

SUPPLEMENT TO THE 2003 BOOK: “SONGHEES PICTORIAL. A History of the Songhees People as Seen by Outsiders 1790-1912”, by Grant Keddie. Published by the Royal B.C. Museum, Victoria B.C. Copyright © Royal BC Museum, All rights reserved.

This web site information is placed here as a copyright supplement to my (Grant Keddie, Curator of Archaeology) book Songhees Pictorial.

Much of the material acquired in the process of researching for the book was not included in the final publication. Many researched photographs were not used and chapters from the original written manuscript were left out. Supplemental information is provided here on the images used in the book as well as some related images that were not used. This information is organized by book chapter and presented according to institution accession numbers as arranged in the book.

In addition, some chapters have additional notes on specific topics related to the subject matter of the chapter. These “additional notes” will appear after the supplemental information on the images within each chapter. Also left out of the book were a number of subject related appendices. These will be located at the end – after the chapter supplement section.

INSIDE FRONT COVER PAGE

RBCM, PN8890. Original Print. Close-up of an outdoor photograph of unknown woman. c.1904-1909. Original Print. This is the same woman in RBCM PN9420 sitting down, and in RBCM PN8891 standing up with a large fish sticking out of a basket. The location is in front of the village just south of the Johnson Street Bridge. She is also in PN6859 (not shown) that is part of the series of tent camp photos at Hope Point. This is NOT the same woman in PN8860 on page 141 as mistakenly stated in the book.

CONTENTS (Page 5)

RBCM PN6346. Tom James in cowboy outfit. This Tom James is not the person mentioned in the book who was involved in a legal battle to receive compensation during the removal of the Reserve in 1911. This Tom James lived on Discovery Island much of his life. He was one of the Songhees who provided information to anthropologist Wayne Suttles. An original print had “Hebins Louie – Songhees Indian”. However, his foster daughter Joan Morris, who has an original of this print, identified this person as Tom James.

Tom James of Discovery Island died April 3, 1961. His death certificate gives his age as 99 and lists him as being born in “Esquimalt”. His father’s name was “James”. He was also reported as age “104” at death. Wayne Suttles was told Tom’s father was “Doctor Jim” a Songhees, and his mother Wuqwalquluq was from Valdes Island. [The information on his 1921 marriage certificate is different. It would indicate he was born

about 1871 in “Malahut” [Malahat]. His father is listed as Tommy Cutwhamalak and his mother Mary. There may be some mix-up here with another Tom James].

On March 27, 1921 Tom (age 50) married his second wife Elizabeth Harry (age 57, B:c.1864). She was a Penelekut from Kuper Island. Her father was Bill Tsilloughkaynim and her mother Eltzemia. They were married by Charles Tate at the “Indian Church Esquimalt”. At this time they lived on the Tsout reserve in East Saanich.

Tom’s third wife was Alice Sam (B: c. 1874, D: Feb. 1, 1963, age 89) of Saanich. Rev. Charles Tate performed the marriage. Alice’s father is listed as “Sam” on her death certificate. Wayne Suttles recorded her father as Sam Charles – a Songhees, and Alice’s mother as Cowichan with an East Saanich mother and a Beecher Bay father. Alice was the granddaughter of Setakanim of Beecher Bay and her granddaughter was Martha Guerin. Chief John Albany told Grant Keddie that Alice’s father was Sam Qullamult and that Alice inherited a house on the New Songhees Reserve from her father. Their daughter Hilda married Joseph Thomas of the Esquimalt Band. Tom’s son Andrew owned a house on Chatham Island Reserve #2.

A Memorandum of the Royal Commission in 1915 stated that Tom James fishes for 4 months a year off Discovery Island. He “last worked” as a fisherman in 1941. He lived on Chatham Island in the 1940s-1957. In the years prior to his death he lived on Cooper Road on the New Songhees Reserve.

DEDICATION PHOTOGRAPH (Page 6)

* For more quotes from Chief John Albany, see Appendix 7 below.

RBCM PN8844. An unnamed boy with his dog at Mud Bay on the Old Songhees Reserve, c. 1910. Original Print. This same child can be seen with family members in RBCM PN8883.

INTRODUCTION (Pages 7-9)

RBCM, PN6811. Most houses are of the traditional shed-like style with planks tied to their sides. Original Print. Note the extensive Douglas fir forested areas in the background – the presence of which is supported by later photographs and maps. The Original drawing is in the Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma, Washington. Alden’s caption reads: “Victoria, Vancouver Is., Songies Village, Victoria Harbour”. James Alden produced at least four watercolors of burial sites and several other scenes that included First Nations in canoes in the Victoria area.

RBCM, PN16951. The dating of this photo is based partly on the fact that the span of the Point Ellis Bridge that fell May 26, 1896 is still missing and the work on the new bridge contracted to Victoria Machinery Depot Co. Ltd on January 14, 1903 has not

commenced. Several old style houses torn down in July, 1899 are missing from the photo. Thomas George's 1901 house is not present.

About the Photographs (Pages 10-12)

RBCM PN8816. Daniel and Elizabeth Joseph are the owners of the house. Original Print. The area shown in PN8831 can be seen in the background of this photograph. Jimmy Fraser can be seen in PN8804 and PN6878.

RBCM, PN5901. The crabs in the picture are assumed to represent the items she sells, but this may have been staged for the photograph. Original print. Also RBCM, Carte de visite, PN5901 and BCARS, HP3470; HP34407, HP34220, HP18450. This photo was copied to a fake background for a post card of John Valentine & Sons Pub. Co., Montreal and Toronto, #104,199JV, - with caption "Indian Squaw British Columbia".

CHAPTER 1. Songhees – the Place and the People.
(Pages 13-15)

Territory. Grant Keddie drawing.

Provincial Archives of Manitoba, G.1/2581. From transparency of Original. The "Samas" village of 1839, was once located at the east side of the Cadboro Bay. The village appears on this map as three joined fortified dwellings.

BCARS, HP8667. Cadboro Bay. Original Print.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

In the post contact period the use of territories and the boundaries of territories would change with the fluctuating nature of families, which included intermarriage with non-First Nations who had different views of land use. For example, First Nations on Southern Vancouver Island went out of their traditional territory to work in the coalmines at Nanaimo, to fish in newly vacated areas, or to neighbours bogs to pick for the commercial cranberry industry.

Change in settlement is reflected in the archaeological record. There are a greater number of archaeological sites found in more exposed localities through time. This pattern is noticeable after about 1800 years ago, again around 1000 years ago with the expansion of defensive sites, and in the case of a few sites only since the 15th century.

Large archaeological sites over 2000 years in age are few in number, and occur in protected areas central to many food resources. If there was a lower density of population with a simpler technology in this earlier period, the people may have exploited a wide range of food resources. This would be in contrast to the need of a larger population to specialise.

Larger populations need to focus on several resources that have the reproductive and distribution characteristics that would allow for intensified exploitation.

Many food resources are subject to over exploitation. Fish and camas plants would be a general exception to this rule among societies in this area. Although people would continue to gather many resources, an increase in fish populations, the development of new fishing technology, and the management and expansion of camas beds, likely played an important role in the development of local cultures in the last 1800 years.

CHAPTER 2. Before European Settlement. (Pages 16-19)

“Carta que comprehende”. Portion of a Spanish map 1791. Another Spanish map of south end of Vancouver Island from the Galiano and Valdes Voyage of 1792, also shows these rectangles, representing villages. They can be seen around the centre of Parry Bay at Metchosin and at Gordon Head and Cordova Bay. Public Record Office of Great Britain, FO 925/1650. The title of the latter document is “Carta Esserica de la Costa NO. de America. Comprehendida entre la Entrada de Juan de Fuca, y la Salida de las Goletas con algunos Canales interiores arreglada segun los resultados de loas Goletas Sutil y Mexicana desde 5 de Junio a 31 de Agosto de 1792.” An accompanying document pertaining to the numbered places could not be located.

Aboriginal trench embankment or defensive site. This is known as archaeological site DcRv12 located at the centre of Parry Bay. Stone burial cairns can be seen to the west in the open fields. Above ground stone burial cairns are always associated with these defensive sites dating to the last 1200 years. The area to the west of this archaeological site in Metchosin may have served as a “no mans land” between the early 18th century territory of the Songhees and the T’sou-ke in the Pedder Bay area. Between here and William head there is a large burial ground composed of stone cairns with no associated village, and only one small shell midden that is probably late prehistoric or early historic in nature.

RBCM, PN11781. Original Print. Chief David Latasse. His age varies, and is usually exaggerated in Newspaper and magazine articles. More solid documents suggest he was born between 1857 and 1862. Some articles wrongly suggest that Latasse himself was involved in warfare. He was born too late to be involved in the episodes described. He was telling the oral history learned from his father’s experience.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

- On June 18, 1790, Manuel Quimper anchored outside Sooke inlet where "several canoes came out" with fish and "after exchanging it went away." The next day a single canoe came out. Ten canoes visited, including "those who said that they were the chiefs of the port and to whom I gave some pieces of copper." On June 20-21 several canoes came out to exchange "salmon berries, some cooked roots like onions which are very tasty, and another fruit like a grape" and shellfish.

- On June 23 six canoes of men and women, came into the harbour and proceeded to their village on the west side of the harbour [below downtown Sooke]. Later two canoes came in from the south point of the entrance to the strait and "exchanged six sea-otter skins for the king's copper."

- The next year Pantoja mentioned that Sooke inlet had numerous people. Later, Quimper noted "about five hundred". They "do not make a practice of fishing or hunting, maintaining themselves entirely on seeds while they last [camas bulbs which at the season of Quimper's visit were a focus of economic activity]. Together with the fish they [the camas] serve as a general source of food.

- On June 28, 1790, Quimper anchored in Pedder Bay where four people in a canoe [one of whom he had seen earlier in Sooke Inlet] were presented with some pieces of iron cask-hoops and some beads. The next day he gave presents to the occupants of three canoes. [In 1792, Dionisio Alcalá Galiano, in the vessel Mexicana and Cayetano Valdés in the vessel Sutil were greeted by 3 canoes with 4 or 5 people in each while close to Pedder Bay. The latter were "clad in woollen blankets and brought other new ones that they were ready to exchange for a sheet of copper."]

- On July 18, 1790, Quimper anchored the Princesa Real in Parry Bay. On July 20, chief Janape, on a trading venture from San Juan inlet, came out of Esquimalt harbour with three canoe loads of "seeds". These would be Camas bulbs, which Quimper noted abound in the Harbour.

- The next year, the First Lieutenant Don Francisco Eliza, in the pack boat San Carlos, anchored in Esquimalt harbour on May 29. While here on May 31, Eliza sent an armed long boat under second pilot Verdici to the entrance to Haro Strait where an attack occurred. The people attacking the Spanish represented a population ranging from 547 to 784. This size of a population would infer the existence of at least 3 or 4 large villages in the area unless some of the attacking peoples were recruited from outside groups. A location of "2 1/2 leagues" would be south of Brodie rock or about 2 km S.S.E. of Gonzales Point.

- On maps prepared for Eliza in 1791, and the Malaspina expedition of 1792, there are villages marked as "rancherías de Indios". Two houses are located on what appears to be Gordon Head. Songhees remembered this location as a village named "Kwatsech" - an archaeological shellmidden [DcRt 75]. Another cluster of two houses appears near the centre of Cordova Bay and is likely the location of archaeological site DcRu 81.

- On July 8, 1792, Commanders Don Dionisio Galiano and Don Cayetano Valdés in the schooners Sutil and Mexicana anchored in the southern part of Esquimalt harbour. They "landed to visit the villages of Tetacus [Quimper's "Tutuzi"], where

there were about fifty Indians." Tetacus or Tatoosh was a well-known Neah Bay chief, not a Songhees. He may have had relatives or trading partners in Esquimalt harbour, or was feared by them, but it is unlikely that they were his people as inferred by Galiano. The year before when the ship Columbia went as far as Clallam Bay on the other side of the Strait, the local people told Robert Haswell there were no skins further up the Strait - because Tatoosh "had Purchased them all".

- By at least the 1740s, eastern Canadian fur traders seemed to be well aware of a group of people near the West Coast called the "Flathead nation" - after the practice of artificially flattening their heads.

THE EARLY 1800S

- For a legend of events before the founding of Fort Victoria, see appendix 8 below.

- During this period the Songhees are mentioned in a transaction involving the return of Kway-tim, the son of the Nanaimo chief Stahqult, taken on a Lekwiltok raid and sold on the West Coast of the Island. He escaped to the Tseshaht, who wanted to pass through Songhees territory to return him. The Songhees would not permit travel across their territory "without paying tribute in something more than a feast; but the Se-shaht thought that as they were taking back the ...son of the Nanaimo chief, no tribute would be asked." The Songish chief remarked "that Stahqult was a rich man, and would be only glad to get his son back at any price". The Tseshaht gave the Songhees chief an old Lekwiltok slave women and a feast of dried elk. At this feast the Songhees chief told a story received from the Swinomish of Puget Sound about "the coming of white men" across the prairies from the Ocean beyond.

- The Fort Langley Journal of May 4, 1828, reports that the Lekwiltok and Kwakiutl are fighting the Clallam. On September 11, the Skaget and Clallam had left in 37 large war canoes to attack the Lekwiltok.

- At this time the H.B.Co. tried to control this trade from Fort Vancouver on the Lower Columbia and their other southern stations. Their competition with Americans for the aboriginal trade was so strong that they traded briefly at a loss in order to put them out of business. On February 5, 1843, James Douglas wrote a letter from Fort Vancouver to James Hargrave:

"You are aware that we have of late years been annoyed by American vessels occasionally dropping into the river. ...their fine scarlet blankets larger than our best three points, ...sold at the low price of a Beaver each."

- Mention is made of the Songhees in Kwantlen stories from the Fraser River - as one of the groups telling stories "of gigantic white-winged canoes" in 1792. During the visit of Simon Fraser in 1808, the Kwantlen observed he had daggers "of metal like those of the Songhees ...secured from the tribes on the outer sea".

- James Douglas notes the economic situation in a letter of March 18, 1838:

"The affairs of Fort Langley have not, in all respects closed so prosperously this season as usual. The Fur trade suffered greatly from the interference of the Colquits [Lekwiltok] ...who have succeeded in opening a friendly intercourse with the Musquiams ...and have diverted into another channel, the trade formerly derived by Fort Langley, from the Gulf of Georgia. This evil arises from the difference between the Fort Simpson and Fort Langley Fur Tariffs, which in general exceeds 100%".

CHAPTER 3. Settlement Among the Songhees. (Pages 20-23)

Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Map Collection, G.2/25 (T11146). Adolphus Lee Lewis was a half aboriginal person trained as a surveyor. He spent most of his career working for the Hudson's Bay Co. at Fort Vancouver and other locations in Washington State. The original 1842 map is in colour and shows: The Dark green colour = "Woods and Forests"; Light area = "Plains"; Yellow = "Wet Marshes"; blue = "Lakes"; brown = "Rocks and Hills".

Another early map not used in the book is an 1846 map by Lieutenant Mervin Vavasour of the Royal Engineers. Titled: "Sketch of Cammusan Harbour, Vancouver's Island, shewing the position of Fort Victoria, from a Drawing of Js. Scarboro Capt. H.H.B.C.". It shows the Gorge Falls as "Oysterbed Rapids", the south shore above as "Samphire Bank" and the waters below the falls as "Concordia Arm". The H.B. Co. wharf and salmon house are located north of the Fort. The original is in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, G1/198. The Songhees village is not shown on this map as it was traced from "a chart of Camoosan Harbour" drawn by Captain James Scarboro. This original map dates previous to November 18, 1843. On the latter date John McLoughlin sent a letter to the Hudson's Bay Company in London, noting that item "No. 40, is a chart of Camoosan Harbour, in which you see the situation of Fort Victoria" (McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters. Second Series 1839-44. The Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, London, 1943).

Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, H.1/1 fo. 79. 1855 Map showing Cadboro Bay. This is referred to as: "Victoria District, Lot 31, Section XXXI (Between Mount Tolmie and Cadborough Bay), Attached to indenture: endorsed in pencil "H.B. Co. purchase No. 2, undated. (Probably 1855)".

Stone Net Weight. The strong inner bark of the Pacific Willow was used to make rope to tie stone weights like this one. Grant Keddie, Drawing.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

Douglas describes in a letter on March 18, 1838: “The land around the harbours is covered with wood to the extent of half a mile, interiorly, where the forest is replaced by a more open and beautifully diversified Country presenting a succession of plains with groves of Oaks and pine trees, for ...15 or 20 miles.”

It is likely that McNeill landed at the same place that he returned to on December 12, 1839, with Dr. John McLoughlin and John Work. The landing location is in the harbour mid way between Menzies and Oswego streets. This location was once called Beaver Cove after the Steamer and Doctors Landing after McLoughlin.

McLoughlin later writes that he “reached the plain on the south end of Vancouver’s Island, which Captain McNeil examined in 1837 and reported as a fine place for an Establishment. It is a very fine harbour accessible at all seasons, but is not a place suitable to our purpose.”

The Weekly Victoria Gazette editor stated in 1858 that: “Previous to the year 1843, the present site on which the town of Victoria stands was a forest of majestic oaks, interspersed with a few fir trees and thick willow copses. - Even the Indians had not a location here at that period, the present Songish tribe having then their encampment some four or five miles at the back of the present town, near the farm now occupied by Mr. [Thomas] Lee [dairyman, Cadboro Bay Farm], facing the Canal de Harro”.

Bolduc

- One of the names in Bolduc’s handwriting was mistaken as “Isamishs” in the 1845 French publication and as “Isanisks” in the 1847 version of De Smet that was used as a reference by Kaye Lamb and Wilson Duff.

- On March 24, Bolduc “bought a canoe; and , travelling with the chief of the Tsamishes and ten of his men” paddled to Whidbey Island. There the son of the chief explained that his father Netlam had “gone to Kamosom (the name of the point of Vancouver Island)” to see him.

- A 1901, newspaper article by an unknown author suggests in regard to the Victoria harbour area that: "In 1843 the only buildings that existed was the little fortified village of the Songhees, situated on the western side of the entrance to the harbour, and about a mile inland. Their little Fort was a protection against their fierce enemies the Cowichans, who made frequent raids upon them." The information for this article appears to have come from the 1887, publication of Bancroft that is a confused version of the writings of Bolduc. If Bolduc was in Victoria's outer harbour when he mentions the First Nations coming out of their retreats, he or others would have mentioned the existence of a village here. Drawings done in the mid 1840's on the old reserve show two aboriginal houses on the bluff (just back of Songhees Point) to the West of the entrance to the inner

harbour. These disappear by about 1855. These, however are European style houses and appear to have been built after 1844.

- Fort name. In spite of a letter dated April 14, 1843, from McLoughlin, which refers to the general location as: "named Camooson, by the natives, and which we have named Fort Victoria as the Council directs." A formal motion was passed June 10, by the Hudson's Bay Council to use the name "Fort Victoria."

CHAPTER 4. Life in the 1840s. (Pages 24-33)

Paul Kane's Landscape Log and Portrait Log kept on his 1846-48 journey were accurate. Kane used different spellings for the Songhees - "Sangeys", "Sangas" and "Samas". He knew the difference between the "Sangeys", the "Clallum", and others. Later exhibitors of his oil paintings and editors mistakenly referred to some Songhees images as Clallum. Only in one case does Kane refer himself to "The inside of a Clallum Lodge" rather than his usual use of the word "Sangeys" for most of the local population. In this case it would be because it was actually a Clallam and not a Songhees household next to Fort Victoria. In 1849 Robert Staines clearly states that: "On the other side of the Fort within 150 or 200 yards is a village containing a part of a tribe called the Clallum; the great body of whom dwell on the opposite or south side of the straits to which they all belong". Paul Kane's drawing of Fort Victoria viewed from the south (landscape log #82) shows what might be one of these houses just to the left of the S.W. blockhouse. The forts "salmon house" (located to the north) would not be seen from this angle of view. After Kane's visit James Douglas reported (November 6, 1847) erecting a 100' by 40' building on stone piles at the waters edge in front of the Fort. It was the next year that the stockade was extended to include two new stores (Douglas letter of December 5, 1848).

Stark Museum of Art, #31.78/58,WWC58. Canoe's returning. Paul Kane's landscape log #80. A later oil painting of Kane's combined this image and that of a variation of the next drawing to give the false appearance of two villages across from each other.

Stark Museum of Art, #31.78/66,WWC66. Amalgamated Songhees Village. Listed in Paul Kane's landscape log (#84) as "Sangeys Village on the Esqimault". The same village is shown in Stark Museum of Art, 31.78/58,WWC58 (log #80) and in Kane landscape log 82 drawing that also shows Fort Victoria (Original, Royal Ontario Museum 946.15.212 and Lanternslide of original made for Charles Newcombe in 1906, RBCM, PNXH105). Kane later added three Haida canoes being paddled backwards to this image and called it "The Return of a War Party" (Stark Museum of Art #31.78/90, WWC90). Charles Newcombe had copies of some of the Kane paintings used here "reproduced by kind permission of E.B. Osler, Esq, M.P., of Toronto, who owns the originals" (Charles Newcombe, 1909:53. Guide to Anthropological Collection in the Provincial Museum, King's Printer, Victoria, B.C.).

Stark Museum of Art (31.78/80,WWC81). Inside house. **These cedar plank houses were generally communal houses with family sections having their own fire cooking area.** Food and other goods can be seen stored on the raised platforms over the

sleeping areas. Paul Kane landscape log #88. "Interior of a Lodge Vancouver's Island" on the painting itself.

Stark Museum of Fine Art, 31.78/25, WWC25. Men gambling. Landscape log #

Stark Museum of Fine Art, 31.78/4, WWC4. Temporary lodges. Paul Kane's Landscape log #74. It is not certain if this drawing was done in the Victoria area or on the Olympic peninsula. Kane did observe the numerous temporary fishing lodges of visitors to Esquimalt harbour during his visit.

The Paul Kane Visuals

A great deal of confusion has surrounded the location of the drawings and paintings of Paul Kane. Kane's contemporaries sometimes referred to the Songhees as the Clallum because they spoke a similar language (North Straits Salish) as the Clallam (Straits Salish) on the American side. Kane's original field catalogues show that he, unlike his future interpreters, knew the difference. Kane, like others of the time referred to the area across the water from Fort Victoria as "the Esquimalt", in reference to the Esquimalt Peninsula. In those days there was no city of Victoria or Municipality of Esquimalt. Even today many people still mistakenly refer to the community of Victoria West as being in Esquimalt. Several authors have mistaken some of Kane's paintings as those of a village in Esquimalt harbour.

Kane did a composite painting combining two drawings of the same Victoria West village [Stark Museum No. 31.78/58, WWC 58 and 31.78/66, WWC 66] to make it appear as two villages on opposite sides of the harbour. The first of these is described in his original field "landscape log" (#80): "The canoes returning from gathering camas to the Esquimalt" and (#84): "Sangeys Village on the Esquimalt"

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester Mass. Drawing by Captain Henry Warre. The S. W. bastion of the Fort is located in the foreground. These are the lodges of the Clallam referred to by Paul Kane during his visit less than two years later.

Hudson's Bay Company map G.1/131 (N8362). This location is just north of St. Lawrence Street along Dallas road. The same houses are marked on an earlier 1851 map. Joseph Pemberton, Victoria & District Puget Sound Districts Sheet No.1, Ministry of Crown Lands. The 1851 map was the base map to which material was added and some areas altered in 1854. The 1851 map is Victoria District & Part of Esquimalt. Ministry of Crown Lands. Map No. 108577, Vault 5, Locker 1 (with letter of Sept. 11, 1851). This village marked as "Remains of an Indian Fishing village" is also on an 1853 Hudson's Bay Company Archives map, G.1/181. The archaeological site DcRu75 is located here. It dates back to the 15th century A.D. The point to the south of this village is Camel Point. It once had a trench dug across the back end as part of a defensive structure. The landform to the south was sometimes mistakenly marked on maps as Ogden Point - which is found further south.

BCARS, HP97971, H-01492. Original Print. Across James Bay in 1858. A Clallam village was located, in the late 1840s, to the extreme right of Mouatt's home. The Royal B.C. Museum complex is now in the area on the right of this photo.

RBCM, PNH104. Sketlesun, a Songhees from the old Cadboro Bay village. He is the 6th person on the Che-ko-nein treaty of 1850. No. 46 in Paul Kane's portrait log. In the catalogue for Paul Kane's Exhibition of 1848 he is listed as "124 Sca-tel-son – a Songhes Indian, Vancouver's Island". Because he is wearing a Chilcat blanket, this image has been confused with that of a "Tsimshian chief".

Stark Museum of Fine Art, 31.78/73, WWC73. Woman weaving. Paul Kane portrait log # 64. "A You-Sanich women weaving a blanket" This appears to be the same name as the 1839 census name "Eusanitch" referring to a Saanich group. It is not certain whether Kane drew this woman near Fort Victoria or during a visit to one of the Sannich villages.

Stark Museum of Fine Art, 31.78/45, WWC45. Clallam women making a basket Paul Kane portrait catalogue #56.

Stark Museum of Art (31.78/96WWC97). A Songhees woman in 1847, spinning what is probably dog hair for weaving. Listed in Paul Kane portrait log #45 as "A Sangeys girl spinning".

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, C18868, Acc.# 59.153. Graves at Laurel Point. An article by Robert Monroe (1960) suggests this was drawn in 1850, but there is no evidence that the artist McMurtrie was here at that time. McMurtrie served as a draughtsman in the hydrographic party surveying the American coast from 1849-50; and in 1851-53, in the same capacity, under Lt. James Alden. Alden visited Nanaimo to get coal for his ship in 1853 – 1855 and did drawings in Victoria of the Laurel Point burials in 1854 and Halkett Island in 1857. McMurtrie may have been with Alden in these later periods. This burial site was also drawn and watercoloured in three views by Tyrwhitt Drake in August of 1859 (see King, 1999:153). A lithograph engraved from a drawing by Charles Christian Nahl of this gravesite was published October 16, 1859, in the Victoria Gazette (see Archives, PDP03722).

There were at least two photographs of these graves taken after they were vandalised. A lithograph of these (unidentified) can be found in Lord (1866, opp. p. 102) - The animal figures and arms have been broken off the wooden grave figures. Three skulls have been incorporated into the lithograph. These skulls have nothing to do with this burial – they have been drawn in this lithograph to represent the two dominant types of artificial head shaping – The northern Vancouver Island style on the left and the southern Island type on the right, compared to the unshaped skull in the middle. This was made from a photograph taken during the winter of 1859-60 by an unknown member of the Royal Engineers. Another version of the vandalized figures is shown in Mayne (1862), and is likely from the same source.

An original print (Archives HP07907, A-2659), shows the location where the burial houses and figures were once located. This 1859 photograph shows the original long thin point known as Laurel Point. This entire area is now under landfill. The photo shows Shoal Point in the left background and Songhees Point on the right. Area in foreground is now S.E. of Broughton and Wharf Streets. This latter original print is part of a panorama with A-2660, From the Knight Album 10; also see 3:15, 4:15, and 7:16. #7907 has "Deadman's Island" penciled beneath the print pointing to what is in fact Pelly Island. Pelly Island may have once been a burial site but this was not "Deadman's Island" – which was located in Selkirk Waters. This latter photo has been wrongly attributed to Frederick Dally.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

The houses of this "Clallum" village adjacent to the Fort seem to have been removed in late 1849 or early 1850. The person named Yoletan was likely the Yokom from the Port Angeles area who later moved to Beecher Bay.

Another Clallum village was located to the east of Laurel Point. The editor of the Weekly Victoria Gazette wrote on August 28, 1858 that: "The Indians, as soon as the white traders made a permanent location in Victoria harbor, shifted their encampment to where they are at present. Their first location [Johnson Street Ravine to the Rock Bay area] is still called Old Camp by the whites. Numbers of the Clallams from the opposite shore [Olympic Peninsula] also migrated about that time to Victoria, and for many years had an encampment near where Capt. Mouatt's residence is; but within these last two years they have entirely disappeared". Mouatt owned the property to the west of what became the property of the legislative buildings. Rectangular outlines of what could be plank houses are seen on an 1855 map in a location east of Mouatt's property. Today, this location would be along the shore between Oswego and Pendray streets near the S.E. corner of Laurel Point.

A Songhees woman named Sitlamitza (Mary Ann James) was born here in her father's house. Her mother died giving birth to her and her Clallam father was killed when she was a baby. Sitlamitza was adopted by her uncle - chief "Seesinak". This is the "Say-sinaka" of the 1850 treaty with the Kosampson family of the Songhees. His grandson was Joe Sinupen and great-grandson Edward Joe – both chiefs of the Esquimalt First nations. Sitlamitza explained: "That when Sir James Douglas moved the Indians to the reserve across the bay, my uncle asked for a place at Esquimalt. That my younger days were spent between Victoria, with my aunt, Seeinak's sister, and Esquimalt, with an occasional visit to my grandmother at Saanich".

Two men that may have lived at this James Bay village include Setakanim who is reported as one of the first "Clallam" to go to Beecher Bay. The other man was Klay-a-kum who moved out to Witties Lagoon and fished at a reef netting station in Beecher Bay with permission from his part Sooke uncle.

Father Lempfrit notes in 1849: "Both shores of the Bay are covered with lodges." Many of the Songhees - besides those who probably continued to occupy the village of Kalla on the Esquimalt Reserve and those who continued to live at Cadboro Bay had not yet moved into the main Village. Lempfrit says that he "went to their village beyond the bay and ...baptized 186 of them on a single occasion and on another, 56". It is uncertain which village Lempfrit is referring to but his use of the term "beyond the bay" may suggest that he was referring to the village of four longhouses which is shown on an 1851, map on the bay just south of Camel Point. Lempfrit's number of 186 people is close to the total of 183 people given for the Swengwhung family on an 1856, population list. This list was probably based on the 1850, figures for the Swengwhung which contains the same number of "men with beards".

This unnamed village is shown on an 1853, map as "Remains of Indian fishing village". The inhabitants appear to have dispersed to other villages in 1850-52. Possibly these were the Swengwhung family of the 1850, treaty.

- The part of the reserve that we now call Songhees Point at the constriction in the inner harbour across from Laurel Point was referred to by the Songhees as "Pallatsis" [It is not the name of the village]. This means "the cradles" - referring to the custom of placing the cradleboard and the branch that suspended it at special places of power above high water. Pallatsis was a place where young men who performed special cleansing rituals dove into the water with a large rock to take them to the bottom. This was undertaken to gain spirit powers that would assist them in life.

CHAPTER 5. Wage Economy and Warfare. (Pages 34-39)

Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, G.2/38 (T13107). 1852 Map. The Johnson Street Ravine at centre drained the swamps in the downtown area concentrated between Fort and Yates and Quadra and Vancouver Streets. Rock Bay Creek drained a large area north of Bay Street - and south of Bay to the North of Fernwood Street from the old Harris's Bog. "A Plan of the Town of Victoria Shewing Proposed Improvements". Transparency of original.

RBCM, PN306. Lanternslide. Newcombe Register of Lantern slides lists this as "Nootka, Salish, two women, with basket of spuds and clams, Maynard"; Lanternslide has "Mrs. R. Maynard" and "Maynard 1880". Woman on right is identified as Songhees in private collection photo. Also RBCM, PN6118-A and same subjects with different pose in PN6118-B. Another pair of studio photographs of a Songhees woman with a basket of potatoes was taken by Hanna Maynard about 1880. This is an original print RBCM, PN6114 (same as Archives HP34380). A lanternslide of the same has written on it: "Salish woman-Coast-with basket. Maynard photo about 1880". The same image is an RBCM, carte de visite, PN6116a and a near similar view a carte de visite PN6116b and a lanternslide PN230 - with "Indian peddler Victoria in Maynard 70"-

(same as BCARS, HP16460). This last photo is listed as fig. 7 - "Salishan Songhees" on p. 138 of Boam and Brown (1912).

Archives PDP01185. Songhees and visiting Clallam. There are six First Nations with blankets in the foreground. The man standing on the left is "King George Clallum Chief" of Port Townsend, Washington. Titled "Bivouac near Fort Victoria". From colour transparency.

Archives PDP01182 H. M. Frigate Constance. Haverfield has drawn in two "fishing canoes" on the right and a "war canoe" on the left. Constance Cove was named after this ship. Other related Haverfield watercolours include PDP1181-86 and PDP04464.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

THE SAN JUAN ISLANDS

- On October 27, 1849 the Company had "Salmon fisheries, which yielded over 500 barrels". In 1851, there was a major failure of the Fraser River salmon run, and the Company started a fishing operation on San Juan Island - in addition to the "small fishery" at Fort Victoria.

The Songhees had fall fishing villages on the San Juan Islands. Some of the Songhees families were related to the Klalakamish people who once had a village in Garrison Bay. In the spring of 1853, the H.B.Co. established Belleville Farm, on San Juan Island, with 1300 sheep. By 1854, Tsimshiam, Haida, Bella Bella, Klallam and Cowichan peoples worked here for wages.

The journal of Charles Griffin, notes the April 4, 1854, visit from Songhees chief "Freizie", the April 8, encampment of a "whole band" of Clallam waiting for the Salmon fishery, and on May 15, another group of Clallam back from 'Kamas' picking. On June 3, and 6, "great numbers" of mostly Clallam arrived to begin fishing. On July 13-14, Griffin mentions a canoe of Songhees sent by Douglas, and that "all the Indians" were "encamped at the different fisheries". On September 14, Griffin went to a local "Songhees village" and on October 5, sent an employee there to trade for dried salmon.

- The 1840s was a period of depopulation from disease and warfare. Dysentery was killing people on the southern coast in the summer of 1844 - its affect on the Songhees is unknown. In 1847 the measles was prevalent for some time on the middle Columbia River. Thomas Lowe reports from Fort Vancouver that it affected most of his workers by December 8. Charles Wren writing on January 27, 1848, from Fort Nisqually in Puget Sound, notes the serious measles epidemic there, which was followed by influenza outbreaks.

George Simpson writes June 24, of dysentery, typhus and measles, on the Columbia River introduced by immigrants from the east and resulting in "a fearful

mortality among the natives, with much loss of life and suffering among our own people, about 20 of our Servants having died”.

- **Victoria Voltigeurs.** They lived in a village up Colquitz Creek near its junction with Swan Creek. The location can be seen on the 1854 Pemberton map at the location of the name Jolibios. In a letter of March 2, 1859 to Pemberton, Douglas notes: "As I before explained to you verbally - before 51, a Canadian Village, for defence against Indians, was established on the Portage Inlet, with a guarantee to each settler of a free Grant of 20 (twenty) acres of Land each. Of those settlers I consider ...Nocholas Auger, J.B. Jolibois and John Lemon entitled to the Grant."

- **On June 11, 1849, Father Lampfrit** noted that the Songhees were "at war with another nation [Cowichan] who inhabit a different part of the Island".

- **On May 6, 1852 Douglas** writes to Tolmie: "I am very anxious to procure 12 or 15 Gelding Horses to mount a body of rangers; which I am now forming for the protection of the settlements, and especially of the running cattle, which are continually straying into the woods, ...and offer an irresistible temptation to the prowling Indian."

- **On July 4, 1852 Captain Kuper** of the H.M.S. Thetis makes reference to the effect of the March incident: "The Indians during my second visit to Esquimalt, were almost all absent at the Salmon Fisheries - they have latterly been quiet and peaceable, but there was some disturbance in March last which however was fortunately put down without bloodshed, since then everything has gone on quietly."

- **On November 5, 1852, Peter Brown,** a shepherd of the H.B.Co., was murdered at Christmas Hill in Saanich. The suspects were a "leading Cowichan brave and the son of a Nanaimo chief" who had stayed with him the night before. The Naval ship, H.M.S. Thetis under Captain Kuper, was sent to apprehend the suspects with 130 marines and seamen, assisted by the Voltigeurs - "a body of 11 half whites enlisted in the Colony for that purpose."

CHAPTER 6 Northern Invasions, 1853-59. (Pages 40-47)

Archives HP93855, E9925. Fort Victoria, 1857. The fruit trees in the foreground are on the north end of James Douglas's property – now the location of the Royal B.C. Museum. Photographer: Unknown Royal Engineer, Original Print. A lithograph of this photo appeared in The Illustrated London News, September 4, 1858. The photo must have been produced in 1857, in order to allow it to get to England and be engraved by this date. The original photograph from the Dallas papers Acc. # 98006-04 has "Fort Victoria"- "1857" written on back. Another print in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Views of the Pacific Northwest, Box 1, is titled "Hudson's Bay Co. Fort, Victoria, Vancouver Island, 1857". Possibly taken by Richard Roche.

Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. WA Mss-1817, Box 1, Folder 1 and Folder 2. The oldest photographs of Songhees 1857-1859. The photographer is unknown – but is likely Captain Richard Roche who took other photographs on board the ship in 1857 and a panorama of the James Bay area in 1859. The upper photograph here, showing four people, is also in the Royal B.C. Museum Archives as E-6422. Two other Archive photographs show some of the same people. E-6421 shows the man on the right of E-6422 with bow and arrows and holding his hat. This man is also seen sitting wearing his hat in E-6423 with another man, a woman and a boy. The woman and the boy are the same people seen with the man in E6422. The other man in E-6423 appears to be the same man sitting next to the shed in E-6421. All three of the latter photographs are on one page in the Claudet Album in the RBCM Archives. Over top of E-6422 is written: "Indians, Mouth of the Frazer River, British Columbia". Below photograph E-6423 is written: "By Leut _____ R.N. H.M.S. Satellite".

Two of the latter photographs were taken on shore next to a small split cedar shed (this is not the shed show at Point Roberts in RBCM Archives G-01085 and listed as a Francis Claudet photograph).

The upper photograph used here is labelled (in Beinecke Library): "A group of Victoria Indians taken on board H.M.S. Satellite" and the lower is labelled: "Victoria Indians: woman, man, and child". As the Beinecke Library photographs are part of a larger, better documented, collection belonging to a member of the joint U.S./British Northwest Boundary Commission, I am trusting that this information is more reliable. R.D. Monroe (1982:10) shows E-06423 from the B.C. Archives and refers to it as a Richard Roche photograph of a group of Tsawwassen people (I assume this is an assumption based on the B.C. Archives information?). The archives on-line web site lists this as a "Claudet [ca. 1880]" photograph.

Private Collection of Rod Mitchell. Haida visitor to Victoria. This same woman is in two other views: RBCM lanternslide X315 and lanternslide "84". The Mitchell slide has "Indian woman Victoria B.C." written on it in Maynard's handwriting. Lanternslide "84" originally had what appears to be "Victoria woman", but the first part was changed by another person (Newcombe?) to "Haida". X315 had "?Northern" with "Haida" added in pencil later.

The Rock Bay camps, 1859. Re-drawn after a sketch by John Woosley of May 18, 1859. A bridge, built in 1862, once existed across this bay. This is the origin of Bridge Street that intersects with Bay Street to the east of the Point Ellis (Bay Street) Bridge.

RBCM, 11628. Original carte de visite. One print refers to this man as a Songhees – others with a similar theme have no information.

Archives HP1184, A-530. H.M.S. Original print. Forward at Reserve. This ship played a major role in local Naval Activities in the 1860s. The two gun boats, the Forward and Grappler reached Esquimalt from England on July 12, 1860. The British Colonist reports on January 31, 1862, p.3, that "The gunboat Forward was yesterday afternoon launched from Scorgie & Bolton's ship yard" (after being in for repairs). The photograph, therefore dates to

late 1861 during the time the ship was in repair. The Forward came into Victoria harbour on a trail run on March 6, 1863 but was not in for repairs at this time. Another photograph, RBCM PN06806, shows a sternwheeler being built at this location (Spring of 1863). This was likely the Alexandra built from February 1862 until its launch on July 29. The Forward was hauled upon Laing's Ways on May 27, 1868 (not this location – Laing's shipyard was at Major Bay or "Fisherman's Wharf" from 1859-82.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

- Washington State House of Representatives. By December 20, 1855, their worst fears were expressed in a resolution requesting the navy Department to station an armed steamer on the coast to protect the settlements which:

"Are continually in danger of being attacked by ...those living within the limits of our own Territory, as by the warlike tribes inhabiting the coast ...north of us, as far as Sitka... our citizens are thus widely separated, and ...unable to act in concert, there are resident upon Puget Sound, the straits of Juan de Fuca, and ...between Cape Flattery and the mouth of the Columbia river, at least eight thousand Indians, of whom two thousand are warriors. ...These Indians have given many proofs of their hostility to the whites, by repeated acts of robbery and murder, and, more recently by engaging in a war of extermination against the citizens of this Territory. ...We have in the northern Indians, who are in the habit of visiting our settlements, ostensibly for purposes of trade, but really for the sake of plundering, a more formidable enemy than those living amongst us. ...Several of these tribes could each furnish from five to eight hundred warriors, and should a combination of the various tribes be formed, they could probably send against us a force of ten thousand men. That they have in their possession some small pieces of cannon, ...arms and ammunition, and skilful in the use of their weapons. ...They often visit our coast, ...several hundred at a time, and that every year ...in increased numbers, ...they use large canoes, containing from fifty to seventy-five men each, which are managed with great dexterity, and capable of being driven at a speed equalling that of an ordinary steamer. ...The danger has recently become so imminent, as to compel most of the settlers on Puget Sound to abandon their homes and seek safety in forts."

By January 1856, a request was made to establish a military post at Port Townsend

- On June 12, 1856 sixteen large canoes of Haida and Tsimshian arrived at Nanaimo on the way to Victoria. On August 8, the Nanaimo journal reports that the trading vessel Otter left to deliver a mail packet - put in charge of a Tsimshian named Peel, who was waiting outside the Harbour with 13 Tsimshian and Haida canoes. The vessel Otter had towed them from Victoria to prevent a fight with Cowichins and others. Later the Otter towed them halfway to Texeda Island. On August 9, Peel returned - being afraid to proceed due to "some disturbance" between the Haida and Nanoose. On the 13th, the Otter towed the canoes to Cape Mudge "owing to Peel ...having some important communications for the north."

- On November 30, the U.S.S. Massachusetts passed the same area towing some Tlingit who had been "very obnoxious to the inhabitants of Puget Sound".

MARRIAGE AMONG THE SOUTHERNERS

In 1858, hostilities between the Songhees and the Pacheedaht from the West Coast of the Island were ended by a formal marriage alliance. A wedding feast at the reserve on August 14 saw a distribution of "blankets on the part of the bridegroom... baskets of cammass roots, dowry brought by the bride". The Pacheedaht were described as a branch of the Ditidaht, ruled by two brothers:

"Quist's, the older, has three wives ...Muckleluck, the bridegroom ...had already one spouse ...It seems that his motive in coming among these people to obtain a wife was to cement an alliance with them as a protection against the Clallams. ...Women generally marry young, the bride in the present case being 14 or 15 years old. The average age at which they marry is about 16".

The Pacheedaht "purchased a considerable quantity of articles from the H. B. Co.". They took to their canoes, and with the chief bringing up the rear with a canoe of twenty persons "silently glided out of the harbour."

Banfield observed in the Nitinat district this year that Halibut were the big article of trade with the Sooke, Clallam and Songhees in exchange for potatoes, blankets, camas, clothing and "ornament". He noted that:

"A women slave five months since was worth twenty-five or thirty blankets. They trade them from the Indians on the east coast and to the Clallums, Sookes and Victoria Indians. ...A large percentage is gained on the slave traffic and canoes - slaves fetching, at Victoria, forty-five and fifty blankets; canoes net about one hundred and fifty percent profit."

VISIT OF THE CLALLAM

In 1858, the Songhees cemented their relationship with the Clallam of the Olympic Peninsula. On October 12, over a hundred people in twelve canoes arrived for a four-day potlatch. One of the important visitors was Chits-a-mah-han or Chetzemoka [c.1808 -1888] – also called the Duke of York. He was the leader of a mixed group of about 200 Chemakum and Clallam peoples at Port Townsend, Washington. One of his two wives, Chil-lil or Jenny Lind, and 20-30 of his followers were present. It was common for high-ranking First Nations to take on names of high-ranking Europeans. The chief's older brother S'Hai-ak or King George – the chief before him - is seen in the Haverfield drawing of 1848. Chetzemoka's other wife See-hem-itza was called Queen Victoria. Their son Lah-ka-nim or the Prince of Wales, was named after his grandfather who was known to "proudly display a knife he had received from men on Captain Vancouver's Ship".

The Gazette reports the "usual ceremony of firing off guns" and distributing blankets on the landing of the guests, and how, at the all day festivities the day before, "crowds of whites were at the village" as witnesses. They report another five hundred to a thousand people are expected. On the 14th, two groups of 200 arrived and more Cowichan and Saanich.

A HAIDA VISIT

On January 1, 1859, some thirty canoes of about 300 Haida had arrived. Several canoes contained as many as forty family members. The Haida were "engaged in singing and dancing, ...They possess a great number of articles of their own make, such as carving of miniature men, blankets made of bark, bows and arrows, small canoes." The Haida sold these items in the streets of Victoria. On July 21, the Gazette expressed surprise at the quality of Haida crafts:

"A carving on wood of a steamship, displays great ingenuity, ...It is ...designed from a Russian steamer, which occasionally visits the island to trade, and of which the Indians have before brought reports. The carving is ...out of a piece of solid oak, with pieces of bone for the masts, bowsprit, guards and ...On the bow is carved ...the double-headed Russian eagle ...this carving is by far the most ingenious and clever Indian curiosity we have seen."

Chapter 7. Aboriginal Title and the Victoria Treaties. (Pages 48-58)

1850-52 Fort Victoria Treaty Territories. (As interpreted by the author from various sources). Drawing: Grant Keddie.

Esquimalt Harbour from Mill Hill, 1857. The area of the future Naval Base at Constance Cove is at the upper far right. James Alden #22 - "View of Esquimalt Bay From Mt. Seymour [Mill Hill]" - in The Washington State Historical Society. Another more detailed image from the same location (NWDNC-76-E221-Alden) is at the Cartographic and Architectural Branch of the National Archives at College Park, MD.

Washington State Historical Society. Mouth of Millstream Creek. Local style of Songhees canoe in water. From colour transparency. Original says "Mouth of 'Rowe's Stream', Head of Esquimalt Bay, Vancouver's Island". Archaeological site DcRu19 is located on the right. I determined by a single radiocarbon date that the first occupation of this site was about A.D. 1310.

Archives HP94527, F-08503. Original Print. Esquimalt Reserve, 1868. The location seen in an early close-up photograph that shows salmon drying racks and canoes on the beach is on the far left of this photo (Admiral Hasting's album, "1866-1869". Vancouver City Archives, Copy Print, A-6, (57), also IND P.169, Neg. 116). This photo shows two large semi-European Style "longhouses" on left. These may be those Esquimalt chief Edward Joe reported as belonging to Chief Joe Sinupen and Tamikw. However, another

photograph, Archives HP015357, A-05984 taken of the Reserve in 1881 by Edward Dossetter shows two very large “longhouses” that are not in the 1868 photograph. These later and larger 1881 houses may be the ones referred to by Edward Joe. Another close-up photograph, Archives HP054035, C-08040, taken c. 1895-1909 shows a closer version of these large semi-European style “longhouses” that are located in the area seen at the left in the 1881 photograph. A series of photographs of the shoreline area was taken by Harlin I. Smith of the American Museum of Natural History in 1909. AMNH 46003, shows some local style small fishing canoes at centre of the photograph. This is the location of the old village of Kalla. The photo shows shell on the beach that has mostly eroded out of the shellmidden.

“View of Esquimalt, Vancouver Island, July, 1858” Thetis Island in Constance Cove at centre. Foreground area is now buried under Naval facilities. The house in the far background above the beach was a Hudson’s Bay Co. fur trading house in the 1850s and rented out to tenants, such as Eleanor and Arthur Fellows in the 1860s.

Hudson’s Bay Company Archives. Provincial Archives of Manitoba. HBCA Map Collection, H.1/1 fo.6. The small rocky areas at centre right are the Moss Rocks-Fairfield Hill Park area. The map shows the old Fairfield Swamp and creek north of May Street that extended west through St. Anne’s and into James Bay. The low swampy area on the right - to the north of Fairfield Road - drained eastward to join Tod (now Bowker) Creek. Other runoff drained out two intermittent creeks near the centre of what is now Ross Bay (one near the east end of the cemetery and one just outside at the west end along Memorial avenue). The “Foul Bay” here, usually spelt “Fowl Bay” at the time, refers to the larger bay - that later included both Ross Bay and Foul (now Gonzales) Bay. This was an important resource area for gathering plants such as tuli reeds and for bird hunting. “Victoria District, Foul Bay – Clover Point Area, Section 1, Lot no.2 , 1851--1852”. Drawn by Joseph D. Pemberton.

“Clallam Village” east of Laurel Point. Four plankhouses are re-drawn here (by the author) from an 1855 lot map to this portion of an 1863 map to show the village location in relation to the modern streets and Legislative Buildings.

* Note: There is no archaeological evidence of a village site in close proximity to the Legislative buildings. I observed a thin deposit of shell midden mixed with historic artifacts (bottle, ceramic and metal fragments) in the bank when the new Ferry terminal was being built just west of Menzies St. and on the north side of Belleville Street. In later examining street excavation trenches immediately south of this dump area no midden was present. This would indicate that the deposits were limited to an area of a few meters on the south side of Belleville Street. The bottle and ceramic fragments were types that could not be precisely dated but are generally found in the 1860s to 1880s, period. This material is just as likely to be associated with some non-aboriginal as opposed to aboriginal activity in the area. I examined numerous street and lawn excavations around the legislative buildings between 1972 and 2000 without finding any sign of aboriginal midden deposits. Future examination needs to focus on possible buried deposits along the old shoreline west of Oswego Street.

Place Names of the Chekonein. Sophie's father Jimmy Johnny (1857 – Nov. 18, 1939) can be seen in the photographs of April 5, 1911. Her grandfather was Jimmy Chicken – who owned Jimmy Chicken Island (later called Mary Todd Island). Ned Williams's father Henry Williams (c. 1860–June 7, 1937) and his mother Annie (c. 1860–March 6, 1928) were both born of Discovery Island.

Archives HP090809, G-05586. McNeil Bay belonging to the Chilcowich Songhees. The archaeological site DcRt 16 covers the entire back of this bay and dates back to at least the 15th century. Gonzales Point on the other side of Anderson Hill in the background of this photo (on the Victoria Golf Club course) was named Kukeeluk or "place of war". (A shell midden at this location is recorded as archaeological site DcRt 21). Original Print. Another photograph Archives HP000625, G-07287, was taken the same day as this photo. Home of A.A. Green in foreground.

RBCM, PN6838. Original Print. Discovery Island. The village on Discovery Island is archaeological sites DcRt36. The historic village locations seen on Chatham Island are recorded as DcRt63 and DcRt53.

Washington Historical Society. Becher Bay Village, 1865. The large old style plank house in background may have been home of Yokum. Located at back of small bay at East side of Smyth Head reef netting station.

ADDITIONAL NOTES:

- The "Fort Victoria Treaties" were examined in detail by Wilson Duff in 1969, and another perspective presented by Kennedy and Bouchard in 1995. Additional archival information has allowed for a re-interpretation of some of the treaties and is used here in a partial overview. What is missing is a professional linguistic analysis of the treaty names and their linkage with genealogies extending to the present day.

The South Saanich Treaty

- Wilson Duff comments on this treaty: "Ten men made their marks: Whutsaymullet was noted as Chief and was followed by Comey-uks and the others. The latter may be Chief Skomiak ... Jimmy Fraser told me that his grandfather Freezy (Chee-al-thluc) invited James Kumeyaks of Sidney Island to move to Victoria". In 1886, Indian Agent William Lomas identifies "Jim Sko-ma-ax" as being from Sidney Island. Later when James Sqwameyuqs was chief of the Songhees, Sidney Island (Sallas Island) was suggested as a place they might move to – a place Sqwameyuqs's family would have hereditary rights.

- The 7th name on the 1852, treaty list is Kulquey-lum who is the person "Kul.kway.lum" living on the Songhees Reserve in 1876. This appears also to be the same name "Quall qualum" used by Songhees chief (1935-1942) Alex Peter who was Sqwameyuqs's nephew. Duff shows that the 4th and 5th names on the list were passed on to Saanich individuals - Dick Harry and Johnny Sam. James Fraser told Duff that the Sidney Island people were "A little diff[erent] from Saanich and Songhees."

The others, not mentioned here, are #3. Knull kolatchu, 4. Hay-yuthlunsit, 5. Till-kaymut, 6. Whey-cheeay, 8. Ach-chey-mult, 9. {it}Sy-yook, 10. Tu-aulus.

- A "site of proposed steam sawmill" is marked on an 1852 map, as well as on an 1854 map that shows the southern boundary of this treaty. The sawmill is located near what is today Cordova Bay road to the north of Maxine Drive. A few sheds were erected but the sawmill was re-located to Albert Head Lagoon later in 1852.

The Esquimalt Harbour Region

- In reference to the Fort Victoria area, the editors of Paul Kane's Wanderings of an Artist, said "Its Indian name is the Esquimalt, or, 'Place for gathering Camas'." This interpretation is not correct, as it is not related to the local name of the Camas plant, or the word Camosun once used to refer to the greater Victoria area.]

- In the 1950s, Wilson Duff asked several elders the meaning of the word Esquimalt which he described in English as "roughly, Swhaymalhelth". The elders were not able to give a direct translation but pointed out that this word was applied loosely to the harbour, the village, and the people. Two of the Songhees, Sophie Misheal and Ned Williams, suggested the name applies properly only to Duntze Head and the site of the dockyard just inside Duntze head. Anthropologist Wayne Suttles suggested that the longer aboriginal name might be translated as "vicinity of the village of Whyomilth".

Since the vicinity of the village of the Whyomilth at the mouth of the Millstream is "a place of gradually shoaling waters", this is a good explanation for the Word "Swhaymalhelth" which became anglicised as Esquimalt. However, names of villages were often translated as the place of a certain group of people and the explanation that the word for Esquimalt simply refers to the place of the Wyomilth is also a plausible explanation. Often when peoples moved they took the name of their old village with them because it referred equally to the people as it did to the place.

An 1847, Admiralty map shows "Village Bay" in what is now known as Constance Cove just inside Duntze Head and as "Village Rocks" some tiny islets just outside the present Lang Cove. Duff pointed out that if this area was formerly the site of a village, it might explain why two elders associated the name with Duntze Head. During the construction of dry-dock facilities in 1989, I observed the remains of a destroyed aboriginal shellmidden in the Constance cove area. This site was in the locality of the seasonal herring drying camp photographed in c.1866.

Are these the remains of the village, which resulted in the naming of Village Bay? Did the Wyomilth people once live here and later move to the Millstream area? Could this location possibly have been the village observed by Spaniards in the 1790's or was that village at one of the shellmidden sites at Pilgrim Cove, Dallas Bank or other locations further up the Harbour?

- On July 19, 1790, when Don Manuel Quimper entered Esquimalt Harbour - which he called "Puerto de Cordova" - there were no written observations of villages. On May 29th, 1791, the San Carlos, in command of Don Francisco de Eliza anchored in Puerto de Cordova. On June 11th, the Santa Saturnina, commanded by Jose Maria Narvaez, entered the port and stayed until the June 14, mapping the harbour. Pantoja at this time noted in his journal that the Harbour had "but few inhabitants". Only during the 1792, visit of Galiano and Valdes, who anchored in the southern part of the harbour, do we hear of a village of 50 people and "to which he gave the name Chachimutupusas".

- The village inside Duntze head may have had some association with the name Esquimalt, especially if Whyomilth people occupied it or it may also have been the village called "Chachimutupusas". At present there is no direct evidence as to the location of the village mentioned in the Spanish journals. Possibly, the finding of the missing data with the 1791 Eliza map in the British Admiralty Office will yet reveal the exact location.

- In light of the sketchy information, the best conclusion we can come to regarding the name Esquimalt is that it is an anglicised version of the name of the Whyomilth peoples. Whether the survivors of this group moved to either the Esquimalt or the Old Songhees reserves or both is not known. The name Esquimalt probably refers to the location of the Whyomilth village site, which was probably on the east side of the mouth of Millstream. A radiocarbon date on a shell sample that I extracted from the bottom of the deepest part of this large shellmidden, showed that the site was occupied beginning about 640 years ago.

- The name Esquimalt became associated with a group of Kosampson treat people in the village of Kalla - which became a part of the Esquimalt Reserve.

The Swengwhung Treaty

- Problems with interpretation occur when trying to understand what Douglas meant by "the Bay" east of Clover Point. In the 1850s, Bays were named mostly as they were viewed from the Ocean. Douglas was probably referring to the large Bay then called "Fowl Bay" with two unnamed sub-bays that today we call Ross Bay and Gonzales Bay. The Songhees name for this bay, in the Chinook trade jargon, was Kula Kula [bird] Chuck [water]. The name likely referring to the many waterfowl available here.

Maps of the region by Joseph Pemberton from 1851-1855 show "Fowl bay" (sometimes "Foul") as including the large bay between Clover Point and what was then called Fowl Point (now Harling Point). An Admiralty map of 1847 shows the larger bay as "Foul" bay. It was not until 8 years after the Douglas Treaties that "Fowl Bay" was divided and re-named as two smaller bays. One of Pemberton's local maps in 1855 does place the name "Foul Bay" within the easternmost small bay, but the name Ross Bay did not exist.

THE ORAL TRADITIONS

- In 1893, Bishop Lemmons obtained information on the amalgamated groups who lived on the Songhees Reserve from Louise Falardeau or Ch-nar-me-air (c.1843-Aug. 15, 1908) - the second wife of Louis Falardeau:

"the present population across the harbour is made up of four different little tribes, only one of which originally belongs to Victoria ...the Skween-ghong [Swengwhung] alone originally lived on Victoria Harbour ...I am assured that there are only four or five men left of the ...Skween-ghong. I got this information from Mrs. Falardeau, who is a reliable women and who knows all about it, for she remembers the time when these Indians moved to Victoria harbour. She declared to me positively that these are the facts ...I heard the same thing today from other Indians, who told me about it unasked."

- In the 1950's and 60's, some Songhees elders said that Swengwhung was the name of the people who formerly lived on the upper part of the Gorge above the bridge. Jimmy Fraser said that the name of the people living inside the Gorge Park area was a Songhees name but that it referred to the name of the language rather than the people. Fraser said these people died out from some sickness and were now all gone "except one old Duncan woman whose mother belonged" to these people. Ned Williams "had heard that their houses had been on the little bay at Gorge [Kinsman] Park".

In 1950, Fraser and Williams indicated there were two villages on the north side of the Gorge. One located at the point near Austin Avenue and one at the end of Inez Street at the west-end of the shellmidden site DcRu 7. I dated the base of the shellmidden in this area to about 1000 years ago. Members of the Esquimalt band argued that the Swengwhung were a new group of people from various outside villages who settled in the Gorge only after the founding of Fort Victoria.

- In 1935, Diamond Jenness interviewed David Latess and Jimmy Fraser. Jenness recorded that the "old summer home of the Songhees was at Xthapsim [Kosampson Park], just above the Gorge ...their winter home at Cadborough bay"; and that it was "through fear of both the Comox and the Kwakwilt that the Songish retreated in summer above the Gorge at Victoria." These statements undoubtedly reflect activities related to raiding in the early 1800's, by the Likwiltok and their allies from the Johnstone Strait region. The settlement pattern referred to may have been a short-term pattern in response to warfare.

THE HISTORIC CLALLAM VILLAGE AND THE LOT 24 RESERVE

- In 1905, Anthropologist Charles Hill-Tout collected information from Songhees who lived on or who had close family ties to the Esquimalt Reserve. Hill-Tout's interpretation of the information indicated that James Douglas had: "Also transplanted the village of the Qsapsem [Kosampson], who dwelt near the spot where the Parliament Buildings now stand, to Esquimalt Harbour where a remnant of the tribe still lives." Hill-tout does not say where in Esquimalt harbour the group moved to, but it is assumed he meant the Esquimalt Reserve. The group observed by Newcombe and Culin in 1908, on the West side of Esquimalt harbour, could also have been part of, or the main body of, the group Hill-Tout referred to. This group was, according to Culin, "from Beecher Bay".

Songhees elder Sophia Micheal, in referring to the Dunn's Nook area on the west side of Esquimalt harbour said her father Jimmy Johnny had "remembered houses there belonging to people other than the Esquimalt". Oral histories about the Clallam people who lived in the Victoria harbour Clallam villages indicate that some of them moved permanently to Beecher Bay - possibly some of these peoples maintained a camp in Esquimalt harbour after most had moved to Beecher Bay and Wittie's Lagoon?

One of the people that Hill-Tout received his information from was Sitlamitza or Mary Anne James. She was a part of at least one family of Kosampson people that lived in the "Clallam" village on the shore to the West of the Legislative buildings. Sitlamitza was born in this village about 1847 to 1850.

In 1912, William Roberts, a Songhees Band councilor, stated that Mary Anne James "belongs to Saanich Arm [Upper Gorge] and is of the Sapsam [Kosampson treaty] tribe, which is not Songhees"[ie. Not a member of those people that made up the Songhees Reserve]. The Reverend C. M. Tate, who worked among the Songhees since 1873, responded with a simplified view that:

"The home of the Sapsams was Victoria harbor, and their village stood in front of where the parliament buildings now stand. The home of the Songhees was at Albert Head, from which place they moved to Victoria harbor when the Hudson's Bay Company built their fort".

A notarized statement, dated January 10, 1912, by Mary Anne James states in part:

"That my Indian name is Sitlamitza. That I was born in my father's house in front of where the present parliament buildings now stand. That my mother died in giving birth to me, and my father was killed when I was a baby. That my uncle, Chief Seesinak ["Say-sinaka"was the 5th person on the Kosampson treaty list of 1850 – his grandson was Joe Sinopen, born 1863, and his son Edward Joe, born 1885, were both former chiefs of the Esquimalt band], adopted me. That when Sir James Douglas moved the Indians to the reserve across the bay, my uncle asked for a place at Esquimalt. That my younger days were spent between Victoria, with my aunt, Seesinak's sister, and Esquimalt"

It is likely that Mary Anne James's mother's family, father's family, or both, originally came from Esquimalt harbour to join the Clallam village after the founding of Fort Victoria. This may have been a result of previous marriage relations with the Klallam - Mary Ann's nephew Chief Edward Joe of the Esquimalt Reserve had a grandfather named Skekanim who was from Port Angeles. Later when treaty negotiations began in 1850, Mary Anne's uncle "Say-sinaka" asked for a reserve in one of their old village sites back in Esquimalt harbour. It is likely that the family had maintained a seasonal occupation of the upper Esquimalt harbour area during their stay at the "Klallam" village or stayed with relatives who continued to stay there. There is no surviving evidence of a pre-contact village site at or near the legislative Buildings.

Hill-Tout himself says that before the Fort was built the Kosampson lived "on the Gorge". James Deans, who came to the Craigflower area in 1852, was told that their village was on the Gorge at what is now Kosampson Park.

House outlines of the Clallam village can be seen on an 1855 map that shows surveyed lots several blocks west of the 10 acre "Indian Reserve" land that was to become the site of the Legislative buildings. The map shows four elongated houses with lot boundaries cutting through two of them – suggesting they were abandoned by this time. Three houses span Lots 513-15, and one house spans lots 516-17. This location today is along the waterfront in the area of Oswego and Pendray Streets at the S.E. corner of Laurel Point.

- During a Crown Lands Committee hearing in 1864, Pemberton stated under examination that the James Bay Reserve existed when he came to Fort Victoria in 1851, but that it was considered "a floating reserve till 1855, when it was defined and marked."

- An 1855, map also shows "Indian Reserve (10 acres)". There is no mention of which group of First Nations Douglas talked to, but it is obvious that lot 24 was "reserved" for a group of people "on the general sale of their lands". The treaty for this location clearly pertains to the "Swengwhung" people, but we know that there was a "Clallum village" nearby at this time with Kosampson people living there. These Clallum were likely related to the Clallum who lived around the same time, in the village adjacent to Fort Victoria - as shown in the Vavasour drawing of 1846. One possibility is that the reserve was set-aside for this group of Clallum visitors who resided at this location for somewhere between 6 to 13 years. Some of this group moved to Esquimalt harbour and others later to Beecher Bay.

- When Wilson Duff interviewed Edward Joe of the Esquimalt Band after 1960, he naturally claimed the whole of Victoria harbour as belonging to the Kosampson, knowing that his great grandparents lived there. Duff indicates that Hill-Tout probably received his information from Edward Joe's Kosampson father who, "correctly or incorrectly", was biased in favour of expanding the Kosampson claim. The extent to which there may have been intermarriage between the Clallum group living east of Laurel Point and the various Songhees family groups is unknown. Possibly some members of the Swengwhung group also lived at this village. We know that members of both the Songhees reserve and Esquimalt reserve had names, identified as "Swengwhung", passed down to them.

There was one village that may have been occupied by Swengwhung peoples in the early 1850s. An 1851 map shows an "Indian village" back of the bay south of Camel Point, which by 1853 is shown as "Remains of an Indian Fishing Village". Who occupied this village is not known. Much more research is needed to fully understand the details of historic settlement in this area.

The Chilcowitch Treaty.

Includes the lands: "between the Sandy Bay east of Clover Point, at the termination of the Whengwhung line to Point Gonzales, and thence north to a line of equal extent passing through the north side of Minies Plain". The prologue includes "commencing in the sandy Bay east of Clover Point where the Wheng-Whung boundary terminates, to Point Gonzala and thence north to Minies Plain - a wooded Rock District; and a part of the lands of Chaytlum" [a Chekonein].

There were 12 men listed on this treaty, as on the census dated 1856, which also shows 13 women, 17 boys and 16 girls for a total of 58 people.

Duff's informants associated McNeill Bay with two treaty groups, the Chilcowitch, and the Chekonein of the next treaty to the East. The informants of Boas, Hill-Tout and Suttles make a similar association. According to Duff's informants a tribe that formerly lived here was a large group called the "Chekwungeen" [Chekonein] that formerly also owned Gonzales Bay. The informants of all these researchers also recognise variations on the name Chilcowitch. Hill-Tout notes the later as being "around Ross Bay" and Suttles as "somewhere in the vicinity" of McNeill Bay. Ned Williams had heard that the Chilcowitch people "had moved from McNeill Bay to Gonzales Bay long Ago".

It could be interpreted that a large group of people once living at McNeill Bay splintered into two groups. One of these moved to Gonzales Bay and became the Chilcowitch. The remaining Chekonein later moved somewhere else - likely to Cadboro Bay. Lemons gives the name Skongh-ee for the group at McNeil Bay. This may be a more modern term applying to related groups from the area.

Boas is the only one to give Kukoak as a group at McNeil Bay. This seems to be a variation of Kukeeluk or "place of war" that Duff's informants say was a former village on Gonzales Point. A shellmidden confirms the likelihood of a village being here.

Boas is also the only one to name the Kltlasen from McNeill Bay. Possibly this was an earlier group that lived here - as the memory and knowledge of the elders Boas talked to might go back much further than informants of later visitors.

Boas is the only one to give the names of the Lelek and Chuchuleq for groups in Cadboro Bay, but Suttles also identifies the latter with the name given to a people who "came from Cadboro Bay to Birch Bay [Washington] annually for clams and deer."

Elders in the 1890s gave Bishop Lemons the name Sna-kah for the main group at Cadboro Bay and a related name was given to subsequent researchers. The name "Samas" and related terms were applied to the main group at Cadboro Bay in the written record starting in the 1820s. These names were anglicised versions of non-North Strait Salish languages. The group at Cadboro Bay may have referred to themselves or their location as Sna-kah.

There were two long houses marked at the Northeast corner of the Cadboro Bay village (archaeological site DcRu 15) in 1842. Three years earlier the population was given at 127 people. By 1856, the population of the Chekonein people was given at 190. Maps from the 1854-55, period show three longhouses at Cadboro Bay at a time when many members of this group are assumed to have moved onto the Old Songhees Reserve. This suggests that some outside groups may have moved into Cadboro Bay after 1842. The Chekonein had a high proportion of children to adults (125 of the 190) which could account for some but not all of the population growth. The Sitchanalth people of Willows Beach were within the treaty area and may have been one of the groups to move to Cadboro Bay. Other sources of new population may have been the village of Kwatsech at Gordon Head or related Skingeenis people from the Discovery and Chatham Islands - the Chekonein boundary extended to Haro Strait and would have likely included these Islands.

THE TEECHAMITSA TREATY AREA

- Songhees, Sophie Misheal, told Duff in 1960, that the 'Stsanges' who lived at Albert Head Lagoon were "the lowest people around here," and that they were raided for slaves by the Songhees and Klallum.

- Albert Head Lagoon is the only place the village of the Stanges people would have been. Here, there is evidence of an old village (DcRu 13) at the back of the spit and a neighbouring defensive site on a bluff at the N.W. corner of Albert Head (DcRu76).

- In 1852, a sawmill was built inside Albert Head Lagoon. When this burnt down on August 29, 1859, the Victoria Gazette reported that some unnamed aboriginal people "who camped there recently, had caused the conflagration by their campfires".

- Charles Hill Tout collected information in 1905, from Chief Freezies son William Jack Quametcten; Sinopen [Esquimalt chief]; and Mary Ann James [Kosampson and Clallum]. Hill Tout lists the "Sones" as being "near" Albert Head lagoon.

Both the "Stanges" [Albert Head Lagoon] and "Qeqayeqen" [Parry Bay area] were considered "Lqungen" by Songhees in 1886. Franz Boas listed the two groups together and indicated they lived "From Esquimalt to Beecher Bay".

- The story of Marston captured as a slave suggests there was a village in this general area about 1824.

- There was a village at Dunn's Nook, on the west side of Esquimalt harbour visited on July 15, 1908, by Stewart Culin and Charles Newcombe. They were told about "some other Indian camp" they thought was a temporary camp of northern people visiting for the summer. To get there they took a boat from the town of Esquimalt in which they "sailed across to the Indian Reserve. ...Dr. Newcombe's informant was mistaken about the Indians being camped at this place. Those we found belonged here, and came originally from Beecher bay... There were some large canoes drawn up on the beach,

and from an old man at one of the large old houses I bought two tuli mats, a paddle, three stone fish-line sinkers, and a very well-carved adze."

THE PEOPLE OF THE KAKYAAKAN TREATY

The people of the Kakyakaan, Chewhaytsum and Soke treaties cannot be identified without an understanding of the complexities of the history of the immigration of Clallum peoples from the State of Washington and the movements of mixed ethnic trading families in the early to mid 19th century. A man named "Stackeinum", described as an important Clallam "chief" who frequented Fort Langley in the late 1820s, lived in Port Angeles, Victoria and Becher Bay. A Saanich man named Yokum also made similar moves. Another man that lived in the summer village near Fort Langley with Yokum was "Chaheinook" (also Chinuck and Cheenuck). In 1829, he was described as "one of our best traders from the south end of the island". It is his name that is the likely origin for a village in Beecher Bay.

In a report of March 4, 1855 George Gibbs saw the people around greater Victoria as being "Clallam" based on their speaking the same language as the Clallam on the America side of the Strait - modern linguists have now divided them into speakers of two different but related languages. In speaking about the problems of getting accurate population counts of First Nations, Gibbs indicated: "Many of the Clallams of Vancouver's Island, too, visit the American side of the Straits, and swell the apparent population". Clallam elders said that the most desired marriages were with people of Vancouver Island.

The Kakyakaan treaty made on May 1, 1850, places this family "between" Albert Head and Pedder Bay. They had "about 26" men and the Headmen were "Quoite to kaynum" and "Tly-a-hum". The archaeological evidence indicates that any population living in this area would have been focused on two locations. One is the Witties Lagoon area where evidence of villages can be seen in the large shellmidden (DcRv 2) along the spit and in the small middens of two aboriginal defensive sites, one on the bluff to the southwest (DcRv 5) and one on Tower Point (DcRv 82) to the east. The second location is the defensive site above Taylor beach (DcRv 12) where the symbol for a village is marked on a Spanish map of 1791.

The people who call themselves Scia'new today are the representatives of this earlier population. Their history is confused by the fact that they intermarried with Sooke and Clallum peoples and moved and settled in territory that was once part of the larger territory of the T'Sou-ke. The Kakyakaan once spoke a language more closely related to Songhees and Sooke than to Clallum. Saanich elder Christopher Paul, in referring to the Becher Bay Scia'new (Cheerno), said: "This chiyanexw, they were speaking different in those days: And when they intermarry the Clallam people, now they're speaking Clallam language... they were speaking different before... Their old language."

The people who lived in the Kakyaakan treaty area were originally Songhees. Martha Douglas Harris, who spent much time on the property of her father James Douglas in Metchosin in the 1860s, refers to a story happening long before European settlement that involved "The Songhees, who lived at Metchosin". Elders indicated to Franz Boas in 1886, that the Kakyaakan were "Lqungen" or Songhees and at that time the Sanges and Kakyaakan families were living from Esquimalt harbour to Becher Bay. Boas notes that: "In Beecher Bay (Tschianuch) only the Tlalem [Clallam] live for the present time, they have moved in from the south shore of the Fuca Strait, as the chief from that place belongs to the Tlalem on his mother's side". This was Tly-a-hum of the 1850 treaty, also known as "Klay-a-cum" and "Cla-who-kina". He was born about 1839, and "appointed as chief by James Douglas" before 1864.

The Kakyaakan family may have moved around considerably as they were once located at Jordan River where they had killed several members of a family of Sooke.

In 1907, Hill-Tout listed "Tciwetsun" as one of three Lekungen villages at Becher Bay, but it is known that these were mostly Clallam people from the village of the same name at Port Angeles. The Treaty name Chewhaystum is an English rendition of this name. The other villages were "Tcianuk" ("Chiahnook") and "Nukstlaiyum" – the last a rendition of "Klallam" and representing a later migration of peoples to the area.

The naval survey map of 1846 shows two lodges at the Village Islands Bay north of Smyth Head on the west side of Rocky Point peninsula and one lodge on the east side of a small bay and creek inside Eemdyke Passage to the west of Edye Point. This village is shown at this location on 1850, 1853 and 1854 maps. Another additional lodge appears on the 1854 map on the west side of the same small creek – near archaeological site DcRv2. In 1855, only the latter village is marked.

The Eemdyk Passage village location was described in 1849, by the Surveyor Walter Grant: "Here a fishing village of the Clillum indians is situated whose Winter Dwelling is on a Rock bound Bay called Chukwaikin on the Western side of Rocky Pt."

Rocky Point itself is on Bentinck Island at the entrance to Eemdyk passage. Another name given to Rocky Point by Grant in 1849 was Neguhtohl. A variation of this name was also used to refer to the Kakyaakan of Witties Lagoon. Songhees, Jimmy Fraser, associated the name Kakyaakan with a "point near Race Rocks Lighthouse" [Near Rocky Point].

In Douglas's 1856 census he includes the Kakyaakan as one of the two "Rocky Point" groups. It appears that they were living, at least seasonally on the eastern part of the Rocky Point peninsula inside Bentinck Island by this time - and may be the occupants of the new lodge established in 1854.

The Kakyaakan were likely living in Victoria in the mid 1840s. They were not living at Wittie's Lagoon in 1849. That year William Grant observed, that in Parry Bay (between William Head "Kleopat" and Albert head "Point McGregor"): "there being no natives

residing on the spot the plain has been less burnt over by fires than other parts of the island.

The Kakyaakan likely moved to Witties Lagoon in 1851 – the year a lodge appears on a map of the Lagoon spit. The lodge and Lagoon spit area are clearly outside of lot 23 of Section 1 sold to James Cooper in 1851.

This same lodge can be seen on the high end of Witties Lagoon spit on a map of the Metchosin District dated September 26, 1853. It is clearly marked “Indian Village” and is on the location of Archaeological site DcRv2. The lodge is also marked on maps dating to 1855. This lodge was visited by Martha Cheney on September 25, 1853, and March 6, 1854. Stories were told to Martha Douglas in 1867, and to the Wittie family after 1867 by the "old Indian chief" living in the Lagoon area. The old chief was likely the father of Klay-a-kum, of the 1850 treaty.

The people occupying the lodges at the Eemdyke Passage villages abandoned one location in 1855 and the other before 1858 - but maintained garden areas there. The Kakyaakan had the right to move permanently to Beecher Bay by right of their marriage relationships with the T'Sou-ke and appear to have made the Village Island Village their main Winter village before 1858. At Beecher Bay they intermarried with Clallam from Port Angeles, whose language dominated, and they became part of the band known as the Scia'new.

Beecher Bay

Between 1846 and 1858 maps show the location of a winter village composed of two houses located north of Smyth Head in the Bay near Village Islands. Potato patches existed inside Smyth Head and further east near Church Hill. An 1870, map shows 7 houses at this location. A new influx of population was likely due to the commercial salmon industry that had developed in the area. William Banfield observed in 1858 that Beecher Bay was one of the best salmon stations on the Island with four to six hundred barrels of salmon taken every year, as well as dog fish oil. He refers to an "Indian trail" in Beecher Bay that "takes one to an encampment on the southern extremity ...there are about one hundred and fifty Indians living here; a portion of the Clalam tribe".

This village area became part of lot 64, which was designated as Beecher Bay Indian Reserve #2. On June 11, 1877 Indian Commissioner Sproat visited this general location. Sproat observed:

"These Indians are the representatives of the signers of an agreement of the 1st of May 1850, between the Chiefs of the family of Ka-Ky-aakan, Metchosin district and James Douglas ...we found at the Land office a pencil memorandum that the Indians had a place on section LXIV on the shore of Beecher Bay opposite Creyke Point [Smyth Head area]. They had a village there, but no defined acreage of land".

This must be the Village Island Village as it was the only one in the area before the treaties of 1850. Klay-a-kum was the chief of the Village Sproat visited.

Sproat said: "Indians had built houses on the farm belonging to Mrs. Wittie, Metchosin, though the land has been sold to white men 20 years ago [The adjacent property was sold to James Cooper in 1851 and James Yates and Robert Burnaby in 1856]. The chief Klay-a-kum [who wanted to stay] ...said his father and grandfather lived at the place." In compensation Klay-a-kum was given a fishing station reserve at Albert Head, which in turn was taken away for the Quarantine station in 1892.

Information on the history of this area was collected in the 1940s, by Wayne Suttles from Henry Charles of Beecher Bay. Charles said that Klay-a-kum lived in Victoria and moved out to Witties beach "where the [Kakyaakan] tribe had formerly lived". This group may have abandoned the Witties Beach area for a short time and moved to Victoria. However it does appear by the statements on the treaty that Klay-a-kum was a direct descendant of the people that lived here and he had the right to re-occupy the location.

According to Henry Charles this group later moved to Beecher bay. While living at Witties beach, Klay-a-kum began sharing the reef-net location with a Sooke uncle at Beechey Head. They camped there in mat houses while fishing. A small midden located north of Beechey Head may represent the remains of their encampment. Later, after the group moved out to Beecher Bay, Klay-a-kum established a location off Smyth Head. This location is recorded as archaeological site DbRv11, where piles of rocks used to hold down one end of a reef net have been found under water. Edward Joe of Esquimalt also said that the Kakyaakan had lived on Witties Lagoon and later moved to Beecher Bay - where they were joined by more Klallam from the U.S.

Songhees, Alice Sam told Wayne Suttles that her Clallam grandfather Stsekaynem had a "stockade" at Beecher Bay in the location later used by Klay-a-kum. This would be at the protected Bay – archaeological site DbRv10 - near Village Islands with its fresh water creek and where there were houses located on the 1846 survey map. Oral traditions recorded by anthropologist Erna Gunther indicated that the Clallum of Pysht and Clallam Bay had been coming across the Strait to Beecher Bay and Sooke to dry Chum Salmon before Beecher Bay was settled by Clallam.

THE CHEWHAYTSUN

According to the 1850 Treaty, the "Chewhaytsun" people occupied the area between Pedder Bay and Sooke Inlet. They were a Clallam group called Tse-whit-zen, from the village of the same name near Port Angeles; inside what is called Ediz Hook, (see Gibbs; Curtis 1913; Gunther 1927). Some of these people were related to the T'Sou-ke. On May 1, 1850, the Tse-whit-zen family had about 30 men with three headmen named "Alh chay-nook", "Wee-ta-noogh", and "Chanas-kaynum". Douglas's 1856 census shows 30 men with a total population of 177 people.

Who were these Clallam people?

Erna Gunther was told that a Clallam named Yo'kum and his extended family moved from Port Angeles to Becher Bay on two occasions. The two cousins, Qwaia'nux [same as Wee-ta-noogh] and Kl'tce'nut [same as Alh chay-nook] and the nephew of the latter, Tsuneske'nim [same as Chanas-kaynum] are the three people mentioned on the "Chewhaytsun" treaty. Yo'kum was not on this treaty but is likely a relative of the person that appears on the Sooke treaty with a similar name. Yo'kum was Sooke on his father's side and known to have a spirit power inherited from his "Sooke grandfather". It is possible that the Clallum man named "Yoltan" living in Victoria in 1849 is the same person who had returned to Port Angeles and then came to Becher Bay.

The first time these southern visitors "found the shores about Beecher Bay in Sooke territory unoccupied and settled there". It is likely this statement only refers to the western and northern shores of the Bay – as this incident must have occurred after the establishment of the settlement on the eastern shore. Their new village, Tci'nux (Chiahnook), was said to be the name of their old village. It is possibly a variation of the name of the Clallam chief "Chaheinook". After living there a few years a quarrel arose in which a Klallam killed some Sooke. Consequently the whole colony went back to Port Angeles". There is a story about the son of a Sooke "chief" killing a relative of the "Chief of the Tsc'llallums of Chuchwaetsin" not long before 1857, which may have led to this later incident.

Soon after their return to Port Angeles, an incident happened which caused them to return to Beecher Bay. They found "their old village site Tcia'nux, occupied by whites, so they settled at Meq!o"os on the other side of the bay".

There are no houses marked on the 1846, 1852 or 1858 maps on the west side of Beecher Bay. A "Clallams" village of 6 houses appears on the 1870 map above Campbell Bay. It is likely that this village on the west side of Beecher Bay was established in the period 1862 to 1863 – which fits the time period given by the Clallam (60-65 years ago in 1927). After the return, about 1864, Yo'kum and a cousin and their sons built a large traditional style Clallam house at the location where Klay-a-kum had his house, at the village called Meq !o"os. Yo'kum's house finishing celebration may have been the "Potlatch at Chowitzen" or "Beechy Bay" reported by Barnston on July 1, 1864. Clallum tradition states:

"When the house was finished the owner invited the Klallam from the American side and some people from Neah Bay (Makah). For this occasion the man bought bolts of red and black calico and draped it in the shape of two large thunderbirds across the front of the house. The heads of the birds met at the centre and over them stood the figure of a man with the round door of the house between his legs. The owner of the house had this thunderbird power (tce'neqwa), which he inherited from one of his great grandparents who was a Sooke. This is not a Klallam spirit power".

The 1865 photo shows two large plank houses (traditional and modern) on the east side of Beecher Bay at the Smyth Head village. The large one in the background is likely the

one that belonged to Klay-a-kum and the more modern style gabled roof style was likely that belonging to Yokum.

The cousin who owned half the house "had a spirit power from the stars, so he cut tiny holes in the roof so that in the daytime a person looking at the roof from within would think that it was dotted with stars".

The largest house was occupied by "Yo'kum, his wife, four slaves, a friend of Yo'kum's with his wife and son; Yo'kum's cousin who owned half the house had with him his wife and their son with his two wives, a Cowichan and a Sooke, the former having two children. The other large house at Meq lo"os was occupied by Stek le'nim and his fifty (!) wives. There were many fires in this house". The latter figure of fifty wives is probably an exaggeration, the figure of eleven wives is given in 1849, for an unnamed Klallam with the most wives then living in Victoria.

In the village of Tcia'nux on the west side of Becher Bay the oral tradition states that there were initially 2 large houses, one owned by Yokum and 3 other men, one owned by the chief Tly-a-hum and 11 small houses. It is possible that Tly-a-hum had houses at both the east and west villages - as well as continuing to live part time at Witties Lagoon. Meqlo"os became his main village about 1864 and he vacated Witties Lagoon in 1878.

In 1878, Sproat indicated that the headman of the Campbell Bay village was named She.simpst. He was part of a contingent of the Village Island Village who agreed to leave the Campbell Bay village after being given other lands. They took their houses down from this site in 1878.

It would appear that it was a Clallam group from the village of Tciwetsin at Port Angeles that first came to Becher Bay in the 1840s after it had been vacated as a winter village by a group of North Straits speaking peoples. These "Rocky Point" people were living in the Village inside Village Islands on the west side of Rocky Point and at a fishing village inside Bentinck Island in 1846. It was these "Rocky Point" people with whom Douglas made the Chewhaytsun Treaty. They were later joined by Tly-a-hum and his family - of the Kakyakaan treaty.

It may be that Tly-a-hum's group occupied the village inside Bentinck Island while still using Witties Lagoon. James Fraser associated the name Kakyakaan with the point near the Race Rocks lighthouse (Duff Notebook #1, 1951). Grant referred to Rocky Point (on the east tip of Bentinck Island) as "Neguhtohl", which is a place name associated with the Kakyakaan (Grant 1849). He refers to Bentinck as the "Island of Hoyung", which is the name "Whoyung" given for peddar Bay in the treaties.

There is another location, which also appears to have been a village of at least some of the people related to the Chewhaytsun treaty. Maps of 1847, 1850 and 1854 show a single lodge inside the small bay at Hohap Point, 2 1/2km N.W. of Beecher Head.

T'Sou-ke band member Edward George, said the "Tetewatoison" lived in East Sooke "near a bay opposite the little island" and that these people later moved into Sooke harbour. The little Island is likely Secretary Island. Although there are archaeological shellmiddens - in Iron Mine Bay (DcRw 24) and inside the unnamed island to the south of Cabin Point (DbRw 2) - none of these have houses on them shown in the early maps of the area. The shellmidden inside Hohap point likely represents the remains of a winter village occupied at the time of the 1850 treaty.

THE T'SOU-KE PEOPLES

In the early 1800s, it would appear the all of Becher Bay was part of the territory of various T'Sou-ke peoples. These related family groups lived in the territory from Pedder Bay and to the north of and including, Sooke harbour and basin. To the east of the T'Sou-ke lived the related families who spoke the Lekwungen language.

Hudson's Bay Company records identify 50 "Soaks" men in 1827. The actual population would be about 285 based on the census average of men to others in 1856. This was a considerable decline since the figure of 500 given by the Spanish in 1790, for Sooke harbour. Only 15 years later (1838 census) there were only 90 "Soke" with Tling.ilt listed as the "chief" of the "Skuningis" tribe. It is not known if this figure pertains to just Sooke harbour or the larger region. However, this same number of people is repeated in a population list for 1845, and a total of 100 are given on a list from 1841 and 1848. These lists show the area covered as the "East Point of San Juan to the Songes territory".

According to Henry Charles: "The Sooke originally had their winter village at the head of Pedder Inlet and in the summer they had a camp at the point at the east shore of the mouth of Becher Bay where they had a reef-net location. Not long before the whites came, a tribe called Skwanungus were living at Sooke Harbour. The Sooke fought with them for the Sooke River and although the Skwanungus were one of the largest tribes on the Island, the Sooke won and moved to the Sooke River while the defeated people moved to Sooke Bay". In 1898, James Deans indicated that "the Sooke Indians formerly lived at Mr. Reids place & that they moved in not very remote times". Mr. Reid's farm was on the point at the head of Peddar bay where we find the archaeological remains of a defensive site (DcRv 1).

Henry Charles indicated: "After the whites came, the Skwanungus were living at Sooke Bay and the Sooke at Sooke Harbour. A Neah Bay chief came to Sooke Harbour and the Sooke chief gave him his daughter in exchange for killing off the Skwanungus. ...The Makah had come and cleaned the Skwanungus out." There is a story possibly pertaining to this attack told by Agnes George about a woman and her two children that survived. The "Skuningus" referred to in the 1838 census, show them as a "tribe" of the "Soke", which suggests that the fighting groups were two factions of the same people.

After this battle, according to Charles: "the Klallam fought the Sooke. Klallum from Port Discovery and possibly elsewhere came over and attacked them". The chief Wanseea

(whose name is on the 1850, treaty) escaped, and others, taken as slaves, were later returned to reconstitute part of the band along with some French Canadians and Iroquois.

According to the Muirs, who came to Sooke in 1850, it was about the year 1848, that the Sooke were then "nearly annihilated" by Cowichans, Clallums and Nitinats. It was in 1848, that a Sooke chief was killed leading an expedition to Cowichan; possibly it was after this event that the Sooke were attacked. Sooke elders in 1934 told Diamond Jenness that they had been continually raided by American First Nations and that small pox "carried most of them off" before the big raid that devastated them.

The areas between Pedder Bay and Sooke Inlet appear to have been largely vacated after this population reduction and then reoccupied by mostly Clallam peoples. The various census show that a large number of people migrated into the area in the late 1840s to quadruple the population by the time of the 1850 treaties and the census of 1856.

The total number of people in the 1856 census, and mostly represented in the treaties from the Sooke Inlet to Beecher Bay area, is 446 people. The Chewhaytsun treaty mentions about 30 men which matches the 1856, Chewhaytsun - "Rocky Point" census with a total of 177 people for that group; the Kakyaaakun treaty has about 26 in number but the 1856, census gives the Kakyaaakan - "Metchosin" with a total of 59 people. The number of "Soke" is given in 1856, as 34 men with beards and a total of 210 people.

The people of Sooke and Beecher Bay underwent a tragic reduction in population due to drowning in the Sealing industry. In 1895, the sinking of the schooner Walter Earl resulted in the loss of 6 Beecher Bay men; one from Rocky Point and five from Sooke, and 12 from Victoria, that were likely relatives. The Department of Indian Affairs report for that year claims "only two able-bodied men were left" at Beecher Bay. The women and children stayed on and managed to make a meagre living by selling fish in Victoria.

CHAPTER 8. First Attempt to Remove the Songhees, 1858-59. (Pages 59-65)

1859 five part Panorama View. Photographer unknown – possibly Richard Roche. Original Prints, B.C. Archives: HP14365 F-09563; HP014366 F-09564; HP10606; HP014368 F-09566; HP014369 F-09567.

Notes: The same view as Archives F-09564 is also G-04484. F-09567 and part of F-09566 are also in HP08103. Dating is based on the absence of the First Methodist Church on the corner of Broad and Pandora, built between July 23, 1859 and its opening in May, 1860; the absence of the Hook and Ladder Co. building built in front of the Fort built between Dec. 1859 and Feb. 1860; the presence of the finished James Bay Bridge after July 1859. No evidence appears for the blasting of the foundations for the H.B. Co. warehouse started Sept. 24, 1859. The absence of the St. John's Iron Church started April 17, 1860. The ground surface and vegetation conforms to a winter scene. The buildings in this panorama

are basically the same as those in the H.O. Tiedemann drawing that was done in the spring of 1859, and produced as a lithograph on June 13, 1860. The unfinished side-wheel steamer – The Cariboo - being started in the Tiedemann drawing was ready for testing by July 12, 1859 – and therefore gone from this panorama.

ADDITION NOTES.

- THE MARINE HOSPITAL. On September 27, 1873 it was reported that Rev. Pollard and Crosby with Smith and Stephens of the Federal Government met with the Songhees Chief to purchase land for a proposed Marine hospital. The hospital was to take care of sick mariners who entered port. The building was built the next year.

- Halkett Island. In 1867, Edgar Fawcett and three other boys were bathing on Halkett Island. They lit a fire with broken coffin pieces and set the island on fire. Two youths were charged and heavily fined for this act. Fawcett describes the island as being "opposite Leigh's mill". This is James Leigh & Sons Lumber Mill, then at the corner of David and Pleasant streets. The island was covered in trees and shrubs and in the trees were corpses "fastened up in trunks and cracker boxes ...the bodies being doubled up to make them fit in the trunk. Some were also buried in the shallow soil and surrounded by fences, and "boxes of corpses were piled one on top of the other." A popular coffin for small people was one of "Sam Nesbitt's cracker boxes".

- On July 2, 1867, the Colonist notes that the fire "on Deadman's Island destroyed the Indians graves". They indicate that the Island had been used as a burial place by the Songhees for many years. "Carved images, intended to represent departed chiefs, generally appeared at the side of the boxes. The favourite weapons, canoes, trinkets, and occasionally a few blankets, were deposited by the side of the corpse". The island has caught fire many times, the last occurring September 18, 1993 - the year it was restored to the Songhees after being "cut off" in 1924 by the Federal Indian Reserve Commission.

- According to Fawcett, Songhees were buried "at two points on the reserve", but due to a smallpox outbreak, "the authorities insisted on the bodies being buried in soil." Christian burial grounds were located on the reserve at Hope Point and Lime Point.

Other Burial locations.

- WORK ISLAND. Work Island, off Work Point in Esquimalt, was used as a surface burial location by the Haida from 1860-1868 and possibly by some Songhees after this. On August 6, 1860, John Sabben reported visiting the graves of two Haida on an "island at the entrance to the harbour". On November 20, 1868 the colonist reports a burial party of Haida on their way to Rose Bay next to Work Island. A light beacon was built on the neighbouring Berens Island during the winter of 1874-75. A complaining letter to the Colonist in 1875, noted: "The Songish are in the habit of using a small island [Work Island] near Behrens Island for burial purposes. On Friday they cut up a dead body, put the pieces in a box and leaving the remains above the ground, where they are within a stones throw of the lighthouse, where there is a family of children".

- INSKIP ISLAND. In Esquimalt harbour, buried human remains have been identified on Inskip Island during archaeological work overseen by the Esquimalt Nation. These are now protected by law. Visits to this Island should not be made without the permission of the Esquimalt Nation. Captain George Inskip observed surface burials here in 1853:

"I landed on Inskip Island & found it to be the burial place ...the body is placed in a canoe and covered with strips of bark on which are put stones to prevent, I suppose, the wind or birds from removing it and getting at the corpse. The canoe is then laid on the grass and allowed to decay. We saw them in various stages and a number of skulls, bones etc. lying about".

CHAPTER 9. TROUBLE IN THE CAMPS, 1860-61. (Pages 66-76)

RBCM PN529. Richard Roche - south side of Fort Victoria taken about January 1860. This is #4 of a 5-part panorama taken from the top of the old Legislative buildings. This photo same as BCARS, (Claudet Album) HP008248, A-02850. The three parts west of this includes G-04031 as a three-part combination. The third from the west is also HP008248, A-02851. Eastern most photo is HP008248, A-02852. The western part of this photo shows the earliest photographic view of the Songhees Reserve taken from the East side of the harbour. The photograph must date to the period between Dec. 30, 1959 and February 13, 1860 when Roche was in Victoria with the North American Boundary Commission. The foundations for the finished H.B.Co. Fur storage building, seen in the larger panorama (right side of A-02851), was started on September 24, 1859.

GEORGE FARDON TWO-PART PANARAMA 1860-61.

Fardon Panorama of 1860-61. "View of Victoria, Vancouver Island, From Hospital Point" [Songhees point]. From original coloured version of The Illustrated London News, Grant Keddie collection.

Notes: A set of four original photographs taken after Nov. 16, 1860 and before either Dec. 15 or March of 1861 are located in the British National Trust's Claydon House (see Pritchard 1996, p.85, 267-8). A lithograph of these was published in The Illustrated London News, January 18, 1863, under the title "View of Victoria, Vancouver Island, From Hospital Point". Part #1 on the left is found in the RBCM collection as an original print PN8935 and a lanternslide PN530. Part #1 is also in BCARS, as print HP12183, F-9568 and HP66356. Part #3 in BCARS as 2 slightly different images HP007974, A-02701 (from a freezer stored nitrate negative). Dating is based on the addition of buildings not in the 1859 panorama, such as the First Methodist Church started July 23, 1859 and opened May 1860, or the absence of the Iron Church opened October 17, 1860 [with steeple possibly finished later?]. In the photo is the side-wheeler steamer, The Cariboo - launched in August of 1859 and blown-up on Aug. 2 of 1861. The N.E. bastion torn down August 7, 1860 would be hidden here by the H.B.Co. fur storage building. Some of the south side of the Fort was

torn down but would not be visible here. The photos were in the London Exhibit of June 1862.

B.C. Archives PDP002625. The Victoria Indian Mission School, 1860-1880s. Large octagonal building on left and separate home of Rev. Alexander Garrett on right. Portion of Birdseye View of Victoria, 1878.

Archives HP97976, H-1497. Haida encampment. Some Haida were allowed to stay on the Reserve by late 1859. A bill was paid October 6, 1860 for "sinking a well for the Haydahs". The location was at the S.W. base of Mission Hill- now near Kimta and Songhees Roads. Most Haida continued to camp at Rock Bay. In 1860 the rest of the Haida were moved from Rock Bay to this location. Original Print.

RBCM, PN9604. "Che-a-Clack" is the name given by Paul Kane in his original portrait log. This was changed to "Chea-clach" and mistakenly confused as a Clallam chief by the editors of his published journals. J. Russel Harper (p.306) indicates that the R.O.M. 912.1.89 (his IV-567) is an oil painting on canvas based on an oil on paper (his IV-566) in the Stark Museum. Chee-ah-thluc was listed third on the Chekonein treaty of 1850 - his Cadboro Bay people being a prominent group that relocated to Victoria harbour. Roderick Finlayson referred to him as "Chee-ah-thluk" or "Tsil-al-thack" and his grandson James Fraser, who inherited his name, used "Cheachlacht". A legal indenture made in 1858 uses the names "Fresier (Chealtock) Thauawich".

Dr. John Helmcken recalled that in 1850, most First Peoples had only a blanket for clothing, but "King Freezy" had on a "fall hat and a long coat and considered himself somebody, as indeed he was, and friendly to the whites. He had a most remarkably flattened head – indeed all the Indians had flattened heads".

Freezie acted as an important messenger between Hudson's Bay Company forts. Douglas wrote to James Yale on August 15, 1850: "As Frize is proceeding to Fort Langley on his own affairs, I send you a live by him." In 1851, "Frize" visited Fort Nisqually in Puget Sound to deliver a letter to Douglas.

Walter Grant, writing c.1850, noted that the "Tsomass" chief Freezy had one older wife of "several years, and by whom he had a family" and a younger wife of "a few weeks". His first wife was Tsullace or Sul-lus, who was born about 1835, and married to Freezy "several years" by c. 1848, when he married his second wife.

"Che-a-Clack" is the name given by Paul Kane in his original portrait log. This was changed to "Chea-clach" and mistakenly confused as a Clallam chief by the editors of his published journals. J. Russel Harper (p.306) indicates that the R.O.M. 912.1.89 (his IV-567) is an oil on canvas based on an oil on paper (his IV-566) in the Stark Museum]

Left to right Archives: A-4656 HP12178; A-3461 HP9495; A-2640 HP7873; F6691 HP7813; A-4099 HP10602; A-9088 HP10604. PANORAMA OF FORT VICTORIA 1860. This six-

part panorama with at least three additional views of the S.W. Bastion and the Interior of Fort Victoria were taken between April and November of 1860.

These photos have been wrongly attributed to the Maynards. They were taken before the Maynard's started local photography but later sold through Maynard's Studio. The photos appear in BCARS Maynard volumes 3, 5 and 6. The small new wooden building next to the Fort wall is the fireman's Hook and Ladder Co. building. This building was started in December, of 1859, and it was operating in February, of 1860. The Colonist building was vacated by the Newspaper in 1860, and demolished by March 26, 1861. Starting on December 14, 1860, the bastion at the corner of View and Government streets and the wall pickets were removed. It was announced on July 18, 1860 that the McDonald building in the Photos would be replaced with a 2-story brick store for Reid and McDonald. By November 24, 1864, most of the rest of the Fort buildings were being demolished and the lots put up for sale. Other photographs taken at this time include a view of the East Gate of the Fort (now at Fort and Government Streets). This shows the Residence of the chief factor and Mess Hall on the left and Bachelor Quarters and School Dormitories on the right - Lanternslide, RBCM, PNX374 and Copy Print, PN22701a. The inside N. E. corner of the Fort is shown in BCARS, I-60781.

Archives PN22700b. The S.E. bastion of Fort Victoria taken at the same time as the panorama. On the left of the Fort is the nearly finished Fireman's Hook and Ladder Company's building and the brick Webster & Co. building at 536 Yates Street. Copy Negative from contact of original negative,

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

- On February 16, Hills attended a gathering of 29 Songhees children - which included 16 girls and 13 boys, ages 6 to 12. They had a "treat" of rice, molasses & cakes prepared for them:

"Their dress was tattered & a piece of blanket was wrapped round. ...The first thing I did was to take down all their names & hard work ...for the pronunciation is difficult. Some of the girls' names were ...Katach-tenah, How-was, Kah-kalah, Salak-tenah, Sese-Otza, Yia-Kotsa. The boys - Tchcloose, Tchall, Socteya, Nink-h, Itchayet, Sepoc, Tasseyo. Some of the names ...derived from Europeans, as Susu, Cecil, Peter Freesy."

The Indian Mission School.

- A meeting was held on July 10, 1860. Among those attending were Reverends Edgar Cridge, Alexander Garrett, J. Gammage, William Duncan and Dr. Piers. Cridge proposed the building of the school and Duncan saw to its organisation. A room was to be built to serve as a temporary school and church, and a collections committee appointed - this included Bishop George Hills, Cridge, R.T. Dundas, Garrett, R.L. Lowe, William Duncan, A.F. Pemberton, Donald Fraser, Joseph McKay, and Roderick Finlayson. Donations made

by many people to the "Indian Improvement Account", included large personal donations by Captain Prevost and Governor Douglas.

- When Garrett applied to Douglas to acquire 15 acres for Church purposes, a letter of August 7, from the acting Colonial Secretary, William Young made it clear that Douglas had "no authority to alienate any part of the Indian Reserve, the title of which is vested in the Crown". He indicated there was no objection to building the school and residence but this must not be "construed into a pledge on behalf of the government with respect to any further disposition of the land question."

- On August 19, Bishop Hills notes: "...There is some truth in what they said, as no doubt the Songhees do understand the Chinook better than the Tsimshian." On December 22, the first examination was given in the presence of Governor Douglas:

"There were 157 Indian scholars in the room ...Mr. Mallandaine the Catechist, examined them ...and showed that they knew the English names for the various objects, and could spell and pronounce them. This, for three months work".

Of the Songhees, Haida and Tsimshian present, there were about 150 infants to adults. There were 250 names in the Mission book but an average attendance of only 50.

On January 16, 1861, the government advertised to lease "Indian Reserve Water Frontage" for "mercantile purposes" – to obtain revenue "to appoint missionaries and police for the education and protection of the aborigines". On February 27, Lady Franklin observed students seated "in separate tribes ... hostile to each other". Some of the children wore a cape of "red & blue cloth ornamented with rows of mother of pearl buttons". In the village Franklin observed four families in one house and 5 or 6 in another - Each with its own fireplace. In one house she saw an infant with "the heavy bandage on its forehead" for artificially shaping the head.

A WINTER CEREMONIAL

Reverend Garrett, describes a Songhees potlatch on December 16, 1860 put on by a Mrs. McDonald - who had been his "hands and eyes and mouth" since he started the church. When examining the loud noises coming from the houses, Garrett observed:

"A space, about forty by twenty feet, had been carefully swept, three large, bright fires were burning upon the earthen floor; round three sides of this space a bench was fixed, upon which were packed... a crowd of young women... Each ...with two sticks. In front of them, extending all the way round the rectangular space, was a breath of white calico. Under this calico the row of sticks... upon the ground, ...was a young man provided with a good-sized box, which he had fixed upon an angle and used as a drum. Also, on the ground, ...sat an old female chief, with her head reclining in the lap of the old crone; while around me there stood a motley crowd of all tribes... All this time the choir upon the benches kept up a sort of mixture between a howl and a wail, while they beat time upon the bench ...our friend ...making his wooden drum eloquent of noise...

female chief began to show signs of life... until her whole frame became violently agitated, ...the uproar increasing in intensity as her agitation increased... she got up... jumped about between fires. Having... completed a journey round the fires, she came to a stand at the end of the rectangle next which the old man and women were sitting. The music stopped, and there was a perfect stillness, while the old man rose slowly and opened a box, and, taking out a pair of scissors, proceeded solemnly to the heroine, and cut off a lock of her hair, which he immediately placed in the fire... This being done, such a clatter and rattle and yell were raised as very nearly deafened me. A signal stopped it in a moment. Then the old women gravely rose, and opening a box, took out two handfuls of white down, and, proceeding to the centre fire, placed one handful in it; and then passing on to the other fire ...This completed, the noise began again with redoubled energy."

Bishop then left and saw a man with two large boilers for cooking a feast of wild fowl the "female chief" was giving to the 50-60 men assembled in his house. Bishop went to this mans house - "carefully swept, with several good fires burning brightly upon the earthen floor". Inquiring about the ceremony he was told it was "their Tamanoes, or sacred feast" always held in the latter half of the last month in the year [just before Winter solstice]. It was held: "to make their hearts good for the coming year, and, secondly, to bring plenty of rain, instead of snow; that if they did not do so, a great deal of snow would come, and they should be very much afraid."

SONGHEES MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

On March 23, 1860, about 75 Cape Flattery visitors arrived to see the Songhees and "buy a cloutchman [woman] for their chief". The next year on February 28th, three canoes containing about twenty Clallam arrived at the Songhees village where they undertook their traditional mock warfare display before landing at the village for a marriage ceremony.

"They sang and whooped ...for half an hour in front of the lodges, and were finally invited ashore by one of the Songhish chiefs. The object of the visit was to purchase the daughter of one of the Songshes for a Clallam youth."

On October 20, 1861, we see the arrival of seven Sooke canoes "for the purpose of purchasing a Songish maiden for one of their chiefs." On the 23rd, the Colonist announces that a potlatch will take place and that eighty Chinook canoes loaded with Island and Puget Sound groups have now arrived. During the event guards were posted near the Reserve to control the over 700 expected visitors - but due to high winds only a small number arrived.

Bishop Hill reports on October 24, that for several days this "great gathering" has included the "Songhees, Clallum, Skaget, Snohomish, Penelicut, Nanaimo, Saanich, Soke, Cowichen and others". The main potlatch, held the next day, was witnessed by 2000 people. The distributed of 3000 blankets was part of \$10,000 worth of goods given away.

CAPTAIN JOHN

At the meeting of the northern leaders with Douglas on June 22, 1860, a Tongass complained about their chief being killed by the Haida, Captain John. Douglas told him that a complaint to Police Commissioner Pemberton would result in an arrest warrant.

On June 30, after some Haida fired on a passing schooner, marines and police proceeded to the Haida camp and publicly lashed the offenders. On July 3, the Police returned to the camp and arrested Captain John and his brother for the murder of the Tongass chief. In a fight with jailers both Haida were killed. Two Haida witnesses said Captain John was at fault. Because of a possible uprising Pemberton called for volunteers to patrol the town, and members of the local fire brigades were sworn in.

The bodies of Captain John and his brother were delivered to the Haida camp and interred in their burial ground. The Haida camp mounted white flags and the men and women had their faces blackened. Captain John, age 45, was described as being "rather light complexioned for an Indian, and wore heavy whiskers and moustache". Born in Alaska, he was part Kiagani Haida and part Russian. He lived with the Haida from an early age and married a Haida woman. He was a cabin boy on a Boston trading ship about 1839 - visiting Mexico, and California. It was claimed that John acquired great wealth, and eventually became a "Haida chief" by curing victims of a measles epidemic.

In 1853, Captain George Inskip observed Captain John as the "chief of the Cumshewas" - and mentions that he had "recently achieved supremacy by shooting his uncle, the old chief." The Colonist notes that Captain John came to Victoria in 1858 with a "celebrated" blind chief, Paul Jones, and mostly remained in Victoria. He had been gradually losing the power and influence he once possessed. After having discussions about the death of Captain John with other ranking Haida, the Governor informed them - that all canoes entering the harbour will be stopped by a gunboat and searched, and all arms found kept safe until the owners are prepared to leave.

CHAPTER 10. The Smallpox Epidemic of 1862. (Pages 77-82)

RBCM PN4732. Lucy, a domestic worker in the home of Caroline Fellows, "used to paddle her canoe across from the [Esquimalt] village". Original Print. This print was used in The Daily Colonist on Aug. 4, 1929, p. 36, where it stated: "From an Original and unpublished photograph taken in 1862, for Mrs. Caroline Smyth, Formerly Mrs. Arthur Fellows". Written on the canoe in the print is "Gentile" and what appears to be "Owl"- possibly a nickname given to Gentile because of the sharp eye of his camera? The subject of a carte-de-visite by Gentile, PN4701A, has been mistakenly identified as Lucy. This carte, which appears to have belonged to Caroline Fellows has written on the back "Very like my Lucy".

Archives HP66879, F-6188. Location of an 1851 Village in unnamed bay south of Camel Point. Camel Point, across the Bay, was a pre-19th century aboriginal defensive site

adjoining a larger Archaeological site (DcRu75) that extended along Dallas Road to the intersection of St. Lawrence Street. This village was first occupied about 500 years ago. Original Print.

RBCM, PN6806. The Front of the Village in 1863-1864 showing sternwheeler steamboat being repaired or built. Original print. Dating is based on the presence of the 1863, Dickson and Campbell (Capital Iron) building in the far background. There are similar buildings in the background as RBCM PN907. This appears to be the same boat as in the Eastcott Album panorama. BCARS, HP15717. A BCARS print HP009458, has written on back: "Songhees Reserve, River S/T [Steamer] on Ways 185[missing #]". There is a second BCARS, print with reference to accession "Alston 172-006".

The Washington State Historical Society. The Coffin Islands, 1857. Two burial houses can be seen on the second island from shore, near the foot of Robert Street in Victoria West. From Colour transparency, Courtesy of.

CHAPTER 11. The Early Minority Years, 1862-74. (Pages 83-90)

B.C. Archives HP94498 F-08291. Woman with fish. From negative of original Print. Original print in Dally album, vol. 5, #1. The caption on a Royal Geographic Society copy print reads "Ikt quarter squaw" and version in the Dally group photos HP20351 is labelled "Songieth Tyhee Kloutchman with fish for sale". Since this photo appears to have been taken several years after the death of King Freezie it is assumed that this is not Freezie's sister Mary Skwamia. If it can be shown that the photograph was taken earlier than 1865 the latter may be true and the man with her in BCARS, F08294 could be her husband Charles Wheedrisk.

B.C. Archives HP087822, E-07739. First Nations Mail Carriers. George Dietz and Hugh Nelson's Express operated from at least April 1863 to December 1867. Dietz and Nelson were in partnership with Barnard's Express - which in 1864 acquired the transference at Victoria of the Well's Fargo letters from San Francisco. The building sign saying "connecting with Well's Fargo & Co." would suggest the photograph dates to 1864. Barnard's Express bought out Dietz and Nelson in December 1867. This building can be seen in the large view of New Westminster, B.C. Archives, A-033330.

RBCM, PN905. Herring Fishing and Processing Station, 1864. Located at Woods Landing in Constance Cove, Esquimalt harbour. A woman can be seen at the campfire and a man standing. The nearby summer lodge is covered with mats woven from tuli reeds. The two further canoes pulled up on the beach are traditional style Songhees canoes. The large rakes for catching the herring can be seen leaning up behind the lodge. The gutted herring are drying on wooden pole racks to the right of the lodge. Original Print. In Frederick Dally's Miscellaneous Papers, file 17, he lists this as photo "#5 Indian at Esquimalt, canoes, fish etc." His #2 of this list is his "1864" Songhees village photo. BCARS, Dally Album #5, p. 5: "herrings drying, rush hut, fish-spears-Indian woman cooking". BCARS Dally Album #16: "Esquimalt Indian camp -- work canoes and fish drying. 1864". Dally album given to

Surgeon Lieut. Eastcott of the H.M.S. Reindeer has this listed as “Woods landing, Constance Cove, Esquimalt” with “1868” later pencilled in. The location of this Herring fishing site is seen in an 1867 Dally photograph - B.C. Archives HP094623, F-08522. It can be seen in the latter photo on the point of the small bay on left (in Constance Cove). Munroe Head and Ashe Head on the upper right are near the present New Songhees Reserve. The naval ships are the Sparrowhawk, the H.B.Co. Beaver and Alexandria on the left and the Malacca, Shearwater and Forward on the right. Photo dating: The Naval ship Shearwater was only at Esquimalt harbour in 1867, the Malacca in 1866-67 and the others were present in 1867. This print is in Dally Album 1, p. 32 and “Dally Album” vol. 4 which are both dated “1867-68”. Some of same ships are in photo HP94630, dated May 15, 1870, in Dally Album 3:3. H.M.S. Scylla listed in addition to Malacca, Forward and Sparrowhawk. Ships listed in Surgeon Lieut. J. C. Eastcott Album “1868” in Vancouver city Archives

Arthur Vipond Four-Part Panorama of 1864.

This panorama from left to right shows the Rock Bay bridge and the old camping area of First Nations visitors – now the area along Store Street between Pembroke and Discovery Streets. The Hope Point area of the Songhees Reserve is seen next with Store Street between Chatham and Pandora Streets in the background. The buildings on the Point are rental properties of non-Songhees – such as the Foundry of McDougall and Geddie. Next is the Limit Point area showing most of the more northern houses of the Songhees and the Johnson to Fort Street area in the background. On the right are the plank houses of the southern part of the Reserve with James Bay and the old Legislative buildings across the harbour. Photographer: Attributed to Arthur Vipond, Original Prints, BCARS, Vipond file B1, B2 (also RBCM PN8956), A2, A1 (also RBCM PN8954).

Notes: Four Original Prints in the BCARS, Vipond file (98005-2) and identified as B1, B2, A2 and A1. B2 is the same as RBCM, PN8956. BCARS, HP11876 is a view that includes a portion of B1 and B2. RBCM, PN8954 is the same as A1 and BCARS, A-02699 is a truncated version of A1. BCARS, HP11877 is a different but very similar view taken near the same time that includes portions of B2 and A2.

*** Two OTHER 1864 PANARAMAS NOT USED IN BOOK

[1] BCARS, HP009456, A-03434. North end of Reserve c.1864. This photo – part of another panorama – overlaps with the north end of the Vipond panorama. It shows the area of Trahey’s shipyard on left near Point Ellis Bridge and the area of today’s Point Ellis House on other side of Bridge. Note Douglas fir forested area around Selkirk Waters in the background – only trees along foreshore have been cut. Original Print, possibly attributable to Vipond or Gentile. This is part #1 of a seven-part panorama extending around to the area of James Bay – the southern four parts of which are taken at about the same time as the Vipond panorama. Other prints of this view are BCARS, HP53535, C-06390 and a reduced version HP008035, F-02139. The seven images of the panorama have different archives numbers. They are listed here with print and negative numbers and alternate numbers and or negative numbers View from left to right. (1) HP009456, A-03434 [53535,

C-6390; 9456(a)]. (2) HP009456, A-03435 [9456(b)]. (3) HP009456, A-03436 [9456(c)]. (4) HP009456, A-03437 [8524, A-2948 (should be 9456(d))?]. (5) HP009456, A-03438 [9456 (e)]. (6) HP009456, A-03439 [7972, F-9557 & 9456(f)]. (7) HP007973, A-02699 [7973, A-2699 (should be 9456(g))?] & also RBCM, PN 8954 – “copy of photo by Arthur Vipond” collection of B.G. Howland. The first six views were stored under “Victoria Harbour general views”, while the first, sixth are also under Victoria Harbour Early Views, and seventh only under the latter.

[2] BCARS, HP94644, F-08526 and HP094643, F-8527. A two-part panorama shows a traditional plankhouse and a European style house on the left next to the fenced in garden of the Royal Victoria Hospital. Hudson’s Bay Co. blankets are hanging to dry on the fence. This photo shows the view of the City as the Songhees would see it in 1864. Frederick Dally, Original Prints.

RBCM, PN903. The Songhees Reserve Village, 1864. Made from colour transparency from original in B.C. Archives. Same image as B.C. Archives HP34387 and HP15719. Dally manuscript 2443, box 1, file 17, provides the title in Dally’s handwriting. In Dally album 5, p.2, HP60107 is labelled “Songish Indian Village Victoria Harbour. Vancouver Island. Brit. Columbia. 1864” and same image, vol. 9, p. 9 “Songish Indian Rancherie Victoria Harbour V.I.”

B.C. Archives I-30804. Group of Songhees at the head of James Bay in 1875. Note less common northern style canoe. Location at the head of the old James Bay. For dating note the W.J. Pendray building at centre, finished in 1875, is near completion here. A second building built by Pendray in 1876 is not here. The second James Bay Bridge is shown in the photo. The re-enforcing construction of the First Bridge about 1865 is often confused as a second bridge. The third bridge was not completed until April 20, 1887.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

- Portions of the reserve were rented for many purposes after 1860. An account by Augustus Pemberton shows 1860 income related activities from the removal of rocks and logs to rental for a Brickyard. Robert Burnaby leased the water front for a black lead and graphite store; the ship builder James Trahey gained a ten year lease “where the steamboat Cariboo was built”; Morris rented for a Stove Yard; Cusheoan for wharf and storage; Dennis Kavanach, for a wood lot near McDougal’s foundry; and John Burke, for a market garden.

- On August 13, 1862, Commissioners Edward Alston, Dr. Augustus Pemberton and Joseph Pemberton were appointed to manage the Reserve with the power to grant leases. A lease map shows Bolton’s wharf on the south side of Limit Point and McDougal and Geddis at Hope Point. In 1863, a 14-year lease - of lot #13 north of the Point Ellis Bridge - was for a Chamois and Buckskin dressing business run by Peter Jewell. Many First Nations were employed collecting Hemlock bark for the tanning process.

CHAPTER 12. Potlatches and Winter Dances, 1863-74. (Pages 91-102)

1863 Panorama. Horses can be seen grazing. Photographer unknown: RBCM copy negative of original print from Album of Lt. Surgeon J. L. Eastcott of the Royal Navy. Private collection. Dating: based on Beaton and Turner building south of 1314 Wharf Street having only one two story section and no wooden wharf building in front of it as in later photos; The presence of 1205-13 Wharf Street built in 1863; The lack of a 2nd story on the Oddfellows building at Fort and Wharf; The H.B.Co. wharf-shed built Dec. 6, 1862.

FREDERICK DALLY PANARAMA 1866.

To the right of the low flood area – often called the upper Village - a few of the old plankhouses have been torn down and others are missing roof and wallboards. At the lower village on the right, at least one newer building appears near the Hospital. The large house on the back row just to the right of the open area is the location seen in two photographs of the 1869 potlatch.

The full view of this panorama is in four parts in the Hastings Album in the Vancouver City Archives. The B.C. Archives, Crease Album photo HP007926, A-02674 is this same panorama missing the left end. The missing left end portion is covered by B.C. Archives, HP09457, A-03440. Most of the Hastings Album panorama is incorporated in B.C. Archives, HP7926 in the Dally Album #3. B.C. Archives, HP9459 (2 versions) covers the left middle of the panorama. The RBCM photographs PN8473 and PN15243 cover parts of the right side of this panorama. There is also a Frederick Dally 3 part panorama of c. 1868 composed of: BCARS, (HP015261, F-08553); (HP015262, F-08554); (HP015263, F-08555) – On the left, some of the buildings on the rental property at Hope Point have been removed and the area overgrown. On the right several (since the 1866 panorama) old plankhouses have been removed and some repaired and added to. The area just to the right of the clearing between the houses is the location seen in the potlatch photographs of 1869 and the still standing carved house posts.

VIEWS OF THE POTLATCH OF 1869.

RBCM, PN06806. Canoes of visitors to the 1869 potlatch. Four Songhees style canoes with the straight pointed bow can be seen pulled up on the embankment. Most are of the Chinook style. Woven tuli mats are used here for small temporary shelters and for protecting the canoes from drying out and splitting. The title below the same image (BCARS, HP057602, C-09273) in Dally album #5, p.4 is: "Indian canoes -- Chinook shape - - Vancouver Island. Belonging to the invited visitors to the great Potlatch". Same image as HP34384 and HP15708. For location - note that the rock formation is identical to that in photo PN5952. Related to activities of HP57612-13. (Dally was known to attend a large potlatch here in 1863, but did not take photographs at that time).

Archives HP15872, A-6080. Numerous visitors await the throwing of blankets from the rooftop. This location can be seen just south of the low area seen in the 1863 and 1866 panoramas. Note the lightening snake design on the west coast style canoe at centre. B.C. Archives HP57613 is the same image with the people in the foreground cut out. Below this album photograph is "Great Songish Indian Patlatch. 1868". There was no large outdoor potlatch in 1868. A corner rounded version of this is HP057613, C-09284, original in Dally Album #5, p.3. On the latter is written "Indian distribution Feast or Potlatch. Bales of blankets, and fifteen hundred dollars were given away by different individuals to my knowledge". PN904 is a copy of the latter. Dally Misc. file 17 identifies "2 views of potlatch", which includes HP57613 (PN904) and HP57612 (PN6805).

RBCM, PN6805. This large gable roofed house is located just to the south of the low area and set back from the shoreline houses. The post remains from a previous house can be seen on the left. Original Print. Same image in BCARS, Dally album #5, p. 3, HP57612, labeled "The distribution of blankets, muskets &c at a grand distribution feast or potlatch". The same view in vol. 7 is labeled "Indian distribution of blankets to friends from a distance". An 1872 photograph (RBCM, PNX530 - Photographer: Unknown, Lanternslide; BCARS HP049430, C-03668 Original Print) shows the 1869 potlatch house pulled apart and new buildings put up near the waterfront. The S.S. Beaver is seen in the harbour.

Another photograph (Frederick Dally, Carte de Visite, RBCM, PN6106) possibly taken at the 1869 potlatch (based on similarity of clothing and houses) shows women wearing Hudson's Bay Company blankets near an old style plankhouse. Dally labelled this "Songieth Indian Lodge". It is also BCARS, HP15923, and HP94503 from the Dally Album 5:16. This image is part of a group of 32 photos from a Dally advertising poster - BCARS, HP20351, G03768 - where it is labelled as "Songieth Indian Lodge".

BCARS HP94486 F-08294. Three Songhees. The woman on the right is chief Squameyuqs's sister. (Archives Dally Album 5:1 - the caption on Royal Geographical Society copy reads "lkt quater squaw" - referring to the selling of salmon for 25 cents each). The man at centre is also in HP94498, F-08191 (PN5907) and PN5932 that are also part of Dally group of photos HP20351 G-03768. Also two views PN7788. The front view is a close-up of BCARS HP94486, F-8294. These two views are seen in Dally's group photographs (G-03768, HP020351) as "Songish Ind. V. I." Separately they are BCARS, HP94494 and HP94495. Also HP10555 on group photos on Maynard cards.

F-08323. "Songish Indian Women", about 1866-68. Original in Dally Album 4:97. Also in Dally advertising photograph HP020350, G-04610 as "Songeith Indian women" (some of these may have been taken by earlier photographers and sold by Dally).

B.C. Archives, HP094468, F-08311. "Songish Indian V.I. Women & girl", about 1866-68. In Dally album, vol. 9, p.40 caption "Songish". Dally advertising photographs caption is "Songieth Woman V.I."

TWO PHOTOS OF SONGHEES MAN NAMED "SAPALELL BUMMER".

RBCM, PN7567 and PN5933. "Sapalell Bummer" with and without a traditional style woven hat. A close-up of this man's face from PN7567 is shown in the Dally group advertising photo HP20351 G-03768, where it is titled: "Songieth Indian Victoria Harbour". His name is on the RBCM full portrait file envelope. The hatless original print is in BCARS, Dally volume 4:96 (HP94475). The other with the hat is also BCARS, HP94485 in Dally Album 5:34 "Songish Indian". A third picture of "Sapalell Bummer" standing with cane, was taken later by Hannah Maynard (Original print, RBCM, 5321-A). This is also a RBCM, Newcombe Lantern slide X242, which reads "Salish peddler in Victoria, 60's". Newcombe lanternslide catalogue reads: "Salish Man, full length, studio, leaning on stick, Maynard". A new composite of this image is attributed by Blackman to a Hannah Maynard photo: "this man's image was re-photographed against a Haida village photograph taken by Richard Maynard in 1884". Sapalell is mentioned in the Colonist on Feb.4, 1879 as being remanded for possession of liquor.

RBCM, PN04816. Squameyuqs, chief of the Songhees from November 12, 1864 to September 12, 1892. Same image is in BCARS, Dally Album, vol. 5, #16, HP94816, F-08309.

THE POTLATCH OF 1874

Two Part Panorama of 1874 Potlatch Activities. The people gathering to the left of the steamboat Maude are standing by canoes that are covered by mats. Squameyuqs is about to give a canoe to each of the visiting chiefs. On the left the roofs are lined with piles of blankets and other goods about to be given away. The temporary mat covered structures behind the crowd at the centre are for concealing the dancers until they are ready to perform. Visitors have many of their canoes pulled up on the beach and one of their tent camps can be seen in the lower right. Part 1, PN6810, original print and Part 2, copy print from original print. Two other photographic views of the right side were taken within an hour of this photo. In one the tide has started on its way out and the crowds have gathered for the giving away of the canoes. Photographer: Unknown. Original Print, Sean Flynn, Private Collection. This may be attributed to Albert Maynard on the bases of his taking one of the other photos near same time. A third view shows the tide rapidly going out. Many of the canoes have been given away. The side-wheel steamer Maude has left the Harbour. Photographer: Albert H. Maynard, Lanternslide, RBCM, PN19. The Lantern slide reads "potlatch on old Songhees Reserve"- Also same view RBCM print PN8923; BCARS, HP015741, H-4833 (with different cropped edges); BCARS, HP34388 - appears in the Victoria Colonist Sunday Magazine on November 6, 1910 as "Photo by A. H. Maynard", "The Reserve as it was Forty Years ago".

Another photograph (RBCM, PN6845, a sterio-view card by Richard Maynard) shows the general scene of the 1874 potlatch viewed from the downtown side of Victoria harbour. The

new Marine hospital, opened September 1, can be seen on extreme left. A number of events were held over a period from April 19 to 27, 1874.

RBCM PN6807. View of 1874 potlatch activities from the south end of the village and behind the houses. The large plank building with the gabled roof on the far right of the two-part panorama can be seen at the back centre of this photo. Another distribution of goods is happening in front of the two European style houses in the background. The crowds at this location can be seen in the photo (PN6845) taken from across the harbour. "R. Mayard" on stereo-view card. This card and another stereo-view card, RBCM, PN06845, both have incorrect date in pencil written by the same person - "Indian village, Victoria, B.C.? 1870".

BCARS, HP18267, G-6931 & H-5004. CARVED HOUSE POSTS. In 1889, ethnologist Franz Boas rendered a drawing of two house posts. The first with geometric designs can be seen in panoramas between 1863 and 1871 as part of a house frame with its wall and roof boards removed. It formed one of two posts at the back of a house that supporting the two roof beams. The back of the posts was partially hollowed-out. It can be seen in the two 1869 potlatch photos. The second is that described inside the house of Chief Squameyuqs in 1874. This style found in Chief Squameyuqs house was also found in his mother's house in Quamichan.

Stewart Culin and Charles Newcombe observed them in 1900 when many of the old style houses were being torn down:

"Crossing the bridge we found three huge carved and painted posts of a Lku'ngen Indian house, lying upon the ground, the house having been taken down. ...A large, old communal house was still standing, in which were two women sewing."

An arrangement with Chief Cooper was made to purchase the posts for American museums. The figures on the posts "represent the chief who gave the potlatch when he put the poles up. The lizards represent the spirit that caused him to give the potlatch. When giving the potlatch the large pole was uncovered first."

The post in the middle was described as a man with a male lizard and the one on the left a man with four female lizards. The term "Sin-il-ke" used at the time actually means snake. The sinxlke (sinulhkey) was believed to be a powerful four-legged serpent-like creature that usually gave power to shamans. It was a flying creature that could split rocks in passing through them. If a person who was unprepared in the knowledge of ritual saw one, or crossed its trail, his body would go into contortions and he would die. This creature was associated with lightning and can be referred to as a variety of lightning snake. The creature was pursued by the thunderbird, splitting trees when it struck them, leaving scales and bark lying about which were dangerous for the layman to touch.

The post on the right is now # 2/5904, in the National Museum of the American Indian in New York and the other two are #79787 and #79788, in the Chicago Natural History Museum. Stereo view card. The same view is also RBCM, PN6829 & PNX15.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

THE POTLATCH OF 1870

On April 15, the Skagit from Washington arrived and invitations were out for a "grand potlatch". Three days later, the Quamichan and Clallam, "were preparing for a battle" because of an "old grudge" but the Songhees stopped the fighting by giving blankets to the Clallam.

On April 21 a Colonist reporter observed 700 visitors from 13 tribes: "Cowichan, Tsaulo, Saanich, Discovery Island, Nanaimo, Sooke, Chemainus, Quamichan, Penalakites, Skadget, Nittinet, Clallum and Clemenalts. About 200 canoes are stored in the different lodges".

Participants were involved in gambling with "Rolls of silver coin, and \$20 pieces". Behind one of the lodges were about forty gamblers with the round wooden gaming pieces - used to hide under the cedar mats:

"Upon the mats in front of the gamblers were scattered any number of four-bit and \$20 pieces. The gambling is done by guessing and sleight-of-hand... Two or three Indians who are called professional gamblers and travel about from camp to camp cleaning out the unsophisticated occupants, were pointed out".

There were a few "small potlatches of blankets and muskets" and on the 22nd, the men and then the women were presented with gifts. On the 26th, the Colonist reports that the visitors have paddled off with canoes "piled high with bags of biscuit, blankets and tin cups".

CHAPTER 13. THE RESERVE AND POLITICS OF A NEW ERA 1876 TO 1907. (Pages 103-111)

MAYNARD THREE-PART PANARAMA of 1877

B.C. Archives, Maynard photo catalogue, Vol. 14. Part 1- HP79716, F-6749; Part 2 – HP93790, F-6748 [also HP31227, B-02311]; Part 3 - HP93789, F-06747. [2 parts of panorama(s) were taken within a few years after this one – HP001541, A-00736 and HP001539, G-07119].

BCARS, HP51976, F-04584. The Limit Point area. Original Print.

RBCM, X191. Canoes along wharf. This photograph may have been taken at the time of a Colonist report on June 30, 1885: "there were 34 canoes with Indians lying at the slip between Johnson Street and Porter Brothers wharves yesterday". The RBCM, Second

Newcombe slide catalogue, M32 - "Victoria harbour, canoes at the wharf". RBCM PN2571 is from PNX191.

RBCM, X553. Limit Point to Hope Point area. Note some of the small newer houses in the background. Another photo taken near the same time is Original Print, RBCM, History Collection Album, cat. #972.280.2. (Copy Print RBCM, Ethnology Collection, PN13062). Other photos of same event are RBCM, PN17940; BCARS, HP044771, B09629 and HP025027, A-09322.

PEOPLE CAMPED ALONG THE SHORE WEST OF MENZIES STREET IN JAMES BAY.

RBCM PN8751. One of three photographs associated with a camp of First Nations – possibly Songhees - on shore of James Bay to the west of Menzies Street, about 1899. B.C. Archives HP18259, H-4996 (with canoes of visitors) shows Laurel Point on the left and the Songhees Reserve in background. Photographer: Ascribed to Richard Maynard, Original Print, BCARS, HP18259, H-4996. PN8751, seen in book, shows people having discussions, preparing food and one man carving. Note bows and arrows in rock crevice at centre. Photographer: Richard Maynard, Original Cabinet card, RBCM, PN8751. BCARS, H-04996 (same as BCARS, Glass Negative, G-5075 and RBCM, copy print, PN8474) is ascribed to Maynard on the bases that others taken at the same time are ascribed to him. The women seen at the right of PN8751, (facing the camera), is the same person seen in the left foreground of PN8474. An original Maynard stereo-view, PN6842, shows the same people (near the same time but in changed positions) as PN8751. PN6842 has "Songhees Indians, Victoria harbour" on back. The chequered blanket on the women sitting in PN6842, is off her back on the ground in PN8751. The man sitting above the bow & arrows on the rock at centre left of PN6842, is standing in PN8751.

RBCM, PN06104. Tsimshian visitors. Original card print says: "Nass River Lodge of the Order of Native Sons encamped on the way to the Fraser River". Photographer unknown. This photograph was taken in the area of the left foreground seen in PN5957. All same buildings as PN5957. Vegetation is lower (in perspective of position of photographer) than in PN5957, therefore the c. 1902 date may be a correct approximation. The building on the beach is the same shown in Crease album photo #991312. A post card marked Aug. 7, 1904 on front and on back, July 14, 1902 and 1904. Back of postcard (in an attempt at humour) says: "Naas River Indians - Lodge of the Order of Native sons. Lindley Crease Esq.". The number on the boat in photo is AQ37?

BCARS HP098838 H-02401. Cattle Point about 1900. Kelp was collected off the Discovery Islands and brought to Oak Bay to be sold to Chinese Immigrants.

RBCM, PN1433. Camp of Saanich First Nations September 23, 1904 after their return from Hop picking in Washington State. Location at old public market off Store Street, near Chatham Street. Original Print. PN11622 shows a close-up of part of this camp with two men outside and one woman inside a tent. The same buildings can be seen in the background of the two photographs.

National Archives of Canada, NMC12392. MAP - "Sketch of the Songhees Indian Reserve. Victoria B.C. Showing the Indian houses, gardens, and enclosures &c." Ashdown Green produced this map as a result of a formal survey of the Reserve in February of 1906. Songhees individuals had property on the reserve with some lands held as "Commonage". Leases of rental properties are also shown. (A similar map PAC, RG10, vol. 11028, File SRR-3, has locations of lots 47, 48 and 52 – that are not marked on this map).

(names of property owners from map]

ADDITIONAL NOTES

THE SONGHEES WIN AT COURT

During the negotiations with the Songhees the Federal Government tried, without proper authority, to erect immigrant quarantine sheds on Songhees Point near the old Royal Hospital. The Songhees tried to stop the contractor who did not obtain their consent and proceeded to court to sue the Federal Government over the issue. Judge Matthew Begbie, sided with the Songhees and issued an injunction restraining the contractor from erecting the sheds.

Powell wrote to Premier William Smithe:

"The ground on which the old hospital stands is a part of the Reserve, but on account of the great difficulty in obtaining a place for the smallpox patients, I have not interfered in any way with it, ...no other buildings should be placed there unless in accordance with the Act by first acquiring a proper surrender from the Indians. ...A building immediately adjoining ...the site for these buildings is used by the Provincial authorities and this Department as a smallpox hospital."

Powel brings up the idea of Reversionary Interest between the two Governments, pointing out - "any land taken off a reserve shall revert to the Province" if not used by the Songhees, and cannot be used by the Dominion Government for any other purpose.

In a letter of November 23, to his Ottawa boss Vankoughnet, Powell complains that the immigration shed mix-up affected his "negotiations with the chief men of the tribe for their removal ...it is unfortunate that just at this time their right to the Reserve has been, in their own opinion, ignored."

A reply of December 4, stated that the land was to be rented, not sold. That the Songhees Band would receive the rent and the land after the sheds were of no use. This he suggested would result in the Songhees dropping their suit and the government would not be liable to damages payable to the construction company that had already brought the lumber. The Songhees rejected the idea.

THE RAILWAY WANTS IT FREE

In 1885, the Victoria and Esquimalt Railway Co. made application for free grants of land through the Reserves. On December 29, the Company defiantly notified Powell of their intention to take possession of a rail line right of way through the Songhees Reserve, stating "as they were allowed" under the Consolidated Railway Act of 1879. In April of 1886, the Company took steps to have the line located. Powell and O'Reilly recommended the purchase of 1635 acres in Metchosin at Weir's Beach for a new Reserve. However, the purchase was dependent on the sale of the two Reserves or the consent of the Bands. Since the Minister, John A. Macdonald, agreed with their recommendations; Robert Dunsmuir was authorised to negotiate with the Songhees – who rejected his offer of \$60,000 for the Reserve.

Powell appointed agent Lomas to evaluate right of way improvements. In July of 1887 money was paid directly to individual Songhees who were "well satisfied with the arrangement" and had already moved their houses off the right of way. However, Powell emphasised the payment was "not for right of way in which the whole band is interested, and which must be settled in accordance with the Indian Act".

The Songhees listed as receiving a total of \$1740 include: "Scomiaah (chief) \$200; James Quskamault \$150; Sam Qullamilt \$250; Dave Simalahno \$25; Johnny \$5; Mrs. Sahsulth \$5; Jack Penelacut \$60; Cheetlam \$25; Tom Frank \$300; Semmahy \$40; Dick \$70; Spatielth \$260; Sahtla \$350".

Grading operations for the Railway through the Reserve started in 1887, and an extension to the City was finished on November 29. The Railroad was formally opened for traffic through the reserve in 1888. Order in Councils gave the Railway use of 15 acres in 1892, and 19 acres in 1895.

- On March 19, 1890, Robert Dunsmuir wrote the Victoria Indian Office regarding the purchase of the Weir farm in Metchosin. His company considered the property "totally unfit" for a reserve as the Songhees informed him: "it is both bleak and cold and in the winter season impossible in a South East wind to land from a canoe".

On January 31, 1896, the Lieutenant Governor forwarded a resolution of the legislature requesting the Songhees move be referred to a special commission of three. One appointed by the Dominion, one by the Lieutenant Governor, and to resolve disputes, a member of the Supreme Court of B.C. This was agreed to by the Dominion with the qualification that they were:

"agreeing to the proposition without prejudice to the claim of the Dominion government as to all other reserves in the Province of B.C. and that the title of the land which may be occupied as a reserve for the Songhees Indians in lieu of their present reserve be conveyed in fee simple to the Indians."

Peter O'Reilly was appointed as a commissioner for the Dominion. The mandate of the Commission for the Province included a new reserve to the Dominion "in trust for the Indians and without any reversion to the province". The present Reserve lands were to revert to the province. A major disagreement arose from

the Province not wanting to pay the Songhees compensation for the difference in value between the existing reserve and a new one.

In 1897, Premier Turner visited Ottawa to discuss the Songhees move with Clifford Sifton, the Superintendent general of Indian Affairs. On June 14, the Colonist announces that Premier Turner's visit to Ottawa "cleared away the last misunderstanding about the removal of the Songhees reserve". The Dominion made two proposals: (1) B.C. agrees to give the E & N Railway co. the 19 acres they occupied. And in exchange for the remaining 93 acres procure a new location for the Songhees and pay the expense of removal. (2) B.C. should agree to disposal of the whole reserve and that the Songhees be given the proceeds of the sale left after the cost of the new reserve and the "rehabilitating" of the Songhees.

The Province did not agree with the first proposal; and on the second, offered to dispose of only 56 acres - on the condition of the Province getting a new reserve and paying the costs of "removal and rehabilitation". The Province to then take the other half of the reserve "unburdened".

On May 22, the city interests were put forward as Alderman Stewart motioned that the city had the right to bridge Victoria Harbour and to acquire the right of way for a Street through the Reserve to connect with Lime Street in Victoria West.

In August, Clifford Sifton informed Premier Turner, that J. McKenna was being sent to "effect removal" of the Reserve. He met with Premier Turner on August 24, to discuss the matter.

On November 5, Colonist ...Mr. Turner is not willing to surrender what he thinks are the just claims of the Province, and Hon. Mr. Sifton ...the legal rights of the Indians."

In March of 1898, A. W. Vowell, the Indian Superintendent for B.C., was appointed to the Indian Reserve Committee. On April 23, the Colonist argues that there is an important constitutional question involving "reversionary" rights of the province to reserve lands. The Province contends that the Songhees reserve has a value separate from "the Indian title of occupation" and that any value the land possesses "arises from its urban situation". The Dominion Government's position is that the lands, or proceeds of sale, should be controlled by them for the benefit of the Songhees.

The province sees its duty as providing another reserve and "rehabilitating the Indians in every respect equal to their present position... From a moral point of view, the location of the Indian should be far enough away to remove them entirely from the evils which contact with city life engenders" and the reserve

should provide an opportunity to “make a living agriculturally” and to “be educated in farming”.

On April 28, the Colonist promotes a citizens meeting to lobby for Provincial rights to the Reserve after removal. The editor states that the Songhees “knew the value of the land and they want its equivalent and getting that they are willing to leave”.

The next month, Helmcken expressed concern that correspondence between Governments and the E. & N. Railway Co., pertaining to the Reserve, be made public. He was concerned that any agreements with the railway make provision for road allowances and free access for passenger or vehicle traffic for all time across any Railroad or bridge. Helmcken wanted the province and the city of Victoria to retain their rights and to deal with the Songhees "on a broad and liberal basis".

In early 1899, resolutions were made to speed up the removal of the Songhees. By May, the Reserve negotiations became the subject of a confidence resolution in the House. On the 4th, it is reported that Helmcken complained that the discussion between McKenna and the province regarding the removal of the Songhees was without result and it was highly desirable that negotiations should be resumed. Helmcken moved a resolution that the Lieutenant Governor communicate with the Dominion requesting they instruct its commissioner to proceed in accordance with the terms of a resolution passed by the house on 28th January, 1896.

This resolution stressed that under treaties with First Nations the Dominion “secured the lands... as long as they lived on them” and that otherwise they belonged to the Province. That by the terms of union “the trusteeship of the Indians was assumed by the Dominion on as liberal terms as had hitherto been carried on by B.C.”. It was pointed out that the Province was “not a party to” the negotiations of the Commission. That McKenna “believed the best way was to meet the Indians and get the terms upon which they are ready to leave. As the Dominion government were the trustees, they would see the Indians' rights safeguarded”. At this time, a major block was the Dominion’s wish that the Province give nineteen acres to the E. & N railway.

On June 4, 1899, the Colonist showed a Map of the Victoria harbour improvement scheme of Sorby - which included the alterations and use of Reserve. On December 12, the city’s interference takes on a large role as it is reported that Alderman Hayward is pushing for the Reserve property to be transferred to the city. The Colonist argues that the Reserve has been a source of expense to Victoria, and proposes that the city pay the removal cost and take over the property – which could be sold at a “handsome profit”.

The Railway delayed making payments for the land used, and a battle of government and railway lawyers began at an Arbitration Proceeding in Victoria on November 27, 1899. The subject under discussion was limited to the valuation of the 6.91 acres of actual right of way. The Province protested that they were not properly consulted and were concerned that any land being diverted from a reserve should revert to the province. The Railway lawyers tried to show that the land was of less value than emphasised by the Province.

On January 25, 1900, the Colonist prints a letter from Thomas Sorby who was developing a new economic scheme for Victoria harbour. At a meeting with Sifton, the Minister of the Interior, he had suggested a long-term lease of the Reserve to the harbour commission - as a branch of the public works department. He thought it: "absolutely essential" that the government give the commissioners rights to "control the whole water frontage". Sorby indicated the E & N railway would have ample room for expansion on favourable terms.

A NEW ERA UNDER PREMIER McBRIDE

On March 7, 1905 Premier Richard McBride said: "it was clear that the Indians must retain possession of the Reserve until they were made party to an arrangement satisfactory to them. The Indians had been taught to believe that it would be foolish for them to yield their tenure without a considerable indemnity and generous terms. They could not be removed by force. The first essential was to get the Indians to acquiesce in an agreement."

At this time \$12,000 was held in credit to the Reserve for rents. It was suggested this money could be used for resettlement. The Reserve was valued at between \$100,000 and \$150,000. A public meeting of January 20, with Victoria Mayor Barnard resulted in the City Council urging the Legislature to reserve certain portions of land for specified City purposes.

In 1906, Mayor Morley made election speeches promising special attention to this question. A committee report of April 9, included terms of agreements with the Province that involved the city getting a portion of the Reserve on the condition of the sale of another portion, and the city – on approval of the Songhees -acquiring a new Reserve and meeting all expenses of removal.

On September 28, Premier Richard McBride sent a letter to the Dominion to say that he was now authorised to advise them that the Province is "agreeable to the detraction from their reversionary claim to the moneys to be netted from the sale of the reserve", and with the "total expenditure to be made on account of the Indians and the surrender of their present title."

Pedley met with Chief Cooper, who told him "owing to the many attempts to settle with them without material result, the Indians were tired of the whole business, and did not

care to reopen negotiations." After further discussions Pedley met with the Songhees on October 6, and proposed the following:

"1. The Indians will be paid at the time of the surrender \$10,000 in cash and \$5000 in cash, or will be given in their place, improvements on the new reserve. 2. The owners of improvements on the present reserve will be paid for these in cash, or ...improvements on the new reserve... 3. A new reserve will be provided before the removal from the present one. 4. The cost of removal ...will be paid for as well as any permanent band improvements on the new reserve. 5. The interest on the band fund ...after deducting the amounts necessary to carry out this proposition, will be paid to the Indians ...or funded for their benefit."

The Songhees did not express an opinion and another meeting was held on October 13, where a new offer was made and rejected by the band. Pedley was then requested to have a meeting by the Songhees on October 20, to hear what they were prepared to accept as settlement. The Songhees were willing to take \$1,000 per family on a basis of 42 families and a reserve at Cadboro Bay.

Pedley agreed to the offer and tried to secure property on Cadboro Bay and "about 120 acres, at the head of Portage Inlet". Cooper and two council members visited the properties in question and rejected both. They told Pedley that "no reserve other than their old camping ground on the Hudson's Bay property at Cadboro Bay" would be acceptable. Pedley states in his later report that:

"While I am prepared to admit that with some members of this band [adult males - 26] the selection of a new reserve may be the all-important matter. I am thoroughly satisfied that with a large number, if not a majority of them, the new reserve is merely a secondary matter, but when they came to act as a band it seemed much easier for them to follow the old beaten paths and refuse to surrender than to disagree with a number of the old members."

Pedley's last offer included: \$10,000 at surrender; \$15,000 a week later; \$47,000 after move; A \$410,000 fund for implements and stock - with conditions of necessity attached; Purchase and removal to a suitable Reserve; Compensation for improvements on old Reserve; and payment of interest money to the band.

The Pedley report was made public on January 10, 1907. The next year on June 6, the Province stands firm as Premier McBride "declared publicly that he believed the reversionary interest, and therefore right of settlement" in reserve lands rests with the Province.

CHARLES FREESIE SONGHEES CHIEF (1892-1894)

Charlie Freesie or "Soke" (born c.1858) was the first Songhees Chief that showed a personal interest in moving the Reserve. He was the son of chief Freezy and Mary Freezy. A rental indenture in 1858 lists him as "Fresier [Chealtock] Thauawich" and then

"Shanawich and Charley". Fresier and his son Charley are referred to as "Chiefs of Songhees". Shanawich was likely Charlie's brother Peter. Mrs Charlie Freezie (born c.1867) was remarried in 1910 to Haynes Wheeler, a First Nations from the U.S. Her father was "Jack Sit-se-me lock" and brother "Willie Sit-se-me-loc".

Charlie's brief chieftainship lasted from October 21, 1892 until his untimely death from "consumption" at the age of 36 on October 13, 1894. He had a "simple funeral". After mourners "kept constant watch over the body as it lay in state at his home", a procession marched to St. Andrew's Cathedral. His pallbearers were Ed Purser, John Friday, Mose Kommai, Charlie Kommai, George Williams and Billy Marshall. His relatives came to the assistance of his widow and three children.

One of Charlie's daughters was Sally Freesie. She and her first cousin Sarah Weedrisk had children with Frank Albany. Sarah was married to Frank Albany, and after his death, to Chief Micheal Cooper. Sarah's grandson John Albany (who this book is dedicated to) was Songhees chief from 1954 to 1991. Charlie's daughter Mary Anne "Chathough" married Louie Jackson and then Charley Kamia.

Charlie had an older brother Louis "Unsame" Freezie (1841-1891), who married a Songhees, Elizabeth "Annie" Joseph (Born c.1846). Her brother was Robbie Daniels. Louis's daughter Elizabeth (1875-1940) married Daniel Joseph. Louis's son was the storey-teller Jimmy Fraser. The last three can be seen in the photographs.

CHAPTER 14. EMPLOYMENT, RECREATION, AND SCHOOL, 1880-1900. (Pages 112-119)

BCARS, HP18265, H-5002. The original negative is BCARS, G-6881. (Copy RBCM, PN6835). A close-up of one of these boats leaving is in PN6839. A sterio-view looking in the other direction is a Richard Maynard Print, BCARS, HP18269, G-06933 - from Maynard, vol. 5, Van. Is. It is also neg. H-5006. RBCM, PN6827 is a similar photo that had to be taken at the same time with a different camera. A close-up of visitor camps taken at the same time at a small beach inside Songhees Point can be seen in another Maynard stereo-view print, BCARS, HP18270, H-5007. In another photograph of the same location (BCARS, HP18260, H-4997, contact print), taken by an unknown person, one can see a large woodpile similar to those collected for burning at potlatches.

BCARS, HP18268, H-5005. Another sterio-view HP18262, H-4999 taken at same time, is looking N.E. to businesses off Store Street. A third view - BCARS, HP18264, H-5001 - is nearly the same as PN6834. Richard Maynard also has a cabinet card photograph (RBCM, HP8750) of this location near the same time period. A sterio-view looking in the other direction was also taken by Maynard (RBCM, PN6834 and PN6852).

RBCM, PN06839. Family in canoe about to leave reserve. This canoe can be seen at the centre in PN6835. Note position of pole and paddle tied area [framework for cover to keep

canoe contents dry]. Two women in canoe similar (see hat & girl in blanket) to those in PN6842.

SEALING BOATS

BCARS, HP045724 C-00461 – Sealing boats in Victoria's upper harbour to the south of the Point Ellis Bridge. In 1894, over 500 First Nations were employed in sealing boats operating out of Victoria. The May Belle – 4th from right was lost in 1896, with 22 men. Original Print.

HP00383, A-0183. On the left is the Reserve's Point Ellis Shipyard (On west side and south of the Point Ellis Bridge). In later times the sealing boats were sometimes moored at Fisherman's Wharf inside Shoal Point – as can be seen about 1906 in original print, BCARS, HP23409, A-08532. The latter shows the Schooners, Director, Ocean Rover, Mary Ellen, Favourite, Penelope and W.P. Sayward in first row. Also see B.C. Archives HP098816, H-02379.

RBCM PN13060. Limit Point. John Silver owned the building just to the left of the beach boathouse and Mrs. Pilkie owned the large and small buildings to the right. (Copy print from original Print, RBCM, History Collection, Cat. #972.280.2). A rare view further north from this area can be seen in the background of photographs of the Point Ellice Bridge collapse of May 26, 1896. BCARS, G-04577. In this photo today's Goose Trail is on the right beyond the rock island – that is now a point of land covered in landfill like the rest of the low tidal area in foreground. Photographer: H. Saunders, Jr. Original Print.

CANOE RACING

RBCM PN8831. Families gathered for canoe race. Original Print.

RBCM, PN8911. Original Print. People identified by Albert George on Nov. 30, 1982. Four of these people are in RBCM, PN8832. Originally BCARS #15706.

BCARS, HP098854 H-02417. Canoe Races on the Gorge. Just south of the falls and Tillicum Bridge. Original Print.

BCARS, HP20270. Canoe Races at the King's Birthday Celebrations. At this time canoe races sometimes started in front of the Legislative buildings and went to the outer harbour and back. Original print.

BCARS HP021832, A-07690. Songhees School House. Original Print.

Additional Information.

The Sealing Industry.

The pelagic sealing business was for a time one of the major maritime industries of the North Pacific. Captain William Spring and his associate Captain Hugh McKay were the first sealers to operate out of Victoria. They began in a small trading business in the early 1850s, establishing several posts along the west Coast of Vancouver Island. Native hunters would occasionally bring a few seal and sea otter skins to barter at the trading posts.

Captain J. D. Warren commenced trading along the West Coast of Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlottes Islands in 1864 in the Thornton. He was impressed with the large herds of seals and in 1868 he induced the First Nations on the west coast of Vancouver Island to make more of a specialty of catching them. Captains Spring and McKay placed the schooners Surprise and Alert in the business, while Captain Warren had the schooner Kate.

Captain Spring & Boscowitz of Victoria took out the first native crew with their canoes on a sealing schooner in 1869. The industry started out in a small way hunting off the coast of Vancouver Island with mostly aboriginal crews from that area.

Prior to 1881 most of the vessels would go on very short cruises, but, as the habits of the seal became better known, they began to equip for longer voyages, sailing far south of the Columbia to meet the north-bound herd and follow it up the coast.

At the beginning of each year the fur seals were found off the American coast between San Francisco and Cape Flattery. They were at first scattered over the ocean - only occasionally occurring in small groups. As spring advanced, they made their way northward so that from the beginning of March to the middle of June they were found off the Coast of Vancouver Island. By the middle of July they arrive at the breeding grounds on the Pribloff Islands.

The fleet in 1881 included Captain James Warren's steam schooners Annie Beck and Alice Thorton. Captain Warren was the first person in the sealing business to send out steam schooners, and at one time operated a fleet of eight steam and sailing vessels. He married Tossamitsa (Mary Williams) of the Esquimalt band – some of their descendants living today among the Esquimalt and Songhees Nations.

After 1883 the first Victoria boats went to the Bering Sea. In 1884 Warren's fleet was the largest, including the steam schooners Dolphin, Grace, Anna Beck and Thorton, and the schooner Rustler. This year the entire Victoria fleet furnished employment to over two hundred canoes and five hundred First Nations. In 1886-87, some of Warren's schooners were seized by the American Government in Alaskan waters, causing him great financial hardship.

As the industry reached a peak about 1894 more and more local Victoria area First Nations joined the hunt. The season began in January or February and lasted until about the middle of September. The sealing fleet split into two groups, one started off the coast of California and followed the American herd northward and the other crossed the Pacific and

hunted the Asiatic groups starting off S.E. Japan. Both groups followed the herds up to their breeding grounds in the Bering Sea.

In 1900 it was estimated that about 1000 aboriginal canoes were used in the season for sealing. Mostly harpoons were used in the hunt. Some First Peoples had guns but only sometimes used them for hunting (the animals often sank before they could be retrieved if they were shot with a gun).

The Active, a Canadian schooner built at Mayne Island in 1885, landed 1338 sealskins from the Bering Sea at Victoria in 1886 but on April 1, 1887 she sank in a gale 30 miles off Cape Flattery with the loss of 28 aboriginal crew.

The Ariel, under Captain Buckman, carried an aboriginal crew of 21 in 1889. They sailed from Victoria February 11 and returned on August 31 with a catch of 1,685 skins. The timing of the sealing industry worked well with the Songhees and Esquimalt who returned home in time for the salmon fishing season and the later hop-picking season.

The Beatrice, owned by William Grant, who leased property on the Reserve near the Point Ellis Bridge, had 24 First Peoples of a crew of 29 in 1890 when they brought 1,703 skins from the coast of Japan. The Dolphin, owned by Captain James D. Warren in 1886, brought 2,200 skins from the Bering Sea.

First Nations crew members made a lot of money when hunts were successful but two voyages in 1895-96 were devastating to many First Nations families in the greater Victoria area.

On May 8, 1895 Victorians heard the tragic news that the sealing schooner Walter A. Earle capsized in the night in a violent storm on April 14 off Cape St. Elias Alaska with 26 aboriginal crewmembers. They included 12 from Victoria: Tom Andrew, Asi Billy, Vic Johnny, Vic Frank, Tom Frank, Isaac Robert, Joe Enday, Tom, Drew, Walter, Joe and Louis; six from Becher Bay: William John, Young Jim, Johnny James, Abraham Sam, Dan Connor, and Young William; from Sooke: Charley John, Joe Henry, George Henry, Sam Sayer and Peter Charley; from Rocky Point: Rocky Point Jim; from Metchosin: Harry Hutz and from Cowichan: Jimmy Daniel [The "George Henry" listed as lost, was Henry George. He was married to Mary Tate (c. 1858-Mar. 22, 1956) of Sooke. They were the parents of Agnes George who was born on the Old Songhees Reserve on March 1, 1878 (Died June 2, 1979). Agnes provided a great deal of information on the language and history of the Songhees to linguists and anthropologists. Agnes was married to Louis (also Louie) George of Discovery Island (Born July 1881). Louis George's father was Harry George (also George Solcwosit and Qunteenica) who was born on Discovery Island and was also reported to have drowned on the Walter Earle – yet his name does not match those listed in the official records. Mary (Tate) George mentioned above was the daughter of George MacQuinna Tate and Mary Patterson of Clo-oose. Her brother was Henry Tate (1897-Feb.7, 1958) who married Jane Ashelina Bob (born in Esquimalt c. 1918)].

The vessel had completed four successful years gathering 7717 seal skins and was the only one in the 1895 sealing fleet that had a crew of hunters and boatmen from the Victoria area.

The biggest tragedy occurred in late January of 1896 when the schooner May Belle sank off Cape Cook with twenty-two men - practically the entire adult male population - of the Becher Bay band.

Of the close to 300 vessels that participated in the hunts, at least 19 were lost at sea with all crewmembers. At least 158 First Nations, mostly men from the West Coast of the Island, were lost.

The sealing industry had begun a rapid decline by 1900. An Act of December 29, 1897, made it illegal for American citizens and American vessels to engage in it, while a treaty between the United States, Great Britain, Japan and Russia in 1911 outlawed the killing of seals at sea in the North Pacific.

In the early 1900s, the Victoria Whaling Company bought some new steam whale hunters and replaced the sealing activity.

- additional reference: B.C. Archives, GR-0215 Can. Dept. Marine & Fisheries Merc. Mar. Ship. Office, Reel B9510].

CHAPTER 15. THE CHES-LUM GEORGE POLATCH OF 1895. (Pages 120-135)

RBCM, PN6834. In this photograph all of the canoes are of the West Coast style and rigged with sails. The event here may be First Nations holding potlatches on the Reserve - after returning from the fish canneries - as reported by the Victoria Colonist on September 3, 1893, or visitors attending the George potlatch of 1895. This is a two part of an overlapping sequence of 3 stereo-view photographs. PN6854 (not shown) was taken near same time and overlaps with PN06852.

RBCM, PNX120. General scene of a memorial Potlatch held by Cheetlam George on May 27, 1895. This view with a rounded format exists as a direct duplicate 4X5 negative, RBCM, PN14238. Newcombe's register for X120 - "M/35, Victoria, canoes on old Songhees Reserve during Potlatch, Maynard". The second small house in the foreground was owned by Pierre Wyplanoc and the larger one behind it was owned by Robbie Semiramo.

RBCM, PN6884. Cheetlam George Potlatch. This is also a lanternslide RBCM PNX91. Three similar views not used here include: RBCM, PN8748, PN8752 and PN8753.

RBCM, PN6808. This house was present by 1884 and replaced by January 1901, with a new house of Cheetlam's son Tommy George. Original Print. Attributed to Richard

Maynard on the basis of same card format as PN 8748, PN8752, PN8753 and PN6884. B.C. Archives image, A-108, of the south end of the Reserve dates to about 1880-83. This shows the old style plank houses near the Marine Hospital were torn down in July of 1899. The large European style building just in front of the Pilot Boat wheelhouse is almost finished – except for its smoke chimneys. This was the house of Cheetlam George and the site of his 1895, potlatch.

PN6492-B. Swaywey dances. Original Print. A similar photo of the same event is shown in print PN6492-A. The back of the original print of the latter has stamped: "E.J. Eyres, Imperial Studio, 76 Yates, Victoria, B.C." Face of print: "Songhee Reserve, Victoria, B.C. - Dance at Potlatch September 1895".

Another photo (Original Print, BCARS, HP18258, G-05076) likely associated with this potlatch shows children waiting outside Cheetlam George's house for the Potlatch activities. This photo is looking north toward the low area flooded at extreme high tides. Raised trestle of E&N R.R. in background is where vehicles today drive under the R.R. on Esquimalt Road. The canoes here may have been given away at the Potlatch or were pulled off the beach to make room for visiting canoes. Another view (RBCM, PN192, Richard Maynard, Lantern slide) shows the canoes closer. It is also same as RBCM, PN6885, but with more showing. A photograph by Garrett Smith (BCARS, HP-02546) taken about 1896-97 shows the last traditional style plankhouse at the centre of photo and the front of Cheetlam George's house two buildings closer.

MUD BAY

B.C. Archives CM B272. 1863 City of Victoria map showing Mud Bay and Lime Bay. The Colville and Coffin Islands burial sites are seen on the lower left.

MUD BAY IN THE 1880S - BEFORE THE RAILWAY. Kimta Road and the condominiums between Paul Kane and Cooperidge Places now cover this area. Not shown in the Songhees Pictorial is photograph RBCM, PN8749, an original print on cabinet card by Hannah Maynard. It is a view looking west across the beach at Mud Bay. Visitors are camped on the beach and up on the property of Hattie Dick. "Mrs. R. Maynard - Artist" written on face of card photograph in RBCM oversize file. One of three photos taken at this time. Lantern Slide RBCM X194, attributed to Hannah Maynard, shows men doing finishing work on canoes at Mud Bay. Close-up of PN8749 location. This photograph was taken from beach and shows the close-up of activities in PN8749. The second Newcombe catalogue says: "Victoria harbour, Lime Bay, canoes on the beach". The Maynard lanternslide catalogue says: "canoes on the beach, bank in the background, first bay east of Lime Bay" (Same as BCARS, print HP18261 G-05073 in Vol. 5, Vancouver Island taken at same time). Another close-up taken at the same time by Hanna Maynard, is BCARS, HP18261, H-4998. The latter was part of BCARS, Landsberg collection series HP18262-70.

1901 – 1903 MUD BAY SERIES

A series of photographs dating to 1901-03 show many visitors to the Reserve in the area of Mud Bay and the old Village area. The activities represent either (1) various First Nations returning, at the end of the summer, after working for the Fraser River fish canneries - many of the boats in the photographs are the new style of what were called Columbia River fishing boats, and/or (2) visitors to an Potlatch – possibly the Tommy George potlatch of 1901. A series of at least 7 photographs were taken at Mud Bay. Two original prints of the same view, PN6820, of a series of 13 prints have written in pen on their backs “Songhees Reserve Series, Last Potlatch held there, Nos. 1680-1691” and Print PN6891 [BCARS, 17467], has “Victoria, Last Potlatch” written on the negative. This BCARS series is the same as RBCM, PN6815-26. (This information may represent a guess based on the subject matter, by a person not having first hand knowledge of the events).

RBCM, PN6824, (Not shown) an original print, is part of the (at least) 7 photographs taken at Mud Bay that may be related to others taken in front of the Reserve village (two of which are labelled “last potlatch”). This photo shows visitors tent camps on the beach at Mud Bay. Houses in the background are off the Reserve along Catherine and Mary Streets. A larger view of this scene can be found in the two-part (overlapping) panorama that follows:

RBCM, PN6815 and PN6817. Two-part panorama looking north at camps in Mud Bay. Original Prints. Large Building and house of Hattie Dick on the left. Columbia River fishing boats in foreground of the type used at the Fraser River Canneries. The boat in the centre seen in both images has serial number TN2496. In a close-up of this panorama scene (PN6826) one of the boats has a cannery number C3417.

MUD BAY IN 1909

In 1909 Harlan I. Smith and W.S. Taylor of the American Museum of Natural History visited Mud Bay to purchase and observe the making of aboriginal artifacts such as canoes and baskets. The people they observed and photographed were mostly visiting Nuu-chah-nulth from the West Coast of Vancouver Island.

AMNH26005. (Not shown). Unidentified Songhees man showing visitors a roughed-out carving of a Swayway mask of the type seen in the 1895 potlatch dances. W.S. Taylor on left. Photographer: Harlan I. Smith, Print from copy negative. The original Smith notes identify this as “Songish man making a xoas xoas mask”. This is next to small house above Mud Bay.

PNX125 and PN6872. Two part view of Mud Bay, 1909. The canoe finishing work area is seen in the left background. The totem pole being finished is identified as being of the “Kwakwiltl style”. Photographers: Harlan I. Smith, Lantern Slide, PNX125; Attributed to William Taylor, Original Print, PN6872. A two-part panorama - AMNH45998 and 45997 – was taken by Harlan Smith. PNX125 and PN6872 appear to be cropped versions of AMNH45998 and 45997. William S. Taylor, a mural artist from the AMNH expedition who accompanied Smith in 1909, may have taken PN6872. The view in PN6872 is not part of the catalogued series AMNH45996-45999 but was taken at the same time. The original print has “Vict. Harb. W. Taylor” written on the back. PN114 is part of this sequence.

Another photo series taken by Smith (AMNH45992-45994) shows a Nuu-chah-nulth man carving a Haida style totem pole in Mud Bay. The carver was using a photograph of a Haida pole as a model. Another man is carving a pole in RBCM, PN8858. A different man, who is either a Songhees or Nuu-chah-nulth, is seen adzing a canoe in two prints (PN11875, Original print and PN8835) – this was taken around the same time as the visit by Smith.

RBCM, PNX. Nuu-chah-nulth man carving inside of canoe with a D-adze. This lanternslide was made for Charles Newcombe by Smith from AMNH26009. Harlan I. Smith, AMNH45999 (Print from copy negative), is a larger view of “Chinook” canoe making area seen in PNX. Canoe at centre is one being carved in other photos. Note location of grinding stone on beach. AMHN photos 26007–26014 from Mud Bay are listed as “Canoe making, Victoria, Nootka man making Chinook canoe.” Another photo AMNH26015 (Harlan I. Smith, Lantern slide, RBCM, PN114) shows a finished canoe in Mud Bay. Lime Point is seen on the right and Shoal Point in the community of James Bay at centre.

RBCM PN8836. One of the few people that can be identified in the Mud Bay area is Songhees band member “Robbie” Semalano, who is shown with a baby at Mud Bay about 1910. Robbie was known as Robert Davis and married Martha (T’chin-tz) of Elwha Washington (her mother was “Nitinaht” and her father Clallam. She was “Mrs. R. D.” – one of the Clallam informants of anthropologist Erna Gunther. He is seen with his wife and a daughter in RBCM PN5902 (original Print). Robert Davis was also referred to as Robert David and may be the person named Robbie Daniels who was the son of the brother of Jimmy Fraser’s mother Elizabeth. Original print.

MUD BAY. 1910-12.

After the Songhees had signed an interim agreement in 1910 to move to another Reserve - it appears that several photographers wanted to document the last scenes of First Nations activities on the Old Reserve. Howard Chapman, in particular, systematically photographed parts of the Reserve to get both panorama views and close-ups of buildings. At least one unknown photographer took close-ups of people - mostly in the Mud Bay area.

RBCM, PN8830. Close-up of backs of houses on East side of Mud Bay. Original Print. Fairell’s Soda Works (not yet Silver Spring Brewery) can be seen in the background on N.W. corner of Esquimalt & Catherine Street. This was taken near same time as view of houses on beach that shows the large house of Hattie Dick above the beach at centre background (Original Print, RBCM PN8936). Also, original Print, RBCM, PN8913 shows adjoining houses above beach on East side of Bay.

RBCM, PN8858. Original print. Unidentified (Nuu-chah-nulth?) man on house platform, carving totem pole. This man was photographed carving a pole on two different occasions. See PN6451 and PN6452. The house in the background is the one seen in PN8892 and at centre in PN8936.

RBCM, PN8880. Families in cloth drying operation. Original Print. One of the sitting men can also be seen in PN8881, which shows the same location. This man is also in PN8961. The boy with his hands outstretched seen near the man in PN8881 is the same boy in PN8805. Another view close to the latter (Original Print, RBCM, PN9479), shows a man pushing out a canoe. This man is the same as the pole carver in other photographs. He is in PN6451, PN6452 and PN8858. Another photograph (original Print, RBCM, PN8768) shows what appears to be a washtub for dying cloth. Note woman with woven baby cradle on right. This may be attributable to Chapman and taken same time as his PN8764; PN8767 and PN8856.

RBCM, HP8883. Family at Mud Bay. Original print. The girl on the left can also be seen in PN8887 [BCARS HP16509; HP16035] and PN5897 [BCARS HP16508]. A close-up of the woman is in RBCM, PN8841; also BCARS, HP16512; HP16505; HP16037.

RBCM, PN8834. Mother and daughters at Mud Bay. Original print. The two daughters, within a year later, can be seen in front of the Old village in Victoria harbour (see original print PN8838). PN8834 is also BCARS, HP15704 and HP16511. Another photograph (Original Print, RBCM, PN8892) shows children on the porch or walkway of a house at Mud Bay. Several of these children can be seen in other photos. A small girl and her mother that are together in PN8846, are seen individually in (small girl - PN8826 - same view BCARS, HP16522; HP166034) and (mother - PN8895). (Original Prints).

RBCM PN8848. Man and boy at Mud Bay. Original Print.

RBCM, PN8806. Boy at Mud Bay with the latest style of stripped shirt. Original Print.

RBCM PN8859. Man with blankets. Original Print.

RBCM, PN6887. Original print. Unidentified man. This same man is seen standing in his canoe in original Print, PN8961.

RBCM, PN8885. Small boy. Original Print. Same boy in RBCM, PN8837. (BCARS, HP16039; HP16546).

MUD BAY IN THE SPRING OF 1912

Many photographs were taken of activities in Mud Bay in the spring of 1912. Howard Chapman took several of these, and it is likely that others taken at or near the same time can be attributed to him.

BCARS, HP99388, H-3206. Cemetery. Glass dry plate, in Chapman box 741, No. 4. Another view, RBCM, PN8766, taken within a few months shows houses along Catherine Street and the Silver Spring Brewery on the N.W. corner of Esquimalt Road and Catherine. The church on right of this view was St. Saviour's on the S.E. corner of Henry and Mary Streets. An original print RBCM, PN6277 has "Songhees I.R. Spring 1912" written on back. There were older style burial houses next to the Christian burial ground on Lime Point (see RBCM, PN8801, original print). These houses are more typical

of styles from the northern coast of B.C. and may have been used by northern visitors. The burials were removed from this location to the cemetery at the New Songhees Reserve in 1911.

***IMPORTANT PHOTOGRAPHS NOT IN BOOK

Two important photographs taken by Howard Chapman include: (1) RBCM H-4674 (Original Print from Dry plate), which is a large view of Mud Bay at low tide. Activities of the Railway are now prevalent in this area. Large bolts of cloth are drying on the clotheslines, rocks and wharfs (Original – Chapman Box 741, No. 5. Also Original print, PN5953). On BCARS, HP99388 – “Spring of 1912”. Near same time as RBCM, PN8856. Original Print, RBCM, PN8930 was taken near the same time, at high tide. (also see PN8764 [BCARS HP077580, E-0025] PN8764 was BCARS, HP15702 and PN8930 was BCARS, HP15749. A Close-up view of PN8930 attributed to Howard Chapman is original Print, RBCM, PN8802. BCARS, Chapman’s Box 741, No. 3 (same PN5951) is an enlarged view of this. It shows fishing boats with serial numbers P1832 and AJ1436. (2) RBCM, PN8767. (Original Print). This is a close-up of Mud Bay houses and Columbia River style fishing boats. Boat at centre – VJ1370 – was owned in 1908, by an Ahousat (west coast Vancouver Island) man named Big Jackson (c.1864-March 17, 1932). The boat next to it, S1376, was owned by Tommy Johnson and used in 1908 when fishing for the Steveston Fish Cannery on the lower Fraser River. (Attributed to Howard Chapman).

ADDITIONAL NOTES

THE MUD BAY ENCAMPMENT

- The South West corner of the Reserve formed a settlement area distant from the old Village. This location included the rocky shoreline to the east of Lime Bay. Half of the former Lime Bay is now located at the foot of Catherine Street. Mud Bay had a broad beach when exposed at low tide. It is now filled in and condominiums built on it. Several Songhees band members had individual properties in this area. In the 1870s visitors from the West Coast of Vancouver Island began tent camping on the beach at Mud Bay on a seasonal basis; and others invited to potlatches camped on the land above the beach.

By the early 1900s European style buildings were built along the back of the Bay. Both Songhees and their West Coast relatives lived in these houses. Visitors from the West Coast camped here on the way to and from the fish canneries on the Fraser River. The numbers on the “Columbia River fish boats” in old photographs, allow us to identify who some of these people were.

People from the West Coast and other locations began staying the winter. In 1904, a complaint was made by the Catholic Priest Vullings to Constable Deasy that non-Songhees were “residing on the Songhees Reserve there for the winter at least.” When he

requested, "that they go to their own reserves, they pay no heed." In this case they left on December 20.

CHAPTER 16. THE LAST BIG POTLATCHES, 1900-1908. (Pages 136-145)

1901 – 1904 PHOTOGRAPH SERIES

RBCM, PN6841. Fishing sail boats. Close-up of original Print. From Negative 35b in Newcombe, Maynard collection. Catalogue reads "Victoria Hbr. Canoes & potlatch scene". Maynard collection negative 35a is the Cheetlam George potlatch of 1895. The Fishing sailing boats that worked for the Fraser River Cannery, #FCR2541 and #FCR 2537 can be seen in RCBM, PN6820 (a direct duplicate negative). Two original prints of the same view as PN6820, of a series of 13 prints have written in pen on their backs "Songhees Reserve Series, Last Potlatch held there, Nos. 1680-1691" and Print PN6891 [BCARS, 17467], has "Victoria, Last Potlatch" written on the negative. This BCARS series is the same as RBCM, PN6815-26.

RBCM, PN6818. Fishing boats moored. Direct duplicate negative.

RBCM, PN6891. Fishing boat N302 and West Coast style dugout canoe. The buildings in the background include the Yates Block at 1244-1252 Wharf Street at centre (the one with the whale paintings); the large Board of Trade Building in Bastion square and the Hudson's Bay Co. fur storage building (now the large parking lot with the stone wall). Direct duplicate negative. The same event includes PN6816 with same boats - shows the Janion Building just above the Bridge and buildings along Johnson Street; and PN6825 which shows a large West Coast style dug-out canoe with Pacific Steamship Co. boats in the background below Wharf Street. Direct duplicate negative.

*** CLOSE-UPS OF HOUSES NOT IN BOOK

An unknown photographer took a series of close-ups of buildings around the same time as the visiting sailing boats. In RBCM PN6821 one can see tent camps on beach platforms with European style houses in the background. The houses were owned by (right to left) Tommy George, Robbie Semiramo, Walter Joseph and Daniel Joseph. Direct duplicate negative. Notes: The close-ups here can be seen in the larger view of original print PN6888 taken about a year before. The homes in the front row from right to left were owned in 1906 by Andrew Tom; Mary Hallates; Alec Kulquulum; Jack Sput-talch and Pierre Wyplanoc; Tommy George; Robbie Semirano; Walter Joseph; Daniel Joseph. Closer views of this general scene are found in photographs RBCM PN6821 (Archives, HP1681); HP15759 (PN8934); HP15761 (PN6881); HP15760 (PN6882); HP15762 (PN6889). RBCM, PN6881 shows a visitors tent camp near the home of Tommy George (Original Print). RBCM, PN6882 (Original Print) shows tents with the house of Alec Kulquulum at centre. It was this house that was later re-surfaced and painted with designs for memorial potlatch of 1908. The house on left is owned by Pierre Wyplanoc and Jack Sput-talch and house on right owned by Mary Hallates.

BCARS, HP23887, A-08817 and HP23886, A-08816 (Close-up of two-part panorama of 1902. Original Prints). Note the large new white building at the right of the left image. This is Tommy George's 1901 house that replaced the earlier house shown in the 1895 potlatch of his father Cheetlam George. The large dark building at the left of the right view was later painted white and was the scene of the 1908 potlatch.

BCARS, HP18263, G-6882. First Nation visitors having morning tea below Limit Point. c. 1904-07. Stereo View Print.

RBCM, PN6849 and RBCM, PNX520 (PN21774 is negative from slide).

Two-part panorama of 1907-08. B.C. Soap Works and British American Paint Company were both built on Laurel Point in 1907. Another two-part panorama was taken near the same time on the East side of Hope Point. In the latter photographs visitors are camped on the beach and clearing - with Hope Point in background. The Victoria Sealing Company buildings and boats can be seen in the distant background. Photographer: Richard Maynard, Glass plates, RBCM, PN6847a-b. RBCM, PN6847a is also on post card, with same #. Glass Plate listed as M.36a in Newcombe Maynard catalogue. Another view, direct duplicate neg. PN6880, taken near same time. RBCM, PN8953 (original print) is a c. 1910 close-up of the houses seen here.

RBCM, PN8860. Unidentified Woman, c. 1904-1908. Original Print.

VISITORS CAMPS AT HOPE POINT about 1907-1908.

The large tent encampment at Hope Point can be seen in the upper right of PN8769 (original print) (not in book). The foreground of this print shows visitors in Columbia River style fishing boats about 1910. Looking N.W. from Bridge. There are similar boats in photos PN6847-a and PN6847-b. The Forth Point Ellis Bridge in the background was finished in 1904.

First Nations camped here to and from their work picking hops and working in the canning factories. They brought, and made at this location, many artifacts to sell to private and museum collectors. Changes in the making of artifacts now reflected the tastes of buyers and expediencies such as the use of commercial aniline dyes in making baskets.

On July 11, 1908 Stewart Culin of the Brooklyn Museum visited the area to purchase museum artifacts. He observed at one camp:

"The ground was littered with salmon tails. Split salmon, skewered flat with sticks, were hung up to dry on improvised frames; on all sides were salmon berries (eggs) covered with blood, which the women had obtained from the canneries."

One series of photographs of this camp is attributed to Richard Maynard:

RBCM, PN8823. Early morning at the Hope Point tent camp. Original Print.

RBCM, PN6147. Women with two children and man in captains' hat outside their tent. Original Print.

RBCM, PN8567. Hope Point camp showing other side of tent from PN6859 photograph (not in book). The same women and child are in both images. Original Print. In PN6859 (original print) there is a man sitting on a storage barrel in front of cross paddles that supporting a tent. The women in the background can be seen in the foreground in PN8567. The women standing may be the same person seen in PN8891 and PN8890. Another image BCARS HP18266, H-5003 (Stereo View Print; same as PN6831 and same B.C. Archives neg. G-6882) shows visitors on the south side of the Johnson Street Bridge with Tommy George's 1901 house in background. c. 1904-07.

Ida Jackson Memorial Potlatch of c. 1908.

The location of this potlatch can be seen in RBCM, PN8922 (original print – not in book). Looking north across the front of Reserve to Johnson Street Bridge about 1908. The painted potlatch house is the one with a white front, can be seen just past the people standing near the large number of canoes at centre

Notes: A similar image appeared in Colonist Nov. 6, 1910. Another image which includes this view is an Original Print, RBCM, PN8907, which is labelled beneath: "Victoria Indian Reserve, 1908" and "1908" on sticky label added to original print. The house can also be seen in images H-4673 and H-4675 at the end of chapter 17.

RBCM, PN7598. Another view of this is an original print, RBCM, PN8857. "Ward of the Colonist" photographed it about October 1910. The deterioration of the house suggests this photo was taken several years after the potlatch event and just before it appeared in the Colonist Newspaper, Nov. 6, 1910.

RBCM, PN6886. Potlatch Activities. Original Print. A slightly larger version of this view is in BCARS, HP094611, F-07780. Not show in the book is RBCM, PN8929 (original print) that shows items being thrown to the crowd from the porch platform of Alec Kulquulum's house. A reverse negative of the latter image is shown in the Colonist Newspaper for November 6, 1910 and a near similar view is BCARS HP077588, E-00258. The same view that shows more to the right of the others is in the Richard McBride Photographic Album (98904-3) (as HP15699) celebrating the transfer of the reserve, BCARS, HP094611, F07780. The latter was added to the 1911, photos to show more traditional activities than the staid group photographs of the transfer of the Reserve ceremonies. A close-up of potlatch activities is shown in PN6886. A man is speaking to a group of women on the left and men on the right, in front of the potlatch screen. Original Print, RBCM, PN8852.

RBCM, PN8927. Original Print. This view but showing more to the right is BCARS HP094610, F07618 in the Richard McBride Album. Like BCARS HP077588, E-00258, this image was not part of April 4, 1911 events that are represented by the other images. Similar view in PN8821. A similar photo taken near the same time is original Print, RBCM, PN8877. The latter image was incorrectly used with a Colonist article of June 19, 1910

describing events on the Quamichan reserve near Duncan. Page 7, described "The Potlach" - "Curious Indian Ceremonies in Progress at Duncan's".

RBCM, PN6804. Women loading canoe. Close-up of Original Print.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

Thomas George Potlatch. The Colonist mistakenly refers to the new longhouse construction as that of "Sub-Chief Johnny George's large new lodge". This was the new longhouse of Thomas George (c. 1879 – April 28, 1947). Thomas Ches-lum George was the son of Ches-lum George who had the large memorial potlatch in 1895, in a different house at the same location. Ches-lums house was torn down and Thomas's build at right angles to it. Thomas is listed in 1897 as "Thomas Qul-saymitsun". He had four children by his first wife Lizzie from Cole bay and seven children by his wife Elizabeth from Valdez Island. They have many descendants among the Songhees.

CHAPTER 17. THE FINAL MOVE, 1910-1912. (Pages 146-158)

Cartoon of Songhees Reserve represented as an Elephant to Premier McBride. From the Colonist, 1910. Titled: A whole lot of trouble over a "gift horse".

BCARS, HP005318, G-08917. Michael Cooper. Original Print.

RBCM, PN8817. Visit to New Reserve on October 28, 1910. Micheal Cooper second from right and McBride far right. Original print. Three related photographs appeared in The Colonist Sunday Magazine on Nov.6, 1910.

THE TRANSFER OF THE RESERVE CEREMONIES OF MAY 1911

RBCM, PN8872. Original print. This is also BCARS E-00252, HP077582. A photo album book in the B.C. Archives - catalogue number 98604-06 (Book #237430) entitled: "CEREMONY ATTENDING THE TRANSFER OF THE SONGHEESE RESERVE TO THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT, APRIL 4TH, 1911", contains mostly original photographic prints of the events of April 4, 1911, plus others taken earlier that were included to spice-up the appearance of the book. This book was bound in a cover of basketry on cardboard with leather ties. It is likely that this book was given to some officials after the ceremonies as a memento. Other similar and different original prints occur in the regular BCARS print files.

The Album photographs include: 1) HP77588, E-00258 (the same view is also on-line as E-00259). A reverse of this same photograph appeared in the Colonist on Nov. 6, 1910; 2) HP77589, NA40763; 3) HP77578, E-00248; 4) HP77579, E-00249; 5) HP77581, E-00251 (also BCARS, HP15701 and PN8814); 6) HP45429, C-00180; 7) HP45431, C-00182; 8) HP45427, C-00178; 9) HP45424, C-00175; 10) HP77587, E-00257; 11) HP77586, E-00256; 12) HP45425, C-00176; 13) HP45428, C-00179; 14) HP77580; 15) HP77582, E-

00252; 16) HP77583, E-00253; 17) HP77584, E-00254; 18) HP77585, E-00255. Views not in album: HP045430, C-00181 and HP45426, C-00177.

RBCM, PN8814. Photographs before the ceremonies of May 4, 1911. Original Print. BCARS, HP15701 shows slightly more on the right side.

RBCM, PN6878. Chief and councillors. Original Print. Same as BCARS, HP077588, E-00259.

B.C. Archives HP077579 E-00249. Ceremony of May 4. Left to right: Councillor Jimmy Fraser, Federal negotiator Price Ellison, councillor William Roberts, negotiators for Songhees J.S.H. Matson and Harry Dallas Helmcken, Premier Richard McBride, Federal Reserve Inspector William Ditchburn, Provincial Minister of Lands William R. Ross, Chief Micheal Cooper, councillors Thomas George and Jimmy Johnny.

RBCM, PN6890A. Micheal Cooper and Premier McBride. Original Print. This is also BCARS, HP077584, E-00254 and HP15679. Another photograph (Original Print, RBCM, PN8873 and BCARS, HP15702) shows Michael Cooper and his son George.

Private Collection. Songhees men during Transfer of Reserve ceremonies. RBCM, PN8819 has slight border differences. Also BCARS, HP15688. The original print from which this copy was produced was given by councillor William Roberts, second from left in the first row, to his daughter Caroline - who passed it on to her son Gordon Charles. Another image (original print, RBCM, PN8867B) includes the addition of some women and government officials. The women in the foreground have been recorded as left to right: Mabel Aikman, Ellen Albany, Mary Gunion (husband is Charles Gunion) and Ellice Jackson. However, a Colonist article of April 5, 1911, p. 18 refers to the first women as "Mrs. Cooper" and the last as "Edith Jackson". Since the first woman is below chief cooper in the photo it is possible that she is Sara Cooper [previously Sara Albany (nee Peters) who was married to Frank Albany]. Ellen Albany, sitting next to her was married to Frank's brother John Albany Sr., and was therefore Mrs. Copper's niece. A different photo of this same scene is an original print, RBCM, PN8867A. The location of these events can be seen in the two original prints (B.C. Archives HP15682 (PN8863) and HP15863 (PN8809) that show Songhees men and government officials standing on the high ridge above Tyee Road and north of present day Esquimalt Road. (see also HP45428 C-00179).

HORWARD CHAPMAN PHOTOGRAPHS OF 1912

BCARS, H-4673. Front of Reserve looking south from Johnson Street Bridge. J.H.A. Chapman, Original Print. Original glass negative in Chapman Box 741, no.1 (#98402-1). Labeled "May 1912". Also Original Print, RBCM, PN5955. Chapman, looking S.W., took a similar view across the swing part of Johnson Street Bridge - Original Print, RBCM, PN8906. The latter print is similar to Chapman photographs in BCARS accession 98402-1, one print of which is labeled "May 1912". Near same time as PN6879. An Original Print, PN6879, attributed to J.H.A. Chapman shows the front of the Reserve and was taken in conjunction with PN5952 based on water patterns on road and

material on beach. Tide further in or out. Near same general time period as PN8906. PN5955 is a larger view taken near same time. RBCM, PN5952 is an original J.H.A. Chapman print that shows Laurel Point on the left with Pendray's Soap Works and the British American Paint Company - both started here in 1907. The later is also a Glass negative (BCARS, Chapman Box 741, No.2). It shows the later built W.J. Pendray & Sons building to West of Laurel Point. Original print is same as other Chapman prints taken at the same time. Same general time period as PN21774 with same things on beach.

Family on the Porch of Andrew Tom's home. J.H.A. Chapman, Original Print, BCARS, H-4675 [Glass negative in Chapman Box # 741, No. 6 (98402-1)]. Another close-up taken near the same time (RBCM, PN8875) shows canoes on the beach with the house of Tommy George in background. Open weave workbaskets are on some posts (Attributed to J.H.A. Chapman, Original Print). These are the same boats, baskets and logs on beach as in PN5952, with some things moved and added. PN5952 is by J.H.A. Chapman. Chapman also took photos – Original Print, BCARS H-4678 – in the Hope Point area at this time. The latter is a BCARS glass negative - Chapman, box 741, no.9. (Accession #98402). RBCM, Print PN5957 has “spring 1912” on back.

1912 THE LAST PANARAMAS

BCARS, H-4683 and H-4684. The painted house and the small house north of it (seen in H-4675) are now gone. The building on the raft with pilings is a drilling barge placed there on March 26, 1912 to remove the navigation hazard known as Beaver Rock. Original Prints from glass negatives in Chapman Box 3529, No. 1 and No. 2. Another series of photographs that includes BCARS H-4672 shows the reserve with all the houses cleared off. The latter view is looking west across the Johnson Street Bridge (J.H.A. Chapman, Glass negative, box 411, No. 6).

BCARS, H-4682 and H-4677. Looking S. E. and E. across the Reserve. The bridge on the left extended across the tidal flats from what is now the end of Wilson Street. Original Prints from glass negatives, Archives Box 741, No. 14 & No. 8. Information on back of glass negative: “Indian Reserve, May 1912. Panorama from highest point of land”.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

- On January 14, Ellison had interviewed Cooper on the “desired removal”. Helmcken responds on the 15th, that he had an hour interview with Chief Cooper and “is to see Councillor William Robert (a great friend)”.

- On February 23, Helmcken tells Ellison he “had a very serious conference with Chief Cooper & William Robert ... They think it best that you should make an offer which I should first entrust to them before entrusting it to the band - They want to see such an offer entrusted which they can support & not let it be defeated.”

- In March Indian Agent Robertson was making a census of the Songhees with "all proper data" provided by Chief Cooper. Robertson's "official census" of 94 Songhees and 43 heads of families was carefully examined by Chief Copper who was "satisfied with its correctness" (see Appendix).

- Helmcken writes Ellison on July 16, of a visit to Chief Cooper at Todd & sons Empire Cannery on the Esquimalt Reserve:

"But he was too busy sorting fish at the time ...The chief feels that he is quite competent to deal with this question himself but when it comes to ecclesiastical interference it has a certain prejudicial effect on the mind of certain members of the tribe who are only seeking additional reasons for endeavouring to thwart the chief in his laudable object in endeavouring to bring this matter to a speedy settlement".

Later he writes that Cooper "is a man upon whom Todd & Co. rely altogether in the management of the Indian portion of their workmen". On August 23, he reports on what Chief Cooper had said to Charles Todd about Sir Wilfrid's speech - That Wilfrid said, "his Government had nothing whatever to do with the land" but "only the Position of Guardians and were to see that the Indians made a good bargain." On October 14, Helmcken reports "most of the Indians" have been on the Olympic Peninsula hop picking and have recently returned. Chief Cooper told him that some of the younger men would favour "their right in cash" rather than a new reserve and that a minority of the band wanted to wait until a new chief was chosen before they settle.

A VISIT TO THE PROPOSED RESERVE

- After the visit to the new reserve there was a meeting held at the legislative buildings in which the Surveyor General McKay stated that the present reserve "contains exactly 112 acres exclusive of the railroad right of way". Chief Cooper "after consulting with his councillors" indicated on a sketch map of the new Reserve the "amount of land the band would require. When this was measured ...it was found to contain just 170 acres".

The next day, the lines were run defining the new Songhees reserve. The Colonist shows a sketch map of the proposed Reserve on the front page with signatures of Chief Michael Cooper and the four councillors, and a notification that a telegram was sent by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to confirm the agreement.

- Remaining in the agreement as of April 30 was the removal of human remains from:

"The little cemetery on Coffin island to the new graveyard ...This work of removal will be entered upon early in the new week by the B.C. Funeral Furnishing Co., and during the present summer a stately monument will be erected by the tribe to mark the last resting place of their honored dead."

THE AFTERMATH of 1912

A controversy surrounding the rights of First Nations' women was launched by the leaving out of Mary Ann and Tom James from the Reserve settlement money. The James's had many friends in the non-First Nations community. Among them, the Rev. Charles Tate, who often held services in the James's home, and Martha Douglas Harris, the daughter of James Douglas. The Colonist reports, under the title "An Indian Wife's Status", on January 4, 1912 about the proposed eviction of Thomas James from the Reserve:

"The case of Tom James offers some unique points of adjustment in federal law ...the squatter having married into the Songhees tribe, although he himself is a Cowichan. According to tribal law, his wife became with him a Cowichan Indian. It is maintained by Tom James, acting under legal advice, that he is entitled to a share in the partition of the Songhees reserve, and for this reason he has maintained his right by occupancy. The Indian department ...holds that Tom James and his wife are now Cowichans, and therefore not entitled to any rights under the Songhees reserve distribution. ...The matter of right will now be adjudicated by the courts of law. This is the last claim to be submitted in account of the settlement or the Songhees reservation".

Martha Douglas Harris spoke in defense of the James family:

"There are many questions arising out of the government's settlement that cry but for satisfactory answer. If according to tribal law Mrs. Tom James, who is a true Songhees women, becomes a Cowichan on her marriage with Tom James, how is it that Chief Cooper, who was born on San Juan Island, and whose father was a soldier, does not become a white man? How does a Songhees women [Mrs. Charlie Freezie] who marries an American Indian of Neah Bay [Haynes Wheeler], ...receive her share of the reserve sale? How does a Songhees women who married a Pedder Bay Indian, and whose home is in Pedder, come in for her share of the reserve sale? How do the Albany boys, whose father was a Greek fisherman, after whose death the boy's mother married Cooper and the boys are taken to the reserve and each receive \$10,000. Are they Greeks or Songhees? Tom James came as a youth to the Songhees and married a Songhees maiden ...He has lived with, and as one of them for 34 years, and, with all the lavish dispensation of money elsewhere, is denied his distributive share of \$10,000. Why? If Tom James has no rights then why did Dick, of the same original tribe as James, and who married a Songhees woman, ...get \$10,000 and James be ignored? If by law a white man acquired title to land by adverse possession of 12 or 20 years, why has Tom James not acquired an equally good right by 34 years undisputed possession? Is the government so poor that they must retrench by striking Tom James and his wife from the Songhees list? Must the government conjure up technicalities to find an excuse for depriving this man and his wife of their equitable claim? I would feel greatly obliged if I could get an answer to these questions."

On January 10, Songhees band Councilor, William Roberts, wrote

"Referring to the proposed eviction of Tom James. ...Tom James belongs to Tatka [Valdes Island-Lyackson] and he came to work at Saanich on a ranch ...for Mr. Carter,

which name he went by, as Tom Carter. ...He went to work at Sayward's Mill. He lived there at the mill property, but when they improved the mill property he was ordered off the place with the Chinamen. Then he came to his brother-in-law, Joe Ettienne, to give him permission to build a shack on the Songhees Reserve. So Joe Ettienne went to the chief ...and asked to allow Tom James to build a shack on the reserve for which he promised to pay two dollars rent per month... This promise was not a written agreement by the majority of the Songhees, which it should be. He was never known to belong to the Songhees reserve. The way Tom James came to be known as James: he took the old chief's place at the Gorge on a committee for the regatta, so he named himself as Chief James. But his right name is Tom Lepot. Also his wife belongs to Saanich Arm [upper Gorge waterway] and is of the Sapsam tribe, which is not Songhees. Therefore Tom James should be thankful to the Songhees tribe for keeping him there and not collecting any rent, also for giving him the improvements on his place. This is the history of Tom James."

On January 11, Reverend C. M. Tate, responded to Roberts; along with an earlier notarized statement from Mary Anne James. Tate was of the opinion that the "Sapsams" had more right to the Victoria area as he assumed (mistakenly) that the "Songhees" all came from the Albert Head area.

"As I have been in close touch with the Songhees Indians for upwards of forty years, perhaps I can set some matters right. Roberts says that Mrs. James belongs to the Sapsam tribe. I am glad to get this statement from one of the Songhees. ...In 1873 I was the Indian missionary at Victoria, and William Roberts' father [Robert Tsough-Tzahwhul] and mother [Ann Kahtstana] were both members of our mission, and ...William was but an infant [8 years old] at that time, so that he was not born when Tom James and his wife were married. I herewith, append a sworn statement by Mrs. James and trust that British Justice will see that this poor old couple without the means of providing themselves with another."

The declaration of Mary Ann James of January 10, 1912 outlined her local heritage and stated in part:

"2. That my husband, Tom James, came to Victoria when he was a young man, and together we worked for Dr. Tolmie, Mr. LeClaire, and Tom Carter. We then moved in from the country, and my husband worked [their Christian marriage was July 26, 1899] for Mr. Sayward at the sawmill. When living in a shack near the mill, two of my children died, and were buried on the Songhees reserve. That both my husband and myself were always invited to all the functions on the reserve, in common with other members of the tribe. That at the time of my children's death Chief Skomiak asked us to build on the reserve as that was my home. My husband objected as he belonged to Cowichan, but the chief insisted on our moving, so my husband at last consented. The Chief Skomiak and Joseph Attien [or Ettienne] marked out the land for us, and there we have lived continuously for the past 34 years, and it was not till Chief Skomiak died that any one tried to make trouble. We had been in our house about 18 years, when Agent Lomas told us that some of the Indians objected to our living on the reserve, as my

husband was a Cowichan. I told Mr. Lomas that he might remove my husband if he chose, but I intended to remain with my children, as that was my home. When my cousin, Seesinak's daughter, heard that some of the Indians were objecting, she went with me to the Indian office, and Mr. McKay informed me that I was not only born into the tribe, but as the adopted daughter of Seesinak, I could claim place amongst the first families as a member of the Songhees tribe. ...Chief Cooper tried again to have us removed, because our names were not on the list. I do not know who took my name off the list, nor why it was taken off, ...When I got my husband, he left his home at Cowichan to live with me, as other Indians have done, and has never returned. All the time of Skomiak's chieftainship my husband took part in the affairs of the reserve, and was also provincial police. I think this is the reason why the young people objected to my husband, because he often imprisoned one and another of them for drunkenness. That I have had nine children, most of whom were born on the Songhees reserve, and eight of whom were buried there, the Songhees Indians assisting at the funerals. My remaining daughter is the wife of Willie Jack, a member of the Songhees tribe. That after spending nearly fifty years of my life on the Songhees reserve, and my husband about thirty-four years, we consider it our home".

- In February, 1913, Sir Richard McBride, was forced to defend the employment of Matson during the Reserve settlement. He made financial figures public - The total sum spent was \$759,850. Matson (proprietor of the Colonist) received \$75,000 and Helmcken (lawyer) \$30,000 for their role in negotiations. \$212,500 was spent on the reserve and indemnities of \$434,000 were paid to the Songhees.

APPENDIX 1 SONGHEES TRADITIONAL WORLD VIEW

RBCM, Lantern Slide # X-298. The abode of Camossung. 1870s.

RBCM. PN8804. Jimmy Fraser's mother was Elizabeth "Annie" Joseph (Born c. 1846). Porch of the home of his sister Elizabeth Joseph (1875-1940) and brother-in-law Daniel Joseph. Original Print.

The story of Sahsima. Harling Point. In initiating the second phase of the world, Hyals the transformer changed a man into stone when he was harpooning seals. The name of the nearby Trial Islands - known for their seal populations - is Kikwaynan, which means "lots of seal. Keddie, 35mm slide.

APPENDIX SUPPLEMENTS TO SONGHEES PICTORIAL.

APPENDIX 2. TRADITIONAL FOOD RESOURCES

THE FOOD RESOURCES

Food resources are so numerous that only some kinds will be discussed here. Oral history and the written record tend to focus on fish that migrate seasonally in large numbers. The fish bones from old village sites reveal that numerous species were eaten - including many varieties of sea perch, sole, cod, sculpin, greenling and rattfish. This great variety likely proved crucial to the long-term survival of local populations. In 1848, James Wood notes that the most common fish taken in the Strait of Juan de Fuca were "halibut, flounders, skate, rockcod, sardine [anchovy], salmon, trout, and several varieties of the herring." Sole and flounder were plentiful off Esquimalt Lagoon where the Songhees "would expose flounders on spits to the sun in order to roast them." Halibut were once very plentiful on the shallow offshore banks from Victoria harbour to Discovery Island.

HERRING AND ANCHOVY

The Pacific herring, noted James Douglas in 1843, arrive in April and are taken in great abundance in Victoria harbour. Frederick Dally described the two-month fishery in Esquimalt Harbour in 1865 - as temporary shelters sprang up "along the edges of the bays and harbours". When dried the herring were packed in 50 pound bales made of rush mats tightly lashed with bark ropes. Horses were used to carry the loads back to the "winter quarters". Some of the fish were used "as lamps for lighting their lodges". The 6-8 foot herring rakes had barbs of bone but "preferably" of nails. Edward Bogg describes this fishing technique in 1867, with the "Herrings and whiting [anchovy]". A 14-foot pole had one edge with sharp 2-inch hardwood spikes. The fisherman paddled quickly into a shoal of fish sweeping his rake through the shoal - impaling 5 or 6 fish that are dropped into the canoe by striking the rake on the "gunwale" (see herring processing station PN905 in Chapter 11, P. 84).

Bayley, in 1878, notes the "immense amount" of herring eggs preserved for winter use. The spawn is deposited on Cedar boughs placed at low water, then gathered and taken to camp and "stripped after being dried and put into boxes". Paul Kane, in 1847, describes their preparation for immediate use. After the branches are sunk to the bottom in shallow places with heavy stones, they "are all covered by the next morning with the spawn, which is washed off into their waterproof baskets by the hand into small balls and dried".

Captain Wilson observed in 1858-1859 that during October and November, herring and anchovy "appear in great numbers". Rev. Owens, after mentioning on September 30, 1869 that the Reserve had been nearly deserted over the past three months due to the Songhees being away fishing, noted: "The abundance of salmon & anchovies ... has been extraordinary & unless actually seen would appear incredible".

The B.C. Guide for 1877-78 says that during the autumn the anchovy "abounds in the harbours and inlets". Anchovy bones have been found in large numbers in archaeological sites in the inner harbour and Gorge.

SALMON AND TROUT

Douglas noted in 1843, that the salmon "ascends the straits in August, and are caught in great quantities" and "continue to yield well until September". The "bad salmon" until November and "excellent Salmon" by trolling until the middle of February. The Spring salmon entered Victoria harbour all winter and Coho and Chum salmon ran up the Gorge in greatest numbers in June, when the Pink and Sockeye were available in the outer waters.

Salmon once ran up most of the local small creeks. As late as the 1920s Coho went up Bowker creek past Haultain Street, and trout as far as the tributaries past Hillside and Shellbourne Streets. Coho and Spring salmon once ran up Colquitz creek and its tributaries north of West Saanich road. In 1862, Forbes said trout "some of them 4-6 lbs." are found in all the local streams and lakes. At this time Herring, Flounders, Smelt, and Perch were seen as "important" fish. In 1878, Bayley said there were no fish in Langford Lake but "others in the neighbourhood are full of fine speckled fish [rainbow and steelhead trout]".

Fish were caught by a variety of equipment. Trolling and jigging with a single fishhook attached to a long kelp line was practised in both deep and shallow waters off shore. Wooden weirs of woven branches tied to posts were built across small streams to catch salmon and trout. The fish were either speared from the weirs or caught in wooden traps attached to them. In 1843, James Douglas reports the winter use of the basket trap on the Gorge waterway for catching trout. Likely places for these would be at narrows like the Gorge falls and the mouths of Colquitz and Craigflower creeks where they exit into Portage Inlet

On December 23, 1858, the Victoria Gazette reports: "The Indians, many of whom have collected at this place, ...have left this region, the locality of their summer homes, and gone across to the Gulf where they can procure fish and other marine products."

Edward Bogg wrote an overview of the old Reserve and Songhees fishing practices as he observed them shortly before 1867:

"This village ...is composed of long, low shed-like buildings, with the front higher than the back, ...The uprights of these huts are posts, often rudely decorated, or carved into the uncouth likeness of a gigantic human form. These posts are never taken away; but the rough-hewn planks, which form the sides and roof of the dwelling, and which are fastened to the posts by ropes of seaweed, are always carried about, by the owners, in their migrations. When fishing season comes on, then the Indian takes down the planks, places them in his canoe, puts in, his baskets full of birch [wild cherry] bark, ...dried salmon-roe, and some bladders of fish-oil, and departs to the fishing grounds. Adjacent to these fishing grounds is the site of the summer village ...which, for six months out of the year, is only indicated by the posts ...But when spring comes, with it come the fish, the salmon, the rock-cod, the skate, and the shoals of herring and whiting [anchovies]. Then the Indians come to the village, unload their canoes, tie their planks together,

fasten them to the posts, put up bunks round the sides to form their sleeping places, clear away the enormous nettle-beds, which are the constant accompaniment and sure sign of an Indian encampment".

In 1861, Forbes also notes how: "Hemp nettle grows wild around Indian lodges, and is used ...to make a capital twine, which is manufactured into nets."

Bogg notes the "ingenuity" that is shown "in the numerous contrivances and the untiring skill" of the Songhees:

"When the salmon comes in season, the men go out trolling in a very fast canoe ...They tow a long line astern made of seaweed, very tough and strong, and to this is attached, by slips of deer-hide, an oval piece of granite, perfectly smooth, and the size and shape of a goose-egg. This acts as a sinker, and it spins the bait. The salmon-hook is a piece of strong whalebone, at one end of which is a loop, and at the other, a piece of very hard wood, which is pointed, and lashed on to the whalebone at an acute angle. These hooks are very strong, and will hold the largest salmon. The bait is very often a red berry... but at other times it is a bit of dried salmon-roe."

BRINGING THE SALMON AND THE FIRST SALMON CEREMONY

On August 9, 1859, the Gazette describes a ritual undertaken when the salmon did not appear at their usual time. The spirits were appealed to by placing a young girl in a "cage of wicker work" and "with fasting and prayers" she "tries to cajole" the fish with the assistance of two old women. Note is made of the "devotional manner in which the Indians cross themselves after making a haul, but only when the salmon caught prove of extraordinary size is this done." Making the sign of the cross was a practice adapted from the Catholic Church - used in the continuance of Songhees tradition prayer rituals.

The First Salmon rites were celebrated locally only for the sockeye and pink salmon. It was believed that these salmon were human beings from some far-away land that transformed themselves into fish during the migration season. At this season they never referred to any species by its common name, but called it selewa, which means "rich man" or ceas meaning "elder brother". The Songhees honoured the dead bodies of the fish by cutting them up on ferns, which were then thrown into the water. When drying the fish in their houses or special smoking places they burned the seeds of the consumption plant (*Lomatium nudicaule*). The smoke of this plant was considered to be the food to the salmon people.

The Songhees celebrated over the sockeye, which they netted at their reef net locations off San Juan Island:

"They considered their net to represent a human being with head, body, arms and legs, ...unless it was set in a certain definite way the leading sockeye would turn back disapprovingly and warn those behind. Since only a few priests knew how to set it, one always superintended the fishing, apportioned the catch, and directed the ceremonies.

In their ceremony over the first salmon that were brought in women and girls, not boys and girls, carried up the fish, men and women as well as children ate them, and the boys and girls who gathered up the bones lined up along the beach before marching into the water at a given signal and dropping them. They dried their second haul of fish on logs, the third and all subsequent ones on stagings. There was a ceremony at the first utilisation of the stagings. All the people lined up with painted faces and feathered heads, and after the priest had chanted a prayer, made three feints as hanging up their fish before completing the operation. [At seasons end] ...the priest chanted a prayer and threw consumption plant seeds into the flames while the people piled all the refuse into the bonfire".

THE ORIGIN OF SALMON

Elders told a story focusing on Discovery Island:

"Once there were no seals and the people were starving; they lived on elk and ...other game ...Two brave youths said to each other 'Let us go and see if we can find any salmon'.

They headed out to sea and after travelling for 3 1/2 months reached shore in a strange country. A man welcomed them and asked them to look outside where they saw smoke from qathmin plant [*Lomatium nudicaule*]: "that the steelhead, sockeye, spring and other varieties of salmon were burning, each for itself, in their houses. ...[After a month their hosts said]... The salmon that you were looking for will muster at your home and start off on their journey. You must follow them'. So the two youths followed the salmon; for 3 1/2 months [which explains why they are absent for that period today]... Every night they took qathmin and burned it that the salmon might feed on its smoke and sustain themselves".

They reached Discovery Island where they burned qathmin all along the beach as their hosts had said "to feed the salmon well" so "you will always have them in abundance". But since they had no way of catching salmon:

"The leaders of the salmon, a real man and women, taught them how to make sxwala (purse nets), and how to use qathmin. ...How their people should dress when they caught salmon, and ...to use their purse net in July, when the berries were ripe."

SALMON FISHING IN 1863

The naturalist John Lord described the use of a salmon gill net in Victoria in 1863:

"The Indians have rather a clever contrivance for catching them in the spring and autumn months in the bays and harbours. They use a sort of gill net... [40' by 8'], with very wide meshes; the upper edge is buoyed up by bits of dry cedar wood as floats, and kept stretched tight by small pebbles [at] four foot distances along the lower margin as sinkers".

This net was stretched across the mouth of a small bay while the person fishing sat in their canoe watching. As the shoals of anchovies and herrings escaped through the nets to the inner bays the pursuing salmon caught their heads in the net causing the floats to bob. The fisherman pulls up part of the net, clubs the salmon and drops it into the canoe, and waits for the next fish.

"With this kind of net immense numbers of spring and fall salmon are taken. All their nets are made from cord made from a native hemp... This the Indians pick about a week before the flowering time, soak it, and then beat into fibre. This fibre is picked carefully over and arranged in regular lengths and then made into little bundles. The Indians ...using only his naked thigh and hand, twists these little bundles of fibre into cord, and he lays it up ...symmetrically as a rope maker could with his revolving spindles".

THE SXWALA OR REEF NET

A large purse or reef net called a sxwala was used for sockeye and pink salmon. The Songhees net was 36' by 48' with a mesh of 2 ½-4 inches. It could sometimes pull-in as many as 700 fish. The top and bottom ropes were made from twisted cedar boughs, and the meshes from willow, gathered in May or June, peeled, and split into thin strands that were then twisted to form a long rope. Blocks of cedar held the net up and rocks held it in place. Several families co-operated by making sections of the net:

"The leader of the group then supervised the fishing, appointed one man to watch, with painted face and feathered head, which way the shoals were running, and apportioned the catch equally among the several families, without regard to their social rank. Each family then dried its share on its own rack. Not until all their requirements were satisfied did the leader provide for himself; but thereafter he appropriated the entire catch, which his followers cut up and dried for him."

A Story called the "Origin of the Willow Fish Net" was told by elder David Latess. A Saanich couple on a fishing excursion had a daughter who used to wander outside. One night while her parents were sleeping some one approached her and returned every night. Wanting to know who it was, the girl smeared red ochre on her hands and rubbed it on the back of his clothing, allowing her to identify him the next day.

Her suitor urged her to go away with him, but she refused unless he spoke to her parents. Her father consented to their marriage only if they remained for a time with her family.

Soon after fish became scarce, and the village was threatened by famine. The youth asked his new wife to:

"Tell your father and his people to bring me a lot of sgwala. No one knew what he meant by sgwala; all the names... he gave to the various plants and animals were strange. ...They

brought him bunches of willow. From its bark he made a net sgwala, showed them how to use it and taught them the expressions that should accompany its handling. Then they were able to catch plenty of fish again".

They became prosperous and the youth proposed to take his wife to his home. They embarked in a canoe "toward a very deep place in the sea not far from shore" - where they vanished. Days later the girl reappeared on the water to show herself to her people, and vanished again. She never returned because she had "married the fish-spirit sgwala."

PLANT FOODS

Over a hundred species of plants were used by the Songhees for food, medicines and for numerous items used in food procurement and preparation, shelter and ceremony. Only a few of these are discussed here.

Important food plants include the Wild onion, Western crab apple, Chocolate lily bulbs, Oregon grape, Salmonberry, Elderberry, Pacific blackberry, Red huckleberry and Thimbleberry.

In an origin story, after the Sun created people, a boy named Tzahn learned to eat the "roots of the fern" dug during a period of hunger. These would be the large and fleshy rhizomes of the sword fern and those of the Bracken fern. His father was upset because Tzhan "would rather eat fern roots than the best meat or fish". The father's mother said, "When I was a child we had little else. Let him eat the fern roots, they can do him no harm."

Charles Bayley makes observations in 1878, about the importance of several local plants for consumption and trade. The giant kelp "growing on the rocks and eaten with herring roe it is very nice and sweet". Salal is gathered and dried and "made into cakes and put away in boxes". Bayley notes the importance of "the service berry" and "blue berry" [bog berry or cranberry] which "grows in the damp bottom lands and is gathered in immense quantities and hundreds of canoe loads are brought to the settlement barrelled and shipped away." These "cranberries constitute a large article of export... more especially on the Cowichan bottoms [and Fraser River Delta] ...hazel nuts [wild filbert] grow in certain localities which are gathered... as an article of trade". Filberts once grew in large numbers along Colquitz creek and James Bay.

CAMAS

The Songhees - not only for their own consumption, but also as important trade products - harvested many edible plants requiring open growing areas. The importance of the edible camas bulb as food and for trade noted by the early Spanish explorers has already been mentioned. Malcolm Sproat indicated that the camas and swamp rushes for making mats were the most important items traded to the west coast of the Island - in exchange for cedar bark baskets, dried halibut and herrings.

John MacKay further stressed the significance of camas when referring to the Victoria Treaties of 1850:

"You will remember that the Districts for which the Indians received payments in blankets were the main producers of the Kamass root for the whole surrounding country. The destruction of this plant by cattle and sheep caused a great loss to the Songhees, Saanich and Sooke Indians as it was the most important article of trade which they had to offer in dealing with the neighbouring tribes."

Charles Bayley stressed that camas "provides food for the Indians and gives employment for hundreds of them in procuring and drying it for winter food". He goes on to say - "also to the pigs of the settlers as they fatten on it".

ABORIGINAL FIRE BURNING

The burning of vegetation to promote the growth of edible plant bulbs, tubers and berries, was widely practised. Ethnologist Wayne Suttles recorded from elders that camas growing islands on the southern Coast were "burned off" to make them "more fertile the next year". Songhees elders pointed out that the camas beds around Victoria "were burned off at the end of the digging".

There are several eyewitness accounts of intentional fire burning recorded in the mid-19th century in the territory of the Songhees and their neighbours. In the Fort Victoria Journal for August 20, 1846, a complaint is made about the hazy weather created by the Songhees making fires in all directions. Colonist and Surveyor, Walter Grant, in speaking of the Sooke area in 1849 indicates:

"The frequency of the fires kindled promiscuously by the Natives both in wood & prairie between the months of August & October. Their object is to clear away the thick fern & under-wood in order that the roots and fruits ...on which they in a gt [great] measure subsist may grow the more freely & be the more easily dug up - I have endeavoured in the neighbourhood of Mullachard [Mullochard was Grant's settlement at Sooke] to check these fires by giving neither potlache (presents) or employment to any Indians as long as a fire was blazing within sight of my house."

Grant indicates that Metchosin was an excellent agricultural district because "there being no Natives residing on the spot the plain has been less burnt over by fires than other parts of the island". In a letter to James Douglas on September 10, 1850, Grant blames his inability to finish survey work on fires - which in another letter are clearly implied to be of aboriginal origin:

"I beg to report my having concluded the survey of Victoria district as far as Trial Island. The thick fog & smoke which at present so overclouds the district that I cannot see above 300 yards in any direction." He points out that the local First Nations "have an abominable habit of burning the woods, & the smoke arising hence, together with the

fog... wd. [would] prevent one from recognising one's dearest friend at 100 yards, nay sometimes at 100 feet.”

BIRD RESOURCES

All varieties of large birds were hunted and their eggs collected. Especially in the winter and during the spring migrations, tens of thousands of birds could be found in the Victoria Region. On October 9, 1858, Charles Wilson describes how duck, geese, cranes, and other birds all arrive “in myriad’s, so numerous indeed that when they are disturbed on the harbour, the flapping of wings can be heard a couple of miles off.”

Food remains found in ancient village’s show that species of ducks and seagulls represent a large number of the birds consumed. Evidence at one old village has shown that the Short-tailed albatross, no longer found in this area, was a common food source. Scoters, grebes, geese, swans, sandhill cranes, loons and cormorants, grouse, pigeons and predator birds such as eagles and hawks were all consumed.

Birds were commonly caught in several types of nets. As herring spawn represents an important food source for many marine birds during late winter and spring, underwater nets were used to catch them. A net was stretched horizontally and set at an angle about a meter above the bottom of the sea in areas where herring spawned. When birds dove down to eat the spawn they became enmeshed in the net and drowned. The bottom was held down by stone net weights.

Another type of net was supported by large poles, which stretched across a stream or channel, placed on a sand spit, or near a lake or swamp. Some nets could be drawn from one side to the other. The pole net was for catching large birds as they flew to their feeding grounds at dawn and returned in the evening.

Birds were also caught using fire as an aid. Two men paddled out at night to a place where two currents met and where waterfowl usually rested. A small fire was kindled in an earth filled box. The light from the fire caused the ducks to swim into the shadow in front of the bow of the canoe where they were easily caught. Some people used a hand net, which they threw over the birds. Others used a club and a special bird spear 2m to 3m long with two to five long barbs.

Grouse were once plentiful as suggested by the charging on June 9, 1875, of two aboriginal men under the game ordinance law with having “over 30 fine blue grouse”.

Grouse and marsh ducks were caught in nooses and swans and eagles were shot with arrows. Sticky tree sap on branches near their nests caught humming birds whose skins were attached to clothing.

Bird parts were used for many things, often related to spiritual or ceremonial use. Women plucked waterfowl and mixed the down with twisted pieces of goose skin and

stinging nettle fibre twine to make a textile used for shirts and robes. Bird down was stored in a bag made of a swanskin.

Feathers were used on masks, headdresses, clothing and many small ritual objects. Feathers of the redshafted flicker were of special importance. Bird skulls, beaks and wings were carried as charms associated with special spirit powers.

MAMMALS

James Douglas pointed out in 1849 that deer and elk were abundant on every part of the Coast - producing "the finest venison in the world". In 1791, Eliza saw in the clearings of Esquimalt harbour "a great abundance of deer, among which some are to be found which are larger than any horse". One of the latter elk was shot and fed the 70-man crew of the packet boat for 3 days.

Deer are the most common mammal food remains found in old village sites. Elk bones are common, but in much smaller numbers. Artifacts of both elk and deer antler and bones are very common. These include wedges, tool hafts, harpoon, spear and arrow points, awls, chisels, needles, blanket pins, combs, scrapers and fish hook barbs. In cold weather capes of deer and elk skin were worn and their meat was dried for the winter.

Male deer and elk were killed in the late spring and early summer when they were in the best condition. Females were hunted in the fall when they were fat and the fawns were weaned. They were hunted with bows and arrows, usually with the assistance of dogs, caught in snares and in pit traps where they were impaled on stakes. They were driven into nets by groups of hunters or driven into the water by dogs where they could be easily killed. The nets were made of the tough sinews found along the spine of the elk and deer and also of thick strands of willow bark.

A Songhees elder pointing to southern Victoria in 1911 said:

"Over there where your great town is now no one lived. There we hunted... Our young men made nets of rawhide and snared the deer and the elk on the grounds... men stretched the nets between two leaning poles across the runways... The deer ran against the net and the poles fell, tangling the unwary victims."

With the growth of the population of Victoria came professional hunters who began to exterminate animal populations in the area. Frederick Whympers describes these as he saw them in the Sooke area in the 1860s:

"The hunters would remain for weeks shooting for the Victoria market. The deer come down to the lowlands in winter in immense numbers, and can be easily shot. The price of venison in Victoria is from 2-1/2d. to 5d., and an elk a little dearer. Indeed a great deal of the beef eaten in Victoria restaurants is elk's meat."

The slaughter of "game" was happening at such an alarming rate that a Bill was presented on April 28, 1859 to make it unlawful to buy or sell game during certain periods of the year.

SHORELINE RESOURCES

Sea urchins and the many varieties of shellfish - found in all the protected bays - formed an important part of the diet. The Gorge was often described as "abounding in oyster beds". An 1847 map shows Victoria Harbour as "Shallow, with large beds of Muscles".

An important marine animal high in protean is the octopi. Songhees, James Fraser called the "big rock" in Gonzales bay "devil-fish rock". He said they spawned there and: "If you touch that rock, devilfish come up".

The local hunting of octopi was observed in the 1860s in Esquimalt harbour near the bay to the east of the steep peninsula at the foot of Stewart Road. Eleanor Smyth who lived above the east side of the bay from 1861 to 1866 gave this account:

"One day she saw our Indian handyman in his canoe pushing his spear into the rocks just below the sea level ...Presently he landed his catch, a large octopus, now lifeless, into his canoe, and then took it home to his village opposite."

Near the same time, British naturalist, John Lord was in Esquimalt harbour: "The Indians were going after the Octopus, and I felt a strong curiosity to see how they caught him. ...The Octopus of our own seas is a mere dwarf as compared to the gigantic size he obtains in the land-locked harbours so common to the east side of Vancouver Island. ...I have measured the arm five feet long, and where it joins the central disc, as large as my wrist. ... [Aboriginal Peoples] estimates the Octopus as we do turtle, and devours him with as much gusto and relish, ...roasts his glutinous carcass instead of boiling. ...The Indian well knows, ...that were the Octopus to get his huge arms over the side of the canoe, and ...a hold-fast on the wrack, he could ...easily upset the canoe, ...paddling the canoe slowly and quietly amongst the wrack, he steadily looks ...until his practiced eye detects the Octopus, his great arms stiffened out, patiently biding his prey. Armed with a formidable spear carefully barbed, and about twelve feet in length, [the hunter] ...passes it carefully through the water until within an inch or so of his great pear-shaped centre, then sends it in as deep as he can plunge it. Twisting and writhing ...the monster coils his terrible arms round the spear; then ...[the hunter] resting his spear on the side of the canoe, keeps him well away and raises him to the surface of the water. [The hunter]...has ready another spear, long, smooth, unbarbed, and very sharp, and with this stabs the Octopus where the arms join the body".

APPENDIX 3. LIST and COMMENTS on SELECT POPULATION REFERENCES TO THE SONGHEES

(1) c. 1826-27 list. Census of Indian Population compiled by Archibald McDonald, Fort Langley. In: Report to the Governor and Council, Feb. 25, 1830. H. B. Co. Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, D.4/123. Pub. 1979. In: The History of Fort Langley, 1827-96, by Mark K. Cullen, as Appendix A. Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, Paper No. 20, National Historic Parks and Sites, Ottawa.

The list for "Vancouver's Island" moves geographically from the "Nanemoos" (Nanaimo) with 100 men; the "Cowaitchins" (Cowichan) with 200 men; the Sanutch (Saanich) with 60 men; the Tchanmus (Songhees) with 40 men; to the "Soaks" (Sooke) with 50 men. There is no mention of Klallam on Vancouver Island. The Songhees information may have been acquired indirectly from Cowichan visitors to Fort Langley as the word "Tchanmus" for the Songhees was that used by the Cowichan. The "Tlalams" on the south side of the Strait of Juan de Fuca are listed with other "Halams" as being west of Puget Sound. The "Tchanmus" referred to here probably include only the group of people at Cadboro Bay. The population of this group would be about 140 based on an average of 3.5 women and children per adult male.

(2) 1838 & 1839. "Census of Indian Population crossing over to Vancouver's Island and coasting at about latitude 50' from there returning southward along the mainland and up Frasers River to Simpson Falls". Compiled by James M. Yale. H.B.Co. Archives, (B223/Z/1, fos. 1-21). Typescript in BCARS (B/20/1853) from Bancroft Library is titled: "Population of Indians at Fraser's River" – includes groups on southern Vancouver Island and does not mention any Klallam on Vancouver Island [has addition mistakes] Microfilm of this census: BCARS 737A, pp. 7-33.

The Songhees are referred to here [on the typescript] as the "Samus" on the "East side of Vancouver Island, Point Gonzales". At this time Point Gonzales was the name given to what is now 10 Mile Point - that forms the eastern side of Cadboro Bay and not what later became Gonzales Point. They include 127 people with a core group of 57 people and 70 "Male and female followers".

The Saanich are referred to as the "Eusanitch" on the "East side of Vancouver Island in Canal de Arro" [Haro Strait]. They include 183 people with a core group of 76 people and 107 "male and female followers".

(3) 1841, Tolmie List - "Vancouver Island Tribes" given by William F. Tolmie to Schouler and published in the Journal of the Geological Society (NW 910.6 R888). [also published by Alex S. Taylor in the California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences, San Francisco, July 19, 1862]. It includes the following: "The Songees, 700 souls, inhabiting S.E. part of the Island". Sanetch, 500 souls, inhabiting N. E. 10 miles N. W. of Mt. D'g's." [East Saanich Reserve area]. "Soke - 100 souls, inhabiting E. Pt S. Juan to Songes tery". A copy of this list dated March 14, 1848 and signed by Roderick Finlayson was given to Captain James Wood. In Wood's Admiralty correspondence of September 19, 1848, he indicates that it was a "Copy of a return made by Mr. Roderick Finlayson to Captain Courtenay of her Majesty's Ship Constance". He states: "The following is a list of the different tribes of

Indians that inhabit Vancouver Island". This Wood version is more complete than the 1841, publication version: "Soke -100 - East Point of San Juan to the Songes territory".

(4) 1844, Tolmie List. "Census of various tribes living on or near Puget Sound, N. W. America, taken by W. F. Tolmie in the autumn of 1844". Groups listed "Between Olympia and Na-wau-kum river". Part of Section J. "Indian Affairs". "39. Report of Mr. George Gibbs to Captain McClellan, on the Indians of the Territory of Washington. Olympia, March 4, 1854". In: Pacific R. R. Reports. Vol. 1, p. 434, Washington, 1855. [also included is "Captain Wilkes's Estimate - 1841" and "Estimate of tribes in the Western district of Washington Territory - January, 1854". This is followed by "Form of Census Return - General Instructions" which shows the "185-" form with lines for Men, Women, Boys, Girls, Slaves, Total, Canoes, Horses, Cattle, Bushels of potatoes and remarks.

(5) 1845, List. M. Vavasour & Henry Warre produced a "Census of the Indian Tribes in the Oregon Territory, from Latitude 42 [degrees] to Latitude 54 [degrees], derived from the trading Lists of the Hudson's Bay Company, and from the best obtainable Information." This list labelled "Fort Vancouver 1845" was submitted with a report dated October 26, 1845. Vavasour and Warre remark that "The gentlemen in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's post, on the north of the Columbia, have made very accurate estimates of the Indian population in the neighbourhood of their several stations, and we have every reason to believe, from our own observations, in the accuracy of these statements."

Only the Sooke and Songhees are recognised on the southern tip of the Island.

"Soke Indians, 1 tribe Straits of St. Juan de Fuca, Males 39, Females 39, Slaves none, children under 12 years 12" Total "90". This census now shows the "Hallams" being composed of "11 tribes - Straits of St. Juan de Fuca, Vancouver's Island" and gives a population of 517 men and 461 women for a total of 1,485 (same total as Finlayson 1848, list). This geographical description is a very broad regional term; as Puget Sound groups such as the Skagit and Snohomish are also listed under it. The use of the term "Vancouver's Island", therefore, does not imply the existence of "Hallams" on the Island.

Listed are the "Challams Corvaitehims" as "24 tribes, speaking the Challam and Corvaitezchim languages" they are found along the mainland from north of the Fraser River to Whitbey Island and "part of Vancouver's Island". This grouping includes Halkomelem and possibly some North Straits speakers. It is not known whether the Songhees and some Klallam were subsumed under this grouping.

[Miscellaneous Papers relating to Vancouver Island, 1848-63, Vancouver's Island, No. 5, Extract from a Report by Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, dated 26 October 1845. (BCARS, NW971 K/G786mi)].

The population information on this 1845, list was extracted in part from the census taken on the northern coast, from the 1839 New Caledonia census and the Tolmie census published in the 1841. There were also a few other unidentified censuses dating to 1845, or earlier that were used.

(6) 1845 List. In 1845, Roderick Finlayson "made a count of the Klallams" (Myron Eells 1887, p. 612). He also appears to have undertaken one for the Saanich and Sooke in the same year - which may be the source of some of the figures for the Warre and Vavasour report submitted Oct. 26 of that year. The census return copied for Courtney in 1848, and attributed by Wood to Roderick Finlayson has many of the same totals as the 1845, Vavasour and Warre report. Relevant to the southern coast are the same population totals for the Cowichan, Clallam, Saanich and Sooke tribes. This copy of the Finlayson census (signed by Finlayson on March 14, 1848) likely dates to the first part of 1845, or previously, and is the source of data for the Vavasour and Warre report. A typescript of this Finlayson (1845?) census is found in the Private Papers of James Douglas, second series, (BCARS, B/20/1853). "Census of the following Indians inhabiting the Straits of Juan De Fuca".

One transcription of this census is with the September 19, 1848, correspondence of Lt. Wood of H. M. ship Pandora to the Secretary of the Admiralty, London (O/A/P19w). This was published by Wood in the Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle for 1849, p. 301. Wood arrived in Victoria on Aug. 27, 1848. Wood states: "I subjoin a list of the Indian population in the Straits and Puget's Sound according to the last census, allowing a decrease of 1/5 th for the effects of the late mortality amongst them from the measles, Influenza, etc. which has made great havoc this year, part of this list I was kindly permitted to copy from a return made to Captain Courtenay [who was surveying the south end of the Island in the ship Constance] by Mr. Finlayson; the rest I collected from the above gentlemen and Doctor Tolmie, the tracing which accompanies this, was copied from a manuscript chart supplied by the latter gentlemen which though incorrect as a chart gives the locality of the various tribes correctly". The Woods census includes Cowichan population totals that are the same as the more general 1841, Tolmie list - this is likely that part Wood acquired from Tolmie. As the measles first occurred in Victoria in March of 1848, the census predates 1848.

There are a minor number of copying errors in the various versions. The Finlayson version with the Douglas Papers lists the Sooke as follows: "General name - Soke. Names of Tribe - Skuningis. Number of Tribes - 1. Names of Chiefs - Tling.ilt. Men - 39, women - 39, slaves - none, children under 12 - 12. Total 90".

Also in Wood's 1848 letter he lists the same general numbers for groups as reported by Schouler (received from Tolmie) in 1841. These include 700 "Songes" "Inhabiting Country N.W. of Sanetch Territory"; 500 "Sanetch" "Inhabiting North East 10 miles North West of Mount Douglas"; 100 "Soke" "East point of San Juan to the Songes Territory".

(7) 1856 Census. Presented Dec. 18, 1856, by James Douglas to the House of Assembly for the Colony of Vancouver Island. The document is referred to as "No. 2 Indian population Vancouver's Island 1856". In submitting this Douglas states, "Not having time to procure copies, I have sent the original documents which the House will probably cause to be returned when convenient". (Journals of the Colonial Legislatures of the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia 1851-1871. 1980, Vol. II, p. 17). The original of this is in the J. S. Helmcken papers, (BCARS, Ms.505, Vol. 10,

Folder 4). (A copy - BCARS A E H37 H37.13). In the Private Papers of Sir James Douglas, second series (B/20/1853) is a Typescript census list entitled: "Original Indian Population - Vancouver Island". [This list is arranged in these documents from the "University of California Academy of Pacific Coast History" between Diary information of Jan. 1852, and Jan. 3, 1853]. The number of men with beards given for each group in the Songhees and Saanich treaties is mostly the same as given in the 1850 and 1852 treaties - implying that some of the data was collected in 1850-52]. Differences occur in numbers given for the "Metchosin", "Rocky Point" and "Soke Inlet" groups. (see - Douglas to Smith, Oct. 16, 1856. "A census of the native tribes of Vancouver's Island, which may be considered as a close approximation to the total population of nearly 25,873 souls"- (A/C/20/Vi3)]. The total number of Songhees of 700 is the same as given on the 1841, list by Tolmie. It seems unlikely that this Songhees list was originally developed in 1841, and used in the Victoria Treaties of 1850. Since the 1841 figure may have been rounded off to the nearest hundred like all the other groups on the same list (except the Cowichan) it may be just a coincidence that the detailed lists came to a total of 700.

APPENDIX 4. Songhees Agreement to Move to Cadboro Bay, Feb. 7, 1881.

Letter to Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs. B.C. Archives, Ms, F/52/So5.

"We the undersigned members of the Songhees tribe of Indians resident in the vicinity of Victoria, B.C. hereby agree to remove from our Reservation at Victoria to a suitable location at Cadboro Bay".

Chish; Koo-lai-mult; Koo-lai-sa lue; Hul tsai mult; Quoss I sits; Whe-nook; Lipp; Sala-ha-la-noo; Louis (Noo-noo-wha-nuk); Ai-Whin; Ka-wai-tsim; Qua-mi-ai; Hoo-tihwi-ai; Sho-to-hoom; Henry (Sauk); Tomaikh; Tse-al-ton; Tchillack; Hltahulto; Tshenal klum; Teeai(t or l)ou; Se-ol-sut; Shil-uh (Jimmy); Yallelth; Dick (Hai-tsa-kanum).

APPENDIX 5. LIST OF DECEMBER 3, 1893, OF SONGHEES RESERVE MEMBERS WILLING TO PROCEED TO DISPOSE OF THE RESERVE UNDER ARRANGEMENTS BENEFICIAL TO THEM:

1. Charley Freezie
2. George Cheetlam
3. Sam Qullamet
4. Tom We ooth or Wearth multon
5. Johnny Ha who
6. Louis Freezie
7. William Robert (see-see muse)
8. S'pu la'ethl
9. Moston Ske teelth-sut
10. Charley Ka-my
11. Annie Fallardeau
12. Jack Shar to whon
13. Joe Ettienne
14. Jimmy Shel-looth
15. Johnny Hum que mitstun
16. Louis Whon wain ock
17. Jimmy Freezie
18. Daniel Spul-uckset
19. Louis Shar with kun
20. Peter Whaywhock
21. Dick Klumquemistun
22. Willaim David
23. David Le Tesse
24. Jennie Sinsan Koomah
25. Mary Gunnion
26. Nicholas Kepoitie
27. Mary Chungranes
28. Alec Chil-tay-el-tun
29. Susan Cut-tay-sa look
30. Joe Cut-tay-sa look
31. Dennis Fallardeau
32. Jack Sit-se-me-loc
33. Billy Sulk-ka-num
34. Walter Ser pe loc
35. Charley Gunnion
36. Tom Sul-lair-(w)muts-tun
37. Davey Sim-e-larno
38. Peter Swel-up

elarno 39. Gus With wuom tun 40. Louis Ko-my 41. Tom Fallardeau 42. Isaac Roberts (Thesus) 42. [# repeat] Willie Sit se me loc 43. Jimmy Shel wooth 44. Too wearth 45. Frances Ser pe loc [46. missing] 47. Michael Cowper 48. Caroline James 49. Hannah Sam Seh 50. Julia Kala-gie 51. Amelia Will-lay-geh 52. Joe Kil-lay-na-hun 53. Susan Cuts-seen 54. Jack Dick - Widows – 55. Mrs. Jim Skomass 56. Mrs. Wah we air 57. Mrs. Kutch ten er (Annie) 58. Mrs. Saw thk 59. Mrs Whip-whorp (Mrs Bagley) 60. Mrs. Pilkie (Da-way-her) 61. Mrs. Kil-tay-ook (Mary) 62. Chil-lauh truen 63. Mrs. Freezie 64. Mrs. Annie Nomi eth 65. Mrs. Chilar me air 66. Mrs. Ke-op-peah 67. Annie Ko-my 68. Catherine Ko-my 69. Mary Karnie.

APPENDIX 6. SONGHEES BAND CENSUS MARCH 12, 1910

Census undertaken by Indian agent Robertson and sent by H. Dallas Helmken to Price Ellison Commissioner of Lands. Each person is given a number and the head of each household is given another number (here in brackets).

1. Michael Cooper, Chief (1)
2. Sarah Cooper
3. Mabel Cooper
4. Georgie Cooper
5. William Robert (See muse) (2)
6. Ellen Robert
7. Alfred Robert
8. Delia Robert
9. Caroline Robert
10. Walter Joseph (3)
11. Mabel Joseph
12. Willie Jack (4)
13. Caraline Jack
14. Aleck Qull qualum (5)
15. Katchina Qull qualum
16. Tommy George (6)
17. Lizzie George
18. Frank George
19. Edward George
20. Lucy George
21. Walter George
22. Charley Gunion (7)
23. Charley Gunion
24. Clara Gunion
25. Charley Karmia (8)
26. Mary Ann Karmia
27. Robbie Karmia
28. Alice Karmia
29. Elsie Karmia

30. Julia Jackson (9) [children of the late Louie Jackson, mother married to Charley Karmia]
31. Eddie Jackson
32. Freeman Jackson
33. Hamlet Karmia (10)
34. Louie Karmia (11)
35. Annie Karmia
36. Alice Karmia
37. Walter Karmia
38. Frank Karmia
39. William Karmia
40. Jimmy St. Loie (12)
41. Thelace St. Loie
42. Sophia St. Loie [at Kuper Island School]
43. Dick Qull quimston (13)
44. Kutseen Qull quimston
45. Jack Hocqualock (14)
46. Mary Hocqualock
47. Huddy Dick (15)
48. Mary Ann Dick
49. Child [name not known]
50. Jimmy Gabriel (16)
51. Anna Fallardeau (17)
52. Jimmy Freezie (18)
53. Catherine Freezie
54. Daniel Joseph (19)
55. Elizabeth Joseph
56. Samuel Joseph
57. Sophia Joseph
58. Andrew Tom (20)
59. Mrs. Tom
60. Joseph Tom
61. Norbert Tom
62. Mary Ann Tom
63. Boy [name not known]
64. Johnny Golliage (21)
65. Sarah Golliage
66. Johnny Silva (22)
67. Dora Silva
68. Sarah Silva
69. Sam Qullamult (23)
70. Jack Spotieth (24)
71. Jack Tschesh (25)
72. Johnny Albany (26)
73. Ellen Albany
74. Arthur Albany

75. Frank Albany
76. Austin Albany (27)
77. Lizzie Albany
78. Mrs. Pilkey (28)
79. Tsullace (29)
80. Mrs. Friday
81. Percy Ross (30)
82. Mrs. Louie Freezie (31)
83. Oshea (32)
84. Antoine (33)
85. Francis (34)
86. Hibben (35)
87. David Falleaudeau (36)
88. George Falleaudeau (37)
89. Robbie Semalano (38)
90. Martha Semalano
91. Maggie Etienne (39)
92. Daisy Sapelock (42) [with mother in Oregon U.S.A.]
93. Ada
94. Edith Jackson (42) [at Coqualeetza School]
95. Mrs. Charley Freezie (43) [married to Haynes Wheeler, American Indian]

*An official census list made November 21-25, 1910, has the same heads of families to receive money as the March 10 list, with the deletion of #70 Jack Spotieth.

** On April 5, 1911, a new Family Heads list is made to determine who will receive a final cash payment for removal from the Reserve. Tsullace (the mother of Willie Jack), listed as group 28 on the official list has died and was listed with no payment. Four new names – J. Silva and Sarah Gollage, Tom James, Josie Morris – are on this list but are noted as receiving no money. Only 40 people were now listed to receive money.

***In 1909, the Department of Indian Affairs shows the Songhees and “sub-families” of Esquimalt and Discovery Islands with a population of 140. They are “chiefly engaged in fishing, hunting, stevedore work, farming, working in saw-mills and factories”.

APPENDIX 7. QUOTES FROM SONGHEES CHIEF JOHN ALBANY

THE WAY OF THE INDIAN

The Way of the Indian was an award winning CBC radio documentary of thirteen programs heard by millions of Canadians in 1961. Chief John Albany of the Songhees Band was one of the two narrators. This program, now over thirty years old, was innovative for its time in having native leaders give their views on what some white men were calling "the Indian problem". Anthropologist Douglas Leechman of Victoria and Clifford Carl director and

Wilson Duff anthropologist of the Provincial Museum participated in the program. An edited version of Chief Albany's introductions for some of these programs is quoted here.

PEOPLE OF NATURE

"The way of the Indian isn't at all like the way of the white Man. And that's the reason for this documentary - to tell the White Man some of the things he doesn't know about us, the Indian peoples of Canada: our history, our origins, the way we live on the 2,200 reserve all across Canada, the jobs we do, the reason we are different from the eighteen million other Canadians, and the way we are accepted or not accepted by our white brothers. The first big question is, what is an Indian? My name is John Albany, chief of the Songhees Band of the Coast Salish Tribe in British Columbia. I don't speak for all the Indians; they'll be speaking for themselves".

RICH MAN, POOR MAN

"More and more the Indian is forced to live by following the White Man's way of life, and working at a White Man's job. Even if we live close to nature, like the trappers, we're still working for money to buy our groceries. Some work in fish-packing plants, or as miners or loggers. Or go berry picking and beet picking. In a few parts of Canada we're still trying to follow the old ways. On the West Coast we're still fishing just like our ancestors; on the Prairies the old buffalo hunters are growing wheat and raising cattle, what we call the White Man's buffalo".

FOR POSTERITY

"The way of the Indian, like the way of the White Man, has its foundations in the cultures and the traditions of our races. It's not very long since our art, our religion, our songs and dances and all the traditions that make a people different from the rest of the world were flourishing without any outside influence. But when the white Man came, the winds of change began to blow."

STREET FULL OF STRANGERS

The way of the Indian leads him more and more away from the reserve, more and more into the cities. We want to tell you some of the problems we meet when we leave the reserve to try to make our way in the world outside. It's an unfriendly world to most of us - we call it Street Full of Strangers.

MORE ROOM IN THE SCHOOLHOUSE

The way of the Indian has been a way of darkness. The Indian has been forgetting his traditional skills, but he hasn't been learning much of the White Man's knowledge to replace

them. Education is one of the most important factors in anyone's life, and this applies more especially to the Indian."

THE WHITE PROBLEM

The way of the Indian has never been left to run its own course since the White man first came. When the first White Man arrived to disturb our way of life our ancestors should have known that things could never be the same again. It's easy to see, now, where the mistakes were made, where the faults lay. And now that Canadian society has inherited what the White Man calls the Indian problem, most people like to think it's up to the Indian to straighten it out. But is it an Indian problem? I don't think so; and that is why I've called this program The White Problem.

HALFWAY TO TOMORROW

"The way of the Indian has been a downward trail ever since the White Man first came to upset our long standing social organization. Our religion and our dances have been suppressed, much of our culture forgotten. The old way of life, the customs and traditions, the authority of the chiefs, the family discipline, all these have had to change as we tried to adapt to the White Man. It's pretty difficult, changing your whole way of life in a few generations. ... But there's a new age beginning, and the Indian is looking forward to getting a fair chance in everything. The improvement has already begun, but there's a long way to go yet."

APPENDIX 8. THE SECRET FEAST

"THE SECRET FEAST - AN INDIAN LEGEND FOUNDED ON FACT"

With the above title, the Victoria Daily Times begins an overview of a manuscript on October 17, 1864. The "legend" must have been gathered from Songhees elders at the time. It tells the story of internal conflicts from a time before the coming of Europeans. This manuscript was to be published shortly and further extracts published in the Daily Colonist. This manuscript appears to have been lost, but it may have been published in some obscure magazine or awaits re-discovery in some British library. It goes as follows [parenthesis in brackets are mine]:

"The scenes are all laid near the shores of Camosack (our harbor); or between it and Kulla kulla Chuck (Fowl Bay)[This Bay now includes both McNeil Bay and Ross Bay], and are destined ...to cast a semi-historical shade over these legendary localities. The author ...portraying all the passions that influence leading men in a small and rude community of a few thousand; and ...brings together a number of persons, ...to take part in the legend; but the most prominent place is bestowed on five or six chiefs, of which the plotting of four at a secret feast gives the name to the tale. ...Where Victoria

now stands, says the legend, there was once a large tribe, over which presided a great tyhee, who was ambitious of ruling with absolute authority, but with the semblance of consent from the subordinate chiefs in the councils of the nation. ...he resolved to elevate a certain cunning but not wise tamanawas or great medicine man over all the others in the tribe, in order to make use of the superstitious reverence of his people, to reduce them to greater obedience to his will and awe of his authority. His design was that the tamanawas-man of his choice should with assumed supernatural knowledge decide on all the laws and usages of the nation. If he could achieve such an object, he knew there was no appeal for any of his people, except to the great spirit far beyond the Eastern mountains and near the rising sun, and therefore he would be practically absolute. There stood, however, in the way of his scheme and aged tamanawas-man, who had, with conscientious belief in his supernatural arts, interpreted the laws during many years, even from the time when the nation was exceedingly small; for owing to geographical position and freedom of the laws within his territory the nation had rapidly grown to be a large one by attracting many from contiguous nations. Before the accession of the great tyhee ...the younger chief ...had noticed that the aged tamanawas-man was too old to work quickly his enchantments or deliver rapidly his oracular interpretations of the laws; and besides the numerical increase of the tribe rendered it impossible for him to discharge his duty. So with laudable respect for the aged tamanawas-man ...the subordinate chiefs agreed to give him a donation annually of fish and game, and seeds and roots, and mats and skins if he would retire, when the Great Spirit near the rising sun sent them a younger and a wiser tamanawas man able to celebrate all the rites of his order. He agreed. That occurred during the reign of another great tyhee who founded the tribe. But the great tyhee, his successor to whom we first alluded was not only disposed to rule with absolute authority, assisted by a cunning tamanawas-man of his choice; but he was covetous. He wanted for himself all the fish and game and seeds and roots and mats and skins and to let this aged tamanawas-man starve. So to attain both of these ends he provided a secret feast to which he invited three of the subordinate chiefs who were entitled to sit in one of the councils. On the evening of the secret feast the three chiefs went to the lodge of the great tyhee, which was situated on a rocky knoll [possibly Finlayson Point] near the trail to Kulla-kulla chuck. One belonged to the 'lost tribes'. Another was of no use to the tribe except for his skill in cutting off the legs and arms of such as were wounded in war or injured by accident and was known to the nation by a name that may be freely translated into our language "Trim Belie." The other was a young chief who had just been elected but had not been allowed to speak or vote in any of the Councils of the nation. No fitter men among the chiefs could be found to engage in the plot of the great tyhee. They ate and drank with the great tyhee and swore to assist him in placing the tamanawas-man of his choice... In truth the rights of the younger medicine men were treated with scorn, particularly by the young chief and the well being of the nation as a whole was totally disregarded by them; and instead of a conscientious and wise tamanawas-man ...they preferred one of limited knowledge and a subservient disposition. The Great tyhee... sneered at the council of chiefs for not speaking out boldly their real reason why they asked the Great Spirit near the rising sun to send them a wise tamanawas-man, and the Trim-bell and he of the 'lost tribes' promised to do so as soon as they had an opportunity. That part of the plot having been decided on, the

Great tyhee and the three conspirators agreed to deprive the aged tamanawas-man of his fish and game, and seed and roots, and mats and skins that were promised to him annually during life by the Council of Chiefs. ...When the secret feast was ended the three chiefs retired and on the way to their lodges they talked together of their plot ...and laid their plans for executing it. But they were overheard and the plot was discovered".