2019 Update

Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Use and Occupancy Study Report for Port Metro Vancouver Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project

Pacheedaht youth collecting intertidal seafood on Juan de Fuca Strait shoreline

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and

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Note to Reader

This report has been prepared with respect to Port Metro Vancouver Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project (RBT2). The report is supplementary to a report that was submitted in September 2015 for the RBT2 Project, titled "Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Use and Occupancy Study Report for Port Metro Vancouver Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project." This report has been prepared for the purpose of a federal review assessment by a review panel for the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (CEAA).

This report has been prepared in response to, and within the time constraints of, the Port Metro Vancouver Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project and should not be construed as defining or limiting Pacheedaht First Nation Aboriginal rights and title. The information provided is without prejudice to Pacheedaht First Nation Aboriginal rights and title.

No attempt has been made to standardize the transcription or rendering in English of Pacheedaht names and words; they appear in the report as presented in source materials and as phonetically rendered in interview notes and transcriptions. The term "seafood" is used in this report to refer to intertidal (and some subtidal) gathering, as this is the term commonly used by Pacheedaht community members.

This report does not explicitly address all matters of Aboriginal title or Aboriginal rights of the Pacheedaht First Nation for the Study Area, although the Traditional Use and Occupancy Site and other information included provides evidence related to their Aboriginal title and Aboriginal rights.

Executive Summary

This report has been prepared for a federal review by the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (CEAA), for the Port Metro Vancouver Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project (RBT2). The report presents information about the Pacheedaht First Nation (PFN) history and resource use as related to their Aboriginal interests (rights and title) and traditional use and current use of lands, waters and resources, particularly as related to the RBT2 project.

The report is supplementary to a report that was submitted in September 2015 for the RBT2 Project, titled "Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Use and Occupancy Study Report for Port Metro Vancouver Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project." As a supplementary report, the current report provides information that adds to that previously presented. However, as necessary context for readers, some information from the earlier report is repeated.

The locations, resources, and activities of traditional importance to the Pacheedaht First Nation that could be affected by increased marine vessel traffic by RBT2, or by any associated accidents or malfunctions, are represented in this report. As with previous reports, the current report should not be viewed as comprehensive as additional research, interviewing and groundtruthing continues to provide additional information.

Pacheedaht Territory is located on the southwest coast of Vancouver Island, generally bounded on the east near Sheringham Point, and on the west near Cullite Creek; and extending inland to include the drainages of the rivers and streams on Vancouver Island between those two locations. The Pacheedaht have Aboriginal title, and Aboriginal fishing and hereditary harvesting rights at *ƛučii?aa?aq* **(**Swiftsure Bank).

The Pacheedaht regard themselves as a distinct First Nation with history in their territory that extends back over centuries. A summary history of Pacheedaht is presented in the report, as well as information about the locations of Pacheedaht villages and campsites. Additional and significant information has been added to that in earlier reports, especially concerning traditional culture and marine resources, and for Indigenous governance related to territories and resources.

Historical accounts dating from the Contact and Colonial Periods record that Pacheedaht people have occupied their territory continuously, that their livelihood and economy was based primarily on marine resources, and that they traded extensively in marine resources with other First Nations and with white explorers and traders. The Pacheedaht have relied heavily, at all times, on the resources available at *ƛučii?aa?aq, Swiftsure Bank,* for domestic use and abundances for trade. It is described that, at Contact, the Pacheedaht were part of an alliance that governed and controlled an area at the mouth of Juan de Fuca Strait that included the area around Cape Flattery, Port San Juan and the waters in between, including *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank.

During traditional times, the Pacheedaht engaged in a seasonal round. Fishing, land and sea mammal hunting, and gathering of plants, berries and other resources occurred

when resources were seasonally available, of particular quality, abundant or best to obtain. The Pacheedaht profited from their location at the crossroads in a pre- and post-Contact network of Indigenous trade routes. The Pacheedaht were major participants in trading many products, including marine resources, throughout the Contact and Colonial Periods. The Pacheedaht generated wealth from their harvesting and trade of marine resources, particularly those at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* (Swiftsure Bank).

Since B.C. confederated with Canada in 1871, the Pacheedaht's ability to access marine resources has been restricted by a number of factors, described throughout the report. The report describes in particular the effects of commercial, non-Indigenous fisheries and marine hunting that resulted in a severe depletion of many resources, particularly at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* (Swiftsure Bank), by the early 1900s. The Pacheedaht continue to apply their traditional management of resources, to the extent possible, through their Fisheries and hereditary protocols, and records keeping.

The report presents updated information from recent research concerning Pacheedaht traditional use and occupancy (TUOS) sites located within the project Study Area. All traditional use and occupancy Sites have been classified, at the most general level, according to "Categories" that facilitate the presentation of information on the Project Maps. The TUOS sites are presented according to various site "Categories" and are portrayed on the Project Maps, at Appendix C of the report.

Throughout the vast majority of their long history, Pacheedaht ancestors enjoyed unrestricted access to the wide variety of resources in the ocean, rivers and lands in their territory. They gained a wealth of knowledge about their territory based on direct personal observations and experiences. This wealth of information is today commonly referred to as Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) and is generally considered distinct from "scientific knowledge." Tables of Pacheedaht TEK information about species of resources located in, along or near the marine environment in Pacheedaht territory presented in the earlier report, have been updated and are presented in report Appendix A.

Since Contact, many developments and historic events have occurred to the Pacheedaht and within their territory that have had significant impacts on their traditional rights, as well as on the land and marine portions of their territory. The potential effects of the proposed project should be evaluated considering the context of these developments and events. The cumulative effects include, but are not restricted to, topics referenced in the report, and presented more fully in Appendix B, including:

- disease and depopulation after Contact;
- establishment of Indian Reserves and the corollary alienation of Pacheedaht lands and resources;
- loss of language, culture and traditions through Indian Residential Schools, anti-potlatch laws, and the efforts of missionaries and Indian Agents;
- industrial logging and associated environmental impacts;
- non-native settlement activities;

- hydroelectric and mining activities;
- acquisition of lands and marine areas for the establishment of federal, provincial and regional parks;
- depletion of fisheries and other marine resources, and the imposition of fishing and marine harvesting regulations including loss of economic rights for harvesting of marine resources;
- re-routing of the international shipping lanes in 2005 such that they intersect and interfere with safe access to *ƛučii?aa?aq,* (Swiftsure Bank)*,* one of Pacheedaht's preferred fishing areas; and
- increases of marine traffic associated with the economic activities in the U.S. and Canada, which are regulated through the International Maritime Organization.

Any further reduction, of any magnitude, in Pacheedaht members' access to fisheries and intertidal resources, or further degradation of these resources, will comprise significant losses to Pacheedaht traditional marine harvesting activities and rights. Similarly, any further damage or degradation of Pacheedaht cultural, archaeological, or other resource harvesting sites on land, or access to these sites, will also comprise significant losses. The increased volume of cargo in the marine traffic resulting from the RBT2 project would add to the Cumulative Effects described below.

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Introduction

This report presents information about the Pacheedaht First Nation (PFN or "Pacheedaht") related to their Aboriginal interests (rights and title), and their traditional and current use of lands, waters and resources, as related to the Port Metro Vancouver Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project (RBT2). The report is supplemental to an earlier PFN report submitted in 2015 (PFNRBT2 2015).[1]

Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project

The Vancouver Fraser Port Authority proposes the construction and operation of a new three-berth marine container terminal located at Roberts Bank in Delta, British Columbia, approximately 35 km south of Vancouver. The proposed project, to be located next to the existing Deltaport and Westshore Terminals, would provide an additional 2.4 million twenty-foot equivalent units of container capacity per year at Roberts Bank.[2]

The Project would also result in changes to the marine shipping within the 12 nautical mile limit of Canada's territorial sea, associated with the operational phase of the RBT2 Project. Project-related marine shipping activities would include all RBT2 inbound and outbound container ship movements within the Marine Shipping Area.

The RBT2 Project would result in additions and logistical changes to the marine traffic that currently passes through the marine portion of Pacheedaht territory (Figure 1),[3] and particularly across *ƛučii?aa?aq* (commonly called Swiftsure Bank or Pacheedaht Bank), an area of special concern to Pacheedaht.

Pacheedaht territory stretches along the coastline of Vancouver Island between *bakułqawa?* (Sheringham Point) on the east and *bu:lqawa?* (Bonilla Point) on the west, and extends inland to include the intervening watersheds, taking in Walbran Creek, Gordon River, San Juan River, Loss Creek, Jordan River and others as shown on Figure 2. Pacheedaht territory includes the offshore area between these points (*bakułqawa?* and *bu:lqawa?*) and extends into the Strait of Juan de Fuca as it includes *ƛučii?aa?aq* (Swiftsure Bank).

As described in this report *ƛučii?aa?aq* (Swiftsure Bank) is one of Pacheedaht's preferred areas to exercise their Aboriginal right to harvest a vast variety of sea resources; Pacheedaht share traditional rights to access across *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, with the Ditidaht and Makah.

[1] Pacheedaht First Nation, and Traditions Consulting Services Inc. "Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Use and Occupancy Study - Report for Port Metro Vancouver Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project." Port Renfrew B.C.: Pacheedaht First Nation, 2015.
[2] Port Metro Vancouver. "Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project: Marine Shipping Supplemental Overview, Draft. May 25, 2015." Vancouver: Port Metro Vancouver, 2015.
[3] Note that this map, produced by the RBT2 project, should include Swiftsure Bank in Pacheedaht territory.

Report Limits

The current report contains information on Pacheedaht's traditional and current use of the areas and resources within the Study Area defined below, as well as descriptions relevant to Pacheedaht's Aboriginal interests, rights and title. This information is provided for the purpose of an environmental assessment.

The appended PFN RBT2 Update Maps illustrate specific harvesting locations and culturally sensitive sites, are confidential to Pacheedaht, and are provided to Vancouver Fraser Port Authority and to CEAA solely for the review of the RBT2 Project. The PFN RBT2 Maps should not be distributed or made public. Information in the report, other than maps, is not considered confidential to Pacheedaht.

The current report provides information solely for the specified purposes, has been prepared within the available frame and should not be considered as comprehensive, definitive or fully representative of Pacheedaht Aboriginal rights, title, use, and interests. Ongoing research efforts continue to add to the available information.

Report Purposes

The purposes of the current report are to:

- provide general and updated information and context particularly for Pacheedaht Aboriginal rights, title and interests;
- provide important context on traditional governance and territorial rights;
- provide important and updated information on Pacheedaht's historical control and use at *ƛučii?aa?aq* (Swiftsure Bank); and
- present updated information about Pacheedaht Traditional Use and Occupancy Sites (TUOS sites).

Study Area

The Study Area for the current report is derived from the Marine Spatial Boundaries specified at 17.1.2 of the RBT2 EIS. The Marine Spatial Boundaries consider marine shipping associated with the Project within Canada's 12 nautical mile limit. The Study Area includes areas with importance for Pacheedaht's Aboriginal Rights, Title and Interests, and Pacheedaht's traditional, current and future use of lands or resources which could be affected by marine shipping associated with the Project, including potential accidents and malfunctions.

The Study Area for this report includes all marine, intertidal and tidal influenced waters within Pacheedaht territory (see Figure 2), including marine areas used traditionally and currently by Pacheedaht people at *ƛučii?aa?aq*, Swiftsure Bank. The Study Area includes the terrestrial portions of Pacheedaht territory within 150 m. of marine shorelines, and within 40 m. of tidal influenced river waters, as these may be affected in the event of a worst-case scenario spill of fuel or other cargo, or resulting cleanup operations. The Study Area is illustrated on the PFN RBT2 Update Maps appended to this report.

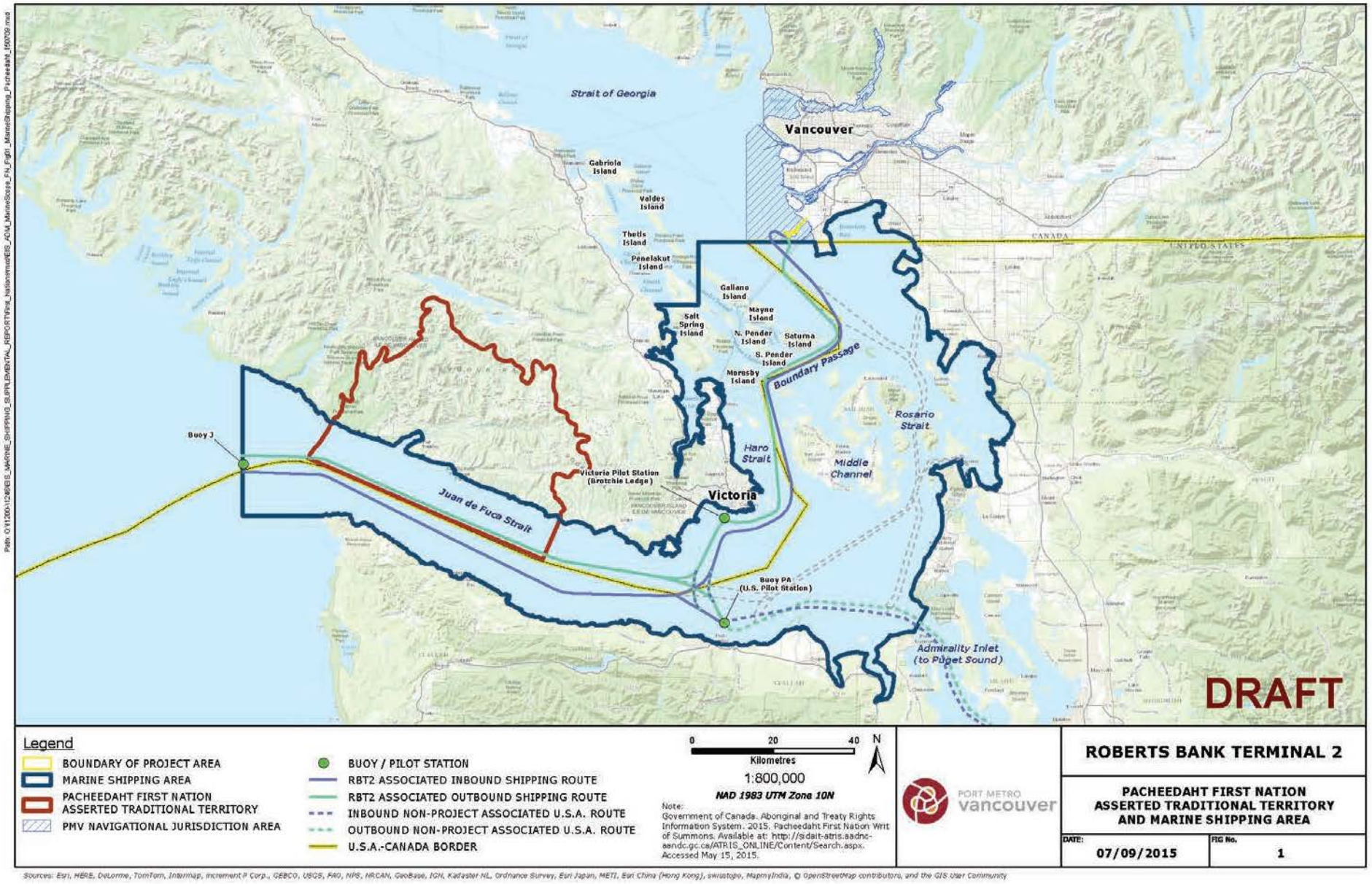


Figure 1: Pacheedaht Territory &_q npcqclrcb `w npmnmlclr' with RBT2 Marine Shipping Area.

Pacheedaht Culture and History Overview[4]

Available information indicates that the Pacheedaht have occupied their territory on an exclusive basis for many centuries and that their occupation has been continuous to the present time. During much of this time, the Pacheedaht have lived, seasonally or permanently, at the village and camp locations including those listed in this report. These villages and camps are spread along shorelines and rivers throughout Pacheedaht territory (Figure 2). In the distant past and into the historic and period, these locations have been bases from which Pacheedaht members use and harvest an extensive range of resources for cultural, spiritual, sustenance, and economic purposes. These remain vitally important to the Pacheedaht today.

The name "Pacheedaht" translates into English as "Children of the Sea Foam" (or "People of the Sea Foam") and refers to a traditional history related in this report. Pacheedaht territory includes the lands and waters along the southwest coast of Vancouver Island between Bonilla Point at its western end, and Sheringham Point on the east (Figure 2).[5] The eastern boundary corresponds with information published by Wayne Suttles, an expert on Salish history and culture, who identifies Sheringham Point as the western boundary of the region where Northern Straits Salish was spoken by members of the T'Souke Nation.[6] The Pacheedaht's western boundary is the same as the eastern boundary of the Ditidaht First Nation. Pacheedaht also share Aboriginal fishing and harvesting rights at *ƛučii?aa?aq* (Swiftsure Bank) with Ditidaht First Nation and Makah Tribe; members of many other First Nations also fish at *ƛučii?aa?aq* **(**Swiftsure Bank) under a hereditary Pacheedaht Fisheries protocol described in this report.

The Pacheedaht regard themselves as a distinct First Nation with a history in their territory that extends back through many centuries. Anthropologists refer to the Pacheedaht, and the neighbouring Ditidaht, as related by language and culture to the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations whose territories are distributed along the west coast of Vancouver Island.[7] Pacheedaht people are related by kinship, language and culture to several other First Nations on Vancouver Island, but their closest relations are with the Ditidaht to the northwest, and with the Makah across the Strait of Juan de Fuca in Washington.

Pacheedaht Chief Queesto Charlie Jones, who was born ca. 1876 and lived to be over 100 years old, estimated that the Pacheedaht numbered 1,500 people or more before diseases, brought by white explorers, traders and settlers, were introduced into

[4] This section is updated from that provided in the PFNRBT2 2015 report.
[5] Charles Jones Sr. and Eugene Arima. Annotated Map of Juan de Fuca Strait Depicting Pacheedaht Place Names." Unpublished manuscript. Pacheedaht First Nation. Port Renfrew, BC, 1973-1974.
Richard Inglis and James C. Haggarty. "Pacific Rim National Park Ethnographic History." Parks Canada Report Series No. 257. Calgary: Manuscript on file with Parks Canada, Western Region, 1986. p. 209.
Randy Bouchard, "Preliminary Notes on the Pacheenaht Indian Knowledge and Use of the Area between Jordan River and San Juan Point." Report prepared for I.R. Wilson Consultants Ltd. and BC Parks. Victoria, 1994. p. 33.
[6] Wayne Suttles. "Central Coast Salish." In: *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 7, Northwest Coast*. Edited by Wayne Suttles, 453-75. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990. p. 456.
[7] Eugene Arima and John Dewhirst. "Nootkans of Vancouver Island." In: *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 7, Northwest Coast.* Edited by Wayne Suttles, 391- 411. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990. pp. 391, 393.

Pacheedaht territory.[8] Pacheedaht ancestors' traditional seasonal round included taking up residence at several locations through the course of an average year in order to take advantage of locally or seasonally abundant resources. Pacheedaht villages and camps were spread throughout the territory, especially along the coastline and on the banks and mouths of larger rivers. Four to six families, each with their own fireplace, would occupy a typical Pacheedaht bighouse.[9]

Following are the names and locations of known Pacheedaht villages, houses, or campsites, listed in a generally east to west direction, and as portrayed in Figure 2:[10]

- *q^wa?a·q^w'a* – the Pacheedaht name for Kirby Creek and for the Pacheedaht village, a salmon fishing station. The site is in the lee of Shirley Hill, out of the wind, and on high ground so it does not flood.[11]

- *bakułqawa?* – the Pacheedaht name for Sheringham Point, also known as "Store Point." According to Ida Jones, the Pacheedaht went in summer to coastal villages at Sombrio River, Jordan River, and at *bakułqawa?* to fish, and Pacheedaht Chief Queesto had houses at each of these locations.[12]

- *ke:?ioadl* – a summer fishing village located at Point No Point for offshore fishing. The village was used until 1884, and people continue to fish in this area. Eight long houses were located at Point No Point.

- *?i?i:bic'aqpi?s* – an ancestral village of the Pacheedaht, located on the eastern side of the mouth of Jordan River.

- *Diitiida* – a large village at the mouth of Jordan River where there may have been as many as twelve bighouses. The original village of *Diitiida* was located on the west side of Jordan River.

- *Tł'ehib* – a village between Magdalena and Simon Points at Boulder Beach with room for six to eight bighouses and canoe runs in front.

- *Qwa:qtlis* – a fishing and seafood gathering village located near the mouth of Sombrio River.

[8] Charles Jones and Stephen Bosustow. *Queesto, Pacheenaht Chief by Birthright*. Nanaimo, B.C.: Theytus Books. 1981. p. 21.
[9] Eugene Arima, Denis St. Claire, Louis Clamhouse, Joshua Edgar, Charles Jones, and John Thomas. "From Barkley Sound Southeast." In: *Between Ports Alberni and Renfrew: Notes on West Coast Peoples. Canadian Ethnology Service, Mercury Series Paper*, 203-411. Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991. p. 280.
Arima, Eugene. " Notes on the Southern West Coast (Nootka) Natives: Environment and Exploitative Techniques of the P'achi:da7ath of Port San Juan." Unpublished manuscript. National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada. Ottawa; Copy held at Archaeology Division, Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria, 1976. pp. 27-40.
[10] Arima et al., *Barkley Sound Southeast*, 1991 p. 278-280. Additional village information from interviews with Ida Jones and Chuck Jones.
[11] Jones, Charles Jr., and Roberta Jones. 1998. Interview: transcription notes of Charles Jones Jr. and Roberta Jones interview with John Dewhirst and Chris Mundigler at Gordon River Reserve, 10 February 1998. In *Pacheedaht Traditional Use Study. Interview catalogue number: Pach056*. Port Renfrew, BC.
[12] Jones, Ida. 1993. Statutory Declaration of Ida Jones translated to her by her daughter Flora Charles, signed by the Commissioner for taking Affidavits for BC, 8 October 1993. Pacheedaht First Nation: Port Renfrew, BC.

- *ɬi:xwa:p* – a winter village of six small houses on top of a bluff at Botanical Beach; this was also a defensive site; the sides of the site were dug off to be steep, only the back was accessible from land.

- *ʔapsawaʔ* – a winter village of eight houses behind Cerantes Rock at the south side of the entrance to Port San Juan. A narrow channel led to this village location, and it was hard to get in and out with canoes. Skids were built down to the water for hauling canoes up sideways onto the bank. This site was occupied when all the other good village sites in Port San Juan were filled up.

- *K'oʔobaʔ* – a village of twelve to fifteen houses at Robertson Cove.

- *Bo:ʔapiʔis* – a winter village with about a dozen houses located at the current site of Port Renfrew.

- *K'witibiʔt* – a large permanent village that included twenty houses; it was spread out along the shore of Port San Juan from the cove at the mouth of the San Juan River nearly a mile to Snuggery Cove, including the present Beach Camp area. The location is a natural dwelling site for people, featuring a well-sheltered beach and accessibility by canoe in all weather and at all tides. There is a knoll for defensive purposes, also a lookout point up the bay, and in the past there was an abundance of seafood available along this shoreline.

- *P'a:chi:daʔ* – this was the main Pacheedaht village and it was spread out along the beach that extends between the mouths of the north and south branches of the San Juan River. Pacheedaht Indian Reserves #1 and #2 are located at this site.

- *Tɬ'i:xsit* – a large village located at the mouth of a creek on the south channel, 2.5 km up the San Juan River that was occupied during the summer months for harvesting and drying of salmon.

- *Tɬołasiʔ* – the "flat" at Fairy Lake was a summer fish camp where salmon were dried.

- *ʔaʔaqwaxtas* – a village on the north side of the mouth of Fairy Lake on the north side of the San Juan River.

- *Kwi:sidok'waʔ* – a fishing camp located at the mouth of Harris Creek on the San Juan River.

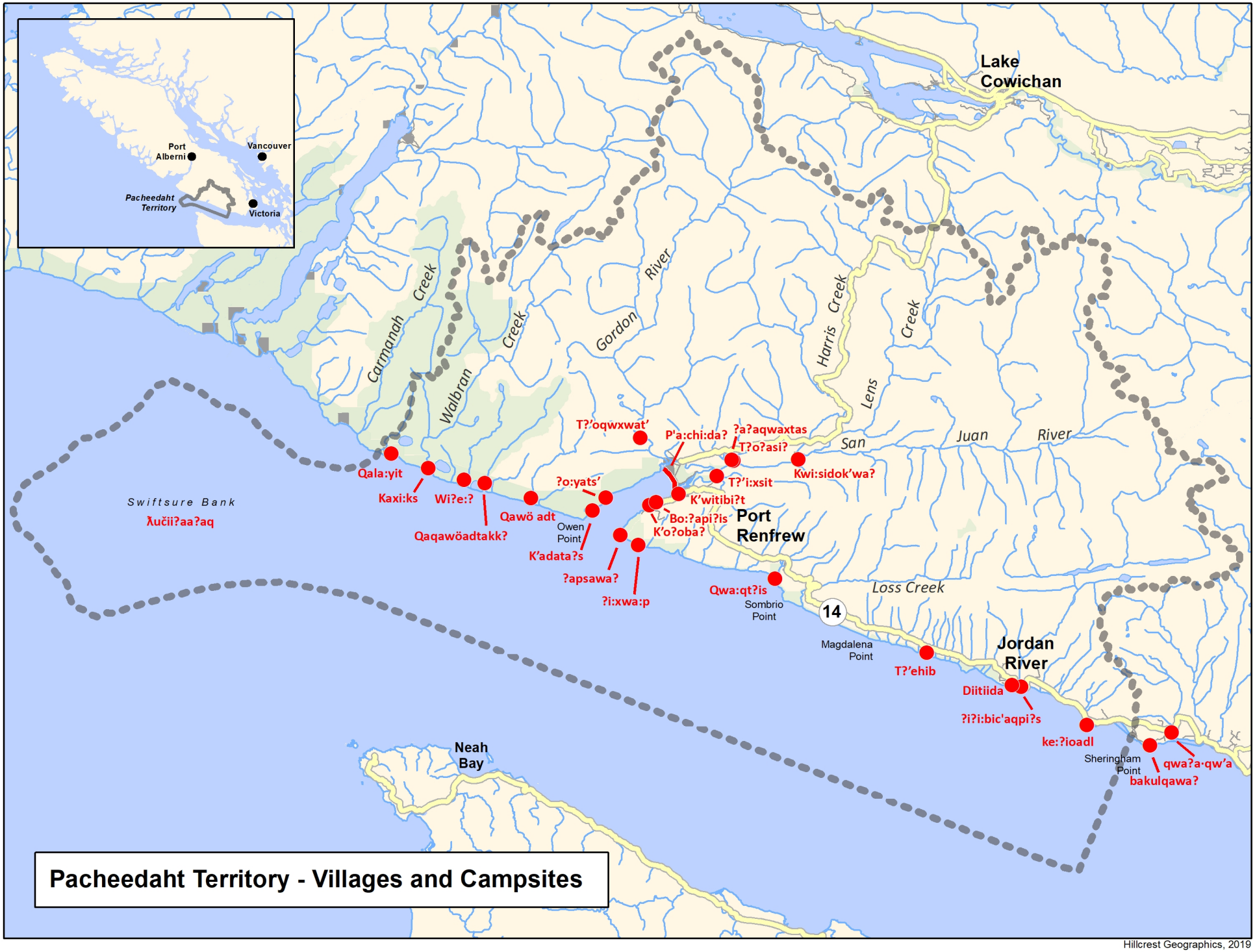
- *Tɬ'oqwxwat'* – a summer fishing village on the Gordon River where salmon traps were set in the river from April to October.

- *ʔo:yats'* – a year round village with eight houses at Thrasher's Cove on the northwest side of Port San Juan.

- *K'adataʔs* – a small winter trapping camp, with three houses a half mile from Owen Point on the northwest side of Port San Juan.

- *Qawö adt* – there was a small village at *Qawö adt* (Camper Bay) with three or four houses
- *Qaqawöadtakk?*- a site at the mouth of Sandstone Creek.
- *Wi?e:?* – a resource gathering campsite near the mouth of Logan Creek.
- *Kaxi:ks* - A cabin site and fishing base, canoe run, hunting base for seals, fish weir near the mouth of Walbran Creek.
- *Qala:yit* – a large permanent village east of Bonilla Point that was occupied year round. This village, located on what is now Cullite Indian Reserve #3, provided excellent access to *ƛučii?aa?aq* (Swiftsure Bank, see Figure 2) and other prime fishing grounds, sea mammal hunting grounds, and seafood gathering sites. The people living here are said to not have to eat much dried fish during winter as fresh halibut, cod, red snapper or other fish were available nearby.

The Pacheedaht villages were, and continue to be, important for the harvesting of resources and are part of Pacheedaht cultural identity. Pacheedaht ancestors selected their village and camp sites based on a variety of factors such as the availability, quality or abundance of resources, suitability for launching and landing canoes, exposure to wind and waves, defensive features, and sightlines. In particular, the Pacheedaht selected their village and camp locations to take advantage of the resources in local and regional areas, or as departure points and camping sites while en route to other locations.


Port Alberni
Vancouver
Pacheedaht Territory
Victoria
Lake Cowichan
Carmanah Creek
Walbran Creek
Gordon River
Harris Creek
Lens Creek
San Juan River
Swiftsure Bank
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Neah Bay
Pacheedaht Territory - Villages and Campsites
Hillcrest Geographics, 2019

Pacheedaht Traditional Histories

Traditional narratives present aspects of the worldviews, cosmology and history as perceived and transmitted by First Nations' members. There are a number of traditional Pacheedaht and Ditidaht narratives that describe some of the early history of Pacheedaht people, their origin, and how they came to occupy their territory. These narratives illustrate and confirm the Pacheedaht's long occupation of, and strong connection with, their territory.

One account illustrates the close connections between the Pacheedaht, Ditidaht and Makah Nations. The account describes that, in the era before the Great Flood:

> only the village *di.ti.da?* [at] Jordan River existed. There were three brothers living in *di.ti.da?* who moved away. One settled at *ca.di.* on Tatoosh Island off Cape Flattery. From him descend the Makah people. A second brother settled at *pa.ci.da?* Port Renfrew and the eldest settled at *wa.ya.ʔaq* on the south side of the outflow from Nitinaht Lake to the Ocean. From these four sites the Nitinaht and Makah populations grew…[13]

Along with other Indigenous peoples around the world, the Pacheedaht and Ditidaht have traditional histories about a Great Flood that occurred long ago.[14] One such account, told by Chief Peter of the Pacheedaht to linguist Morris Swadesh in 1931, gives details of the long-ago migration of people from Tatoosh Island to *di.ti.da?* (Jordan River), where they joined, for a period of time, with the ancestors of the Pacheedaht, where they came to be known as the *di.ti.daʔaht*.[15] Later, after the Great Flood, some of these people settled in the area around Nitinat Lake, and are the ancestors of the Ditidaht First Nation.

Some of the *di.ti.daʔaht* people who lived at Jordan River eventually moved their main village to Port San Juan and are known as the Pacheedaht. Chief Queesto, Charlie Jones, described how the name *p'a:chi:da* came to be given to the San Juan River, to the village at the river mouth, and to the Pacheedaht First Nation itself:

> Our band name was changed to the name of the river because, after the Ditidaht people had been living here for a long time they discovered something new and strange. Some distance upstream, about 2 ¼ miles from the river's mouth, there was some kind of strange-looking foam forming in the water. There was so much of it that it covered the river banks to about eight feet above the level of the river itself. Everyone was very excited about the discovery of this foam, and everyone wanted to find out what it was. So they decided to get someone to taste it. They

[13] Thomas, John, and Thom Hess. "An Introduction to Nitinaht Language and Culture." Victoria, BC: Department of Linguistics, University of Victoria, 1981. p. 158.
[14] For a Flood account from Ida Jones, see Bates, Ann M. "Affiliation and Differentiation: Intertribal Interactions among the Makah and Ditidaht Indians. Unpublished Phd Dissertation." Indiana University, 1987. pp. 290 – 293.
[15] Swadesh, Morris, and Mary Haas. "Nitinat Field Notebooks " American Philosophical Society Library, Franz Boas Collection of American Linguistica, Edward Sapir Nootka Materials, W2b.2, 372.1, Microfilm reels 51 and 52. Philadelphia, 1931. Notebook iv, pp. 23 -32. Translated copy by John Thomas at Royal BC Museum, West Coast Project Files, Folder Nitinaht.

> chose an old lady slave for the task – this was in the days when our people still kept slaves – as it was thought she was expendable, I suppose. Some of the men took her up the river and told her to taste the foam and tell them what it was. She picked up some of the foam with her fingers and put it in her mouth, and finally she said that it didn't taste like anything at all. It was salty though, like sea-foam. So they decided it was sea-foam, and everyone went back down the river to the village. They all talked it over and decided that the proper name for it was Pacheeda, which means "sea foam." Ever since that time, we have called ourselves the Pacheedaht, the Children of the Sea Foam.

These and other traditional accounts about Pacheedaht history confirm the long, deep-rooted connection Pacheedaht members have with their territory. The traditional histories also refer to the connections between the Pacheedaht, Ditidaht, and Makah, and to the use of *ƛučii?aa?aq* (Swiftsure Bank) extending far back in time.

As well as describing historical events, traditional accounts also describe the connections of west coast Ancestors with the lands, waters, animals, fish and other creatures. One oral history from Barkley Sound provides a long list of the foods (some species named in Nuu-chah-nulth) the Ancestors were given to eat by the Creator. Many of the foods listed are aquatic resources:

> *Fish, raven fish, K'ik'ils?ataktIi cod, shiners, xwi'tch'ak, perch, skate, rat fish, k'atlXa'y'ak cod, dogfish, wachkw'as perch, cod, halibut, red cod, Mukmukw'a cod, black bass, t'utlukwaksu'H bass, winter spring salmon, !a'! a'kk'uk (dog?) salmon, pipitsk'uk (pink salmon?), black cod; humpback whales, California whales, k'utsqi whales, rottenhead whales, cha'mup whales, porpoises, hair seals, sea lions, small porpoises, sea otters; mussels, gooseneck barnacles, sea anemones, octopus, sea cucumber, tanu'l molluscs, duck's foot molluscs, rock stickers (HuHu!a?a); !ish!initl'a (shellfish), dentalia, large leather chiton (Ha'y'ishtup), small leather chiton, sea urchins, small sea urchins, Hix sea urchins, abalone; clams, butter clams, Hichin clams, horse clams, cockles, razor clams; barnacles, tl'achkwin barnacles, tl'mHin barnacles; spring salmon, dog salmon, coho, steelhead, young steelhead, humpies, candlefish, herring...Canada goose, wild swan, cackling goose, trumpeter swan, tlistah birds, sawbill duck, mu'Hinl duck, golden-eye duck, butterball duck, canvas-back duck, mallard duck, widgeon, shag, sea gull, eagle, sea hen, loon, Ha'wi loon, duck slipper, harlequin duck.*[16]

Archaeology and Marine Resources

Archaeological evidence from investigations and/or testing at several west coast sites on Vancouver Island have yielded a record covering more than 5,000 years.

[16] Golla, Susan. "Legendary History of the Tsisha?ath: A Working Translation." In *Huupukwanum Tupaat: Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, Histories, Objects and Journeys*, edited by Alan L. Hoover, 133-71. Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2000. pp. 139. Some species names have no satisfactory English translation.

Excavations have occurred at only a small percentage of known archaeological sites, further research may provide additional information. Samples taken from nearby Barkley Sound sites, at the village of *Ts'ishaa* on Benson Island date from between 5,310 to 5,640 years old, and samples from the village site at *Kiix?in* range from 5,320 to 5,050 years old.[17] Such information confirms that Indigenous people have occupied the west coast of Vancouver Island for at least 5,000 years.

Within Pacheedaht territory, artifact and faunal analysis from a recent excavation at Sombrio reflects the importance of marine resources to the Pacheedaht traditional economy.[18]

> The artifact assemblage is typical of late West Coast Culture Type with a toolkit focused on the exploitation of maritime resources and supports DcSb-1 as semi-permanent fishing village. During the assessment of DcSb-1, faunal remains were analyzed…
>
> A total of 2,533 bone elements were recovered from the excavation unit and column samples, as well as a wide variety of shellfish species, predominantly mussel…Fish contributed 91.8% of the number of bone elements, 7.2% were mammal elements, while bird contributed 1%. The overall faunal assemblage indicates a heavy reliance on fishing and either a year round occupation, or a summer occupation by a fairly large number of people. A radio carbon age was determined using a charcoal sample…providing a calibrated date of 480-390 BP, or 1470-1560 AD. The artifact analysis, faunal assemblage and radio carbon date obtained from DcSb-1, all collaborate Pacheedaht oral history accounts of Sombrio, *Qwa:qtłis*, as a fishing village occupied at the time of early European contact.

Pacheedaht Traditional Customary Laws and Marine Resources

The Pacheedaht share many aspects of language and culture with neighbouring Nuu-chah-nulth Nations along the west coast of Vancouver Island. Unfortunately, limited information from Pacheedaht sources providing a comprehensive view of their traditional governance and customary laws was recorded.[19]

The details of Pacheedaht traditional customary laws can be obtained, in large part, through an examination of the governance, territorial and resource management practices of related Nations on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and through observations recorded by outsiders during the Contact period. Understanding

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[17] Ian Sumpter, Denis St. Claire and Stella Peters, "Mid-Holocene Cultural Occupation of Barkley Sound, West Vancouver Island," *The Midden* 34, no. 4 (2002): 10-11.

[18] Madrone Environmental Services Ltd. "Archaeological Impact Assessment for Proposed Repairs to Park Trails and Facilities at Sombrio Beach, Juan De Fuca Provincial Park. Heritage Inspection Permit #2013-0263." Duncan, BC: Madrone Environmental Services Ltd, 2014.

[19] Custom, and customary law, are used here and throughout this report with its legal definition as: "A usage or practice of the people, which, by common adoption and acquiescence, and by long and unvarying habit, has become compulsory, and has acquired the force of a law with respect to the place or subject matter to which it relates." and "A law not written, established by long usage, and the consent of our ancestors." – Garner, Bryan A. *Black's Law Dictionary*. 7th ed: West Publishing, 1999.

traditional Indigenous social organization and fisheries practices are essential for an appreciation of the customary laws that applied to territorial access and use, trade and to the management of marine and other resources. The Pacheedaht continue to apply traditional governance and laws, over their fisheries and other resources, as described later in this report.

In short, the roots of Indigenous cultures on the west coast of Vancouver Island extend back many thousands of years, as evidenced on one hand by native oral traditions, and on the other by archaeological evidence. From both sources, it is clear that fisheries play a central role in Nuu-chah-nulth culture, history and economy.

Traditional histories, such as those previously summarized, document how the culture and governance structures of First Nations developed over many centuries, and how countless generations of ancestors occupied and used the lands, rivers, lakes, and ocean waters in their territories, and that they managed resources to promote continuing abundance and wealth for future generations.

Indigenous Populations

Pre-Contact Indigenous populations along the west coast of Vancouver Island, and elsewhere, were quite large. The traditional social and political structures required to manage diplomatic, territorial, resource and other issues within and between the First Nations along Vancouver Island's west coast, required well-defined and mutually understood mechanisms of governance, customs, and resource management.

Based on the late-eighteenth century records of Spanish observers, the native population in Barkley Sound, neighbouring Pacheedaht and Ditidaht territory, was greater than that of Nootka or Clayoquot Sound,[20] with at least one source estimating that the number of people living in Barkley Sound alone exceeded 8,500.[21] Comparing the other Nuu-chah-nulth tribal populations with those of the native groups in Barkley Sound, as recorded by a census in 1860,[22] and assuming similar ratios of population, calculations indicate that the native population occupying the area from Barkley Sound to Kyuquot Sound may have numbered more than 25,000 people in the late eighteenth century.

Queesto, Chief Charles Jones, estimated the Pacheedaht numbered 1,500 people prior to the disease epidemics brought by outsiders.[23] This estimate, as described later, is considered accurate.[24]

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[20] Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan De Fuca* (Santa Ana, California: Fine Arts Press, 1933; reprint, A.M.S. Press, 1971), p.149.
[21] Alan D. McMillan, *Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of the Nuu-chah-nulth, Ditidaht, and Makah*, *Pacific Rim Archaeology* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999).
[22] Gilbert M. Sproat, "The Nootka: Scenes and Studies of Savage Life," ed. and annot. Charles Lillard (Victoria, B.C.: Sono Nis Press, 1987), p. 207.
[23] Charles Jones and Stephen Bosustow. *Queesto, Pacheenaht Chief by Birthright*. Nanaimo, B.C.: Theytus Books. 1981. p. 21.
[24] See Appendix A, Cumulative Effects.

Indigenous Social Organization and Governance

The Pacheedaht shared society and governance structures with their neighbouring Nuu-chah-nulth Nations, and as described in Contact period records reviewed later. Traditional Indigenous governance was based on rank and its associated rights and privileges. Within each tribe,[25] there was one head chief (*ta'yii hawiɬ*), recognized as the head of state and leader of all members of a tribe or confederation of tribes. The rights and privileges of the head chief extended into the economic and ceremonial realms, and included rights over territory and resource management.

Other *hawiih* (chiefs), who, like the *ta'yii hawiɬ*, were members of the noble class, also owned economic and ceremonial privileges. The relative positions and rank of the *hawiih* were proclaimed and recognized in the arrangement of the "seats" occupied by the *hawiih* at feasts and/or potlatches. Each of the hereditary chieftainships and "seats" carried with them an array of hereditary rights, privileges and responsibilities. The *hawiih* were the only ones who could control rights over land, territory (*hahuuɬi*) and resources; they were also the only ones who could own other rights, such as village sites, places to land canoes, and places to build houses. The territorial rights of the chiefs, and of their Nations, were considered to apply over both lands and waters, including offshore resources and fishing banks such as at *ƛučii?aa?aq*, Swiftsure Bank.

People who held no hereditary rights to economic or to senior ceremonial rights or privileges were *mastchim* (sometimes translated in English as "citizens"). Just as the *hawiih* were ranked, so too were the *mastchim.* The *hawiih* relied upon good relations with their *mastchim* to support them in their enterprises. The traditional societies also included slaves.

The *hawiih* governed through a council.[26] In addition to a council of *hawiih*, there were also a number of people who held formal positions, usually hereditary, and who acted as advisors or councillors to the council of *hawiih* on matters in which they had expertise, or as delegated by the council of *hawiih*.[27] The roles of these "advisors" included, for example: Highest Hereditary Female Chief; Speaker; Head Wolf, Law Enforcer; Historian; and Advisor to Chief. There were also "specialists" within the community who had designated responsibilities and roles, some related to resource management.[28]

Some of the specialist roles included:

- *witwaak* – warriors responsible for the Nation's security;
- *ʔuʔuutahci* – whalers who caught whales for the community

[25] The term "tribe" has been generally used in historic and anthropological literature for groups that today are generally called "First Nations." In this report, the history and rights of what has been called the Pacheedaht "tribe" or "band" apply to what is now called the Pacheedaht First Nation.
[26] Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council. "*Haw'iɬ Patak Haw'iih* Poster." Port Alberni, BC: Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council, n.d.
[27] Uu-a-thluk/Nuu-chah-nulth Fisheries Council. "Roles and Responsibilities - Nuu-Chah-Nulth Traditional Management Series." Port Alberni, BC: Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, 2012.
[28] *Tutuuc̓*, Archie Thompson, quoted in Uu-a-thluk, *Roles and Responsibilities*, p. 4.

- *hitinkisnak* – "beachkeepers" or "beachowners" who were responsible for protecting and maintaining the ocean beaches and shorelines, including regulating and welcoming visitors arriving on land from the sea.
- *cacaluk* – "guardians" who cared for the watersheds and monitored the salmon runs to allow the first wave of fish upstream to spawn. These guardians were also responsible for opening and closing specific runs.

The ultimate responsibility and authority for the Nation, however, rested with the *ta'yii hawił* and the Council of Chiefs.

"Local Groups" and Tribes

Fundamental to understanding the culture and customary laws of the Indigenous Nations of the west coast of Vancouver Island is the nature of the responsibilities of the *hawiih* and their relationship with their territories and resources (*hahuułi*), and with the members of their tribes and "local groups,"[29] as these basic social units have been termed by anthropologists. In fact, the "local groups" can be understood as large extended family groups with corporate identities expressed through occupation of villages and territories, and rights to particular ceremonial rights and resource use. Along the west coast of Vancouver Island, the various "tribes" generally comprise a number of ranked and allied "local groups."

The organization and rights of the *hawiih* and their local groups are central elements in understanding Indigenous society on Vancouver Island's west coast. Anthropologist Philip Drucker described the Nuu-chah-nulth local group as:[30]

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

Within the Indigenous world view, the authority of the chiefs came with an enormous responsibility to care for his *hahuułi* and for his people.[31]

> All territory belong[ed] to the head chief. When they went to the forest for an elk or deer (not everyone did) others went out fishing—each was taught responsibility to the *hawił*. Each had a specialized task. It's not right to say the *hawił* owns the property. The property owns him. The Chief has the responsibility to care for it.

The names of the local groups are generally made up of the name of the place, river, or village of origin of the highest-ranking local group of the tribe, and the suffix "*-aht*,"

[29] In Nuu-chah-nulth, either a tribe or a "local group" can be referred to as *matmas*. Philip Drucker, Typescript of Field Notebooks (Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes), 1935-36, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, MS. 4516, pt. 23, vol. 13.
[30] Drucker, *Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes*, p. 220.
[31] Willie Sport, quoted in: Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, Jurisdiction and Governance Mandate Working Group. *Hawilthpatak Nuu-chah-nulth - Nuu-chah-nulth Ways of Governance*. Port Alberni, B.C., 1999. p. 37.

meaning (person, or people of). "Pacheedaht," means "people of *P'a:chi:da?*, and "People of the Seafoam." *P'a:chi:da?* is the large traditional village at the mouth of the San Juan River (see Fig. 2). In the 1870s, the Nuu-chah-nulth Nations, as a whole, were referred to by the Department of Indian Affairs, and others, as the "Ahts." Through the use of the suffix "aht," each Nation is tied by its name to the main place of residence of the head local group, and to its long history in its *hahuuɬi*.

Territorial Rights

Ownership of a Nation's heritage and property was vested in its *ta'yii hawiɬ*, and passed on to his eldest son, often long before the death of the elder chief. The rights of the *ta'yii hawiɬ* and of the other *hawiih* included economic rights over their realm, or *hahuuɬi.* These rights have been described as follows:[32]

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

and:

> There were numerous rights within each of these territories, such as that to put a weir in a certain place in a salmon stream, the right to a certain cut of blubber from whales that drifted ashore on some stretch of beach…The major territorial claims were referred to as *hahuuɬi*, a term that would not be used for rights of usufruct.[33]
>
> …
>
> Not only rivers, but inlets, bays, and the outside seas were divided by natural landmarks into tracts which belonged to various chiefs…Traditional histories have been quoted, describing how such extensive claims were acquired. These domains might be utilized by anyone of the owner's group, or even confederacy, with the understanding that it was by virtue of the chief's bounty, and subject to certain conditions.
>
> The conditions under which a group member was permitted to exploit a chief's territory expressed public acknowledgment of the legitimacy of ownership. These were as follows: No one might fish on any important fishing ground until the owner formally opened the season…After this, men could go when they pleased. Sometime during the season, or afterward when the product had been dried, the chief sent men to collect "tribute" (*o'umas*) for him…The foodstuff collected in this fashion was

[32] Drucker, *Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes*. p. 248.
[33] Usufruct is defined as "The right of one individual to use and enjoy the property of another, provided its substance is neither impaired nor altered."

> always used to give a great feast, at which the giver announced it had been obtained as tribute, and explained his hereditary right to demand tribute from that place…The right to exact this tax demonstrated very neatly the relationship between chiefly status and property ownership. Each chief collected his tribute from whatever fishing grounds he owned, river, inlet, or fishing banks.

More recently, *hahuułi* has been described as follows:[34]

> *Hahuułi* is the Nuu-chah-nulth word that can be closely translated as territory. However, *hahuułi* is much more than land.
>
> Nuu-chah-nulth often see people and territory as inseparable—as interdependent…The Nuu-chah-nulth concept of territory is fully inclusive in a way that no English word can describe. Unfortunately, this discussion is limited by its dependence on the English language.
>
> Nuu-chah-nulth territory (the Chiefs' *hahuułi***)** includes land, air and water, plant and animal life, human and spirit beings, in addition to dances, songs, masks, stories, rights and privileges, medicines, knowledge and much more…Trespassing and poaching were serious crimes.

As indicated in the above passages, the boundaries of the *hahuułi* were defined or described by known landmarks, usually points of land or mountains, or by fashioning boundary markers, such as a pile of rocks on a point or a swath cut through a stand of trees. Customary law demanded that tribal boundaries be respected. The importance of boundary lines was described by George Blenkinsop, working for the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for B.C., in 1874.[35]

> Frequent and bloody were the disputes in former years between the different tribes of this Coast regarding the whales and all other property cast on shore as to the rights of possession.
>
> These eventually led to their boundary lines being well defined, and I was much astonished at the trouble taken in some instances to erect marks of such an imperishable nature.

Boundaries extended onto the water as well, and were determined by "marks" called *mawun*.[36] When at sea, Indigenous mariners positioned themselves by triangulation, lining up landmarks, usually prominent peaks, "gunsights,"[37] islands or points of land. Fishing grounds, such as those at *ƛučii?aa?a*, Swiftsure Bank, were navigated to and

[34] Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council. *Hawilthpatak Nuu-chah-nulth* p. 35-6.
[35] Ibid.
[36] These are defined as "marks" determining water territories. Drucker, Field Notebooks; idem, Typescript of Field Notebooks.
[37] When a more distant mountain peak appears lined up between other, closer, peaks.

defined by triangulating such landmarks,[38] soundings, and observation of sea conditions.

Contact Period Observations of Native Concepts of Ownership

The ownership rights of the *hawiih* were apparent to the non-native people who began visiting Nuu-chah-nulth territory in the late 1700s. A selection from many available examples are cited below.

Captain Cook, on his well-known third expedition with the vessels *Resolution* and *Discovery*, arrived in Nootka Sound on March 29, 1778; they remained there for 27 days. Cook himself led a party ashore, and recorded the following.[39]

> Here I must observe that I have no where met with Indians who had such high notions of every thing the Country produced being their exclusive property as these; the very wood and water we took on board they at first wanted us to pay for, and we had certainly done, had I been upon the spot when the demands were made; but as I never happened to be there the workmen took but little notice of their importunities and at last they ceased applying. But made a Merit on necessity and frequently afterwards told us they had given us Wood and Water out of friendship.

What Cook failed to grasp was that the demands for payment were assertions of ownership and *hahuułi* rights. When the Nuu-chah-nulth perceived that Cook's crew did not act in appropriate acknowledgement of their rights, they asserted ownership in another way (i.e. claiming the action was a gift).

Similarly, on a later trading voyage that visited Nootka Sound in 1786, one of the expedition members noted that Indigenous ownership principles applied equally to what the visitors viewed as trivial items:[40]

> As we were looking at some stones and shells which we found on the beach, they snatched them hastily from us, and said in a savage manner, that we ought to purchase those things before we took them. They even appeared angry, that we should dare to touch anything in their Country, unless we had procured a previous right to it by purchase. Their jealousy of the rights of Property was excessive and extended to every object.

Another account from the same 1786 observer describes that the visiting trading ships, once inside a tribe's territory, were included within the sovereignty of the *haw`iih*'s territory, or *hahuułi*. Native people from tribes outside the chiefs' territory who wished to trade with the visiting ships were prevented from doing so without proper chiefly

[38] Drucker, Field Notebooks, Notebook 8, p. 90.
[39] Beaglehole, John C., ed. *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery*. Cambridge, England: Published for the Haklyut Society by Cambridge University Press, 1967. p. 306.
[40] Walker, Alexander, ed. An Account of a Voyage to the North West Coast of America in 1785 and 1786. edited by Robin Fisher and J.M. Bumsted. Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1982, p. 47.

authorization. When such authorization was provided, the visiting tribe's members were required to pay appropriate tribute for the right of trade with the English ships:[41]

> These savages wished to secure all the advantages of our Commerce to themselves. They claimed the exclusive privilege of buying or selling anything. They carefully watched and excluded Strangers from any intercourse with us. At last indeed after they had sold all their own commodities, and exhausted the resources of the Sound, they admitted the other Neighbouring tribes to a Share in the Trade. But even this was done under restrictions. They constituted themselves the Agents or Brokers, and assumed the prerogative of introducing the new Comers to us. As Proprietors of the Port, they engrossed the usual privileges of Sovereigns, and imposed their own conditions. What (these) were we did not exactly understand, but they were no doubt on the principal of the Port dues or charges of more civilized People.

Many early traders, unaware of Indigenous protocols and customs about ownership, failed to make the necessary initial visits and gift-exchanges with the *ha'wiih* and to negotiate appropriate agreements concerning access to territories and trade. In such situations the Europeans, and their ships, were considered in trespass and so viewed as the property of the chief in whose territory they were anchored. As a result, many white traders complained of native visitors to their ships "stealing" items; and, if caught, showing no evidence of shame or remorse.

José Mariano Mozino, a Spanish naturalist who visited Nootka Sound in 1792, also commented on the territorial rights of the native peoples, and noted that the rights of territorial exclusivity extended over the ocean, and that the rights to fishing banks such as at *ƛučii?aa?aq*, Swiftsure Bank, were important parts of the *hahuuɬi* over which the chiefs and their people exercised exclusive control:[42]

> A nation of fishermen can only settle properties which include the beaches and the adjoining waters that bathe them. And thus, the people of Yuquatl [Nootka], like all the other inhabitants of the archipelago, dispute with arms the right of fishing in their respective districts; and they believe that foreigners violate this public right when they sail into these areas for the purpose.

The Pacheedaht in Contact and Colonial Period Records

The summary that follows of information about the Pacheedaht from a selection of historic written records, provide abundant evidence for the Pacheedaht's continuous occupation and use of their territory from the earliest written records up to the present time. Further, the Pacheedaht's traditional concepts of ownership of territory,

[41] Ibid. p. 110.
[42] Moziño, José Mariano. "Noticias De Nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792." edited by Iris Wilson Engstrand. Seattle/Vancouver: University of Washington Press ;/Douglas & McIntyre, 1991.

exclusivity, and trading rights were apparent to the earliest white visitors. In fact, the Pacheedaht took measures to protect and enforce their rights.

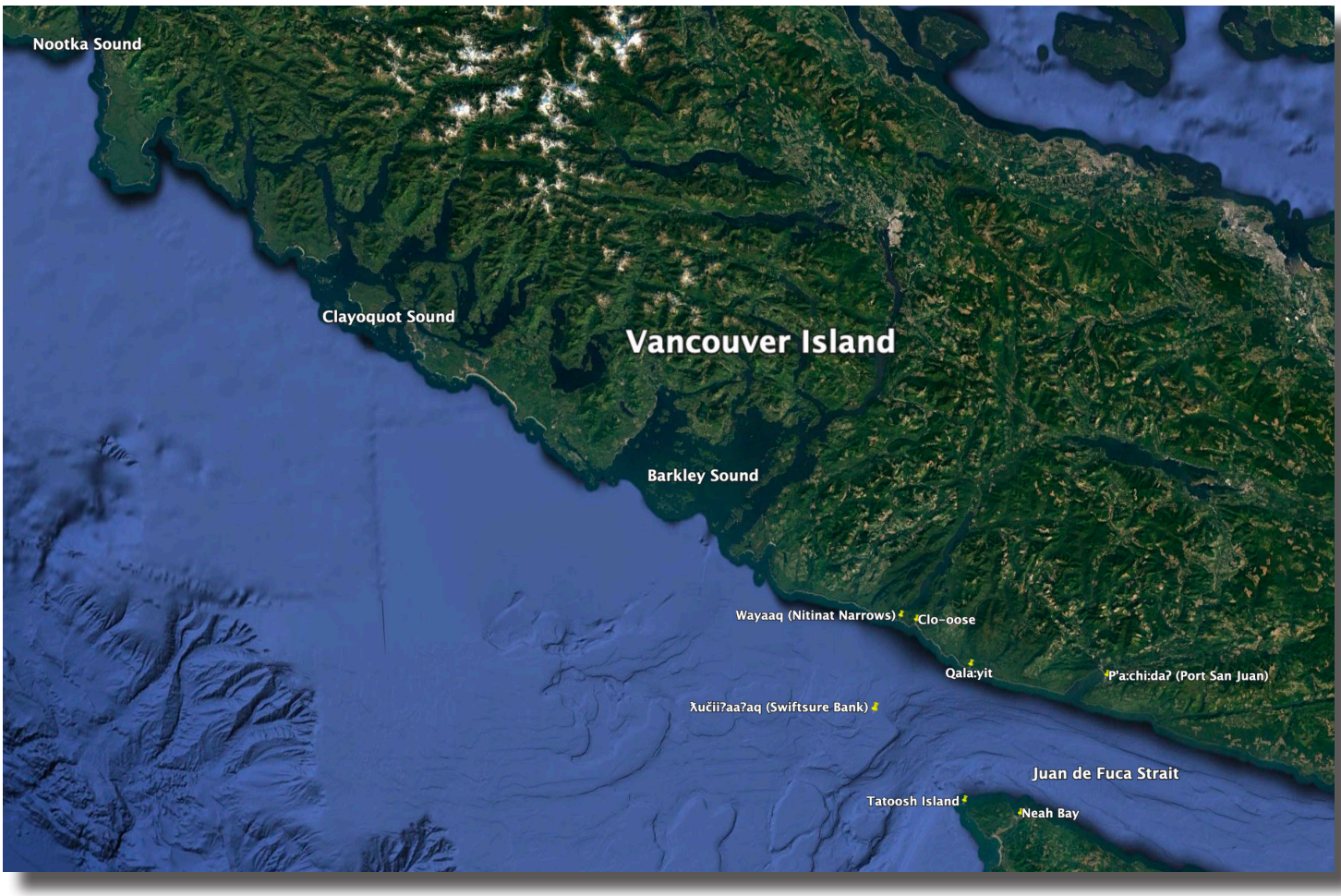
One result from the rush of explorers and fur traders who visited the west coast of Vancouver Island during the late 1700s is a number of published and unpublished written observations of Indigenous people and society. From these, it is described that there were three powerful chiefs in the region during the Contact period. Chief Maquinna held sway in Nootka Sound, Chief Wickanninish controlled much of Clayoquot Sound, and Chief Tatoosh[43] (Figs. 3 and 4) held sovereign rights over the mouth of Juan de Fuca Strait.

While historians generally consider that Chief Tatoosh was a leader from the Makah Nation based at Neah Bay, there is convincing evidence that he was in fact from Vancouver Island. Further, there is evidence that the Pacheedaht recognized Tatoosh as their chief, and that the Pacheedaht were part of an alliance led by Tatoosh. This alliance held the exclusive rights to the mouth of Juan de Fuca Strait, including an area that encompassed Port San Juan, Cape Flattery, Tatoosh Island, and the waters in Juan de Fuca Strait between these points, including *ƛučii?aa?aq*, Swiftsure Bank. See Fig. 4 for locations mentioned in the discussion of Contact records.

[43] This chief's name has been rendered in many ways, such as Tatootche, Tetuci, Tatooth, Tootooch, Tetacus, etc. This report refers to him as Chief Tatoosh for the sake of consistency, outside of direct quotes which refer to him by alternate spellings.

Figure 3: Chief Tatoosh as portrayed by Spanish artist Cardero in 1792.

Figure 4. Map showing locations referenced in Contact Period records.



John Meares, Chief Tatoosh and the Pacheedaht

Englishman John Meares was the first white trader who left written accounts from an expedition into Juan de Fuca Strait, and from a first visit to the Pacheedaht in Port San Juan. Analysis of information from this voyage is pertinent to documenting the territory and rights of the Pacheedaht at Contact.[44]

Meares arrived on the west coast of the Vancouver Island in early 1788. He negotiated with Chief Maquinna at Nootka Sound for the right to build a base at Friendly Cove, then in June headed south, looking to purchase sea otter pelts. Meares first stopped in Clayoquot Sound, in Chief Wickanninish's sovereign territory, where he observed first-hand the serious consequences suffered by those who contravened Indigenous trading protocols. When a group of people from a neighbouring tribe boarded Meares' ship to trade without Chief Wickanninish's knowledge and permission, the chief's people took immediate and direct action in punishment. Meares observed that:

> …the chief had ordered his people to fall upon the intruders, one of whom they had now seized and brought on shore. We are sorry to add, that this unfortunate man was immediately hurried into the woods, where we have every reason to apprehend that he was quickly murdered.

A week later Meares learned that, as a result of this event, access to trade with his ship became the subject of a treaty that was negotiated between Chief Wickanninish and two other chiefs of the region. The treaty negotiated was to allow common access to Meares' ship, but only after the other chiefs of the visiting tribes had traded their furs in tribute to Wickanninish to obtain permission to trade in his *hahuułi*:

> We were now formally made acquainted by Wicananish, that a treaty was negotiating between the chiefs Hanna and Detootche and himself, in which we were to be included ; the substance of which was, that all the furs then in their possession should be sold to Wicananish; that they should live in peace and friendship with us; that all the otter skins procured after the completion of the treaty, by either of the contracting chiefs, or their people, should be disposed of by themselves, and that they were all to have common access to the ship, where a fair and equitable market was to be opened for them without distinction. From the jealousy which we already knew to subsist between these chiefs, we were perfectly satisfied, as we since had convincing proofs, that, on our entering the territories of Wicananish, neither Hanna or Detootche would be permitted to trade with, or even pay us a visit without having obtained a previous permission for that purpose.

Meares departed Clayoquot Sound later in June of 1788 and sailed south to the mouth of Juan de Fuca Strait, seeking to purchase sea otter pelts, and approached Tatoosh Island,. Meares wrote:

[44] Meares, John. "Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the North West Coast of America." Amsterdam/New York: N. Israel/Da Capo Press, 1790. Reprint, 1967.

> In a very short time we were surrounded by canoes filled with people of a much more savage appearance than any we had hitherto seen...Their canoes were large, and held from twenty to thirty men, who were armed…
> ….
> The chief of this spot, whose name is Tatootche, did us the favour of a visit, and so surly and forbidding a character we had not yet seen…He informed us that the power of Wicananish ended here, and that we were now within the limits of his government, which extended a considerable way to the Southward. On receiving this information, we made him a small present, but he did not make us the least return, nor could he be persuaded to let his people trade with us.

After his refusal to trade with Meares, Tatoosh left Meares ship. Meares then sent an armed longboat in search of an anchoring ground with goods for trading aboard, as Meares wanted to use Tatoosh Island as a trading base. The longboat returned several hours later saying many canoes of Tatootche's people had surrounded the longboat (Fig. 5) and treated the crew roughly. Some of Tatootche's people had jumped into the longboat, removed trade articles and triumphed in the "theft." The next day, Chief Tatoosh and 400 of his people came off from his village, circled Meares' ship several times, carefully examining the vessel as they had not seen a sailing ship before. After this examination all 400 of Tatoosh's people joined in offering a song to Meares. Meares, displeased with Tatoosh, chose to leave the area, and his ship set sail to head further to the south.

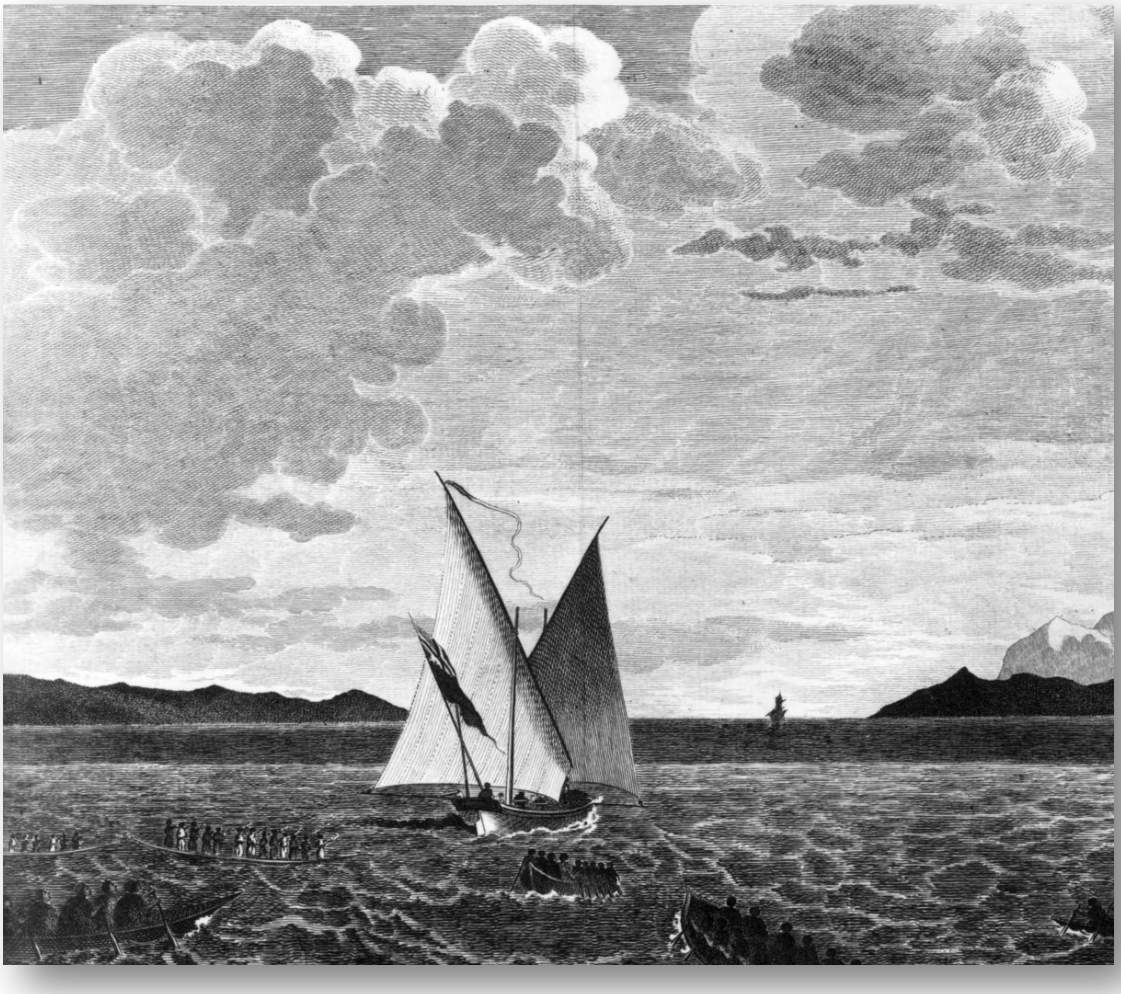


Figure 5. Meares' longboat surrounded by Chief Tatoosh's people in canoes.[45]

A likely interpretation of these events is that Chief Tatoosh had foreknowledge of Meares' expedition, as some of Meares' trade goods were observed to be in the possession of Tatoosh's people upon Meares' arrival. Tatoosh was prepared for the encounter with Meares, and first informed Meares that his ship was within Tatoosh's area of governance. Meares offered a gift, but Tatoosh found it unsatisfactory and was insulted, so Tatoosh left Meares' ship. The subsequent brief voyage of Meare's longboat in Tatoosh's territory was considered an unauthorized trespass by Tatoosh's people. As the longboat was viewed as part of Tatoosh's property, the crew were roughly treated, and goods removed from them. The following morning, when Tatoosh and 400 of his people circled Meares boat, it was a clear show of force and also allowed Tatoosh to closely examine the trading vessel. When Tatoosh's people all joined in

[45] Meares, *Voyages Made,* 1790, after p. 156.

song, it was as a formal welcome to Tatoosh's territory, and an invitation to open proper trade negotiations according to Indigenous protocol. Meares chose to decline this invitation and moved off to other areas in expectation of more favourable trading situations.

Meares' insulting behaviour towards Tatoosh, and failure to follow protocols, was to have repercussions that involved a later encounter with the Pacheedaht at Port San Juan. After a brief and unsuccessful trading exploration southward from Tatoosh Island, Meares and his ship sailed northward and anchored in Barkley Sound for a period. Here, Meares, aware of the friction he had created with Chief Tatoosh, observed that, although many local native people came to his ship to trade sea otter skins, that "none of those who inhabit the country up the [Juan de Fuca] Strait ventured to approach us; perhaps fear of Tatootche, whose island is situated at the very entrance, and is said to contain near five thousand people, might prevent them from coming to the ship."

Despite this observation, on July 13, 1778, Meares dispatched his longboat with 13 crew and provisions for a month under the command of Robert Duffin. Duffin's instructions were first to seek trading opportunities in the Strait of Juan de Fuca Strait, and next to proceed to the south of Tatoosh Island. Duffin's longboat first stopped at "Nittee Nat" (Nitinat Narrows) and met with the Ditidaht Chief Kissan while anchored offshore. The following day, Duffin's longboat was lured into the nearby bay at Clo-oose where they were given a hostile reception. Ditidaht warriors fired arrows at the longboat from shore and launched several large canoes with armed crews. Meares' crew fired guns and a small canon at the Ditidaht canoes from his longboat, but at a distance and without apparent damage to either side. Duffin and his longboat departed Clo-oose immediately.

Faced with such a hostile reception, the longboat left Ditidaht territory and sailed further up the Strait of Juan de Fuca. They next entered Port San Juan where they encountered some Pacheedaht people for the first time. Duffin noted that the Pacheedaht "all claim Tatootche for their chief," and anchored overnight. The following morning, the Pacheedaht sprang an ambush on the longboat and its crew. During the attack, four of the longboat's crew suffered serious injuries from arrows, and the rest of the crew suffered minor injuries. When the Pacheedaht's Head Warrior was killed by a musket shot, the rest of the attacking canoes turned aside to get out of gunshot range. The longboat and its crew immediately manned their oars, and fled from Port San Juan, naming it "Hostility Bay." Having been attacked by both the Ditidaht and Pacheedaht, and with injured crew, Duffin and the longboat abandoned their exploratory expedition and immediately returned to Barkley Sound and Meares ship.

In reviewing Meares' longboat's venture into Strait of Juan de Fuca, it seems apparent that the Ditidaht and Pacheedaht had been forewarned of the longboat's arrival in their territory, and were prepared to give hostile receptions. It is likely the Pacheedaht knew of the earlier insulting behaviour of Meares towards Tatoosh, who they recognized as

their chief, and viewed the presence of the longboat in their territory as unauthorized trespass. In essence, when they attacked Duffin's longboat and crew, the Pacheedaht were expressing their exclusive authority over their territory, and the authority of Chief Tatoosh.

Meares, in his general descriptions of chiefs he encountered on Vancouver Island, wrote that on the northern side of Juan de Fuca Strait:

> Here the dominions of Wicananish end, and those of the next and last chief of the Nootka territory begin, whose name is Tatootche.
>
> …
>
> Tatootche…resides on the island that bears his name…with these people we had very little communication, but from the crowd of inhabitants to view the ship…we shall not over-rate the number of inhabitants on this island by estimating them at five thousand people.

Meares also wrote that Tatoosh's territory extended to the south of Cape Flattery. Further, and in a clear acknowledgement of the chief's authority, Meares asserted to have negotiated a treaty with Tatoosh. Referring to himself in the third person, Meares wrote that he had obtained from Chief Wickanninish "in consequence of considerable presents, the promise of a free and exclusive trade with the natives of the district" and:

> …that he had also acquired the same privilege of exclusive trade from Tatootche, the chief of the country bordering on the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and purchased from him a tract of land within the said strait, which [one of my] officers took possession of in the King's name, calling the same Tatootche, in honour of the chief."

Analysis of information from Meares' voyage, in light of an understanding of Indigenous territorial governance and law, is summarized as follows:

- at the time of Contact, the Pacheedaht occupied and controlled Port San Juan and the surrounding territory;
- Chief Tatoosh was the head of an alliance that included the Pacheedaht; Duffin noted the Pacheedaht recognized Tatoosh as their chief;
- Chief Tatoosh, from his base village on Tatoosh Island with an estimated 5,000 inhabitants, was recognized as governing a territory that included the area surrounding Tatoosh Island, the north side of Juan de Fuca Strait, and the waters in between;
- Chief Tatoosh, when insulted by John Meares, refused to permit his people to engage in trade with Meares;
- Chief Tatoosh and his people, without proper protocols being observed and permissions in place, regarded Meares and his vessels as trespassers in Tatoosh's territory;

- Knowledge of Meares' disregard for Chief Tatoosh's authority was communicated widely, and resulted in an attack on Meares' longboat by the Pacheedaht, and also as an expression of their exclusive control of their territory;
- Meares, in recognition of Tatoosh's authority, claimed to have negotiated an exclusive trade agreement with Tatoosh, and to have purchased land from Tatoosh.

Chief Tatoosh, Tatoosh Island and *ƛučii?aa?aq*

While it has been commonly assumed that the Chief Tatoosh (Fig 3) described by Meares and other traders during the Contact period was Makah, there is convincing evidence that he was actually a chief from Vancouver Island. James Swan, referenced previously and an authority on Makah history, reported in 1859 that Tatoosh Island:[46]

> …has in the early annals of the Indian tribes been the scene of many a conflict. It was owned by a chief of the Nootka tribe, (who reside on Vancouver Island) and who was a very warlike fellow. His name was Tatoochautacus, and the Island derives its name from him. This chief was alive when Vancouver made his exploration of Puget Sound.

Swan repeated in several newspaper articles published between 1859 and 1861 his information, obtained from the Makah, that Chief Tatoosh was not Makah but in fact a "Nootka"[47] chief from Vancouver Island, and who he described as "holding sway" over the land around Cape Flattery and that Tatoosh was remembered by the Makah:[48]

> One of the Nootkan chiefs mentioned by Meares and Vancouver, and still remembered by some of the Indians at Neah Bay, was named Too-tooch-at-icus, and he formerly owned the land about Cape Flattery. From this fact, Meares named the island at the extremity of the Cape [Flattery] Tatooche or Tatooshe Island.

There is other evidence that the Pacheedaht and other Vancouver Island tribes traditionally moved to Tatoosh Island, in what is now the United States, to set up houses there as a fishing base close to *ƛučii?aa?a*, Swiftsure Bank. Fisheries researcher George Chute met in ca. 1936 with Pete Eggers, a white man who was the first fish buyer to operate at Neah Bay in the 1800s. Chute quoted Eggers as saying:[49]

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[46] Swan, James G. "Almost out of the World - Scenes from Washington Territory – the Strait of Juan de Fuca 1859-61." Tacoma, Washington: Washington State Historical Society, 1971, p. 11,

[47] Swan here is using the term "Nootka tribe" as he did his other writings, to refer collectively to all the tribes living on the west coast of Vancouver Island, fromm the Kyuquot in the north to the Ditidaht and Pacheedaht in the south.

[48] Swan, *Almost out of the Word,* p. 85, 118, 124.

[49] Chute, George, and Peter Eggers. "Notes from a Conversation between Peter Eggers and George Chute Concerning Traditional Halibut Fishing, History of Neah Bay and Tatoosh Island." In George Chute Papers, MS15 Box 4. Tacoma Washington: Washington State Historical Society, 1937.
Chute, George. "Halibut Manuscript, Indians Show How." In George Chute Collection MS 15. Tacoma, WA: Washington State Historical Collection, 1936-38.

> Tatoosh Island (just off the Cape)…was claimed by the Canadian Indians. They were stronger, more fierce, and more war-like than our Indians. They had fish-camps on Tatoosh, to which they came to cure halibut. They brought big cedar shakes (split planks) over from Vancouver Island, loading these great boards across two big canoes. some of these shakes were 6 x 12 feet, and narrower ones of greater length were common; each was carefully finished with thousands of strokes of a small adze held in one hand. Holes were bored along the edges of the shakes, and the Indians erected them into big smokehouses by using wythes instead of nails or pins.
>
> When the Canadian Indians were on Tatoosh, the Makahs, Ozettes and Quillauts (sic) kept away, but when the northerners had caught and cured enough fish for their winter needs, and had returned home, our Indians re-occupied the smokehouses and continued the industry for their own benefit."

Eggers also stated that O.V. Brown, a lighthouse keeper at Tatoosh Island, burned the houses when the "Indians" were absent; all the houses (see Fig. 6) had been burned by 1908. Chute also corresponded with Brown, who first went to the Tatoosh lighthouse in 1891. Brown wrote that he thought "Pete Eggars [sic] is right about the BC Indians being owners."

Figure 6: Photograph "Potlatch at Tatoosh Island," late 1800s.

In sum, it appears that the Chief Tatoosh who encountered Meares in 1788, who controlled the lands and waters around Cape Flattery, and who the Pacheedaht recognized as their chief at the time, was a chief from Vancouver Island. Chief Tatoosh was the head of a powerful alliance that comprised several thousand members, and included the Pacheedaht and possibly the Makah as well. Chief Tatoosh and the people in his alliance controlled the area on both sides of the mouth of the Strait of Juan de Fuca at the time of Contact. Occupation of Tatoosh Island by Indigenous people from Vancouver Island during the halibut fishing season continued well into the 1800s as described by lighthouse keeper Eggers. Tatoosh Island was an ideal and preferred strategic location for accessing the halibut and other fisheries at *ƛučii?aa?aq* and for drying fish for later consumption.

In the years following Meares' 1788 voyage, other white exploring or trading vessels visited Juan de Fuca Strait, and the Pacheedaht at Port San Juan. In these instances Indigenous protocols appear have been observed and there were no hostilities.

In March of 1789, the American ship *Columbia* made a brief stop in Port San Juan where they recorded the name of the people there as "Patchenat," conducted trade for some salmon, and noted that the Pacheedaht, reflecting their experience with Duffin's longboat, "were acquainted with the effect of firearms."[50] A few months later, the Spanish vessel *Santa Gertrudis,* under the command of José María Narvaez, entered Port San Juan.[51] In June of 1790, another Spanish vessel, the *Princessa Real,* under the command of Manuel Quimper, visited Port San Juan on a voyage of exploration.[52] Quimper recorded that upon entering the harbour "a large canoe came out from the port with two chiefs, between whom I divided a large copper sheet, as they asked for it and their friendship was necessary." In accordance with traditional law, the chiefs were demanding a tribute fee as a requirement for the Spanish to enter Pacheedaht territory, and an acknowledgement of the chiefs' domain. Quimper also records that he was unable to obtain any furs from the Pacheedaht as they all been previously traded, evidence that the Pacheedaht were active participants in the Indigenous trade networks of the day.

[50] F.W. Howay, ed. Voyages of the "Columbia" to the Northwest Coast, 1787-1790 and 1790 -1793. Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1941. (Reprinted by The Oregon Historical Society, 1990). p. 72.
[51] Esteven Jose Martinez. "Diary of 1789 Voyage to Nootka. Translated from Spanish Copy in Bancroft Library by William L. Schurz." Victoria, B.C.: B.C. Archives, Add.Ms. 291, 1789. p. 130.
[52] Wagner, Henry R. "Quimper's Diario, 1790 (Extracts)." In: *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca,* 91-132. Santa Ana, California: Fine Arts Press, 1933. Reprint A.M.S. Press, 1971. pp. 92- 93.

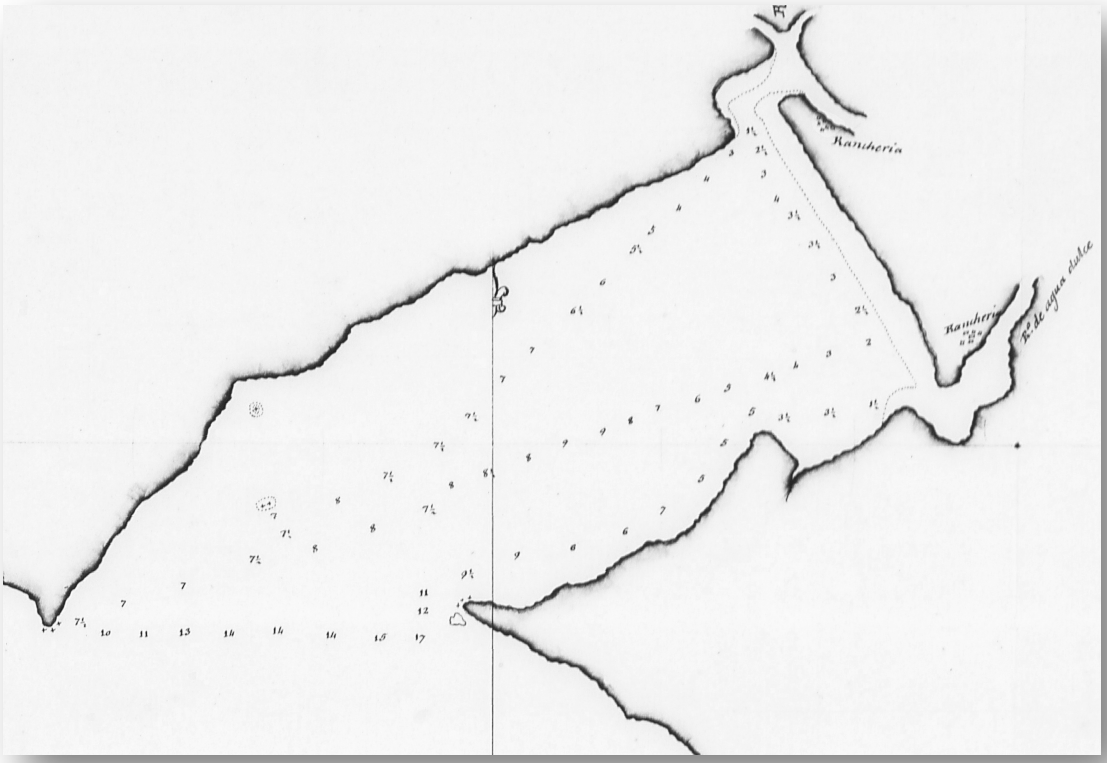

Figure 7: Portion of Lopez de Haro map showing two Pacheedaht "rancherias" (villages) in Port San Juan, 1790.

Records from Quimper's expedition also document that the Pacheedaht villages in Port San Juan contained 300 people.[53] Quimper visited Port San Juan in June, so, as part of the usual seasonal round, many Pacheedaht were dispersed to the resource and fishing camps and villages portrayed on Figure 2. A map produced by Lopez de Haro in 1790 shows (Figure 7) Port San Juan and the locations of two Pacheedaht villages, one at the mouth of the north arm of the San Juan River, and the other at the mouth of the south arm of the San Juan River.[54]

In 1852 or 1853, Samuel Hancock, a white trader, described a devastating smallpox epidemic at Neah Bay. During this epidemic many Makah people fled Neah Bay to avoid the disease, and came to stay with the Ditidaht and Pacheedaht. Unfortunately, they also brought the smallpox with them, with devastating effects for the Pacheedaht.[55]

William Banfield, a white trader on the west coast of Vancouver Island, authored a newspaper account in 1858 and noted that Pacheedaht numbers had been recently and

[53] Manuel Quimper. "Descrision General Del Estrcho De Juan de Fuca." Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nacion, Historia, Tom. 68. Typescript at BC Archives AA10M57, v.6, 1790.
[54] Wagner, Henry R. 1933. "Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca." In *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*, Santa Ana, California: Fine Arts Press.
[55] This smallpox outbreak is described in more detail in Appendix B: Cumualative Effects.

drastically reduced due to smallpox epidemics and a conflict with the Songhees. Banfield added that the Pacheedaht made their livelihood from fishing, hunting and trading. Trade in dogfish oil and halibut with the Sooke, Clallam, Songhees and with "white traders resident in the bay" was particularly profitable. The Pacheedaht also procured bear, raccoon and mink skins for sale to white traders. [56]

Robert Brown, leader of the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition, visited Port San Juan in 1864. In 1896, Brown published some of his observations about the Pacheedaht, based on his 1864 journal entries.[57] He described that the Vancouver Island shoreline opposite Cape Flattery was the "special territory" of the "Pachenahts," whose numbers were at the time severely reduced due to wars with neighbouring tribes, and the effects of smallpox.

After British Columbia confederated with Canada, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Dr. I.W. Powell, visited the Pacheedaht in July of 1875. Powell reported in general on the "Ahts," meaning those tribes inhabiting the west coast of Vancouver Island, describing them as follows.[58]

> They care very little for, and their knowledge of agriculture, is exceedingly limited. Indeed, facilities for obtaining support, and even plenty, from other and more profitable means are so great, and the extent of cultivable land is so limited, that Nature has furnished these rude savages with every requisite to make them what they really are, "Toilers of the Sea." And happily so - for placed where they are, they can never become tillers of the soil….
>
> Salmon is their great staple, and their winter stores are taken in August and September from the extensive inlets and rivers with which the whole coast is intersected. Many other varieties of fish, such as halibut, cod, herring & c., are obtained in any quantity, and with the greatest facility….
>
> The Ahts have strict customs in regards to their exclusive right to everything their country produces. The limits of tribal properties, or tribal claims, to land are clearly defined…."

Indian Reserve Commissioner Peter O'Reilly visited the Pacheedaht in 1882 to establish Indian Reserves.[59] He initially established two Indian Reserves, at Pacheena IR #1 and at Gordon River IR #2. His correspondence and Minutes of Decision for these two Reserves make it clear they were established for the purpose of securing the

[56] William E. Banfield. "Vancouver Island: Its Topography, Characteristics, Etc.: II the Netinett District." *Victoria Gazette*, 14 August 1858, p. 1.
[57] Robert Brown. "Introduction." In: *The Adventures of John Jewitt*, edited by Robert Brown. London: Clement Wilson, 1896.
[58] Powell, I.W. "Correspondence: Powell, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 31 October 1874." Library and Archives Canada. RG 10, Volume 3614, File 4105, Microfilm reel C-10107. Reports on the West Coast of Vancouver Island and of Barclay Sound (Map, Census, Report). Ottawa, 1874.
[59] Harris, Cole. Making Native Space - Colonialism, Resistance and Reserves in British Columbia. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002. pp. 73-174.

Pacheedaht with their traditional supply of salmon. Further, in recognition of the special importance of this resource, O'Reilly took the unusual step of reserving to the Pacheedaht the right to fish in both branches of the lower San Juan River. This right was later denied by Canada's Dept. of Marine and Fisheries.

Although O'Reilly was unable to visit the Pacheedaht village at Cullite (*Qala:yit*, see Fig. 2), some fifteen kilometers from Port San Juan, in 1882, he was informed of the importance of this location as a fishing station, and that the Pacheedaht were expert and prosperous fishermen and whalers. O'Reilly's Minutes of Decision for the Pacheedaht Indian Reserves include the following descriptions.[60]

> The salmon fisheries on both the North and South Branches of the San Juan River are very valuable, as supplying the entire wants of the tribe with this staple article of consumption; the right to fish has been reserved to them on both branches from the head of tidal water to the Forks, a distance of about two and a half miles.
>
> The halibut, and dogfish station of this tribe is situated at Cullite on the west coast of Vancouver Island, which I passed but was unable to visit owing to the heavy sea which was then running; this must be attended to at some future time.
>
> These Indians being expert fishermen are largely employed by the sealing schooners which frequent this coast during April, May and June, they also obtain a quantity of fish oil for which they find a ready market, and were it not that their hard earned money is wasted in drinking, gambling and making potlatches, they would be a prosperous community."

Several years later, in 1890, O'Reilly was finally able to visit *Qala:yit* (Cullite), which he established as Cullite Indian Reserve #3 for the Pacheedaht. He noted that as "a halibut and dogfish station this [village] is much valued by the Indian, it is the only place within many miles where a canoe can land with safety."[61] *Qala:yit* also provided access to the rich fishing grounds at *ƛučii?aa?a*, Swiftsure Bank. Later, in 1894, O'Reilly established a 28-acre fishing station on the west bank of Harris Creek at the San Juan River as Queesidaquah Indian Reserve #4.[62]

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[60] O'Reilly, Peter. "Minutes of Decision: Pacheena Indians, 18 October 1882." In A. Seymour (compiler), 1997. Department of Indian Affairs, Federal Collection of Minutes of Decision, Correspondences and Sketches, Volume 10: File 29858-3, Volume No. 10. Minutes of Decision, Correspondence & Sketches - P. O'Reilly, June 1882 to February 1885, 319-25. Ottawa, 1882.

[61] O'Reilly, Peter. "Correspondence: O'Reilly, Indian Reserve Commissioner to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 3 March 1890." In A. Seymour (compiler), 1997. Department of Indian Affairs, Federal Collection of Minutes of Decision, Correspondences and Sketches, Volume 12: File 29858-5, Minutes of Decision, Correspondence & Sketches - P. O'Reilly, April 1889 to January 1892, 298-302. Ottawa, 1890.

[62] O'Reilly, Peter. "Minute of Decision of IR #4, October 30,1894." Victoria, BC: BC Archives, Indian Affairs, (RG 10, Volume 3911, file 111, 246), 1894.

The four Indian Reserves established for the Pacheedaht comprise but a tiny fraction (0.13%) of Pacheedaht territory.[63] The Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of B.C. (RCIABC) visited the Pacheedaht in 1914, and the Pacheedaht took the opportunity to express their general dissatisfaction with their Reserves. One Pacheedaht chief addressed the RCIABC with concerns over outsiders fishing in Pacheedaht territory.[64]

Commencing in 1881, the Indian Agent for the West Coast Agency submitted a report each year, and was published as part of the annual report of the Department of Indian Affairs.[65] Some of these reports contain general information about the Nuu-chah-nulth, and their use of resources, particularly in fishing and sealing. The 1910 West Coast Indian Agency report described that the people of the West Coast Agency, including the Pacheedaht, continued to gain their livelihood from the ocean.[66]

> The Indians of this agency may be said to live on the water and by the water. All their houses are built close to the water, the Pacific Ocean or some inlet thereof, and it is from the ocean in one way or another that they derive their livelihood. Sealing and salmon fishing are the two occupations that engage the attention of the bulk of the people"

In summary, available descriptions of the Pacheedaht from early historical and written records describe them as occupying their territory on the west coast of Vancouver Island on an exclusive basis before and at the Contact period and from that time forward. Further, the records describe that the Pacheedaht had a traditional marine and aquatic orientation, and were actively engaged in fishing and sea mammal hunting, and in profitable trade with neighbouring tribes and with white traders.

Pacheedaht Traditional Economy

The following report section presents information about the use of resources by members of the Pacheedaht First Nation, as related to daily sustenance and the acquisition of surpluses for trade and storage.

Seasonal Round

The best generalized summary description of the Pacheedaht traditional seasonal round from ethnographic sources was recorded by anthropologist Eugene Arima based on information he obtained primarily from Chief Queesto Charles Jones Sr. in the 1970s. The seasonal round description likely relates to the time of Queesto's youth (b. ca. 1876) in the late 1800s.[67]

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[63] The 4 Indian Reserves a total 207 ha. of the approximate 163,203 ha. of land in Pacheedaht territory, or 0.13%.
[64] Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of B.C. "Meeting with the Pacheedaht on their IR #1 Reserve on May 6, 1914." Victoria, BC: BC Archives, Indian Affairs, (RG 10, Volume 3911, file 111, 246), 1914.
[65] Library and Archives Canada. "Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1864-1990." www.collectionscanada.gc.ca, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/indianaffairs/index-e.html.
[66] Library and Archives Canada. *Indian Affairs Annual Reports*, 1905 Annual Report.
[67] Arima, Eugene. 1976. Notes on the Southern West Coast (Nootka) Natives: Environment and Exploitative Techniques of the P'achi:da7atH of Port San Juan. *Unpublished manuscript. National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada*. Ottawa. p. 41-42.

> In the spring from about as early as April and into May and June, people moved out of Port San Juan, in the case of the Pachena, to fishing camps outside where they caught halibut, red snapper and cod, and dried them. At times they might come inside the bay to catch and dry sockeye. Word was always sent out by those who remained inside when the sockeye fishing was good. The sockeye runs begin about April and lasts till about July when the last ones go up to spawn and die. People would stay essentially in the outside coast camps until the last part of September when they would return to the inside winter villages to get ready for the fall salmon runs, preparing weirs and traps. The salmon runs go upriver for a month and a half to two months in late September and October. In some years the river is too high so that the salmon could not be caught. In other years the river could be too shallow, making the fish worn out and tired. They tried, of course, to catch the salmon while they were fresh and bright. The sequence of the fall runs is: steelhead, cohoe [sic], spring, humpback and dog salmon. The catches were dried and stored for the winter as the prime economic support of the more or less sedentary large village aggregations with elaborated social organization and much ceremonialism characteristic of Northwest Coast peoples.

It is important to note that the traditional seasonal movements of the Pacheedaht were determined, in large part, by the availability and abundance of various resources, particularly fish and seasonally available plants, and especially salmon and halibut. Other resources, including various types of intertidal seafood, were available throughout large parts of the year.

Indigenous Trade Networks

Trade in abundant products was a standard feature of the traditional economy of Indigenous groups on Vancouver Island, with neighbouring and regional groups exchanging special, localised or abundant products with one another. Indigenous trade and commercial networks extended in several directions along the west coast of the continent. Pacheedaht territory, in particular, lies at an important crossroad for trade extending in four directions (Figure 8). The Pacheedaht participated in trade with:

1. Nu-chah-nulth neighbours to the north and west, and other Nations further north, including trans-Pacific trade via Alaska and Siberia;[68]
2. the Makah a short distance across the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and through them with other tribes as far south as California, and to the Interior along the Columbia River;
3. neighbouring Nations to the east and south along the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Puget Sound, Gulf of Georgia and the Interior by way of the Fraser River; and

68 Burch Jr., Ernest S. . "War and Trade." In Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska, edited by William W. Fitzhugh and Aaron Crowell, 227-40. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1988.

4. neighbouring Nations on the east coast of Vancouver Island by way of overland routes through the San Juan River and Jordan River valleys.

Captain Cook and many other white explorers and traders during the Contact Period described that Indigenous groups along the coast were avid traders between each other and travelling long distances. For example, upon arrival at Friendly Cove in Mowachaht territory, a Nuu-chah-nulth Nation in Nootka Sound, one early Spanish observer wrote:[69]

> …our men were already surrounded by Indians on canoes that wanted to trade with them. The canoes were loaded with dead ducks, dried fish, and the skins of various animals, tree bark mats, animal hair blankets, knives, and mirrors. Not satisfied with the trade they have with the other Indian nations on their continent, they go on extended trips to trade with the ships that travel their seas, either in order not to miss the opportunity or to profit ahead of others

Figure 8: Pacheedaht territory at crossroads of Indigenous trade network, and later,

[69] Mozino, Jose. "Noticias De Nutka, with Vocabulary by Fray Socies." Mexico City: Archivo General De La Nación, Historia, v. 31, 1789.

Colonial Period trade.

Prior to and during the Contact period, Pacheedaht and other First Nations exchanged a wide variety of goods and products over the trade networks portrayed in Figure 8. A list of some resources and products known to have been distributed over the trade networks has been compiled from documents from the Contact and Colonial period, as well as from materials found in archaeological sites:[70]

Table 1: Trade goods distributed on Indigenous trade network

Dentalia Shells	Abalone Shells	Dried Halibut
Dogfish Oil	Camas	Iron and Tools
Copper	Slaves	Sea Otter Skins
Whale oil	Elk Hides	Seal Blubber
Whale Blubber	Fresh fish	Dried Salmon
Dried Herring	Cedar Bark Baskets	Swamp Rushes
Cedar Boards	Basketry Grass	Cedar Bark
Herring Spawn	Salmon Spawn	Dried Clams
Dried Salal and other berries	Ducks	Geese
Whale Sinew	Canoes	Red Ochre
Black Mica	Dog Hair Blankets	Mountain Goat Wool Blankets
Clothing	Smelt	Animal Skins
Muskets	Masks and other regalia	Wild onions
Clothing	Smelt	Jade, nephrite
Obsidian	Ornaments (beads)	

Figure 9: Region of distribution of dentalia over trade networks.

Dentalia shells[71] or *haiqua*, are an important trade good marker, as their distribution is known, and provides evidence for the volume, extent and range of the pre-and post-Contact trade network that flowed through Pacheedaht territory (see Figure 9).[72] Although dentalia shells occur along much of the west coast of North America, from Alaska to Baja California, the majority of shells in trade were harvested with "dentalia spears" by Indigenous fishers along the west coast of Vancouver Island in the vicinity of Nootka and Kyuquot Sound, and around Cape Flattery. The dentalia were highly prized for ornamental use, and widely regarded as a luxury item. In some areas, such as among the tribes of Washington and north-western Oregon, dentalia were

[70] See McMillan, Alan D. Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of the Nuu-Chah-Nulth, Ditidaht and Makah. Pacific Rim Archaeology. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1999. p. 155-157. Other items added to trade goods table from sources cited in bibliography.

[71] Dentalia are the shells from a small mollusc, Aboriginally harvested on the west coast of Vancouver Island off Esperanza Inlet.

[72] Clark, R. B. "The Economics of Dentalia." The Veliger 6, no. 1 (1963/4): 9-19.
Barton, Andrew John. "Fishing for Ivory Worms: A Review of Ethnographic and Historically Recorded Dentalia Source Locations." MA, Simon Fraser University, 1994..

measured by the fathom and used as a form of money. The Chinook and Klickitat tribes on the Columbia River traded dentalia further inland. At the outer range of its distribution on the trade networks, (Yukon, Plateau, California), dentalia reached its highest value. For example, the Hidatsa in Dakota territory valued only two or three shells as equivalent to a buffalo skin. White traders, learning of the value of the shells, used them as a trade commodity as well. In 1794, an American trading expedition bought dentalia shells from Chief Wikanninish in Clayoquot Sound so they could trade them to the Chinook further south, who in turn would then trade the shells up the Columba River to inland groups. One anthropologist observed:[73]

> The quantities of these shells imported by the Chinook must have been tremendous, for not only did they use a great quantity in the daily routine of trade, but they also furnished the bulk of the supply used in the southern Plateau and Western Oregon.

During the 1820s, the Hudson's Bay Company learned of the high value of the dentalia shells amongst many Indigenous groups, some of which valued the shells above all other trade goods. The HBC traders began acquiring the shells from Indigenous groups on Vancouver Island and then shipped them inland for great profit to the Yukon, as well as to the Columbia River basin and Plateau region.

Dentalia reached its highest and most precise value in northernwestern California, where an elaborate system of currency and money value for the shells evolved, and where people haggled and split hairs over microscopic variations in the few dentalia that reached them. In some areas, most men had a series of lines tattooed on one of their arms against which shell-money could be measured.

In sum, dentalia shells are one example of trade goods that were in circulation along the extensive traditional Indigenous trade network shown in Figure 8. Although much of the trade dentalia originated along the west coast of Vancouver Island, it had to pass through Pacheedaht, Ditidaht and/or Makah territories. According to customary protocols, appropriate permissions from the Pacheedaht would have been required, or payments made, for trade goods to flow through their territory. While the trade in dentalia shells began to decline in the mid-1800s, other goods continued to flow along the Indigenous and colonial trade networks.

Post-Contact records, some cited previously, and others later in this report, provide evidence that the Pacheedaht continued to be profitably engaged in trade well into the Colonial period, and later, in fishing, trading and selling marine products, furs and other products to white traders as well as other Aboriginal groups.

In the late 1820s, due to its strategic location on Indigenous trade routes, the Strait of Juan de Fuca, between Neah Bay and Port San Juan, became an important trading hub for white traders, attracting Americans from Boston, and, later, ships from the Hudson

[73] Ray, Verne F. "Lower Chinook Ethnographic Notes." Publications in Anthropology, University of Washington 7, no. 2 (1938): 29-165; as quoted in Barton, p. 38.

Bay Co. In 1829 the 'straits of Juan de Fuca" were described as "becoming a place of resort for the purpose of trade" in sea otter, land pelts, fresh fish, oil, and *haiqua* (dentalia shells).[74] The dentalia shells and oil (whale oil or dogfish oil)[75] were the most important items of trade in this era. The Pacheedaht played a key part in this trade, and, as reported in 1842, a Hudson's Bay post was located in Pacheedaht territory at Port San Juan.[76]

By the early 1850s, there were several white traders who earned their livelihood by trading with various First Nations along the west coast of Vancouver Island, with the principal products desired being dogfish or whale oil, and animal skins. One trading post was established in Port San Juan in the early 1850s by a firm based in San Francisco and later run by a Mr. T. Laughton, who took on Banfield and Francis as partners.[77] In 1858, trader Banfield wrote a newspaper article, described in more detail later in this report, stating that the Pacheedaht made their livelihood from fishing, hunting and trading, and that the trade in dogfish oil and halibut with neighbouring tribes was particularly profitable for the Pacheedaht.[78] Other white traders, located across the Strait of Juan de Fuca at Neah Bay, were also actively participating in commercial activities that included the Pacheedaht, as described later.[79]

In summary, prior to and at Contact there was an extensive Indigenous trade network extending along the west coast of Vancouver Island, along the west coast of North America, and along waterways into the interior of the continent. There were many trade goods that flowed along this network in great quantities. Pacheedaht territory, at the mouth of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, is at a crossroads where several of the trade routes converge. The Pacheedaht are known to have been great traders, profiting from their key location on the trade network. The available evidence demonstrates that the Pacheedaht relied on the marine resources in their territory, and particularly those at *ƛučii?aa?a*, Swiftsure Bank, to provide products and goods used in trade with neighbouring tribes and later, in commercial trade.

Trade and Travel Across the Strait of Juan de Fuca: James Swan 1861 – 1866; 1878-1881

During the middle portion of the 1800s, considerable details on the extent and nature of Pacheedaht relations and trade with their Makah neighbours across the Strait of Juan de Fuca was recorded by James G. Swan, who resided at Neah Bay. Swan was a Washington Territory pioneer who kept extensive records, including detailed diaries and journals, now stored at the University of Washington and at the University of

[74] Mackie, Richard. "Trading Beyond the Mountains, the British Fur Trade on the Pacific 1793-1843." Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1997. pp. 23
[75] Pamphlet, Thomas. "A West Coast Reminiscence." Victoria BC: The Colonist, Jan. 1, 1892, p. 5.
[76] Wilkes, Charles. "Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838 - 1842." New York: George P. Putnam, 1851, p. 486.
[77] Pamphlet, Thomas. "A West Coast Reminiscence." Victoria BC: The Colonist, Jan. 1, 1892 p. 5, 1892-01-01.
[78] Banfield, W.E. "Vancouver Island. Its Topography, Characteristics, Etc:, Number Ii: The Netinett District." In Daily Victoria Gazette, Vol. 1 No. 23. Victoria, BC, 1858.
[79] See, in particular, Hancock, Samuel. "The Narrative of Samuel Hancock 1845 - 1860." New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1927.

British Columbia.[80] Swan first arrived in Washington Territory in 1852; served as schoolteacher at Neah Bay from 1861 to 1866 and returned to live there as customs inspector from 1878 to 1886. Swan was interested in and lived amongst the Makah at Neah Bay. He authored a number of newspaper articles between 1859 and 1861 that provide information about the Makah,[81] reports for government, and later, a book about the Makah, published in 1870.[82] These sources provide information about the close ties between the Pacheedaht and the Makah.

Swan's records provide detailed information and descriptions of regular travel and trade in both directions across the Strait of Juan de Fuca by the Pacheedaht (whom Swan referred to, together with the Ditidaht, as "Nittinat") and Makah peoples. The purposes for Pacheedaht trips to Neah Bay described by Swan included trade and commerce, ceremonial events and gatherings, and visits with relatives and friends. According to information from Swan's diaries, covering the periods 1866 – 1871, and 1878 - 1881, the most important individuals in this crossborder traffic were chief Kwistoh (Queesto) of Pacheedaht, chief Captain John of Makah (who was married to Queesto's sister), and the storekeeper at Neah Bay, William Gallick.[83]

It was common practice amongst Nuu-chah-nulth and other First Nations to establish and maintain kinship ties with neighbouring Nations through marriages between chiefly families, such as that between Queesto and Captain John. The ties between chiefly families promoted good relations and provided blanket authorizations to tribal members for most activities across the chiefs' territories.

A traditional account summarizes how trading problems that occurred between a Chief Queesto of the Pacheedaht and the Makah were addressed through traditional means. [84] This account, thought to date to about 1850, relates that the Chief Queesto of the time had gone on a trip to buy whale oil from members of the Makah near Neah Bay. During bargaining, Queesto considered that the Makah attempted to drive up their prices unreasonably, although he did manage to trade forty of his blankets for 10 sealion bladders full of oil. Queesto planned to avenge the insult for what he considered unfair trading practices. Upon returning home to *Qala:yit* (Figure 2), Queesto issued invitations to neighbouring tribes for a potlatch. This grand affair was attended by many tribes, including the Makah. At this famous potlatch, in his

[80] Swan, J. G. (1833-1909). Diaries and Papers. Seattle, WA, University of Washington Special Collections; including:
James Gilchrist Swan Daily Journal, 1866-1880 – "Diary and Private Journal of James G. Swan, Being a Continuation of Daily Record Commencing July 1862 at the Makah Indian Agency, Neah Bay, Washington Territory," entry 1 May 1866
James Gilchrist Swan Daily Journal and Diaries for 1859 - 1866; 1878, 1879. Seattle, WA, University of Washington Special Collections.
Swan, J. G. (1852-1907). Papers. Vancouver BC, University of British Columbia Special Collections.

[81] Swan's newspaper articles are collected in: Swan, James G. "Almost out of the World - Scenes from Washington Territory." Tacoma, Washington: Washington State Historical Society, 1971.

[82] Swan, J. G. (1870). Indians of Cape Flattery, at the entrance to the Strait of Fuca, Washington Territory. Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution.

[83] Gallick's profession is confirmed in James G. Swan, "Report of Investigations at Neah Bay, Wash., Respecting the Habits of Fur Seals of That Vicinity, and to Arrange for Procuring Specimens of Skeletons of Cetacea," *Bulletin of the United States Fish Commission* 3 (1883), 201.

[84] Sapir, Edward, and Morris Swadesh. Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography. Indiana University Research Centre in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics 1. Vol. 21 (4), pt. 2, Bloomington: Indiana University, 1955. pp. 297 – 300.

enormous house at *Qala:yit,* Chief Queesto proceeded to humble the attending members of the Makah, in front of his assembled guests, with an ostentatious display of his wealth, continuously fueling the house fire with their high-priced oil.[85] Queesto announced that he had not originally attempted to buy the oil from the Makah to become rich, but rather to raise his name through potlatch. Queesto then distributed many gifts to his guests, further enhancing his status and humbling the Makah. The potlatch also served to bring trade issues to a head, and these may have been resolved by the marriage between Queesto's sister and Captain John at Makah. The account serves to illustrate the integrated and complex nature of traditional cultural practices, trade and commerce.

Swan's diary entries describe the family and commercial relations between the Makah and Vancouver Island First Nations, and help quantify the frequency and substance of intertribal trade in the latter part of the 19th century. Pacheedaht and Makah people travelled back and forth to attend potlatches and for diplomatic purposes as well. For example, Pacheedaht people came to attend potlatches held by Captain John, and later his son Jimmy, in Makah territory in 1864 and 1879. Captain John also went to Queesto's potlatch in June 1862. In 1866, Swan asked Queesto and Captain John to negotiate a resolution to a potentially violent dispute between the Nittinat, Clallam, and Cowichan.[86]

Swan also documented considerable crossborder travel without specifying the purpose. Queesto and his sister regularly travelled back and forth across the Strait to visit with their families. Queesto's brother-in-law Captain John visited Pacheedaht on numerous occasions for similar purposes. Queesto also ferried others across the Strait. For instance, in November 1862, he brought two Victoria travelers from Port San Juan to Neah Bay in his canoe. In 1866, Queesto's brother came to Neah Bay in an attempt to persuade a Makah woman to marry him.

The following table provides details for most of Swan's references to the Pacheedaht, (whom Swan sometimes referred to as "Nittinat") directly or indirectly, and their interactions with Neah Bay and the Makah. Note that the references correspond only with the periods when Swan lived at Neah Bay, from 1861 to 1866, and 1878 to 1881. Details of the travel and trade are given as Swan described them. Note that it is likely that there were other interactions between the Pacheedaht that were not observed and recorded by Swan, particularly since his role as customs collector at Neah Bay from 1878 to 1881 interfered with the flow of trade goods across the border.

[85] Such public use of a high-priced commodity both enhanced Queesto's status and challenged the Makah to respond with an equal or superior display of wealth.
[86] J.G. Swan, Diary 1866 Transcript, p. 25.

Table 2: Intertribal trade and travel noted in James Swan's Diaries, 1861-1866 and 1878-1881.[87]

Date	Notes
1862.Jan.	27th - Capt. John "went to Patchin[88]… on his way to Victoria
1862.July	12th - The schooner *Thorndike* had sailed from Neah Bay "for Vancouver Island probably San Juan harbor", returning two days later with 14 gallons of oil.
1862.Sept.	3rd - "this forenoon a lot of Patchin Indians with oil came to trade, Quistoh and his people."
1862.Oct.	11th - Swan recorded that Old George was preparing whiskey bottles to take north to trade at "Patchina." Two days later, "Indians brought over a new variety of smelt from Patchina, some of which I got."
1862 Nov.	22nd - Chief Queesto brought over two travelers out of Victoria on his canoe: "Mr. Maggs came from Victoria today bringing a new cook with him. They came in a small schooner as far as Patchina and from there crossed the straits in Quisto's canoe."
1863.Jan.	12th - Queesto visited to pick up his sister and her children during his brother-in-law's illness: "Quisto came from Patchina this forenoon and took John's squaw, Timmy and little Ellen and carried them to Patchina to remain till John gets well."[89]
1863 June	25th - This afternoon two Arhosett [Ahousaht] Indians…came with Billy Balch as Interpreter and had the following conversation: They said that Sehtokiartl, the principal chief of the Arhosetts, had concluded that it was best for his people to be at peace with the Makahs and to accept the proposition made to them by me through Quistoh and Cedakanim, that the Makahs should pay blankets to settle the matter, that he would not say how many blankets were required, but would leave it for Sahtayhut to first make the proposition. I told them that they must not come here with hostile intent, that this was government property and any demonstration on their part to attack the Makahs or the buildings on the reserve would only result in difficulty to them for Gov. Douglas would punish them as well as our own government who would have the cutter here to protect the Makahs. They said they wished for peace. I told them I would write to the agent by the cutter.

[87] All references from Swan's Diaries at University of Washington Special Collections.
[88] Meaning "Pacheedaht"
[89] J.G. Swan, Diary 1863 Transcript, p. 2.

Date	Notes
1863.June	Captain John reported to Swan that: "he had been to Nittinat to attend a potlatch given by Quistoh, his brother-in-law."
1863.July	Swan meets Capt. Melvin of the schooner Elisabeth in Port Townsend who had been trading whiskey to the "Nittinat Indians in the vicinity of Barclay Sound."
1863 Dec.	14th John's squaw who returned from Nittinat a few days since reports that 8 days ago (6th) a boat a large quantity of lumber and a quantity of apples came ashore at Nittinat.
1864.Jan	Swan hears from Capt. John that a Makah, Tahahowtl, had recently been to "Nittinat" and while there his daughter, Russian Jim's woman, ran off with a Nittinat man, he tried to find her, and there was some disturbance.
1864.Feb.	Russian Jim's squaw returned yesterday from Nittinat.
1864.July	12th and 13th: 2 canoes from Nittinat on a courting errand, seeking the hand of "Whatties' Mary". Mary refuses the man. 15th: schooner Winsor comes to Neah Bay, had been at Nittinat trading. 30th - Swan recorded that Captain John's daughter (and Queesto's niece) Ellen gave him a gift of shells from her recent trip to Port San Juan: "a number of the children brought me home in a canoe, among them were Jimmy and Ellen. Ellen gave me a basket of fossil shells which she had gathered for me on Vancouver Island near San Juan." July 31st Trader Spring comes over from Pachina in his sloop Leonede, headed for Barclay Sound.
1864.Nov-Dec.	Captain John held a potlatch. On 2 November, Swan recorded that Pacheedaht people were arriving to attend: "this morning the Indians from all the villages of the tribe and a delegation from Pachina began to arrive and by 2 p.m. all that were coming were here to partake of feasts and receive presents from Capt. John and Old Doctor." Nov. 3rd: The Indians have been singing, dancing and feasting all day and tomorrow are coming to hold a talk with me in the school room. On 4 November, he added that Queesto was the leader of the Pacheedaht delegation: John had a potlatch today and there were present besides delegations from all the villages in this tribe, a party of

Date	Notes
	Nittinats from Pachina with Quistoh and a party from Eyennis with Old Garwant… Nov. 20th: Nov. 20-John starts for Nittinat at 10 a.m., takes all his people but Jimmy who stops with me. Nov. 23rd. Whattie commenced a *tomanawas* or *dukwally*[90] performance at 10 o'clock this evening, firing of guns, burning torches on the roof of the house and howling. 25 November, "some Pachina Indians and the party of Elwhas" participated in "the *tomanawas* performance." 27 November: One of the Pachina Indians named Jimmy came in this evening and said that Hopestabbe stole five dollars and a half from him last evening, a $5 gold piece and a half dollar…John with his family are absent on a visit to Nittinat…I thought it best to advise the Indian to be very sure who it was that stole the money before he made any charge. Nov. 30th: John returned from Nittinat today. His squaw gave birth to a dead child two days ago. Dec. 20th: Chias (a Pachina boy) sawed wood today.
1865.Jan.	"Kwistoh and a number of the Pachina Indians came over from the Vancouver side today and returned again in a few hours."[91]
1865.Feb.	A slave at Neah Bay explains to Swan that he was captured as a young boy by the Pacheedaht and sold to the Makah, and is now the property of Capt. John. He wants to be no longer a slave. He survived the smallpox epidemic.[92]
1865.Jun.	Captain John went to Pacheedaht for a visit:"Capt. John and his people went to Pachina today leaving little Ellen."
1866.Feb.	14th - "Quistoh's lame brother" came to Neah Bay in an attempt "to buy Sussawitl for his wife," and danced with her in Captain John's lodge.
1866.Apr.	11th - Queesto's brother and an individual named Barbasset visited from Pacheedaht and gave Swan "some shells"

[90] The "dukwally" event corresponds with the *tluukwaana*, or Wolf Ritual, the highest rank and most sacred of traditional ceremonies for the Makah and the Pacheedaht.
[91] Chief Queesto and the Pacheedaht were so used to travel across the Strait of Juan de Fuca by canoe that they were able to come from Port San Juan (or Qala:yit) to Neah Bay and return in the same day.
[92] This man recovered from the smallpox due to the attention of Hancock, who described the smallpox epidemic at Neah Bay in 1852-3.

Date	Notes
	23 April, Queesto's son and brother visited and presented Swan with "a canoe for the school," for which Swan paid one box of navy bread and four sacks of flour, collectively valued by him at $18.
1866.Jul.	1st - Queesto came to Swan and "procured medicine for his wife and two others." The same day, Jimmy left to visit his mother at "Pachina."
1866.Sept.	Swan planned to have Captain John visit Queesto to resolve a potentially violent dispute between the Nittinats, Clallams, and Cowichans: "A Clallam Indian called Doctor who resides at Eyennis came down today… to state that the Nittinats have threatened to attack the Clallams and Cowichans in consequence of a difficulty which occurred two or three days since near Race Rock lighthouse about a canoe… I told the Doctor to return and say to Old Yeoman that I did not think the Nittinats would be over, but I would ask Capt. John on his return from Hosett to go and see Quistoh at Pachina and tell him that Nittinats must not come on the American side of the Straits 10th – "Quistoh and a party arrived from Pachina. I told him the Clallams were afraid the Nittinats intended attacking them. He said they had no such intention. I told him to advise his people to keep away from the American side of the straight if they were hostile."
1878.Nov.	10th - "Some Pachina Indians came over to day and sold Gallick oil." 11th - "Gallick recd yesterday and this morning 48 Gallons oil from Pachina Indians."
1878.Dec.	19th – Swan described a ritual that he called the *dothlub*, in which one of Queesto's children came over to participate with his cousin:[93] "after they had danced and performed awhile, a circle was formed, and in it Jimmy and his little boy and Quistoh's little boy his mother knelt down, and after the Indians had circled around them a few times they all knelt down, and bowed their heads as if doing obeisance to the children. After a while all went in the lodge and were dismissed to dinner." 22nd - "Kwistoh and other Pachina Indians" left Neah Bay.

[93] Here it seems that Swan is describing the children's induction into the Wolf Ritual, the most important sacred ritual of the Makah and Pacheedaht, and indicative of the strength of the relations between Chiefs Queesto and Capt. John's families.

Date	Notes
1879.Jan.	7th - A Pacheedaht man, Witseartid, visited and informed Swan that that a woman (presumably Makah) who had promised to marry him "has changed her mind and won't have him." 9th Claokwat Frank came here today and showed me several places on the chart of Vancouver Island where tribes and bands reside and several channels and harbours which I did not know before.
1879.Mar.	1st – Swan reports on a dispute between Frank Cedakanim (Clayoquot) and Sam Williams, Capt. of a sealing schooner about cross border trading. Cedakanim tells Williams that if he tries to trade on the American side, Swan will seize his vessel.[94] 5th Hosett George tells Swan that his wife's relations came from Pachina with some dry salmon in packages and some sacks of potatoes. (this as a report of people landing unreported goods to Swan). On March 6th Swan went into a lodge searching for unreported goods, but found only what had been reported.[95] 13th – two sealing schooners from Victoria stop at Neah Bay, Swan boards them and tells them no Indians are allowed ashore and that the vessels would be liable for any smuggling that might happen. 14th – Indians from the sealing schooners come ashore to visit friends and gamble.
1879 June	Swan informed that "a number of Kuyokwat canoes with oil have started…for Port Townsend and the mills." Swan goes to Clallam Bay to inform the trader there that all oil has to be declared.
1879.July	6th –Swan examined 4 canoes from Vancouver Island but found no dutiable goods 27th - Captain John and Jimmy went to Pachina to visit Queesto, and Jimmy and his mother continued on to Clayoquot. 29th - "Gallick reported receiving 35 galls oil from Pachina Indians on 28th. Indians had gone home so I did not see them."
1879.Aug.	23rd - "Jimmy gave a grand potlatch today to the Nittinats, Clyoquots, and Makahs. There were some thirty five canoes. Twelve canoes from Pachina landed at one time, and the Makahs rushed down to receive them and hand them out on the beach, from some canoe unknown to me

[94] Swan at this point in time is customs collector at Neah Bay.
[95] Swan is pursuing his duties as customs collector.

Date	Notes
	Albert and a Nittinat man got into a scuffle and at one time it looked like a general fight… after peace was restored Albert gave the Nittinat man two blankets and subsequently the Nittinat gave away some things."
1879.Sept.	18th - "2 canoes arrived yesterday from Pachina sold Gallick this morning 68 Gallons Oil." 19th - "Examined 4 canoes from Pachina with oil, to Gallick 275 Gallons."
1879.Dec.	10th - "Canoe from Pachina with fish arrived this forenoon."
1880.Jan.	25th - The Makah went out sealing. An unnamed "Pachina man" went with them in Songish Charlie's canoe and took seven seals. 28th - Some Pacheedaht came over in "a large canoe" to invite Makah to a potlatch.
1880.Mar.	22nd - Queesto's mother spent the winter at Captain John's place. On 22 March, a Pacheedaht canoe arrived to pick her up. According to Swan, "the canoe had a few bales of dried fish."
1880.May	10th - Some Pacheedaht people visited and told Swan of the loss of William Spring's schooner *Alert*, along with all of its cargo of seal skins and many of its Indian canoes.
1880.July	11th - – Captain John left his wife at Pachina on his way back from a trip to Beecher Bay, so that she could take care of her sick mother.
1880.Sept.	2nd - Three Pacheedaht canoes arrived bearing oil. Later that day, Swan added that Gallick had purchased 47 gallons of oil from "foreign Indians," likely the Pacheedaht. 23rd - A Pacheedaht woman named Polly Quartsie left her Makah husband and told Swan she was planning to go "back to her own home at Pachina."
1880 Oct.	10th - A Pacheedaht canoe came to trade 132 gallons of oil to Gallick. Two days later, another canoe brought him 75 gallons of oil. 17th - Jimmy went to visit Pachina.[96]

[96] J.G. Swan, Diary 1880-1881 Manuscript, p. 198.

Date	Notes
1880.Nov.	10th - Gallick purchased 818 gallons of "foreign oil" from a group Swan identified only as "Vancouver Island Indians." 22nd - Captain John and his wife went to visit Pachina, returning on 22 November.
1881.Jan.	Queesto "and some other Pachina Indians" visited Captain John.
1881.Feb.	"Capt John & his people" went to Pachina and returned.
1883.Mar.	29th - Swan interviewed several chiefs about the fur seal population. In the process, he spoke to Queesto at Captain John's house.[97] This research occurred as part of an investigation into fur seals undertaken by Swan for Spencer Baird of the U.S. Fish Commission and the Smithsonian Institution. In a subsequent report dated 30 April, Swan stated of the 29 March encounter that: "I went to the house of Captain John… and me[t] there Kvistoh, a chief of the Nittinat Indians on the west coast of Vancouver Island, B.C., and Cedakanim, a chief of the Clyoquot Indians… Quistoh, chief, says: 'Many years ago my father and some other Nittinats were blown off to sea in their canoes; they went a great way off, a great way towards the setting sun. It was warm weather, about your 4th of July, I think. They saw many fur seals, the sea was full of them, and they had little pups with them."[98]

It should also be noted that throughout the period of time that Swan was describing the travel and trade across the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Article 13 of the Makah Treaty, signed in 1855, prohibited the Makah from trading on Vancouver Island:[99]

> The said tribe finally agrees not to trade at Vancouver's Island or elsewhere out of the dominions of the United States, nor shall foreign Indians be permitted to reside in its reservation without consent of the superintendent or agent.

[97] J.G. Swan, Diary 1883 Manuscript, entry for 29 March 1883.
[98] Swan, J. G. (1890). Report of Investigation at Neah Bay Respecting the Habits of Fur Seals, 30 April 1883. Reports of Committees of the Senate of the United States for the First Session of the Fifty-First Congress, 1889-90. Washington, Government Printing Office: 277.
[99] United States of America and Makah Tribe (1855). Treaty between the United States of America and the Makah Tribe of Indians : January 31, 1855, ratified April 18, 1859. Washington DC, United States of America, found at http://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/cdm/ref/collection/lctext/id/1576.

As mentioned, Swan's information recorded in his diary at Neah Bay between 1878 and 1881 was at the time he was a Customs Inspector for the United States. In this capacity he was tasked with ensuring that any trade from the Pacheedaht and other Vancouver Island tribes paid the appropriate duty for entry into the United States.

Nonetheless, it appears that the Pacheedaht and other Vancouver Island people found means to avoid paying duty on goods traded across to Neah Bay. In a letter of July 13th, 1879 to the Collector of Customs at Port Townsend, Swan wrote:[100]

> I find it will be necessary for me to travel frequently among the villages of the coast and strait to prevent oil smuggling and respectfully ask that such [indecipherable] to me. I do not require a boat or boat men, but when it is necessary for me to visit the villages or board vessels I have to hire canoes and can ill afford this expense. You are aware that Vancouver Island Indians run over their oil to their friends on Tatoosh Island and at Archowat and other villages. This oil will be sold to the trader here as Makah manufacture unless I can stop which I can only do by going to the camps at unexpected times and seeing for myself what oil the residents make themselves. The same may be said of Clallam Bay, Pinht and other points particularly at Dungeness where the Nittinaht,[101] Clayoquots and other tribes resort every fall to dig or trade for potatoes.

Swan's letter describes that duty was to be paid on goods delivered from the Pacheedaht to the Makah, and other tribes in the U.S., or to white traders at Neah Bay. Nonetheless, the Pacheedaht, and others, sought to continue their traditional trade with the Makah and others by avoiding Customs Inspector Swan at Neah Bay through travelling to other communities to sell their oil, fish and other products there, duty-free. These products could then be sold to Gallick the trader at Neah Bay, or elsewhere, as being harvested or manufactured in the United States. Swan, without a boat, could do little to intercept this trade.

Swan later wrote further on this subject to the Collector of Customs, on October 13th of 1879, saying that he was going to take an inventory of oil and fish at the warehouse of Gallick the trader at Neah Bay, and that "any amount over the quantity or in excess of what he has reported I will require him to give sworn testimony and evidence that it is of American manufacture…"

Swan's 1879 diary entries also describe instances of Pacheedaht commercial trade in oil sold to white trader Gallick at Neah Bay; presumably the appropriate duty was paid in these instances.

Swan's diary entries provide insight into the extensive travel, trade and traffic across Juan de Fuca Strait that was occurring during the years Swan lived at Neah Bay, and

[100] Swan, J. G. (1852-1907). Papers. Vancouver BC, University of British Columbia Special Colletions. Letterbook 1870-1879.
[101] Swan used this term in reference to the Pacheedaht and Ditidaht both.

confirm that much of the intertribal trade included marine products. Other earlier documents describe the trade in general terms, but Swan's records provide substantial details.

During the late 1800s and into the early 1900s, the once-burgeoning Pacheedaht trade in marine and products that previously existed across the Strait of Juan de Fuca slowed to a trickle due to fisheries, customs, and other regulations enforced by American and Canadian authorities.

The situation that eventually developed is perhaps best described in an exchange of letters between the B.C. Indian Commissioner and the Inspector of Fisheries in 1928. These letters concerned some dried salmon that Chief Queesto Charlie Jones, son of the Queesto described in Swan's diaries, wanted to give to a Makah friend or relative at Neah Bay:[102]

> I recently received a complaint from Charles Jones, an Indian of Port Renfrew, to the effect that Mr. King, the sub-collector of Customs at that place, had seized some dried salmon which Jones was giving to an Indian of Neah Bay, Washington…
>
> .
>
> ... It appears to me that if the fishery regulations in this connection are to be strictly enforced, it will work considerable hardship on the Indians of Vancouver Island. For your information I may say that it has been customary for a great many years for the Indians of the West Coast and other places on Vancouver Island to exchange certain commodities with the Indians of Washington. For instance, dried salmon, wild onions and other things are often traded with the Washington Indians for sea-grasses with which the Indian women make baskets, as this sea-grass is only obtainable on the American side. Nobody is done any harm, and at the same time the Indian women of the West Coast particularly are enabled to earn considerable money in the manufacture and sale of these baskets made from the sea-grass, and as previously stated, it will work a considerable hardship on them if they are not allowed to continue the custom of exchange as above explained.
>
> I trust, therefore, that you will issue orders to the effect which will overcome complaints such as the one mentioned.

The Fisheries response:[103]

[102] Ditchburn, W. E. (1928). Correspondence: Ditchburn, Indian Commissioner for BC to Taylor, Inspector of Fisheries, Nanaimo, 16 November 1928. Library and Archives Canada. RG 10, C-II-2, Volume 11298, Microfilm reel T-16111. Indian Commissioner for British Columbia - Fishing - Correspondence re various agencies, 1919-1930. Ottawa**:** 684-688.

[103] Taylor, E. G. (1928). Correspondence: Taylor, Inspector of Fisheries, Nanaimo to Ditchburn, Indian Commissioner for BC, 20 November 1928. Library and Archives Canada. RG 10, C-II-2, Volume 11298, Microfilm reel T-16111. Indian Commissioner for British Columbia - Fishing - Correspondence re various agencies, 1919-1930. Ottawa

> In reference to your letter 18/12952 of the 16th instant I would advise that the dried salmon held by the Customs Officer at Port Renfrew has been returned to the original owner, the Indian Charles Jones. The question of barter, as outlined in your communication, is new to me, and it would appear necessary to bring the matter before the Department as the disposal of fish taken under permit for food purposes only is an infringement of section 15, subsection 3, of the Special Fishery Regulations for British Columbia. I have forwarded the context of your letter to the Chief Inspector of fisheries, and will write you further in due course.[104]

Despite American and Canadian laws and regulations, the strong relations between the Makah and Pacheedaht have continued to the present time. These relations were fully acknowledged during the warm welcome and gift exchange that occurred with Makah members when a Pacheedaht research team visited Neah Bay in 2016. The Makah people who were visited and interviewed by a Pacheedaht delegation were fully aware of the connections between the Nations, and of the extensive historical and ongoing ties of family, trade, culture and language.

ƛučii?aa?aq - Swiftsure Bank

The following report section focuses on Pacheedaht's history at *ƛučii?aa?a*, Swiftsure Bank, and the importance of the abundant marine resources at this location.[105] Simply put, *ƛučii?aa?a*, Swiftsure Bank, is an extremely important resource area in Pacheedaht's traditional marine history, and remains important for Pacheedaht people today as a source of traditional food that is a foundation of their diet and culture.

ƛučii?aa?aq is located off the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and is of key significance to the Pacheedaht and to their neighbours the Ditidaht and Makah (Figure 2). A traditional source of abundant resources, it is now also critical habitat for many marine species, including a number that have been identified as Species at Risk. *ƛučii?aa?aq* has been identified by Pacheedaht as one of its Critical Areas for a variety of purposes. The re-routing of the international shipping lanes in 2005 intersects and interferes with Pacheedaht's safe access to and at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank; the marine traffic poses potential threats to harvesters and to marine mammals including sea lions, seals, whales and orcas (transients, residents and offshore populations).

ƛučii?aa?aq has historically supported a rich and varied marine life, and remains a preferred harvesting location for the Pacheedaht. *ƛučii?aa?a*, Swiftsure Bank, is located approximately 17 km. southwest of the Pacheedaht's traditional fishing village of *Qala:yit*, Cullite IR No. 3. Up to the early 20th century, Pacheedaht people lived at

[104] No further documentation in this exchange has been encountered to date.

[105] Ditidaht and Makah names for Swiftsure Bank, translations of which include "shallow" and "shallow place," are similar. The Huu-ay-aht name for the bank, as recorded in Arima et al. Between Ports, is *Tłosh?a*, or variants These are different linguistic renderings for *ƛučii?aa?aq* . Arima et al., Between Ports, 174. The English name for the bank, Swiftsure, derives from the HMS Swiftsure, which, historian Joshua Reid reports, "surveyed the area in the 1880s." Reid, Joshua L. 2015. The Sea is My Country: The Maritime World of the Makahs, An Indigenous Borderland People (Yale University Press: New Haven and London), 213.

Qala:yit during the spring and summer months, and travelled to fish at Carmanah, Bonilla Point, Big Bank, and Dare Point as well as at the important fishing locations at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank. There is also evidence, previously described, that Pacheedaht people lived in bighouses at a seasonal camp on Tatoosh Island during the early summer, in what is now the United States, as a base for catching fish at *ƛučii?aa?aq* and processing their catch in smokehouses.

The following report section provides a summary overview of traditional knowledge and historical uses of *ƛučii?aa?aq*, with attention to the Pacheedaht's reliance on and trade in marine resources obtained from the bank. A later report section focuses on the impacts on abundances and access to *ƛučii?aa?a*, Swiftsure Bank, during the post-Contact period, gleaned from Pacheedaht traditional information as well as historical and archival records. Some detail is provided below from government and other printed records which describe the intensive commercial and non-native harvesting that began in the late 1800s and that resulted in greatly depleted resources at *ƛučii?aa?a*, Swiftsure Bank, by the early 20th century.

The historical records provide evidence that a once-abundant resource area at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* traditionally managed by the Pacheedaht, Ditidaht and Makah to the exclusion of others, began to be severely impacted in the 1880s by commercial overharvesting. The documents also confirm what the Pacheedaht, Ditidaht and Makah have always claimed - that they are closely allied by marriage, custom, traditions and language. In drawing on various sources, information that pertains to one of these three named Nations is considered to apply in large or equal measure to the other two as well.

Pacheedaht History at *ƛučii?aa?aq*

Knowledge recorded from Pacheedaht Chief Queesto, Charles Jones, and other sources, describes that the Pacheedaht, Ditidaht and Makah traditionally fished together for halibut and other resources at *ƛučii?aa?aq* . In a 1990 deposition for a Makah court case related to fishing, Chief Queesto stated that "Swiftsure was the best halibut bank in the area."[106] Queesto also spoke in his deposition to the close interconnection between the Ditidaht (including the Pacheedaht) and the Makah, explaining that prior to the creation of Canada and the United States, "we didn't consider being two countries, we were one Tribe, one country."[107] Queesto related that Pacheedaht, Ditidaht, and Makah people often fished together at *ƛučii?aa?aq*, with fishermen from Pacheedaht and Ditidaht meeting beforehand to travel out together to the offshore bank.[108] Queesto also recalled intertribal trade at *ƛučii?aa?aq*, relating that his father obtained salmonberries in trade while fishing at *ƛučii?aa?a*, Swiftsure Bank.[109]

In the past, Indigenous fishermen navigated to *ƛučii?aa?aq* with the aid of landmarks and currents, which they likewise used to locate precise harvesting sites on and near the

[106] "Deposition of Charles Jones (Translator, John Thomas)." 1990. United States District Court for the Western District of Washington at Seattle, The Makah Indian Tribe, Plaintiff v Robert Mosbacher, et al, No. C85-1606M. Victoria, BC. 7.
[107] Charles Jones, *Deposition*, 12-13.
[108] Charles Jones, *Deposition*, 7, 9; Jones, Charles, and Stephen Bosustow. 1981. *Queesto, Pacheenaht Chief by Birthright* (Theytus Books: Nanaimo, B.C.), 27.
[109] Jones and Bosustow, *Queesto*, 32.

bank. In the late 1930s, a Makah elder described how the bank had been discovered and marked by triangulation:[110]

> The old men used to tell that the way halibut were discovered a way out there was when their forefathers went whale hunting. The whalers saw some sea lions, three or four of them, and two had halibut in their mouths. Men took cross bearings on Tatoosh Island, and on Wa-ah-dah island and on the highest peak on Vancouver Island, the one with the bump on this side of it. Next day they went back with hemlock knot hooks and kelp lines, returned to same place by taking bearings, filled the canoe with halibut in a little while, and came home happy and shouting from far out to sea.

In a recent interview, Ditidaht members described that, in the past, a pair of fires would be lit in the vicinity of Nitinat Narrows, and were kept burning through the nights as navigational aids for fishermen travelling to and from *ƛučii?aa?aq* Today, GPS technology is typically used.

Queesto (Chief Jones) provided details on navigating and fishing techniques at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, for a 1976 report:[111]

> Finally there was the *chichibogs* or "hand line" method which was used in the area for offshore halibut fishing: at the Swiftsure Bank, (*ƛučii?aa?aq*) "Shallow place", the halibut bank par excellence. It was located by going out from Clo-oose about nine miles in a line sighted between two mountain peaks near the coast to a peak farther back (Mt. Edinburgh?). This sight line was transected by one running from Cape Flattery, "*bohogwes*" (Looks like an upside-down canoe), and *wa-ada* island off Neah Bay. If it was misty or foggy so that the landmarks could not be seen, the fishermen went to the approximate location by dead reckoning and moved about until they found the 28 fathoms deep water which they knew was the depth of the Swiftsure Bank.
>
> This offshore fishing was done with a large freighter canoe, perhaps about 38-40 feet in length, and with perhaps four men as a typical crew number. Each man handled one line with the usual spreader hung with two hooks and the sinker weight right on the spreader…Halibut was abundant on the Swiftsure Bank and would be caught almost as soon as the hook rig hit the bottom. When the sinker hit the bottom, the line was hauled back two lengths or a fathom to place the hooks a few feet off the bank. The men would sit equidistant along the length of the canoe, fishing on alternate sides. All had to use the same sinker weight to

[110] Kee Tee Tsum (James Hunter), and George Chute. "Correspondence between Chief James Hunter and George Chute Concerning Fisheries and Makah History." In George Chute Papers MS15. Tacoma Washington: Washington State Historical Society, 1937.
[111] Arima, E. (1976). Notes on the Southern West Coast (Nootka) Natives: Environment and Exploitative Techniques of the P'achi:da?ath of Port San Juan. Unpublished manuscript. National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada. Ottawa.

prevent the lines from hanging at different angles in the water and tangling with each other.

Because the tide runs strongly at Swiftsure Bank, a heavier than usual sinker weight was needed, the average weight used being about 7 lbs., according to Chief Jones.

The captain in the stern kept watch as the fishing proceeded to see how much freeboard was left on the canoe as the load of halibut increased. Each man kept count of his catch for when they returned home, each would take out his number of halibuts. Four men could fish and get a full canoe load in about three hours at Swiftsure Bank.

From Vancouver Island they would start out about 2 a.m. and arrive on Swiftsure Bank, at daybreak, having taken about four hours to get there. They would then fish for three or four hours when the westerly wind would come up. With the westerly they could sail home in an hour and a half or two hours, If the fishing was good, each man would get about thirty halibut for a total of a hundred and twenty for a four-man expedition.

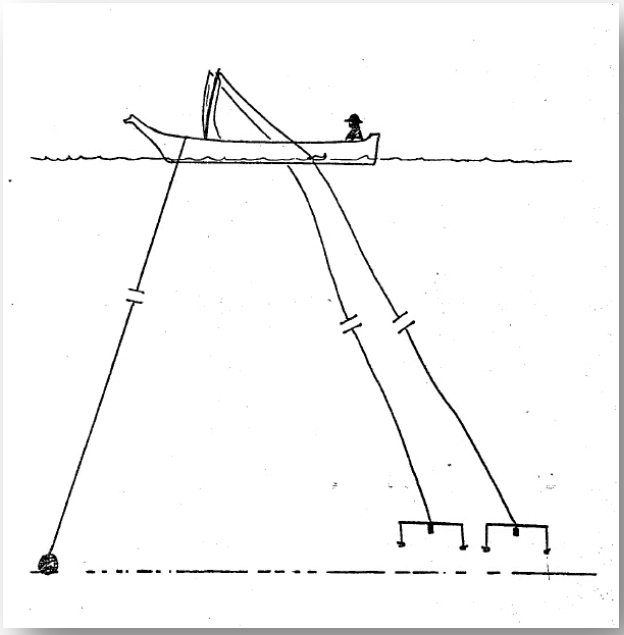

Figure 10: Sketch of anchor and spreader method of halibut fishing at λučii?aa?a, Swiftsure Bank, as described by Chief Queesto.[112]

Queesto also described methods of fishing and navigations methods, and the abundance at Swiftsure, in his autobiography published in 1981:[113]

[112] Ibid. p. 90.
[113] Jones and Bosustow, *Queesto*, 30. Also, "Deposition," 8.

> My father had a house on the west coast here, at a place we call Cullite [*Qala:yit*, Fig. 2], which the white men know as Clide Beach. That was where they used to set out from when they went fishing for halibut. They would fish out on the Swiftsure Banks. There were three different fishing grounds on the Banks. They would go out in big canoes, with either four or six men to a canoe and fish for three or four hours, after which they would have a canoeload and could come back home. The halibut was very plentiful in those days, so they could get a canoe load in a very short time. They had no trouble finding their fishing grounds – they would just line up two familiar landmarks – say a mountain on one side and a point on the other – and they would be right on the fishing grounds. As well, they knew what kind of bottom to look for – gravel bottom or sand bottom. Even in foggy weather, they could always find the right place; they would just keep track of the time they had been travelling and then sound the bottom to get the right depth.

Historical Accounts of *ƛučii?aa?aq* Resource Abundances

Pacheedaht trade in the abundance of marine products found at and near *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, has been observed since the Contact period. The various resources (halibut, salmon, seals, sea otters, dogfish, whales and more) generated surpluses used for trade and profit. The Pacheedaht's harvest of resources at *ƛučii?aa?aq* changed over time to suit market demand and resource availability.

In the June of 1791, the American vessel *Columbia* entered Juan de Fuca Strait on a trading mission. The vessel first encountered a group of Ditidaht whalers out in the Strait who invited the "*Columbia*" to visit their village, and where the American traders purchased sea otter skins and some halibut. The *Columbia* then headed toward Tatoosh Island; while crossing the Strait they encountered Chief Tatoosh and many canoes of his people en route to the fishing grounds at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* and a large canoe with people from Clayoquot Sound headed to trade at Tatoosh Island. One of the people on board the "*Columbia*" described purchasing fish, and the vast numbers of halibut being caught:[114]

> The canoes which went a fishing this morning caught an incredible number of fish, principally halibut, of which we partook a part, these people go great distance as much as 10 or 12 leagues to sea afishing….

An early reference to Indigenous fishing and trade from the Colonial period comes from Vancouver Island Governor James Douglas; he wrote to the British Secretary of State in 1855:[115]

[114] Howay, F.W. "Voyages of the "Columbia" to the Northwest Coast, 1787-1790 and 1790-1793." Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 1941, p. 197.
[115] Douglas, James. "Correspondence: Douglas, Governor Vancouver Island to Russell, Secretary of State, 21 August 1855." In *Vancouver Island Despatches to London 1860, 10048, CO 305/6, p. 109*, 1855.

> The oil exported from this colony is procured from the Native Tribes inhabiting the west coast of Vancouver's Island, and is manufactured by them from the Whale and Dog fish. It is of excellent quality, and has a high character in California, where it brings from 2 to 3 dollars a gallon, in consequence of retaining its fluidness, and burning freely in the coldest weather. It is estimated that a quantity equal to ten thousand Gallons was purchased from the natives of the west coast last year, and considering the imperfect means they possess for taking the fish and trying out the oil it is not unreasonable to suppose that with the use of proper means, the returns of oil would be very greatly increased.
>
> The oil trade is carried on by a few enterprising individuals who live among the Indians, and collect the article as it manufactured by the natives.
>
> Extensive fishing Banks are found on the west coast of Vancouver's Island; where an infinite number of halibut and other fish are caught by the natives…

In 1858, Eddie Banfield, who traded along Vancouver Island's west coast, published a series of articles in the *Daily Victoria Gazette*, previously mentioned. One such article described Pacheedaht fisheries in general:[116]

> The bay, inlet, and river, abounds in salmon and various rock-fish; the water is also perfectly alive at this season of the year with dog-fish - and for the four antecedent years from five to six thousand gallons of oil have been produced from these fish each year, bartered by white traders resident in the bay, sold to the H.B.Co. [Hudson's Bay Company], and by them shipped to England.

Banfield also wrote about "hundreds" of Pacheedaht, Ditidaht and Makah canoes engaged in offshore halibut fishery at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* and described their fishing technology, seal hunting and volume of trade:

> The tribe have also another important fishing ground, the Indian name of which is Carlante [*Qala:yit*]. It is situated on the sea board and to the westward of the bay of Pachinett, where they migrate in the early part of March, and remain until June for the purpose of fishing halibut. These fish are caught by thousands, and of the largest and finest kind, frequently weighing two hundred pounds. The fishing banks are distant from the shores, varying from fifteen to twenty-five miles. The fishermen start about midnight, so as to arrive early on the ground, and remain about seven hours in hundreds of canoes, the sea for miles being dotted with them. The Macaws [Makah], as well as the whole Netinett

[116] Banfield, W.E. 1858. "Vancouver Island. Its Topography, Characteristics, &c, Number II: The Netinett District." In *Daily Victoria Gazette, Vol. 1 No. 23*. Victoria, BC.

> [Ditidaht] tribe, fish on these banks. From two to three men are in each canoe, and invariably, if the weather and sea are at all moderate, they load their tiny craft down to the gunwales; and should the sea or wind make up quick, so as to at all seem to endanger their return, they lash large inflated skins to either side of their canoes, which render them buoyant and safe with their experienced and expert management. They never think of throwing a fish overboard for the purpose of lightening their canoes; yet but few cases of drowning occur. The skins referred to are seal skins with the hair side in, inflated so as to form a perfectly compact and ornamental life buoy; various devices, emblematical of some event in their history, being painted on them. Seals are abundant in this neighbourhood. The flesh the savages eat, and deem it quite a luxury. The Indians frequently dive in six fathoms water and bring up young pup seals two and three at a time, knowing from long habit the precise resorts of these animals.
>
> …
>
> The halibut fishery forms a great article of traffic with neighbouring tribes, with whom the fish are exchanged for potatoes, blankets, cummasse, and other articles of food, clothing, or ornament. The principal intertraffic is carried on with the Sookes, Clallams, and Songish tribes.

Robert Brown of the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition also commented on halibut fishing for Ditidaht and Pacheedaht peoples in June of 1864. At the Ditidaht village at *waayaa*, he noted that the Ditidaht "were at present in the stir of the halibut season."[117] While at Port San Juan, also described *Qala:yit* as a key halibut fishery.[118] Alex Barnston, a member of the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition who Brown sent to *Qala:yit* in search of coal, noted in his journal entry of 6 July 1864 that: "At Calyte we picked up Quistoh the Pachena chief, who had just returned from the Halibut fishing grounds." [119]

In his 1868 *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, settler and later Indian Reserve Commissioner Gilbert Malcolm Sproat described halibut as a key trading commodity for west coast tribes on Vancouver Island: [120]

> The fishing season is during March, April, May, and June. Thousands of halibut, some of them weighing more than two hundred pounds, are

[117] Brown, Robert. 30 June 1864. "Journal of the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition: Volume II (part) + Volume III (part) of Original Mss (True Copy): 1864 From June 28th to July 11th, 1864." In *BC Archives, Robert Brown Collection, MS 794, volume 2, file 3b*, 11. Victoria.
[118] Brown, 8 July 1864, "Journal."
[119] Barnston, Alexander. 1864. "Journal: Alex Barnston, Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition." In *BC Archives. Robert Brown Collection, MS 794, Volume 2, file 4*, 49. Victoria.
[120] Sproat, Gilbert Malcolm. 1868. *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (Smith, Elder & Co.: London).

> caught by the natives, and are exchanged for potatoes, gammass [sic],[121] rush mats, and other articles.

Alluding to the ownership rights at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, of the Pacheedaht, Ditidaht and Makah, Sproat added: [122]

> The fishing tribes on both sides of the Straits of Fuca would drive away any other tribes which had not been accustomed to fish on the halibut banks.

In an 1874 report submitted to the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs about the native tribes of Barkley Sound, near Pacheedaht territory, George Blenkinsop provided detailed information about the large quantities of salmon, cod, fur seals, dogfish livers, whale oil and halibut being harvested. Blenkinsop refers to *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, as the prime location for obtaining fur seals and halibut:[123]

> The sealing ground is from twenty five to forty miles distant from the Coast and extends from [word?] a great distance. It varies from 3 to eight miles in breadth and schooners have on one or two occasions found anchorage in twenty eight fms water.[124]

> Halibut and Cod fish are also dried in early summer in large quantities. In taking the former, principally from the sealing bank off the coast, hooks off their own manufacture made of wood with a bone barb are not infrequently used.

Blenkinsop noted especially that native fishermen and hunters were reaping considerable rewards from the sale and trade in marine products:[125]

> Without any question these people are the richest in every respect in British Columbia, and were a proper disposal made of their immense gains they could furnish themselves with every comfort that they could possibly wish for. There is scarcely any limit to their resources, and it is not too much to say that each Indian could earn from their sealing grounds and fisheries at least $1,000 per ann.[126]…At present many obtain during the year from these two sources from five hundred to seven hundred dollars. I have authority for making these assertions."

[121] Meaning camas.
[122] Sproat, Gilbert Malcolm. 1868. *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (Smith, Elder & Co.: London), 225.
[123] Blenkinsop, George. "Report: Blenkinsop to Powell, Indian Commissioner, 23 September 1874." In *Library and Archives Canada. RG 10, Volume 3614, File 4105, Microfilm reel C-10107. Reports on the West Coast of Vancouver Island and of Barclay Sound (Map, Census Report), 1874*. Ottawa, 1874
[124] Blenkinsop's measurement of 28 fathoms for the sealing bank corresponds with the Swiftsure Bank depth described by Chief Queesto, mentioned previously.
[125] Ibid.
[126] For purpose of comparison, in 1874, Indian Agents' annual salaries were in the range of $400 - $500. Annual Report for the Department of the Interior for the year ended 30th June, 1874. Part 2. Department of Interior. Ottawa: Canada, 1875. p. 71.

J.G. Swan and other residents on the American side of Juan de Fuca Strait made similar observations about the Makah fishing at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, and in the trade from their harvest. In an 1862 newspaper article, Swan wrote about the multiple fish species taken by the Makah, including cod fish, "cultus cod", black cod and halibut. About the halibut he wrote:[127]

> This is the most important fish taken by the Macahs, and next to the whale, is more highly prized than any other product of the ocean. It is taken from Cape Flattery to Port Townsend…
>
> Halibut are taken by the Macah Indians principally during the summer months, when the weather enables them to go in their canoes to the banks some fifteen or twenty miles off the mouth of the straits. They usually start just after midnight and return the following afternoon. The halibut taken here are usually small, the largest I have seen did not exceed one hundred and fifty pounds. They are remarkably fine flavored and very fat. After they are taken ashore and cleaned they are cut up in thin slices and dried on the roofs of houses where the sun shines, or by means of smoke in the houses when it rains. After being dried they are packed in baskets for trading with other Indians on the Sound.

The Makah Indian Agent in 1865 also wrote of the importance to the Makah of marine resources and their trade in various products:[128]

> The waters of the Pacific and Straits of Fuca teem with life -- whales, seals, halibut, cod, salmon, and a variety of smaller fish, and forms of mollusca abound, and forms the principal food of the natives. What the buffalo is to the Indians on the plains, the whale is to the Makah; nor are they contented to procure a scanty and temporary supply, but have abundance to dispose of in trade with the Indians and whites; their oil and skins they dispose of to the latter, and the dried fish to the former, in exchange for such commodities as are required by them.
>
> …
>
> I have omitted to mention other important fishing; the dog-fish, which is taken for its oil, from whose livers the Indians extract large quantities of oil and sell it to the whites."

[127] Swan, James Gilchrist. "Letter to the Editor: The Fish of Puget Sound, 20 June 1862." *The Washington Standard* Volume II No. 39 no. 9 August 1862 (1862/06/20 1862): 1

[128] Webster, Henry A. "Washington Superintendency, Report No. 8: U.S. Indian Reservation, Neeah Bay, W.T., 30 June 1865." In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the Year 1865*, 91-92. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865.

The Makah Indian Agent also noted in 1875 that the Makah, as reported for the Vancouver Island tribes by Blenkinsop, were prospering through their traditional fisheries and trade, and from hunting fur seals near the mouth of Juan de Fuca Strait:[129]

> Their main dependence is upon their fishery, the production of which gives them means of trade for all needed supplies. A few of them will work for wages when short of supplies, and when positively assured that they can obtain them in no other way. Their chief source of revenue is their seal-fishery… From February to June the seal rendezvous near the mouth of the straits in their migration, as it is supposed, from southern latitudes to the Alaskan Isles, where they give birth to their young. They are supposed to linger in these waters to feed upon a certain kind of fish more abundant here than elsewhere. During their sojourn here they are captured by spearing. They are pursued by Indians in their canoes, and are found at various distances from land, from five to twenty miles, being governed in their movements by the direction of the wind. This pursuit is often dangerous.

Samuel Greene, a missionary at Neah Bay, described the seal hunt in the Juan de Fuca Strait during the mid-1870s:

> …the chief man with his tillicums [friends] would take a canoe of sufficient size for three or four, at other times for a dozen persons, part of whom were women, and go on a day's trip for a seal hunt. Sometimes they would have good success and come in with all the boat could carry. As they caught them they turned them over to the women, who were very expert in them removing the skins…the canoe with its load would return to their homes with 30 or 40 skins, worth from one to $10 each. They could take them to a local trader and get cash for them on the spot. Sometimes a one house community would reap a reward of from $50-$200 in a single day. They at this time hunted them with a spear, or harpoon, and they were very skillful.
> …
> Their sealing season began early in January, and continued until April. Most of the hunting done is in the Straits what a spear or harpoon.

The Neah Bay Indian Agent also reported in 1876 on the intermarriage, travel and migration between the Makah and the Pacheedaht and Ditidaht:[130]

> The discrepancy between the population reported last year and that given this year is not all accounted for by the mortality reported. Our

[129] Huntington, C. A. . "Reports of Agents in Washington Territory: Neah Bay, Washington Territory, 25 August 1875." In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, for the Year 1875*, 362-64. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875.
[130] Huntington, C. A. . "Reports of Agents in Washington Territory: Neah Bay Indian Reservation, Washington Territory, 17 August 1876." In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, for the Year 1876*, 133-35. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1876.

> Indians are quite extensively intermarried with those on Vancouver's Island, and they are in the habit of living alternately on the different sides of the straits. When found residing with our people they are counted with them in the census. When away they are not numbered.

Quantities of Marine Resources Caught

Amongst the many sources that attest to the great abundance of fish, whales, fur seals and other resources harvested by the Pacheedaht, Makah and Ditidaht at and near *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, there are some documents that provide specific information about the quantities caught.

Table 3 summarizes information, from customs collector J.G. Swan in 1880, that the Makah Indians caught 1,586,200 pounds of fresh halibut that year, which, canned and dried for winter use, weighed 395,555 pounds. The Makah at that time numbered 700, meaning that an average of 2,266 pounds of halibut were caught per person. The Pacheedaht would have caught a similar amount of halibut at the time.

Table 3: Halibut caught by Makah, 1880.

Fresh Halibut (pounds)	When Canned/Dried (pounds)	Makah Population	Fresh Halibut per person (pounds)	Canned/Dried Halibut per person (pounds)
1,586,200	395,555	700	2,266	565

A report on the United States Pacific Coast Fisheries for 1892, summarized in Table 4, also provides information on the amounts of halibut being harvested by the Makah for commercial and home use, and the number of canoes involved:[131]

> At Neah Bay from 40 to 60 canoes are engaged in halibut fishing from June 15 to August 15. It is thought that perhaps 15 canoes are, on an average, constantly employed. The crews of the canoes number four or five men. About two fares are made each week, or about sixteen trips in a season. The principal fishing grounds are 10 to 15 miles northwest of Cape Flattery,[132] but less important grounds, just out from Neah Bay, are also frequented. Although the catch varies from time to time, the average fare of a canoe, is about 100 fish, with an average weight of 25 pounds each. Some halibut, however, weigh as much as 100 pounds. The aggregate annual yield of this fishery is 600,000 pounds…."[133]

[131] Collins, J. W. "1. Report on the Fisheries of the Pacific Coast of the United States, 1888." In *United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries. Part Xvi: Report of the Commissioner for 1888 [July 1, 1888, to June 30, 1889]*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892.

[132] Referring to *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank

[133] Chief Queesto, as described earlier, estimated that Pacheedaht canoes on average returned with approximately 125 fish. Calculating according to data from the 1888 U.S. fisheries report, this would mean that the average canoe load brought home approximately 3,000 pounds of halibut, or 750 pounds per fisherman in the canoe.

Table 4: Halibut caught by Makah, 1892.

Fresh Halibut (pounds)	Makah Population	Fresh Halibut per person (pounds)
600,000	442	1,357

In the mid-1930s, American fisheries expert George Chute investigated the history of the halibut fishery along the west coast for the International Fisheries Commission in contemplation of publication of a book on the topic. Chute corresponded and met with various Makah people, and others, asking detailed questions about their traditional halibut fisheries. Following are summaries of selected information Chute obtained about the quantities of fish being caught by the Makah, and other details:

Elliott Anderson (b. ca. 1878, writing in 1937)[134]

> Makah people caught fish according to how "lucky" they were. The luckiest people got between 250 to 300 halibuts [per year]. Unlucky people got between 100 to 150. Unlucky people and those unable to fish made dried fish. People who did not fish bought dried halibut, dried salmon, dried red snappers, black bass and lingcod. People always had at least 75 to 100 halibut on hand; halibut ranged in size from 5 to 100 pounds. People could also purchase dried whale meat and smoked whale blubber, paying with cash, blankets or biscuits. Smoked blubber will keep for 1 to 2 years. People fished from their houses at Tatoosh Island from June to August, bringing their dried fish back home after that.

Anderson also described how halibut were dried and stored (verbatim as written by Anderson):

> We dried halibut in the sun… turning it over and over to keep from roasted by heat of sun. When the sun near set, remove it to warm house [smoke house], on the racks just a foot below roof. When no rain, it can be dried on racks outside in the sun. That way will be all clean and white. Dried by smoke will make brownish.
>
> Skin of halibut fat, greasy, Called Klee Kwok. Halibut meat called Pee-tus. When all are dried, put Pee-tus back in Klee Kwok, make tight bundle, and put away in Kla-part. Kla-part is bag made of woven Cedar Park, like basket, 4 feet tall, when full of Pee-tus and Klee Kwok fold top over, both ways, and keep for winter."

[134]Anderson, Elliott. "Letters from Elliott Anderson to George Chute Concerning Makah History and Fisheries." In George Chute Papers MS 15. Tacoma Washington: Washington State Historical Society, 1936-1937.

Table 5 presents an estimation of the amount of halibut caught and dried by the Makah as described by Anderson, and thought to refer to the late 1890s:

Table 5: Halibut caught by Makah, late 1890s; Elliott Anderson information.

Fresh Halibut (pounds)	Makah Population (estimated)	Fresh Halibut per person (pounds)
484,500	425	1,140

Henry St. Clair (b. ca. 1880, writing ca. 1936.)[135]

> when I was a young man it was considered that 300 Halibut of 18 or 20 pounds average weight were necessary to provision a family of five during the winter.
>
> …
>
> Some tribes used to dry berries in square frames or boxes, and four squares, about 10 x 10", were worth one dried halibut. Halibut were traded for dried salal berries, huckleberries and blackberries.
>
> …
>
> I used to be down at Warm House, we live in a great big smokehouse…Each man used to dry 200 big halibut, or more small ones, and 150 to 200 salmon, for winter use…There was much trade with Vancouver island people, dry halibut for blankets.

Table 6 presents an estimation of the amount of halibut caught and dried by the Makah as described by St. Clair, and thought to refer to the late 1890s or early 1900s:

Table 6: Halibut caught by Makah, late 1890s, Henry St. Clair information.

Fresh Halibut (pounds)	Makah Population (estimated)	Fresh Halibut per person (pounds)
501,600	445	1,180

In addition to halibut, the Makah were also harvesting and preserving large quantities of salmon and whale, mostly from *ƛučii?aa?aq,* as well as ducks, deer and elk.

Hee'-dah-hoo'-klup, Sebastian LaChester (Makah Elder and Chief of Indian Police in the 1930s):[136]

> I can remember the last of the old days. We lived in communal houses, they were very large affairs, sheltering many families, and were

[135] Chute, George. "Halibut Manuscript Notes." In George Chute Collection. Tacoma, WA: Washington State Historical Collection, 1936-38.
[136] Hee'-dah-hoo'-klup (Sebastian LaChester), and George Chute. "Transcript of Information Provided by Sebastian Lachester to George Chute." In George Chute Papers. Tacoma Washington: Washington State Historical Society, ca. 1936.

> constructed of great shakes or planks that were split from big cedar logs using many wedges… And these were called hot houses or smoke houses because we dried and smoked our fish in them. The largest hot house was 40' x 100'… Each family required 200 to 400 smoked halibut for their winter provisions. The average family was large…Every year he smoked 250 halibut, and 300 Silver Salmon, and 200 or 300 pounds of whale blubber strips. The old man did the fishing while we boys hunted whales and went after ducks, deer and elk."

These descriptions provide quantification for the high levels of traditional harvesting of halibut and other fish by at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, for the purposes of home use as well as for trade. As described later, a burgeoning commercial halibut fishery that started in the late 1880s impacted the amount of halibut available for traditional Indigenous fisheries. The information from 1880, that the Makah were harvesting an annual average of 2,236 pounds of halibut per person, is thought to best represent the traditional pattern.

Whale and dogfish oil were also valued commodities; and both were obtained in large quantities at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, by the Pacheedaht, Ditidaht and Makah. Based on information obtained in 1855, ethnologist George Gibbs reported that:[137]

> The Makah were till lately in the habit of purchasing oil from Nittinat[138] also, and have traded in a single season, it is said, as much as 30,000 gallons. Previous to becoming whalers, the young men go through a species of probation…A portion of them only attain the dignity of whalers, a second class devote themselves to halibut, and a third to salmon and inferior fish, the occupations being kept distinct, in a large measure. The larger class of canoes generally belong to a single individual and he receives a proportionate share of the booty from the crew. Halibut season is from March to May, then the salmon season commences."

Based on the information by Governor Douglas from 1856, previously referenced, (oil sold for 2 to 3 dollars US per gallon), the 30,000 gallons of oil traded from the "Nittinat"[139] fetched between $60,000 to $90,000 U.S. at the time, or $3,200,000 to $4,800,000 in current (2019) U.S. dollars.

While the Pacheedaht, Ditidaht and Makah were renowned whalers, there are only a few documents which provide detailed information about how many whales were caught on an annual basis. In 1859, the Makah killed 7 whales and found 6 dead

[137] Gibbs, George, ed. Tribes of Western Washington and Northwest Oregon, with Map. edited by J.W. Powell. Vol. 1, Contributions to North American Ethnology: Dept. of the Interior, U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, 1877, p. 175.
[138] Gibbs reference to "Nittinat" includes both Pacheedaht and Ditidaht.
[139] Douglas' reference to "Nittinat" refers to the Pacheedaht and Ditidaht both, as reported in his 1856 census.

whales, rendering 10,000 gallons of oil from these whales.[140] Another report concerning the Makah from 1891 stated they had taken 12 whales that year.[141] Elliot Anderson reported that, on average, a whale provided from 10 to 15 tons of meat and 10 tons of blubber.[142] The blubber would be cut up for oil, and some blubber would be dried and would last up to three or four years. Using the same calculations as those in the previous paragraph, the 10,000 gallons of oil rendered from the 13 whales obtained by the Makah in 1859, if sold, would have been valued at approximately $1,067,000 to $1,600,000 in current (2019) U.S. dollars, or between $82,000 to $123,000 per whale.

Dogfish was also a valued commodity. In Banfield's newspaper article of 1859, he estimated that the Pacheedaht sold between 5,000 and 6,000 gallons of dogfish oil to the Hudson's Bay Company, who in turn sold it in England. Again, using Gov. Douglas market prices from 1856, this oil would have been worth approximately $640,000 and $960,000 in current (2019) U.S. dollars.

George Blenkinsop, in his 1874 report for the Canadian Dept. of Indian Affairs, previously cited, also reported on the value of dogfish oil for the native people of Barkley Sound, near Pacheedaht territory:

> Another source of wealth to be found is their oil fisheries from 20 to 25,000 gallons being produced in the course of the year which they sell to the traders for $.25 per gallon. The dogfish is by far the most important and it certainly seems the supply is inexhaustible….These fish are to be found in all seasons of the year in these waters but are most abundant in March, August and December when they are taken in vast quantities. Each canoe will average during these months about 200 per diem, and as the liver of ten are said to produce 1 gallon of oil, each individual would therefore earn while so employed from 4 to 6 dollars and they rarely fish more than four hours during the day.

The information above, along with some presented later, provides evidence that the Pacheedaht, Ditidaht and Makah were all traditionally engaged in frequent and extensive harvesting of marine resources, particularly at *ƛučii?aa?aq*, from the time of Contact, and through the Colonial Period. The primary resources harvested at *ƛučii?aa?aq* include halibut, whales, fur seals, salmon, and dogfish. Many sources describe that the marine resources harvested were not intended for home use alone, that surplus resources were accumulated, and these formed the basis of an extensive traditional intertribal trade in marine products. After Contact, intertribal trade continued, at the same time as commercial trade or sale for cash and other goods with non-native people.

[140]Swan, James G. "Diary: James Gilchrist Swan, 1859." University of Washington Library Digital Collection. Pacific Northwest Historical Documents Collection. Seattle, 1859.
[141] McGlinn, John P. "Reports of Agents in Washington: Neah Bay Indian Agency, 17 August 1891." In Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, for the Year 1891, 447-50. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891.
[142] This information likely refers to humpback whales which average 28-33 tons.

Commercial Fishing and Hunting at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, 1870s to 1920s

With the abundance of marine resources at Swiftsure and an increasing non-native population in western North America, there commenced a large-scale, non-native fishing and mammal hunting that targeted the abundant resources at *ƛučii?aa?aq*, Swiftsure Bank.

The purpose of the following section is to provide a summary for the intensive nature of the commercial non-native fisheries and other harvesting that began at *ƛučii?aa?aq* in the 1870s and 1880s, and that resulted in the severe depletion of halibut, salmon, whales, fur seals and other marine resources by the early part of the 20th century. The overharvesting of resources, in combination with fisheries regulations and management practices, have presented major obstacles to the Pacheedaht's pursuit of their traditional harvesting. Community members have expressed a strong desire to see abundant resources return to *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, as well as other areas, so that they can resume harvesting marine resources at traditional levels.

International Fur Seal Hunt

In 1893 a number of Pacheedaht provided testimony to the Bering Sea Tribunal concerning the history of fur seal hunting. The 1893 testimony describes that the traditional hunt focused on the fur seals that congregated on the feeding grounds at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* as well as the commercial fur seal hunting practices that developed

Testimony from two Pacheedaht individuals is summarized here:[143]

- "Kas-ado" who had been hunting seals for approximately 40 years, in reference to *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, stated that:

  > We used to hunt from 10 to 15 miles from shore, and would get from 10 to 16 seals in a-day in our canoe; now we go out in schooners and hunt from 30 to 50 miles from shore, and only get about four in a day in our canoe [the seals] have been frightened away from shore by the white hunters, who use guns…Seals are always more numerous in years that the herring are plentiful on the Halibut banks than when the feed is scarce.

- "Charlie Quisto" identified himself as the Pacheedaht Chief, and as a hunter and fisherman who had hunted seals from "the beach and from schooners… Right after Christmas we move …to Kah-light (or K'lyde), on the coast where there is a nice beach, and we stay there for a month before we are

[143] Charlie Quisto, et al. (1893). Affidavits and Declarations:— II. Testimony of Indians engaged in pelagic sealing and in independent seal hunting, November 1892. Bering Sea Tribunal of Arbitration. Counter-case presented on the part of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty to the Tribunal of Arbitration. Ottawa. Appendix. Volume II: pp. 140-141

> able to hunt, as the weather is so bad. That is where I saw my first seal, and I have seen them up the Straits as far as Race Rocks, about 3 miles from shore. I hunt from the shore for about two months, and then go north in the schooner… Some years seals are more plentiful than others, and years the herring are plentiful the seals are always very plentiful.

Captain Devereux, who had been on the coast for 27 years and commanded the Canadian Government steamer "*Douglas,*" provided testimony to the Bering Sea Tribunal that corroborated the information from the Pacheedaht sealers. Devereux stated that sealing:[144]

> …had been practiced from times which are prehistoric for the West Coast; but the total number of seals thus taken (save in certain exceptional years) was always small, and it was not till about the year 1869 that the first practical essays were made in taking the seals at sea with the assistance of schooners provided with Indian hunting crews and canoes.

In its report, the Bering Sea Tribunal described that:[145]

> The Aht or Nootkan tribes, inhabiting the whole of that part of the west coast of Vancouver Island to the south of Cape Cook, are the most noted of the British Columbian Indians as expert fur-seal hunters…These Aht people furnish by far the larger part of the Indian hunters employed on sealing schooners…
> …
> The elder men say that before they were born (say, about sixty years ago), the fur-seal was hunted for food and clothing, and was abundant; but on several occasions a number of Indians lost their lives at sea while hunting, and, consequently, for about twenty years the hunting was practically given up. About the time the small-pox came among them (probably in 1832, as ascertained from other sources) hunting began again, and has been continued ever since.

Pacheedaht's traditional hunting of fur seals was conducted in canoes and was focused at *ƛučii?aa?aq* Swiftsure Bank. The herring that schooled in the early months of the year at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, provided feed for the seals, and these were hunted by the Pacheedaht with spears. The traditional Indigenous hunting of seals was observed by white schooner operators who, starting in 1869, adapted the hunt to a large- scale commercial hunt from schooners, using guns. The fur seal hunt was extremely profitable, but also very destructive.

[144] United States. Behring Sea Arbitration (1893). Report of British Commissioners. Report of the Behring Sea Commission and Report of the British Commissioners of June 21, 1892, With Five Maps and Diagrams, and Appendices. London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Queen's Printer**:** 1-241.
[145] Ibid.

Fur seals were originally abundant at *ƛučii?aa?aq* Swiftsure Bank and also appeared in the Strait of Juan de Fuca as far as Race Rocks prior to the commercial hunt. The fur seal population was weakened and then threatened by commercial hunting practices that used firearms, introduced by white schooner operators seeking large profits from the sale of the furs.

Eventually, due to intensive overhunting by commercial sealing fleets based in Canada, the United States, Russian and Japan, regulations curtailing seal hunting practices were introduced in 1894, as recommended by the Bering Sea Arbitration. An international treaty was signed in 1911 that banned hunting of fur seals by everyone except native Indians, north of 30 degrees latitude.[146] However, by 1911 the fur seals had been hunted to near extinction, meaning that the Pacheedaht and other tribes suffered a significant loss in resources and potential income. Some fur sealing hunting continued into the 1930s. The fur seal population has yet to recover, but if populations rebound, fur seals would again be considered part of the marine resources available to Pacheedaht for harvest in exercise of an Indigenous right.

Whaling

Whaling was essential to Westcoast Indigenous cultures for perhaps 4,000 years, and whale hunting was a central component of Pacheedaht traditions. Successful whale hunters achieved great status, and rigorous spiritual and physical preparation were essential components of the whale hunt.[147] While traditional Indigenous whaling has been widely reported for its cultural and ritual importance, it also had great economic value. The whales preferred by Pacheedaht and other Indigenous hunters were right whales, gray whales and humpback whales.[148] Chief Charles Jones of Pacheedaht provided an intimate account of the process of the whale hunt, including ritual preparation, hunting strategy, and capture.[149]

Two creatures, the Killer Whale and the Wolf are believed to be of the same spirit, with the ability to transform from one creature to the other as they move between land and sea.[150] Killer Whales are held in the highest regard, and were not targeted during hunts but only pursued as a test by young whalers.[151]

Commercial whaling off the west coast of Canada, at first conducted mostly by whaling vessels from the vicinity of Boston and New Bedford in the United States, began in the mid-1800s, and, while profitable for the crews and owners, resulted in wholesale slaughter of whale populations in the north Pacific Ocean. These operations, combined with "bay whaling" in California, greatly reduced the number of gray whales and right

[146] Murray, Peter. The Vagabond Fleet: A Chronicle of the North Pacific Sealing Schooner Trade. Victoria, B.C.: Sono Nis Press, 1988. pp. 214-216.
[147] Cote, Charlotte. "Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors." Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010.
[148] Kool, Richard. "Northwest Coast Indian Whaling: New Considerations." Canadian Journal of Anthropology 3, no. 1 (1982).
[149] Arima, Eugene, and Alan Hoover. "The Whaling People of the West Coast of Vancouver Island and Cape Flattery." Victoria, BC: Royal BC Museum, 2011, p. 61-63.
[150] Arima, Eugene, and Alan Hoover. "The Whaling People of the West Coast of Vancouver Island and Cape Flattery." Victoria, BC: Royal BC Museum, 2011, p. 28.
[151] Ibid., p. 59.

whales along the Pacific Coast by the mid-1850s. Later, in the early 1900s, a whaling station was established in Barkley Sound. Improved whale hunting and processing technology, resulted in an additional slaughter of thousands of whales in local waters.[154]

The Pacific Whaling Company's station in Barkley Sound was established in 1906, and some of the harvest records of their operations have been collected and analyzed, and are presented in Table 7.[155] The Pacific Whaling Company's ships favoured *ƛučii?aa?aq,* (Swiftsure Bank) as a prime whale hunting location, as well as other areas inside Barkley Sound. During the years for which records are available (1908-1914, 1917) 2,244 whales were killed by the Pacific Whaling Company's hunter ships. Humpbacks were the species most frequently killed, and comprise 1,869, or 83%, of the whales reported. The information presented in Table 7 demonstrates that the number of whales killed began to decline, due to overharvesting, after 1911. The whaling station in Barkley Sound closed in 1918.

Table 7: Whale kill records from Pacific Whaling Company station in Barkley Sound. Records before 1908, and for 1915 and 1916 not available.

	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1917	Total
Sperm Whale	1			1	5	4	4		15
Blue Whale	32	14	15	23	12	5	8		109
Fin Whale	16	10	23	46	43	30	40	12	220
Humpback Whale	201	334	389	403	224	236	34	48	1869
Sei Whale								29	29
Bottlenose Whale								1	1
Gray Whale				1					1
Total	250	358	427	474	284	275	86	90	2244

Commercial whale hunting drastically reduced inshore whale populations and effectively brought an end to Indigenous whaling. Chief Queesto Charlie Jones recalled that by the time he was strong enough to use a big whaling spear, Pacheedaht whaling had ended as the white hunters had killed all the whales.[156] A whaling harpoon owned by Chief Queesto Charles Jones is a featured display at the Sooke Regional Museum. Since the international ban on commercial whale hunting was established in 1986, local whale populations are beginning to recover. Pacheedaht and other fishermen who today frequent *ƛučii?aa?aq,* and the waters near *Qala:yit*, report many sightings of gray and humpback whales populations during recent years.

The importance of whale hunting for Indigenous groups on Vancouver Island's west coast, including the Pacheedaht, is well-known and has been widely reported. Whaling has been described as "the basis of the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth

[154] Webb, Robert Lloyd. On the Northwest, Commercial Whaling in the Pacific Northwest 1790-1967. Vancouver BC: University of British Columbia, 1988. passim; Kool. *Northwest Coast Indian Whaling: New Considerations*, 1982.
[155] Williamson, Laurie. "The Commercial Shore-Based Whaling Industry on the West Coast of Vancouver Island." In Pacific Rim Project, File 403. Victoria, BC: Archaeology Collections, Royal BC Museum, 1984.
[156] Jones, *Queesto,* 1981, pp. 8, 37.

worldviews, identities, and cultures. Whales were seen as sacred gifts providing the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth peoples with spiritual and nutritional sustenance."[158] It is the expressed hope of Pacheedaht members that they might one day be able to resume their traditional whale hunting activities.

Halibut Fisheries

The 1888 Annual Report for British Columbia Fisheries reported on early developments in non-Indigenous commercial fisheries, and described American fishing boats harvesting halibut at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, and within Canadian territorial waters:[159]

> Halibut
> Since last season a trade of considerable importance has been opened up for this fish, but I am sorry to say not much to the benefit of our people. Mr. Sol Jacobs, of Gloucester, U.S., visited this coast during the fall of 1887, and made reasonable rates with the Northern Pacific Railway Company[160] to carry his halibut fresh in ice to Boston…The schooners are sent from there [Port Townsend] to the banks and when they return, the cargo is packed with ice in boxes, and shipped in carload lots to Boston and New York where they command good prices. Most of the fresh halibut shipped this season, which must have amounted to at least half a million pounds, were caught off the Flattery[161] and Alberni banks, and I am led to believe the largest portion of these fish were caught within the three mile limit."

The U.S. Fish Commission Steamer *Albatross* cruised the west coast waters of the United States in 1888 to investigate and report on the Americans' fishing activities. The report included information about fisheries at *ƛučii?aa?aq*, Swiftsure Bank:[162]

> The halibut fishery of the northwestern coast is destined to become an important industry…Within the past year two or three large vessels from the Gloucester fishing fleet have obtained successful fares upon the Pacific grounds off Cape Flattery, shipping large cargoes of fresh fish by railroad to the markets of the Eastern States. With proper management this industry might have a rapid growth.
>
> Halibut grounds.-The nearest bank to Puget Sound, where halibut are abundant, is located off Cape Flattery at the mouth of the Straits of Fuca, and extends from close in shore to some 12 or 15 miles off the cape, in

[158] Cote, Charlotte. "Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors." Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010, p. 41.
[159] Mowat, Thomas. "Appendix No. 8: Annual Report on the Fisheries of British Columbia for the Year 1888, by Thomas Mowat, Inspector, 31 December 1888." In *Annual Report of the Department of Fisheries Dominion of Canada for the Year 1888*, 233-55. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1889.
[160] The railway terminus was in Tacoma, Washington.
[161] The Flattery Bank referred to is the same as *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank.
[162] Tanner, Z. L., Charles H. Townsend, A.B. Alexander, and Richard Rathbun. "1. Explorations of the Fishing Grounds of Alaska, Washington Territory, and Oregon, During 1888, by the U. S. Fish Commission Steamer Albatross, Lieut. Comdr. Z. L. Tanner, U.S. Navy, Commanding." In *Bulletin of the United States Fish Commission. Volume Viii for 1888*, 1-92. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890.

> depths of water ranging from 35 to 75 fathoms. From early in the spring until the middle of June halibut can be obtained on these grounds in paying quantities, but later in the season dogfish and sharks strike in, driving nearly all the edible fish away.

The Makah, Pacheedaht and Ditidaht were not pleased with the development of a non-native commercial fishery on their halibut banks at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank. The Neah Bay Indian Agent reported on the situation in his 1891 report:

> During the present season there has been a mosquito fleet of about twenty fishing boats, and four or five schooners manned by white men, engaged in halibut fishing. Those boats with their improved appliances have caught enormous quantities of fish. One of the schooners left the bay with 35,000 pounds of fresh halibut packed in ice, for up-sound ports, the fish to be shipped east by rail. Two other schooners caught recently 25,000 pounds each....
>
> The Indians view with jealousy the encroachments of the white men on what they have always regarded as their exclusive possessions, and find for the first time in their history that white competition has overstocked, and will I am afraid eventually take from them a market of which heretofore they have had almost a monopoly.

Canadian authorities were also displeased with the American fishing fleet's encroachment occurring within the federal three-mile territorial limit. Fisheries Inspector Mowat noted in the Annual Report on the Fisheries in B.C. for 1889 that American vessels were fishing in Canadian waters, and wrote that "this state of things will continue as long as our coast remains unguarded and the Americans are allowed to fish with impunity in our waters."[163]

Pacheedaht and Ditidaht leaders were also aware of the encroachment, and, when asked, many years later, in May 1914, they presented their views to the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia. Ditidaht leader Captain Joe, at a meeting in Clo-oose, stated his concerns about the decades-long intensive fishing by American and other boats: [164]

> CAPTAIN JOE: There used to be lots of halibut out here off the banks, and the American schooners have been going out there right along and have been getting rid of all the fish that used to be out there; and still the Japanese come closer to the shore.
>
> MR. COMMISSIONER CARMICHAEL: How close do they come in?

[163] Mowat, Thomas. "Appendix No. 9: Annual Report on the Fisheries of British Columbia for the Year 1889, by Thomas Mowat, Inspector, 31 December 1889." In *Annual Report of the Department of Fisheries Dominion of Canada for the Year 1889*, 247-62. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1890.

[164] Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia. 1914. "Minutes: Meeting with the Nitinat Tribe or Band of Indians on their Reserve at Clo-oose, 7 May 1914." *BC Archives. MS-1056*, 8-24. Victoria.

> ANSWER: About 2 miles. I want to get authority from the Government to keep the fishermen out three miles from the shore so that the Indians can fish."

In 1896, the Canadian Government was informed again that the Vancouver Island fishing banks presented great fisheries opportunities; and citied as evidence the successful fishing operations of the "Vancouver Island Indians:"[165]

> Beyond the banks as located on the United States fisheries Chart, some of which lie in close proximity to our principal ports, we are almost ignorant of the true capabilities of our fishing banks…Personal observation of the Vancouver Island Indians has proved that when they set out on a halibut fishing expedition they usually return with loaded canoes after a few hours fishing, with the most primitive fishing implements, which points to an abundance of fish within an easy distance from their villages."

In 1899, the Indian Agent for the Makah reported that the native economy was suffering a downturn due to their loss of fur sealing, and a reduction in whale oil and halibut sales:[166]

> There was a time once when they had plenty, when whale oil brought a good price and they were permitted to kill seal; then they had money and had everything they wanted that money could buy. At that time they owned several schooners and made regular trips to Alaska sealing, and were very successful. In their native canoes they went many miles out in the Pacific and killed whales of great size, and now the market for whale oil is gone. They are prohibited from sealing, their schooners were seized and sold…They live only a short distance from fine halibut banks and in a day can catch thousands of pounds of fine edible fish, but they do not realize as much from this market as they should.

In response to the ever-increasing American fishing fleet's activity within Canada's territorial waters, the Canadian Department of Marine and Fisheries commissioned a new cruiser, *Kestrel*. The report from its first patrol duty between the Fraser River and Carmanah Point stated that "our presence in these waters at once had the effect of stopping poaching with seining nets along our coast."[167] Despite this claim, in 1904 the

[165] Gaudin, J. (1896). Correspondence: Gaudin, Fisheries Agent, Victoria to Prince, Dominion Commissioner of Fisheries, 10 April 1896. BC Archives. GR-2908, Canada, Department of Marine and Fisheries, RG 23, File No. 2165, pt. 1, BC Archives Microfilm reel B-11109. Ottawa

[166] Morse, S. G. (1899). Reports of Agents in Washington: Neah Bay Indian Agency, 21 July 1899. Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30 1899: Indian Affairs Part I. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office**:** 356-357.

[167] Spain, O. G. V. and H. Newcombe (1904). Appendix No. 13: Report of the Fisheries Protection Service of Canada for the Season 1903 (including) Officers' Reports of Captains Commanding Canadian Cruisers, 31 December 1903. Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries 1903: Fisheries. Ottawa, S.E. Dawson, King's Printer**:** 276-298.

Kestrel reported that the American halibut fleet, within one year "has increased from 12 to 27 schooners and from 3 to 8 steamers with two new steamers and one schooner building. The crews of the schooners average seven men each, the steamers 36 men each, making 477 men engaged."[168] It was clear also that the American halibut fleet continued to operate in Canadian waters. A fisheries journal in 1905 presented the Canadian view about the American halibut fleets intense activities in Canadian waters:[169]

> The halibut banks of British Columbia are being despoiled at the rate of hundreds of thousands of dollars annually by thievish American poaching craft operated out of Puget Sound, says the Vancouver Province.
>
> To date, the government has one protective cruiser in these waters. She is the *Kestrel*, and it is her duty to patrol… some thousand or fifteen hundred miles of coast line… It is absolutely impossible for the *Kestrel* to patrol the entire coastline… Hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of good Canadian fish are in this manner made to enrich American fishermen and fish dealers annually.

By 1906, it was observed that commercial halibut fishing had already devastated fisheries at *ƛučii?aa?aq* . The B.C. Fisheries Guardian's report in 1906 on halibut fishing in B.C. stated that "the once prolific areas northwest of Cape Flattery have long been 'played out'…, and the fishing fleet was now targeting other areas.[170] Nonetheless, the Pacific Fisherman journal, in June of the same year, reported that American halibut fishing continued to expand, and that "the Pacific banks are extensive and prolific enough to supply bountiful catches for a much larger number of boats, and before long the number of boats engaged in the trade will have doubled."[171]

Following this report, the commander of the Canadian patrol vessel *Kestrel* reported on the intense harvesting, depletion and waste resulting from the American halibut fishing fleet's activities in Canadian waters:[172]

> Referring to the 39,334,329 lbs. of halibut caught during the year 1906 by foreign fishermen in the waters off the coast of British Columbia, I beg to state that said amount is accounted for as follows :—
>
> Lbs.

[168] Spain, O. G. V. and H. Newcombe (1905). Appendix No. 13: Report of the Fisheries Protection Service of Canada for the Season 1904 (including) Officers' Reports of Captains Commanding Canadian Cruisers, 22 December 1904. Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries 1904: Fisheries. Ottawa, S.E. Dawson, King's Printer**:** 279-301

[169] Pacific Fisherman (1905). "Article: The Canadian View, November 1905." Pacific Fisherman Vol 3 No 11: 11-12.

[170] Prince, E. E. (1906). Special Appended Reports: II: The Pacific Fishing Industries of Canada. Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries 1906: Fisheries. Ottawa, S.E. Dawson, King's Printer**:** lix-lxxii.

[171] Pacific Fisherman (1906). "Article: Growing Importance of the Pacific Halibut Fishery, June 1906." Pacific Fisherman Vol 4 No 06: 8.

[172] Spain, O. G. V. and H. Newcombe (1907). Appendix No. 13: Report of the Fisheries Protection Service of Canada for the Season 1907 (including) Officers' Reports of Captains Commanding Canadian Cruisers, 30 October 1907. Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries 1907: Fisheries. Ottawa, S.E. Dawson, King's Printer**:** 299; 315-319.

> The New England Fish Company 9,414,330
> The Tacoma Fish Company 7,946,666
> The San Juan Fish Company 3,973,333
> Taken by the smaller crafts 18,000,000
> Total catch 39,334,329
>
> The above stated companies employ large boats which operate twelve dories each and fish with from twelve to twenty-four miles of trawls for each steamer.
> …
> Each and every one of the above craft, frequent and clean their fish in the harbours of British Columbia when the *Kestrel* is not there to prevent this violation of our laws and the destruction of our in-shore fisheries, as it is a well-known fact that fish will not frequent waters where dead fish and offal are disposed of, in connection with the above it might be well to here state that when the foreign fishing vessels (herein referred to) are on the fishing grounds following up the halibut, when setting their trawls they often find that the halibut are not on the grounds, and instead of catching halibut they catch black and grey cod, which valuable fish are thrown overboard and destroyed; not only are tons upon tons of these valuable fish wasted each year, but the fishing grounds are depleted for as I have already stated, fish will not frequent waters where dead fish or offal are disposed of.
> …
> Some of the halibut banks upon which the halibut were caught in the beginning of the halibut fishing in the coast waters of British Columbia, fifteen years ago, are now depleted, and the fishermen do not fish there."

The Dominion Fisheries Commission conducted an investigation on halibut and other fisheries from 1905 to 1907. The Commission's report concluded that:[173]

> It is generally agreed amongst experienced fishermen that the British Columbia halibut banks have seriously deteriorated during the last ten or twelve years, and it is absolutely essential that some measures be adopted to save the halibut supply from exhaustion, a fate which has befallen the banks of western and northern Europe and of the Atlantic shores of Canada.
>
> The most urgent measure, as well as the most effective, is the rigid enforcement of a close season, from Dixon entrance on the north to the international boundary in the Straits of Georgia and Juan de Fuca.

[173] Sweeny, C., et al. (1908). Part I: Report of the Dominion British Columbia Fisheries Commission, 1908. Dominion British Columbia Fisheries Commission 1905-1907. Report and Recommendations, With Addenda and Appendices. Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau. pp 41-42.

The *Kestrel* commander's report for 1907-1908 noted:[174]

> It is a fact that many of these banks are fast being ruined, and without further protection, our halibut fisheries will soon be something of the past. The large fishing firms recognize this, and instead of building the regular type of fishing vessels are now building vessels, that when not used for fishing, can be put to other purposes. We have at present the finest fishing banks in the world, and it seems a shame to let them become depleted when with proper protection they would last for many years to come; but at the present rate of the increase of fishing, one of the finest assets of the Dominion of Canada will have passed for ever. We need more boats and want them now."

Halibut Scarcity, Increase in Salmon Fishing

With halibut fishing banks showing the impacts of overfishing, reports begin to describe American fish boats resorting to poaching sockeye:[175]

> Halibut fishermen operating out of Seattle on the Cape Flattery banks have about concluded to go north and try their luck in the Bering sea banks…Catches have been very poor of late, and fishermen were receiving for sockeyes during the height of the salmon run proved to be an incentive for considerable fish piracy on the salmon banks.

By 1911, with the depletion of halibut stocks at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, the American fishing fleet turned its attention to sockeye salmon. The *Pacific Fisherman* reported on the developments in salmon seine fishing:[176]

> Salmon fishing off Cape Flattery is an innovation that was started last summer…Heretofore, the salmon fishermen have been content to fish on the banks at the San Juan islands…Sayers Brothers found last summer, however, that the fish sometimes laid outside Flattery in large schools which offered a splendid opportunity for the fishermen to get a haul at them before they came inside. These salmon fishing banks promise to become quite popular as those who fished there last year had good success.

A report from an officer on the life-saving tug *Snohohmish* concerning the intense salmon fishing activity at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, in 1911 was published in the *Pacific Fisherman*:[177]

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[174] Spain, O. G. V. and H. Newcombe (1909). Appendix No. 13: Report of the Fisheries Protection Service of Canada (including) Officers' Reports of Captains Commanding Canadian Cruisers, 15 April 1908. Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries 1907-08: Fisheries. Ottawa, S.E. Dawson, King's Printer**:** 301-305.

[175] Pacific Fisherman (1906). "Article: Halibut Schooners to Leave for North, September 1906." Pacific Fisherman **Vol 4 No 09**: 14.

[176] Pacific Fisherman (1911). "Article: George Ivancich, January 1911." Pacific Fisherman Vol 9 No 01: 25.

[177] Pacific Fisherman (1911). "Article: Pacific Coast Halibut Fishery Operations; Brockway, August 1911." Pacific Fisherman Vol 9 No 08: 15.

> …after an inspection of the 200 gasoline boats engaged in salmon fishing along the salmon banks of San Juan and off Cape Flattery, declares that untold thousands of very young fish not ready this year for the spawning streams have been taken by the small boats, most of which are equipped with seines and are practically all operated by Italians, Greeks, Hungarians and Austrians. More seines were used this year off Cape Flattery than ever before. The seiners locate a school of salmon and then speed their boats around the fish, paying out the seines as they go, thus bagging fish of all sizes.

In 1911, the Victoria newspaper *Daily Colonist* described that the American salmon fishing fleet was operating not just at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, but also well within the Canadian three-mile limit. The report also stated that the American boats were buying salmon from local native fishermen, likely Pacheedaht and Ditidaht:[178]

> Wholesale violation of the international fisheries regulations is being carried out along the west coast of Vancouver Island in the neighbourhood of Swiftsure Bank, where a fleet of 225 gasoline launches from different points on the American side is engaged in taking salmon by purse seines, a large proportion being operated within the territorial limits.
>
> Mr. Daykin[179] who arrived from Carmanah today says: 'the launches during the nighttime anchor right on the Canadian coast and during the morning fish close in, often only at a distance of half a mile from the shore…Many Indians from the Vancouver Island villages are out with canoes taking salmon and selling them to the launch operators.

Daykin's observations from the Carmanah lighthouse reveals that native fishermen along the Vancouver Island shore were pursuing their traditional trading practices by catching salmon and selling them to the American boats along the coast near *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank. This practice is confirmed by a petition sent by Ditidaht (Nitinat) fishermen to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1911, which outlined an important issue concerning sales of fish to an American fish boat:

> 1. That our reserves lie adjacent to the Pacific Ocean and the Straits of Juan de Fuca.
> 2. That last summer we were engaged in trolling for salmon both in the open ocean beyond the 3 mile limit and occasionally within the 3 mile limit and in the Strait. We were selling the salmon so caught to a vessel which lay out beyond the 3 mile limit. Apparently this vessel was owned in the U.S. and the fish taken there, but of this we had no positive knowledge.

[178] Daily Colonist (1911). "Article: Operating in Canadian Waters, 12 August 1911." The Daily Colonist Vol CIII No 580: 1.
[179] Daykin was the lighthouse keeper at Carmanah Point.

> 3. That Dominion Fishery officials stopped us doing so and threatened to have us arrested because of a fishery regulation which says that fresh salmon shall not be exported to the U. States.
> 4. That this regulation was framed entirely to prevent people fishing with cannery gear at the mouth of the Fraser River, taking the fish over to the American side and selling them there, thus practically stealing them from the Canneries.
> 5. That this could not have happened in our case as we were fishing entirely on our own account and we did not export the fish but sold them to a vessel on the high seas and we were not responsible for what it did with them.
> 6. That as this small industry furnished us with a chance to earn money while remaining at home on our reserves instead of having to wander to the Fraser River and to the hop fields of the U. States in search of work where Indians are apt to get into trouble and contract disease etc.– it would be highly desirable that it might be continued.
> 7. Therefore we beg you to use influence with the Dept. of Marine & Fisheries to allow us next year to troll for salmon in the waters of the Strait of Juan de Fuca and sell the fish so caught [to] any vessel on the high seas.
>
> …
>
> Signed on behalf of the Nitinat band of Indians, –
>
> Police Charlie, Head Chief Dick, Chief Tom Klishil, Billy Gibbs, Chief Jimmie Nighborn, Capt. Joe, James Thomas, [and others]"

In response to the Ditidaht's petition, the Canadian Department of Marine and Fisheries stated that:[180]

> … under existing legislation there would not seem to be anything to prevent Indians selling such fish as they may catch beyond territorial waters to vessels anchored outside the three mile limit; but of course as soon as fish which are caught inside the limit in question are so disposed of the British Columbia Fishery Regulations prohibiting the export of Sockeye Salmon, excepting in a frozen, canned, salted, smoked or cured condition, would be contravened, leaving the Indians open to prosecution."

The Ditidaht, and likely the Pacheedaht, were able to pursue the practice of catching fish outside the 3-mile Canadian limit, and then sell the fish to American fish boats that were also outside the territorial limit.

[180] Canada. Superintendent of Fisheries (1912). Correspondence: Superintendent of Fisheries to Cunningham, Chief Inspector of Fisheries for B.C., 10 January 1912. BC Archives. GR-2908, Canada, Department of Marine and Fisheries, RG 23, File No. 6, pt. 7, Fishery regulations: licences; Indian petitions, 1911-1913. BC Archives Microfilm reel B-11068. Ottawa.

Zoologist Charles Gilbert, in a 1912 report to the Commissioner of Fisheries for British Columbia, dates the start of "large scale" salmon fishing at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, to 1911, when twenty-two seiners and two hundred and fifty trollers were recorded at the bank. The next year, these numbers had grown to one hundred seiners and between four hundred and four hundred and fifty trollers. Gilbert reported: [181]

> Before the recent phenomenal development of the purse-seine fishing fleet, Puget Sound and adjacent waters were already too closely fished, with serious inroads already made on the three most valuable species – the sockeye, the spring salmon, and the cohoe. In their long journey through Straits and Gulf, they had to run an ever-lengthening gauntlet, with the result that the breeding stock became yearly so depleted that it was inadequate to keep up the supply. The recent discovery that the salmon school in large numbers on Swiftsure Bank adds one more point of attack and threatens annually to diminish the advancing schools by another million fish.

Figure 11: "A part of the Swiftsure Bank Salmon Fleet at anchor in Neah Bay, Juan de Fuca Strait, Washington, in 1912," from Gilbert, "Appendix: The Salmon of Swiftsure Bank"

Depletion of Fisheries Resources due to Non-Native Harvesting Practices

In 1916, William F. Thompson wrote and compiled the statistics of the commercial halibut fishery in the Pacific to that date; these appeared as an Appendix to the Province of British Columbia Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries report for 1915. The Commissioner summarized the findings of Thompson's Appendix as follows:[182]

[181] Gilbert, Charles H. 1912. "Appendix: The Salmon of Swiftsure Bank." In *Report of the B.C. Commissioner of Fisheries*. British Columbia Fisheries Department, 14-17.
[182] Province of British Columbia Report of the Commissioner of Fisheries for the Year Ending December 31st, 1915 With Appendices. Victoria, William H. Cullin, King's Printer: S11.

> The most immediately important conclusion in this paper is the fact of depletion. The evidence submitted is conclusive.

Thompson wrote, in his report on halibut fisheries statistics:

> The fact of the impoverishment of the banks is evident in every phase of the above summary, the shifting location of the most intense fishery, the increased time and effort required to obtain a yield, the lowering of the average size of the fish on the banks, and the direct comparison of the productivity of depleted and undepleted banks…It is therefore believed that the banks have depreciated in yield by weight between 70 and 80 per cent, each decade since their active use was begun.

and:

> The changes in the location of the fishery may be summarized briefly. In 1888 the fishery commenced, and grew rapidly, most of the fish coming from the Cape Flattery Banks [i.e. Swiftsure], but about 1895 the banks in Hecate Strait were being exploited…The fishermen then moved to deeper waters in more exposed situations on the outer coasts, fishing in more than 100 fathoms coming into vogue... In brief, the history of the fishery is that of a nomadic fleet, stripping the grounds as it goes, but leaving behind a sufficient number of vessels to prevent recuperation.

ƛučii?aa?aq, Swiftsure Bank, being the closest of access to the American fishing fleet in Puget Sound, was targeted and depleted before other halibut banks.

A 2004 study of the halibut fisheries in British Columbia between 1899 and 1924, describes that "aggregate annual landings increased forty-fivefold from fewer than one and one-half million pounds in 1888 to some sixty-nine million pounds by 1915."[183]

Despite ongoing intensive halibut fishing, it was not until 1923 that Canada and the United States signed a treaty for the protection of Pacific Halibut, and instituted a closed season.

Observations of the dramatic decline in halibut were echoed in later scientific reports, and in the firsthand experience of Indigenous communities in the region.[184] Makah fisherman Henry St. Clair, for example, reflected in 1936 on the halibut fishery and changes he had witnessed since he began fishing in 1889. In a letter to George Chute, St. Clair wrote:[185]

[183] Thistle, J. (2004). "Article: 'As Free of Fish as a Billiard Ball is of Hair': Dealing with Depletion in the Pacific Halibut Fishery, 1899-1924." BC Studies 142/143(Summer/Autumn 2004): 105-128.
[184] For example, Rousefell, George A., and George B. Kelez. 1938. "The Salmon and Salmon Fisheries of Swiftsure Bank, Puget Sound, and the Fraser River." In *Bulletin of the Bureau of Fisheries*.
[185] Chute, George. Quoting Henry St. Clair in "Halibut Manuscript Notes." In George Chute Collection. Tacoma, WA: Washington State Historical Collection, 1936-38.

> When I was about 12 or 13, little 30 or 40 foot sloops came, and one time I counted them and there were 200 in the bay. They set three or four skates of the gear each, and some of them carry dories besides. A few years after that they began to get bigger, and had two masts, and had four or five dories apiece. The time I had my gas boat built in Tacoma was when the engine and vessels came with power gurdies. They killed all the fish we had left on Swiftsure Bank. While they were here we Indians couldn't fish on the bank at all, because the Whites had set lines all over, some crossing others so that it was like a net, and there were so many baited hooks that almost every fish was caught. When the fish were gone most of the boats went away, and we had no food. And today there are practically no fish here."[186]

George Chute, in 1938, after conducting years of research into the halibut fishery, summarized the wisdom of the traditional Indigenous system of harvesting at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, and compared it with the devastation of the halibut banks by non-native commercial fisheries, as follows:

> Depletion began when white fishing began. Not until then was their scarcity…Previous to that time Indian canoe men had handlined halibut and had taken constant but moderate quantities from the grounds. There can be no doubt that this drain slightly reduced the supply, because from earliest times it has been known that Cape Flattery [meaning Swiftsure Bank] fish, caught on the banks frequented by tribesmen, were smaller in size and better in quality than those from isolated grounds to which no Indians had access, or those from places where the travel catch was too small to affect the abundance. Although the beneficial effect of Native fishing may never have been realized or recognized, it nevertheless is true that during the period in which the fishery was being extended into new waters, White boatman considered it necessary to work a bank for some time, to remove old, underfed, or otherwise unfit fish, before the area produced its best catch. The Indian fishery was a proper exploitation of the resource. It was a benefit in that it prevented the fish population from increasing beyond the food supply, and maintained the available stock in a fat and healthy condition.
>
> When White fisherman began exploitation for purposes of commerce and profit, the resource that had flourished throughout centuries of native utilization immediately waned. Known banks were stripped of their fish, after which others were sought. As early as 1893 the sailing vessels undertook difficult voyages to reach undepleted areas, and the quest continued for a quarter century. The fishery was subject to no control or limitation other than that imposed by its own market.

[186] Chute, George. Quoting Henry St. Clair in "Halibut Manuscript Notes." In George Chute Collection. Tacoma, WA: Washington State Historical Collection, 1936-38.

> Unfortunately the method of the fisherman were exactly that of an invading army; they adopted the same tactics as are employed by modern day professional exterminators: as the fishing frontier was driven back the conquered territory was kept in a permanent state of devastation by unremitting attack. That is, as new and larger vessels entered the fishery, and voyaged greater distances in search of fares, the older and less able craft remained behind, to seek out the last survivors of the campaign, and by diligent foraging to prevent the fish from reestablishing themselves. By this procedure, had nothing occurred to end it, when all of the grounds had been discovered and stripped there would have been nothing left but a submarine waste as empty as a desert."

The preceding report sections have presented a selection of accounts about the development of commercial non-native fisheries at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank during the late 1800s and early 1900s. It is a general conclusion that by the early 1900s, resulting from commercial activities, the whales, fur seals, halibut, salmon and other resources at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, had been overharvested, greatly impacting the Pacheedaht, Makah and Ditidaht traditional fisheries. Continuing through the twentieth century, and up to today, commercial fishing, sport fishing and ever-increasing marine vessel traffic through the Juan de Fuca Strait, and related effects from the movement of the shipping lanes in 2005, have impacted abundance and the Pacheedaht's ability to access resources at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank. So too has environmental degradation, on land and water, and government regulations that have restricted the fisheries rights of Indigenous peoples in both Canada and the United States, including the right to sell or trade fish and other marine resources.[187]

Today, Area 121 *ƛučii?aa?aq* (Swiftsure Bank), is a closed area for the fishing or retention of halibut, rockfish, lingcod and all finfish, other than for First Nations use. A portion of the same area has also recently (2019) been established as an Interim 'Sanctuary' Zone for Southern Resident Killer Whales. Pacheedaht has significant interests in discussions and decisions related to these initiatives.

PFN Intertribal Fisheries Protocols

Today the Pacheedaht exercise their traditional ownership at *ƛučii?aa?aq*, Swiftsure Bank, by issuing intertribal fishing protocols to members from many other First Nations. Under this protocol, visitors are issued an intertribal pass on behalf of the Pacheedaht hereditary chief, and a PFN flag; they are also designated in the Fisheries and Oceans Canada radio room. The traditional intertribal system, previously described, of chiefly permission required to access territory, continues today through these protocols. First Nations people travel from locations such as Nanaimo, Haida Gwaii, Newfoundland and Wisconsin, and usually bring some of their resources (e.g. moose meat, clams, prawns) to offer in exchange for the right to harvest in the Pacheedaht chief's territory.

[187] This changed for the Makah, in the United States, with the Boldt decision of 1974. Reid, *The Sea is My Country*, 212, 262-263.

Pacheedaht manages the *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, fishery by collating all harvesting records for Pacheedaht members and intertribal protocol holders. The Pacheedaht Fisheries Dept. prepares summaries for all *ƛučii?aa?aq* harvest amounts obtained by visiting tribal members and groups. Fisheries and Oceans Canada is supportive of Pacheedaht's careful management of *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, a measure that is necessary to protect the recovering and still abundant natural resources at this irreplaceable locale.

Figure 12: Pacheedaht Fisheries Intertribal Protocol Flag

The diversity and abundance of sea mammals, fish species, and other marine resources at *ƛučii?aa?aq* is integral to providing sustenance for Pacheedaht members, and to maintain traditional practices for many First Nations on Vancouver Island, and for other First Nations elsewhere through the intertribal protocol.

Pacheedaht members catch the following species on and around the *ƛučii?aa?aq* fishing grounds: Sockeye Salmon, Chinook Salmon, Coho Salmon, Pink Salmon, Pacific Halibut, Lingcod, Sablefish, Cabezon, Yelloweye Rockfish, Quillback Rockfish, Tiger Rockfish, China Rockfish, Canary Rockfish, Yellowtail Rockfish, Red Banded Rockfish, Rosethorn Rockfish, Pacific Cod, Silver Grey Rockfish, Pomfret, Shad, Jack Mackerel, Skipjack Tuna, Greenland Turbot, Dogfish, Ratfish, Octopus, and Humboldt Squid. Other species that have been observed by community members in the area include: Humpback Whale, Killer Whale, Gray Whale, Basking Shark, Thrasher Shark, Harbour Seals, Fur Seals, Albatross, Sunfish, Basket Starfish, Stellar Sea Lion, Porpoise, and Starry Skate.

Inshore fishing near *ƛučii?aa?aq* includes the following species identified by Pacheedaht members: Halibut, Lingcod, Yelloweye Rockfish, Canary Rockfish, Black Rockfish, Vermillion Rockfish, Greenling, Yellowtail Rockfish, Cabezon, Tiger Rockfish, Quillback Rockfish, and Copper Rockfish Species.

Species and Use

Over centuries, the Pacheedaht gained an encyclopedic knowledge concerning all aspects of their territory including its geography and resources. Pacheedaht members amassed a wealth of knowledge about their territory based on direct personal observations and experiences. This information has been continuously developed, verified and expanded as it has passed down through generations, up to the present-day.

Pacheedaht people have harvested, and continue to harvest, the species and resources listed in Appendix A at locations where they are known to be abundant, accessible and/or have special qualities. The locations where these resources are harvested are recorded in the PFN's TUOS database and associated GIS records.

The tables include the following information:

- location of resource
- access to location
- timing of harvest
- specific target species
- how it is utilized
- cultural values associated with the harvesting of particular resources at specific locations
- broader context information on traditional economy and knowledge that are not site specific

The PFN Species Table that was presented in the earlier PFN report for RBT2, with some updates, is presented at Appendix A.

Cumulative Effects Summary

The earlier report submitted for the RBT2 project provided details about Cumulative Effects for the Pacheedaht. Since that time, the Cumulative Effects information has been updated, and is presented in Appendix B. The Cumulative Effects information for Pacheedaht provides important background and context for any proposed development in Pacheedaht territory, including the RBT2 project.

After Contact, the British Crown asserted sovereignty over what is now British Columbia, established the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island, and later the Colony of British Columbia. British Columbia confederated with Canada in 1871. The federal and provincial governments have asserted jurisdiction over Pacheedaht lands, waters, resources, and government. Many developments and historic events have had significant cumulative impacts on Pacheedaht citizens and rights; these are described in some detail at Appendix B.

As stated in the Introduction to the report on Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Committees' Final Report:

> For over a century, the central goals of Canada's Aboriginal policy were to eliminate Aboriginal governments; ignore Aboriginal rights; terminate

> the Treaties; and, through a process of assimilation, cause Aboriginal peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities in Canada. The establishment and operation of residential schools were a central element of this policy, which can best be described as "cultural genocide."

The potential effects of the RBT2 project should be evaluated in the context of Cumulative Effects, including:

- disease and depopulation after Contact;
- establishment of Indian Reserves and the associated alienation of Pacheedaht lands and resources;
- loss of language, culture and traditions through Indian Residential Schools, anti-potlatch laws, and the efforts of missionaries and Indian Agents;
- industrial logging and associated environmental impacts;
- non-native settlement activities;
- hydroelectric and mining activities;
- acquisition of lands and marine areas for the establishment of federal, provincial and regional parks;
- depletion of fisheries and other marine resources, and the imposition of fishing and marine harvesting regulations including loss of economic rights for harvesting of marine resources; and
- re-routing of the international shipping lanes in 2005 such that they intersect and interfere with safe access to *ƛučii?aa?aq,* Swiftsure Bank, one of Pacheedaht's preferred fishing areas;
- increases of marine traffic associated with the economic activities in the U.S. and Canada, which are regulated through the International Maritime Organization.

Any further reduction, of any magnitude, in Pacheedaht members' access to fisheries and intertidal resources, or further degradation of these resources, will comprise significant losses to Pacheedaht traditional marine harvesting activities and rights. Similarly, any further damage or degradation of Pacheedaht cultural, archaeological, or other resource harvesting sites on land, or access to these sites, will also comprise significant losses. The increased volume of cargo and ship size in the marine traffic resulting from the RBT2 project would add to the Cumulative Effects summarized above, and described in Appendix B.

Pacheedaht Traditional Use and Occupation Sites

The Pacheedaht First Nation has conducted research on Traditional Use and Occupation Sites (TUOS) since the late 1990s. Details on the history, research and methodology for Pacheedaht TUOS information were provided in the PFN RBT2 report submitted in September of 2015 and are not reproduced in this report. Since the time of the 2015 report, PFN TUOS research has continued, including interviews, workshops and groundtruthing trips. The TUOS information presented below has been updated from 2015.

TUOS Update Summary

At the time of the submission of PFN's 2015 RBT2 report, there were 720 TUOS sites in the PFN TUOS database. Since that time additional research has increased that number to 897, an addition of 177 TUOS sites, or 25%. The number of TUOS sites in, or intersected by the RBT2 Study Area increased from 521 to 671 sites, an addition of 133 sites, or 18%. Table 8 summarizes this information.

Table 8: TUOS comparison, 2015 to 2019

	2015 Report	2019 Report	% Change
Total # of TUOS Sites	720	897	25%
TUOS Sites in Study Area	521	671	21%

Site Analysis and PFN RBT2 TUOS Maps

All TUOS sites recorded in the TUOS GIS and Database primarily use three database fields (Activity; Entity; Category) for the purposes of data management, site analysis, and for presentation on display or report Maps.

The PFN TUOS Maps included in Appendix C illustrate the 671 PFN TUOS sites that are located within or are intersected by the RBT2 Study Area. The Maps are considered confidential, are supplied for the purposes defined previously and for this report only, and are subject to confidentiality.

Table 9 provides a summary of the PFN RBT2 TUOS Maps provided in Appendix C, and the Categories shown on the Maps. The Map Categories are not exclusive, since an individual TUOS site might be used for several "Activities," and so fall within more than one "Category."

Table 9: Summary of PFN TUOS Maps and Site Categories in RBT2 Study Area.

Site "Category"	# of Sites	% of Study Area Total (n = 671)
Map 1: All Sites	671	100%
Map 2: Aquatic Resources Sites	383	57%
Map 3: Culture History Sites	180	27%
Map 4: Land Resources Sites	146	22%
Map 5: Travel Sites	131	20%

Map 6: Settlement Activity Sites	114	17%
Map 7: Archaeology Sites	60	9%

Following are descriptions of the RBT2 TUOS Maps 1 through 7.

Map 1: All Sites
Map 1 shows the locations for all 671 PFN TUOS site in, or intersected by, the Study Area.

Map 2: Aquatic Resource Sites
Map 2 shows the locations for the 383 Aquatic Resources Sites. These comprise 57% of the total 671 TUOS sites in the Study Area. Of the 383 Aquatic Resource sites, 270 are Fishing sites, 119 are Seafood Gathering Sites, and 58 are Hunting sites. The Fishing category sites include locations where Pacheedaht harvest fish; the Seafood Gathering sites are where intertidal resources are harvested, and the Hunting sites are for sea mammals or birds. The large numbers of Fishing, Seafood Gathering and Hunting sites indicate the importance of these activities to Pacheedaht traditional and current practices.

Map 3: Culture History Sites
Map 3 shows the locations for the 180 Culture History category sites in the Study Area. These comprise 27% of the total 671 TUOS sites in the Study Area. The Culture History Sites are those PFN TUOS sites that include the following site Activities.

- Named Place (135 Sites) – Geographic locations with traditional Pacheedaht names;
- Traditional History (31 Sites) - Sites where tribal history events occurred (e.g. Origin history site, migration site, etc.);
- Ceremonial/Sacred Site (25 Sites) - Locations described by Pacheedaht people as having spiritual or sacred qualities or used for traditional ceremonies or rites;
- Burial Site (17 Sites) – Locations where remains of Pacheedaht people are known to be located, or previously located;
- Non-Human Being Site – (3 Sites) – Locations where legendary creatures such as Thunderbird, Sasquatch, etc. are known to frequent or where they have been sighted; and
- Medical/Therapeutic Site (2 Sites) - Places known for the presence of rare or abundant species of plants, or other materials, used in the treatment of illness, or a location known to have therapeutic qualities such as a ritual bathing site.

Map 4: Land Resources Sites
Map 4 shows the locations for the 146 Land Resource category sites in the Study Area. These comprise 22% of the total 671 TUOS sites in the Study Area. The Land Resource Sites are those PFN TUOS sites that include the following site Activities.

- Hunting (66 sites)
- Berry/Plant Gathering (76 sites)

- Resource Material[188] (2 sites)
- Gardening (2 sites)

Map 5: Travel Sites
Map 7 shows the locations for the 131 Travel Sites in the Study Area. These comprise 20% of the total 671 TUOS sites in the Study Area. The Travel Sites are locations that are, or have been, used by Pacheedaht as preferred transport or travel routes, on water or land, including trails, canoe routes, travel corridors, anchorages, canoe landings, refuge or similar sites.

Map 6: Settlement Activity Sites
Map 5 shows the locations for the 114 Settlement Activity Sites in the Study Area. These comprise 17% of the total 671 TUOS sites in the Study Area. Ninety (90) sites are dwelling locations where Pacheedaht people reside(d) on a permanent or temporary basis, including villages, houses, cabins, tents, and campsites.

Map 7: Archaeological Sites
Map 6 shows the locations for the 60 Archaeological category sites in the Study Area. These comprise 9% of the total 671 TUOS sites in the Study Area. The Archaeological Sites include those recorded with the Province of BC's Archaeology Branch but also include sites described in interviews by Pacheedaht people as containing physical or archaeological remains of Pacheedaht heritage. Archaeological sites are significant to the Pacheedaht as material evidence of activities dating back many generations. They have cultural and spiritual importance as well, particularly those containing remains of Pacheedaht ancestors.

Traditional Use and Occupancy Site Conclusion

The focus of the TUOS analysis presented above has focused on presenting the "where and what" of traditional use and occupancy sites and areas. However, recording traditional and contemporary use places and activities as dots, lines, and polygons on maps runs the risk of decontextualizing the interconnectedness of these places and activities from their lived histories for Pacheedaht people. Spiritual sites such as bathing sites for cleansing, or Named Places, for example, do not exist in isolation from salmon fishing or settlement areas. Such sites are all part of the Pacheedaht cultural landscape and Pacheedaht history. Participation in traditional use and contemporary activities on this landscape produces and expresses Pacheedaht identity.

Conclusion

This report presents information about the Pacheedaht First Nation related to their Indigenous interests (rights and title), and their traditional and current use of lands, waters and resources, as related to the Port Metro Vancouver Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project (RBT2). The report is supplemental to an earlier PFN report submitted in 2015 (PFNRBT2 2015). As a supplementary report, the current report provides information that adds to that previously presented. However, as necessary context for readers, some

[188] Examples of "Resource Materials" include: slate, rocks for tool manufacture, ochre, driftwood, sea shells, etc.

information from the earlier report is repeated. Pacheedaht are continuing to conduct research on their history, their Traditional Use and Occupancy Site (TUOS) information and other topics.

The report includes information about the traditional history of the Pacheedaht, and describes their shared origin with the Ditidaht and common history with the Makah across the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Pacheedaht territory and places of occupation are illustrated in the report. The Pacheedaht have occupied their territory since time immemorial. The Pacheedaht share many aspects of culture, governance and language with Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations along the west coast of Vancouver Island. Traditional First Nations had well-established customary laws, including the rights of chiefs and the groups they governed. These rights extended across all parts of a First Nation's territory, including the ocean. The rights included control over access to enter the territory, to harvest resources in the territory and to trade in the territory. These rights were described and recognized by white explorers and traders during the Contact Period.

John Meares' 1788 trading expedition into Pacheedaht territory was the first Contact period voyage for which records have survived. Meares' account of his voyage describes encountering a powerful chief named Tatoosh who controlled the area of Tatoosh Island, Cape Flattery and the mouth of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and who was the head of a large and powerful alliance that included the Pacheedaht. Meares recognized the authority of Tatoosh to control trade within the chief's territory, and also stated that he had negotiated a trading agreement with Chief Tatoosh. Meares sent a longboat expedition into Port San Juan where they met a hostile reception from the Pacheedaht, likely as a result of negative interactions between Chief Tatoosh and Meares. The Pacheedaht were also expressing their control over their territory. Chief Tatoosh has generally been considered to be a Makah chief, but there is compelling evidence that he was a chief from Vancouver Island. There is also strong evidence that Vancouver Island tribes, including the Pacheedaht, continued to occupy Tatoosh Island during fishing season into the late 1800s.

The report describes the Pacheedaht traditional seasonal round and an economy that relied heavily on marine resources including fish, marine mammals and intertidal resources. The Pacheedaht were at a crossroads on an Indigenous trade network that extended along the continent's west coast, into the Gulf of Georgia and Puget Sound, and up the Fraser and Columbia Rivers. There were many and valuable goods that flowed along this network, and the Pacheedaht took profitable advantage of their territorial position. Examination of the archival records left by James Swan, and other sources, provide details of Pacheedaht's extensive travel and trade across the Strait of Juan de Fuca with the Makah. Pacheedaht's profitable involvement in trade extended well into the late 1800s before being limited by colonial and governmental interference.

ƛučii?aa?a, Swiftsure Bank, is an extremely important resource area in Pacheedaht's traditional marine history, and remains important for Pacheedaht people today as a source of marine food that is a foundation of their diet and culture. The report

presents examples of Pacheedaht's traditional ability to harvest abundances of resources at *ƛučii?aa?a*, Swiftsure Bank, for domestic use and for trade. The resources included halibut, whales, salmon, fur seals, dogfish and other fish and sea mammals. The report also describes that, beginning in the 1880s, non-native commercial fishing and sea mammal hunting caused severe depletion of the resources at *ƛučii?aa?a*, Swiftsure Bank.

Today the Pacheedaht exercise their traditional ownership at *ƛučii?aa?aq*, Swiftsure Bank, by issuing intertribal fishing protocols to members from many other First Nations. The traditional intertribal system of chiefly permission required to access territory, continues today through these protocols. Pacheedaht continue to harvest the recovering abundant resources at *ƛučii?aa?aq*, Swiftsure Bank.

Over centuries, the Pacheedaht gained an encyclopedic knowledge concerning all aspects of their territory including its geography and resources. This information has been continuously developed, verified and expanded as it has passed down through generations, up to the present-day. The report presents an update of information on Pacheedaht Species and Use from that presented in the earlier report.

The report also provides an update of Cumulative Effects information from that presented previously. The Cumulative Effects information for Pacheedaht provides important background and context for any proposed development in Pacheedaht territory, including the RBT2 project.

The report also provides updated information and maps from Pacheedaht's Traditional Use and Occupancy Site (TUOS) ongoing research.

Photographs

Figure 13: Community fishing is an important part of Pacheedaht culture and identity.

Figure 14: Fishing at Swiftsure Bank, through issuing intertribal protocols, **is a part of an unbroken Pacheedaht tradition of sharing resources.**

Figure 15: Pacheedaht people enjoy catching smelt in the surf along the beach at the head of Port San Juan.

Figure 16: Pacheedaht weavers collect the special grasses for making traditional style baskets along coastal shorelines.

Figure 17: Harvesting chitons, one of the traditional "seafoods" collected by Pacheedaht community members when the tide is out.

Figure 18: Gooseneck barnacles, slippers, are another great seafood delicacy enjoyed and savored by Pacheedaht members.

Figure 19: Pacheedaht students learning about plant harvesting.

Figure 20: Preparation of a pit for cooking, a traditional way of preparing foods, including plants, fish and meat.

Figure 21: Abundant sea lion Rookery located off the shores of Qala:yit IR #3.

Figure 22: Grey whales are a frequent sight, known to feed on the rich fishery resources at Qala:yit IR #3 and Swiftsure Bank.

Figure 23: ***Elders share show their pride while fishing out at Swiftsure Bank.***

Figure 24: Rare sighting of a sunfish out at Swiftsure Bank.

Figure 25: Sports fisherman activity within the closed area at Swiftsure Bank.

Figure 26: Cargo ship seen transiting Swiftsure Bank closure, August 2015.

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Appendix A: Species Tables

Table 1: Aquatic Birds

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
da.ẋat'č	Mallard Duck	*Anas platyrhynchos*	Ducks and other intertidal birds are hunted on beaches, rocky shorelines, marshes, river estuaries, tidal zones, and tidal flats. Ducks, particularly Mallards, are hunted at these sites while they feed on eelgrass at low tide during the winter. Offshore, Pacheedaht traditionally hunted ducks, including mallards, geese and surf scoters from camouflaged small canoes with blinds. Traditionally, ducks were caught with bird nets made from the inner bark from cottonwood was twisted together with yellow cedar. Mallards are currently hunted with guns at river mouths and at other locations. Mallards are eaten and the feathers used in pillows and mattresses. They supply rich nutrients during the winter months, and are a favorite food of the elders.
kuxʷwa.š	Surf Scoter	*Melanitta perspicillata*	Scoters are hunted in the river estuaries when the river is frozen, and while they are feeding on shellfish, marsh vegetation, and sea grasses. They can be caught in the winter months in volume enough to make soup for the entire community; a favorite food at feasts and other communal events.
ca.pid	Common Merganser	*Mergus merganser*	Traditionally hunted with above-water nets, made of stinging nettles; the nets were rigged with weights so they would fall on a ducks in flight. Mergansers are now hunted with guns in the river estuaries and elsewhere. The merganser populations have steadily increased, which is associated with the rich supply of salmon fry in the river estuaries.
tipi.ẋ	Bufflehead Duck	*Bucephala albeola*	Buffleheads seek refuge from winter storms in the calm inlets and bays. They feed on the crustaceans and mollusks at low tide during the winter. Traditionally, Pacheedaht hunters camouflaged their canoes to get near enough to shoot the birds with bow and arrow. The arrow was specially crafted for duck hunting. It consisted of a red cedar shaft about 6 ft. long armed with a V-shaped head made of two points of split antler or deer-leg bone. The bow was made of yew, strengthened by a tapered ridge down the outside. Today, Pacheedaht hunters use guns, targeting the birds at low tides
	Common Goldeneye	*Bucephala clangula*	Goldeneyes frequent the bays in wintertime, and are also hunted in the river estuaries. Hunted currently by Pacheedaht members with guns. Used for winter food, and for their feathers.
ha.daq	Goose (Brant)	*Branta bernicla*	Brant Geese winter in Pacheedaht territory. The geese feed on eelgrass and other foods at low tide during the winter, and tend to move to saltwater areas when the rivers are frozen. They are hunted with guns at the river estuaries, and in the marshy areas during winter low tides, and are shared throughout the Pacheedaht community as a winter food source.
quaup	Trumpeter Swan	*Olor buccinator*	Swans stop in Pacheedaht territory during their winter migration south, and find bays and coves where they eat and rest. When the river froze it confined the swans to the salt water estuaries and made them an available food source in winter. They were hunted at the river estuaries, while feeding on the eel grass in the marshland. Swans are not commonly hunted by the Pacheedaht currently, but are an admired sight.
hatu.badi	Whistling Swan	*Olor columbianus*	During the 1940s hundreds of Whistling Swans stopped in the river estuaries to rest during their southern migration. This illustrates the importance of the Port of San Juan as a safe haven for migrating birds during seasons with stormy activity on the Pacific. They continue to be hunted as a food source during winter months.
	Spruce Grouse	*Falcipennis canadensis*	Grouse are hunted during winter low tides, when the rivers are frozen, while the grouse are feeding in the marshland in the river estuaries. They are a favoured food source in winter; currently hunted with guns by Pacheedaht members.
	Rufous Hummingbird	*Selasphorus rufus*	Frequent visitors to the coastal flowering berry bushes during the spring and summer months. They are seen offshore while fishing the coastline, even as far out as ƛučii?aa?aq, Swiftsure Bank. Snail slime was put on the flowers of Indian paintbrush to catch hummingbirds. Hummingbird skins were used in making ceremonial hats and other regalia. Pacheedaht do not currently hunt the hummingbird, but they are highly revered in stories, arts, and as spiritual icons.

Table 2: Coastal Mammals

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
buwač	Coastal Deer	*Odocoilius hemionus columbianus*	Deer were traditionally and are currently hunted for meat, hides, and tools. Pacheedaht also traded deer meat with local farmers for produce such as vegetables, beef, pork, eggs and milk. Deer meat is valued as it provides variety for a primarily fish and seafood diet and was generally distributed and consumed immediately. Deer skins were previously tanned for rugs and also used to make shoes; skins were also traded. Deer hooves are used for making rattles for dancing, antlers were carved into crochet hooks and sewing needles, awls, and herring dressing knives were made from deer ulnas. Jewelry was made from deer teeth and horns. Many other tools were made from the bones. Deer were and are hunted in Pacheedaht territory, particularly along waterways and beaches; intertidal areas and along rivers is where they stop to drink and graze on estuary grasses and seaweeds. Today, most deer hunting takes place in areas accessed by vehicles along logging roads, or along shorelines by boat. Pacheedaht hunters use guns and continue to process the meat with TEK knowledge passed down through inter-generational knowledge, and also make jerky. The deer provides an essential source of protein resources that sustain the needs of the Pacheedaht community today. Deer meat is shared amongst community members and for use at potlatches, feasts, funerals and other ceremonial occasions. They are heavily relied upon for their hides, and bones that are used in drum making and carving.
ƛ'u.dup	Roosevelt Elk	*Cervus canadensis roosevelti*	Young Pacheedaht men participated in the elk hunt as part of their initiation as warriors. Wearing wolf skins and wolf heads, young men ran along the river and chased elk into canyons where prime animals were selected for harvest. Elk were used for various purposes. The skins were an important trade item, and fashioned into armour, and the antlers were used to make salmon spears, seal spears and whaling harpoons valves. Elk horn was also fashioned into three-pronged spear for catching sea urchins. Previously, elk meat was eaten smoked or it was traded for farmer's produce such as vegetables, beef, pork, eggs and milk. They were also hunted near the river estuaries, when they came to lower elevations during the winter. The resident local herd is growing annually and has become a thriving population in Pacheedaht territory. They are frequently seen year round in coastal areas, where they sleep, rear young, and feed on estuary grasses and intertidal seaweeds. Today, elk can only be hunted by the Pacheedaht, and the yearly quota is much anticipated. The herds are carefully managed by the Pacheedaht Fisheries and Wildlife department, who issue a detailed application process to community members. Only a limited number of elk are harvested as dictated by a management plan. The Pacheedaht Fisheries and Wildlife department have ensured sustainable successful harvesting practices, and hope to expand the harvest to other areas of the coast. The traditional ceremonies associated with the elk are part of Pacheedaht's plan for cultural revival.
buvubuχqʷ	Black Bear	*Ursus americanus vancouveri*	Bear were hunted near a series of deep pools along the main rivers and in intertidal areas. They feed daily in the intertidal zone during the low tides in the summer, consuming crustaceans, mollusks, and urchins when they are exposed on the shoreline. During mild winters they were hunted for additional stores. They were killed in deadfall traps or later with rifles and shotguns. The deadfall traps were made from alder wood; these were set near salmon streams, or along trap lines or bear trails. The trap was baited with a salmon laden with eggs. Bears were butchered and skinned at the hunt site. Fat was later rendered from the animal to use for cooking or to waterproof boots. Bear meat was eaten smoked, boiled or cooked in a barbecue fashion and many foods were dipped in bear grease. The meat was also preserved by canning. Bear skins were a highly valued trade item, and were traded, sold, or made into coats and moccasins. These garments were used while hunting whales and elk. Pacheedaht has begun initiatives to revive the hunt for community feasts, to render the oil, and to process the skins that would be used in future whale hunts.
q̓ʷityaʔt	Mink	*Mustela vison evagor*	Minks were hunted using deadfall traps from February to April when the furs were thickest; they were also targeted in the intertidal zone during low tides as they feed along exposed shorelines. In the early to mid-20th century, mink were caught along trap lines for their pelts. Mink skins were used for trading and the pelts were sold to the Hudson Bay Company. The skins were stretched out and dried to prepare them as pelts for sale or trade. Pacheedaht members do not currently trap mink as there is no market for their furs; this would change if the demand increased as the trapping lines are still managed by community members.
wa.xdi.	River Otter	*Lutra canadensis pacifica*	In the early to mid-20th century, river otters were harvested along trap lines. There were cabins and campsites along the trap lines, identified by Pacheedaht elders in recent interviews. The trapping season runs from the beginning of February until the end of April. Cold weather produces thick fur, which is highly valued. Otter skins were sold to the Hudson Bay Company with the better skins being sold for as much as $16. In addition to trapping, otters were sometimes caught in snare traps placed at otter slides.

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
			There currently is not a good market for skins, so land otters are not actively trapped at the present time. When it becomes economically viable, trapping could continue as a marketable good. There is growing interest in the pelts as a resource for cultural practices.
ƛ'apsaab	Raccoon	*Procyon lotor vancouverensis*	Raccoon remains have been found at archaeological site DdSc 12, indicating a long history of use. Raccoons feed in the rich intertidal zone and frequently are observed rearing their young there. Raccoons were taken along trap lines during the early to mid-20th century. Work on the trap line was from February to April, and was a common way of acquiring pelts for trade. Raccoon skins were traded to the Hudson Bay Company. There currently is not a good market for skins, so raccoons are not actively trapped. When there is a market for skins, Pacheeedaht members would resume actively trapping raccoon.
č'uč'uwaχsɬ	Wolf	*Canis lupis crassodon*	The Pacheedaht people are inherently tied to wolves, with family clans depicted by the wolf. Wolves play a prominent role in Pacheedaht traditional practices; a most important Pacheedaht winter ceremony was commonly referred to as the Wolf Ritual (*tluukwaana*). Wolf skins and wolf heads were donned by hunters to frighten elk; they would herd them into canyons for selecting the kill. They were also used in initiation rights for Pacheedaht children. Wolves are also considered to have a spiritual connection with killer whales; they are able to transform from wolves to orcas and back again. They were hunted throughout Pacheedaht territory. Wolfs are often seen in tidal areas where they utilize low tide times for feeding and traveling. As cultural ceremonies are revitalized and practiced, the need for the wolf hides would promote the active hunt of wolves by Pacheedaht members.

Table 3: Shellfish

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
č'iʔic	Butter Clam	*Saxidomus gigantea*	Butter clams are collected on sand and rocky beaches at preferred locations in Pacheedaht territory. Pacheedaht families used to gather butter clams while camping in tents. Today people go out in boats or drive by car and walk to known locations where clams can be harvested. Usually only enough clams for a meal are picked at one time; they are steamed and generate a feast. Butter clams sometimes are eaten raw as soon as they are gathered. If an abundance of clams is collected, they are shared with family, elders and friends.
ḥiči.d	Pacific Little Neck Clam	*Protothaca staminea*	Pacific littleneck clams are collected on many beaches at preferred locations within Pacheedaht territory. Pacheedaht used to reach these areas by boat or canoe and by trails through the woods. Littleneck clams were also collected while fishing for octopus. Today people go out in boats, or drive by vehicle and walk to locations where clams can be harvested. Clams are generally collected in sacks or buckets and eaten raw, steamed or made into clam chowder.
	Pacific Razor Clam	*Siliqua patula*	Pacheedaht frequently collected razor clams on the beaches at low tide. As an important intertidal resource, razor clams were managed carefully in traditional times. Pacheedaht people generally collect about two 5-gallon buckets of clams at a time. After harvesting, a beach is left alone for much of the year to allow the clams to regenerate.
ʕibi.d	Horse Clam	*Tresus nuttallii, Tresus capax*	Horse clams were collected at preferred locations during low tide. Clams used to be dried in the sun to preserve them, and saved for winter stores. Pacheedaht people continue to collect horse clams at many locations. Today, they are usually eaten while fresh and the shells are used for ceremonial purposes.
	Mya Clam	*Mya arenaria*	The Mya clam, a soft-shelled clam, is native to Atlantic waters. In recent times it has become an invasive species of the Northern Pacific Ocean, including Pacheedaht's traditional territory. This species of clams has established itself in the same locations as traditionally eaten clams, and therefore is harvested and prepared with similar methods.
	Pacific Geoduck	*Panopea abrupta*	Sometimes the Pacheedaht harvested geoduck clams when they washed ashore after a storm. The clams were shelled and crushed for crab bait, or can also be ground up and eaten. The shells were also thought to have talisman traits. Pacific geoducks are collected at several beaches in Pacheedaht territory where healthy stocks are identified.
ƛ'uč'a.ʔb	California Mussel	*Mytilus californianus*	Pacheedaht territory is renowned for its quality of California mussels, and they are collected at many locations along wave-exposed shorelines, particularly at low tide. It is reported that the largest mussel shells on the coast could be found on a reef in Pacheedaht territory. These rare large specimens were highly prized, as they were considered ideal for making harpoon blades for whaling. According to one source, whalers from as far as Clayoquot came to these rocks to collect mussel shells for their harpoon blades. Large mussel shells were ground on sandstone and shaped into harpoon heads, chisels, spears, points for digging sticks and parts for bows. Chisels made from mussel shells were strong enough to chop down yew trees. The mussel shells were filed to a point, then oiled with dogfish, seal or whale oil over a period of two years in order to make a whale harpoon blade. A supply of these modified shells had to be kept on hand since points needed to be changed after every few uses. This detailed preparation of the shell yielded the necessary strength. Mussels were also collected and steamed, or used as bait when fishing for greenlings Pacheedaht members continue to harvest mussels at many preferred locations along the shoreline.
k'učup	Blue Mussel	*Mytilus edulis*	Blue mussels are a favored traditional food for Pacheedaht people; large quantities of mussel shells appear in middens at archaeological sites. Pacheedaht people used to stop at the beaches during their travels, to collect and eat small mussels. Often mussels with barnacles on them were selected for eating and they were both cooked at the same time. Pacheedaht people can access and pick mussels at most any time of the year, and the resource is therefore revered for the accessibility. They are harvested and immediately steamed.

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
c̓eʔi.daw	Gooseneck Barnacles/	*Pollicipes polymerus*	Gooseneck barnacles are collected at specific locations along the marine shorelines in Pacheedaht territory, and they remain a favorite food known as "slippers." Their habitat is concentrated in in very specific environments; they will only grow in exposed areas with constant wave action. Gooseneck barnacles are picked off the rocks and eaten immediately or they are steamed. At low tides Pacheedaht members target this species and consider them to be a feast in themselves. The barnacles are generally collected in large quantities for distribution to elders, family and throughout the community and for eating at community gatherings.
k'ibsik'a.t	Acorn Barnacle/Giant Barnacle	*Balanus glandula*	Acorn or Giant Barnacles were traditionally gathered at preferred sites in Pacheedaht territory, and continue to be collected and eaten today. Barnacles were sometimes cooked by placing them on the fire while still attached to a rock. This allowed the barnacles to separate from the rocks. Presently, mussels with the largest barnacles on them are collected. The mussels and barnacles are boiled together until the mussels open. The barnacles are easily pulled off the mussels when cooked. The insides of the barnacles are then picked out with a toothpick or other implement, and then eaten.
c̓i.daχtp	Black Katy Chiton	*Katharina tunicata*	Black Katy chitons, commonly called "rock stickers," are collected from the rocks at low tide, and generally collected with a variety of other seafoods such as urchins, mussels and barnacles. The Pacheedaht harvest chitons and other seafood and cook them in sand covered pits on the beach, or steamed in conventional pots. Many other preferred chiton harvesting areas are accessed by boat. Chitons are eaten raw or steamed. Today, elders favor this seafood and request that harvesters collect quantities for them.
p̓aʕa.ʔb	Giant Gumboot Chiton	*Cryptochiton stelleri*	Giant Gumboot Chitons are commonly called "rock stickers" and are collected in the same fashion as the black kay chitons. The chitons are pried off the rocks at low tide and were sometimes broken open with a rock and eaten raw. They are sometimes also eaten raw after being soaked in fresh water overnight. Pacheedaht people typically boil them in water with salt for a few minutes before eating them. The giant chitons used to be steamed in sand pits. They continue to be collected from specific harvesting areas and eaten by Pacheedaht members today.
	Black Leather Chiton	*Katharina tunicata*	Black leather chitons are collected in the same fashion as the black katy and gumboot chitons. There are preferred harvesting areas along Pacheedaht coastal territory. They are pried off the rocks there and eaten raw or boiled. Chitons encrusted with barnacles are favored.
ʔapxʷsiy̓	Northern Abalone	*Haliotis kamtschatkana*	There are specific intertidal locations in Pacheedaht territory where abalone could be collected at the lowest tides by prying them from the rocks. They are not currently collected as they have been over-harvested primarily by commercial divers. Abalone are reported to have been plentiful in the past, but they are not being harvested now until the stocks are restored; Pacheedaht have seen the stocks slowly returning in recent surveys. Abalone are removed from their shells, beaten and fried, or boiled. Their shells are also used in jewelry, and to inlay in carvings.
	Limpets	*Tectura persona*	Limpets are collected during intertidal harvests of shellfish in areas where chitons are collected. They are commonly referred to today as china hats, and are consumed with other shellfish. Harvested by prying off of rocks and previously steam cooked in traditional cooking pits. They are steamed in more recent times in conventional pots.
ƛala.ʔub	Cockle	*Clinocardium nuttallii*	Pacheedaht people collect cockles at specific beaches in or near Port San Juan. They are sometimes collected after a storm when they wash up on the beach at low tide, or as a by catch in traps. Today they are eaten fresh or steamed, and were traditionally steamed in cooking pits.
	Oyster	*Ostrea conchaphila* *Crassostrea gigas*	Oysters are collected on select rocky shorelines in Pacheedaht territory, and are difficult to pry from the rocks. They were traditionally smoked for winter storage, but are usually now eaten raw or steamed.
ḷi.xʷa	Whelks	*Nucella lapillus* *Thais emarinata* Dentalium pretiosum	Whelks were described in interviews, as well as being present in shell middens. The Dentalia species was most commonly traded for, but were found occasionally in the Pacheedaht territory. They were harvested within the intertidal zone at low tide. Whelks would be eaten raw, or steamed among other shellfish. Dentalia shells were very valuable, and highly sought after. They were most commonly found in northern portions of the west coast of Vancouver Island, and traded to the Pacheedaht. The shells were then exchanged to the Makah, south the California, and across North America. They were used in jewelry, and were an essential element in coming of age ceremonies for young women. They are not commonly harvested, but would be collected among other shellfish while seafood gathering.

Table 4: Subtidal Species

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
k'u.c̓ay̓	Urchins (general)		Sea urchins or sea eggs are a traditional food that is harvested at many locations along the coastline in Pacheedaht territory, and are favored seafood for many Pacheedaht people. There are many beaches and rocky shelves in Pacheedaht territory where urchins thrive. Pacheedaht collect sea urchins in tidal pools at the beach from May until September, during low tide. Sea urchins remain a favorite seafood and are gathered for elders and other community members at many places on the coastline. They are usually eaten shortly after being harvested, and sometimes large quantities are harvested for gatherings or ceremonial purposes.
	Giant Red Sea Urchin	*Strongylocentrotus franciscanus*	Giant red sea urchins are gathered for immediate consumption and for large gatherings or ceremonial purposes. The urchins are picked off the rocks, cracked open and eaten raw or fried in butter.
	Purple Sea Urchin	*Strongylocentrotus purpuratus*	This species is the most available type of urchin. Purple sea urchins are gathered for immediate consumption and for large gatherings or ceremonial purposes. The urchins are picked off the rocks, or speared with specialized implements. They are then cracked open and eaten raw or fried with butter.
	Green Sea Urchin	*Strongylocentrotus droebachiensis,*	Sea eggs are harvested from green sea urchins and eaten fresh.
hasa.ʔbc	Red Rock Crab	*Cancer productus*	Crabs were previously speared from a canoe or off the rocks at low tide. This was done using a pole with two or three sharp prongs, with nails or a file attached to the end. The poles were often made from spruce or fir wood. Pacheedaht also used to dive into the water about ten to fifteen feet down, searching for crabs among the rocks. The crabs were caught by hand and thrown into a canoe or boat. Pacheedaht used to, and still use various methods to catch crabs. Crabs can be caught in seine nets while fishing for salmon, flounder or other fish. Crab traps are placed in coves or in other known crabbing locations. Geoducks were sometimes crushed and used as bait in a crab trap. Crabs are harvested year round. Usually the males are selected for their size. Red Rock crab are caught in several locations in Pacheedaht territory.
hasa.ʔbc	Dungeness Crab	*Cancer magister*	Dungeness crabs are found at a variety of sites. Fisherman would traditionally either dive or set out crab traps. Crabs were eaten for daily meals or gathered for potlatches. In the past crabs were steamed, but today they are cooked in boiling water for about 15 minutes, then eaten. Pacheedaht territory is know for an abundance of crabs, and the best crabbing locations are well known and utilized for trade with other Nations. This is a highly prized resource for the Pacheedaht community today, and crabs are often harvested in large numbers in crab traps for community gatherings and feasts.
	Prawn	*Pandalus platyceros*	Prawns were caught near the main Pacheedaht villages, but have not been available in large numbers in recent times. Pacheedaht Fisheries acknowledges the resource in potential future Fisheries planning initiatives. Prawns are steamed or eaten fresh. They are often traded for in modern times.
	Dock Shrimp	*Pandalus danae*	Dock shrimp were caught near the main Pacheedaht villages, but have not been available in large numbers over the past few years. Pacheedaht Fisheries acknowledges the resource in potential future planning initiatives. Shrimp are steamed or eaten fresh. They are often traded for in modern times.
	Scallop (Weathervane, Giant Rock, Smooth Pink, Spiny Pink)	*Patinopecten caurinus, Crassadoma gigantea, Chlamys rubida, Chlamys hastata*	Weathervane scallops in particular were valued for their shells. Weathervane scallop shells were used for making ceremonial rattles. Scallops are collected at specific locations within Pacheedaht territory. Scallops are eaten by being boiled or steamed.

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
	Humboldt Squid	*Dosidicus gigas*	Humboldt squid sometimes appear in fishing areas within Pacheedaht territory, particularly in times of warm water. Caught as a by-catch while fishing, they are used as bait. Pacheedaht have utilized the squid by preparing it deep fried, and the popularity is growing in community.
tilu.p	Pacific Octopus	*Octopus dofleini*	The Pacific Octopus is caught at a number of sites within the territory. One method of catching octopus was to find a den at low tide, identified by the debris of dead animals outside the den. When the den of the octopus had been located, the octopus was forced out of its den and could then be caught or speared. The animals were pulled from their dwellings with a small pole with a hook on it and then speared with the hook or harpoon. The animals can also be pulled from their dwellings by a ten to twelve foot pole with a harpoon blade attached, and then speared. Pacheedaht often catch octopi in crab traps in the Port San Juan area. The octopi are often put in a sack so they cannot escape. Octopi are eaten or are often used as preferred halibut bait.
	Pile Worm	*Nereis vexillosa*	Pile worms that grew on bay mussels were picked off the pilings at the government dock. They were also collected on the shore after storms. Pile worms are used as fishing bait.
ti.i'daw	Sea Cucumber	*Parastichopus californicus*	Sea cucumber is available at a many locations. Pacheedaht collect these to be eaten fresh or fried. There is a growing commercial industry for Sea cucumbers that Pacheedaht Fisheries will be identifying as a potential resource to manage.

Table 5: Sea Mammals

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
k'a.šc̓uʔ	Harbour Seal	Phoca vitulina	Harbour or Hair Seals were traditionally hunted at many sites along the entire coastal portion of Pacheedaht territory. These seals frequent waters close to shore and are seen in shallow bays and inlets to a much greater extent than other sea mammals. There are also sea caves in Pacheedaht territory where seals congregate, and where Pacheedaht hunters could catch the seals with nets, or herd them together for easy killing. Camps were often established near these caves for access and processing. Men would go for a week to stay and hunt at these prime seal hunting locations. Harbour seal meat was hung for two days to let the oil drip. Seal blubber was cut up into strips with some of the fat left on. The meat was partially smoked and eventually boiled before eating. The women prepare the skins and the meat, and boil the blubber for oil. Seal meat could be stored in wooden bins or smoked, salted and cut into strips like jerky. Seal oil was stored in a seal bladder. Once filled, the bladder was smoked to avoid leakage. Seal oil had many and varied applications. It was used medicinally as a general tonic. Salmon jerky was dipped in seal oil to soften it. Seal oil was rubbed as a preservative on spears and tool handles. Burial trees were rubbed with seal oil to prevent animals from climbing the trees. Seal skins were used to make floats for whaling, and seal stomachs were used as fishing floats. Salmon roe was preserved in a seal stomach buried underground. The seal hides were also used to make drums. Although they are not commonly hunted today, there is growing interest in the availability of seals as a resource base. The jerky is of particular interest to integrate into the regular diet of Pacheedaht. The seal skins are being incorporated in Pacheedaht's economic initiatives for arts and crafts production.
k'iɬadu.s	Northern Fur Seal	Callorhinus ursinus cynocephalus	In traditional times, Pacheedaht hunters would venture 40 miles offshore in canoes to intercept the large herds of fur seals as they migrated during the spring and fall between California and the Aleutian Islands. Traditionally, fur seals were hunted with a two-pronged harpoon, and their skins and meat were used for clothing or canning, or traded to other native groups. Migrating fur seals killed off Pacheedaht territory could be skinned and their hide (with 1" of fat still on) could be used as an instant coat. In the late 1800s, commercial hunting of fur seals was a major enterprise, and many schooners, stationed in Victoria, would follow the fur seals on their migration north. Pacheedaht and other Nuu-chah-nulth hunters were hired as hunters. Special sealing canoes were made to fit on the schooners. Pacheedaht men would travel up to Alaska to hunt the seals from canoes. This was a major source of income for Pacheedaht hunters into the early 1900s. The hunting of fur seals remains a Pacheedaht right that will be reviewed when populations return.
ti.čaq	Sea Otter	Enhydra lutris lutris	Sea otters live almost entirely in the ocean. They frequent offshore kelp beds, rocky islets, and reefs. They were hunted offshore in bull kelp beds with the same two-pronged spear used for hunting fur seals. In traditional times, sea otter was highly prized for its fur, used for fashioning various garments; the meat was also eaten. Sea otter furs became a major item of trade with European and American maritime traders during the late 1700s and early 1800s until the otters became scarce. During the late 1800s they were still hunted, and each sea otter pelt commanded a high price. Currently, there are few sea otters in Pacheedaht territory, but it is anticipated that they will re-establish themselves within the foreseeable future. There are also restoration efforts being pursued by the Makah Nation and it is anticipated that the sea otters will repopulate Pacheedaht territory as well. When populations become re-established, Pacheedaht will integrate the sea otter into their resource management and procurement planning.
ʔakʷa.dis	Northern Sea Lion, California Sea Lion	*Eumetopia jubatus, Zalophus californianus*	Sea lions were hunted in a similar manner to seals, and each sea lion yielded a lot of meat and blubber. There are several sea lion rookeries and caves located in Pacheedaht territory. The sea lions are a valuable species for eco-tourism and as an indicator of a healthy ecosystem. The rockeries are included in the tours associated with fishing charters, whale watching, and coastal charter ferry stops as a testimony to the thriving abundance of food sources and resources in the area. Pacheedaht is concerned for the future of this species in the event of an oil spill, given their known oil residency. Pacheedaht people do not currently hunt sea lions.
k'ʷak'ʷa.ʔaq	Harbour Porpoise	*Phocoena phocoena Phocoena vomerina*	Shell middens have consistently shown there to be porpoise remains in areas of traditional Pacheedaht villages. Dolphin meat was consumed, and processed much like that of whale blubber. The teeth and bones were likely used for tools and jewelry. Porpoises are a common sight today within Pacheedaht territory. Ecotourism initiatives include whale, sea lion, and dolphin sightings in Pacheedaht territory, conducted via traditional dugout canoes.
č'it'apkʷ	Whales (general)		Killing a whale was the highest honor for Pacheedaht whaling chiefs, who spent their entire lives preparing, and practicing the skills required for the hunt. Whaling was considered a sacred activity with rigorous ritual activity that began at the hunter's birth. Whalers and their crew engaged in ritual activities to cleanse their spirit and bodies in order to successfully prepare for the hunt. Whale hunters conducted their cleansing rituals at shrines in secret locations. From these shrines, the whalers would

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
			be in spiritual communion with the spirits of the whales, and with their Ditidaht and Makah neighbors. Pacheedaht whalers occasionally went whaling with the Makah. Whales were usually hunted after calving in the early part of summer. Specially made whaling canoes were fashioned from cedar logs, and harpoons were made from sections of yew wood scarfed together. Young whalers trained rigorously to become paddlers and crew members, and to dive into the water to tie the whale's mouth shut after harpooning; this prevented the carcass from sinking. The harpoons were fixed with extra large mussel shell blades in traditional times, and with iron blades when these became available. Floats made from seal skins were tied on to the harpoon line after the whale had been struck; these impeded the whale's ability to dive, and caused it to tire. More detail regarding the significance of whaling to the Pacheedaht is included in the body of the report. During the 19th century, and before, the Pacheedaht village at Qala:yit, now IR #3, was a jump-off point for Pacheedaht whalers to get to the whaling grounds. Qala:yit is sheltered from both easterly and westerly winds making it a suitable towing location. Drift whales were also brought in to the head of Port San Juan where they were cut up on the beach, and distributed according to traditional protocols. Whalebone has been found at archaeological sites throughout Pacheedaht territory. Although humpback and gray whales were species hunted most often, right whales were also previously hunted. Once a whale had been killed out on a whale hunt, it was towed into Qala:yit for processing. It is estimated that the last whaling activity in the area occurred one hundred years ago; at which point the whaling industry was at its peak in the Northern Pacific, and whale populations had been significantly endangered. The populations of right and humpback whales are on the rise, and a group of gray whales seasonally reside in the bays of Pacheedaht's coastline. The Pacheedaht logo is of a whaler and canoe in pursuit of a whale, harpoon in hand; this illustrates their identity of being whaling people. Chief Queesto Charles Jones inherited a whaling harpoon that had been used by his grandfather; this harpoon is now on permanent display in the lobby of the Sooke Region Museum.
	Humpback Whale	Megaptera novaengliae	Whale meat was divided amongst the community, with special sections reserved for the chiefly families. The bones were often used around house platforms and served to route water away from the houses. Humpbacks spend a considerable amount of time in the region during their annual migrations, and in some instances stay year round. They are often seen at ƛučii?aa?aq, Swiftsure Bank while fishing for halibut. Pacheedaht associate productive fishing grounds with the presence of feeding whales.
č'it'apkʷ	Gray Whale	Eschrichtius robustus	Gray whales tend to travel and feed close to shore which made them an accessible species to target. They were also considered more docile than the humpbacks. The meat of the whale was divided amongst the chiefs, the whalers, and the community; the hunter kept the skin and a certain part of the whale (ambergris) to sell for perfume. Whale sinew and skin was made into ropes, patching material and bags. Whale oil was an important commodity, stored in seal skins, and used as extensively as a condiment and for burning in lamps. The Makah renewed the whale hunt recently based on their Indigenouse rights and some Pacheedaht members participated. Pacheedaht is working to reestablish the whale hunt in the traditional territory, as it is still an existing Indigenous right also.
	Orca Whale		Orcas were hunted, but not killed, by young whalers in order to test and improve their abilities. The killer whale is a very fast, agile swimmer, making them difficult to approach or harpoon. They are a key figure in many stories of the Pacheedaht, and an important spiritual character that was able to transform into the Wolf and emerge onto land. Killer whales were not targeted as prey, but they an integral part of the cultural and traditional histories of the Pacheedaht. There are southern resident killer whale pods, northern resident killer whales, offshore, and transient orcas in Pacheedaht territory; all are seen migrating, and feeding in the Strait of Juan de Fuca and on ƛučii?aa?aq, Swiftsure Bank. They continue to be spiritually recognized by Pacheedaht, and the concerns for their survival are escalated by the increase in shipping traffic.
	Northern Right Whale		This species was targeted, as it was slow moving, large and contained more oil than other species. The focus on this species lessened after the commercial overhunting in the North Pacific, primarily due to the ease in taking down the animal by commercial vessels, and their high oil content. When this species was plentiful, the Pacheedaht were able to get large quantities of meat and oil without a long, laborious fight or tow. This species was reported to have tasty meat. The Northern Right whale is currently a threatened species, with conservation measures in place.

Table 6: Coastal Plants and Trees

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
x̱ubis	Western Red Cedar	*Thuja plicata*	Red cedar is light, strong, resistant to rot, and easy to split and carve. It was the wood of choice for the manufacture of most items of domestic use such as canoes, houses, cradles, masks, boxes, chests and many other items of utility. The bark of the cedar was equally important. Cedar bark was used to make clothes, rope, hats, baskets and many other items. Pacheedaht people are renowned for their carving ability and they made canoes and other items for trade. Much of the technology related to resource acquisition, processing and storage was based on cedar tools, including fishing and hunting gear, weirs, drying racks, digging tools, cookware, eating utensils and carrying equipment. Most of the utilitarian clothing, such as capes and hats, was fashioned from cedar bark. Ornamental and ceremonial house posts, masks and ritual paraphernalia were often lavishly carved. Much of the economy of the region depended upon watercraft to access resources and these vessels, and their accompanying bailers were made of red cedar. Cedars were carefully selected for harvesting; groves of good cedar trees were preferred for harvesting. Trees were usually felled and the wood blocked out for canoes, house posts, or planks in the woods, then transported home. A prayer was always offered to the tree before felling or stripping bark from the tree. Cedar bark itself is considered to have sacred qualities, to be pleasing to supernatural spirits, and is a key element in most ritual events. Harvesting of red cedar occurs throughout Pacheedaht territory, widely known for the high quality of its trees. The collection and preparation of cedar bark continues to be important for Pacheedaht members.
tu.xupt	Sitka Spruce	*Picea sitchensis*	Spruce trees were used for tree burials. Spruce boughs were used for ritual and ceremonial purposes to cleanse the spirit. Pacheedaht scrubbed themselves with spruce or hemlock boughs and prayed during ritual bathing performed at secret locations. During winter dances, performers waved spruce branches at the spectators to scare them. Boughs were also used as part of the costumes in initiation ceremonies. Spruce wood was used for the 15 ft. to 20 ft. long poles used for spearing halibut, flounder and crabs. Spruce pitch provided a protective coating for fishing spears and heads of whaling harpoons. It was also used for repairing leaks in canoes and waterproofing baskets and implements. Pitch was also used as a medicine for cuts, wounds and boils. It was heated and strained through moss or lichen. The pitch would leach some of the medicine from the moss or lichen and the resulting substance was used as a poultice. Sitka Spruce are found on the coastal regions of Pacheedaht territory, and thrive along rich waterways and close to the ocean. It is still incorporated in Pacheedaht ceremonies.
c̓ibpat	Basketry Grasses	*Carex obnupta*	Pacheedaht girls were taught how to pick these grasses when they came of age. Groups of young Pacheedaht women gathered the grass with elders, walking to the grass collecting site from their village. Three-cornered grass was gathered in summer when the plants reached a certain height or when they attained the right texture for basket weaving material. It was pulled up from the roots and broken off at the base. Often Pacheedaht stayed in a small shack and preserved the grass while on site; this was done by pulling the grass through salted boiling water. It was then split and tied into bundles and hung from a tree to dry. The grass was then laid on the ground to bleach in the sun. Pacheedaht women used the grass to fabricate beautifully woven baskets that were traded or sold. Basketry grass was predominantly collected from coastal areas close to Pacheedaht villages – the prime locations are well-known and continue to be important to the Pacheedaht. Basketry grasses are still collected, as weaving is practiced by several Pacheedaht members today. There are initiatives to increase the practice of weaving and integrate it into economic opportunities. These species are found primarily within intertidal areas, and coastal wetlands, both very sensitive to environmental disturbances.
qicsapt, čapx"apt	American Dune Grass	*Elymus mollis*	Dune grass was used as twine in tying reef nets and basket traps. Its tough leaves were used as a needle and thread for sewing and tying certain objects. The long, soft rootstocks of the grass were twisted into a rope-like bundle and the ends were tied in a knot. Young men rubbed their bodies with this bundle when bathing to cleanse their spirits and to strengthen their bodies. Dune grass was harvested along the beaches in Pacheedaht territory. Dune grass is an important plant ecologically because it stabilizes the sand on the beach and stops erosion. It is found growing in intertidal areas, a very sensitive ecological area. Today Pacheedaht work with the grass harvesting knowledge holders to host community workshops.

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
k'eyicapx, le.pat	Salal	*Gaultheria shallon*	Salal berries are picked in July and August and eaten fresh, made into jam – in the past they were dried on skunk cabbage leaves to make a type of fruit leather. The leaves could be chewed to alleviate hunger or used to make a greenish-yellow pigment. Leaves were also eaten by newlyweds to ensure their first born was a boy. The branches and leaves were used in steam cooking. These berries are picked at a number of locations near to the Pacheedaht community, and are abundant at many other locations. They are particularly abundant along the coastline. They continue to be harvested by Pacheedaht as an important antioxidant food source, and medicinal tea.
λiλcsap (edible roots) λicsapapt (plant)	Pacific Cinquefoil or Silverweed	*Potentilla pacifica*	Pacific cinquefoil roots were collected from meadows, river estuaries, tidal zones and tidal flats. Specifically, Pacheedaht Knowledge Holders indicated these roots were gathered at several locations near the Pacheedaht main village. In the past the cinquefoil roots were a highly favoured food, and a valuable trade commodity. Cinquefoil root collecting began around October when the plant turned orange and started to die. The roots were harvested through the winter when they had their maximum carbohydrates. It was possible to get them in spring when food was scarce, and they were an essential resource when preserved fish and other animal foods ran low. The roots were pit cooked on the beach and each woman had their special knot, which they tied the roots with to identify their food put into the pit. Three inch cooking rocks were ideal for cinquefoil roots. When cooked in this way, cinquefoil roots tasted like sweet potatoes. The cinquefoil root beds continue to be prized possessions of the Pacheedaht and maintain significant efforts for reviving the habitat and cultivation of the species. They are included in traditional pit cooks today.
naxu. (small leaved variety), ʕeʕciy̓ (large leaved variety)	Wild Clover	*Trifolium wormskioldii*	As with the cinquefoil, the clover roots were a traditionally favoured food. Wild Clover occurs at a number of sites, and is still valued today as a culturally important food source. Cooked and utilized in a similar manner as cinquefoil.
ʕešipt	Stinging Nettle	*Urtica dioica*	Nettles were harvested from open areas in the forest and along the coast where there was more exposure of light. Nettle was used as food and medicine, and the fibre was fashioned into twine for a wide variety of purposes. Stinging nettles were used as a medicine to make a poultice for cuts, and as a tea for a general tonic. Duck nets were made of nettle fiber spun together with yellow cedar bark and cottonwood fiber. Stinging nettle twine used as a leader for fishing halibut. It continues to be harvested by the Pacheedaht for various applications, such as a spring food, and a medicinal tonic tea.
qawi.pt, č'a.w'ičk'ay, šišičqa.ʔdλ	Salmonberry	*Rubus spectabilis*	Salmonberries ripened early around the end of May or first of June, when the sockeye came and were celebrated. They are eaten fresh because they were too seedy and watery to be dried. Salmonberry shoots are picked during a two week interval just after the plant flowers, usually in April or May. The shoots are similar to celery and are dipped in sugar or a sugary syrup and eaten while picking or as a treat. Salmonberry shoots can also be pit cooked, which was thought to enhance their ability to clear breathing passages. Red and yellow salmonberries and salmonberry shoots are picked at many locations near the Pacheedaht village and continue to be a favoured food. They are found in sunny locations, and thrive in the coastal climate.
λ'iχapχ, λ'iχapχapt	Huckleberry	*Vaccinium parvifolium*	Huckleberries ripen in June, after salmonberries but before salal berries. They are eaten and dried in the same manner as blueberries. Huckleberries are picked at many locations near the Pacheedaht village and continue to be a favoured food.

Table 7: Seaweeds, Intertidal and Subtidal Plants

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
	Seaweeds and Sea Grasses (General)		Pacheedaht collected many different varieties of intertidal plants and seaweeds throughout their traditional territory. Intertidal species were collected during the spring and summer low tides, while the subtidal species were harvested by canoe in the summer. Pacheedaht members continue to collect seaweeds today. Both seaweeds and sea grasses were used as a food source, trade item, and often preserved for winter stores. They were dried on the rocks in the sun, and stored in cedar boxes for winter. Porphyra was the most widely consumed, served with whale oil or bear grease. Other species were used for medicinal, material, and spiritual purposes.
c̓a.ypiš	Red Laver	*Porphyra perforata and other species*	Large quantities of Porphyra were collected at many sites along the coastline in Pacheedaht territory. Family groups of elders, women and children traveled by canoe to various beaches to camp, fish and pick seaweed, sometimes staying for weeks at a time. Seaweed was usually picked at low tide in the spring or early summer before it became too tough to eat. The seaweed was put into sacks as it was collected and taken to shore. It was then sun dried on the ground, rocks or a log. Some Pacheedaht ate dried seaweed by itself, or dipped in oil. Some seaweed was collected for trade, or sold to stores in Victoria for the Asian communities. In the late 1910s or early 1920s seaweed was sold in Victoria for 10 cents a pound, and held high economic value for many Pacheedaht members – this continues today. Pacheedaht members continue to collect seaweed today and it is integral to the economic development of resources in the territory. This species has very high market value known as the Japanese named seaweed "nori."
wa.qa.t (whole plant), qa.qa.t (float or bulb), lata.bʔub (leafy fronds, human hair), sadaʔbɬ (fishing line of kelp), a.t (extending downwards)	Bull Kelp	*Nereocystis luetkeana*	Bull kelp was collected by young men who were trained in deep-water diving as part of their preparation for whale hunting. The long stipes of the kelp were cut off at the base and used for fishing line. Kelp was also cut off at the base with a knife attached with a long pole or collected on the beach when it washed up after a storm. After the kelp was collected, it was laid on the roof of a house to dry. It was then rubbed with oil every few days until it was thoroughly saturated. Dogfish oil was usually used for this process because it was easiest to get and was not as edible as seal oil or whale oil. The curing process took as long as a year to complete. The line was then rolled up for storage. The fishing line was later soaked in sea water in order to make it pliable enough for use. The line did not need to be oiled after each use, but had to be soaked each time after storage. Kelp line could be used for trolling salmon and for catching bottom fish such as cod and halibut. Several lines could be joined together with a fisherman's knot. The hook was attached to the kelp line with a leader made from spun nettle fiber. Because the curing oil acted as a lubricant, the kelp fishing line was easy on the hands when hauling it into the boat. Kelp lines did not last indefinitely and eventually wore out from being hauled into the canoe or boat several times. Bull kelp was also used in making halibut hooks. The hooks were carved from the knots of trees such as hemlock. The knot was halved or quartered lengthwise, each piece carved to the correct proportions and then several were inserted into a kelp bulb a little longer than the knot sections. The kelp was then buried upright in hot sand next to a fire. It was left there overnight and the knot was removed from the kelp bulb the next morning. The knot was then bent into a hook shape using a mould and later left to cool and dry. The kelp bulb and the hollow part of the stipe were used as containers to store dogfish oil, whale oil, or seal oil. More recently the kelp bulbs were used for storing molasses. The containers were usually about one half metre long and they were dried before use. The bulb of the kelp was also dried and used a mould for skin cream made from the fat of a deer. The fat was mixed with the aromatic resin of cottonwood buds or wood pitch and poured into the kelp bulb to harden. The kelp was then peeled off leaving a bulb-shaped piece of tallow to be used to protect the face from the elements. Water was put in the bulb and it was plugged with a piece of wood or moss. The leaves of the bull kelp were used to cover fish and keep them from spoiling or drying while out fishing. Bull kelp also provided a habitat for herring spawn, sea urchins, abalone, salmon and other marine life. Pacheedaht picked the kelp and peeled off the herring eggs, which were later dried or preserved in brine. Herring eggs were usually harvested in March. Sea urchins and abalone were plentiful where bull kelp grew. Salmon traveled close to the shore in the thick bull kelp and Pacheedaht set fish traps in the kelp. Bull kelp is found at many places along the coastline, and generally indicate underwater reefs. It was harvested from specific places known to produce healthy plants with resilient characteristics. In some kelp beds the bull kelp grows from 150 to 200 feet long. Bull kelp continues to be harvested by Pacheedaht and is integrated into the resource management strategy of the Nation.

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
taba.x	Eel Grass	*Zostera marina*	Eel grass was used in the manufacture of lead gates on each side of a reef net, to guide salmon into the nets. It was bright green and eaten fresh with seal or whale oil. The eel grass was harvested by twisting a pole around the leaves. The base of the leaf stems and roots were also eaten. The white fleshy rhizomes of the eel grass were pulled from the roots at low tide in spring. They were often eaten on the site or dipped in oil. Mallard ducks, Brant, and geese feed on eel grass and other foods at low tide in the winter. Eel grass is also a habitat plant for herring spawn. Eel grass was collected at rocky beaches during low tides, at the best harvesting grounds located on the outer coast of the territory, Today eel grass habitat is considered an environmentally sensitive ecosystem. They are closely monitored by Pacheedaht and recognized as significant spawning habitat.
taba.x, di.ʔdik'ʷapt	Scouleṙs Surf Grass/ Torreẏs Surf Grass	*Phyllospadix scouleri/ Phyllospadix torreyi*	Herring spawn was collected from the leaves of Scouler's Surf-grass. The leaves were harvested and dried with spawn on them. They were then soaked in water and the spawn were pinched off the leaves and eaten. The leaves of Torrey's Surf-grass were dried and split for use in basketry. Herring spawn was also collected on these leaves. Collected at low tides in areas where seaweeds were collected. Pacheedaht recognize areas with surf grass as being especially productive seaweed and seafooding area.
pu.pu.xʷiyʕa. ("a lot of blown up things on rocks")	Bladderwrack	*Fucus gardneri*	Bladderwrack was used fresh or dried by the fire. Whalers rubbed themselves with this plant to bring luck and success in the hunt. Pregnant woman rubbed their bodies with bladderwrack if they wanted to give birth to a whale hunter. It was also used as a poultice for burns or wounds. Bladderwrack was referred to as firecrackers because it would pop when dried and stepped on, or explode when thrown in a fire during ceremonies. Harvested in intertidal areas during the early spring and summer. Bladderwrack is an excellent habitat plant for crabs and small shellfish. This species grows in the upper intertidal and is readily available for use. The fronds are cut off and collected for use. Bladderwrack is harvested today as a medicine for thyroid conditions, and has a growing importance in the community. It is also used topically for burns.
λ'oʕqʷapt	Leafy Kelps	*Hedophyllum sessile (bubbly), Laminaria groenlandica (smooth)*	Leafy Kelp was harvested at low spring and summer tides and deposited in herring spawning areas for collection of herring eggs. Herring deposited their spawn on both the bubbly and the smooth varieties of leafy kelp. The spawn were either peeled off the leaf fronds and eaten fresh or left on the algae and dried for later use. The smooth type of kelp was preferred for harvesting herring spawn because the spawn was easier to peel off. Pacheedaht do not commonly harvest this species today, but as it becomes marketable, this species will be integrated into Pacheedaht's resource management strategy.
łuc̓luc̓pt	Short Kelp	*Lessoniopsis littoralis*	This species was only harvested during low tides in extremely exposed outer coasts. The fronds would be harvested and used fresh or dried. Pacheedaht made a salve from burned strips of short kelp. The salve was rubbed on the spines of young boys to strengthen their bodies. Pacheedaht do not commonly harvest this species today, but as it becomes marketable, this species will be integrated into Pacheedaht's resource management strategy.
łuc̓luc̓pt	Sea Palm	*Postelsia palmaeformis*	Sea palm grows along headlands, and on rocky points in exposed sites. This species was accessible by boat during low tides. It would be cut off and harvested and prepared in a variety of ways. Pacheedaht made a salve from the stipes of the sea palm by drying them in the summer, then burning them, powdering the charcoal, and mixing it with raccoon bone marrow. Newborn babies who were going to be whalers were rubbed with charcoal from sea palm to make them strong and resilient. The plant was burned and the ashes were rubbed on the face of a person having convulsions. Sea palm ashes were also mixed with water and taken for a medicinal purpose. Sea palm has become more rare, and with limited coastal access, it is not commonly harvested today.
c̓a.ypiš	Sea Lettuce	*Ulva lactuca*	Sea Lettuce was harvested in similar areas as Porphyra. It thrives in rocky upper intertidal areas, especially in areas with fresh water flow. It was harvested in spring by tearing from rocky substrate. Green algae is an indicator of the arrival of salmon up the creek after the first fall rains wash the algae away. Also eaten or dried for winter use. Pacheedaht are not actively harvesting sea lettuce today, but there is growing interest to utilize it for community feasts.

Table 8: Fish

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
	Salmon (general)		Salmon are a fundamental feature of Pacheedaht culture and economy, and have been for many centuries. Traditionally, Pacheedaht people harvested salmon in large numbers by means of traps and weirs in the major salmon bearing rivers and streams in their territory. They were also harvested at many offshore locations, generally appearing annually in the following order: Sockeye, Chinook, Coho, Chum and Pink. The rights to fish in the salmon bearing rivers and streams in Pacheedaht territory were the hereditary property of the chiefs. The salmon populations in the rivers and streams were carefully managed; no fishing was permitted each season until sufficient stocks had ascended the river to ensure future returns. When the proper time came, each of the chiefs directed that traps and weirs could be assembled at the most productive locations to maximize salmon harvesting. Many salmon were smoked and processed as a staple food during winter. Although the San Juan and Gordon Rivers were the major salmon rivers in Pacheedaht territory, other rivers and streams supported salmon runs. Currently, salmon remain a most important resource for Pacheedaht members, and are fished and harvested by many Pacheedaht people individually at many locations, and communally during community fishery events at the San Juan River.
biʕa.t	Sockeye Salmon	*Oncorhynchus nerka*	Sockeye salmon are a favored species of salmon for Pacheedaht members, and were traditionally caught in weirs and fish traps in river systems and offshore; they continue to be fished and are most important for community members. The rights to fish in the salmon bearing rivers and streams in Pacheedaht territory were the hereditary property of the chiefs. Sockeye are the earliest salmon species to spawn, and traditionally brought a welcome and abundant source of food in the early summer While the numbers of fish available has declined in recent years, sockeye remains a preferred species of salmon. Today, they are caught offshore during the summer, and occasionally caught in community fisheries in the San Juan River. Sockeye salmon can be eaten fresh or can be smoked, salted, canned or cooked in coals, and some are half-smoked. Sockeye is considered the best fish for canning. Pacheedaht Fisheries is actively engaged with other agencies in attempting to restore this run of highly valued fish.
cuwit	Coho Salmon	*Onocorhynchus kisutch*	Coho salmon are also a favored species of salmon, were traditionally the most plentiful, and were caught throughout the marine portion of Pacheedaht territory. They were especially abundant during August and September. The rights to fish in the salmon bearing rivers and streams in Pacheedaht territory were the hereditary property of the chiefs. The salmon populations in the rivers and streams were carefully managed; no fishing was permitted each season until sufficient stocks had ascended the river to ensure future returns. Abundant coho runs continue to spawn in Pacheedaht river systems and most community members rely upon the Coho run as an annual supply of fish. The Coho run is eagerly anticipated each year, and many PFN community members fully participate in the harvest of the fish.
ča.wił or sač ̓up	Pink (Humpback) Salmon	*Oncorhynchus gorbuscha*	Pink salmon were traditionally harvested after chum in the fall during late runs from October to December in the river and creeks within Pacheedaht territory. The rights to fish in the salmon bearing rivers and streams in Pacheedaht territory were the hereditary property of the chiefs. The salmon populations in the rivers and streams were carefully managed; no fishing was permitted each season until sufficient stocks had ascended the river to ensure future returns. Pink salmon were not traditionally a very valuable species, but with the decline of sockeye, have become increasingly sought after. PFN members still catch them in rivers as at offshore locations in Pacheedaht territory, and during community fisheries events. Pinks are still a thriving fishery of the territory, making them very valuable to Pacheedaht today.
čičk ̓a.waʔs	Chum (dog) salmon	*Oncorhynchus keta*	The salmon populations in the rivers and streams were carefully managed; no fishing was permitted each season until sufficient stocks had ascended the river to ensure future returns. Chum salmon were abundant in several river systems in Pacheedaht territory, and were traditionally caught in fish traps and weirs at strategic locations in the river; they were also caught at ocean fishing banks. The rights to fish for salmon in rivers and streams in Pacheedaht territory was owned by the chiefs. Within traditional times, and up until the availability of refrigeration, chum salmon were perhaps the most important of salmon as they preserved the longest when smoked, and so provided a reliable supply of food that would last the longest during the winter. PFN members still catch them in rivers as well as in the ocean. The Pacheedaht fish plant lands and processes chum salmon harvested in Juan de Fuca Strait.

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
ča.wiɬ or sač ʾup	Spring (chinook) salmon	*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*	Spring salmon were traditionally, and are currently caught along the coast from April to September and in streams and rivers in Pacheedaht territory. The rights to fish in the salmon bearing rivers and streams in Pacheedaht territory were the hereditary property of the chiefs. The salmon populations in the rivers and streams were carefully managed; no fishing was permitted each season until sufficient stocks had ascended the river to ensure future returns. Chinook salmon do not preserve as well as other salmon species, so are not smoked as often as other species. They are currently caught at offshore locations, in particular ƛučii?aa?aq, Swiftsure Bank, and during community fishery events. Winter springs are a source of fresh fish throughout the winter months.
qiw.aẋ	Steelhead	*Salmo gairdneri*	Steelhead were traditionally caught in rivers and streams along the coast, and inland. The rights to fish in the salmon bearing rivers and streams in Pacheedaht territory were the hereditary property of the chiefs. Steelhead were caught in a number of rivers and streams in Pacheedaht territory, and were distributed to family and community members by the fishers, and given to the community dances and ceremonies. Today the populations in certain streams are well recognized and protected by Oceans Canada.
	Coastal Cutthroat Trout	*Salmo clarki clarki*	Trout were caught in the streams and tributaries throughout the territory. Pacheedaht used dragnets to fish trout in calm waters, and harpoons were used in swift waters, or a cast line from a canoe. The line was fastened with a "V" shaped piece of wood on each end; the hook was attached to one end, and a small ball float to the other. Trout are still fished and typically eaten fresh.
ƛusibt	Herring	*Clupea harengus pallasi*	Herring and herring spawn used to be available in abundance in Pacheedaht territory. There were several locations where herring spawn was collected by placing weighted cedar or hemlock branches, or bull kelp fronds in the ocean and on which the herring would deposit spawn. Herring balls were indicators for fishers and whalers. The herring spawn was an integral food source, collected on boughs, or seaweed fronds. It was used as well as a valuable trade resource, and has potential for future economic development. The appearance of herring, and the harvesting of herring spawn was a much-anticipated event and a sign of early spring. Herring stocks have been depleted due to commercial over-harvesting and few herring now spawn in Pacheedaht territory. It is anticipated that herring stocks could recover if properly managed, and roe will be integrated into the resource management strategy of the Nation. Herring spawn is a favourite food for Pacheedaht elders, and highly sought after in intertribal trade.
łułu.bi.s	Flounder (unspecified)	*Platichthys stellatus*	Pacheedaht fish for flounder on the sand bar outside the breakers at the mouth of rivers. The traditional technique involved a flounder set line which is similar to a halibut set line, but made of a lighter material and smaller hooks. At least twenty hooks were set on a line. Large horse clam shells were used for sinkers and pile worms were used as bait. The line was set in the daytime during slack tide to prevent it from being washed away. Flounder were also fished with a three-pronged harpoon in the swift water rivers. In the winter, flounder were fished with baited hooks as they migrated. In the 1940s the Pacheedaht would seine for flounder, crab and salmon at one fishing ground to provide for the needs of the entire community. Flounder were speared at low tide on winter nights with a pole with two sharp prongs on the end. Lamps were used to attract the fish and they were also caught with a ten foot, three-pronged harpoon, which had barbs similar to those of a straightened salmon hook. They were harpooned from boats, as they could be seen breathing under the sand. A custom three-pronged harpoon with straight metal points about a foot long and a quarter inch in diameter was used. The shaft of the spear was made from spruce or fir. The fish were attracted with a gas lamp tied to the bow of a small canoe. They were struck on the head with the harpoon and held down until they stopped moving. Seine nets were also used; the net was dragged onto the shore and the fish were divided among the community. Some Pacheedaht fished for flounder off rocks with a pole with a file on the end. Flounder is eaten boiled or fried and it can also be filleted and smoked or used to make fish and chips Pacheedaht members do not store this type of fish as it is available year round. In the past, flounder was traded to farmers for vegetables, butter, milk and pork. This species of fish can be caught any time of the year and is caught by Pacheedaht members today.
Suyu.ɬ	Pacific Halibut	*HIppoglosus stenlepis*	Halibut were caught at a depth of 15-20 fathoms with a drift line at many off shore locations. Many prime fishing locations were located by the presence of seals and whales diving for halibut. The reserve located at Qala:yit IR#3 provided an ample supply of fresh fish throughout the winter. Pacheedaht also would harvest halibut from Swiftsure which they would smoke and cure for winter stores. There were often halibut caught weighing in at 200 lbs or more. Sometimes they were caught using traditional cedar bark rope gear. Traditional lure set up included hand lines with red cloth as bait. Generally multiple canoes would travel to the fishing ground, each man with a line with two hooks on a spreader and a weight attached; the hooks were made from wood, and lines of processed kelp. This kelp line was very specifically processed using fresh river water, knots, and smokehouse techniques, which would preserve the kelp for 3-4 years. The line was dropped until the sinker hit the bottom and then was hauled back up "two lengths or a fathom," until the hooks hung a few feet off the bank. This was the practice used for anchored fishing. Pacheedaht also

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
			fished using the drift line in which the main line was tied to the middle of the spreader. The line extended one fathom further to the sinker, which was usually a piece of sandstone or other stone with a whole in it. These types of sinkers were often snagged or lost and it was difficult to make a hole in the rock, so they were replaced with egg shaped rocks tied on by a non slip hitch knot. The line was sunk to the bottom and then pulled up a half fathom. A hair seal bladder float was then attached to the line and a smaller float was attached five fathoms from the float. The second float served as a marker. Other methods were employed for one man in a small canoe, similar to drift line fishing. When the halibut was pulled up, it was clubbed with a yew wood club. The men fished from daybreak for about three or four hours and caught about thirty halibut each on a good day. Pacheedaht not only harvested for their own use, but they also traded halibut with other Nations in exchange for other valuable items, and also sold to white traders. Halibut eggs were also gathered in February when the halibut spawned under rocks close to shore. The slightly greyish eggs were dipped in oil and eaten. There are numerous productive fishing sites located in Pacheedaht territory, most importantly at ƛučii?aa?aq, Swiftsure Bank. Halibut caught currently range from about 20 lbs to 100 lbs, with records set in the past by elders of 600 lb catches. FSC fisheries target halibut for the abundance of meat. Today Pacheedaht members access the hereditary fishing grounds at ƛučii?aa?aq, Swiftsure Bank, utilizing powerboats, and modern fishing equipment/tackle. There are specific productive fishing locations identified using landmarks, and GIS points at which the fisherman anchors and sets up the gear on downriggers. Bait is set close to the bottom on metal spreaders, and heavily weighted. The natural rhythm of the wave climate creates a jigging motion for the lures attached near bottom. These practices could be impacted by the increase in shipping traffic intersecting the fishing grounds at ƛučii?aa?aq, Swiftsure Bank.
	Sole	*Pleuronectes vetulus*	Sole used to be speared at a fishing ground off the sand bars at the river mouths and estuaries. Sole provides an ample food source during the winter, often eaten fresh. They are still fished by PFN community members today.
	Rock Fish (general)		There are many species of rock fish fished by the Pacheedaht. Rockfish continue to be fished and monitored by the Pacheedaht; species that are listed in the table are Greenling, Kelp Greenling, Sablefish, Ling Cod, Black Rockfish, and Yelloweye Rockfish. Other rockfish utilized by the Pacheedaht include the following species: Canary, Quillback, Yellowtail, Silver Grey, Vermillion, Copper, Tiger, China, and Red Banded. Rockfish are targeted with similar fishing techniques that involved jigging around kelp forests and rock formations. They are also targeted offshore at ƛučii?aa?aq, Swiftsure Bank. Pacheedaht fisheries department has become instrumental in monitoring these populations. Rock fish provide a source of food that is reliable and available throughout the year. In the past, cod stomachs were also used to store liquids. Pacheedaht continue to fish rock fish as an important food, social, and ceremonial fishery.
	Greenling (Tommycod)	*Microgadus proximus*	Greenling are caught at many locations in Pacheedaht territory; they were caught in decades past by casting a line with mussels for bait. A bobber was attached to the line and the line was sunk to the bottom. Small hooks for catching greenlings were made from spruce or yew wood steamed in bull kelp bulbs. Today they are caught by jigging with contemporary fishing gear. Greenlings can be roasted for eating, but are also prepared by frying.
	Kelp Greenling	*Hexagrammos decagrammus*	Kelp greenling were caught in near kelp forests. They are eaten fresh, either by roasting or frying.
	Sablefish	*Anoplopoma fimbria*	Sablefish was among the first commercial fisheries on the BC Coast and was previously available in large quantities. Although the stocks of this fish have been somewhat reduced, they are still caught today. Sablefish were consumed traditionally as a fresh fish resource, and sometimes smoked. Pacheedaht are interested in pursuing this species in finfish aquaculture as it is becoming a very valuable species on the world market.
tuška.wx̣	Ling Cod	*Ophiodon elongatus*	Lingcod are a fished from canoes by jigging a hand line. There are many lingcod fishing areas, including *ƛučii?aa?aq*, Swiftsure Bank in Pacheedaht territory and they are a favoured species. Fisherman target lingcod at certain rock and reef formations. Lingcod have long life spans, and grow to considerable size. These fish provide the community with a large supply fresh fish supply throughout the year.
wa.ʔdiɬ	Yelloweye Rockfish (Red Snapper)	*Sebastes ruberrimus*	Red Snapper or Yelloweye Rockfish are caught at many locations throughout Pacheedaht marine territory. They are mostly found at the offshore fishing location of *ƛučii?aa?aq,* (Swiftsure Bank). Yelloweye Rockfish are fished by Pacheedaht members today. Red snapper was used for bait because of its bright red colour and the toughness of its skin. The skin of the jaw of a red snapper was used to bait for cod, rock fish or halibut. They continue to be eaten as a delicacy caught primarily on the offshore fishing banks; some grow to a large size.

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
	Cabezon	*Scorpaenichthys marmoratus*	Cabezon are occasionally caught while fishing in the river systems, but are more commonly caught when jigging in or near kelp beds. They are currently fished for in the offshore fishing grounds of the *ƛučii?aa?aq,* (Swiftsure Bank) area. These fish were not traditionally consumed, as they were thought to have poisonous flesh. In contemporary times they are a targeted fish species. This fish has a blue-coloured flesh, and it has become very valuable on the Asian market.
qit'ap	Sea Bass, Black Bass, Black Rockfish, Blue Rockfish,	*Sebastes malanops*	Fished at various sites in Pacheedaht marine territory. Bass were typically filleted and are excellent eating when barbequed on an open fire. They are abundant around kelp forests, and when caught in large quantities are distributed throughout the community.
yača?	Dogfish Shark	*Squalus acanthias*	Dogfish were fished from the summer fishing station at Qala:yit, IR No. 3, and other locations along the coast. In the latter part of the 19th century, dogfish became an important commodity for the Pacheedaht and other native groups. The oil from dogfish livers was in high demand for use in early commercial logging operations. Annual production was between five and six thousand gallon barrels of dogfish liver oil, and commanded high prices on the market in Victoria, and at other locations in the United States. Dogfish oil was used for a variety of other purposes as well, as lubricant and for medicinal purposes. Liver oil was sold to the Hudson Bay Company and other buyers in the late 19th century. The fish were caught and the oil rendered from the livers, and stored in wooden barrels for sale to buyers. The dogfish industry made significant money for the whole community over a number of decades. Dogfish are not a targeted species at present, but if the demand increases, Pacheedaht would be prepared re-establish the fishery.
	Sturgeon	*Acipenser transmontanus*	Caught in the estuaries and also caught in crab traps. These fish provided variety to the other species of fish available to the Pacheedaht. Eaten as a fresh fish source. Some fish grow to a fairly large size, and as well very old. Although their numbers have been severely depleted, they are still occasionally seen in the rivers.
	Sand Lance	*Ammodytes dubius*	Found in sheltered areas, and are caught by Pacheedaht members as bait for other fishing. The sand lance typically burrows in the sandy stretches of coast within Pacheedaht traditional territory. They are a good bait fish, and there is a growing international market for their use as such. They are also a major food source for salmon and cod.
ba·daw' ʔu.ʔupas	Surf Smelt Night Smelt	*Hypomesus pretiosus* *Spirinchus starski*	Smelt appear in large quantities at a number of locations in Pacheedaht territory, but most Pacheedaht members catch them along the beach near the main village. They are not abundant as previously, but still appear in significant numbers. They are fished during warm weather from April until September when the smelt spawn on the beach. In the past, smelting was sometimes a community event. Smelting parties were held on the beach and the fish were cooked over fires. Two types of smelt were, and continue to be, caught. Port San Juan is the only recorded area on Vancouver Island with a population of night smelts. The larger fish, referred to as surf smelt (ba·daw') are fished during the day; the smaller smelt, called ?u.?upas, are caught at night. Bonfires were lit on the beach to attract the fish when smelting at night. At either time of day, Pacheedaht catch smelts with a dip net about 3 ft. deep. The net is attached to a frame with two parallel cross pieces attached to a pole. Smelts can be seen on the waves and the fish were scooped with the net when the waves break. The fish can be shoveled over the fisher's shoulder onto the beach or the full dip net is dragged onto the beach. Sometimes, a hole is dug in the sand to hold the fish temporarily until people put the smelts into buckets. The fish have also been caught with gillnets.
	Sardine (Pilchards)		In the mid 20th century, large numbers of sardines, then called pilchards, were harvested by commercial fleets along the west coast of Vancouver Island. Pilchards were abundant in Pacheedaht territory, and used to be caught with nets. Sardines have been relatively scarce for decades. The abundance of sardines in local waters is considered cyclical and it is likely that they will return in large numbers in the future. Sardines are prepared by having their heads cut off and they were fried for eating.
	Shiner Perch/ Red Tailed Perch	*Cymatogaster aggregata,* *Amphistichus rhodoterus*	Perch are found in sheltered areas, and in the intertidal estuaries. They prefer the eel grass beds, kelp forests, and other protected regions of the coast. Pacheedaht still target Red Tail Perch in the surf, and the Shiner perch, which are eaten fresh.
ku.ma	Ratfish	*Hydrolagus colliei*	Caught while fishing in the offshore fishing grounds at *ƛučii?aa?aq,* (Swiftsure Bank). Pacheedaht did not target this species specifically, but are now looking to the emerging demand for ratfish oil production as an economic opportunity.

Pacheedaht Name	Common Name	Scientific Name	Pacheedaht First Nation Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK): Historical Use and Current Use
t'ačk'ubc	Northern Anchovy	*Engraulis mordax*	In the past, anchovy used to go up rivers and died in lakes, and fresh water potholes. Anchovy are eaten fresh, and used as bait for fishing.
	Wolf Eel	*Anarrhichthys ocellatus*	Wolf eels are occasionally caught in crab traps and similarly were caught in the past in fish traps. Wolf eels are not typically consumed as a food source by Pacheedaht, but international interest is growing
	American Shad	*Alosa sapidissima*	Caught by trollers, and provide an additional food source for Pacheedaht.
	Skate	*Raja stellulata, Raja binoculata*	Skates have been caught in seine nets near the sandy beaches of Pacheedaht territory. They are now rare and not targeted. In the past, a seine net was dragged to the shore and the catch was shared among the community. These places were used for seine fishing from summer to fall. This species is not targeted at present, but is occasionally consumed.

Appendix B: Cumulative Effects

With the establishment of the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island, the British Crown asserted sovereignty over Pacheedaht territory and the rest of what is now British Columbia. Later, when British Columbia confederated with Canada in 1871, the jurisdiction for lands, resources, and other governmental affairs were assumed by either the federal or the provincial government. When the Indian Reserve Commissioner established the four Indian Reserves for the Pacheedaht between 1882 and 1894, the jurisdiction for all other portions of their territory was essentially alienated by British Columbia or Canada.

Since Contact, many developments and historic events have occurred to the Pacheedaht and within their territory that have had significant adverse impacts on their traditional rights, as well as on the land and more increasingly, in the marine portions in their territory. The cumulative effects include, but are not restricted to, the topics described in summary form below; only major categories are included.

As stated in the Introduction to the report on Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Committees' Final Report:

> For over a century, the central goals of Canada's Aboriginal policy were to eliminate Aboriginal governments; ignore Aboriginal rights; terminate the Treaties; and, through a process of assimilation, cause Aboriginal peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities in Canada. The establishment and operation of residential schools were a central element of this policy, which can best be described as "cultural genocide."

The potential effects of the RBT2 project should be evaluated in the context of Cumulative Effects described in some detail below.

Any further reduction, of any magnitude, in Pacheedaht members' access to fisheries and intertidal resources, or further degradation of these resources, will comprise significant losses to Pacheedaht traditional marine harvesting activities and rights. Similarly, any further damage or degradation of Pacheedaht cultural, archaeological, or other resource harvesting sites on land, or access to these sites, will also comprise significant losses. The increased volume of cargo in the marine traffic resulting from the RBT2 project would add to the Cumulative Effects described below.

Contact, Disease and Depopulation

There are a few estimates and calculations of the Pacheedaht population prior to the census information recorded by the Department of Indian Affairs in 1881. These early references to population are summarized below:

- records from the Spanish exploration led by Quimper in June of 1790 estimated the Pacheedaht villages in Port San Juan contained 300 people. As this estimate was recorded in early summer, it is likely that many Pacheedaht people were away at other resource villages and camps (eg. Halibut fishing camp at *Qala:yit*), as described previously in the traditional seasonal round pattern. It is estimated that the Pacheedaht likely numbered 900 people or more in 1790, after a smallpox epidemic had already passed through the region;
- 1852-3, a smallpox outbreak occurs amongst the Makah, and is brought over to the Pacheedaht, described below;
- in 1855, Francis and Banfield estimated that the "Nettinet" (this estimate likely references both Ditidaht and Pacheedaht) population included 800 people;[189]
- in 1856, George Gibbs estimated that the "Nitinat" people (again, likely referencing both Ditidaht and Pacheedaht) numbered 792 people;[190]
- in 1858 Banfield wrote a newspaper account that described the Pacheedaht as numbering about 20;[191]
- in 1864, Robert Brown of the Vancouver Island Exploring Expeditions estimated the Pacheedaht "fighting men" numbered 60.[192] Writing in 1896, Brown noted that Pacheedaht numbers were severely reduced due to war and the effects of the smallpox;[193]
- The first formal census, conducted by the first Indian Agent in 1881, enumerated 82 Pacheedaht members.[194]

Pacheedaht Chief Queesto Charlie Jones estimated that the Pacheedaht numbered 1,500 people or more before diseases, brought by white explorers, traders and settlers, were introduced into Pacheedaht territory.[195] A massive depopulation occurred amongst the Pacheedaht during the 18th, 19th and early 20th century, as was the case for Indigenous people in other parts of North America. There were at least eight varieties of epidemic diseases introduced to the Northwest Coast region during the first century after Europeans arrived in the region of the west coast of Vancouver Island, including smallpox, malaria, measles, influenza, and typhoid fever.[196] The first signs of smallpox

[189] Banfield, W.E., and Peter Francis. "Correspondence: Peter Francis and W.E. Banfield to James Douglas." Victoria BC: BC Archives, Colonial Correspondence, GR 1372, file 588a/2, 1855.
[190] Gibbs, George. "Indian Population of Vancouver's Island, 1856." Victoria, BC: BC Archives MS 518, 1856.
[191] William E. Banfield. "Vancouver Island: Its Topography, Characteristics, Etc.: II the Netinett District." *Victoria Gazette*, 14 August 1858, p. 1. This estimate is likely a misprint, and should have read "200" as the population number printed does not align with other observations.
[192] Brown, Robert Brown. "Journal: Vancouver Island Exploration Expedition." BC Archives, Robert Brown Collection, Add Mss 794, Vol. 1, file 16. Victoria, 1864.
[193] Brown, Robert Brown. "Journal: Vancouver Island Exploration Expedition." BC Archives, Robert Brown Collection, Add Mss 794, Vol. 1, file 16. Victoria, 1864.
[194] Harry Guillod. *Report for West Coast Agency*, 1881.
[195] Charles Jones, *Queesto,* 1981. p. 21.
[196] Cole Harris, "Social Power and Cultural Change in Pre-Colonial British Columbia," BC Studies 115/116 (Autumn/Winter 1997/98). p 51.

having reached the vicinity of Pacheedaht and Ditidaht are reported in 1782-3, [197] several years before the first recorded Contact between the Pacheedaht and non-native explorers in 1788, and the Quimper expedition's estimate of the Pacheedaht population recorded in the summer of 1790.

An account of the horrible effects of one outbreak of smallpox experienced by the Makah at Neah Bay during 1852 or 1853, and brought across to the Pacheedaht, was recorded by trader Hancock at Neah Bay:[198]

> …a brig commanded by Capt. Fouber arrived here from San Francisco, having on board two natives who lived here, and also a white man with smallpox; the two natives left the brig, and went on shore among their friends, but in a few days were prostrate with the same disease, contracted on the vessel; one soon died and the other recovered, but the disease spread among the natives, proving very disastrous, for in a majority of instances it was fatal. After resorting to every means in their power to arrest its progress and fatality in vain, for their friends were dying in vast numbers daily, those who had escaped became almost frantic with grief and fear, and conceived the idea of crossing the Strait and going to the Nitanat tribe living on Vancouver's Island. They crossed over to this place, carrying the infection with them, and soon nearly all those who fled from Neah Bay, besides a great many of the native tribe, became victims to the epidemic.
> …
> In a few weeks from the introduction of the disease, hundreds of the natives became victims to it, the beach for a distance of eight miles was literally strewn with the dead bodies of these people, presenting a most disgusting spectacle…
> …
> After the disease had raged here in its most violent form for about six weeks, it began to abate and finally subsided, when it was really distressing to look at those who had survived this sad occasion, some of whom had lost all their near and dearest friends, and whose countenances showed their distress more plainly than words could have told....

Although it cannot be stated with certainty what the Pacheedaht population level was at its highest point before Contact and population occurred, Chief Queesto's estimate of 1,500 Pacheedaht people or more seems accurate based on the information presented above. The 1881 census counted 82 Pacheedaht members, a reduction of 95% from Chief Queesto's estimate of the pre-Contact population.

[197] Harris, Cole. "Voices of Smallpox around the Strait of Georgia." In The Resettlement of British Columbia· Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change edited by Cole Harris, 18. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1997. p. 18.
[198] Hancock, Samuel. "The Narrative of Samuel Hancock 1845 - 1860." New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1927.

Indian Reserve Establishment

When British Columbia confederated with Canada in 1871, the responsibility for establishing Indian Reserves became the joint responsibility of the federal government and the Province of British Columbia. Although some Reserves had been established by the Colonial government prior to 1871, none were located in Pacheedaht territory. An overview history of the establishment of the four Pacheedaht Indian Reserves between 1882 and 1894 was provided earlier. With the establishment of the four Reserves, these plots of land were secured for the Pacheedaht, but managed by the Department of Indian Affairs. The four Reserves comprise 207 ha. of the approximately 163,203 ha. of land in Pacheedaht territory, or just 0.13%.

As described before, Reserve Commissioner O'Reilly attempted to reserve fishing rights in the lower San Juan River for the Pacheedaht in 1882, and the RCIABC in 1916 attempted to confirm those rights to the extent that was in their power. It appears, however, that these fishing rights were never formally acknowledged by the Department of Marine and Fisheries (now Fisheries and Oceans Canada), and have not been enacted.

Hereditary Chief Queesto Charlie Jones perspective on the creation of the Pacheedaht Reserves was published in 1981. He expressed his concern over the failure to establish Reserves at the locations of known villages.[199]

> Our reservation was established around the end of the last century. I was just a boy at the time, but I can remember my father talking about it. The reserve only included what we called our "outside villages" -those located on the seashore - because the government surveyors only went along the shoreline. So our "inside villages" were lost. My father tried to get them to change this decision, but they wouldn't do anything about it. My father went to the Indian Affairs office, and said, "Why is my village not together with our villages up the San Juan River? There are seven big villages with as many as forty houses on them scattered all along the river. Why am I going to lose all that?" "You don't need that much land," the government people told him. "The government put you in this place and gave you 112 acres for your band to live on. You will get better protection right where you are. That's the reason that the government gave you that land. You have to live on that land so that the government can protect you."

Indian Reserve Commissioner Peter O'Reilly established "Cullite" as a Pacheedaht Indian Reserve in 1890, noting in a letter to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs on 3 March of that year "as a halibut and dogfish station this is much valued by the Indians."[200]

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[199] Charles Jones, *Queesto,* 1981, p. 93.
[200] O'Reilly, 3 March 1890 Letter, in O'Reilly, Peter. 1890-1892. "Correspondence Concerning Pacheedaht Indian Reserves." In *RG10, v. 11010, Reel t-3949; RG10 f. 1277, Reel B 1393.*: BC Archives.

While the Pacheedaht Indian Reserves in the late 19th century provided a level of protection for those plots of land, the corollary effect was that the other lands and waters within Pacheedaht territory then became available for pre-emption or purchase by non-Pacheedaht people, and for development by commercial or industrial interests.

Loss of Culture and Language

Pacheedaht people have endured many effects from federal legislation and policies that attempted to break the chain of traditions that keep Pacheedaht culture and language alive. Interviews conducted with Pacheedaht members, and other sources, document that there has been a significant loss of knowledge transmission amongst Pacheedaht members from the late 1800s up to the present day, with most causal evidence pointing to the continuing effects of Indian Residential Schools and the laws prohibiting traditional cultural events and practices.

Indian Residential Schools and Missionaries

In its Introduction concerning the effects of Canada's Indian Residential School program and Canada's Aboriginal policy, the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada stated:

> For over a century, the central goals of Canada's Aboriginal policy were to eliminate Aboriginal governments; ignore Aboriginal rights; terminate the Treaties; and, through a process of assimilation, cause Aboriginal peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities in Canada. The establishment and operation of Indian Residential Schools were a central element of this policy, which can best be described as "cultural genocide.[201]

The purpose of the Residential Schools was to teach the children how to be "white," and not "Indian." In 1920, the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs summed up his views as follows:[202]

> I want to get rid of the Indian problem. [...] Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department.

Many Pacheedaht children were forced to go to Indian Residential Schools over many decades. In Chief Queesto's published memoir, he stated:[203]

> The missionaries and government discouraged us from using our own language, and made sure that all our children were sent to the white man's schools and educated in his language and his ways.

[201] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. 2015. Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. www.trc.ca. p. 1.
[202] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. "Legacy of Hope Foundation - About Indian Residential Schools." http://www.legacyofhope.ca/about-residential-schools.
[203] Ibid. pp. 57-58.

Chief Queesto also recalled that the Indian Agent came to the village to demand that all Pacheedaht children must attend the school at Clo-oose, located in Ditidaht territory. Later, once the Residential School at Coquileetza was established, Queesto and other Pacheedaht youth were forced to leave and attend school on the mainland, or the family would be charged for keeping the child at home. There were regular attempts by the Indian Agents to collect all Pacheedaht youth; some were able to hide during visits, or went to stay with relatives to avoid detection. Parents who concealed their children faced punishment.

Most Pacheedaht children were taken to the Residential Schools at Coquileetza, Ahousat, Kuper Island and in particular to the Alberni Indian Residential School (AIRS), which operated from 1890 to 1973. After it closed, there were 24 allegations brought against AIRS school supervisors and principals, the United Church and the federal government.[204] There were accounts of strappings and other abuse; one former AIRS employee served 11 years for more than 30 counts of physical and sexual abuse. The emotional and psychological scars carried by the victims of the Indian Residential Schools continue to be experienced by Pacheedaht members today.

Anti-Potlatch Law

After the federal government assumed jurisdiction over Indian Affairs in British Columbia in 1871, government officials began to receive complaints from agents and Indian Reserve Commissioners in B.C., and especially from missionaries. The complaints focused on certain native customs, in particular the potlatch and the *tamanawas* rituals. As a result, an amendment to the Indian Act was passed by the Canadian government that made both ceremonies offenses, effective 1 January 1885. Religious and social pressure was placed on the Pacheedaht by early settlers to the area, some of whom were former missionaries.[205] The initial anti-potlatch legislation was later found to be virtually unenforceable, and was rewritten as part of other amendments to the Indian Act in 1895. This anti-potlatch law was enforced, and resulted in a number of convictions, resulting in native people spending time in jails. The law remained in effect, with various additional amendments, until it was dropped from the Indian Act in 1951.[206]

The banning of the potlatch had the effect of also prohibiting the related *tlukwaana* (Wolf Ritual) ceremonies. These two intertwined ceremonial rituals lie at the heart of the traditional art, culture, spiritual practices, economy and customary laws of First Nations along the west coast of Vancouver Island.[207]

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[204] Indian Residential School Resources. "Alberni Residential School - Port Alberni." Indian Residential School Resources, http://irsr.ca/alberni-residential-school/.
[205] Godman, Josephine. Pioneer Days of Port Renfrew. Victoria: Solitaire Publications, 1973.
[206] Cole, Douglas, and Ira Chaikin. "An Iron Hand Upon the People: The Law against the Potlatch on the Northwest Coast." Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & MacIntyre, 1990.
[207] Clutesi, George. "Potlatch." Sidney, BC: Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1969.

The central nature of the potlatch to both Pacheedaht economy and culture is implicit in a traditional account related by native historian Tom Sayachapis, referenced previously, and summarized again below.[208]

When Tom was a boy in the mid-1800s, there were two famous chiefs amongst the Nuu-chah-nulth: "Becomes-Ten" of Nootka Sound, and Pacheedaht Chief Queesto. The traditional history relates that the Chief Queesto of the time had gone on a trip to buy whale oil from members of the Seaward Tribe (Makah) near Neah Bay, but they attempted to drive up their prices unreasonably.

Queesto performed a bathing ritual throughout the following night, planning his revenge against the Seaward Tribe [Makah] for their insulting behavior. The next morning, Queesto managed to trade forty of his blankets for 10 sealion bladders full of oil from a few members of the Seaward Tribe. Upon returning home to *Qala:yit*, Queesto immediately issued invitations for a potlatch to neighbouring tribes. This grand affair was attended by many tribes, with people coming from Clallam, Songhees, Sooke, Becher Bay, Makah and other groups. At this famous potlatch, in his enormous house at *Qala:yit*, Chief Queesto proceeded to humble the attending members of the Seaward Tribe, in front of his assembled guests, with an ostentatious display of his wealth, continuously fueling the house fire with their high-priced oil. Queesto announced that he had not attempted to buy the oil from the Seaward Tribe to become rich, but rather to raise his name through potlatch. Queesto then distributed many gifts to his guests, further enhancing his status and shaming the Seaward Tribe.

Potlatches traditionally lasted about 2 weeks and involved many different tribes from territories near and far.[209] Chief Queesto talked about the anti-potlatch law as follows:[210]

> The white man doesn't understand Potlatches. They're weird people. They've been running us out, trying to stop us from keeping our native way of life, from doing things the way we've always done, ever since they first came here two hundred years ago. A Chief put up a party up the coast here about eighty years ago, and when the government found out about it, they put him in jail. Just imagine, he had to serve two or three months in jail for having a party! That's ridiculous. Potlatches were against the law for many years, and the men and women were very sad about it – it was breaking the native way, the native law. The Missionaries were the ones who started the movement against the Potlatch. The missionaries would report people who held Potlatches to the government, and then the government would send a policeman to take the native away to jail.

[208] Sapir, Edward, and Morris Swadesh. Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography. Indiana University Research Centre in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics 1. Vol. 21 (4), pt. 2, Bloomington: Indiana University, 1955. pp. 297 – 300.
[209] Charles Jones, *Queesto,* 1981, p. 821 – 84.
[210] Ibid. p. 84

The Pacheedaht shared specific rituals, *tlukwaana* ceremonies, associated with the Supernatural Wolves, as well as ritual whaling preparation, with their Nuu-chah-nulth neighbours. Two creatures, the Killer Whale and the Wolf are believed to be of the same spirit, with the ability to transform from one creature to the other as they move between land and sea. The *tlukwaana* ritual incorporates a dramatic capture of high-ranked youths by those already initiated into the Secret Society of the Supernatural Wolves. The youths were considered to have been taken to the lairs of the Wolves where they are given supernatural abilities. Later, the youths were re-captured, but now possessed of supernatural powers bestowed upon them by the Wolves.[211] The *tlukwaana* was banned by missionaries and DIA agents, who opposed such events as they were considered linked to the prohibited potlatch ceremonies and hence prohibited under the anti-Potlatch law.

Other sacred Pacheedaht ceremonies, *ʔuusimch,* involved cleansing and other rituals to prepare for the rigorous and dangerous whale hunt and other important activities. Humpback whales, grey whales, and the northern right whale were the preferred species for Pacheedaht hunters, although killer whales were also pursued, but not killed, during training exercises to hone the hunters' agility and speed. The whaling rituals are considered highly sacred, and the details are the carefully guarded secrets of individual whaling chiefs' families.[212] Most of the cleansing and other rituals were performed at special locations where specific geographic features and other qualities exist (remoteness, supernatural power, caves, streams, lakes, etc.). Some Pacheedaht ritual and ceremonial locations are included amongst the Culture History Category sites described later in this report.

Whaling rituals, along with other traditional native spiritual practices, were discouraged by local missionaries and Indian Agents. This interference, combined with the overhunting of whales through commercial whaling hunting, effectively brought a halt to the whaling rituals.

Although the Department of Indian Affairs, its officials, missionaries and others attempted to prevent the Pacheedaht from speaking their language and engaging in their cultural traditions, these remain alive today.

Industrial Logging

The forests of southern Vancouver Island have supported a thriving timber extraction industry since the late 19th century. Pacheedaht's traditional territory has been significantly impacted, starting with the arrival of Alfred Deakin in the 1880s. Deakin's company attracted the interest of local and foreign investors for the immense timber resources of the San Juan, Gordon River, and Jordan River watersheds, and in other accessible coastal regions. Many commercial interests came to stake their claims on timber lots, and established sawmills, booming grounds, shingle mills, a box factory, and other related developments. In the 1920s Cathel and Sorenson constructed a logging railway from the main branch of the San Juan River to the mouth of the Gordon

[211] Arima, Eugene, and Alan Hoover. The Whaling People of the West Coast of Vancouver Island and Cape Flattery. Victoria: Royal BC Museum, 2011. pp. 202-210.
[212] Arima and Hoover, *Whaling People,* 2011. pp. 58 – 64.

River, crossing through both Indian Reserve #1 Pachena, and Indian Reserve #2 Gordon River. This was followed by further railway extensions, employing steam donkey technology and logging trucks, all of which expanded the capacity to export raw timber from Pacheedaht territory.

Major logging operations were also established at Jordan River, including a logging railway that began operation in 1907. Western Forest Products (WFP) began managing logging operations at Jordan River in 1934 and continued operations in the area until recently. Remnants of the extensive logging operations are still visible in the remnants of the booming grounds at the mouth of the south arm of the San Juan River, and elsewhere.

The high turnover rate of the logging companies, and the influx of white settlers to support the high rate of extraction, often meant that forestry operations, while productive, paid little heed to environmental values or Pacheedaht cultural sites. Accounts of cultural sites, including burial grounds, being damaged by logging operations date back many decades. For example, the community of Beach Camp, built to house forestry workers, was constructed on top of a large Pacheedaht archaeological site. The breakwater located in Port San Juan was constructed in the 1950s to reduce the loss of logs to the open water, but has dramatically changed the intertidal diversity of the surrounding shoreline.

One of the most significant impacts from industrial logging has been the construction, maintenance and decommissioning of a vast network of logging roads through many portions of Pacheedaht territory. The roads have created significant changes to the hydrology of many parts of the territory, altering runoff into creeks, rivers and streams, and have also provided relatively easy access to many parts of the territory previously inaccessible by vehicle.

The effects of extensive clear-cut logging practices and associated changes in erosion patterns, water flow regimes and depositions of sand, rocks and gravels in the streams and rivers downstream of forestry operations, have resulted in significant damage to fish habitat and spawning beds. These hydrological changes have made significant impacts to the fish populations in the Gordon River, the San Juan River, Jordan River, and other rivers and streams.

Industrial forestry operations have occurred in many parts of Pacheedaht territory and have resulted in many significant environmental impacts. The fisheries in the Gordon River and San Juan River have suffered dramatic declines. The Gordon River, once an extremely productive river, is now rarely harvested by Pacheedaht members in order to protect the few remaining fish in the river system. The San Juan River supports only a small fraction of the runs of salmon compared to previous times. The Pacheedaht's annual community fishery in the San Juan River, and at the river mouth, is a highly valued activity and resource base, and yet represents but a remnant of a once abundant and traditionally managed fishery resource. The Pacheedaht Fishery Department is

pursuing several initiatives to maintain and enhance Pacheedaht fisheries resources and opportunities.

Hydroelectric and Mining Activities

Jordan River has been known to the Pacheedaht for centuries by its traditional name *diitiida,* and as an origin and village site for the Pacheedaht, as described before. By the turn of the 20th century, commercial interests had targeted Jordan River as a desirable location for timber and mineral extraction, and for the development of hydroelectric power for to the developing city of Victoria.

The water flow passing through the old tailrace of the hydroelectric dam was used by pink and chum salmon spawning in the lower Jordan River. The newer tailrace scours old spawning beds and creates extreme fluctuations of flow downstream. Three dams have blocked the recruitment of gravel from the upper watershed, reducing the available spawning area to a few small pockets.[214]

Mining activities began in the Jordan River area in 1919 and 1920, undertaken by Cominco, who later optioned the property to different companies. In 1949 the property was optioned to Hedley-Mascot Mines who installed electrical transformers and compressors. The mine was taken over in 1961 by Cowichan Copper, who installed a mill and concentrate production system underground, and built a new access tunnel. The mine operated at full production from 1962 to 1968, and from 1972 to 1974. Cave-ins at the mine occurred in 1977.[215] The abandoned mine shafts and seepages continue to deliver water contaminated with copper along the east bank of the river and through mine tailings that periodically slump and erode into the river. Mine tailings were also deposited in the Jordan River estuary in 1960 and 1974, and pipeline failures also resulted in tailings being deposited closer to shore.[216]

Taken in combination, development activities at Jordan River have had adverse impacts on Pacheedaht traditional occupation and activities in this area. The traditional Pacheedaht village, fishery and other resource gathering activities have for many decades been mostly unavailable to Pacheedaht members due to white settlement and the industrial developments described above. The salmon runs in the Jordan River, and Pacheedaht members' ability to harvest intertidal resources, have suffered significant adverse impacts resulting from forestry, hydroelectric and mining developments, settlement at Jordan River, and from associated contaminants.

Park Acquisition

Pacheedaht traditional territory includes some of the most magnificent marine shorelines in British Columbia. From the Pacheedaht perspective, an unfortunate result is that the majority of these shorelines regions have been established as parks by

[214] Wright, M.C., and Esther Guimond. "Jordan River Pink Salmon Incubation Study." Nanaimo, B.C.: M.C. Wright and Associates/Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 2003. p. 3.
[215] Sutherland, Andrew Joseph. "Sunro Copper Mine." https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.304998676270168.49590.129079040528800&type=3.
[216] Wright and Guimond. *Jordan River Pink Salmon*, 2003, p. 3-4.

various jurisdictions. Accompanying regulations restrict and sometimes prohibit the harvesting of resources within the parks.

Each level of government has sought control of the marine shoreline interface and secured tenures of national, provincial, and regional "parks," while at the same time providing free access to thousands of outsiders to prime resource-gathering areas within Pacheedaht territory. Consequently, Pacheedaht members' ready access to primary economic and food source areas has been restricted or denied.

Pacheedaht's traditional rights to access marine resources in their territory have been largely ignored by the various parks' regulations and through their established mandates for ecological protection and preservation. These regulations significantly impact the Pacheedaht's ability to access coastal resources, practice intertidal harvesting, engage in the transmission of cultural knowledge in traditional ways, harness economic opportunities, and practice traditional resource management. The Pacheedaht are currently in negotiation with the various levels of government to reassess the implications of park jurisdictions within their traditional territory. Pacheedaht are also involved in discussions concerning additional protected areas in their territory. Pacheedaht considers their Indigenous rights to include the right to harvest seafood and other resources within the Federal, Provincial, and Regional Parks located within the traditional territory.

Figure 28 illustrates the combined effects of the establishment of parks, fisheries closures, sanitation closures and the shipping lanes when superimposed on Pacheedaht's territory.

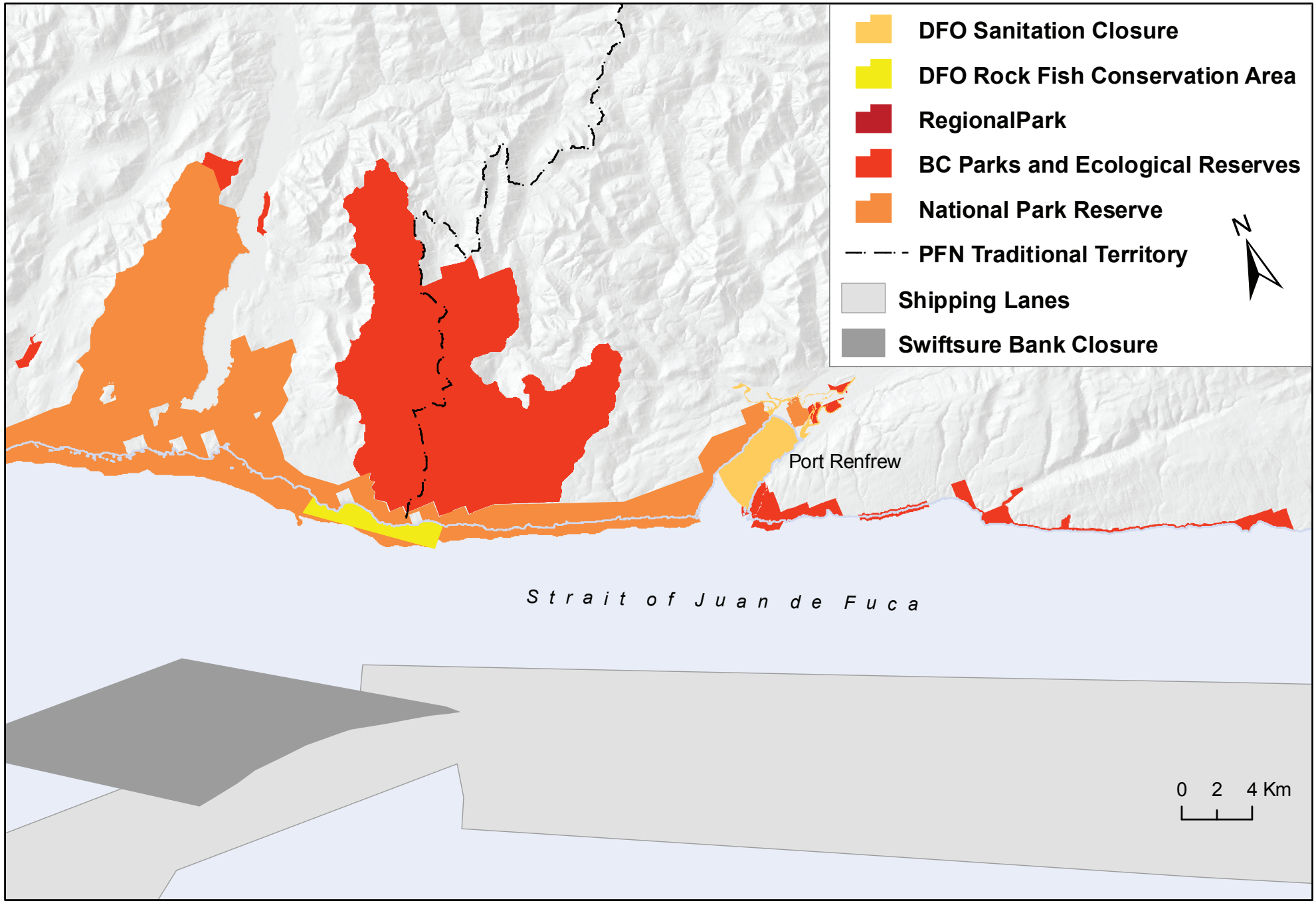

Figure ,1: Pacheedaht territory showing fisheries closures, parks, shipping lanes and ĴnĬ℔9ZZ9Zj Swiftsure Bank closure area.

Access to Marine Resources

Since the confederation of B.C. with Canada in 1871, Pacheedaht's ability to harvest marine resources has greatly deteriorated due to government regulations and environmental impacts. Prior to and at the time of Contact, the Pacheedaht economy, including trade, relied primarily on marine resources. Pacheedaht people earned their livelihood from the ocean, and much of the same reliance applies today for sustenance, economic opportunities, and future eco-tourism based business models. A select number of references follow that describe some of the restrictions to Pacheedaht's traditional rights to access to marine resources.

During the colonial period, British Columbia placed few regulations on fisheries. The Terms of Union for the confederation of British Columbia with Canada designated the "Sea Coast and Inland Fisheries" as an area of exclusively federal responsibility. The Terms also committed the Dominion to pursue an Indian policy "as liberal as that hitherto pursued by" the colony.[217]

With the 1871 confederation, the process for the establishment of Indian Reserves in British Columbia was set in motion. The 1876 federal government instructions to the Dominion Indian Reserve Commissioner directed him not to disturb the Indians in the possession of villages, fishing stations, fur trading posts, settlements and clearings, and to avoid any sudden change in the habits of the Indians. Further, those Indians who were engaged in "fishing, stock-raising, or in any other profitable branch of industry should not be diverted from their present occupation or pursuits…"[218]

Peter O'Reilly, when he established the Indian Reserves for the Pacheedaht in the 1880s and 1890s, was operating under similar instructions, received from John A. Macdonald, then Supt. General of Indian Affairs. Macdonald instructed O'Reilly to "mark off fishing grounds which should be kept for the exclusive use of the Indians."[219] To that end, O'Reilly established four Reserves for the Pacheedaht, all fishing stations, to secure their traditional supply of salmon and other fish. O'Reilly's Minute of Decision for Pacheedaht Indian Reserves #1 and #2 also reserved for the Pacheedaht the right to fish on both branches of the San Juan River, from tidal waters to the Forks.[220]

The federal *Fisheries Act* was not initially implemented in the new province. In 1873, the Department of Fisheries agent at Victoria warned that doing so "would rather probably lead to complications with the Aborigines."[221] Nevertheless, the *Act* was

[217] Department of Justice, *A Consolidation of the Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982* (Ottawa, 2013), 27.
[218] Laird, D. "Memorandum of Instructions: Laird, Minister of Interior to Dominion Indian Reserve Commissioner Anderson, 25 August 1876 " In Library and Archives Canada. RG 10, Vol 3633, File 6425-1, Microfilm reel C-10111. Correspondence, Reports, Surveys and Accounts of the Indian Reserve Commission in British Columbia, 1876-1878. Ottawa, 1876.
[219] Macdonald, John A. "Correspondence: Macdonald, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to Mclelan, Acting Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 25 October 1882 " In Library and Archives Canada. RG 10, Volume 3766, File 32876, Microfilm reel C-10135. Fisheries of Upper Nass Villages, British Columbia,1881-1883. Ottawa, 1882.
[220] O'Reilly, *Minutes of Decision*, 1882.
[221] James F. Cooper, "Remarks on the Fisheries of British Columbia," 30 January 1874, in *Sixth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, for the Year Ended the 30th June, 1873* (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1874), 205.

extended to B.C. in 1877,[222] and Canada passed specific fisheries regulations for B.C. the following year.[223] A.C. Anderson, Inspector of Fisheries for British Columbia, and also an Indian Reserve Commissioner, initially adopted a discretionary policy towards the Fisheries Act and its application to native people. However, pressure from cannery owners over access to stocks soon flared, and provincial officials blamed the native fisheries for the crisis.[224]

In 1878, Anderson wrote on the importance of fisheries for First Nations:[225]

> I have from the first been alive to the necessity of affording every protection to the interests of the natives in this important particular, and I have carefully watched, in as far as practicable, that no infringements of these hereditary rights should be permitted. The exercise of these rights, unfettered by wanton or ignorant interference, is to many of the tribes an object of prime importance, and as a matter of expediency alone, omitting entirely the higher consideration of the moral claim, their protection demands the earnest care of the government.

When Inspector of Fisheries Anderson died in 1884, he was replaced by other officials who were openly hostile to any native fishery and "pushed it to the margins of the industry, first by confining it to a food fishery and then by restricting the food fishery."[226] In 1888, Canada established new B.C. Fishery Regulations that required commercial fishers to obtain government licenses, and exempted Indian fishing only:[227]

> for the purpose of providing food for themselves but not for sale, barter or traffic.

Thus, although Pacheedaht people had a long history of taking fish for trade and other purposes, Canada set aside and protected the Aboriginal fishery as a subsistence-only fishery. In 1894, the regulations were rewritten to require even Aboriginal food fishermen to obtain permission from the Inspector of Fisheries.[228] By the turn of the 20th century:[229]

> native fishing was confined on all sides. Indians could still fish for food, but that right was increasingly circumscribed, and when they attempted to join the industrial commercial fishery they were thwarted by discriminatory license restrictions.

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[222] LAC, RG 2 series A-1-a, Privy Council Office, volume 344, P.C. 1876-0353, 18 April 1876.
[223] Privy Council Order 1878-0482, 30 May 1878, in Library and Archives Canada, RG 2, Privy Council Office, Series A-1-a, volume 368.
[224] Harris, Douglas. "Fish, Law and Colonialism: The Legal Capture of Salmon in British Columbia." Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001. pp. 39-43.
[225] Anderson, A.C. "Correspondence: A.C. Anderson, Inspector of Fisheries, to Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 3 January 1878." In Library and Archives Canada. RG 10 v. 3651, f. 8540. Ottawa, 1878.
[226] Harris, *Fish, Law and Colonialism*, p. 60.
[227] LAC, RG 2, series 1, Privy Council Office, volume 407, P.C. 1888-2458, 26 November 1888.
[228] LAC, RG 2, series 1, Privy Council Office, volume 588, P.C. 1894-0590, 3 March 1894.
[229] Harris, *Fish, Law and Colonialism*, p. 78.

Chief Queesto personally felt the effects of the fisheries regulations. He recounted that around 1963, while salmon fishing up the San Juan River, he was observed by a game warden. Later, the police came and arrested Chief Queesto for fishing illegally.[230] He served 10 days in jail for catching one fish on the San Juan River, within the area that in 1882 Reserve Commissioner O'Reilly had attempted to establish fishing rights for the Pacheedaht.

Over the decades, commercial and sports fisheries in British Columbia have become subject to an ever-increasing range of regulations and restrictions regarding licensing and practices, developed by the Department of Marine and Fisheries and its successor Ministries, now Fisheries and Oceans Canada.

For the Pacheedaht and other native fishermen, who, prior to Contact and throughout the Colonial period, had been engaged in a thriving economy based on the harvest, trade and sale of marine products, the result of the imposition of federal fisheries regulations has been severe. The federal government, on the one hand, established Pacheedaht Indian Reserves as fishing stations so that the Pacheedaht could pursue their traditional livelihood from the ocean. On the other hand, the federal government, through its *Fisheries Regulations*, first prevented natives selling fish without a license, and then continually added restrictions to the licenses. In the meantime, white settlers constructed and operated a fish cannery in Port Renfrew.

A recent court case, *Ahousaht Nation et al. v. Canada,* concluded that five Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations, Pacheedaht neighbours, have Aboriginal rights to fish in their traditional territories and sell fish into the commercial marketplace.[231] Much of the evidence presented in that case is similar to the evidence available for the Pacheedaht, a Nuu-chah-nulth neighbour. In Washington State, the Makah and other tribes earned the legal right to 50% of harvestable fish through the Boldt Decision.[232]

Despite the ever-increasing fisheries regulations and restrictions, Pacheedaht people have continued to fish. A number of Pacheedaht were actively engaged in the commercial fishing industry, including Chief Queesto Charlie Jones, who is portrayed with family members on his fishing boat *Queesto* in Figure 28. In his memoirs Chief Queesto recalled: "fishing was the main trade of our people in the early days."[233] He described that his grandfather used to go out fishing with a large crew and return with canoe loads of dogfish that were rendered for their oil. The oil was placed in barrels and delivered to the Hudson's Bay Co. in Victoria in a canoe that was over 60 feet long. Queesto's grandfather traded in dogfish, halibut and salmon – the latter being sent to trading posts, salted and packed in barrels.

[230] Jones, *Queesto*, 1981. p. 54.
[231] Kirchner, F. Matthew. "The Aboriginal Right to Sell Fish, Ahousaht Nation Et Al. V. Canada." (2010). http://www.ratcliff.com/publications/Aboriginal-right-sell-fish-ahousaht-nation-et-al-v-canada.
[232] Reid, *The Sea is My Country*, 212, 262-263.
[233] Jones, *Queesto,* 1981. pp. 27 – 32.

Figure 28: Photo of Chief Charles Jones and family on his commercial fish boat Queesto, ca 1945. l. to r. Charles Jones Jr., Stanley Jones, family friend, Gerald Jones, Hilda Jones, Stella Jones, Kenneth Jones, Charles Jones.

In his youth, during the late 1800s and early 1900s, the young Queesto accompanied his father and other Pacheedaht fishermen up the San Juan River and were able to fill six canoes with dog salmon in a single morning, using nets. They also used fish traps on the San Juan and Gordon Rivers to catch steelhead and dog salmon. Queesto also accompanied his father to his house *Qala:yit* (Cullite IR #3) in the spring, and from there they would fish three different fishing grounds on *ƛučii?aa?aq* (Swiftsure Bank) using landmarks to find the prime fishing locations. Four to six men would go out in canoes, and after three or four hours of fishing, each would return with up to 400 pounds of halibut each. The fish would be cleaned, then smoked.

Today, many Pacheedaht people still harvest large quantities of fisheries resources for domestic use. The Pacheedaht First Nation also operates Seafoam Seafoods, a seafood processing plant. Pacheedaht people also continue to derive fisheries economic opportunities through the small number of industrial based licenses managed by

Pacheedaht's Fishery Department. Individual members frequently go out in small boats, and fish throughout the offshore portion of Pacheedaht territory, with *ƛučii?aa?aq* (Swiftsure Bank) being one of the important areas due to the still relatively-abundant resources at the bank. Pacheedaht also continue to host seasonal community fishing gatherings that target returning local coho salmon runs in the San Juan River; some individual members fish with gill nets in the San Juan River as well. There are also celebrated regular feasts of smelts, crab, gooseneck barnacles, mussels, chitons, and other seafoods, all harvested by community members. The harvesting, preparation, consumption, sharing, trading, and bartering of these resources is paramount to the continuity of Pacheedaht's cultural practices. These practices further serve to define community-based roles and responsibilities, foster the transfer of intergenerational knowledge, and foster the physical and mental wellbeing of Pacheedaht community members.

The fisheries that remain continue to be of overwhelming importance to Pacheedaht members, and any additional reduction, of any magnitude, in Pacheedaht members' access to those fisheries, or further degradation of fisheries resources, will comprise significant losses to Pacheedaht traditional marine harvesting activities and rights. The traditional Pacheedaht fisheries at *ƛučii?aa?aq* (Swiftsure Bank) have gained additional significance for Pacheedaht members as these are currently healthier and more abundant than those at other locations. It is a primary harvesting location for much of Pacheedaht's fishery activities.

Fisheries and Oceans Canada has an Aboriginal Fisheries Strategy (AFS) Agreement with Pacheedaht. In addition, FOC continues to issue to Pacheedaht annual communal licenses with guidelines for the types of vessels and gear to be used, as well as specifying amounts to be harvested. Pacheedaht has not yet reached agreement with Fisheries and Oceans on harvest levels that meet the needs of the Pacheedaht First Nation.

In general, Pacheedaht fishing activities in Pacheedaht territory have been severely impacted by environmental degradation, fishing regulations and overfishing. The Gordon River and the San Juan River previously supported major runs of salmon, but industrial logging has damaged the rivers to the extent that salmon runs are seriously depressed in comparison to previous levels, as previously described. Commercial and sports fishing activities have also had significant impacts on fish stocks.

ƛučii?aa?aq (Swiftsure Bank) is an extremely rich marine area, that for centuries has been a prime fishing and sea mammal hunting area for the Pacheedaht and for other neighbouring Nations. The Bank was been overfished by commercial fishing interests, leading to significant reduction in fisheries abundances on the Bank, as outlined previously. In response to the depletion of the Bank, a portion of Area 121 *ƛučii?aa?aq* (Swiftsure Bank), has been established as a closed area for commercial and recreational fishing; there is no retention of halibut, rockfish, lingcod and all finfish, other than for First Nations use. Other areas in Pacheedaht territory are also closed by Fisheries and Oceans Canada to marine harvesting; these include a Sanitary Closure

20.4, encompassing the waters, foreshore, and estuaries in Port San Juan, and a Rockfish Conservation Area between Dare Beach and Bonilla (*Qala:yit*).

The re-routing of the international shipping lanes in 2005 such that they intersect with *ƛučii?aa?aq, Swiftsure Bank,*, has created significant interference with Pacheedaht's ability to harvest resources in this area. The marine traffic presents hazards to fishers due to threat of collision, and the effects of vessels wakes. The marine traffic also casuses interference, disturbance and threats to many marine species, particularly to orcas, whales and other marine mammals.

Appendix C: Pacheedaht First Nation TUOS Maps for the Roberts Bank Terminal 2 Project (PFN RBT2 Maps) – 2109 update