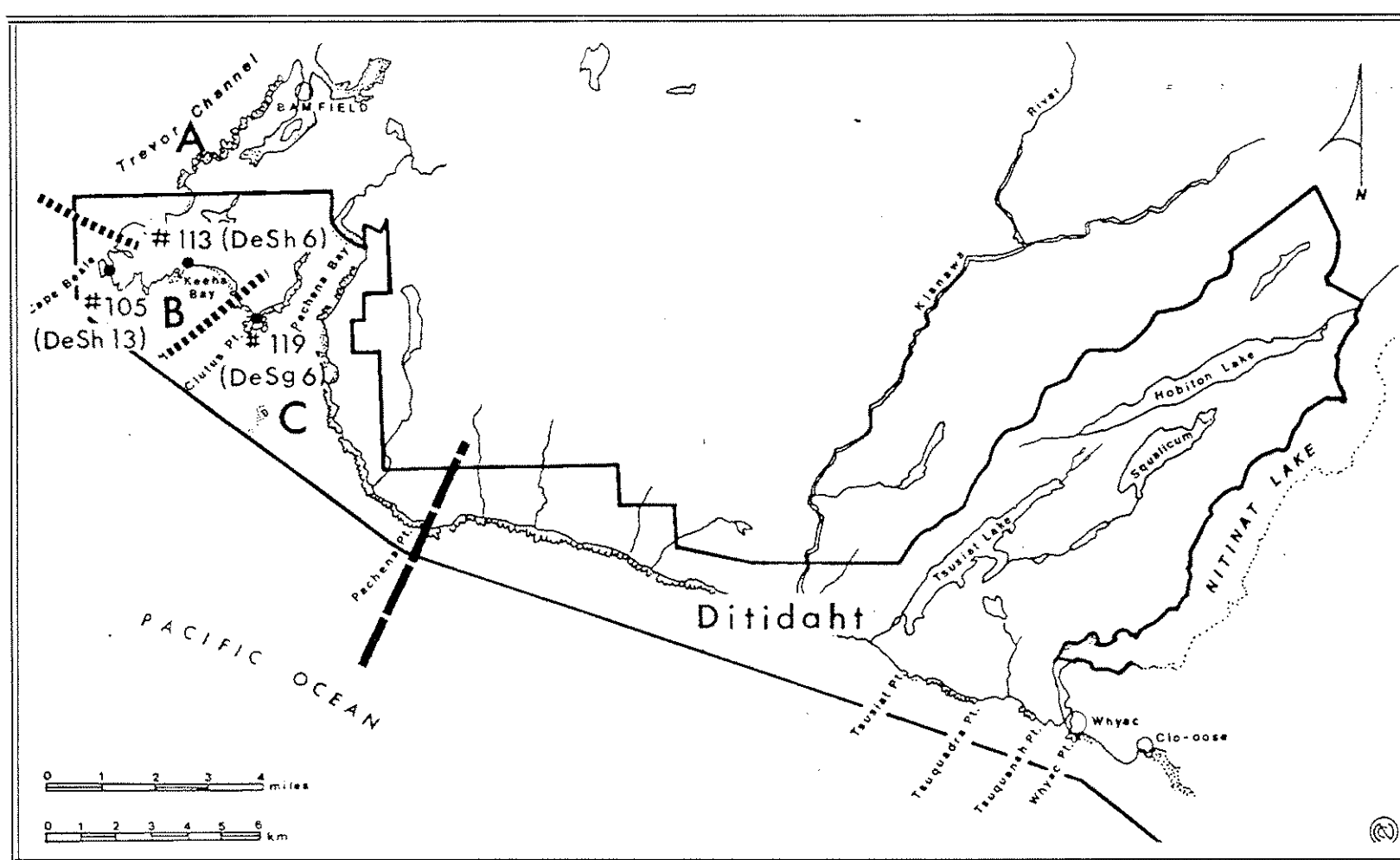


Fig. 102. Map of territories and villages of Ohiaht local groups within the West Coast Trail Unit.

The **Tc'imataqso'ath^a** had two villages, the main village was at **Ch'imataqsul** (Ohiaht #105) which was located on top of a rocky hill at Cape **Beale**, the second was **Kixa** (Ohiaht #113) which was called a camping village. **Kixa** is confirmed by the archaeological deposit at **DeSh 6**. **DeSh 13**, the major archaeological deposit at Cape **Beale** (Fig. 103), however, does not fit the description of **Ch'imataqsul**, as it is located at sea level.

The people who occupied the area around **Pachena** Bay generally were called the **?anaq'L?a'ath^a** and had their main village at **Luht'a** (Ohiaht #119). They appear also to take their name from this village, hence the **Luht'a?ath**. The village site at **Luht'a** is confirmed by the major archaeological deposit **DeSg 6** (Fig. 104).

Ethnohistoric references for the Ohiaht from the period of first contact are few. Cape **Beale**, named by Barkley in 1787, was a key landmark for the early traders identifying the entrance to Juan de **Fuca** Strait and the southeastern limit of Barkley Sound. The region, however, was largely bypassed. Robert **Duffin** in 1788 appears to be the first to contact the Ohiaht. On the first night of his voyage southeast of Barkley Sound he anchored in a bay interpreted to be **Pachena** Bay. There was a large village. At **tah**,³ from which a number of people came to trade. **Magee** was the next to visit Ohiaht country. In 1793 he visited a "large and very populous" village on the mainland of the east shore of Barkley Sound. Which village he visited cannot be determined from this description. No Ohiaht villages were plotted on the 1792 Spanish map of Barkley Sound. In 1795 Bishop named two chiefs, **Yapasuet** and **Annathat** "from the east shore" who came to trade at **Ucluelet**. These names have not been found in later



Fig. 103. Aerial view of the area of the Tc'limataqso'ath^a main village
(Photo: BCPM 1984B:132).

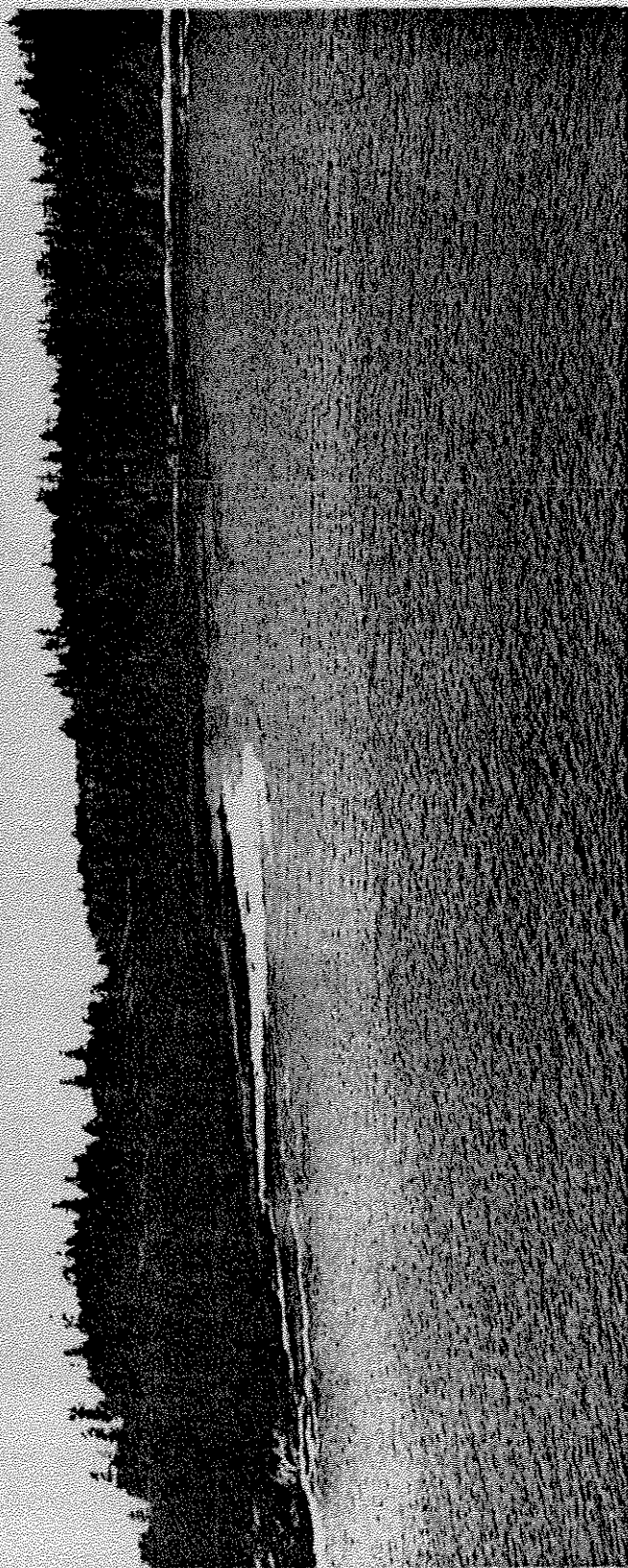


Fig. 104. Aerial view of tuht'a (Ohiaht #119), site of the main village of the ?anaq'Li'a'atH^a (Photo: BCPM 1984B:125).

lists of chiefs from the **Barkley** Sound sres so it **is** not possible at this time to identify any more accurately where they were from.

In **1817**, **Roquefeuil** sailed up **Trevor** Channel and anchored in Port **Desire**. Unfortunately he did not make **any** observations of people or villages in the **area** of focus in this **study**. By the time we have the next descriptions of the Ohisht in the late **1850s** they **are** described as **a** single tribe under one chief, with **numerous** villages along the shoreline from **Cape Beale** to **Numakamis** where they gather in the winter.

From the ethnographic **data** set there are **a** number of traditions that relate to the **Tc!imataqso'ath^a** and the **?anaq'L?a'ath^a**. Both sre described **as** independent peoples who became subject bands of the **Uchucklesaht** for an unknown period of time estimated to be in the mid to late eighteenth century. In one **tradition** the **Tc!imataqso'ath^a** were nearly wiped out by the Uchucklesht, the survivors fleeing to **Ditidaht** territory. In another tradition both groups were wiped out by the effects of an earthquake. The survivors moved in with their **Kix'in'ath^a** relatives and their territory was absorbed.

Wars with the **Clallam** and **Ucluelet** forced the amalgamation of the remaining two independent groups, the **Kix'in'ath^a** and the Ohisht, in the early **1800s**. In the late **1850s** they are described **as a** single tribe under one chief. **Numukamis** (Ohiaht #25) was the **main** winter village of the amalgamated **Ohia**ht. In the spring they scattered to their **resource** camps among the **islands** and gathered together **again** for the summer at **Kix'in**. **Blenkinsop** in the msp that accompanied his 1874 report plotted resource camps at **Malsit**, **Clutus**, **Kixa**, **Haines Island**, two on Diana Island, two on



Fig. 105. Aerial view of Kixal (Ohiaht) #113 (Photo: BCPM 1984B:159).



Fig. 106. Remains of house feature at Kixa village (Photo: BCPM 1984B:141).

Helby Island and two in Bamfield Inlet. In the late 1880s Kix'in was abandoned. New villages were established on Haines Island (Ohiaht #139) and on Diana Island (Ohiaht #140), in an area called Dodger Cove.

Kixa (ONaht #113) in traditional Tc'imataqso'atH^a territory and Clutus (Ohiaht #119) and Malsit (ONaht #123) in ?anaq'La'atH traditional territory became summer resource villages of the amalgamated Ohiaht. The people took on the name of these summer villages when they lived there, hence Kixa'ath, Yu.tas'ath and ma.lsit'ath. In 1882 these three summer villages were allotted as ONaht reserves. Kixa (JR 10) had four houses, Clutus (IR 11) had four houses and Malsit (IR 13) had two old houses on the 1883 survey maps.

Ditidaht

The modern Ditidaht are an historic period amalgamation of ten local groups whose traditional territories included over half of the outer coastline of the West Coast Trail unit as well as the Nitinat Lake region. The territories of the ten independent groups identified from the ethnographic data set are within the park unit. They are presented in Figs. 107a and 107b.

The ten local groups with their known component groups and village sites are listed in columns 1 and 2 of Table 6. The villages are plotted on Figs. 107a and 107b.

The nine archaeological sites within Ditidaht territory that are classified as structured settlements are listed in column 3 of Table 6 and are plotted on Figs. 107a and 107b.

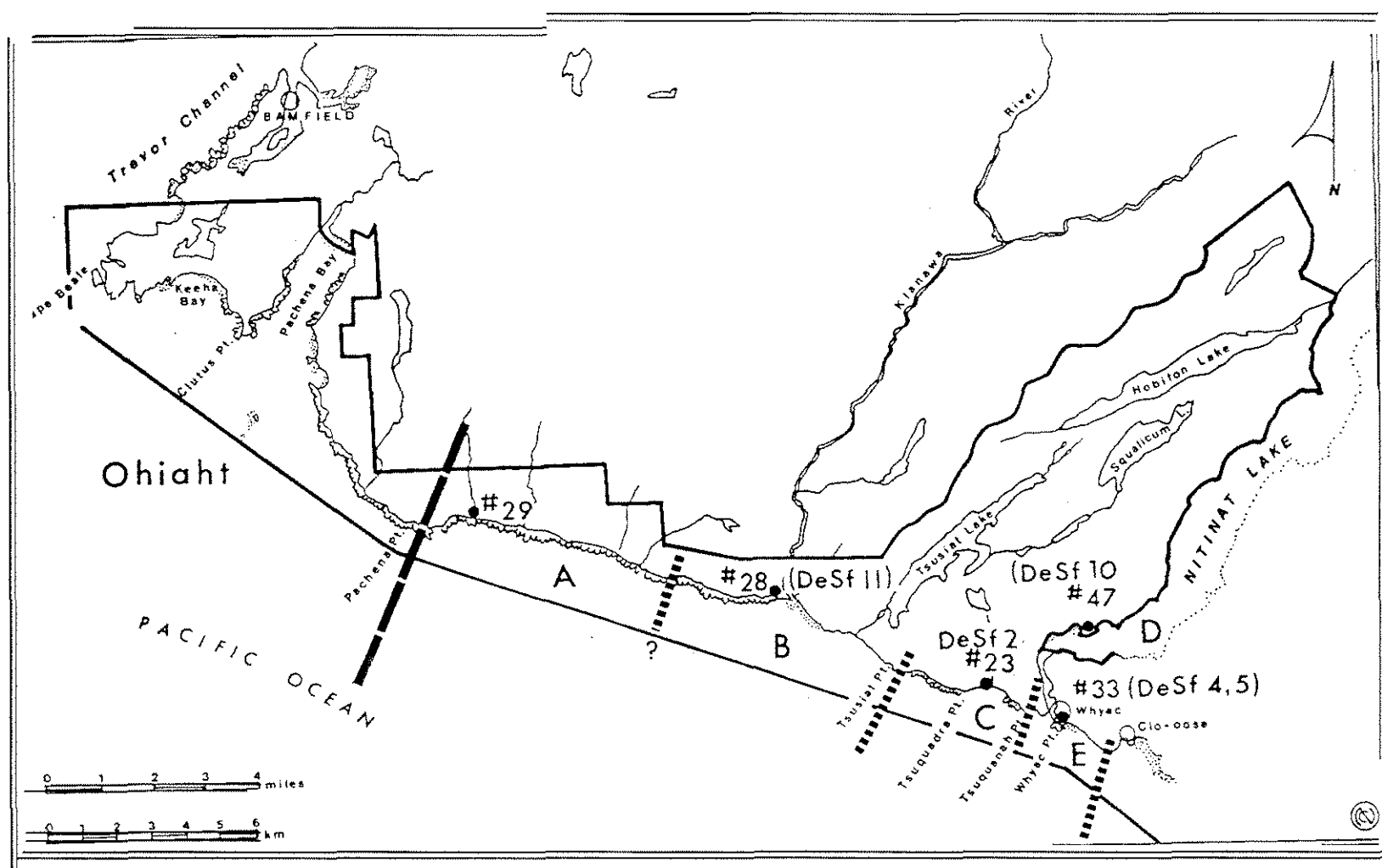


Fig. 107a. Map of territories and villages of Ditidaht local groups within the West Coast Trail Unit (western section).

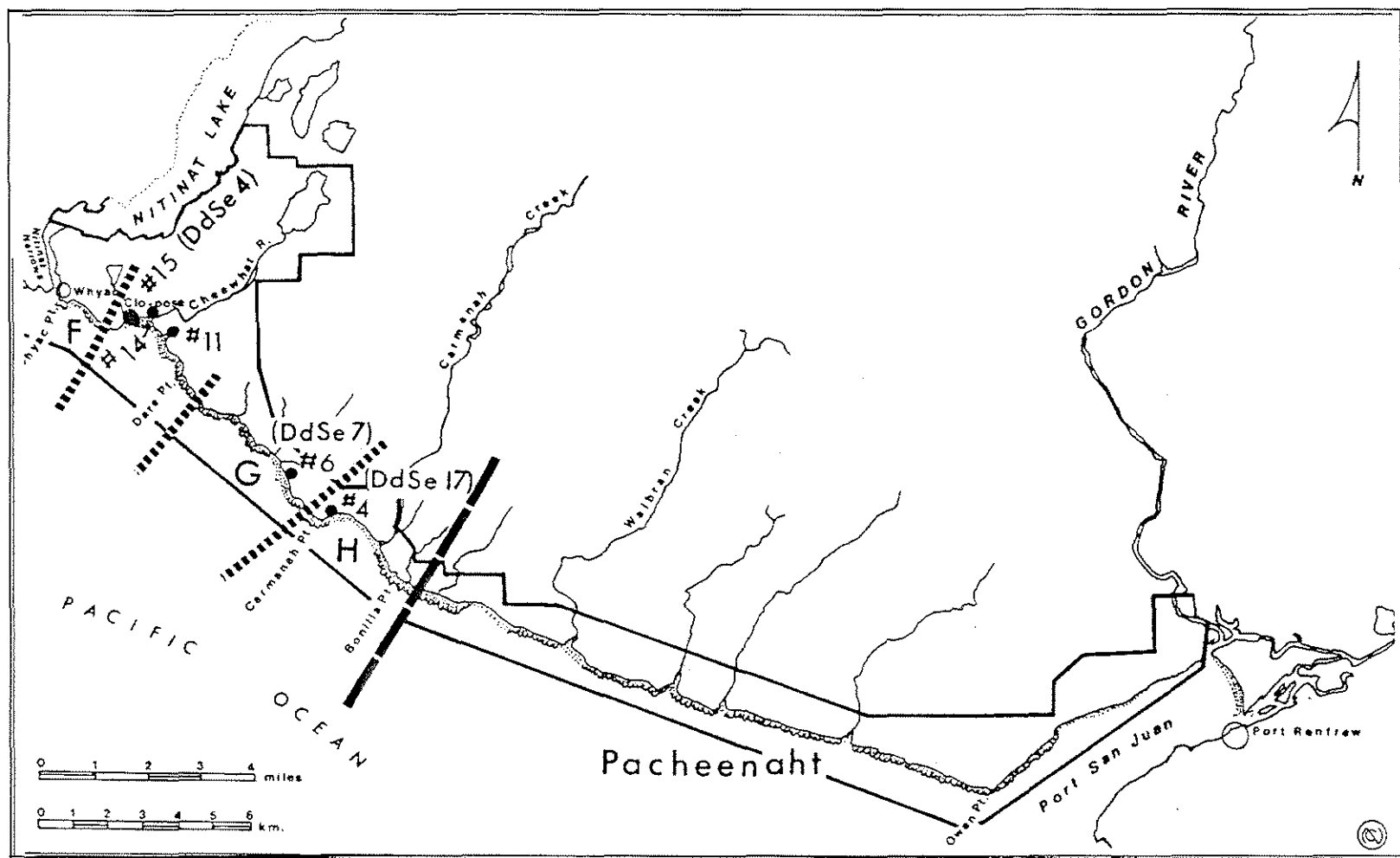


Fig. 107b. Map of territories and villages of Ditidaht local groups within the West Coast Trail Unit (eastern section).

Table 6. Integration of Ethnographic and Archaeological Data on Village Sites within Ditidaht territory of the West Coast Trail Unit.

Known Social units	Ethnographic Village Locations	Archaeological Village Sites
caqqawisa?tx (A)	caqqawis (Ditidaht #29) wi.qpalu.ws (Ditidaht #43)	DeSf 9
a.di.wa?a?tx (B)	a.di.wa? (Ditidaht #28)	DeSf 11
cux ^{wk} wa.da?a?tx (C)	cux ^{wk} wa. da? (Ditidaht #23) a. a.baqu.ws (Ditidaht #45)	DeSf 2 DeSf 9
Da.o.wa?a?tx (D) 'an.imiyistaqemil lap/Haitap taqemil 'aps.wipi?actaqemil	hitaca?saq (Ditidaht #47)	DeSf 10
wa.ya.?aqa?tx (E)	wa.ya.?aq (Ditidaht #33)	DeSf 4, 5
u.?u.wsa?tx (F)	u.?u.ws (Ditidaht #15)	DdSe 4
wawa.x?adi?sa?tx (G)	wawa.x?adi?s (Ditidaht #6)	DdSe 7
qwa.ba.duwa?a?tx (H)	qwa.ba.duwa? (Ditidaht #4)	DdSe 17
qaqbaqisa?tx	qaqbaqis (Ditidaht #11)	
ca.x ^{wl} .yta?tx	ca.x ^{wl} .yt (Ditidaht #14)	

Of the ten local group villages identified from the ethnographic data, seven are confirmed by major structured archaeological deposits. DeSf 11 (Fig. 108) corresponds to the main village of the ta.di.wa?a?tx, DeSf 2 (Fig. 109) corresponds to the main village of the cux^{wk}wa.da?a?tx, DeSf 10 (Fig. 110) correspond to the main village of the da.o.wa?a?tx, DdSe 4 (Fig. 111) corresponds to the main village of the u.?u.wsa?tx, DdSe 7 corresponds to the main village of the wawa.x?adi?sa?tx, and DdSe 17 (Fig. 112) corresponds to the main village



Fig. 108. Aerial view of the village site of ʔa.di.waʔ, the arrow marks the archaeological site DeSf #1 (Photo: BCPM 1984B:104).



Fig. 109. Aerial view of the village site of cux^w k^w a.daʔ (Photo: BCPM 1984B:97).



Fig. 110. Aerial view of the main village site of the da.o.wa?a?txl (Photo: BCPM 1984B:377).

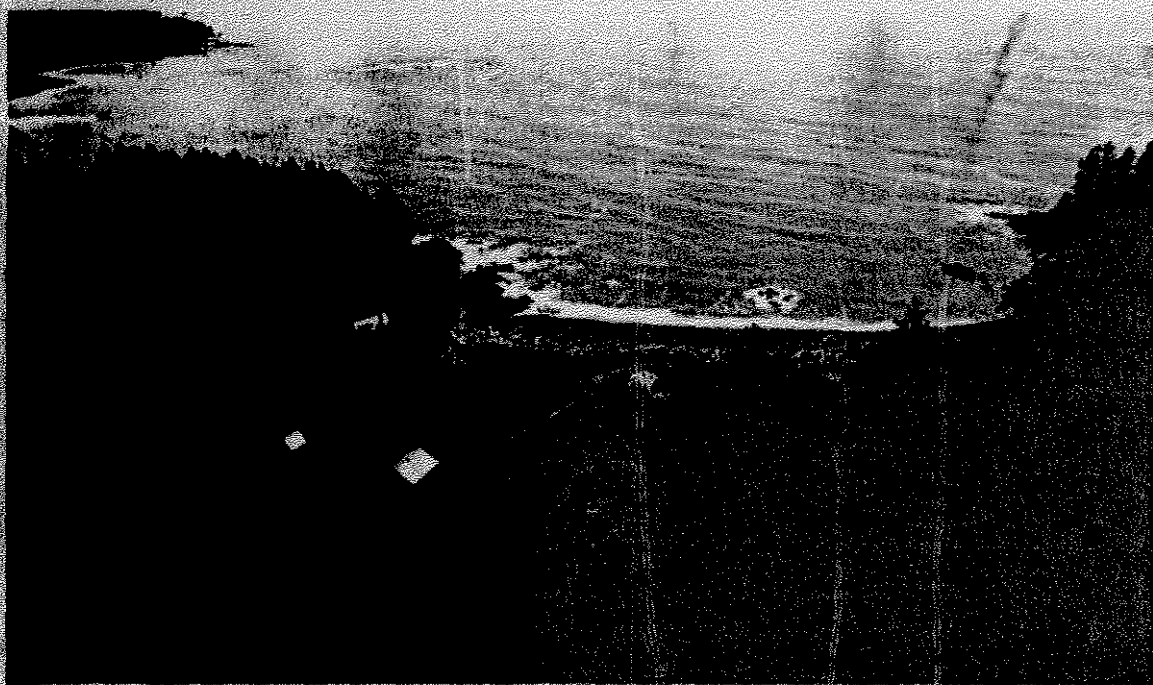


Fig. 111. Aerial view of the village site of xu.?u.wd (Photo: BCPM 1984B:403).

of the **qua.ba.duwa?a?tx**. DeSf 4 (Fig. 113) at the entrance to Nitinat Narrows is the **wa.ya?aqa?tx** main village. A second major archaeological deposit, DeSf 5, in the same **area** is likely part of the **same** village complex.

No archaeological sites were recorded for three groups, the **caqqawisa?tx**, the **qaqbaqisa?tx** and the **ca.w^wi.yta?tx**. The last two groups were both established in more recent times and their villages were likely occupied for a limited time which would explain the absence of archaeological deposit. The lack of archaeological evidence for the **caqqawisa?tx** village, however, remains a problem.

Two groups, the **caqqawisa?tx** and the **cux^wk^wa.da?a?tx**, also had an inside winter village on the north shore of the entrance to Nitinat Lake at **wi.qpalu.ws** and **ta.ta.baqu.ws** respectively. These winter villages are confirmed by the archaeological sites DeSf 9.

According to the recorded historical traditions the Ditidaht migrated to the Nitinat Lake region from **di:ti:da?** (Pacheenaht #7) at Jordan River. There are a number of possible explanations for this move: warfare with their **neighbours**, overcrowding and the Flood. Whether the Ditidaht were the first to settle the region or whether the **Da.o.wa?a?tx** were already there is unclear. According to some traditions **Whyac** was the first settlement, while in other traditions a number of the villages were occupied around **the** same time.

There are few early **ethnohistoric** references to this part of the coast. In 1788 Robert **Duffin** sailed along the shoreline of this part of the coast. He saw four villages, none of which he named. From his



Fig. 112. Aerial view of the village site of qwa.ba.duwa?
(Photo: BCPM 1984B:57).

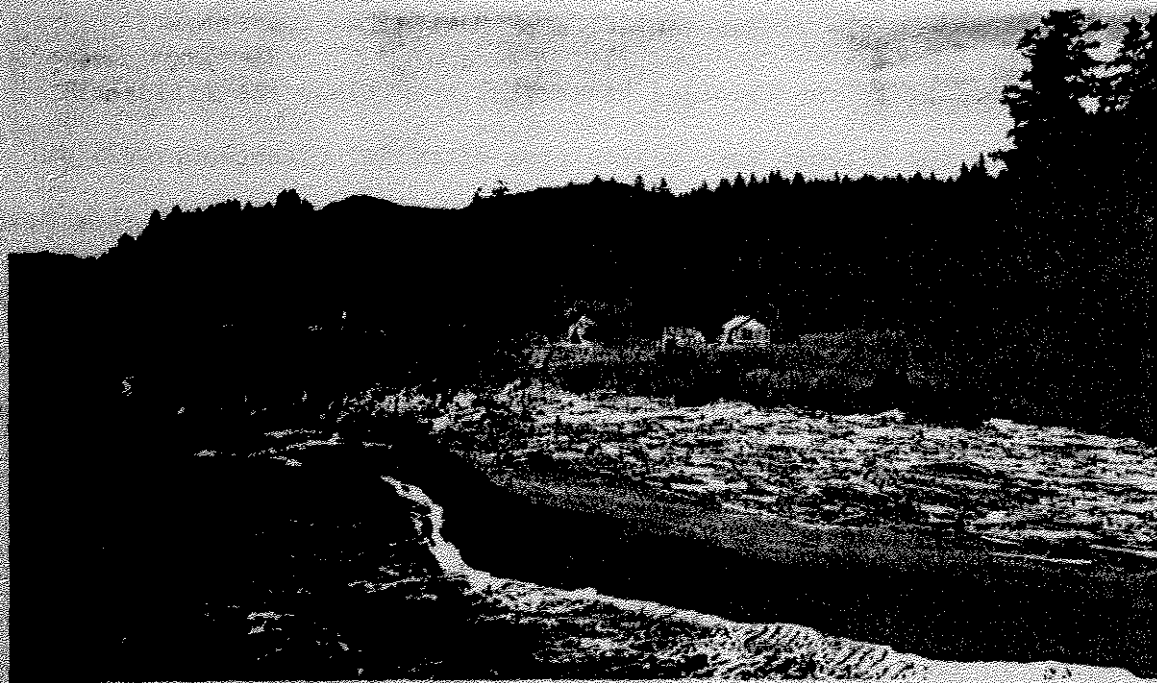


Fig. 113. Aerial view of the entrance to Nitinat Narrows
and the village site of wa.ya.?aq (Photo: BCPM 1984B:90).

descriptions of the **landforms** one of the villages has been identified as Whyac. In 1789 and again in 1791 Gray traded offshore from the village of "**Nittenat**" (Whyac). Two of his officers who kept journals recorded the scars from smallpox among the people who came **to** the ship to trade. This is the first reference to this disease among the **Nuu-chah-nulth**. There is, however, no account of the severity of its impact.

There are a number of war traditions which relate events leading to the amalgamation of some groups to form the Ditidaht. According to a non-Ditidaht the two local groups living closest to **Barkley** Sound, the **caqqawisa?tx** and the **ta.di.wa?a?tx**, were wiped out in warfare by the **Uchucklesaht**, who were occupying at the time what is now **Ohiaht** territory. This war is estimated to have occurred in the last half of the eighteenth century. The Ditidaht also were driven **from** the **Nitinat** Lake region by the **Makah**, who occupied this area for some time. The date of the conflict was not determined but the survival of a number of Makah place names in the region suggests a not too distant time in the past. The Ditidaht regained their lands from the Makah through warfare.

In 1858 the Ditidaht were described as a single tribe that divided itself in the **spring** and summer into encampments, each having its own chief. The principal chief lived at Whyac. Brown, writing in June **1864**, noted four inhabited Ditidaht settlements southeast of the entrance to Nitinat Lake: villages at Whyac, which was fortified on the seaward side, **Clo-oose** and **Carmanah**, and a camp at **Echwates (Ditidaht #2)**.

In 1890, sixteen reserves were **allocated** to the Ditidaht. Included among these were the four villages of **cux^wk^wa.da?** (IR 2), **wa.ya.?aq**

(IR 3), **tu.ʔu.ws** (IR 4), and **qwa.ba.duwaʔ** (IR 6). The combined population of these villages in the 1882 census "as two hundred and seventy-one. The village sites at **caqqawis**, **a.di.waʔ** and **wawa.xʔadiʔs** did not become reserves leading to the conclusion that they were no longer being used. In the 1893 reserve maps **cux^Wk^Wa.daʔ** had nine houses, **wa.ya.ʔaq** had fifteen houses which included one much larger than the others, **u.ʔu.ws** had five, **ca.x^Wi.yt** had one and **qwa.ba.duwaʔ** had four. There were ten houses on the Iktuksasuck Reserve (IR 7) on the north shore of the entrance to Nitinat Lake.

The archaeological sites at **cux^Wk^Wa.daʔ** (DeSf 2), the defensive portion of **wa.ya.ʔaq** (DeSf 3) and **qwa.ba.duwaʔ** (DdSe 17) still have the standing remains of traditional style longhouses. A sketch of Whyac village, drawn in 1864, (Fig. 114) shows the layout, of the longhouses at this village. A photograph taken around 1940 provides roughly the same view (Fig. 115). Instead of the traditional style houses, however, are found Canadian frame style houses but arranged in much the same pattern. The supposition is that the internal social structure of the village stayed much the same despite the change in housing style.

Whyac and Clo-oose gained importance in the early decades of the 1900s with the increased presence of white settlers in the area of the Cheewaht and commercial developments in the area of Nitinat Lake. **cux^Wk^Wa.daʔ** and **qwa.ba.duwaʔ** were abandoned gradually. In 1964 a new reserve "as built for the Ditidaht by the Department of Indian Affairs at Malachan IR 11 at the head of Nitinat Lake. Today this is the main settlement of the Ditidaht.



Fig. 114] Village of wa.ya.?aq (Whyac) as viewed in 1864 by the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition (drawing published in 1866) (Photo: BCPM PN 15522).



Fig. 115] Village of wa.ya.?aq around 1940 (Photo: AVM PN 3589).

Pacheenaht

The Pacheenaht, who today live at Gordon River IR 2 near Port Renfrew, are the vestiges of an once populous tribe that had at least eleven villages along the shoreline from Sheringham Point to Bonilla Point including Port San Juan and the San Juan River valley. Their territory that is included within the boundaries of the West Coast Trail Unit is presented in Fig. 116.

There are no component groups listed for the Pacheenaht in the ethnographic texts. It is inferred from a map in Haas' notes that Port San Juan was divided between two groups, the qawqa.d'aatx and the t'luquxoct'aatx. Only the latter are of concern in this study as part of their territory falls within the park unit boundaries. Two Sheshaht respondents in 1913-14 named another group within what is now Pacheenaht territory. The Qanayit'ath^a, who lived at Qala.yit (Pacheenaht #114), were a Ditiidaht tribe of giants who were wiped out in a raid by the Sheshaht, estimated to be around 1800. These two groups are listed in Table 7.

Table 7. Integration of Ethnographic and Archaeological Data on Village Sites within Pacheenaht territory of the West Coast Trail Unit.

Known Social Units	Ethnographic Village Locations	Archaeological Village Sites
t'luquxoct'aatx	(outside of park)	
Qanayit'ath ^a	Qala.yit (Pacheenaht #114)	DdSe 8

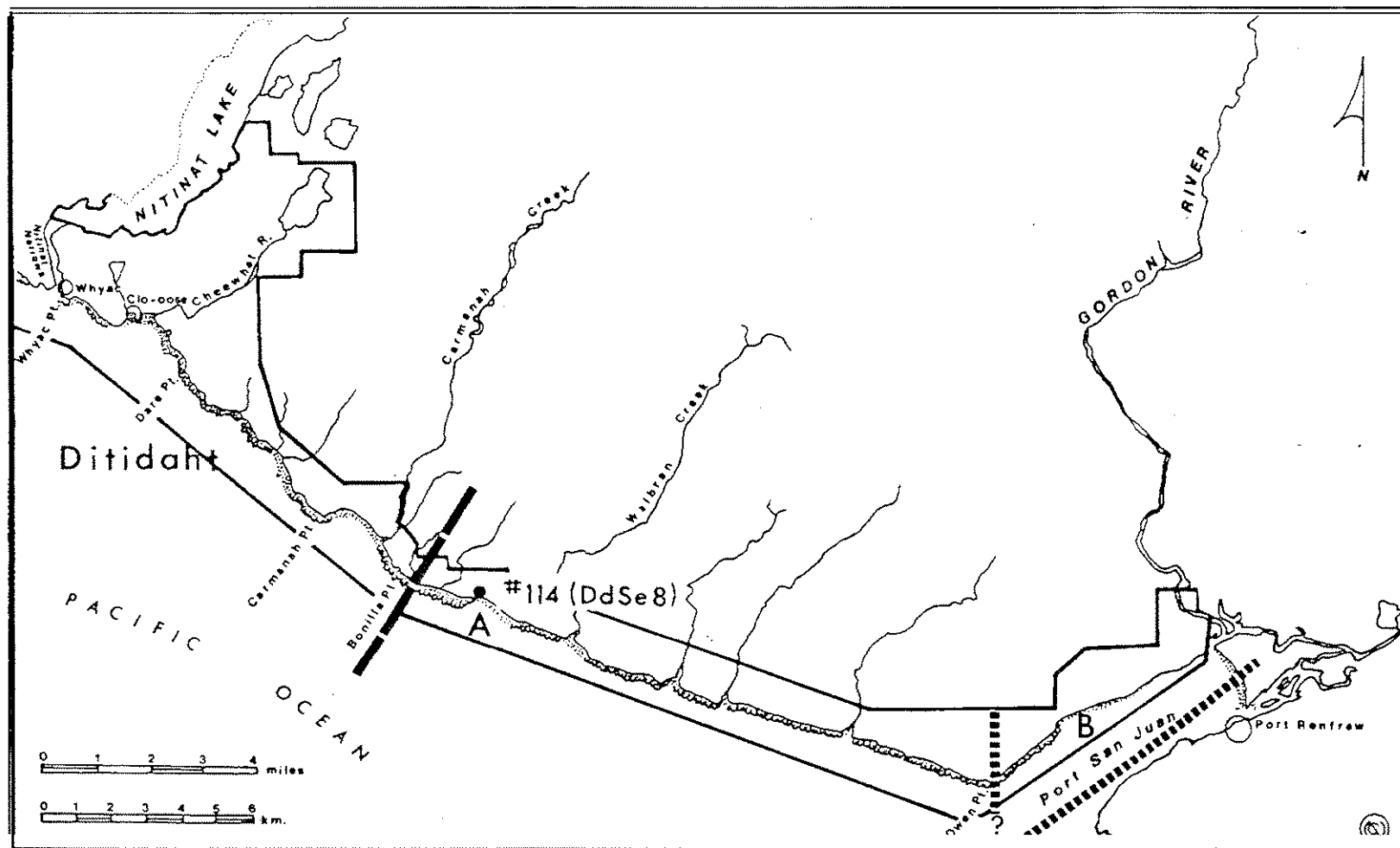


Fig. 116. Map of territories and villages of possible Pacheenaht local groups within the West Coast Trail Unit.

The one **archaeological** site, **DdSe 8** (Fig. 117), in Pacheenaht traditional territory that **is** classified as a structured settlement is plotted on Fig. 116 and listed in Table 7. It corresponds to **Qala.yit**, the village of the **Qala.yit.atH**. The main village of the **t'luquxoct'aatx** is outside of the park unit boundaries.

There are a number of early historic references to the Pacheenaht. The Port San Juan region, in particular, was a **centre** of activity for vessels exploring the entrance to Juan de **Fuca** Strait as it was the only **harbour** along an otherwise linear shoreline. Robert **Duffin**, in a **longboat** from the **Felice**, was the **first** to enter Juan de **Fuca** Strait in July 1788. The **longboat** was attacked **in** Port San Juan by about **80** men in two canoes. In 1789 the **Columbia** entered Poverty Cove (Port San Juan). A "deserted hut" was seen on the northwest shore (likely Pacheenaht **#96**) as well as the smoke from the **village** at the head of the bay. The Spanish mapped the area in 1790. Two villages were plotted on the map, one at the mouth of the Cordon River, ~~the~~ other at the mouth of the San Joan River. The only other settlement in the region was noted by the Spanish in 1791 when they traded with twenty **canoes** from a large settlement at **Bonilla** Point which **is** hypothesized to ~~be~~ **Qala.yit** (Pacheenaht **#114**).

The next description of the Pacheenaht is not until **1858** when **Banfield** described them as a once numerous tribe who had been **nearly** annihilated by warfare and smallpox in 1850. In 1864 Brown noted three villages of ~~the~~ Pacheenaht. Only one, **Karllet** (Pacheenaht **#114**) which had one house, is **within** the park unit. In 1889 **Cullite** was allotted as a reserve (**IR3**). One house was recorded on the 1893 map.

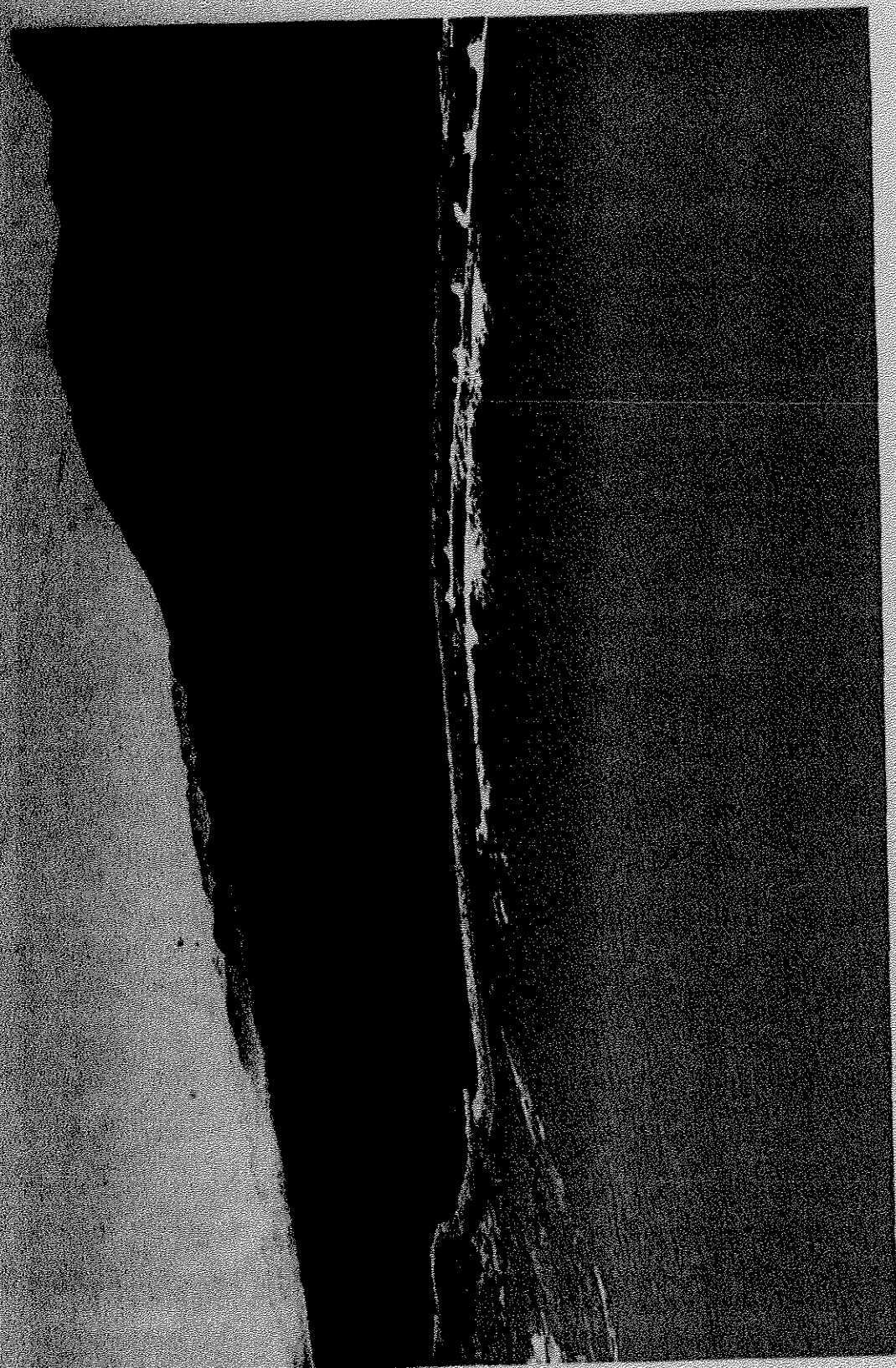


FIG. 117. Aerial view of the village site of Qata.yit (Photo: BCPM 1984B.39).



Fig. 118. Mr. and Mrs. Jim McKay, Ucluelet (Photo: Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council).

Summary and Conclusions

Introduction

The major objective of this project was to **write** an integrated history of the native peoples who traditionally occupied the areas of Pacific Rim National Park. Three major sets of information were defined:

ethnohistoric, ethnographic and archaeological. **Primary** source materials relating to the first two data sets were collected, analyzed and summarized for this report. The archaeological data set **was** summarized from the report of the Pacific **Rim Historical** Resources Site Survey and Assessment Project.' The focus of the data summaries was on information that would identify places, settlements, people, activities **and** events within the areas of the three park units. This information provided the basis for the integrated histories of the **Sheshaht** in the Broken Group Islands unit, the **Ucluelet** and **Clayoquot** in the Long Beach unit **and** the **Ohiaht**, **Ditidaht** and **Pacheenaht** in the West Coast Trail unit.

Summary

The Broken Group Islands unit was the traditional homeland occupied on a year round basis for an identified four local groups, comprising thirteen component groups. Six of the fifteen archaeological sites classified as major structured settlements were confirmed as local or

component group villages. The remaining nine sites likely represent the villages of social units of **whom** no knowledge has survived.

In the last decades of the eighteenth century a series of wars resulted in the **T!omokL'ai'atH^a** the **MakL'ai'atH^a** and the **Hatc!a'atH^a** ceasing to exist as separate **socio-political** entities on the landscape. The survivors either scattered **or** joined the **Ts'icya'atH^a**, the only local group that remained. The **Ts'icya'atH^a** in turn **were** forced to **abandon** the Broken Group Islands for several decades in the early nineteenth century. They set up at the head of Alberni Canal during this period.

In the 1840s the prolonged wars in **Barkley** Sound had come to an end **and** the **Ts'icya'atH^a** returned to the coast. Instead of operating from a year round village, however, a new seasonal round settlement and subsistence pattern was adopted: **Hikwis**, on the mainland shore of Vancouver Island, became the winter village of the amalgamated groups who **now** formed the **Ts'icya'atH^a**. **Omoah** became their summer village, and **in** the fall they moved to their fishing stations along the Alberni Canal and **Sumass** River, before returning to **Hikwis**. By the 1870s **Hikwis** was abandoned in **favour** of the old village sites in the Broken Group Islands where families, likely remnants of the original local **groups**, set up resource camps for **fishing** and sea mammal hunting in the spring. The rest of the cycle stayed the same.

As whites began to alienate land, settlement became restricted to the three reserves allocated in the Broken Group Islands in 1882, **Omoah**, **Keith** Island and **Cleho**. **Omoah** and **Cleho** **were** major villages up until the late

1930s. Today the **Sheshaht** are **centred** year round at **Tsahahch IR 1** near Port **Alberni** and **use** the Broken Group Islands on an individual basis for procuring seafoods.

The Long Beach unit was the traditional year round homeland for a minimum of four independent local groups. Of the seven archaeological **sites** classified **as** major settlements **within** the unit, five correspond to the main village.³ of local groups. There is no information recorded on the people who occupied the other two sites. As a result of a **series** of wars in the late eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century these groups ceased to exist as separate entities. The territories of the **Histau'istath** and the **Hophitcath** were incorporated by the Clayoquot around 1770. The **K'inaxumAs'ath^a** joined the **amalgamated Ucluelet** centered in Ucluelet Inlet at the time of the Long War around 1830-40. The **'ho'ox'ath^a** either joined at **this** time or sometime later.

During the last decades of the **1800s** the villages of **Hu'ux** and **Quisitis** were used in the spring by a few Ucluelet families, likely descendants of the original local group owners, as halibut fishing **stations**. How long **this** use continued into the twentieth century is unknown. Both areas were allotted **as** reserves in 1890.

A similar pattern is evident for the Clayoquot. Both **Histau'is** and **Hophitc** were used as summer **fishing camps** in the late eighteenth century. Only **Histau'is**, however, **was** allocated **as** a reserve in 1914. Today, **Histau'is** is one of the two Clayoquot **settlements**.

The **West Coast Trail** unit encompasses the traditional territories of thirteen known independent local groups and part of the territory of two

others. Thirteen archaeological sites have been classified as major settlements in this unit. Ten of these sites correspond to the main villages of ten of the local groups. Three local groups had two villages. The village of one local group was not documented archaeologically and two local groups that formed in recent times also lacked archaeological deposits. The main villages of the two groups with partial territories within the park unit were located outside of the park.

As a result of natural disaster or warfare the two **Ohiaht** groups ceased to exist. The territories of the **Tc'imataqso'ath^a** and the **?anaq'L?a'ath^a** were absorbed by the **Kix'in'ath^a** after they were wiped out by the effects of an earthquake or warfare with the **Uchucklesaht** estimated to have occurred in the late eighteenth century. Two of their villages, **Luht 'a** and **Kixa** , were used by the **amalgamted Ohiaht** as whaling camps in the mid to late nineteenth century. Both were allocated as reserves in 1882 and continued to be used into the early decades of the twentieth century.

The **Caqqawisa?tx** and **a.di.wa?a?tx**, two Ditidaht groups, were wiped out by the **Uchucklesaht** in the mid to late eighteenth century. No archaeological deposit was found for the **Caqqawisatx** village of **Caqqawis ta.di.wa?** was occupied up until the early 1900s but was not allocated as a reserve.

Four of the other Ditidaht groups maintained their traditional village sites, each with its own chief, into the twentieth century. The **Cux^wk^wa.da?a?tx** and **Qwa.ba.duwa?a?tx** moved into **Whyac** and **Clo-oose** in the early 1900s. The remaining groups, the **u.?u.wsa?tx** and the **wa.ya?aqa?tx** were still living at their villages until the 1960s. Today

the Ditidaht are centered at the head of **Nitinat** Lake. The **reserves** of **Whyac** (1R 3) and **Iktuksasuk** (1R 7) are used on a seasonal basis by a few families.

Two local groups had territory in **Pacheenaht** territory. The **Qanayit'atH^a** who lived at **Qala yit** were wiped out in a raid by the **Ts'icya'atH^a** in the late eighteenth century. They were considered one of the Ditidaht tribes. The village was **used** by the **Pacheenaht** as a halibut fishery camp by 1850 and likely earlier. It was made a reserve in 1889. The main village of the **t'luquxoct'aatx** is located outside of the park. The only structured archaeological site in **Pacheenaht** territory, **DdSe 8**, corresponds with the village at **Qala.yit**.

Conclusion

The information contained in the ethnohistoric and ethnographic data sets ranges widely in content and quality. The ethnohistoric data set is a compilation of observations of native people and events that has been recorded since first contact in 1787. This data set, however, does not provide a continuous record through the historic period. It is limited by when and where the observations were recorded. There are many years for which there are no records and there are many areas for which there are no recorded observations. The ethnohistoric data set is limited further by the observational and descriptive abilities of the recorder. What was the importance to them at the time (i.e. trading practices) not surprisingly may not be of prime interest to anthropologists today (i.e. names of chiefs, villages, etc.).

The ethnographic data set is a compilation of historical traditions told by native people. This information is gathered by the interview process, generally of knowledgeable community elders. Two major biases are inherent: first, the information collected represents the research focus of the collector; second, the information represents only the views of the people interviewed. Interviews of other individuals and different lines of questioning undoubtedly would produce additional data. Often the information required for this project was not the focus of that collected by past researchers. As a result information on people, settlements and territories occurred often as brief footnotes or tantalizing asides to the main texts, rather than in discussions of **socio-political** organization and settlement patterns. For example many of the references to local and component groups **were** found scattered through **ethnographic** notes on ranking or rights of particular individuals.

The archaeological data set on the other hand is an inventory of physical modifications to the landscape resulting from native occupation and use. In the Pacific Rim National Park two hundred and eighty-nine native archaeological sites have been recorded. In one sense this represents an absolute data set. It is a physical reality, irrefutable evidence of use that needs explanation. The major limiting factor of this data set is time frame. Without control of time it is impossible to talk relationships between sites: were they occupied contemporaneously or is there a sequence to the occupations? These types of questions, however, can be answered by systematic excavation and **chronometric** dating.

This history from the **ethnographic** and **ethnohistoric** data sets reflects what was recorded. The gaps in information are many and frustrating. The

material that does exist however, provides valuable insight into the participants, events and lifestyle in the region of the Pacific Rim National Park over the past two hundred **years**. The archaeological data set represents the only data set that can document native history beyond the approximately two centuries of the **ethnohistoric** and ethnographic record. The integration of the three ultimately provides the most complete understanding of native history.

Most of what **is** known about the number, composition and territories of local groups has been extracted from the ethnographic data set. A minimum of twenty-three independent local groups who had traditional territory within Pacific Rim National Park have been identified. Of the twenty-three, twenty-one had main villages which are now within **one** of the three park units.

From the same area thirty-five major structured **archeological** sites have been identified. Of these thirty-five, twenty-three were **confirmed** from the ethnographic data set as local or component group village sites. The remaining twelve sites **are** similar to the known local group sites. The question **is** whether these sites functioned in the past as **villages** of local or component groups of whom there is no record in the **ethnohistoric** or **ethnographic** data sets or whether they represent alternate villages of known local groups or their components.

Today, the twenty-three local groups are survived by six "tribal groups", the **Sheshaht**, the **Ucluelet**, the **Clayoquot**, the **Ohiaht**, the **Ditidaht** and the **Pacheenaht**. This is a loss of nearly seventy-five **percent** of the independent **socio-political** units that operated on the

landscape in the **areas** encompassed by the Park. The dramatic decline was brought about by **a** number of different **factors** occurring at different times. Warfare **was** the major causal factor for wholesale changes to the **socio-political map**. Twelve amalgamations or extinctions were brought about by intergroup **wars** documented for the late eighteenth century and first four decades of the nineteenth century. Of the twelve known local groups, four were wiped out by warfare and eight were forced to amalgamate either with the victors or with other extant local groups because of severe decline in **numbers**. The future of **a** group in the amalgamation depended on how amalgamation occurred. Conquest generally resulted in total absorption and loss of group identity. Amalgamation of survivors in groups where they had kin ties often resulted in their becoming **a** ranked component group. The **majority** (nine of twelve) of these events took place before **1800**. The major catalyst for the conflicts **appears** to have been the presence of the **first** Euro-American traders and the attempts of groups to control the immense wealth and therefore prestige and power which they represented.

Natural disaster accounted for the extinction of two of the twenty-three local groups. Of the remaining nine, **a** general decline in population and changing economic patterns of the twentieth century forced five to amalgamate.

Of the remaining four, two formed the **basis** of one of the modern amalgamations. What happened to **the** last two is unknown. It is likely that their numbers declined **as a** result of disease to the point where they ceased to exist as distinct political entities, the survivors joining one of the extant groups.

The ethnographic and **ethnohistoric** records also document two hundred years of profound and dramatic change in settlement and subsistence patterns. The traditional pattern was for local groups to live year round at a village from which they exploited the range of resources within their territories. The local groups who lived along the outer coast of the Broken Group Islands, Long Beach and West Coast Trail units were renown as whalers and sea mammal hunters. During the **socio-political** re-alignments of the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries local group territories expanded either by conquest or by amalgamation. These expanded territories were exploited generally by adopting a seasonal round pattern of settlement and subsistence. There were a number of variations in this pattern depending on the nature of the territorial gains. For groups that annexed territory adjacent to their holdings shifts would occur only if the **new territories** offered better features, such as beach access, a lookout place or resource availability, than the regular village. The seasonal round pattern became most pronounced when "outside" local groups acquired salmon rivers on the "**inside**", and moved from their outside villages in the late summer to set up **camps** at the salmon fishing stations.

The timing and specifics of this new pattern varied from group to group. For some groups the pattern developed in the late **1700s**, for others not until the mid-1800s. The nature of the pattern also varied from local group to local group. The shift for some was from a Winter **village** to a **summer** village, for others it was from a winter village to a **summer** village to fall salmon **stations**.

Numerous other variations developed in the last half of the nineteenth century as people participated in new economic opportunities provided by increased white settlement. Dogfish oil and dried halibut and salmon production and offshore pelagic sealing were the first activities. Numerous abandoned villages were re-occupied as camps to procure and produce these products. Many of the reserves allocated in the late nineteenth century reflect the participation in this cash economy. As the demand for these products diminished so did the use of the reserves. New employment opportunities for wages were offered away from the coast in canneries and hop fields. When **commerical** developments opened on the west coast, new 'company towns' were built to which native people from different areas of the coast moved to work during the season of operation.

Today the modern communities of the **Sheshaht, Ucluelet, Clayoquot, Ohiaht, Ditidaht** and **Pacheenaht** are situated in or near white communities where employment is offered in the forest and fishing industries.

Recommendations

The native history is a vital part of the story of Pacific Rim National Park. The landscape has been modified and utilized by native peoples for thousands of years. The two hundred and eighty-nine native archaeological sites are the physical record of this history reflecting a range of activities from village life, to whaling, to stripping of the bark of cedar trees. To visit the Park is not only a "wilderness experience", it is also an experience in the past relationships of people to that environment.

Seven recommendations are put **foward** that would make the native history better known and an integral part of the Park activities.

1. Develop interpretive **programmes** on native history for the **Wicanninish Centre**, the Interpretation **Centre** and the Green Point Theatre in the **Long** Beach unit.
2. Produce brochures that summarize the native history for each of the park units.
3. Produce brochures that summarize aspects of native culture that are common to the three park units such as whaling, use of cedar, traditional house styles, etc.
4. Adopt more native terms for physical features on the landscape and the sea. Known terms are compiled in the geographies which are included as Appendices to this report.
5. Employ native people in the Park as rangers and interpreters.
6. Develop **signage** for the park units pointing out areas of native historical significance.
7. Develop **programmes** with the six bands who have reserves within the park. These bands could organize native food nights, **Nuu-chah-nulth** singing and dancing and traditional story-telling for example.

Endnotes

Prologue

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- 73 **Arima 1984**, p. 144.
- 74 Ibid. 153.
- 75 Ibid.

- 76 APS, Sapir 1913-14, notebook XIX, p. 3a.
- 77 APS, **Sapir 1910**, notebook I, pp. 8, 9.
- 78 Ibid. pp. 10, 11.
- 79 APS, Sapir 1913-14, notebook XIII, p. 27a.
- 80 **APS, Sapir 1913-14**, notebook XXIV, p. 5a.
- 81 APS, Sapir 1913-14, notebook XV, p. 47a.
- 82 Sapir and Swadesh, Native Accounts, pp. 368-377.
- 83 Ibid. p. 373.
- 84 APS, Swadesh 1949, notebook III, pp. 10, 11.
- 85 "Report by Blenkinsop", p. 26.
- 86 **APS, Sapir 1913-14**, notebook XXIV, p. 4a.
- 87 Sapir and **Swadesh**, Native Accounts, pp. 350-355.
- 88 APS, Sapir 1913-14, notebook XVII, p. 4a.
- 89 APS, **Sapir 1913-14**, notebook XXIV, p. 7; **Sapir** wrote: "Story of **Ts'icya'atH^a** getting **?eniq'cil'atH^a** country and letting it go to **Ho'ai'atH^a** seem to be **self-glorifying** perversion" (Ibid.).
- 90 Sapir and Swadesh, Native Accounts, pp. 385-439.
- 91 Ibid. p. 412.
- 92 Ibid. p. 413.
- 93 "Report by Blenkinsop", p. 49.
- 94 Sapir and Swadesh, Native Accounts, p. 27.
- 95 Ibid. p. 39.
- 96 Ibid. pp. 44, 45.
- 97 "Report by Blenkinsop", p. 44.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Ibid., map.

- 100 **Sapir** and **Swadesh**, Native Accounts, p. 433.
- 101 NMC, Thomas, Ms. 50k, p. 1.
- 102 Ibid.
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Ibid. p1, 3.
- 105 Ibid. p. 3, 4; also see Sapir 1913-14, notebook XV, p. 42a.
- 106 Ibid. p. 10.
- 107 APS, **Sapir 1913-14**, notebook XVIII, p. 3, 3a, 4.
- 108 **APS**, Sapir, 1913-14, notebook XXIV, p. 8.
- 109 NMC, Thomas, ms 50y, p. 5.
- 110 **Drucker fieldnotes**, BCPA Ms.870, Box 4, Part 23, v. I.2 (reference under Smithsonian Institution).
- 111 Sapir and **Swadesh**, Native Accounts.
- 112 NMC, **Thomas**, Ms. 50q.
- 113 Ibid.
- 114 Sapir and **Swadesh**, Native Accounts, pp. 356-367.
- 115 Ibid. p. 368-377.
- 116 NMC, Thomas, Ms. 50k, p. 5.
- 117 Sapir and **Swadesh**, Native Accounts, pp. 378-384.
- 118 Ibid. p.385-439.
- 119 Ibid. p. 413.
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 Ibid. p. 414.
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 Ibid. p. 415.
- 124 Ibid. p. 422.

- 125 Ibid. p. 426.
- 126 Ibid. p. 427.
- 127 D. St. Claire, interview with Rose **Cootes** (1981).
- 128 D. St. Claire, interview with Sarah **Tutube** (1981).
- 129 "Report by **Blenkinsop**", p. 49.
- 130 Ibid. p. 34.
- 131 Ibid. p. 29.
- 132 Ibid. p. 34.
- 133 Sapir and Swadesh, Native Accounts, p. 367.
- 134 APS, Sapir **1913-14**, notebook XI, p. 14.
- 135 APS, Sapir 1913-14, notebook XXIV, p. 8a.
- 136 **E. Curtis**, Handbook of the North American Indians, v. 11, pp. 181, 182.
- 137 Drucker, fieldnotes, BCPA Ms. 870, Box 4, Part 23, v. 12.
- 138 Ibid.
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 Ibid., Box 5, Part 30.
- 141 **APS**, Sapir 1913-14, notebook XII, pp. 1-4.
- 142 Drucker, **fieldnotes**, BCPA Ms. 870, Box 4, Part 23, v. 12.
- 143 Ibid.
- 144 "**Ucluelets** Seize **Effingham** Island" in Sapir and **Swadesh**, Native Accounts.
- 145 "The **Long** War in **Barkley** Sound", in Sapir and Swadesh, Native Accounts.
- 146 Moser, Reminiscences, pp. 188-9.
- 147 **Yaksuis** told Drucker that "the chief of Tsah-tas married the daughter of the chief of hopitc. They had a son and the chief of hopitc gave that **name** to here (Opitsat). Drucker **fieldnotes**, BCPA Ms. 870, Box 4, Part 23, v. 12.

- 148 Sapir and **Swadesh**, Native Accounts, p. 374; D. St. Claire interview with Ernie Lauder (1982).
- 149 APS, Sapir 1913-14, notebook XXIV, pp. 7, 7a.
- 150 APS, Sapir 1913-14, notebook XVII, pp. 4a, 5.
- 151 Ibid. p. 5.
- 152 Ibid. p. 18.
- 153 NMC, Thomas, Ms. 50dd, pp. 58, 59.
- 154 Arima 1984, pp. 63-111.
- 155 D. St. Claire and C. Wooley, interview with Ella Jackson (1984).
- 156 D. St. Claire, interview with Mary Moses (1984).
- 157 APS, Sapir 1913-14, notebook XXIV, p. 7.
- 158 Sapir and Swadesh, Native Accounts, pp. 336-341; in 1931 Chief Peter of Port Renfrew related a **similar** account in which the **Uchucklesaht** were at Cape **Beale** **killing** off the Obiaht. One of the survivors discovers **an** underwater **passage** and leads the **remaining** Cape **Beale** people to **Ditidaht** country. Here they lived with relatives *ever to return (APS, **Swadesh** 1931, notebook **Va**, pp. al-loo).
- 159 Arima 1984, p. 110.
- 160 APS, Sapir 1913-14, notebook XXIV, p. 7.
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 Arima 1984, p. 89.
- 163 Ibid. p. 89, 110.
- 164 Ibid. p. 111.
- 165 Ibid. p. 110.
- 166 Ibid. p. 64-74, 93-108.
- 167 Ibid. p. 64.
- 168 Ibid. p. 99.
- 169 Ibid. p. 68.

- 170 Sapir **and** Swadesh, Native Accounts, p. 423.
- 171 "Report by **Blenkinsop**", p. 57.
- 172 APS, Sapir **1913-14**, notebook XXIV, p. 8a.
- 173 C. **Arima**, The West Coast (Nootka) People, p. 5.
- 174 APS, Sapir 1913-14, notebook XVII, p. 3a.
- 175 **APS**, Swadesh **1931**, notebook Va, p. 59.
- 176 Ibid. p. 65a.
- 177 R. **Inglis** interview with John Thomas (1981).
- 178 R. **Inglis** interview with John Thomas (1986).
- 179 APS, Swadesh 1931, notebook IV, pp. 23-32. Translation by John Thomas, 1986 on file at the BCPM.
- 180 R. **Inglis** and J. **Haggarty**, interview with Joshua **Edgar** (1983).
- 181 **Bernice** Touchie wrote of a possible reason for the various versions of the flood.

Informants of true Whyack **descendancy** are most reluctant to expound on the story of their ancestors as it was foretold that persons will make a false claim to inherited knowledge of the most sacred proceedings during the flood. These persona were instructed that **this** story, therefore, was not to be related to persons not of family confidence. This has come to pass as many persons now claim direct **descendancy** of the flood survivors. (**Touchie**, 'Report on Whyack", p. 67)

- 182 APS, Sapir 1913-14, notebook XIII, pp. 28-33.
- 183 A. Carmichael, Miscellaneous Notes, BCPA 74-A-275.
- 184 B. Touchie, "Report on Whyack", pp. 68-69.
- 185 R. Inglis, interview with John Thomas (1986).
- 186 According to J. Thomas, **Klanawa** Charlie was the last of the **ta.di.wa.?a?tx**.
- 187 This was Frank **Knighton's** grandmother.
- 188 R. **Inglis**, interview with John Thomas (1985).

- 189 This **was** Chief Charlie Jones' mother.
- 190 R. **Inglis**, interview with John Thomas (1986).
- 191 Ibid.
- 192 **Arima** 1984, p. 110.
- 193 J. Thomas, interview with Charles Jones (1985).
- 194 **APS**, Swadesh 1931, notebook I, pp. 63-72.
- 195 **APS**, Swadesh 1931, notebook **Va**, pp. 59-65.
- 196 **E. Arima**, "A Report on a West Coast Whaling Canoe Reconstructed at Port **Renfrew**, B.C.", History and Research 5 (Ottawa, 1975); "Notes on the Southern West Coast (**Nootka**) Natives. Environment and Exploitative Techniques of the **Pa:chi:da?atH** of Port San Juan" (Unpublished manuscript 1976); "**West** Coast Native Peoples of the Pacific Rim National Park **Region**" (Unpublished manuscript, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1984).
- 197 **APS**, **Sapir** 1913-14, notebook XXIV, p. 86.
- 198 **APS**, **Sapir** 1913-14, notebook XV, p. 40a.
- 199 **APS**, **Haas** 1931, notebook Vb, pp. 20-23.
- 200 **Arima** 1984, pp. 135-139.
- 201 J. Thomas, interview with C. Jones (1985); see also C. Jones with **S. Bosustow, Queesto, Pacheenaht** Chief by Birthright (**Nanaimo: Theytus** Books Ltd., 1981), pp. 21, 22.
- 202 **APS**, Swadesh 1931, notebook II, pp. 1-6.

The Archaeological Record

- 1 "Guide to the British Columbia Archaeological Site Inventory **Form**", Heritage Conservation Branch and B.C. Provincial Museum, Archaeology Division (Victoria, **n.d.**).
- 2 The excavations by **McMillan** and St. Claire at the Shoemaker Bay site at the head of **Alberni** Canal in 1973 and 1974 are considered outside of the region of study.
- 3 J. Buxton, "Earthworks of Southwestern British Columbia", unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Calgary (1969), pp. 23-30.

- 4 The **Nuu-chah-nulth** term for defensive sites is **wayi**.
- 5 The **Nuu-chah-nulth** term for lookout sites is **nacuwa**.
- 6 P. Drucker, The Northern and Central Nootka, p. 19.
- 7 "Report by **Blenkinsop**", p. 10.
- 8 **Sheshaht** territory at the head of Alberni Canal has not been included in this discussion.
- 9 **J. Haggarty** and R. Inglis, Historical Resources Site Survey and Assessment, Pacific Rim National Park (Calgary: Parks Canada, 1986) (hereafter cited as Historical Resources Report).
- 10 For distribution **maps** of the tree resource areas and isolated find sites in the Broken Group **Islands** unit see Haggarty and Inglis, "Historical Resources **Report**" (1986).
- 11 For distribution **maps** of the tree resource areas, rock art and isolated find sites in the Long Beach unit see Haggarty and **Inglis**, "Historical Resources **Report**" (1986).
- 12 For distribution **maps** of the tree resource **areas**, rock art and isolated find **sites** in the West Coast Trail unit see Haggarty and **Inglis**, "Historical Resources **Report**" (1986).

Integration of the Ethnographic, **Ethnohistoric** and Archaeological Data Sets

- 1 P. Drucker, The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes; J. Dewhirst, The Yuquot Project Volume, pp. 11-15; A. McMillan and D. St. Claire, Alberni Prehistory, pp. 16-23; E. Arima, The West Coast (Nootka) People, p. 1.
- 2 The presence of the **Clayoquot** in **Barkley** Sound and their participation in the **Hatc'a'ath^a** war at the end of the eighteenth century likely relates to their assertion of control over the fur trade.
- 3 **Attah** is hypothesized to be the **?anaq'L'a'ath^a** Village of **tuht'a** (**Ohiaht #119**).

Summary and Conclusions

- 1 J. Haggarty and R. Inglis, "Historical Resources Report" (1986).

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Fig. 39. Aerial view of coastline between Oo-oolth and Quisitis in Ucluelet territory
(Photo: BCPM 1984B:237).