Squamish Traditional Use Study

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Squamish Traditional Use of Nch’kay
Or the Mount Garibaldi and Brohm Ridge Area
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Disclaimer: Cultural values and traditional uses of an area are similar to but not the same as Aboriginal Rights and Title. This study is by no means a statement, analysis or study of Aboriginal Rights and Title.
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1.0 Introduction and Study Background

The area of Nch’kay or Mount Garibaldi and Brohm Ridge area is within the traditional territory of the Squamish Nation. The Squamish Nation Chief and Council is the government of the Squamish Nation. The native communities of the Squamish Nation are located from the city of Vancouver in the south, north to the town of Squamish, and along the Squamish, Cheakamus and Elaho River valleys. The ski hill and residential developments will have an affect on the traditional use activities of the membership of the Squamish Nation. With a strong link to the land and water, the Squamish Nation asserts that they possess an un-extinguished Aboriginal Title to their territory, which includes the water and lands in the area of Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi and Brohm Ridge.

The Garibaldi at Squamish ski and residential developments and the Squamish Nation require information regarding the potential impacts to the Squamish Nations’ traditional, contemporary and future culture and use of the impact areas. The Squamish Nation has recognized the area of Brohm Ridge and the slopes of Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi as an area in need of restoration so that it can be used for current and future uses (Xay Temixw 2001). The formation of this Restoration Area was a cooperative community enterprise. Squamish Nation membership defined the location and boundaries of this Restoration based upon long-established traditional knowledge and environmental standards. The Restoration Area of the Brohm Ridge and Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi area is important for food and medicinal plant gathering, hunting of terrestrial mammals and birds, fishing for trout, and conducting spiritual ceremonies (Xay Temixw 2001). Within this context, the data gathered in this traditional use study can provide preliminary information in context of existing criteria by which the Squamish Nation could support its assertion of Aboriginal Title and Rights. Consequently, the Squamish Nation and Garibaldi at Squamish Inc. requested the proponent have Rudy Reimer undertake a traditional use study to document Squamish Nation traditional activities in the proposed development area of Brohm Ridge, Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi.

Traditionally, people of the Squamish Nation gained a living from the numerous resources located in their traditional territory. Fishing in watersheds, hunting on the land, trapping in numerous areas, plant gathering for specific flora and mining of lithic materials provided an energetic and complex economy. All of these resource-gathering pursuits took place on Brohm Ridge and the slopes of Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi. Presently members of the Squamish Nation participate in the wage-based economy, but many of the Nations’ members continue to practice their traditional culture. An economy parallel to that of the wage-based economy exists for many of the Squamish Nations members, through fishing, hunting and plant gathering. This is an important component of many Squamish Nation members’ household income and continuance of traditional culture and belief. Fish, ungulate meat and numerous plants provide food, medicine, trade, sale and barter opportunities amongst the people of the Squamish Nation. Right to use to these resources continues to be a vital part of the Squamish Nation cultural identity, economic security and connection to their traditional territory. Consequently land use planning must take into account any impact of the proposed development...
on Squamish Nation traditional use of their territory (Xay Temixw 2001). This traditional use
study documents some of the historical information on what activities took and still take place on
Brohm Ridge, Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi and surrounding areas.

1.1 Scope of Study

This study’s research design aimed at collecting information about the Squamish
Nation’s use of the Brohm Ridge, Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi and surrounding area. This study
documents cultural heritage information for the purposes of identifying potential land use
conflicts related to the proposed developments. References to impacts are limited to the scope of
the data collected, cultural and heritage values. Discussion will focus on Primary, Secondary and
Tertiary impacts.

This study was undertaken to provide Garibaldi at Squamish and the Squamish Nation
with information about the Squamish Nations culture and heritage values as it relates to the
developments on Brohm Ridge and surrounding areas.

The Squamish people are known as the Squamish Nation, and are a distinct Aboriginal
Nation among the Coast Salish peoples. The Squamish Nation is politically, socially and
culturally related to other First Nations whose members also belong to Salish Nations. The
Squamish Nation retains its own unique identity, traditional rights and territory.

1.2 Sources for the Nch’kay Traditional Use Study

The Traditional Use Study of the Nch’kay area was derived from a number of sources.
Ethnographic and historical literature was examined for specific references to the Squamish
Nation’s use of Brohm Ridge, Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi and their surrounding areas.
Additionally a baseline of maps, on-ground surveying and other records were reviewed for
reference to the region. Investigation of trap-line records was successful. The information from
these sources, presented below, demonstrates Squamish Nation traditional use of the area of
Brohm ridge, Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi and their surrounding areas.

2.0 Ethnographic Background of the Squamish Nation

The main ethnographic references to Squamish Nation’s traditional culture were
originally published by; Charles Hill-tout (1897,1900, 1906), Franz Boas (1886, 1887 1889), and
Homer Barnett (1938, 1939, 1955). The works Hill-tout were edited by Ralph Maud, and
republished in the form of four edited volumes one of which contains information regarding the
Squamish people (cf. Maud 1978). The record in these documents was not compiled by
Squamish Nation researchers; hence does not present the opinions and cultural perceptions of
past and present day life of members of the Squamish Nation. The native informants who
provided the basis of knowledge in the above listed studies would have lived through and
recollected the time before (ca. early 1800’s) the European colonials.
Recent ethnographic research by Randy Bouchard, Dorothy Kennedy, Nancy Turner and Louis Miranda, was conducted during the 1960-1980’s (Bouchard and Kennedy 1976a and b, Bouchard and Turner 1976, Turner 1975, 1998). The synopsis that follows demonstrates that non-aboriginal and Squamish Nation informants alike, during the 19th and 20th centuries, recognized that the people of the Squamish Nation had close connection to the land, water and air in their defined territory, from which they developed a intricate culture, government, and economy.

The Squamish Nation is comprised of Salish peoples who are descendants of the aboriginal peoples who lived in the present day Greater Vancouver area; Gibson's Landing and Squamish, Ashlu, Cheakamus and Elaho River watersheds. The Band consists of 23 villages encompassing 28.48 sq. km. (2,849 hectares). The percentage of Squamish Nation Traditional Territory allotted to the Squamish People is 0.4230%. These parcels of reserve land are scattered from North Vancouver, Gibson's Landing to the area north of Howe Sound. The Band population is scattered among a number of non-reserve and reserve communities stretching from Vancouver to the Squamish, Ashlu, Cheakamus and Elaho River valleys. Membership is partially determined by marriage and birth right. Comprehensive membership rules are in place. 1,941 of the 2,910 members live on reserves.

After contact with European settlers, 16 Squamish speaking tribes decided to amalgamate to form one unit called the Squamish Band. The amalgamation was signed on July 23, 1923. Amalgamation was established to guarantee equality to all Squamish Band members and to ensure good government. The signatories to the amalgamation represented the following Bands:


2.1 Skwxwu7mesh U’xwumixw Oath- Squamish Traditional Territory

Squamish traditional territory is in the lower mainland of southwestern British Columbia. Specifically, the Squamish Nation defines the boundaries of their traditional territory as follows: from Point Grey to Roberts Creek on the west, then north along the height of land to the top of the Elaho river headwaters, including all of the islands in Howe Sound and the entire Squamish valley and Howe Sound drainage. The boundary extends south-east to the confluence of the Soo and Green rivers north of Whistler, then south along the height of land to the Port Moody area, including the entire Mamquam river and Indian Arm drainage; then west along the height of land on the south side of Burrard Inlet to Point Grey (Mathias 1990). The Squamish border the Musqueam to the south, the Sechelt to the west, the St’át’imi (Mt. Currie) to the north and the
The Squamish people are linguistically affiliated with the Coast Salish group of languages. The Squamish people speak their own unique language “Skomish” (Kuipers 1967, 1969, Suttles 1990 a and b). Regional dialects of the Squamish language were also spoken; these dialects reflected the geography and proximity to other groups. For example, the people of the Cheakamus area were said to have spoken slightly different from those people further south in the territory. The regional dialects of the Squamish language simply reflect local “slang” suitable for communication with non-Squamish groups. In addition to their own language, the Squamish people employed the use of the “trade language” commonly known as Chinook, usefully for communicating with other groups and peoples (Suttles 1987, 1998). The Squamish Nation has developed a declaration concerning their language.

**THE SQUAMISH NATION DECLARATION ON LANGUAGE**
The Squamish Language was given to us by the Sacred Creator from long ago to our ancestors. Our own Sacred Language given to us from our ancestors was brought down to this day. The Squamish Language was handed down surely and properly. Not at any time will the Squamish People not recognize all the other different People’s languages; but we treated everyone as equals. We will have good feelings, the Squamish People, towards our Brothers and Sisters. The Squamish Language was and is the first Language of our ancestors and the Squamish People. The Squamish People refused to be intimidated and fought hard to retain the Language. This is why our children will not forget the Language either. The Squamish People will continue to teach our future Squamish speaking children.

2.3 Ethnographic Review

Four main ethnographic sources were reviewed for specific reference to Squamish Nation use of the Brohm Ridge, Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi and surrounding regions. References mentioned in previous sections (Hill-tout and Boas) are included with more recent ethnographic studies completed by Randy Bouchard, Dorothy Kennedy, Nancy Turner, Louis Miranda and Major J.M Matthews. These documents focus on the Squamish Nations use of terrestrial fauna and flora in addition to place names and general cultural elements. Secondary sources on Squamish Nation traditional culture include those by Barnett and Suttles. Recent historical documents include Armitage (1997), Roine (1996) and Zaharoff (1978). Territorial maps illustrated in Bouchard and Kennedy (1976, 1998), Bouchard and Turner (1976), Suttles (1990), show the full extent of the development area in Squamish Nation traditional territory, with the closest settlements along Cheakamus and Squamish Rivers.

Traditional Squamish Nation culture can be characterized as a semi-sedentary fishing, hunting and gathering group with a complex social and political structure. During winter months Squamish people lived in large family owned long houses. These houses formed villages usually found along rivers and the ocean sides where terrestrial, river, inter-tidal and ocean resources could easily be obtained (Barnett 1955; Bouchard and Kennedy 1976; Bouchard and Turner 1976; Matthews 1955; Suttles 1990a).

In summer the large family groups living in those long house villages split into smaller units and spread out across the landscape for hunting and gathering in all surrounding biogeoclimatic zones. The location of their temporary settlements was determined by the availability of important food resources or the resources desired for specific needs. In the temporary settlements, the Squamish utilized small tent-mat lodge like structures (Barnett 1955; Bouchard and Kennedy 1976; Bouchard and Turner 1976; Matthews 1955 and Suttles 1990a and b). Most ethnographic research is concerned with the description of the Squamish Nation’s customs, beliefs, Oral History and Tradition, material culture and place names. In winter the Squamish people had toboggans of shaped cedar and long poles or alpen stocks to aid in travel in
Squamish Nation Traditional Use of Nch’kay Or the Mount Garibaldi and Brohm Ridge Area

the mountains. The sled was shaped like a bowl and had a cross bar for steering. Sleds were commonly 30 inches long.

The area of Brohm Ridge, Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi and their surrounding areas were historically used for cultural ceremonial use, hunting, trapping and plant gathering activities. The traditional native economy was linked to “specialists” or professions, in such these people had worth linked to their skills, for example a woodworking tool stone hammer was worth 10 Mt. Goat blankets, or one large canoe, while 50 animal skins/blankets were used as a marriage dowry. Nch’kay was a well-known place to gather “tumbth” or Red Indian paint that is commonly used in ceremonial activities. Some individuals requested that their burial boxes placed on top of mountains.

Animal species traditionally trapped include; kw elk chis, (shrew mole), ns-huhupit (snowshoe hare), sk exk’ex (muskrat), kwukwusam (porcupine), and smemets’in (skunk). With the change to a Euro-Canadian economy in the late 1800’s, other animals were trapped for trade, including skwikw (hoary marmot), skelaw (beaver), melalus (raccoon), xwu7kin (marten), chechik’en (weasel), chechik’en (mink), k’ilk’ch (wolverine) and sk’aatl’ (river otter). Birds hunted in the area include; xwikw’us (red throated loon), ex (Canada goose), tl’akw’xen (snow goose), tenksen (mallard), mitten (wood duck), mumtem (blue grouse), skwets’ (ruffled grouse) and tl’akiyups (pheasant). Ch’esken or Golden Eagle feathers were gathering in the mountains and traded to people on Vancouver Island. When sema’7aka or a Snowbird was seen in the mountains or lowland areas a harsh winter was to follow.

Plant use in mountainous areas was extensive and all Squamish people owned plant-gathering grounds. Examples of specific plant use in the Brohm Ridge area include; the making and use of cedar rope, a large coil of cedar rope was used to tie canoes to Mt. Garibaldi during the great flood. Indian Hellebore or Kwnalhp was gathered high in the mountains and is a powerful medicine, and used sparingly. Blueberries or Iyalkp, Mountain Bilberry or Usa7, Canada Blueberry or Lhewkim, and Oval leaved blueberry or Xwixwikw’ were a favored food of the Squamish people, it was gathered in large berry fields near and on Nexwyuxwem (Mt. Fee and Mt. Cayley) and Garibaldi and Brohm Ridge. Berries were mass processed in large quantities in the sub-alpine areas of Brohm Ridge and Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi. Berry processing trenches were dug and maintained. Swamp Gooseberry or Keliplhkay was a plant that grows in slide areas (steep mountains slopes such as Brohm Ridge and Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi) and is a skin medicine. Fireweed or Xach’t seeds were used in making Mt Goat wool blankets and young plants shoots were eaten. Salmonberry bushes in the mountains were gathered for their wood that was used in the making of harpoons.

Mythical people that were present in the Brohm Ridge and Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi area include; Lhelekwines “taking out from the chest” was an extremely tall man who killed people in the mountains. He pulled their hearth from out of their chests. Some Squamish women were picking berries up on the slopes of Garibaldi and had an uncounted with Lhelekwines, when he approached on of the women used her sanitary napkin (tampon) and gammed it his
mouth killing him instantly, and Kw’ukwchtk “hit low” was a mythical man who dwelt in the forest, he knocked down trees but was considered not to be dangerous.

Strong in the belief of the Squamish people are the Xaays or Transformation brothers. The brothers were an integral part in shaping the land and the native people who lived on it. In Mulks’s rendition of the oral history of Xaays to Hill-tout in (1900), the Xaays Brothers, there is mention of their activities along the Cheakamus River:

From here they paddle on till they come to an old man who appears to be fishing for salmon with a long double-pronged fish-spear. He carries also a big basket with him. The Qais stop and watch his proceedings. They find that he does not spear the salmon, but merely feels for them and rubs his spear against them, bringing away each time a little of the slime from their bodies. This he wipes off with some moss into the basket. When they see what he is doing they go up to him and take his spear away from him. From their pockets they then produce a miatc (a barbed spear-point) and put it on the spear, saying as they do so: "See, grandfather, this is the proper way to fish." And as they speak Qais feels in the water with the blunt end of the spear for the salmon, and when he touches one he turns the spear quickly about and plunges it into the salmon. They then return the old man his spear and tell him to catch his salmon as they had shown him. 'The old man gets angry and says: "I don't want you to tell me what I ought to do. I like my own method best, and I prefer the slime to the fish." When he makes this strange statement they are convinced that he must be a person of a very undesirable character, who ought to be checked in his evil ways. They therefore take his spear from him and break it in two. The two halves they set against his legs one on each side. The point of the spear they push up his nose. They then pull at his head till his neck is much elongated, after which they clap their hands and utter the cries of a crane, and the old man is immediately turned into a bird of that species and flies away. Thus did Qais bring the crane into being.

Archaeological evidence for this event is record at a pictograph panel located at the 19-mile mark of the Squamish Forest Service road. The image on the rock face depicts a man being changed into a crane.

Another place loosely linked to Nch’kay is the place Chulks (a rock) near Horseshoe Bay. This place where the transformers said the mountain (Nch’kay) was too high and threw a rock at it, he missed and the large boulder landed in Horseshoe Bay.

Another historical event that is very important to Squamish people is that of the great flood;

Long, long ago, when the Squamish Indians were first created, they were given three special helpers. These were, the Indian doctor or swi-o-e-tun, the sorcerer or qua-Tsay-its, and the prophet or us-YOH.
The Indian doctor could help because he trained for many years until he found his power. He could help anyone who was sick, and that person would immediately become well again. This was because the Indian doctor was so powerful.

An Indian sorcerer could also help a sick person, if the Indian doctor wasn't around. The sorcerer didn't have the power of the doctor, but he had learned certain magical chants and words, and knew secret ways to use Indian paint on the sick person body to heal him. The sorcerer could also do evil, as well as good.

A prophet didn't have the power to heal, and he didn't have special words or paint. What he did have was the power to see into the future and predict what would happen to a person. Well, in the early days, it was the tradition for the old people to give the younger ones good advice on how to live and behave, such as, how to be humble and kind and how to help anyone who was in trouble or need. The young people followed this advice. They shared their food with one another, and everyone was happy. There was always plenty to eat: deer, bear, and berries. When the fish were running, the rivers were full. If people became sick, they called the Indian doctor, who was able to heal.

As time passed, however, the people began to forget the old ways. They didn't listen to the good advice of the old people. They didn't share their food; they didn't help those in need. One day a prophet stood up in front of the people and said, "My friends, I have been told to warn you. Your way of life is not right. You do not help one another, as the people used to do when they were first created. I am warning you - you must change your ways".

The prophet sat down. The people were silent.

Then an old man stood up and thanked the prophet: "Listen to the words of the prophet. He knows what will happen if you do not change.

The prophet then said to all the people, "Listen to the old people's advice. If you don't, something terrible will happen. I have been told this, and it will happen."

After the prophet finished speaking, he looked around to see what the people would do. Some of them just laughed. Others made fun of him.

"Listen to that gloomy old man. What does he know?"
"We'll live our own ways. Nobody can tell us what to do!"

Sadly the prophet and the old people watched as they saw their words go unheeded. Everyone behaved as he pleased. No one helped his neighbor no one was humble and kind.

Then all the game on this land began to disappear: deer, bear, and all land animals. The people weren't able to hunt and they became hungry.

Again the prophet stood up, "Listen now and return to the right ways or something even more terrible will happen."

Still the people turned aside and went their selfish ways. Soon the fish began to disappear from all the little streams and creeks. When the berry season came, no berries could be found. The people grew hungrier, and began to fight and quarrel among themselves.

Once more the prophet stood up, "This is the last time that I can warn you. Oh, change your ways now, for if you will not, something so terrible that I cannot speak of it, will happen!"
The old people, as well, pleaded with the others and tried to get them to listen. But the people seemed to have become deaf to good advice. Now they were growing worse; fighting, quarrelling. No one was happy. No one listened.

Then, one day it began to rain. The river started to rise. The Indian doctor lost his power, and, the sorcerer lost his power, too. It rained and rained. The river rose higher and higher. The sorcerer used to be able to control flooding by taking a stick of cedar, painting it, and chanting his words of power over it. Then he would place the stick on the riverbank. When the rising river reached the stick, the water would stop. This time, though, the water wouldn’t stop. The river kept rising higher and higher.

When the water was about to come over the riverbanks, those people who had canoes put their families in them and floated up with the water. The others went into their houses with their families and animals. Gradually the water rose until it covered the houses, and those inside drowned. The people in canoes headed for the highest ground to camp for the night. The next morning, they saw that the water was right up to their camp, and they had to go higher still.

Finally all the land was covered and only the mountaintops were still showing. The people floated to the highest peak in Squamish and anchored their canoes there. Day after day, the sorcerer continued to write on the side of the mountain to try to stop the flood waters. Day after day, the water rose, until, when they looked around, all that the people could see above the water was the peak of Mt. Garibaldi, and another peak further south down river.

The people headed their canoes for Garibaldi. The river was running very swiftly now, and after the canoes were anchored, some of them broke loose. The water was too swift to be able to paddle back, so one group of people headed for the other mountain down river. Those still anchored to Mt. Garibaldi stayed there. Then the water started to go down - at first very quickly. Then it slowed down until a large lake formed. The people from Squamish went back to their old home site. Others, from further up the Squamish River, stayed there, and still others stayed at Cheakamus.

Those who survived were happy to be alive and back home, but they remembered with sadness their friends who had drowned. At last, the Squamish people did return to their senses. When the old people spoke, everyone listened. People helped one another, and everyone was happy again. The Indian doctor and the sorcerer were powerful once more. The animals, which the people used for food, returned to the land. The creeks were once again filled with fish, and the bushes were thick with berries. Everyone remembered to be humble and kind.

Never again would the Squamish people forget to listen to their old people, and to their leaders. Never again would they fail to be kind and humble. And never again would a flood cover the land.

Many pictographs depicting this event can be found at archaeological sites located throughout Squamish Nation traditional territory. Furthermore ethnographic accounts tell that the floodwaters covered all mountains except Garibaldi, Baker and Sakus. Oral tradition also tells of a whale becoming trapped in lake after the floodwaters began to recede. Before it would rain this whale could be heard hitting the rocks along the lakeshore.
Later Squamish historical accounts come from the history of Qoitcital, the serpent slayer. Qoitcital wanted to gain power, thus he trained year round in mountains around Squamish territory for ten years. The slopes of Nhc’kay and Brohm Ridge were some of the areas he trained on. While on a vision quest, Qoitcital found many powerful items. Traveling south from where he found these items he arrived at a location where past a huge magical snail blocks his path. Qoitcital waves his magical sword and turns the snail into a shriveled up rock (Hill tout-1978). Other medicine men trained in the mountains for 10 years or more. These men would live in the mountains year round, training, bathing, and hunting, plant gathering and honing their shaman skills.

Later Squamish historical accounts recall the “The Last Chilcotin Raid on the Squamish People.” During a large raid on the Squamish people, the Chilcotin killed numerous people from villages in the Squamish/Ashlu river area. Retaliation by the Squamish on the Chilcotin stopped the hostilities from these interior people (Squamish Nation Language Department 1994).

Other accounts include Squamish people traveling through the Squamish valley to Cheakamus River/Brohm Ridge area. Chief August Jack Khaatsalanogh in his conversations with Major Matthews (1955) that…

“Must be a big man, look at me. My father, Khay-tulk, six feet two; I am just six feet. My mother tell me about Chief Khaatsalanogh going from Squamish to Pemberton. Pacific Great Eastern train take four hours; to dark; he start as soon as light, and at dark he is at Pemberton; he just go up to Ashlow (Ashlu River), then he cuts across about 40 degrees north-east (up and over High Falls Creek); just go through the forest, over mountain, no trail. That will show you what kind of man he was.

Before the arrival of Europeans on the west coast of North America, a man named Syexwa’ltn was hunting for food in the mountains around the village at the confluence of the Squamish River and Ashlu Creek. While resting around his campfire, another man came to him and gave Syexwa’ltn a scroll outlining codes of conduct for his people. Syexwa’ltn took the scroll to his home village and people followed what was written on the scroll. Syexwa’ltn also told of the coming of the Europeans and when they would arrive, everything would change.

When Europeans first arrived in Squamish Nation territory announcement quickly spread of strange moving islands (ships), with ghosts on them. Messengers were sent to all the villages in the Squamish, Ashlu, Cheakamus and Elaho river valleys. Many went to the place where Captain George Vancouver had landed, but found out the ghosts were actually people since they felt pain when playing a finger pulling game (Squamish Nation Language Department 1994). In 1860, a land surveyor, Richard Mayne, made reference to a village located at the confluence of the Squamish and Cheakamus Rivers.

Historical reports of various expeditions also mention Squamish use of a trail or route from Howe Sound to Pemberton and beyond (Armitage 1997; Hardy 1952; McLane 2000).
route followed the Squamish and Cheakamus Rivers and is known to local native people as the “Grease Trail.” This route was used by people of the Squamish Nation for trading eulachon grease and other materials to their interior (Mt. Currie) neighbors. Along the Cheakamus canyon and highway 99 sections of this route can still be seen (Reimer 2001 c). This travel corridor was and still is considered one of the regions most important routes to and from the coast and interior. This trail served as cultural, economic, political and social link between the coastal Squamish and interior Lil’wat peoples. A small village was once located at the mouth of Rubble Creek, along the Cheakamus River. This settlement served as a resting place and a trading station. Those who lived at this settlement were both Squamish and Lil’wat people. When trading became unfair and the people of this village mistreated each other the Thunderbird (who’s perch is on Mt. Cayley and the Black Tusk) flapped his wings causing a rock/land slide that buried the village.

During the 1850’s gold rush in the Cariboo District, Governor Douglas employed Joseph W. McKay to survey an alternate route from the Fraser River valley into the interior of BC (Armitage 1997). In 1858, McKay started his survey from the Lillooet area and moved south. As with all other surveyors of his time McKay employed the services of native guides to show them the way from Lillooet to the coast (Hardy 1952; McLean 2000). Near the area that is now known as Rubble Creek, McKay and his survey crew encountered some local Squamish people. The Squamish were not pleased that these strangers were in their territory and threatened to kill them. McKay and his survey crew withdrew from the area, paddling to the mouth of the Squamish River and half way down Howe Sound in less than 24 hours (Armitage 1997; Hardy 1952). From McKay’s experience on the Cheakamus River with the local Squamish people, other areas into the interior were sought. One such journey attempted by Richard Mayne who wanted to find an overland route from the head of Jervis Inlet to the Lillooet area (Armitage 1997). Local Sechelt Native guides aided this journey, but after a week in the rough mountains the expedition turned back. Upon returning to Jervis Inlet, the Sechelt people suggested the Howe Sound to Mount Currie route that McKay had surveyed two years before. Mayne completed this journey, but only after the local Squamish people guided his survey crew through the region (Hardy 1952; McLean 2000).

Since the late 1800’s, people of the Squamish Nation have struggled to adapt their traditional culture to the Euro-Canadian society and economy (Roine 1996; Zaharoff 1978).

From the 1860’s to the 1940’s, the Squamish were forced to partially abandon traditional economy in favor of a seasonal wage based economy. While attempting to participate in the Euro-Canadian economy, the Squamish has had numerous restrictions and impediments placed upon them by missionaries, the federal and provincial governments and local capitalists. These restrictions resulted in the Squamish having to sell and rent some of their reserve lands and resources to maintain their culture and basic interests (Roine 1996; Zaharoff 1978).

In summary, many sources were consulted and it was found that the Squamish Nation’s use of the area in and around Brohm Ridge and Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi is very apparent.
These sources include Brohm Ridge and Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi in Squamish Nation’s traditional territory.

3.0 Current Community Information and Impacts on Traditional Use of Nch’kay (interviews have yet to be done and incorporated into this report)

In undertaking this traditional use study, 5 interviews were conducted with culturally knowledgeable community members and elders. In these interviews, information regarding the Brohm Ridge/Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi and surrounding areas was found. This information is summarized below. Additional information found in Reimer (2001 a-c, 2002) is relevant to this study and is also included.

1) Community members use and have used the area for hunting, trapping, fishing, plant gathering, trading, travel and ceremonial purposes before and after the construction of forest service roads. Many people stated that use of the area has been hindered by government regulations and the creation of Garibaldi Provincial Park, on hunting, fishing and plant gathering or the large influx of non-Squamish Nation people into the area. Other community members stated that the oral traditions and use of the area are still happening, with elders and younger people learning specific things since a lone individual cannot hold all the information for the area.

2) The community members who hunted in the area stated that the major game animals were sxwi7shen (deer), k’yi7ch (elk), mixhalh (bear), and xwuxwelken (Mt. Goat).

Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi and Brohm Ridge were known as excellent Mt. Goat habitat.

Goat hunting was done along all the slopes of Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi. Alice/Paul and Brohm Ridges were used as an access route to Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi and other surrounding mountains. Community members used .22 caliber guns to shoot Mountain Goats. It was said that other guns were too heavy to carry along the steep slopes. Mountain Goats used to come down from Brohm Ridge for food and when the snow pack was deep. The steep slopes along Brohm Ridge and Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi made it difficult to chase down Mountain Goats since they could easily run over the loose rocky terrain. The mountain slopes of Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi were and still are popular places to gather mountain goat wool off the trees.

Deer habitat was found on the all slopes of Ninich St’ena’ch and Chichsem St’ena’ch. Many game trails can be found on the slopes of the surrounding mountains.

2) Fish species that are caught in the Brohm and other surrounding creeks were sts’ukwi7 (salmon) and syuykw’ulu7 (trout).
### Squamish Nation Traditional Use of Nch’kay Or the Mount Garibaldi and Brohm Ridge Area

| 3) | At least 60 plant species were gathered in the area for a variety of purposes, most notably: numerous species of iy’alkp (berries) for sustenance, su’k am (cedar bark) and wood for numerous uses ranging from clothing, rope, carving and construction material, to many other plants used for medicinal purposes. It was mentioned that the slopes of Brohm Ridge used to have very good cedar wood for canoe and house plank manufacturing. Community members recall seeing many cedar trees with large planks taken off them or had “test holes” in them. |
| 4) | A few community members traveled through the area when they were younger, they recollected that these trips were known as “going up the line.” Interviewees mentioned that the trail that went through the areas were used by many Squamish, Mt. Currie, and other coastal and interior native peoples going to and from Squamish, Pemberton and Mt. Currie to hunt, fish, trade and trap. Many people also went further north and or east into the interior of BC. It was recalled by one interviewee that a trip from Squamish to Mt. Currie would take 14-16 hours. Travel on the trail was on foot or on horseback and sometimes with or without a wagon. The trial was often referred to as the “Bandwagon Trial” and was very narrow through sections of the Cheakamus River canyon. The trial was established because the section of the Cheakamus River near the trial was not navigable by boat. The fast flowing water and large rocks made boat travel very difficult. Community members recall other people attempting to use large boat motors to travel up this section of river, only to have their outboards destroyed by the large rocks in the river. During the winter months only men were allowed to travel on the trail since it was deemed to be too dangerous for women. |
| 5) | Squamish people did use the Brohm Ridge and Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi area, but changes in this use occurred with the construction of forest service roads and establishment of Garibaldi Provincial Park. These developments altered habitat for terrestrial and marine species. The construction of forest service roads opened the area to other people causing a decline in use. Community members mentioned that the area should be left alone so that it can rehabilitate itself. |

#### Archaeological sites in the area include; many post-AD 1846 Culturally Modified Trees (CMT’s) are located in the vicinity of Brohm Ridge, Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi and surrounding areas. It was mentioned by a number of interviewees that cedar bark stripping is regularly done throughout the entire region. It was mentioned that old village sites in the Cheakamus valley have been either washed away or deeply buried by the creek and landslides. Some community members have seen artifacts on the Cheakamus River floodplain and cut banks, while others have seen pictographs on the slopes of Buck and Cloudburst Mountains. Pictograph images at the base of Cloudburst Mountain are said to be at different heights above the modern ground surface. Those lower to the ground are said to be older in age, when the area was near the ocean. Pictographs on the slopes of Buck Mountain were those painted by medicine men trying to stop rising water during the great flood.
More detailed knowledge of traditional use of these areas dates to over 40 years ago, before the development of forest service roads and the park. Community members who intensively used these areas have passed away. Present day Squamish Nation members have sense of alienation to the area since the forestry, mining, recreational activities and road construction to area of Brohm Ridge and Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi.

Valuable information has been shared by past and present Squamish Nation community members but focused on ethnographic concerns of recording material culture and description of cultural traits. Specific land use activities were only incidentally recorded, as opposed to current interviews focusing on mapping occupancy and land use (Bouchard and Kennedy 1976 a and b; Bouchard and Turner 1976).

Many important Squamish Nation historical and stl’alkem or supernatural figures were found throughout the area. Many of these creatures were considered to be human-like, bird-like, insect-like, snake-like, and amphibian-like and play major roles in the Oral History and Tradition of the region. Examples of such creatures include the smaylilh or “wild people” or “mountain people”, the skwikwatsymish or “dwarf people”, lhelekwines or a creature who “took out body parts from the chest”, ku’ukwchtk or a man known as “hit low” who knocked down trees in the forest, nich’ashen or “one leg” who gave “power” to people, sinulhkay or the “double headed serpent”, in7inyazxa7en or the “Thunderbird” that lives in the area, and ch’inkw’u or a “snake-like creature” pursued by the Thunderbird.

Lakes located high in the mountains were places where the mountain people lived. These people were families and not a different tribe. The mountain people were very tall (6-7 feet) and physically strong. The Squamish people used to trade salmon and caribou with these mountain people in exchange for mountain goat and medicines. Other contact with the mountain people occasionally occurred when individuals training to become Indian Dancers went up to high mountain lakes to train and gain power.

Many Squamish Nation community members have worked on numerous development projects in the area. Occupations these people were involved with included road construction and maintenance, dam and tunnel construction (Daisy Lake Dam/Powerhouse), truck driving and the numerous jobs in the forestry sector. A few community members stated that they were too busy with their jobs to consider utilizing the area for traditional purposes.

As indicated in the above information, members of the Squamish Nation used the Brohm Ridge and Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi area. The area is embedded in a regional network of Squamish traditional use as demonstrated in the ethnographic review and current community information.

4.0 Tl’iyk’nexw- Trap Line Records
The trap-line in the area of Brohm Ridge under #0207T002 is registered to the Billy family, brothers Richard, Ron and Robert. The trap-line north of Brohm Ridge in the Cheakamus River valley is registered to an unknown person (under #0206T002). The trap line to the northwest of Brohm Ridge is registered to an unknown person (under #0206T003). Trap-line to the east of Brohm Ridge is registered to an unknown person, but community interviews indicated that it was registered to the Tatlow family (under #0207T005). Trap-line south of Brohm Ridge is registered to an unknown person, but community interviews indicated that it maybe registered to the Andrews family (under #0206T008). Respondents to trap line questions did mentioned that unknown trap line registries were likely Squamish Nation members.

The individuals to whom the trap lines were registered, including those persons’ direct families, determined the use of a trap-line. Occasionally people from the individuals’ extended family could trap/hunt on their trap-line, after permission was sought. The registration dates for these trap lines often date from 1920’s-1940’s. Traditionally trap-lines were passed down through the individual’s family.

5.0 Syemnint or Place Name Research

Previous research by Bouchard and Kennedy (1976 a and b) and Bouchard and Turner (1976) documented a number of place names in the region under discussion in this report. Recently the Squamish Nation has drafted a Land Use Plan, Xay Temixw- Sacred Lands (2001), in which additional place name and land use information were documented. The below list is not complete or comprehensive inventory of place names since place name research for Squamish Nation Traditional Territory is still in progress.

Ch’iya’kmish- “Fish Weir Place” this name applies to the river and lake now known as the Cheakamus River and Cheakamus Lake. Coho, Chum and Pink salmon were once abundant in this river. Village sites are located along the lower reaches of the river, with the main village located near the road bridge that crosses the near its confluence with the Squamish River. The people of this village were closely likened to wolves due to one of their ancestors being raised by a wolf pack. People of this village had other special powers as well; they were proud and wealthy, big and tall. In the late 1800’s a total of 24 people lived at Ch’iya’kmish.

Tak’takmu’yin tl’a in7inya’xa7en- “Landing Place of the Thunderbird” name applies to two mountains now known as the Black Tusk and Mount Cayley. Each mountain is located on opposite sides of the Cheakamus River valley. When the Thunderbird flaps its wings thunder is caused and lightening comes from the great birds eyes.

Nch’kay’- “Dirty Place” this name applies directly to Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi and the area of Garibaldi Provincial Park. It is likely related to mountainous areas where the volcanic debris colors the water and landscape with a “dirty” color. Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi is where the Squamish people tied their canoes to during the great flood. Survivors of the flood were approached by the Thunderbird and were give the essential items for life, salmon, baskets, and wives. The slopes of the mountain were known as deer and Mountain Goat hunting and berry
Squamish Nation Traditional Use of Nch’kay Or the Mount Garibaldi and Brohm Ridge Area

picking areas. Ethnographic accounts recall that the mountain once smoked and was once much higher.

Syexwayakalh- “urine under water” refers to the Brohm River where peoples used to fish for fresh trout and steelhead in the spring. The Brohm River was also known for its pink and Coho salmon runs.

St’ewakw’- “Diatomaceous Earth” name applies to a spot along the Cheakamus river where people used to gather this clay like material used in making Mountain Goat blankets. People could also catch salmon here almost year round. A woman transformed to stone watched over the lake where these salmon could be caught, fishermen had to plead with her to catch fish, if they did note the fish would disappear. Furthermore if fishermen behaved badly the rock woman would make them go mad.

Siyam- “respected person” name applies to 10-foot high rock in the Cheakamus River. This rock was once a “chief” or “respected person” who was turned to stone when the Transformer brothers traveled through the region. This rock person controlled the salmon runs in the river and who could and could not catch fish.

Wa’wnti- “Wa’wnti” is a person’s name that refers to a large cliff face near the Cheakamus River. The Transformer brothers also turned this person to stone. People have been told not to mock the face and not to look at his face and to stay away from this place, if they did they would go mad. Wa’wnti watched over the river and made sure the people behaved “in a good way.” Wa’wnti also served as a forecaster for the salmon runs.

S7ik’enay’ach- “going back and forth over top” refers a series of trials around the Ch’iya’kmish village.

Ske’wk’a’y- “place of ravens” refers to a large rock bluff northwest of the Ch’iya’kmish village where ravens and the Thunderbird nested.

Scha’wchawmixw or Sa7am’uyshn- “spawn” or “always submerged under foot” place names refers to the area around Evans Lake and Evans Creek. Known as a good place to gaff Chum salmon.

Slhelhiyets’- “a tight squeeze” refers to a location along the “Grease Trail” where it was very narrow for a horse and buggy. Near this place was a water spring that had good drinking water.

Chichsem St’ena’ch- “inner or away from the water st’ena’ch” place names applied to Mashiter creek and its headwaters. This area was known as a good deer hunting area.

Ninich St’ena’ch- “outer or close to the water sr’ena’ch” place names refers to the area around the Hop Creek Ranch and was known as a good deer hunting area.
Pukway’usm- “having a moldy face” is the location of an old village separate from Skemi’n. The area was noted as a good fishing and hunting locale. The inhabitants of this village originally lived further up the Squamish and Cheakamus rivers but were forced down river by flooding. In the late 1800’s 34 people lived at this village. Community members have stated that the remains of the structures at Pukway’usm have long washed away. Pukway’usm was an important place for the welcoming the salmon to the Squamish River. Community members mentioned that a carved figure called Wa’xayus once stood there to welcome the fish to the valley. In addition to the village site there was once a graveyard at Pukway’usm, the remains of the deceased are said to be the ancestors of August Jack and Chief Andrew. These burials were moved in the 1940’s to Wiwk’m.

Skemi’n- “underground house” is the location of an old village site where people choose to live in underground pit houses rather than traditional long houses. The area around the village was also noted as being a good place to hunt and fish. 21 people inhabited the village in the late 1800’s.

Wiwk’m- “open mouth” refers also a village sites where the Brackendale Reserve is now located. The residents of this village came from other locates further up river, but were forced to move due to flooding. In the 1800’s 26 people lived in this village.

Sxeltswu’7 K’ew’k’ewa’tm Li’xwitsut- “marked rock/mountainside” is the mountain range where the Squamish people escaped from the rising waters from the great flood. When the waters rose above these mountains the Squamish people tied their canoes to Nch’kay or Mt. Garibaldi.

Saupah- is the name for Cloudburst Mountain.

Xwmitl’m- marks location of Cloudburst Creek. May also mark location of pictograph panel D1Rt 1.

Nch’em’ay’- marks Pilchuck Creek and a village, now section A of Cheakamus reserve group.

Tsewi’lx- is the name for the entire Tantalus Mountain range. These mountains were once men and their dogs on a mountain goat hunting trip but turned to stone by the Transformer brothers.

6.0 Results of Traditional Use Study Survey (to be done in conjunction with Archaeological Impact Assessment)

Traditional Use Study Survey Results
Survey 1 - Location of Proposed Developments Examined
Survey Description
Survey Results
Survey 2 - Locations of Proposed Developments Examined
Survey Description
Survey Results
Survey 3 - Locations of Proposed Developments Examined
Survey Description
Survey Results
Survey 4 - Locations of Proposed Developments Examined
Survey Description
Survey Results
Survey 5 - Locations of Proposed Developments Examined

7.0 Discussion (as based upon previous research done in the area)

The review of ethnographic literature, attempts to examine trap line records, place name research, current community information and in field inspections demonstrates that the Squamish Nation has a very strong historical and pre-contact presence in the Brohm Ridge, Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi area and the surrounding region. A number of indicators of traditional use were located within the development area. Discussion on the impacts of traditional land use of the Brohm Ridge/Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi area will focus on Primary, Secondary and Tertiary impacts.

Primary area directly affected by ski hill, road and residential construction, are the several Traditional Land Use and Archaeological Sites identified during survey. These include;

1) A stone rock cairn was identified on the north slope of Brohm Ridge. The cairn is made of square and rectangular slabs of local volcanic rock. The cairn ranged in height 60cm to 120 cm above ground with a base diameter of 1.2m. The cairn’s origin cannot be determined at this time. It may have been used as a hunting blind, a survey marker, or associated with skiing activities.

2) A CMT with axe cuts on a mountain hemlock (Tsuga mertensiana) was identified on the crest of Brohm Ridge. The CMT is a blaze on the NW side of the tree. Modification was done with either an axe or a large knife (cut marks present). The Height Above Ground of the cut is 107 cm Diameter at Breast Height is 78.5 cm. The scar length is 80 cm with a width of 10.5 cm. The Lobe thickness is 8.5 cm. No increment bore samples were taken for dendrochronological analysis, however, the type the modification is believed to be more than
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100 years. The CMT is an old trail blaze and probably part of the Billy family trap-line. Further assessment of the CMT is required.

3) Two trap-line trails were identified. Trap-line trail #1 was identified along the lower elevations of the southwest part of Brohm Ridge. Trap-line trail #2 is located along the lower elevations of the northwest part of Brohm Ridge. Both trails are marked by worn paths and blazes or metal tags along their length. Both trails are being used to provide pedestrian access to the top of Brohm Ridge. Each trail may also be quite old.

4) A trapping cabin was identified on mid-slope of the northwest section of Brohm Ridge. The cabin is also located at the sub-alpine parkland transition zone. The cabin is burnt and all that remains of it are some beams and associated historic refuse dump situated. The refuse dump consists of rusting and burnt cans and pottery/ceramic plate fragments. The site is on a gentle slope with a western aspect. To the northwest is a stream.

5) A hunting blind site located on top of a hill knoll at the southwester end of Brohm Ridge. This site included several blazed and de-limbed trees that provided material to construct the blind. The location is ideal for hunting ungulates and is probably part of the Billy family trap-line. No increment bore samples were taken for dendrochronological analysis, however, the type the modification is believed to be more than 100 years.

Prior to the establishment of Garibaldi Park, dirt roads, paved highways and Daisy Lake dam powerhouse, transportation through the region was already established. A network of trails ran north to south, east and west along the Cheakamus River and beyond, connecting trade corridors among neighboring tribes. People of the Squamish Nation still have a strong tradition of hunting, trapping and plant gathering in the Brohm Ridge/ Nch’kay/ Mount Garibaldi region. A number of archaeological sites have been identified in the region (ARCAS 1995; 2002; Reimer 1999a and b, 2000, 2001a-c);

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<td>DlRt 2</td>
<td>Village</td>
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<td>DlRt 3</td>
<td>Historic Cabin/Village</td>
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<td>DlRt 4</td>
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Impacts on these sites will hamper Squamish Nation land use of the area for traditional and contemporary purposes such as education, maintenance of language, spiritual beliefs and community cohesion and structure.

Secondary impacts will be on those primary sources of evidence of traditional use provided by the Squamish Nation place names of local mountains, creeks, rivers and surrounding areas. Squamish place names still remain on many of regions the lakes, rivers, mountains, and other geographical features; Ch’iya’kmish, Pukway’usm, Skemî’n, Wiwk’m, Nch’em’ay’ are examples of village names and burial grounds, Taktakmu’yin tl’a in7inya’xa7en Chichsem St’ena’ch, Ninich St’ena’ch, Sxeltskwu’7 K’ew’k’ewa’tm Li’xwitsut, Xwmitl’im, and Tsewi’lx for mountains and Ch’iya’kmish, Syexwayakalh, Scha’chwawmixw or Sa7am’uysn, for creeks. The whole traditional territory holds a legacy of use, language, tradition, history, legend and spirituality that closely connects the people to their territory. The naming a place in a territory indicates that it is well known its residents; mental maps of territories are made and become included in the belief systems of the people. This act imparts a sense of connection to that place gives a sense of being the lands steward or owner. Many of the Squamish Nation place names in the area contain detailed information on what the area was used for and why it was given a name with a particular meaning. Additionally place names are often associated with archaeological sites, suggesting long continuity of culture.

For example Ch’iya’kmish, St’ewakw’, Chichsem St’ena’ch, Ninich St’ena’ch and Tsewi’lx are areas that were used by people for specific purposes such as fishing, deer and mountain goat hunting. People who possessed the knowledge to use these areas were considered to be "ta swa7s ts’its’ap" or “specialists”; these individuals probably controlled this resource. Place names of this type are examples of a place having specific technological functions.

Other names such as Taktakmu’yin tl’a in7inya’xa7en, Siyam, Ske’wk’a’y, Sxeltskwu’7 and K’ew’k’ewa’tm Li’xwitsut indicate that the region also had social and ideological functions. Stories associated with these places are often told to young people in order to instill a sense of place, history, appropriate behavior and conduct. These functions are critical in maintenance of the Squamish Nations distinct identity.
Increased land use, population density, the sale of real estate, and subsequent impacts on the environment will affect on these places located near and further away from the ski hill, road and residential developments.

Tertiary impacts comprise those throughout the rest of Squamish Nation’s traditional territory, where the physical, cultural, and economic interests of the Squamish Nation and its resident population could be affected by the ski hill, road and residential developments. Tertiary impacts also include long term/incremental (cumulative) effects of the ski hill, road and residential developments combined with past and potential future development.

Numerous ethnographic accounts illustrate that the Squamish Nation is known to have hunted, trapped, and gathered plants in the Brohm Ridge/Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi region. The region is strongly embedded in a regional network of Squamish Nation place names, archaeological sites, traditional history and stories, training, technology, social life, and ideology. While this is not an aboriginal rights and title evaluation, the strong evidence within this vast network provides a preliminary indication that the Squamish Nation could demonstrate their aboriginal rights and title to Brohm Ridge/ Nch’kay/Mount Garibaldi area and the surrounding areas.

10.0 Glossary of Terms

Artifact: A portable object that was manufactured, modified, or used by humans. Artifacts are the material remains recovered at an archaeological site, such as tools (adze blades, hand mauls), decorative objects (beads and pendants), and weapons (stone clubs).

Biogeoclimatic Zones: Regions of the landscape that has common, climate, flora and fauna, examples are, the Coastal Hemlock, Mountain Hemlock, Sub-alpine and Alpine zones.

Cedar Tree: A large coniferous tree that is indigenous to Squamish traditional territory. The cedar tree is an extremely important natural resource for the Squamish. In the past, as well as today, its wood, bark, withes, and roots were used for a variety of purposes. House planks, house posts, and canoes were carved from the wood. The Squamish wove clothing, and mats from inner cedar bark. Withes were twisted to make rope that was used for a variety of purposes. Many forms of baskets were made from split cedar roots. Because it permeated every aspect of their
lives, the Squamish have tremendous respect for this tree, as well as a strong spiritual connection.

**Context:** The spatial relationship between archaeological deposits (such as artifacts and features) within an archaeological site. The context of archaeological materials, how they are associated with each other in time and space, is essential for interpreting archaeological sites. An artifact that is "out of context" has limited scientific value and is therefore extremely difficult to interpret. Artifacts obtained by pot hunting have been removed from their context.

**Cordage:** A common term used to define different types of twine, string, and rope. Cordage was made from long even strands of inner cedar bark that were twisted and crossed. Stinging nettle fibers, animal sinew, cedar withes, and other materials were also relied upon to make cordage. The Squamish used many forms of cordage for a variety of purposes. For example, inner cedar bark string was woven to make fishing nets, and rope was used for basket handles, harpoon, anchor, and fishing lines, and to raise house poles and roof beams. Cedar withes were used for lashing and sewing. Cordage has been preserved at several archaeological wet sites in Squamish territory.

**Culturally Modified Tree (CMT):** A tree that has been intentionally altered by Aboriginal people for traditional use. Within Squamish territory, many different types of culturally modified trees are present. Some examples include "planked trees" (a plank was removed from the tree), "bark-stripped trees" (bark was stripped off part of the tree), and "felled trees" (the tree was cut down). Tool marks left by these activities may still remain on many culturally modified trees. The term is often abbreviated as CMT.

**Debitage:** The by-product or waste material of stone tool manufacturing, such as flakes and core shatter. Different shapes, sizes, and amounts of debitage were produced during each stage of tool manufacturing. The presence of debitage at an archaeological site indicates that people were engaged in tool making activities.

**Ethnographer:** A person who conducts an in-depth and descriptive study of a contemporary people. This research falls within the sub-discipline of cultural anthropology. Many ethnographers visited Squamish territory in the 1800's and early 1900's, and recorded a wealth of information about the culture and activities of the Squamish at that time.

**Ethnography:** The study of the present-day or historic culture of a people or society.

**Fauna:** The animals from a certain area, region, or period.

**Feature:** A human-made and non-portable permanent fixture of a site, which is an indication of human occupation. Examples include house floors, storage or cache pits, hearths, roasting pits, burial mounds, and post molds. A feature cannot be removed from a site without being destroyed. Therefore, archaeologists photograph, illustrate, and accurately map any
features they discover, in order to fully document all aspects of an archaeological site. The
presences of features help archaeologists to reconstruct sites and learn about activities that had
once taken place.

**Flake:** A chip of stone knocked off a core during the manufacturing of stone tools. Flakes are
referred to as debitage, which is the waste material produced from tool manufacturing. They
come in a variety of shapes and sizes, and possess many characteristics that distinguish them
from stone naturally broken. Because they often have sharp edges, flakes may be used as cutting
and scraping tools. These are referred to as "utilized flakes".

**Flora:** The plants from a certain area, region, or time period.

**Ground Truthing:** Pedestrian survey of a selected area determined to have potential for
archaeological and or traditional use sites.

**Habitation Site:** The places where people once lived and performed various household
activities, such as food preparation and tool manufacturing. Habitation sites are one of the most
important archaeological site types. Debris left from these activities, as well as features (e.g.
hearts and storage pits), provide archaeologists with a better picture of past cultures. Several
kinds of habitation sites are found in Squamish territory. They range from the remains of large
Lam’ (plank house) villages, clusters of skamin dwellings (pit-houses), or temporary seasonal
camps consisting of a hearth and small portable shelter. Habitation sites may also be referred to
as "living sites".

**Heritage Conservation Act:** The legislation in British Columbia that is designed to facilitate
the protection and conservation of the province's archaeological resources. All archaeological
sites in British Columbia are protected, whether located on public or private land. The section of
this legislation that deals with the protection of archaeological resources is administered by the
Archaeology Branch, which falls under the Ministry of Sustainable Resource Development

**Lithic:** Stone or rock. The majority of artifacts recovered from the archaeological record in
Squamish territory consist of lithics. Archaeologists use the term "lithic scatter" to refer to an
area of an archaeological site that has a concentration of debitage, resulting from stone tool
manufacturing.

**Material Culture:** Artifacts, objects, things, and technology that are produced by a society, and
examined by archaeologists in order to understand past human behavior.

**Obsidian:** A black volcanic glass ideal for fashioning into tools, due to its extremely
sharp cutting edges. Obsidian was a valuable trade item between Aboriginal people, and was
exchanged along well-defined trade routes throughout the Pacific Northwest. At the Stamis site,
the source of several obsidian artifacts has been traced to Nch’kay or Mount Garibaldi
Ochre: A rusty-brownish earth with high concentrations of iron oxide. Found naturally, this material is used by the Squamish to make an important ceremonial paint called *tumbth*. Ochre was also used to make pictographs.

Oral History: See "oral tradition".

Oral Tradition: Beliefs, legends, myths, stories, and historical and cultural traditions that are passed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. Oral tradition has played a significant role in Squamish society, and is shared through the teachings of their elders.

Petroglyph: A rock art site. An aboriginal rock carving or engraving which is pecked, incised, or carved on natural rock surfaces such as boulders or bedrock out-crops. The designs range from simple to intricate, consisting of human and animal pictures or geometric symbols. Their meanings are often unknown. Some petroglyphs appear to mark important resource locations, while others may have a spiritual or ritual purpose. Although the carvings cannot be dated, it is estimated that petroglyphs along the BC coast could be several thousand years old. A few petroglyph sites have been recorded in Squamish territory.

Pictograph: A rock art site. An Aboriginal rock painting made with natural pigments such as red ochre. Designs depict natural or supernatural motifs. Pictographs are usually found on rock surfaces such as cave walls, cliffs, or headlands. Most pictographs recorded along the BC coast are a few hundred years old. Several pictographs have been documented in Squamish territory.

Prehistory: A term used by archaeologists to describe the period of history before written historical records. In North America, archaeologists also use the term "pre-contact". The transition from prehistory to history occurred at different times throughout the world. The late 1700's marked the end of prehistory in Squamish territory.

Seasonal Occupation Site: A site that was occupied only at certain times or seasons throughout the year for a specific activity. For example, during the summer months the Squamish often moved to temporary shelters situated at highly productive food gathering locations.

Site: A place or location with remains of past human activity. This evidence may be in the form of artifacts and/or features. The size and geographic setting of an archaeological site varies, as well as the kind and number of artifacts, features, and other characteristics that may be present. The types of activities that once occurred at that location often define an archaeological site. For example, it may have been an area where people lived (habitation sites), worked (tool manufacturing sites), obtained resources (root harvesting sites), or buried deceased community members (burial sites). Many kinds of archaeological sites have been discovered in Squamish territory.
Terrestrial: Land living animals.

Time Immemorial: A term, which refers to a date, period, or time in the distant past that is beyond memory or historic record. Aboriginal people often use the term to mean "forever". The Squamish have lived in their territory since time immemorial; they have always been here.

Utilized Flake: A chip of stone that was a by-product of manufacturing stone tools, and used for cutting or scraping because of its sharp edges.

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