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# ASHCROFT RANCH AND CACHE CREEK LANDFILL

Review of Historical and Anthropological Sources

Ministry of Attorney General
Legal Services Branch
**Aboriginal Research Division**

**July 18, 2008**
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**CONFIDENTIAL**
This document is confidential

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

## SUMMARY

This report centres around two specific sites. The first is the Ashcroft Ranch, located on the west side of the Trans-Canada Highway near the town of Ashcroft. The second is the Cache Creek landfill site, located near the town of Cache Creek on the west side of the Trans-Canada Highway. These two sites are roughly 10 kilometres apart. Both sites fall within the Thompson Plateau, a gently rolling upland relief area. It lies in the rain shadow of the Coast Mountains, and has a dry continental climate.

The date of first contact in the vicinity was in 1808, when Simon Fraser met a number of Nlala'pamux and Shuswap bands during his exploration of the Fraser River. A fur trading post was established at Kamloops in 1812, by the Northwest Company. Large numbers of Euro-Canadians first entered the area in greater numbers starting in 1858, during the Fraser River gold rush.

Both sites fall very close to the boundary that separates two distinct cultural groups, according to early ethnographers. This boundary lies roughly at the town of Ashcroft. To the south of this boundary lay Nlaka'pamux (or Upper Thompson as they were known historically) traditional territory, and to the north lay Secwepemc (or Shuswap as they were known historically) traditional territory. The Bonaparte Indian Band (Secwepemc) possess several reserves close to the Cache Creek site. The Ashcroft Indian Band (Nlaka'pamux) possess several reserves close to the Ashcroft Ranch.

According to Teit, Shuswap territory at one time extended as far south as Oregon Jack Creek, which is several kilometres south of the Ashcroft Ranch site. He ascribed this territory to the *Snoa'tkuamux*, or the Main Thompson Band. This band was decimated by epidemics prior to 1850, and the survivors were absorbed into the Bonaparte Band, as well as into Nlaka'pamux bands that Teit classified as the Spences Bridge Division (consisting of the modern Cook's Ferry, Oregon Jack Creek and Ashcroft bands). It was at the time that Thomson territory moved northward to around Cornwall Creek (at, or near to the location of the Ashcroft Ranch). This expansion probably occurred in the 1840's, and at least before 1858. It appears that the area around Ashcroft that became associated with the Ashcroft Band occurred through a process of assimilation between the Main Thompson and Nlaka'pamux groups from the south at this time. Because this transformation appears to have occurred in the 1840's, it is not possible to determine with certainty whether the Ashcroft Ranch site fell into an area that was held by the Shuswap or the Nlaka'pamux in 1846. However, there is ethnographic evidence that has not been contradicted which makes it clear that the Cache Creek landfill site was within Shuswap territory in 1846, and that the Bonaparte Band had a winter village at a location within close proximity to the site at that time.

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Reserves were set aside for the Ashcroft and Bonaparte Bands in the 1880's, and were confirmed by the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in 1913.

Neither band is involved in the British Columbia Treaty Commission process. As such, Statement of Intent maps are not available which demonstrate the extent of their asserted traditional territory. The Bonaparte Band has posted a map that shows the southern boundary of their traditional territory as falling north of the town of Ashcroft, therefore not including the Ashcroft Ranch site. Similarly, a map posted by the Skeetchestn band shows that the western boundary of their traditional territory lies to the east of the Thompson River, and does not include the Ashcroft Ranch site or the Cache Creek landfill site.

Both the Nlaka'pamux and the Shuswap reside in the Plateau cultural area. They share many cultural features including having a riverine settlement pattern, a reliance on a diverse subsistence base of anadramous fish and game and root resources, a complex fishing technology, mutual cross-utilization of subsistence resources amongst local populations, extension of kinship ties through extensive intermarriage with neighbouring groups, extensive trade links with neighbouring groups, and limited political integration that occurs mostly at the band level. Horses were introduced to the area in the eighteenth century, which aided in the ability to hunt, fish, gathering plant materials, and the ability to expand trading networks.

Both cultures shared a similar political and social structure which can be described as being semi-sedentary, hunting-fishing-gathering, pacificist and predominantly egalitarian. Organization was mostly at the band level, a group of closely related families. Hunting and fishing grounds were seen to belong to families, and access to these resources was limited to those of the larger cultural group, or closely related members from other groups through inter-marriage ties.

Similarly, both cultural groups shared a similar seasonal round, which saw resource procurement throughout the year depending on availability. The year would begin in November when most groups returned to their winter houses, which were situated largely on large rivers or lakes close to their salmon fishing stations. This period would be spent hunting ungulates and other game in the locality. December was spent in their winter dwellings, subsisting on stored resources acquired in the previous seasons. In February or March, people started to move out of these dwellings, depending on when warmer weather occurred, to exploit available game and plant resources. In the spring, effort was spent on fish resources in the nearby lakes and streams.

Beginning in May, the salmon runs would be starting, but these were small, and most effort would have been spent hunting ungulates and collecting plant resources. Beginning in mid-July, and extending until the end of August, the salmon began their runs, and most members would expend most of their efforts on ensuring that this resource was exploited to the maximum. Much of the catch would be preserved for winter use. From September to October, groups moved to the sub-alpine and alpine areas for

ungulate hunting and plant gathering. This occurred until the late fall, when groups would again return to their winter villages.

Several archaeological studies have been conducted on the Cache Creek site, prior to its development as a landfill. Projectile points have been recovered from the site dating to 4,000-2,400 years before present (BP). A number of artefacts were dated back to 2,400-1,200 BP. The lithic scatters found on the site are felt to represent small hunting camps, rest stops or lookouts, and tool assemblage locations, which were used over a long time period. The Ashcroft Ranch has not been the focus of similar studies. However, in 1986 a detailed heritage site inventory was undertaken on Ashcroft Indian Reserves 2, 3 and 4, sites close to the ranch site. A total of 100 sites were recorded, and they are estimated to span the period from ca. 6,000 to 200 BP.

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION AND SCOPE

This report is written to assist in a preliminary evaluation of potential aboriginal rights and title claims, and encompasses the territory, site occupation and use of the study areas. The original report was dated July 18, 2008. It was revised on July 15, 2009 to reflect current content and formatting requirements. The focus of this study centres around two sites, the Cache Creek landfill site, and a proposed landfill site located on the Ashcroft Ranch. The Cache Creek landfill site is located several kilometres south of the town of Cache Creek, west of the Trans-Canada Highway. The Ashcroft Ranch site is located near the town of Ashcroft, west of the Trans-Canada Highway. These sites are in relative close proximity, roughly 10 kilometres apart. A review of all readily available and relevant ethnographic, historic and archaeological information was undertaken in the preparation of this report, and its findings are intended to assist in a preliminary assessment of a claim. Further information regarding use of the study area almost certainly lies with First Nation peoples, and should be carefully considered in addition to the information contained in this report. Due to given time constraints, this report cannot be considered exhaustive or conclusive.

As regards to orthography, for the sake of clarity, in instances where a source has used the correct spelling of aboriginal names and places, the practical spelling has been substituted. As well, the most common names that band's use to refer to themselves have also been used. Where sources refer to aboriginal names by various names or spellings (i.e. Thompson instead of Nlaka'pamux; Shuswap instead of Secwepemc), the most common spelling or name has been used, sometimes interchangeably.

### 1.1 THE STUDY AREA

The focus of this investigation involves two separate sites. The first is centred at the Cache Creek Landfill site, located south of the town of Cache Creek west of the Trans-Canada Highway. The second site is a proposed landfill site located on what is known as Ashcroft Ranch, which is situated close to the town of Ashcroft, west of the Trans-Canada Highway and south of Cornwall Creek. Both sites are within 10 kilometres of each other (**see map 1**). During the course of reviewing material, it became apparent that these two sites fall within a region where the boundaries between two different cultural groups intersect. The Cache Creek site falls into an area the ethnographic material attributes to the Bonaparte Indian Band, who fall into what early ethnographers deemed the Bonaparte Division of the Shuswap, or the Secwepemc as they are called today. The Ashcroft Ranch site falls within an area the ethnographic material attributes to the Upper Thompson, or the Nlaka'pamux as they are known today. The Ashcroft Indian Band has several reserves almost adjacent to the Ashcroft Ranch site. Additionally, while research was ongoing for this report, it became apparent that specific references to the cultural uses of the two specific sites were virtually non-existent, and that to provide a more accurate picture it would be necessary to describe general activities the two groups engaged in over a broader area.

Both the Cache Creek and Ashcroft sites fall within the broad category of the Interior Plateau of British Columbia. The plateau is bounded to the west by the Coast Range, to the east by the Columbia and Rocky Mountains, and to the north by the Skeena and Omenica Mountain Ranges. The Interior Plateau extends southward across the international boundary. The Interior Plateau, which has a length of 560 miles and a maximum width of 235 miles (Holland 1964:67), is deeply incised by several large river systems including the Fraser, Thompson, and Columbia.

The Interior Plateau consists of the following units: the Fraser Basin, the Nechako Plateau, the Fraser Plateau and the Thompson Plateau. To the east of these divisions are found the Quesnel Highland, the Shuswap Highland and the Okanagan Highland. Of particular relevance to this study is the Thompson Plateau.

In general, the Thompson Plateau is a "gently rolling upland of low relief, for the most part lying between 4,000 and 5,000 feet" (Holland 1964:71). This terrain can be seen generally as fairly easy to traverse. Major east-west valleys such as the Thompson and the Nicola are intersected by north-south valleys such as that of the Bonaparte River and Guichon Creek. Granitic rock intrudes the sedimentary and volcanic formations of the area. A thick mantle of glacial drift covers much of the area's bedrock deposits. Along many of the larger valleys (especially the Thompson) are the remnants of silt beds deposited in extensive glacial lake deposits (Holland 1964:72).

The entire study area was overlain by glacial ice with ice retreat and stagnation producing postglacial lakes. The study area was likely ice-free and habitable by 9,000 to 10,000 years age (Clague 1981). Following glacial retreat, continuing geological processes further modified the physical landscape of the study area. Fluvial downcutting has occurred, particularly along the highest rivers such as the Fraser and the Chilcotin, forming steep canyons, river terraces and scarp slopes (Ryder 1982). Other long term processes including fluvial, alluvial and Aeolian deposition and erosion have occurred. The climate has changed throughout the post-Pleistocene period with varying effects on human populations. Between 12,000 and 10,500 years ago, conditions were cool and moist but this period probably predates human occupation. The next 3,500 years marked a warmer and dryer period known as the Hypsithermal (Hebda 1982, 1986; Mathewes 1985). At this time, grasslands were most widespread with forests confined to upper elevations. Many rivers and lakes were probably either non-existent or too low to support fish populations undoubtedly resulting in lower biodiversity than later times, though a variety of land mammal species would have been available for capture. Fishing was not important during this time and settlement patterns were likely different than later times. This period sees the first evidence of human occupation in the province.

Between about 7,000 to 4,500 years before present (B.P) temperatures remained warm but precipitation increased resulting in expanded grassland/parkland environments (Mathewes 1985). Though fish were likely more abundant, carbon isotope studies of

human remains dating to this period suggest a continued reliance on hunting (Chisholm 1986).

The period from about 4,500 to 3,000 years ago evidenced a cooler, moister climate than today. Ungulate and plant diversity was likely low, but fish populations showed dramatic increase in size and stability. At this time, the ethnographic pattern common in the region reflecting a reliance on fish and particularly spawning fish likely became established (Fladmark 1982). The past three thousand years has seen a stable environment (Mathewes and King 1989) likely resulting in the apparently stable Native land use patterns, broken briefly through territorial changes and, ultimately, European arrival.

Much of the Plateau is drained by the Thompson River, a tributary of the Fraser River, and flows in a valley incised up to 1000 m into the plateau. At Ashcroft the Thompson River flows in a relatively broad valley with a floor elevation of about 300 m above sea level. The Bonaparte River, a tributary of the Thompson River, has a floor elevation near Cache Creek of about 500 m. To the west of the Bonaparte Valley are the Trachyte Hills and Upper Hat Creek Valley, a mid-elevation valley drained by Hat Creek, a tributary of the Bonaparte River. To the southwest are the Cornwall Hills, and to the east and southeast, across the Thompson River, lie the Thompson Plateau uplands. These uplands contain numerous small lakes. To the north of the Bonaparte Valley lies the Semlin Valley and the Arrowstone Hills (Arcas 1988:11)

The climate of the area is characterized by moderately hot summers and moderately cold winters. Ashcroft has a mean daily temperature of 21.7 degrees C. in July and 6.0 degrees C. in January (Atmospheric Environment Service 1982(2):73). Precipitation is restricted because of the rainshadow effect of the Coast Mountains. The mean annual at Ashcroft is 205.8mm (Atmospheric Environment Service 1982(3):45). Snow accumulations are low in the main valley but increase with elevation.

The area supports a varied and rich fauna (Banfield 1974: Cowan and Guiguet 1965). Mule deer are abundant, and in winter large concentrations of these ungulates occur along the Thompson and Bonaparte Rivers. Moose occur in limited numbers, having colonized southern British Columbia only within the last 60 years or so. Mountain goats inhabit the Coast Mountains to the west. Bighorn sheep have been introduced to the area, but were abundant in the nineteenth century (Teit 1900:230). Elk disappeared in the Thompson area in the mid 19$^{th}$ century but were plentiful prior to that time (Teit 1900:230). Black bear, cougar, bobcat, Canada lynx, coyote, wolf, and red fox also occur in the area, as do beaver, American porcupine, mink, raccoon, yellow bellied marmot, hoary marmot, snowshoe hare, and other small land animals (Mathewes 1978:84-98; Pokotylo 1978:63-70). The upland lakes are important locations for waterfowl production, supporting mallard, pintail, blue-winged teal, scaup, and other waterfowl species.

Resident fish in the Thompson River include Rainbow trout, Dolly varden char, and mountain whitefish. Five species of anadramous fish ascend the Thompson River and may be taken seasonally: Pink salmon, sockeye salmon, Chinook or spring salmon, coho salmon, and steelhead. Spawning populations of steelhead, coho, pink, and spring have

been reported for the lower Bonaparte River. Three freshwater species of freshwater molluscs can be found in the mud banks and flats of the Thompson River (Arcas 1988:12).

## 1.2 SOURCES

The major ethnographic source on both the Thompson and the Shuswap is James Teit, who conducted fieldwork on the groups in 1900 and 1909 respectively. This report tends to rely on his work rather extensively, as he gives the most detailed cultural and territorial accounts for both groups. A number of other important ethnographic materials can be found in the works of Hill-Tout, Dawson, Ray and Boas. Their published work provides a reasonable amount of detailed information on traditional practices. It is important to note that not all aspects of traditional First Nation's culture is recorded in the anthropological and ethnographic literature. Additional knowledge of traditional culture and lifeways still exists in many contemporary First Nation communities. Furthermore, aboriginal societies underwent significant changes as a result of their contact with Europeans, and some cultural aspects reported in the literature may not accurately reflect that culture prior to contact. Also, the information available tends to treat both groups as a whole, and does not make many distinctions between the smaller groups that combine to make up the whole. Generalizations may often be reliable, but certainly not in every case. A number of archaeological sources have also been reviewed, including the reports resulting from fieldwork conducted in the study area.

The Nlaka'pamux have not conducted Traditional Use Studies, and so this report does not have the benefit of traditional practice and site information from their aboriginal perspective. The Bonaparte Indian Band has conducted a Traditional Use Study. Unfortunately, its central focus concerns the ethnobotany resources in the Maiden Creek watershed, which is located some distance north of the Cache Creek site and does not cover the whole of their traditional territory. This is unfortunate, in that the resource use information available is of a general nature only and without references to specific sites, and has not been referenced in this report. A number of historical documents have been reviewed in the research for this report.

## 2.0 FIRST NATIONS

This section outlines the traditional territory of the bands that are the subject of this report. It also includes an abbreviated version of the reserve creation process for these bands, as well as some information regarding modern populations and tribal political affiliations.

## 2.1 NLAKA'PAMUX

The Nlaka'pamux are interior Salish speakers that consist of 16 communities with a collective membership of 6317 members. The Nlaka'pamux Nations' traditional territory encompasses much of the Cascade Mountain Range, including portions drained by the Fraser, Thompson, and Nicola River systems, and also extends into the northwest portion of Washington state (**see maps 7 and 8**)

Teit lists 47 Upper and 19 Lower Thompson villages, noting that many of the villages were very small consisting of two or three families, while others were large and contained about a hundred or more inhabitants (Teit 1900:174-75). Among the Upper Thompson communities, these consisted of four bands according to Teit: the Lytton Band (*Nlaka'pamux*), Upper Fraser Band (*Slaxa'yux*), Spences Bridge Band (*Nkamtci'nemux*), and the Nicola Band (*Tcawa'xamux*) (Teit 1900:170).

The Nicola Band (Upper Thompson) traditional territory is centred about Nicola Lake and the Nicola River extending as far south as the upper reaches of the Coldwater River. This was originally seen as belonging to an Athapaskan group also called the Nicola. Little ethnographic information is available about them. It is speculated that with the introduction of the horse in the eighteenth century, they were integrated into the Thompson and Okanagan Bands through intermarriage, a process that was largely complete by the mid-nineteenth century (Wyatt 1998:220).

The Spences Bridge Band traditional territory has been described as starting roughly at the confluence of the Nicola and Thompson Rivers in the south, extending northward up the Thomson River up to approximately Ashcroft in the north, and extending back for thirty or forty miles on each side of the Thompson River (Teit 1900:170). This description would encompass the study area and corresponds with Teit's map showing the Spences Bridge traditional territory (**see maps 7 and 8**).

Village sites were located on level benches and terraces along the river. The names of these villages during the mid 1800's include *Nsqa'qualten*, *Nkamtcin*, *Atci'tciken*, *Pemainus*, *Nqoeitko*, *Pekaist*, *Za'haushiken*, *Semexa'u*, *Spatsum*, *Nukaa'tko Ntekem*, and *Slaz* (Teit 1900:173). *Slaz* was reportedly located at Cornwalls Creek, about one mile from the Thompson River on the north side, which is south of the town of Ashcroft.

While Teit designated these bands the Spences Bridge Band, as the reserve creation process unfolded in the province, this designation gave way to the Cook's Ferry band for those bands around Spences Bridge, the Oregon Jack Creek Band who were centred around that location on the Thompson River and the Ashcroft Band for those at the extreme northern portion of Thompson territory near the town of Ashcroft. These later band names were from the earliest days of government administration by the Department of Indian Affairs.

Reserves for the Ashcroft Band were set aside in August, 1881, by Commissioner O'Reilly. They included:

- IR#1 – 770 acres near Ashcroft.
- IR#2 – 3470 acres near Ashcroft.
- IR#3 – 1003 acres at McLean's Lake.
- IR#4 – 307 acres on the north side of Cornwall Creek.

These reserves were confirmed by the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in 1913 and 1915 (British Columbia 1916: 343). These reserves are also in the closest proximity to the proposed landfill site on the Ashcroft Ranch.

Today, eight Nlaka'pamux communities are affiliated with the Nlaka'pamux Nation Tribal Council (NNTC). They include the Ashcroft Indian Band, Boothroyd Band, Boston Bar First Nation, Kanaka Bar, Lytton First Nation, Oregon Jack Creek Band, Skuppah First Nation, and the Spuzzum First nation. Six communities are affiliated with the Nicola Tribal Association. They represent membership from the Cook's Ferry Band, Nooaitch Indian Band, Nicomen Indian Band, Shackan Indian Band, Siska Indian Band, and the Upper Nicola Band. The Nlaka'pamux bands are not participants in the British Columbia Treaty Commission process, so no Statement of Intent maps are available which would demonstrate their traditional territories. The NNTC, or their individual bands including the Ashcroft Band, have not produced maps delineating their traditional territory.

## 2.2 SHUSWAP

The Shuswap are speakers of the Interior Salish language. There are two major dialects, Western and Eastern Shuswap. Eastern Shuswap is spoken east of Kamloops, and Western Shuswap is spoken in the rest of Shuswap territory. Their traditional territory is traversed by the Fraser and Thompson Rivers.

Teit deliniated seven Shuswap divisions, each consisting of a number of aboriginal bands, communities occupying distinct portions of resource-producing territory and seasonal as well as winter settlements (Teit 1909:452). Teit (1909:457-462) enumerated 25 bands existing prior to the 1860's, along with a principle village or headquarters for each. In the Shuswap language, there are no general terms for divisions, bands or communities. Rather, the suffix *-emx* designates the people of a locality or geographic region in a wide or narrow sense (Ignace 1998:203).

The seven Shuswap divisions include the North Thompson, Shuswap Lake, Lake Division, Fraser River, Canyon, Kamloops and Bonaparte. For the purposes of this report it is not necessary to describe all the divisions in Teit's classification scheme. Instead I will focus on the Bonaparte division, in that it is most relevant due to its relationship to the Cache Creek landfill site.

The Bonaparte Division (*Sexcinemx*) include the *Stuctwesemc*, or the people of the Hat Creek and Bonaparte River valleys known as the Bonaparte Band: the *snekwa?etkwemx*,

people of the main Thompson River above Ashcroft, who became extinct during the late nineteenth century, its survivors joining the Skeetchestn and Bonaparte Bands: and finally the people of *Ck'aylex* or Pavillion Band between Marble Canyon and the Fraser River. The latter have become Lillooetized through inter-marriage. As Kennedy and Bouchard (1978) have noted, the entire area along the Fraser River from Texas Creek to Pavillion, was Shuswap until the eighteenth or nineteenth century. It became increasingly Lillooet-speaking through intermarriage after that time. The main Bonaparte village was *Nhoxie'ilten*, on the west side of the Bonaparte River, about 10 miles from its mouth (Teit 1909:461).

Reserves for the Bonaparte Band were set aside by Commissioner Sproat in August 1878. They included:

- IR#1 – 2057 acres in Upper Hat Creek.
- IR#2 – 2078 acres in Lower Hat Creek
- IR#3 – 477 acres near the town of Cache Creek.
- IR#3A – 1283 acres near the town of Cache Creek.
- IR#4 – 59 acres on Loon Lake.
- IR#5 – 99.80 acres at Mauvais Rocher on the Thompson River.

These reserves were confirmed by the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs were confirmed on November 28, 1913 (British Columbia 1916:344).

The Bonaparte Band belongs to the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council (SNTC). Members include Adams Lake, Kamloops Indian Band, Shuswap, Little Shuswap, Neskonlith, Skeetchestn, Spallumcheen, Whispering Pines and Simpcw (North Thompson). The SNTC are not participants in the British Columbia Treaty Commission process, and as such no Statement of Intent maps are available to demonstrate their collective or individual traditional territories. However, the Bonaparte Band has posted a map online which outlines its asserted core traditional territory (**see map 5**). This will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

## 3.0 TRADITIONAL TERRITORY

Cultural and territorial boundaries in the study area on the Thompson River have been subject to change. Although the territorial boundaries between the Nlaka'pamux and the Secwepemc are said to have been stable for a long period of time, there have been periods of expansion and contraction, up until the mid-1800's. These changes in territorial boundaries resulted in large part from a pattern of intermarriage and amalgamation between neighbouring local groups throughout the nineteenth century.

Any discussion of traditional territories and boundaries must take into consideration the aboriginal conception of the abstract concepts of territory and boundaries. Ethnographers drawing territorial maps have defined boundaries by continuous lines, according to

European mapping conventions, but it is not clear that this would accurately represent the Nlaka'pamux or Shuswap understanding of their relationship with their territorial neighbours. According to Ignace, territorial boundaries in Shuswap culture were conceived as a combination of specific landmarks punctuating an otherwise vaguely defined buffer zone between territories, shared by both parties (1992:6). Such boundaries could be established by war, intermarriage, negotiated treaties, and they were subject to continual change over time (Ibid: p.6-7). Hudson has observed that "the boundary between Okanagan and Thompson territory is blurred by intermarriage and could shift depending on who married whom." (1990:70). In light of the close spatial and social connections between the Shuswap and the Nlaka'pamux, and the proximity of the Ashcroft Ranch and the Cache Creek landfill site to the very approximately defined ethnographic boundary between the two groups, we have to open to the idea that this broader area encompassing both sites falls within a traditionally shared access area, possibly through various intermarriage kinship ties, the details of which are not known.

## 3.1 SECWEPEMC (SHUSWAP) FIRST NATIONS

Dawson's 1891 map shows the southern edge of Shuswap territory crossing the Thompson River north of Ashcroft near Cornwall Creek (**see map 2)**. He identified the village of *Stlahl* at Cornwall Creek as a Thompson community marking the southern extent of Shuswap territory on the Thompson River. Teit's 1909 map shows the southern boundary also crossing the Thompson River above Cornwall Creek (**see map 3**). In the area to the north of this boundary he ascribes to the *Zaxtci'nemux* or Bonaparte Division, which included the Bonaparte Band, the *Ts'kw'aylaxw* (Pavillion Band), and the *Snoa'tkuamux* or Main Thompson band (Teit 1909:456;461). In his text he described the Main Thompson Band as inhabiting both banks of the Thompson River from Savona to "below Cornwalls", and indicated that at one time their territory extended eight miles or more below Ashcroft, which would place the boundary around Oregon Jack Creek (Teit 1909:461;463). The Main Thompson Band was decimated by epidemics prior to 1850 (Teit 1900:465) and the survivors were absorbed into the Bonaparte Band, the Spences Bridge Division of the Upper Thompson (Cook's Ferry; Oregon Jack Creek; Ashcroft), and to a lesser extent the Skeetchestn below Kamloops (Teit 1909:461;463). Both the Bonaparte and the Main Thompson intermarried extensively with the Nlaka'pamux, which must have contributed to the absorption of Shuswap land into between Oregon Jack Creek and Ashcroft into Thompson territory in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Teit 1909:469).

As noted above, the Main Thompson band's territory once extended along both sides of the Thompson River from Savona to somewhere above Oregon Jack Creek. After the decimation of this band before 1850, the portion above Cornwall Creek appears to have been absorbed by the Bonaparte and Skeetchetsn bands, while that between Cornwall Creek and Oregon Jack Creek was absorbed by the Spences Bridge Band Thompson groups who are now known as the Ashcroft, Oregon Jack Creek and Cook's Ferry Bands. The Nlaka'pamux expansion into Oregon Creek and Cornwall Creek probably occurred in the 1840's, and at least before 1858. As noted above, Shuswap territory once extended 8 or more miles below Ashcroft. Writing in 1900, Teit claimed that about 60 years earlier

the Shuswap territory extended "a few miles further down the Thompson" below Ashcroft (Teit 1900:175). In 1858 the Nlaka'pamux chief Cexpentlem informed visitors that his territory extended up the Thompson to *Stle'z* or *Stlahl* near Ashcroft (Wyatt 1998:199).

As this territorial transformation appears to have occurred in the 1840's, it is impossible to determine whether the Ashcroft Ranch site was considered to have fallen within Shuswap or Nlaha'pamux territory in 1846. This ethnic distinction may be less important than the social continuity of the local communities. Teit notes that the *Snkoa'tkuumux* lived in small groups along the river with their main settlement at Ashcroft (Teit 1909:461). It is likely that they also had a settlement at around Oregon Jack Creek, and that these settlements became predominantly Nlaka'pamux from around the middle of the century through intermarriage and immigration from the Cook's Ferry band at Spences Bridge. This was more a process of assimilation than displacement, and these communities became the basis of the Ashcroft and Oregon Creek Indian Bands. As the survivors of the Main Thompson Band assimilated with all of these bands, it must be assumed that whatever traditional interests they possessed must have accrued in part to these successor bands.

The Bonaparte band was based at *Nhoyie'ilten*, near the confluence of Hat Creek and the Bonaparte River. The occupied the whole Bonaparte valley down to Ashcroft and the lower part of Hat Creek (Teit 1909:456) (**see map 3**). In more recent times their main community is based on reserves near Cache Creek. All of the ethnographic and historic sources include the study area at the Cache Creek landfill site as falling with Bonaparte band traditional territory, and as such falling within the asserted traditional territory of the Shuswap (**see maps 2, 3, and 4).** A map produced by the band shows their core traditional territory extending south to a point several kilometres above the town of Ashcroft, with a western boundary at the Marble Range, extending to the north as far as Bonaparte Lake, and to the east at the Deadman River (**see map 5**). The Skeetchestn have produced a map (which reproduces very poorly) that see its eastern boundary roughly at Barnes Lake, which lies several kilometres to the east of Ashcroft and the Thompson River (**see map 9**). The Bonaparte map, as already noted, sees is southern boundary several kilometres north of the town of Ashcroft, therefore not inclusive of the Ashcroft Ranch site.

## 3.2 NLAKA'PAMUX (THOMPSON) FIRST NATIONS

The Nlaka'pamux traditionally controlled a large territory including the Fraser River from the Canyon to Lytton, and an expanding territory on the Fraser and Thompson Rivers above Lytton. In 1900, Teit described the two major tribal divisions within the Nlala'pamux First Nations, the Upper and Lower Thompson. These divisions were based on geography and a historically distinct dialectic difference. The Upper Thompson in turn consisted of four regional bands, one of which (the Spences Bridge division) claim territory which includes the Ashcroft Ranch site. The Spences Bridge division largely overlaps territory occupied by the Secwepemc before the 1840's and possibly as late as

1846, although this cannot be said with any certainty, as discussed in the section above. Teit's territorial information reflects an expansion of Nlaka'pamux territory since the 1840's (**see maps 7, 1 and 8**).

The boundaries of the Nlaka'pamux at the regional band/division level are fairly well understood. Core territory at the level of contemporary Indian Bands, however, is not well defined for the Nlaka'pamux in general, other than along the major rivers and with respect to Indian reserves. The lack of a clear separation of territory between individual, contemporary bands within the regional band/division (this designation will be used to distinguish Teit's regional bands from contemporary bands) is combined with a lack of general information concerning the relationship between local and regional band/divisions. It is therefore not possible to assess with any certainty, the core territory of a specific band.

On the basis of limited and ambiguous evidence, such as the location of Ashcroft Band reserves, and the extent of Nlaka'pamux territory from at least the mid-1840's, it is probable that the Ashcroft band possess a traditional territory that includes the Cornwall Valley and McLean Lake. This territory would include the site if the Ashcroft Ranch.

## 4.0 HISTORY OF CONTACT

Simon Fraser was the first European to meet Nlaka'pamux and Shuswap people during his exploration down the Fraser River in 1808. Fraser saw horsemen with European trade goods at Lytton in 1808 (Lamb 1960:84-86). The earliest fur trading post in the southern interior was established at Kamloops in 1812 by the Northwest Company (Thompson's River Post), later taken over by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 (Fort Kamloops). This was the first Euro-Canadian settlement in the vicinity of what was to become Cache Creek and Ashcroft. Traders from the post sometimes came down the Thompson River to trade with the Nlaka'pamux and the Shuswap people.

Gold was first taken from the banks of the Thompson River by Nlaka'pamux people and traded to the Hudson's Bay Company post at Kamloops. The news of this discovery led to a sudden rush of gold seekers to the Fraser River in 1858. The invasion of large numbers of American gold seekers led to considerable conflict between natives and non-natives along the river with attacks made against both sides. Peaceful relations were finally brought about through a meeting of Chief David Spintlum of the Lower Thomson with Governor James Douglas and discussion of the need for protection of the rights of the Nlaka'pamux people in their territory (Waite 1974:26). Settlement in the Nicola Valley began in 1860 (Shewchuck 1981:33). The settlement of what was to become known as the town of Ashcroft, and the town of Cache Creek occurred in the early 1860's.

As the focus of the gold rush shifted from the Fraser River to the Cariboo, there was an increased need for a better transportation system into the southern and central interior. In 1861 Royal Engineers surveyed the route for a wagon road up the Fraser Canyon, and Walter Moberly was in charge of constructing the road from Lytton along the Thompson River valley to Cache Creek. Construction of the wagon road was completed in 1864 (Waite 1988:41-16). Settlement of both Cache Creek and Ashcroft started at this time, as a stopping point on the Cariboo Wagon Road.

## 5.0 CULTURE AND HISTORY

The Nlaka'pamux and the Shuswap reside in the Plateau cultural area that can be roughly described as the region that is drained by the Columbia and Fraser rivers. This Plateau cultural area includes the Interior Salishan people, of whom these groups belong to, and Sahaptian, Athapaskan, Kootenai and Cayuse peoples. While Plateau tribes may have undergone some territorial realignments over the last several millennia, they appear not to have moved very much in recent centuries.

Walker (1998:3) notes that there are a number of distinguishing features that the Plateau cultures share. They are:

- riverine (linear settlement) patterns.
- reliance on a diverse subsistence base of anadramous fish and extensive game and root resources.
- a complex fishing technology similar to that seen on the Northwest Coast.
- mutual cross-utilization of subsistence resources among the various groups comprising the population of the area.
- extension of kinship ties through extensive intermarriage throughout the area.
- extension of trade links throughout the area through institutionalized trading partnerships and regional trade fairs.
- limited political integration, primarily at the band levels, until the adoption of the horse.
- relative uniform mythology, art styles, and religious beliefs and practices focused mainly on the vision quest, life-cycle observances, and seasonal celebrations of the annual subsistence cycle.

Village settlements patterns with semipermanent pithouses and temporary subsistence camps emerged as early as two millennia ago and changed little until the adoption of the horse (Walker 1998:3). Introduction of the horse facilitated travel for hunting and subsistence purposes and introduced new trading networks.

Although Teit feels that horses were not introduced to the Upper Thompson until the end of the eighteenth century, and to the Northern Shuswap at about 1830 (1900:258-59), it seems likely that they were being used at much earlier dates. Francis Haines traced the

spread of the horse from 17th century Spanish settlements in New Mexico, and describes various trade routes (Haines 1938:430). The Navaho Apaches to the northwest of the settlements were reported as stealing horses from the 1650's on, and when the Spanish were driven out of Santa Fe by the Pueblo Indians in 1680, thousands of horses and other livestock were taken (Haines 1938:431). From this area, horses spread in all directions. By the 1690's, they had reached the Shoshone Indians in southern Idaho, who provided horses to the Cayuse, Walla Walla, Yakima, Palouse, Nez Perce, Coeur d'Alene, Flathead, Blackfoot, Crow and others (Haines 1938:436). The Nez Perce soon became the main horse traders of the plateau, taking them to trading centres to the north on the Spokane River, and to the west as far as The Dalles on the Columbia River (Haines 1964:80). Haines' studies focus on the plains Indians, and do not extend into British Columbia, however he shows horses crossing what is now the Canadian border just east of the Rockies in 1720, and shows horses in northern Idaho in 1710 (Haines:1938:430).

Wilson Duff confirms evidence that horses and other goods were widely traded before contact. He notes that "In the interior, the Indians felt the effects of the white men's presence before they actually saw any. Horses, guns and other trade items passed quickly from tribe to tribe from the south and east in advance of the first explorers" (Duff 1969:76). The introduction of horses to the Nlaka'pamux and Shuswap would have greatly enhanced their ability to hunt, fish and gather plant materials.

## 5.1 SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

**Nlaka'pamux** society and culture has been characterised as being semi-sedentary, hunting-fishing-gathering, pacifistic and predominantly egalitarian (Arcas 1998:14). Every Thompson individual was the member of a family, local community, and either a Upper or Lower Thompson band, but ruled by none, for each man had a voice in the informal councils when hunting, war, or other matters were discussed (Wyatt 1998:194). Leadership was based on wisdom and experience, and there might be different leaders depending on the occasion. Band chiefs and war chiefs might inherit their positions, but this was not automatic (Teit 1900:289). There were no classes among the Thompson and ranking was based on an individual's perceived wealth, knowledge and family origin (Teit 1900: 290). There were no Thompson lineages, clans or secret societies. Blood and marriage ties were traced widely on both sides of the family. This made each person part of a large and loose network of kin to live, work, share and trade with (Wyatt 1998:194).

Upon death, individual property was divided among close and extended family. Land was seen to be neither individual, nor family property, since everyone had a right to all the common country for any purpose. Each band would have their usual hunting places, usually close to their villages, but members from other villages or bands were free to exploit over the hunting grounds of another division without any ill effects (Teit 1900:293). According to Teit, among the Spences Bridge band, any member of the Shuswap or Okanagan tribes who were related by blood was allowed full access to their hunting grounds. However, if one from those groups was found to be not related by blood, he would be attacked and killed or driven away (Teit 1900:293). In band societies,

the rate of exchange and intermarriage among neighbours meant that all bands in an area generally had access to the same information regarding technology and subsistence practices (Rousseau 1991:125)

**Shuswap** society shares many of the same features as the Nlaka'pamux. The Shuswap are described as a traditional band society, each band comprised of a group of related families. They have been described as having an egalitarian society (Rousseau 1989:4), and as being linked by cultural bonds of marriage, kinship, interaction or "friendship" and common use of resources (Alexander 1996:4). Shuswap society traditionally included a number of social rankings including nobility, commoners and slaves. The village was the basic political unit and each band focused around one major village or headquarters. This was especially true in the winter month when families of a band congregated at, or within a few kilometres of, the main winter village. Each village had a number of chiefs or leaders chosen for their skills in their respective jobs. Important decisions were made communally and each adult male had equal rights in the process. Within each household or extended family a headman was chosen whose job it was to coordinate activities and act as a spokesman for the family (Teit 1909: 456).

The Shuswap maintained a system of resource ownership and use. Band territory was defined and in a sense controlled by individual families. Each band had its habitual territory and the area was considered common property to all members of the band. At the same time specific hunting, fishing, or gathering places were governed by individuals who inherited their ownership or stewardship through their families. Access to an area was granted through permission and was open to members of the band or to blood relations (Alexander 1992:142-44).

Because band members sometimes changed affiliation, the extent of a band's territorial boundaries also changed. Land was recognized as part of a band's territory as long as members of a band were using the resources on that land (Furniss 1993:51; Lane 1981:407; Tobey 1981:414). Shuswap band membership often changed. For instance, people from a village equidistant from two main villages sometimes changed affiliation from one band to another (Teit 1909:457). The lands commonly used by these people were claimed by the band with which they affiliated. As a result a band's territory could shift over time (Alexander 1996:9).

## 5.2 TRADITIONAL USE OF LAND AND RESOURCES

### 5.2.1 NLAKA'PAMUX

In an attempt to re-construct the traditional land use patterns of the Nlaka'pamux, a number of published and unpublished ethnographic reports were consulted. When possible, a reconstruction of traditional behavioural patterns is presented as they existed prior to Euro-Canadian contact. Where information on Thompson practices were lacking, ethnographic reports on neighbouring Interior Plateau cultures were consulted, primarily the Shuswap, and the Upper Lillooet. Analogies between these three groups should be

strong, since all belong to the Interior Salish language family, they live in similar environments, and they share many cultural traits with regard to tool use, subsistence practices, and settlement patterns. The Spences Bridge bands probably had more in common with the Shuswap and Upper Lillooet than other Thompson groups since they traded and intermarried (Teit 1900:179) with Shuswap who lived in very close proximity (within 20 miles or so), and the Upper Lillooet with whom they shared a territorial border (Tyhurst 1987:5; Hayden 1985:15). Despite the abundance of ethnographic reports on these groups, our knowledge of the culture is incomplete.

The most elaborate accounts of Thompson, Shuswap and Lillooet culture comes from James Teit (1989, 1900, 1906, 1909, 1912a, 1912b, 1917, 1930, 1937, 1979). Teit, who was married to a woman from the Spences Bridge Division, was able to provide a reliable and detailed record of traditional lifeways. However, his work was edited by Boas, and reflects his biases in subject matter and theoretical orientation. As a consequence, Teit's work contains little information about land use and group dynamics, or between the relationship between material culture and behaviour. None of the early accounts of traditional culture are as complete or dependable as Teit's. George Dawson (1892) offers a brief ethnography of the Shuswap, but it is fragmentary. Curtis (1911) also provides a summary of Interior Salish groups. While Hill-Tout (1907, 1978) presented a lengthy account of Thompson and Lillooet cultures, the reliability of his work is uncertain. Boas (1891, 1896, 1898, 1900, 1975) provides brief overviews based partly on the work of other researchers.

The year began for the Thompson in November when the increasingly cold weather and first snows forced most families back to their winter houses. These wintering sites were typically located along the principal rivers, in warm, sheltered valleys with dry, sandy or gravely soils, and easy access to water (Dawson 1892:8; Teit 1900:192). Prehistoric Thompson villages often contained only one and rarely more than three or four pithouses (Teit 1900:192). Similarly, most historic villages consisted of only three or four families (Ibid:174-5). The location and occupants of winter villages, especially the smaller ones, frequently changed (Teit 1909:457). Winter dwellings were typically located close to salmon fishing stations (Bouchard and Kennedy 1977:42; Teit 1900:179). Presumably, this was to minimize the carrying distance between the river and the village. On the other hand, the village needed to be situated at, or close to the treeline where wood for construction and fuel were easily accessible.

Ungulates were probably the most important traditional food source in the valleys in the Thompson watershed. The type of ungulate species and population densities of each species fluctuated both before and after the arrival of Euro-Canadians. Moose were absent from the Interior Plateau prior to 1920 (Cowan and Guiguet 1975:378). Prior to 1780 and after 1850, mule deer were the most abundant species along the Thompson River (Teit 1900:230). Between these two dates, elk and bighorn sheep dominated (Ibid:230). Mountain goat populations were probably always low in the area given the lack of suitable habitat (Cowan and Guiguet 1975:378), but also increased with the elk and sheep populations. These changes appear to correlate with minor changes in climate and vegetation. A cool spell between AD 1250 and 1800 would have promoted tree and

shrub growth at the expense of grasslands (Lepofsky 1987:18). Over-grazing by cattle and horse since the 1860's encouraged the growth of sagebrush and also reduced native grasses. Since elk, sheep and mountain goat are primarily grazers, and deer and moose are primarily browsers, it is not surprising that the former decreased and the latter increased during periods with diminished grasslands.

In the Chilcotin, people hunted and fished near the village while the winter dwellings were being prepared (Lane 1981:405) and the same was probably true of the Thompson. Hunting was the dominant activity at this time as the deer, sheep, and elk moved out of the mountains to their wintering grounds. All animals were in their prime with large stores of fat and thick fur. Deer were especially easy prey, since during their rut in the first two weeks of November (Cowan and Guigeut 1975:372), they gathered in large numbers and responded readily to hunting calls. The Thompson occasionally caught deer in drives during the winter months (Teit 1900:247). These drives required a large group of people (at least four) to surround the deer and drive them up or down the valley to where they could be shot by hidden hunters (Teit 1900:248-9). It is possible that the Highland Valley could have been used for these drives. These drives probably occurred in November and December since weather was poor and the animals too lean in the following months.

December was largely spent inside the winter dwellings living on stored foods, especially dried salmon. The weather becomes very cold and ice forms on the lakes. This cold weather probably largely limited hunting, except for snowshoe hares and grouse which were available close to the winter village (Alexander 1989:97). In milder weather the winter dwelling was used as a base camp from which the men could go hunting ungulates in their wintering places in the forest. Men usually conducted these hunts on their own or in small groups (Alexander 1989:97), using snowshoes and dogs (Teit 1900:248). Other species hunted included black bear, grizzly bear, porcupine, squirrels, beaver and snowshoe hare (Teit 1906:226-7; 1900:249; 1909:522, 649).

The coldest month was January, and almost all outdoor activity would cease. Hunting was rarely undertaken and ice fishing yielded poor returns (Lane 1981:406). Ungulates would have been very lean, and provide a poor return on the effort expended.

The weather begins to warm in February. In more southerly areas Chinook winds quickly warmed the air and melted the snow, some people would opt to move out of their winter dwellings into summer lodges. In general, people seemed anxious to move out of the pithouses as soon as possible but delayed their move until February or the beginning of March depending on the severity of the winter (Teit 1900:194). Travel was generally easier this time of year, with the snow melting in the southerly areas, and a crust forming on the snow in the more northerly areas (Lane 1981:406). As a result, game was easier to run down and kill, though it was scarce and in poor condition (Lane 1981:406). Available plants could also have been collected at this time.

Late February was the beginning of a critical period in the year where stored food may have become low or exhausted (Lane 1981:406; Teit 1909: 703,713,718,724). If the

warm weather was late in arriving or the snowfalls became wet and heavy, people could not hunt or fish and starvation was a possibility (Lane 1981:406). On occasion, food shortages may have been remedied by raiding other groups in early spring (Teit 1906:243). This critical period extended into early March (Lane 1981:406) when the last of the extremely cold weather could have forced everyone back into their winter dwellings.

By the end of March, the weather was much warmer, grass began to grow, snow left the lower elevations, and most families had moved out of their winter dwellings and into summer lodges. In April, the last of the people left their winter dwellings and families dispersed throughout the band's territory and began to exploit diverse, but not plentiful, food resources that became available. Some travelled to lakes for ice fishing, others hunted more accessible ungulates, and/or gathered new roots and plants available at lower elevations (Lane 1981:98; Teit 1909:703-4,718).

Some plants could have been harvested in the open Douglas fir forests at the end of March, although these plants peaked between late April and mid-May. In these locations, nodding onion, Indian celery leaves, and balsamroot were available. False Soloman's-seal, cow parsnip stems, water-parsnip, silverweed, cotton inner bark and fireweed shoots were found in the moister localities (Turner n.d.) Other plants, used in the material culture could also be collected now, including mock-orange, oceanspray and juniper for bows and arrows, birch, cedar and cottonwood bark for vessels, bitter cherry for hafting, and rope willow and Rocky Mountain maple bark for cordage (Turner n.d.). According to Turner, the Thompson used over 120 types of plant species (1990:19)

In the spring, many Interior Plateau peoples focused their efforts on catching spring spawning fish, especially rainbow trout or steelhead (Teit 1900:250,252; 1909:526,517-8; Smith 1900:406; Lane 1981:406). For example, in late April, many of the people from the Spences Bridge Division caught spawning steelhead at the mouth of the Nicola River, where a "hundred tents or more" were set up (Teit 1900:251-2). Rainbow trout were caught as they spawned in small streams leading into and out of lakes (Alexander 1989:89; Teit 1900:252; 1909:526). These were almost certainly exploited by the various bands of the Spences Bridge Division. There is a high likelihood the rainbow trout found in the study area lakes were exploited by these groups as well.

Spawning probably occurred in the latter half of May, although cold weather could have delayed the spawning (Alexander 1989:89). While these resources were being exploited, camps would have been set up. Some of the catch would have been consumed fresh, but large quantities would have been dried for preservation.

While the majority of the men and women at camp were fishing, some men probably hunted deer, elk and sheep that passed close by on game trails as they moved from the lower valleys to the mountains (Alexander 1989:90; Lane 1981:406). The ungulates would not have been at their prime at this time, but they would not have been as lean and tough as they were a month or two earlier before the warmer weather had stimulated

plant growth. Any migratory wetland birds that may have been attracted to the ponds in the valley would have been hunted as opportunities arose.

Some families took advantage of the trout spawning opportunities. In some localities the trout population was probably not large enough to provide a reasonable return if all families fished. In other parts of the territory, the spring beauty and other important plant foods reached their peak in late May and early June. Some families would concentrate their efforts in gathering plants and hunting in the mid-elevation grasslands and, later, in the alpine/subalpine ecozone (Alexander 1989:31-32, 84).

As in the Lillooet area (Kennedy and Bouchard n.d.:10), some spring salmon probably spawned in the Thompson River between May and the fall run of the sockeye salmon. The Lillooet would make short trips to the fishing stations to catch these early spring salmon. It is likely that some Thompson families would exploit this resource as well. However, these salmon runs were small and erratic, and as a result these trips would yield few, if any salmon (Alexander 1989:102) Therefore, only a few people engaged in this activity, and for only short periods of time (Ibid:102). The salmon caught in the spring were considered too fat to dry and were generally eaten fresh, and were not shared with others outside the family (Alexander 1989:103).

Other fish spawn in May such as cutthroat trout, large scale sucker, longnose sucker, bridgeslip sucker, prickly sculpin, northern squawfish, and peamouth chub may have been caught in small numbers in the Thompson River, especially at the mouths of streams where they spawned (Carl *et al* 1959). Burbot and Dolly Varden would also be present in the river.

Much of June and July was probably spent at higher elevations hunting and gathering plants (Alexander 1989:32). However, the women spent at least part of June and early July drying berries at lower elevations (Lane 1981:406). The quantity of berries available in any given year varied considerably since the hot, dry conditions on the Interior Plateau sometimes caused the berries to dry up before they reached maturity resulting in a poor crop. The milder, moister climate in valleys, like the Highland Valley, could have been important at these times. Saskatoons, soapberry, thimbleberry and blackcaps were probably common on these slopes, although only Saskatoon would have been available in large quantities every year (Turner n.d.:26, 30). Since fires encouraged the growth of these berry and root plants (Alexander 1989:90; Turner 1987; Teit 1900:230), controlled burning was probably practised in the area. It is difficult to ascertain where families most commonly camped while picking berries. Historically, women picked berries with relatives, using the winter village as a base camp (Alexander 1989:99). However, according to Teit, people gathered at their summer gathering places at mid-summer solstice (Teit 1906:284).

The most important food resource was salmon, and between mid-July and late August the largest spawning runs occurred. The vast majority of people would live at the salmon fishing stations (Kennedy and Bouchard n.d. :1-9). Sockeye was the most common species at this time, though springs were also present. Coho and pink were available in

low numbers in September and October. In the historic period, one month was a common stay during the July-August run (Turner n.d. :23), although other families might stay for on for two weeks (Alexander 1989:104). In general, they stayed as long as the runs were good, or as long as it took a family to catch and dry 500-600 fish for winter (Kennedy and Bouchard n.d. :11). The families usually moved away from fish camps in August after preparing salmon oil and storing the dried salmon near the village or fishing station.

During slack fishing times, men would make snowshoes and other equipment such as fishing nets, and women would make baskets. During this time there would be little opportunity for visits to the study area. At this time of year, with a great abundance of resources, there was time for a great number of social activities, such as visiting, gambling and arranging marriage alliances. Trade occured at large important fishing stations such as at the mouth of the Nicola Valley, near Spences Bridge (Teit 1900:167). At these times, large groups of neighbouring and distant bands would meet and trade luxury goods, especially if fish runs were poor in their own area that year (Ibid:259).

Immediately following the salmon fishing, most families gathered in large groups in the Alpine-Subalpine ecotone to hunt ungulates and gather plants. These gatherings were also important for social events with games and gambling being common events (Alexander 1989:37). These gatherings were probably only maintained for several weeks, after which some families would stay and others would move to other hunting locations. Animals would migrate to their wintering grounds, and families would move to lower elevations. In late October, wintering deer began moving into valley locations, where they would be hunted by individuals or in communal drives.

In late August, women might visit areas like the study area, wet environments where they could collect cattails and tule for mat making. Oregon grape, wild gooseberries and balsamroot could have been collected nearby. Silverweed and cottonwood mushrooms may have been available for harvest in late September and October and may have encouraged the women to make another visit to the area (Alexander 1989:91; Turner n.d. 34-5).

Animals hunted for their fur (Teit 1906:227; 1909:518,649) were at their prime in the late fall. The stream-side habitats in the study area would have been attractive to beaver, muskrat, short-tailed weasel, long-tailed weasel and mink. The valley could also have supported coyote, red fox, black bear, marten, fisher, bobcat, lynx, yellow badger, snowshoe hare and squirrels. Since animals such as beaver, marmot, bear, porcupine and squirrels were also important subsistence fauna, they were probably the most sought after. While these animals were probably caught frequently in the study area, ungulates were probably the dominant prey in the late fall, and would be the prime reason for establishing a base camp in the study area.

### 5.2.2 SHUSWAP

Boas was the first ethnographer to work with the Shuswap, but he provided only a very brief overview (1891). Dawson (1892) wrote a brief account of the Shuswap based on observations he made while doing geological work in the 1870's. His work is reliable, but contains little information on land use practices. Curtis (1911) also wrote a brief general ethnography, however, the most reliable and detailed account of the Shuswap was written by Teit who undertook systematic ethnographies of the Thompson (1900), Lillooet (1906) and Shuswap (1909, 1930) and in the 1890's. He collected the bulk of his Shuswap information from several old men from the Dog and Canoe Creek Bands, but he also visited other Shuswap bands for his study. Ray (1930, 1942) included the Shuswap in his cross-cultural studies, but his research was limited to one week with a single Soda Creek informant and his study fails to recognise difference between Shuswap subgroups and bands. Palmer examined Shuswap ethnobotany (1975a) and cultural ecology (1975b). Bouchard and Kennedy did reports for archaeological investigations in the Thompson River Valley.

All Interior Salish bands followed the same general land use pattern, but the emphasis on certain activities changed slightly from band to band depending on the abundance of various food resources. The following description of Shuswap traditional land use and practices is very similar to that of the Nlaka'pamux, or Thompson. Again, early ethnographers rarely described the practices of individual bands or subgroups and provided little information on the use of specific localities. Factors such as band location, individual need and interest, weather, interpersonal relations, and a variety of other things could alter this pattern (Lane 1981:406).

Shuswap subsistence was based on a combination of hunting, fishing, and gathering of food plants. In the winter months they congregated in large multi-family winter houses. During the warmer weather, families travelled throughout a band's territory, dispersing and regrouping to make the most efficient use of seasonally available resources. Much of the food was dried and stored for use in the winter months.

The year began in November when most families moved to their winter houses. According to native informants, the decision of where to build a village was determined by both environmental and social considerations (Points West 1995:16). The most basic physical needs included a close supply of fresh drinking water and trees for construction and firewood (Teit 1900:192). With salmon playing a critical role in their survival, efforts were also made to locate the village close to the fishing stations (Teit 1900:179). Assumably, this was to ensure that the salmon did not have to be carried far, and that salmon stored near the river could be safeguarded. They may also have wanted to protect their privately owned fishing stations from unauthorized use by others (Nastich 1954:35). Probably for similar reasons, some villages were located close to berry and root-digging grounds (Smith 1899:128). It was also important to select a warm, southern exposure, a sheltered location that afforded protection from the cold winter winds, and a site that contained dry, well drained, sandy soil that could be easily dug (Bouchard and Kennedy 1990:286; Dawson 1892:8; Teit 1900:192, 1909:492). Winter houses for the Bonaparte

Band were concentrated at the main village on the Bonaparte River, but other smaller villages were scattered to the north(Teit 1909:461).

While the houses were being prepared for the winter, men hunted and fished at lower elevations. For the Bonaparte Band, good habitat for deer and sheep was available on the slopes above of the Marble Range and the Bonaparte River. The best time for ungulate hunting would have been in the winter and early spring before the animals moved to higher elevations. Based on historic accounts, deer were probably the most common catch, with sheep a poor second. Although elk were extinct in Shuswap territory by 1860 (Teit 1909:513), they were once abundant on the open hillsides around Kamloops (Smith 1900). The local habitat was not suitable for mountain goat or caribou and, although the occasional moose is found in the area now, they were absent from the Southern Interior prior to 1900 (Spaulding 1990:7) and were not part of the traditional economy.

Given that Bonaparte winter villages were located in an area with a hot, dry environment, and that there was a relative scarcity of streams and springs, bears, snowshoe hares and yellow-bellied marmot were probably the most common prey in the immediate vicinity. Others mammals were most likely caught at sites in the hills beyond the village sites, and brought back to those sites. These animals would have been best hunted in the late fall when they were fat, and their coats were thick, but they were probably caught in low numbers throughout the year.

December, January and February were largely spent indoors living on stored foods, primarily salmon. To supplement dried foods, men continued to hunt deer and other animals at lower elevations. Ice fishing was also undertaken at the lakes, weather permitting. Trout, sucker, and whitefish were the most common catches. Ice fishing was probably besting early December and March when the ice was not too thick. The Bonaparte probably conducted ice fishing on other nearby lakes.

Late February to early March was a critical period of the year when stored food supplies may have become low or exhausted. Game would have been poor and hard to catch, and plants would not be ready to harvest. Large beds of mussels were found in some localities and were common to eat when other foods were scarce. By late March, the weather had usually warmed to the point where most families had moved out of the winter houses and into summer dwelling lodges. In late March and April, families dispersed throughout the area, gathering plants and hunting at lower elevations. A few individuals, then and throughout the summer, would also catch fish in the rivers and lakes.

Ponderosa pine is the dominant tree species on the Thompson Plateau, and the predominant vegetation consists of Bluebunch Wheat grass, antelope bush, and sagebrush (Beil et al. 1976:54). This environment supports few food plants except for the Mariposa lily, cactus and desert parsley. Away from the lake, open parkland stands of ponderosa pine are found on the lower slopes and drier river bottoms. Wetter and more shaded locations, at the edge of streams and rivers, may also contain Douglas fir, cottonwood, aspen and birch. The drier and more open slopes above this area were important locations for collecting soapberry, saskatoon, nodding onion, balsamroot, blackcap, and Oregon

grape. Many of the shoots and roots of food plants would have been available for harvest between March and May. Willows, important in the construction of tools and shelters, would also be available.

In the spring, some Shuswap families caught large numbers of the spawning freshwater fish available along lake shores and at the mouths of inlet and outlet streams leading into the lakes. Species spawning in May and June and commonly caught by the Shuswap include trout (steelhead), sucker (largescale, bridgelip, northern mountain), peamouth chub, northern squawfish, and prickly sculpin. Many Interior Plateau people focused their efforts on catching rainbow trout or steelhead (Teit 1900:250,252; 1909:526, 517-18; Smith 1900:406; Lane 1981:406). Species spawning at other times include burbot, white sturgeon, and mountain whitefish (Carl et al. 1959). These fish were common all year in the lakes (Teit 1930:213), but the largest quantities were caught in the spring as they spawned. Many Bonaparte families also travelled to Green Lake or Loon Lake, where people from many different Shuswap bands gathered every spring. The Shuswap, Thompson and Okanagan-Colville also gathered in groups up to 1,000 at Chapperon Lake, located a short distance northeast of Douglas Lake, well outside of Teit's area ascribed to the Shuswap. Members of the Bonaparte likely followed these practices.

At these fishing stations, families caught and dried large quantities of fish and a few deer. Plants and migrating waterfowl were also acquired when available. Many ducks, geese and waterfowl would have been available on the lakes especially when flocks were migrating in the spring and fall, while grouse were available in all seasons. While some Shuswap families fished, others scattered in the highlands and concentrated on collecting roots and hunting for deer. Montane hunting and plant gathering by isolated families, or same-sex task groups, continued sporadically throughout the summer.

In June and July, most women collected Saskatoon, soapberry, thimbleberry, and blackcaps, although only saskatoons would have been available in large quantities every year. These berries were abundant on the slopes above the rivers and lakes, and others would be collected slightly later in the highlands. These activities were usually based at the winter village. Fishing for spring salmon was also a popular activity in July, and small runs were available in the Deadman and Thompson River (Brown et al. 1979).

From mid-July to late August, the majority of people lived at the salmon fishing stations. Salmon was the most important and abundant food resource, comprising of half the adult diet (Lovell et al. 1986:99). The conditions for drying salmon were excellent, with hot, dry weather and strong winds quickly drying the salmon without supplementary smoking. They could often catch and dry enough salmon in one or two months to not only supply themselves with enough food to last the next year, but to acquire a surplus that could be traded with neighbouring bands. The largest runs occurred in late July and early August and comprised of mostly sockeye (Kennedy and Bouchard 1990:251-2). Coho also ran at this time, but were rarely caught, presumably because of low numbers. Pinks also occurred in low numbers. Spring salmon ran in deeper water than sockeye, starting in mid-July and, being further from shore, were also infrequently caught (Bouchard and Kennedy 1990:250-1). The September runs were usually poor and the people could be

expected to move away from the fishing base camps in August, after preparing salmon oil and storing dried salmon in elevated caches and cache pits near the fishing stations.

Trading with people from other bands and ethnolinguistic groups was common at these fishing sites in August and September. Social activities such as visiting, dancing, gambling and marriage alliances took place at fishing camps, since everyone was gathered in one place and food was abundant.

Immediately following the salmon fishing, most Shuswap families gathered at high elevation parkland base camps. Deer hunting was the prime activity at these sites, although some plants were also collected. These gatherings were also important social events, with games and gambling being common activities.

Between September and November, the men spent much of their time hunting, and following the deer as they migrated from the parkland to lower elevations. In the pre-contact period, women may have travelled with the men, or they may have stayed in the winter village to exploit lower elevation plant foods. Kokanee were also caught in some lakes in the fall. A large sockeye run occurred in the first two weeks of October (Bouchard and Kennedy 1990:251) and was also exploited by some families.

## 6.0 ARCHEAOLOGY

Excavations at numerous archaeological sites throughout the Canadian Plateau Cultural Area have produced a reliable model of regional pre-history, which can be conservatively divided into Early (10,000-7000 BP), Middle (7000-3500 BP), and Late Prehistoric (3500-200 BP) periods. BP means radiocarbon years before present, where “present” equals the year 1950.

The initial peopling of the Interior of British Columbia probably commenced between 11,000 and 10,000 BP (Rousseau 1993), by ancient Aboriginal people moving into the region from the Columbia Plateau and Great Basin of the U.S. During the Early Prehistoric period, initial cool and wet postglacial conditions were quickly replaced by hot and dry conditions (the so-called Hypsithermal or Climatic Optimum) (Hebda 1995). During this period, a reliance on hunting and a subsistence pattern characterized by an ever-broadening foraging spectrum is inferred, involving more intensive and more efficient exploitation of small animals and plants (Stryd and Rousseau 1996). The earliest manifestations of this occupation may have been associated with mid-elevation grasslands, away from inhospitable glacial lakes that filled valley bottoms. These glacial lakes drained by 8000 years ago, and their valleys would have become attractive sources of potable water during the dry Hypsithermal climatic regime. However, mid-elevation settings away from rivers and lakes would have been extremely arid and probably devoid of most game species.

Dated sites earlier than about 7000 BP are extremely rare in the Southern Interior, but two examples near the Thompson River are known. One is a campsite (dated 7530 BP) buried by the Drynoch Slide south of Spences Bridge (Rousseau 1993) and another camp (dated 8400 BP) at the Landels Site on Oregon Jack Creek near Ashcroft (Rousseau et al. 1991).

The Middle Historic Prehistoric period in the Southern Interior generally coincides with the end of the Hypsithermal and onset of cooler, moister conditions. The beginning of the Middle Prehistoric period is conveniently correlated with the 6800 BP ashfall from the catastrophic eruption of Mt. Mazama (now Crater Lake in Oregon), which blanketed the entire Pacific Northwest (Westgate et al. 1970). Middle Prehistoric subsistence was still based primarily on hunting game animals and gathering plant foods, although there could have been robust salmonid populations available to fishers in some watersheds, and freshwater mussels are more important constituents in some sites of this age than they were at later times.

At the beginning of this period, the distinctive ungulate-hunting Nesikep Tradition culture emerged (Stryd and Rosseau 1996), apparently unique to the Fraser-Thompson drainage. It appears to have affinities to archaeological remains from the Columbia Plateau of Washington and Idaho (Matson 1988). Where sites of this age have been identified, they are usually found at higher terraces of existing rivers (e.g., Arcas 1985), but sites have also been found in high-elevation settings such as Hihium Lake and the Highland Valley (Gehr 1976; Arcas 1983, 198). The latter part of the Nesikep Tradition is called the Lehman Phase (Arcas 1985; Stryd and Rousseau 1996), approximately dated from 6000/5000 to 4400 BP. Lehman Phase sites are normally associated with higher stands of existing rivers in valley bottoms, and existing watercourses and lakes in mid-elevation and upland settings (Stryd and Rousseau 1996).

A new archaeological culture, called the Lochnore Phase, appears in the Fraser-Thompson drainage about 5500 BP and persists until 4000/3500 BP (Stryd and Rousseau 1996). The appearance of this tradition is correlated with the development of riverine-adapted, Salishan-speaking societies that were able to intensively exploit salmon populations that became more abundant with the onset of the post-Hypsithermal climatic and hydrological regime. The Lehman Phase people of the Nesikep Tradition and the Lochnore Phase people seem to have co-existed and maintained separate cultural traditions for at least several hundred years. By ca. 4400 BP, the fish-orientated, Salish-speaking, Lochnore Phase people had absorbed (perhaps both culturally and genetically) the indigenous, hunting-oriented, Lehman Phase people, thereby bringing an end to the Nesikep Tradition (Stryd and Rousseau 1996).

Dated Lehman or Lochnore Phase sites are known in the Highland Valley (Arcas 1983, 1985), Oregon Jack Creek (Rousseau and Richards 1988; Rousseau et al. 1991), and Savona (Bussey 1995). Several undated sites believed to be of this age are known from the Thompson River valley between Savona and Spences Bridge, from the Fraser River canyon, and from Hihium Lake, among others.

The end of the Lochnore Phase (and end of the Middle Prehistoric period) and the establishment of the succeeding Plateau Pithouse Tradition (Late Prehistoric period) occurred about 3500 BP (Richards and Rousseau 1987). The Plateau Pithouse Tradition represents a more sedentary way of life focused on intensive salmon harvesting and storage, supplemented as required by other resources, and on the use of the semi-subterranean pithouse as a winter residence (Stryd and Rousseau 1996).

The Late Prehistoric period on the Canadian Plateau has been divided into three successive cultural horizons, each with its own artefact styles, technological attributes, and settlement characteristics (Richards and Rousseau 1987; Pokotylo and Mitchell 1998). The three horizons are the Shuswap Horizon (3500 to 2400 BP), Plateau Horizon (2400 to 1200 BP), and the Kamloops Horizon (1200 to 200 BP). All three horizons of the Late Prehistoric period are represented in cultural materials recovered from archaeological excavations throughout the Southern Interior (Richards and Rousseau 1987). Arcas and Associates have also identified a period associated with microblade technology they call the Quiltanton Complex, which probably dated between 2100 and 1000 BP, straddling both the Plateau and Kamloops Horizons (Arcas 1983:15).

The Historic Period is seen as ca. 200 BP to the present.

Of the two sites, the Cache Creek landfill site has been the specific focus of several archaeological assessments. The Ashcroft Ranch has not been the subject of an archaeological assessment, but several have been conducted in relatively close proximity. As background, heritage sites are numbered according to the Borden Site Designation Scheme (Borden 1952) which is used throughout Canada. This scheme is based on the maps of the Topographic Series and uses latitude and longitude to pinpoint a site's location. The four alternating upper and lower case letters (e.g. EdRg) designate a specific 10' latitude by 10' longitude block. Sites are numbered sequentially within this block based on their date of discovery. (i.e., EdRg 10 would be the tenth block recorded in block EdRg).

Prior to its development, the Cache Creek site has been described as falling within the Bunchgrass Ecosystem, which is comprised of grasslands that dominate the lower elevations of the major southern interior valleys of the province. In the past the grassland would have provided habitat for elk, bighorn sheep, mule deer and a host of smaller animals (Golder 1995:6)

An initial survey of the site resulted in seven sites being identified as containing archaeological artefacts (Arcas 1988a:3-6). One of these sites, EeRh T5/T6, contained a cluster of more than 10,000 artefacts. A projectile point was found on site EeRh T2, which was identified as coming from the Shuswap Horizon (ca. 4,000-2,400 years before present (BP)). Other sites contained points from late Plateau/early Kamloops Horizons (ca. 1,500-1,000 BP).

A more detailed assessment followed in the summer of 1988. An additional 7 archaeological heritage sites were located on the property. The sites varied in size from a

small, single artefact cluster to several sites with lithic scatters that were in excess of 10,000 square metres. Some 1,270 stone artefacts were recovered from EeRh 226, most of which were stone flakes. Several projectile points were dated to the Plateau Horizon (ca. 2,400-1200 BP), and the base of a projectile point was found and thought to possibly be 7,000-6,000 years old (Arcas 1988b: 32-65).

Another archaeological assessment was undertaken related to a later proposed "borrow pit" on the site. Two sites were subsequently identified. A basalt corner-notched point was located at EeRi 36, characteristic of the Plateau Horizon (2.400-1,200 BP). Another site, EeRi 37, contained a medium-sized lithic scatter of basalt and chert debitage (Golder 1996:12-13).

No housepits, small pits, or burial places were located in any of the archaeological investigations of the Cache Creek landfill site. The lithic scatters on the landfill property are felt to represent either small hunting camps, rest stops and/or lookouts or isolated discards or accidental drops (Arcas 1988b: v).

A similar archaeological assessment occurred on a proposed chip mill site, on the other side of the highway from the Cache Creek. Nine heritage sites were located on the site. Again, lithic scatters were located varying in size from small clusters, to one large scatter that was 40,000 square metres in size. Several projectile points from the Plateau Horizon were recovered. On site, EeRh 233, has been occupied several times during the last 2,400 years (Arcas 1988c: 35-70). Two types of sites are thought to be represented: small hunting camps where parties of hunters replaced worn and broken hunting implements, notably spear, dart, arrow points, and knife blades; and rest stops/lookouts where one or more persons engaged in lithic reduction while resting and/or viewing the surrounding countryside for game, people etc. (Arcas 1988c:iv).

Unfortunately, similar archaeological assessments have not been conducted on the Ashcroft Ranch site. However, several important studies have been undertaken in locations close to the site.

One of the most thorough excavations took place on the Rattlesnake Hill site (EeRh 61), located north of Ashcroft, overlooking the Thompson River. Some 7,400 artefacts were recovered from the site which included bone tools, lithic detrimus, and non-lithic detrimus which consisted of pieces of ochre and fragments of animal bone. Several dating techniques, including radiocarbon testing, indicate the major usage of this site occurred between 6,500-7,000 BP to 3,500-4,000 BP (Arcas 1985:41-60). A number of different kinds of settlements occurred at the site including late-fall hunting camps, briefly occupied shellfish harvesting camps, and seasonably occupied winter/early spring residential camps (Arcas 1985:68).

Another archaeological survey was undertaken in 1988 at Cornwall Hills summit, located several kilometres west of the Ashcroft Ranch site. A partial basalt projectile point was recovered suggesting a pre-6,000 BP age, going back to the Nesikep tradition. Three sites were dated to the Kamloops Horizon (ca. 1,200-200 BP), on the basis of the

recovery of several tool fragments. Isolated finds dated back to the Plateau Horizon (2,400-1,200 BP). The use of this site is interpreted to represent a lookout station where the movement of deer or other game was monitored, and tools related to hunting activities were manufactured or refurbished (Rousseau et al. 1988:2-4).

In 1986, a detailed heritage site inventory was undertaken on Ashcroft Indian Reserves 2, 3 and 4 by Rousseau (Rousseau 1986:7-9). A total of 100 sites were recorded, and they are estimated to span the period from ca. 6,000 to 200 BP.

## 7.0 CONCLUSION

There are some difficulties in establishing the identity of which cultural groups used or occupied the site of the Ashcroft Rand in 1846. According to Teit, Shuswap territory at one time extended as far south as Oregon Jack Creek, which is several kilometres south of the Ashcroft Ranch site. He ascribed this territory to the *Snoa'tkuamux*, or the Main Thompson Band. This band was decimated by epidemics prior to 1850, and the survivors were absorbed into the Bonaparte Band, as well as into Nlaka'pamux bands that Teit classified as the Spences Bridge Division (consisting of the modern Cook's Ferry, Oregon Jack Creek and Ashcroft bands). It was at the time that Thomson territory moved northward to around Cornwall Creek (at, or near to the location of the Ashcroft Ranch). This expansion probably occurred in the 1840's, and at least before 1858. It appears that the area around Ashcroft that became associated with the Ashcroft Band occurred through a process of assimilation between the Main Thompson and Nlaka'pamux groups from the south at this time. Because this transformation appears to have occurred in the 1840's, it is not possible to determine with certainty whether the Ashcroft Ranch site fell into an area that was held by the Shuswap or the Nlaka'pamux in 1846.

However, in regards to the Cache Creek site, these is little difficulty in establishing the identity of the cultural groups whose traditional territory the site is situated. There is ethnographic evidence that has not been contradicted which makes it clear that the Cache Creek landfill site was within Shuswap territory in 1846, and that the Bonaparte Band had a winter village at a location within close proximity to the site at that time.

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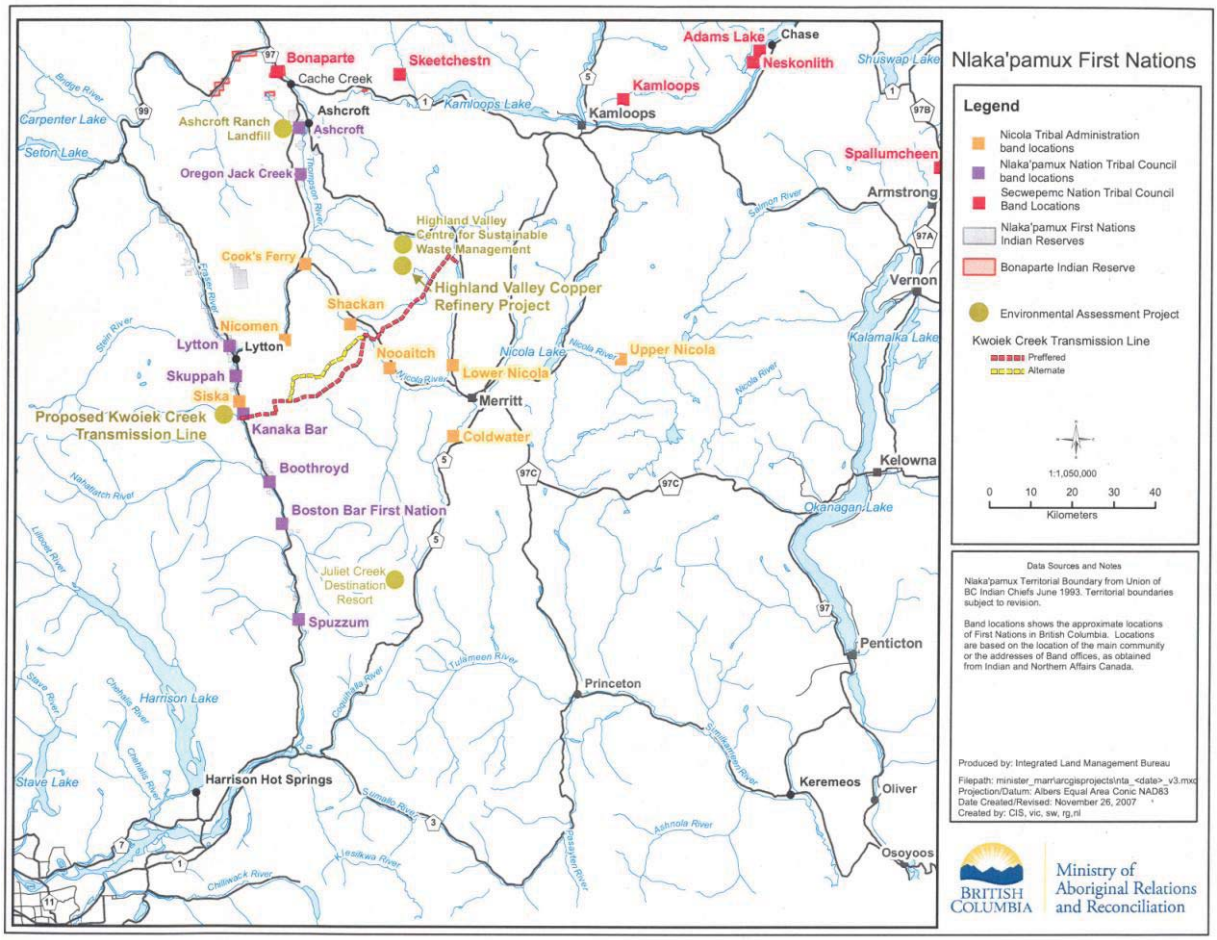


**MAP 1**

***Source: (Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation:2007/11/27)***

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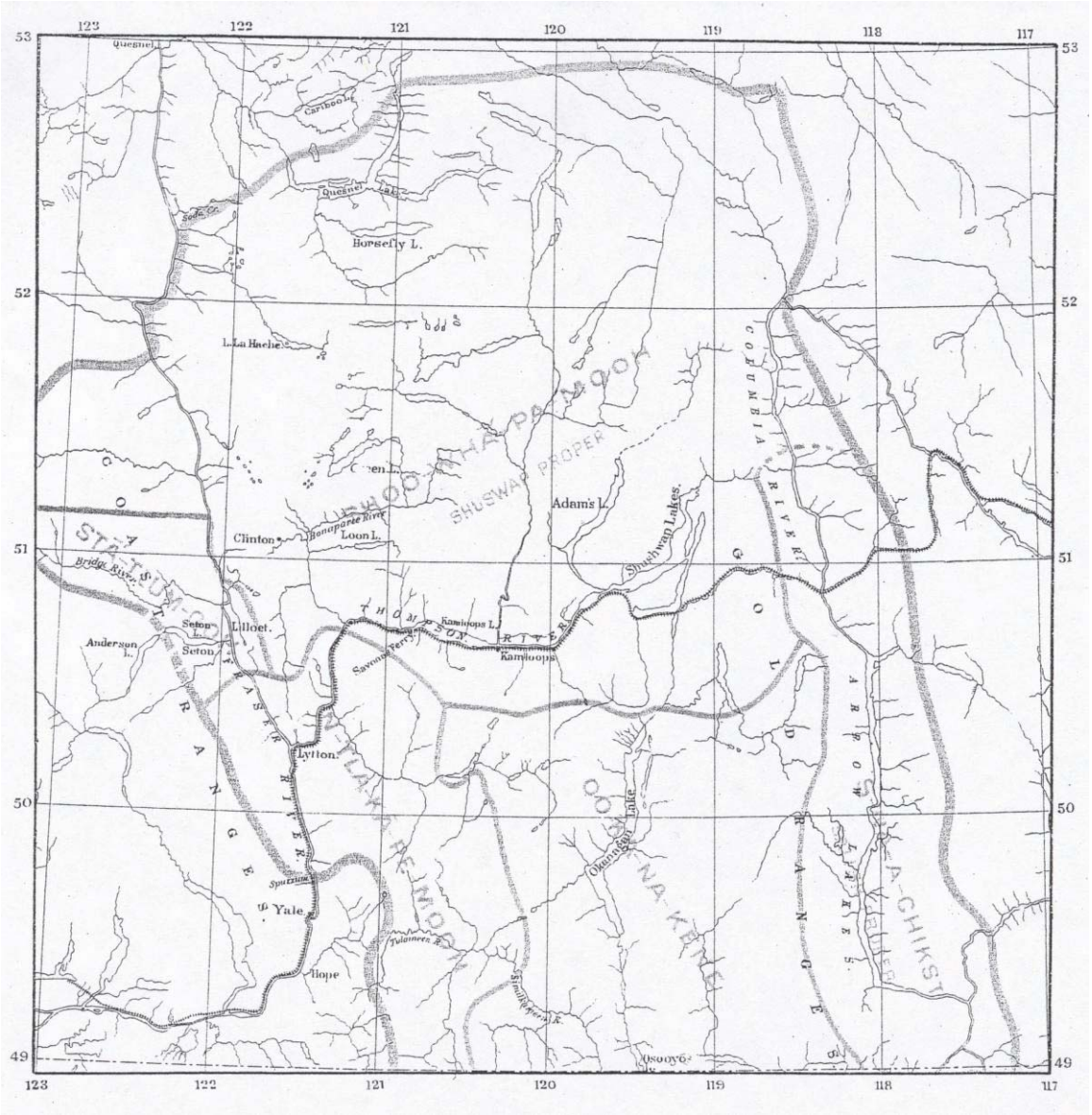


**MAP 2**

***Source: (Dawson 1892:45)***

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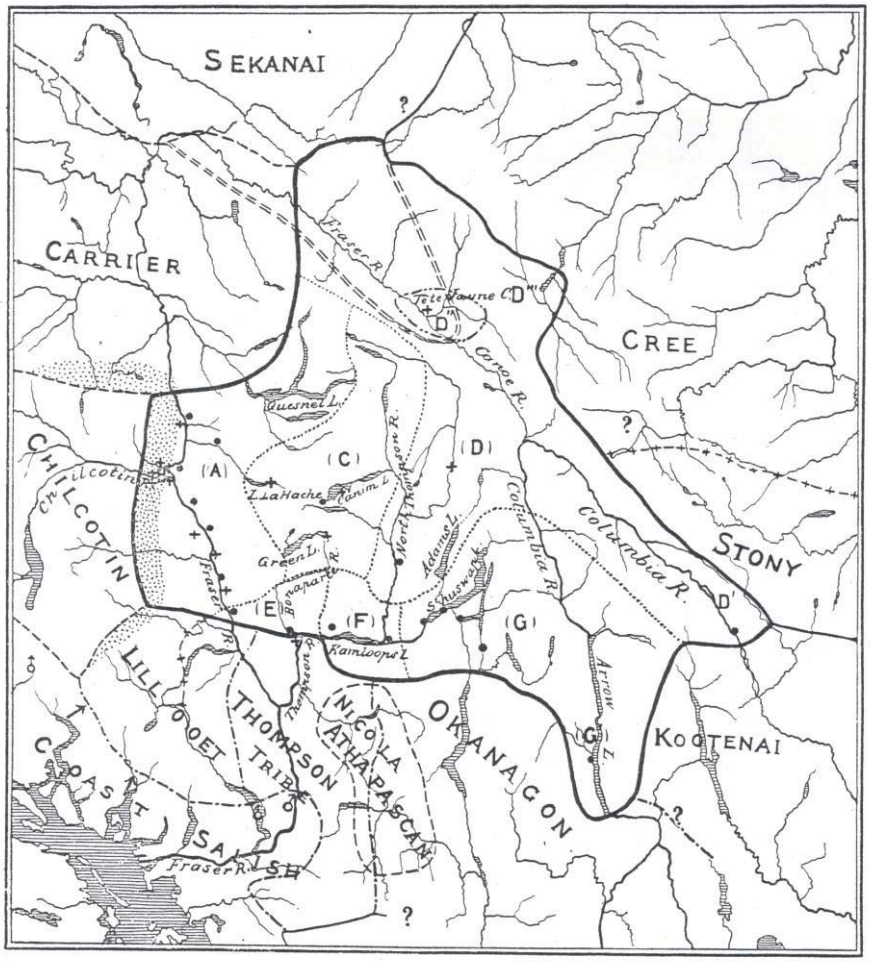


Fig. 199. Map showing the Shuswap Territory.

A, Fraser River Division.
B, Cañon Division, territory now largely occupied by the Chilcotin.
C, Lake Division.
D, North Thompson Division.
D′, Kinbasket.
D″, Former territory of the Iroquois Band.
D‴, Shuswap, Cree, and Iroquois mixed.
E, Bonaparte Division.
F, Kamloops Division.
G, Shuswap Lake Division.
G′, Arrow Lake Band.
●, Villages.
+, Former villages.

Dotted area, territory recently occupied by the Chilcotin. Area at head of Fraser River, enclosed by broken double lines, temporarily occupied by the Sekanai.

[1] See A. G. Morice, Who are the Atnas? (American Antiquarian).

## MAP 3

## *Source: (Teit 1909:450)*

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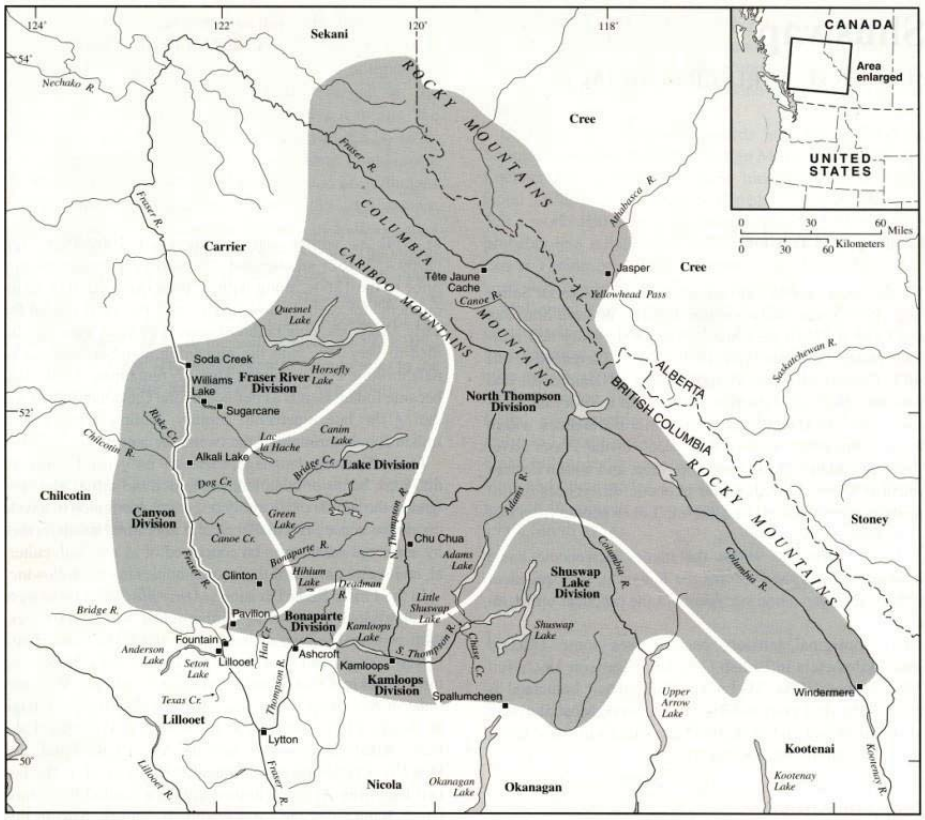
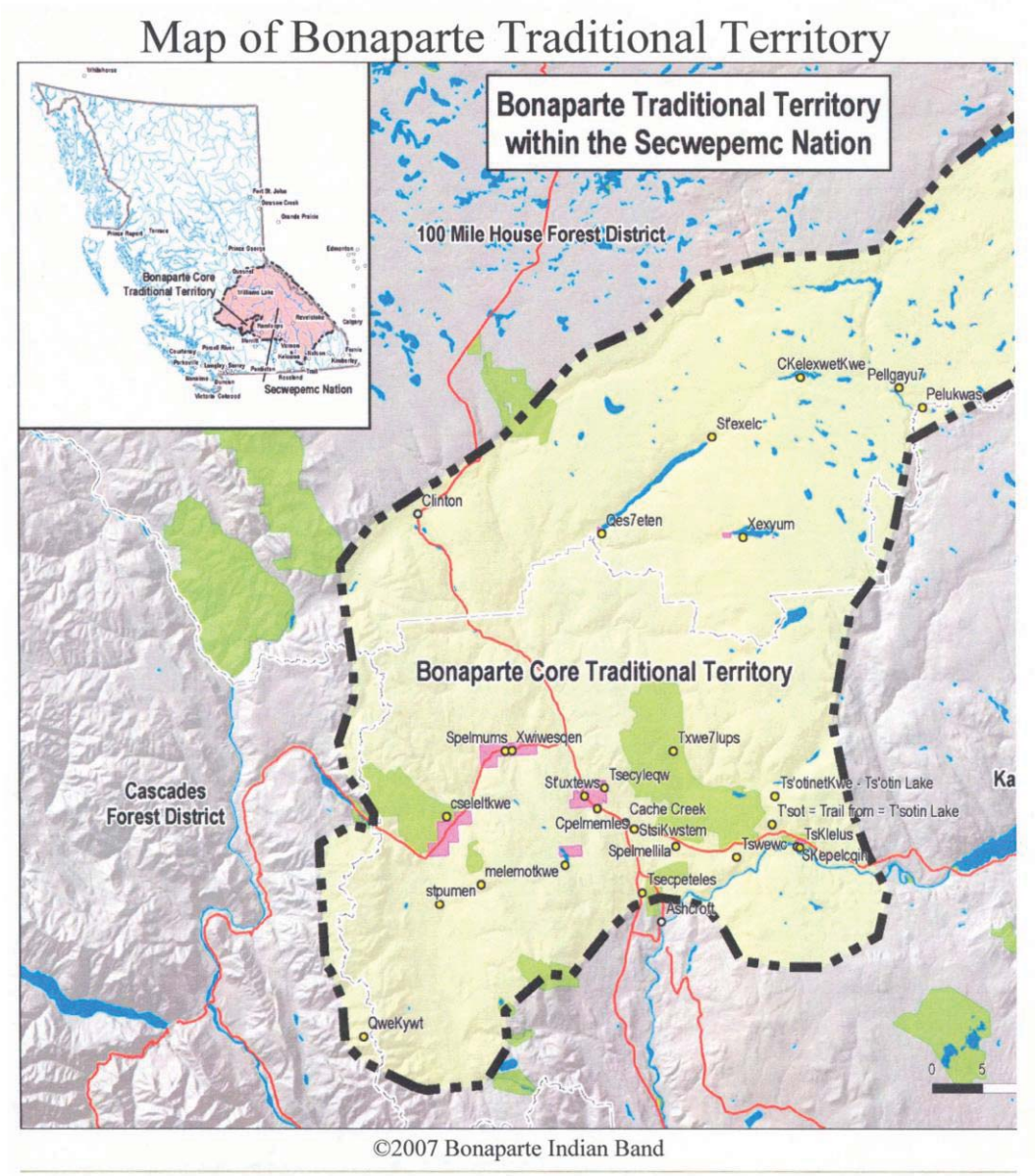



**MAP 4**

***Source: (Ignace 1998:204)***




**Map 5**

***Source: (Bonaparte Indian Band: (www.bonaparteindianband.com) 2008/07/09)***

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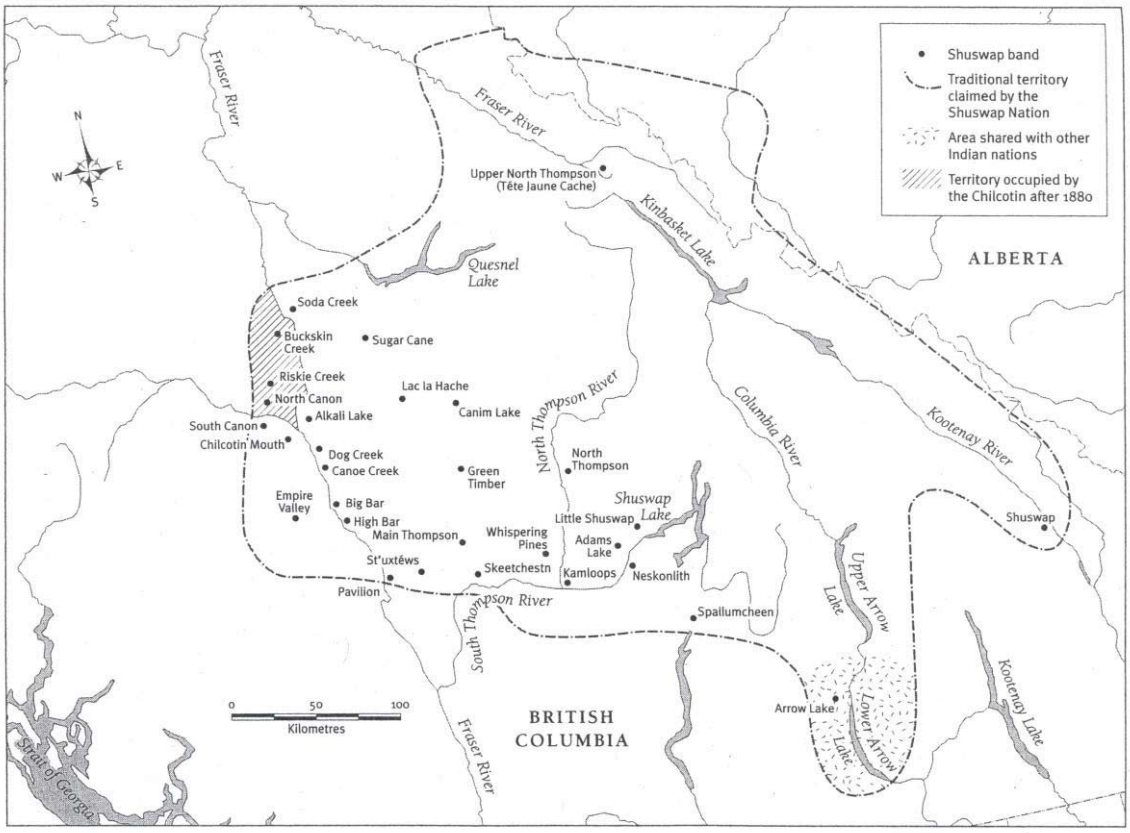
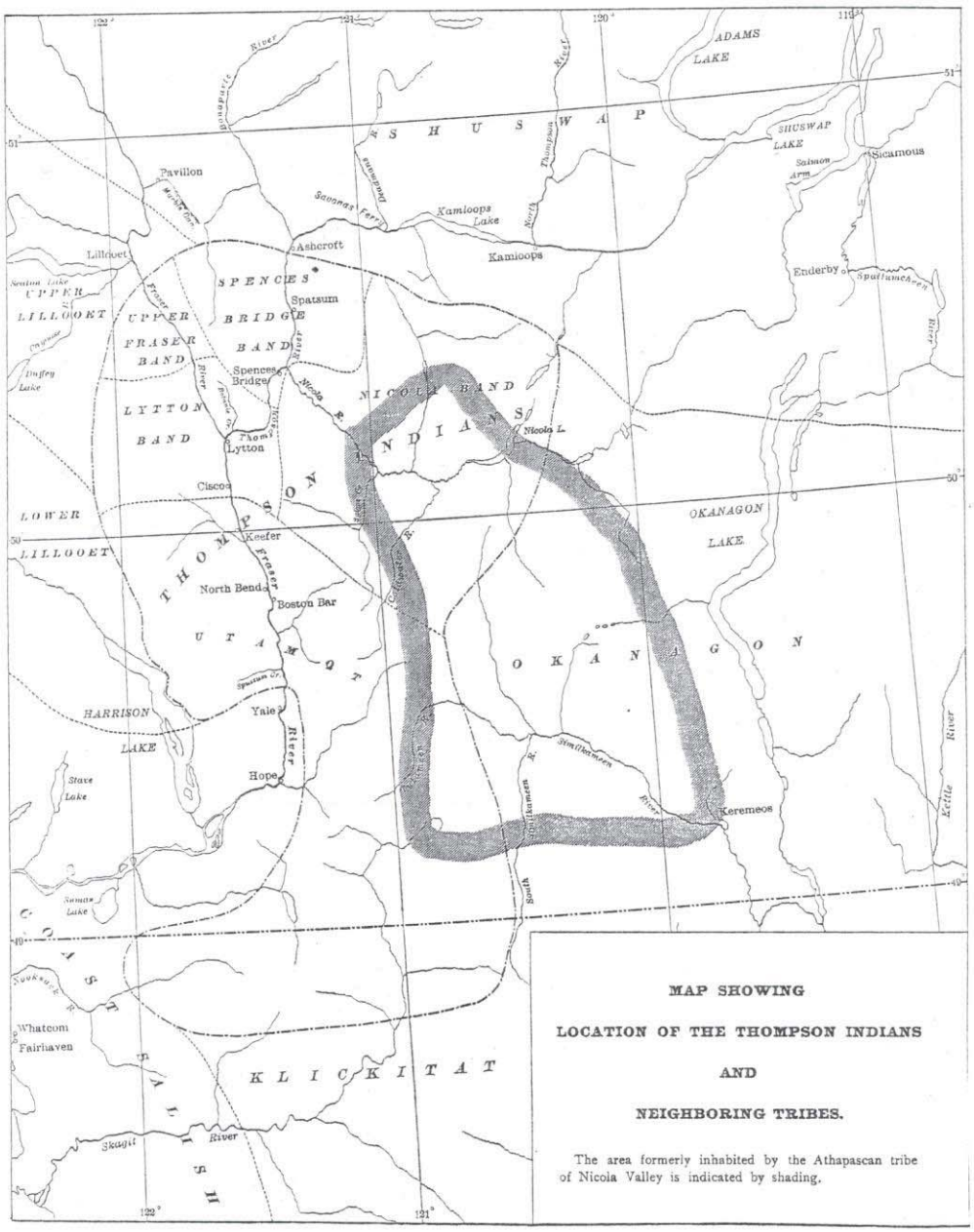



**MAP 6**

***Source: ( Ignace 2004:381)***

CONFIDENTIAL




**MAP 7**

***Source: (Teit 1900:166)***

CONFIDENTIAL

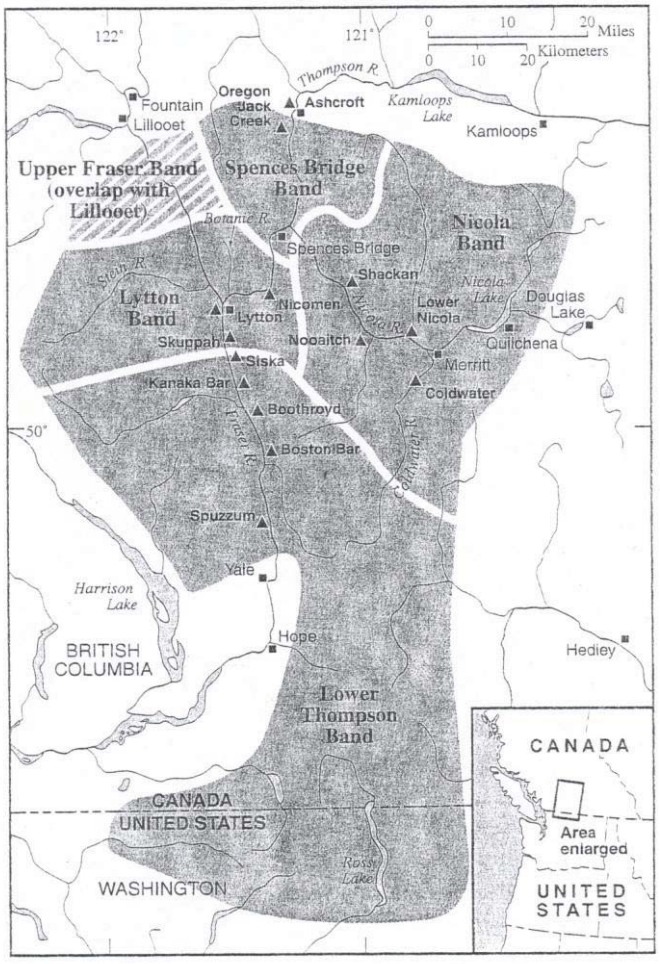
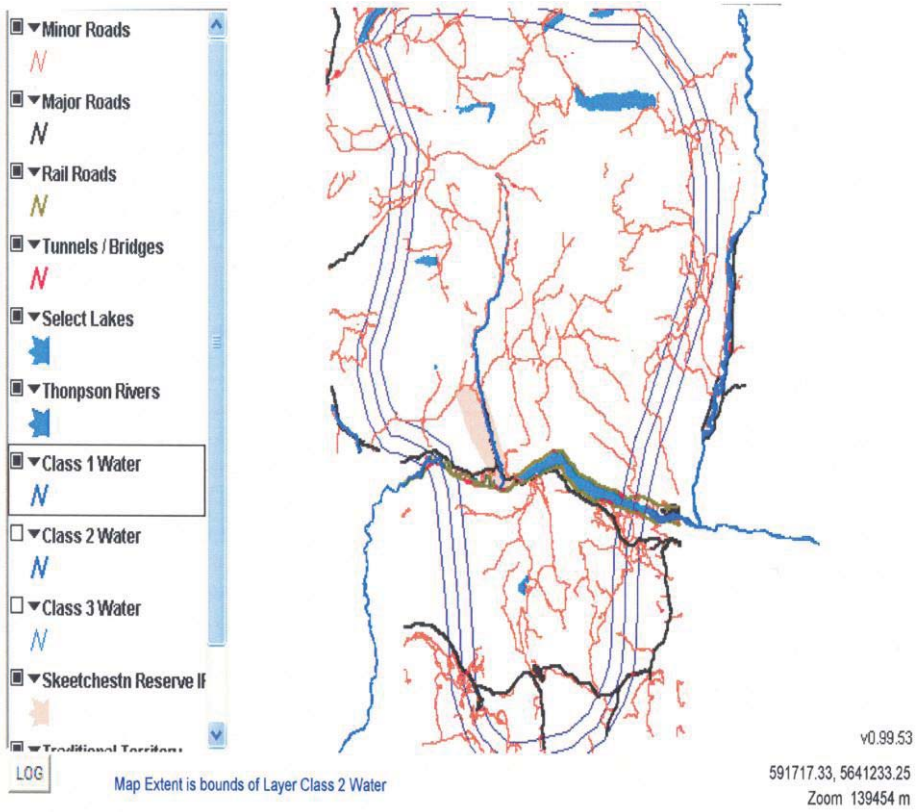



Fig. 1. Thompson territory in the 19th century (based on Teit 1900).

**MAP 8**

***Source: (Wyatt 1998:191)***

CONFIDENTIAL




**MAP 9**

***Source: (www.skeetchestn.ca 2008/02/06)***