HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA meetings in Victoria featuring illustrated lectures are now generally held on the third Tuesday of each month from September to May at 7:30 P.M. at the University of Victoria, Cornett Building, 3800 Finnerty Road, Victoria, BC. Please follow our Facebook page www.facebook.com/ASBCVictoria for details on upcoming lectures, or inquire with us about our email list. New members and visitors are welcome at lectures. Admission is free.

THE MIDDEN

Cover: Irish Pipe, from "Morrissey Internment Camp" article by Beaulieu.

The ASBC Pages

Editors Notes: Historical Archaeology

by Genevieve Hill

We are pleased to bring you this issue of the Midden, which focuses on historical archaeological projects in BC. We hope this will be the first in a series of issues on the subject. Historical archaeology has long played a minor role on the stage of BC Archaeology. This is not due to a paucity of sites - there are many, of course, and they have significant stories to tell. Instead, I believe, it is due to a perception that these sites have less to tell us than older sites. This perception has been reinforced by several factors, including the wording of the Heritage Conservation Act, the separation of the Archaeology and Heritage Branches, and by a dearth of historical archaeology courses in colleges and universities in BC.

Jurisdictions in North America have taken a variety of approaches to identifying historical archaeological sites, which may be recognized based on their importance to a community, or may receive protection upon reaching a certain age (for instance, 50 years before the present date). In contrast, historical archaeological sites in BC are considered to be those that post-date 1846 – the cutoff for automatic protection under the Heritage Conservation Act (HCA). Historical sites are therefore defined by what they aren't (i.e., protected) rather than what they are. The use of a static cutoff also prevents site types whose importance has more recently been recognized from becoming so. What is considered "old" today is different than it was in the 1970's when the HCA was written.

The HCA includes language which could be interpreted as protecting post-1846 sites, particularly in section 12.1.(2)b, which states that a person must not "damage, desecrate or alter a burial place that has historical or archaeological value or remove human remains or any heritage object from a burial place that has historical or archaeological value" except as authorized by a Section 12 permit. This protection, however, is not automatic. This creates a significant problem, as the cultural resource management process in BC is designed to facilitate the identification and alteration of sites that receive automatic protection. Between the HCA and Municipal development permits, the timeline that exists to protect cultural heritage is skewed to sites that are already known or easily protected. Timelines do not easily accommodate the research necessary to prove that a cultural site has historical significance justifying heritage designation and protection. As a consequence, these sites are often destroyed before their true nature can be explored.

Historical sites that have been protected in BC are often those where another governmental agency has expressed a desire to record the post-1846 deposits. For example, the Department of National Defense has chosen to facilitate the recovery of historical deposits during their ongoing dredging project at Esquimalt Harbour despite not being required to do so by law. As a result, many incredible artifacts have been, and continue to be, recovered. These objects are now able to tell a myriad of important stories that would otherwise be lost.

The preservation of historical archaeological sites and material is incredibly important to the understanding of the development of BC. Many of the stories that can be told by historic archaeological material are not those that have been recorded for posterity. Instead, they are the stories of the way people really lived. They are the stories of the first inhabitants being confronted by strangers, of immigrants, of the working class. They are the stories of how the wealthy actually lived (as opposed to the rosy accounts these people sometimes put forward). They are the stories of health, of habit, and of those things that others would wish us to forget.

Take, for example, Sarah Beaulieu's article in this issue about the Morrissey Internment Camp near Fernie. Until this archaeological investigation, knowledge about the existence of the camp and what happened there was kept in the memories of a few, but was nearly invisible on paper. It is critical for us to know about events in BC's dark past so that we do not repeat them.

Because post-1846 sites aren't automatically protected (unless they happen to occur on top of a pre-1846 site), consultants aren't obligated to investigate them with the same level of scientific rigour as they apply to protected sites. Consequently, project proponents (e.g. developers) aren't legally required to pay for that analysis. To complicate matters, it is often necessary to undertake extensive archival research to distinguish settler and indigenous sites that post-date 1846 due to increasingly similar material culture. The result is that historic sites are frequently lumped together into the same category, and historic material is often collectively referred to as "refuse" or "debris," effectively erasing the stories of both settler and indigenous populations in a dynamic and rapidly changing period of history. It also serves to whitewash the way we look at that period of change. Both positive and negative changes in this period are overlooked and therefore cannot be confronted directly.

The rapid pace of development in areas like the CRD and the Lower Mainland creates an urgent need to protect historic sites. Excavations of the historic St. John's Ward neighbourhood in downtown Toronto prior to construction of the Toronto Courthouse demonstrate the potential of historic archaeology in urban centres. These excavations recovered over 300,000 artifacts which told the sotry of diverse communities made up of immigrants, escaped slaves from the American South, and the urban poor. The lot in which the courthouse was constructed was a parking lot for 50 years prior to excavations – a land use that made it a ripe target for development while protecting the site below. Crucially, the St. John's Ward project only took place due to the interest of Infrastructure Ontario, the governmental body in charge of the courthouse project. As in British Columbia, there was no legislation in place requiring systematic recovery of the site. Unfortunately, we can't consistently rely on developers to be as sympathetic to historic archaeology. It is due to strokes of luck and flights of passion rather than to policy or practice that we are able to tell stories from historic sites. A fulsome understanding of the past should not be bound to luck.

Jacob A. Riis opened his 1890 book How the Other Half Lives, which documents the Five Points neighbourhood of New York City, with a statement that "every man's experience ought to be worth something to the community from which he drew it, no matter what the experience may be." I believe that this is the sentiment with which we should regard historical archaeology, and archaeology in general. The articles in this issue demonstrate both the passion of the authors and their belief in the worth of every person's experience. We are glad to present their work to you here, and hope that it inspires positive change in our approach to historical archaeology in BC. ⬚

Morrissey Internment Camp

by Sarah Beaulieu

The town of Morrissey is located in the Elk Valley, southeastern British Columbia (BC), Canada. The internment camp was in operation from September 28, 1915 to October 21, 1918 and was one of 24 internment camps on Canadian soil that housed a total of 8,579 immigrants from the multinational Austro-Hungarian, German, and Ottoman empires, as prisoners of war (PoW), and for almost two years after the end of WWI. Many of these prisoners were civilians and a few were even Canadian born or naturalized British subjects. As the number of internees increased, prisoners were divided into first- and second-class groups based on nationality. Germans were considered first-class prisoners and were held in close confinement while Ukrainians and other Europeans from the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires were considered second-class prisoners and placed in labour camps. The first internees at the internment camp in Morrissey were coal miners from the latter category.

The material culture excavated at the Morrissey WWI internment was used to examine three key aspects of confinement: passive, direct and principled resistance activities undertaken by PoWs, coping strategies adopted to help mitigate mental health issues triggered by confinement, and finally a comparison of the material culture record with military reports to ascertain whether the PoW diet was adequate or was somehow deficient, as many PoWs claimed. Through the study of the material record from the Morrissey Internment Camp, this research in the field of modern conflict archaeology has contributed to filling in these gaps and bringing to light new information about the internees whose lives were so deeply affected by their imprisonment. The excavations at the Morrissey Internment Camp are the first research excavations to take place at any of Canada's 24 internment sites.
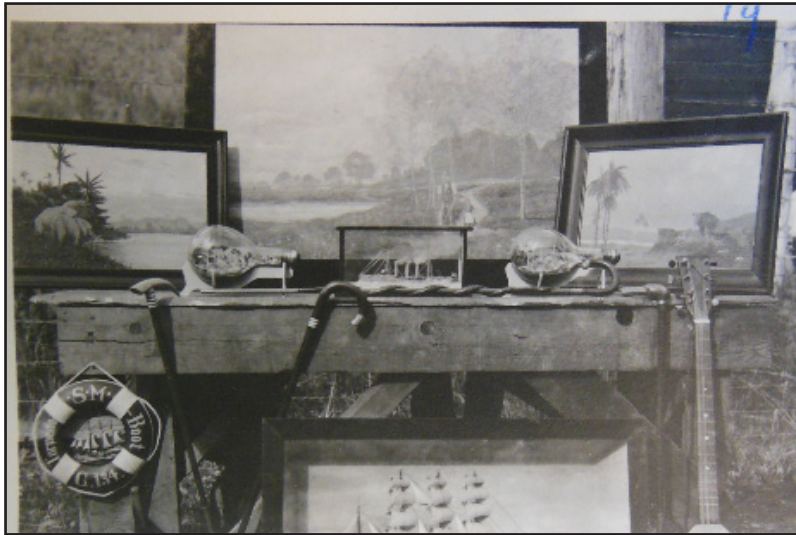

Figure 1: Items made by the Morrissey PoWs to pass the time. Note the ships in light bulbs, walking sticks, and ship paintings. (1915–1918, DSCN 8066 LAC File R112 1966-088, NPC Box 03390, reproduced with permission).

In 1916, Canada was experiencing a labour shortage due to a dire need for soldiers overseas. This lead to the parole of many of the prisoners who were then permitted to work for private businesses, railway companies and all levels of government (municipal, provincial and federal) at a fixed rate of pay comparable to a soldier's wage (Luciuk 2001). As a result, numerous internment camps across Canada began closing in 1916 and the remaining internees were amalgamated into the remaining camps. The German prisoner population increased at Morrissey, and it reverted to a confinement camp. Despite this reclassification as a confinement camp, Morrissey staff were notorious for their mistreatment of the internees. The Consul of Switzerland Samuel Gintzburger, responsible for overseeing the treatment of PoWs in Morrissey, submitted an inspection report directly to his government noting that the internees were provided with food of lesser quality than those served in criminal institutions. He also addressed the question of forced labour in the camp as well as the poorly heated rooms during the harsh winter months (RG 6 Vol. 765, File 5294). In fact, Canada received several notes verbales from Germany, reminding the Canadian government that retaliation would be swift toward Canadian and British PoWs in Germany should conditions at Morrissey not improve (Luciuk 2001; Norton 1998).

The Dominion Canadian government was a signatory to the 1907 Hague Convention, a set of international rules established to ensure the proper treatment of military prisoners in times of war. The majority of the prisoners in the Canadian internment camps were civilians, a fact that "exposed the problems of the civil/military divide, creating categories of people who did not fit neatly into either"

Figure 2: Items carved by the Morrissey PoWs to pass the time. Note the handmade violins (1915–1918, DSCN 8064, LAC File R112 1966-088, NPC Box 03390, reproduced with permission).

(Proctor 2010:205). Canada required a means to fund the internment operations; extracting labour from the prisoners became a method for doing so (Francis 2008; Morton 1974; Waiser 1994). The Hague Convention of 1907 stipulated that military personnel could labour for the country of their capture if the work did not benefit the war effort. The War Measures Act of 1914 provided the Canadian government with extensive power to maintain security during times of war (Kordan 2002:53, 54; Minenko 2018). For example, orders-in-council, pursuant to section 6, provided the government with unlimited authority as long as it was considered necessary for the nation's security, defence, peace, order, and welfare during a real or apprehended war, invasion, or insurrection (Minenko 2018). The order-in-council of October 28, 1914, provided the government with the authority to intern civilians and classify them as PoWs, pursuant to P.C. 2721 (LAC, Department of Justice Files, 770/15).

Research Methods

Morrissey was initially established as a mining town by the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company (CNP) but abandoned in 1909 due to several mine disasters that took the lives of numerous coal miners. The town was an ideal location for the internment camp as the infrastructure was already in place and the unoccupied buildings could be rented cheaply from the CNP. Upon its closure in October 1918 and according to government records, the camp was completely dismantled (Morton 1974). Hence, at the start of the excavation that forms the basis of this study, there were no surviving structures on the forested landscape, with the exception of the visible footprint of the second-

class PoW building. Very few of the internees spoke about their internment experience once the operations shut down and thus very few prisoner accounts remain outside of the military records.

Fieldwork involved surveying, mapping, the deployment of a ground penetrating radar (GPR), and excavation within the grounds of the internment camp. A walking traverse of the site along with surface collections of archaeological material were conducted, in addition to the use of maps, aerial photographs, remote sensing methods such as a metal detector, and GPR. Shovel and auger tests were conducted at five-meter intervals, and sub-surface anomalies were recorded, with excavations taking place where concentrations of anomalies were noted. This resulted in the location of the first- and second-class prisoner compounds, the prisoners' living quarters, the exercise yard, and the privies, as well as the camp canteen and several building footprints of the guards' quarters. Once these were located, one- and two-meter excavation units were placed at the locations of the German first-class prisoner living quarters and the camp canteen, on the guards' side of the camp. Units were also placed inside the second-class compound in the living quarters known as "the Big Building," as well as the escape tunnel and two privies. Screening was conducted through quarter-inch mesh, and the artefacts from each unit confirmed the identification of each location in the camp.

Results

Coping Strategies and Mental Health

Arts and handicrafts were a significant means of improving camp life and keeping depression and ennui at bay. Some of the prisoners were extremely gifted woodworkers, a skill they had either developed prior to internment or learned from others during internment (Figures 1, 2). Handicrafts were a method used to pass the time, keep the mind occupied, develop new skills, build self-esteem, and create social bonds with others prisoners. Crafting was undertaken with the intention of passing the time but also to create items that could be used repeatedly once they were complete, such as board games and instruments (Carr 2011:140). Handicrafts improved prisoners' living environment by personalizing and dressing up their space. They were also given to others—prisoners, guards, and members

Figure 3: Ship in a bottle made by a civilian PoW for an individual's great-great grandfather, whose homestead was near Morrissey.

of the community—to show gratitude, traded to acquire other goods, or sold to earn monies (Figure 3).

Resistance

Prisoners at the Morrissey internment camp engaged in various forms of resistance to protest their imprisonment. Resistance could be carved, painted, or sewn into their artwork, boosting morale and camaraderie amongst the PoWs. One particular art piece representing a life preserver as a frame for a painting of a sailboat (Figure 4) reads "S.M. Boot, G.134, Torpedo" (LAC, RG 6, vol. 756, file 3380). The G134 was a German S90-class large-torpedo boat built in 1906, repurposed and relabeled T134 in Sep-

tember 27, 1916 (Gardiner and Gray 1984). It was fitted with both torpedoes and cannons to contribute to the German war effort. Whether the PoW was a mariner who had served on this ship or made it for someone who had, there is a definite link to this class of German warship, making it likely that this particular prisoner was a combatant rather than a civilian PoW. Framing the painting with this specifically labeled life preserver was a way for the PoW to create something tangible that was continuous with his life prior to internment and clearly demonstrated support for Germany and the Central powers.

Resistance could also be subtle—for example, sharing and using material culture that symbolized another country's nationalist movement against the common enemy, the British Empire. Two of the artefacts excavated from the second-class compound relate to Irish nationalism and require further discussion. First, a small Bakelite Irish flag bearing an Irish harp insignia, excavated from a privy dated to 1916–17 (Figure 5). The flag is likely from a toy soldier. "Toy soldiers were toys meant to be played with, a reality which served to reinforce the view that games and war were two sides of the same coin, and Churchill's opinion was that the Great War was merely an extension of the game" (Brown 1990: 248). The second artefact, an Irish clay pipe, reads "Ireland A Nation" on one side and "Who Fears to Speak of '98" on the other (Figure 6). The insignia commemorates the

Figure 4: Life preserver framing ship painting: SM Boot G.134 Torpedo. Morrissey Internment Camp (LAC, RG 6, vol 756., file 3380).
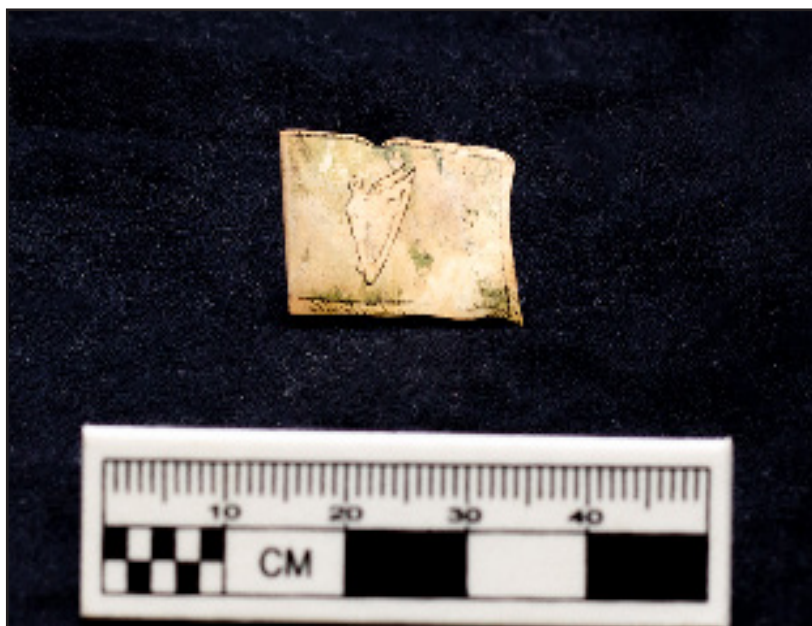**Note: Author's photograph, July 2014.**

Figure 5: Artifact ID 6252, Confederacy of Ireland Unofficial Flag (19th Century) from a Toy Soldier, Privy 1 (Author's photo)

100th anniversary of the 1798 rebellion. In Ireland, clay pipes became a medium to express political thought, either through subtle symbolic imagery with the round tower, Irish wolfhound, or shamrock, or with more direct inscriptions such as those depicted on this clay pipe. "Through the act of smoking it was possible to support the Irish nationalist movement without uttering a single word; it was only necessary to raise a pipe and puff" (Hartnett 2004: 140–41). These political pipes were symbolic of the smokers' antihegemonic principles and were subtle enough to be appreciated only by those in the know.

During WWI, Germany created alliances with widely diverse nationalist movements in India and Ireland in an effort to weaken Britain's position on the war front (Plowman 2003). On April 9, 1916, Germany shipped 20,000 captured Russian rifles along with one million rounds of ammunition and explosives to support the Irish rebellion. However, the plan was thwarted when the ship was intercepted by the British, later impacting the success of Ireland's Easter Rising (Barton 2010). In Ireland, support for independence grew from the aftermath of the Easter Rising. Increasing hostility toward the British and sympathy for the rebels ensued as the execution of the Irish ringleaders continued into May 1916 (Connolly 2004). Given the nature of the relationship with the Morrissey internees and the country of their capture, it is not surprising that the internees used the material culture of Irish liberation and independence to define their own acts of resistance against the British Empire

PoWs also secreted letters to the Swiss consul, who on one occasion forwarded a letter directly to Germany to avoid Canadian censorship. Reading material was permitted in the camp providing that it was written in English (American Consul Report Aug 14, 1914 – RG 13 Dept. Justice, vol. 206 LAC 1). Nonetheless, a German newspaper was excavated from the second-class PoW privy (Figure 7). Little remains of the print, but these words can still be distinguished: "Oesterreich" (Austria), "Nordwesten" (northwest), "Bulgaren" (Bulgarians), "Deutsch" (German), "Züge" (trains), "melden" (to report), and "in die Häuser" (into the houses). The limited wording appears to discuss the current events of the war, and given that PoW letters were rigidly censored (RG 6, vol. 765, file 5294), it seems rather improbable that information pertaining to the war, especially not in English, was able to enter the camp legally.

Coordinated prisoner resistance is evidenced by the most archaeologically visible and enduring form: the escape tunnel (Myers and Moshenska 2013:3). The Fernie Free Press (FFP 1917) recounted the Morrissey prisoners' attempted escape through a tunnel dug in front of the second-class PoW building. Although the shortest distance to freedom lay in the opposite direction, the newspaper described the tunnel as running parallel to the roadway and toward the guards' quarters. It was assumed that the tunnel would eventually have turned toward the left of a wood thicket, where a reasonably secluded escape could have been made. However, upon its discovery the night before the escape was to occur, near riots broke out in the camp, since it was presumed likely that the entire camp would have been free to escape into Montana. Punitive action ensued, and the ringleaders were subsequently rounded up and placed in solitary confinement (FFP, January 19, 1917).

Figure 6: Artifact ID 6434, Irish Pipe, Ireland A Nation, Who Fears to Speak Of '98) Privy 2 (Author's photo)

Figure 7: Scraps of German newspaper excavated from the second-class privy (Author's photo).
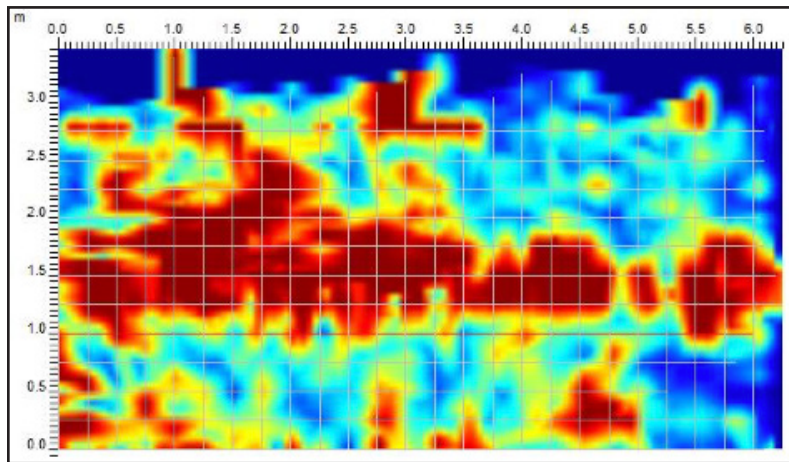
Figure 8: GPR plan profile. Dark blue indicates areas with little soil disturbance, while red indicates areas with the deepest level of soil disturbance. The continuous horizontal red line indicates the presence of a subsurface anomaly sharing similar properties with a tunnel.

The ideal solution for locating this historic tunnel was through the noninvasive method of remote sensing, GPR. An LMX 200 GPR, purchased with a research grant from the Endowment Council of the Canadian First World War Internment Recognition Fund, was used to survey the internment site and locate the tunnel. After the GPR survey data were analyzed and the location of the tunnel confirmed, three cross-sections measuring one metre by two metres were excavated to ground truth the GPR results (Figure 8). Upon excavation, a fine layer of shoring became visible. The thin, narrow wood was similar to that used to build packing crates. Beds supplied to the PoWs in Morrissey were made out of wooden shipping crates, as reported by the Swiss consul: "The bunks are poorly built of odd pieces of lumber, including pieces of packing cases" (RG 6, vol. 765, file 5294). This suggests that the Morrissey prisoners, similar to PoWs in Europe, may have secreted the wood from their beds to use as tunnel shoring (Doyle et al. 2013; Pringle et al. 2007; Reese-Hughes et al. 2017).

A single shovel excavated from the tunnel bears a strong resemblance to coal mine shovels from the same period, the only exception being its handfolded edges, evidence that it was not manufactured but handmade (Figure 9). PoWs with mining experience were often sought out when tunneling and escape plans were being organized, as evidenced in camps such as Stalag Luft III in Zagan, Poland (Pringle 2007), Holzminden, Lower Saxony, Germany (Durnford 2016), and Lethbridge, Alberta (Kordan 2016). Hence, it was not surprising to uncover a handmade shovel in the escape tunnel, especially since coal miners were some of the first Morrissey prisoners (Kordan 2016; Norton 1998).

PoW Diet

During the war, the protecting powers—the United States until 1917 and Switzerland thereafter (Morton 1974: 45)—interviewed PoWs and scrutinized military documents in Canada to ensure that they received proper treatment and care. However, official documentation was occasionally skewed, and the country of their capture often minimized PoW complaints to the contrary (LAC, RG6, vol. 765, file 5294). In Canada, PoW diets generated much correspondence between prisoners and the American and Swiss consuls who were overseeing their well-being throughout WWI. In 1918, a report noted:

PoW no. 252 (Albert Bauer) wrote to the Swiss Consul, in the month of July last, "Our rations have been reduced to starvation." The letter was handed back with the request that he strike out that portion. He then wrote another letter which was forwarded to the Swiss Consul leaving the above words out (LAC, RG6, vol. 765, file 5294).

Figure 9: Handmade shovel excavated from the escape tunnel and a barbed-wire cross (right) excavated from the second-class PoW compound, now on exhibit in the Canadian Museum of History (CMH).
Note: Photographer: Steven Darby, CMH, reproduced with permission.

Following the excavation, I commissioned a faunal analysis of excavated animal bone by Morgan Bartlett at Kleanza Archaeological Consulting Ltd., undertaking additional analysis and data interpretation myself. The excavation results were then compared to the extant historical records. It is impossible to discern from the excavated faunal assemblage whether the meat arrived in poor or rotten condition, as many PoWs reported, but an examination of the faunal assemblage can confirm a definitive increase in the cheaper cuts of meat (beef and mutton) and a decline in the better-quality meats as time went on.

The excavations reveal an observable increase in Bovinae (52%) and Caprinae/Ovis aries bones (64%), since increasing lower-quality cuts of meat resulted in an increase in the quantity of bone. An increase in the quantity of bone-in meat, a cheaper cut, would hold a similar weight to a higher-quality cut of meat without bone. By increasing the supply of bone-in and poorer quality cuts of meat, the internment operations would have been able to limit the meat supply – reducing food costs – without outwardly appearing to make any dramatic reductions to the PoW diet and maintaining the appearance of adhering to the 1907 Hague Convention.

Not only was there a reduction in meat supply, but the faunal assemblage and the military reports also demonstrate that the camp diet lacked variety. For example, during the four years that the camp was in operation, very few eggs were provided, and poultry did not enter the camp diet. Hence, prisoners were supplementing their diets with wild meats such as wild turkey, mule deer, and bear. Since PoWs would not have been able to hunt large game themselves, they likely augmented their diets with wild meat supplied through purchase or trade with local members of the surrounding communities.

Conclusion

Our Canadian internment history is a difficult narrative to accept. The implementation of the War Measures Act in 1914 suspended the civil liberties of those living in Canada who at the time were regarded as enemy aliens (Luciuk 2006). This led to the arrest and internment of thousands of immigrants who had been invited to Canada to homestead along the Canadian Western Frontier. In opposition to the treatment and internment of enemy aliens, former Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier showed foresight in his 1917 House of Commons address: "I believe—we shall be judged some day by our actions here—that the Government is taking a step which will cause serious injury to the country (Kordan 2002: 81). Unfortunately, his words fell on deaf ears.

The destruction of much of Canada's WWI internment history in 1954, following the compensation of Japanese PoWs interned during WWII, set in motion a platform for social amnesia and historical revisionism (Luciuk 2001). Consequently, until recently, very few Canadians were aware of Canada's WWI internment operations. Historians began mining the remaining documentary evidence from the Canadian archives in the 1980s in an effort to piece together the remnants of this fragmented history.

This excavation offers new information about the lived experiences of this unjustly imprisoned group of PoWs. The excavations that took place at Morrissey can be applied more generally to the remaining internment camps across Canada, to offer a more nuanced representation of PoW treatment within these confinement camps. This research serves as a reminder that to set a new course for a Canadian future that does not include the mistreatment of disenfranchised groups, we must learn from our historical miscarriages of justice. Through the archeological study of sites such as Morrissey, where such grave humanitarian transgressions occurred, this work will continue attempting to right a historical wrong.

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Bio.
Sarah Beaulieu recently completed her PhD in archaeology at Simon Fraser University. She is continuing with research in the field of modern conflict archaeology and will begin excavating additional Canadian WWI internment camps during the upcoming field season.

The Wild Horse Canyon Trail: Shifting strategies of colonial settlement in the Okanagan

by Paul Ewonus and George Ewonus

Introduction

Recent scholarship that aims to examine the details of engagement among different groups during British Columbia's early colonial history has begun to show the dynamic and contingent nature of these interactions (e.g., Lutz 2008; Martindale 2009; Oliver 2010; Prince 2002; Ross 2013). Beginning in the late eighteenth century with the maritime fur trade, significant shifts in opportunities for and constraints upon Indigenous and settler populations were worked out over the province, from the high seas to the halls of the legislature. First Nations groups were heavily impacted by the spread of European diseases to which they had no prior immunity. Despite this population loss, prior to about 1880 the arrival of European, Asian and African American colonists resulted in increased opportunities for some First Nations individuals, while others were less fortunate. A number of Indigenous men and women were able to increase their prosperity and influence in the capitalist economies of fishing, mining, farming, sealing and timber harvesting. First Nations people also worked as wage labourers in industries such as the hops yards, fish canneries and brickworks, as part of their more traditional seasonal round. Often successful business ventures, and even some bureaucratic undertakings in early colonial Vancouver Island and BC required that people of differing ethnic backgrounds develop practical working relationships. These may have been transient periods of cooperation between individuals or more sustained work-related interactions that could provide the foundations for communities (e.g., Wenger 1998). First Nation community members were recruited by European entrepreneurs and early industry at this time for their knowledge of and familiarity with the land, its resources and their connections to local peoples. For much of the nineteenth century, First Nations were able to hunt and fish in their traditional lands or waters as did their ancestors for generations past. A mix of traditional and capitalist economic endeavours were often used to finance cultural pursuits, such as the potlatch on the Northwest Coast.

This situation, however, began to change later in the nineteenth century. First Nations people were in many ways legislated off their traditional lands on to reserves, making them wards of a nascent paternalistic state. They were prevented from owning capital property, voting for elected officials other than Chief and Council (and these results could be overturned by the Department of Indian Affairs) and later, potlatching (Cole and Chaikin 1990; Lutz 2008; Thomson 1994). To help understand the changing relationships between First Nations and settler populations during the mid-to-late-nineteenth century, we present two examples of practical interaction among these groups in the Okanagan Valley. These two brief case studies are set around a trail that was initially used by local First Nations to travel along the eastern side of Okanagan Lake and, as time progressed, reveal a changing role for Indigenous people in safeguarding and providing access to territorial lands. The first is set around an 1859 trip north up the Valley led by Father Pandosy, an Oblate priest who at that time founded a mission in the heart of Syilx territory, that was undertaken with permission and help from the Penticton Indian Band. The Syilx (or Okanagan) are members of Indigenous nations who share the nsyilxcən language and whose territory is centered on the Okanagan Valley but includes a significant surrounding area in south-central BC and northern Washington State. The second example is of the use of this trail by ambitious Penticton settler Tom Ellis beginning in 1865 to eventually drive cattle from Penticton toward the railhead in Vernon as part of his ranching business. We refer to this ancient route as the Wild Horse Canyon trail, as it passes through this dry canyon situated on the east side of Okanagan Lake. Control of the Wild Horse Canyon trail and the places associated with it formed a significant chapter in the process of colonization in the Okanagan.

Archaeological History of the Wild Horse Canyon Trail

This trail between the modern cities of Penticton and Kelowna, winding through Wild Horse Canyon (Figure 1) is associated with a number of precontact archaeological sites and features. Considering only the section of the trail shown in Figure 1 north to Deeper Creek near Okanagan Mission, significant pictograph sites are located along or adjacent to the trail (Corner 1968: 65-68). Several cultural depressions, lithic scatters and a rockshelter are also situated along its length. For example, as the trail crosses Good Creek it passes through a small housepit village site (DkQw-36) that was occupied during the precolonial era, probably most intensively from 2400-1200 years ago (the mid-Chiliwist phase) (Bailey and Rousseau 1994; Grabert 1974). The site includes a single-image pictograph (DkQw-35), in contrast to the numerous larger panels elsewhere in the study area. Site DkQw-35 includes the Wild Horse Canyon trail in this location. Along the trail, pictograph panels found on bedrock walls and boulders include sites DjQv-1, DjQv-8, DjQv-39, DkQv-22, DkQv-23, and DkQw-48. Site DjQv-9 is a single-image pictograph. In addition to the above-mentioned site at Good Creek, recorded cultural depressions adjacent to the trail comprise DjQv-11, DjQv-40, DkQv-17, and DkQw-42. Single cultural depression site DkQw-42 was first recorded in 1999 as part of this research project and includes the trail in this specific location. Recorded lithic scatter sites along the trail include DjQv-10, DkQv-30, DkQv-31, DkQv-32, DkQw-14, and DkQw-33. A rockshelter (DkQv-33) is located near the beach where the trail follows the existing gravel road, not far to the west of the mouth of Deeper Creek.
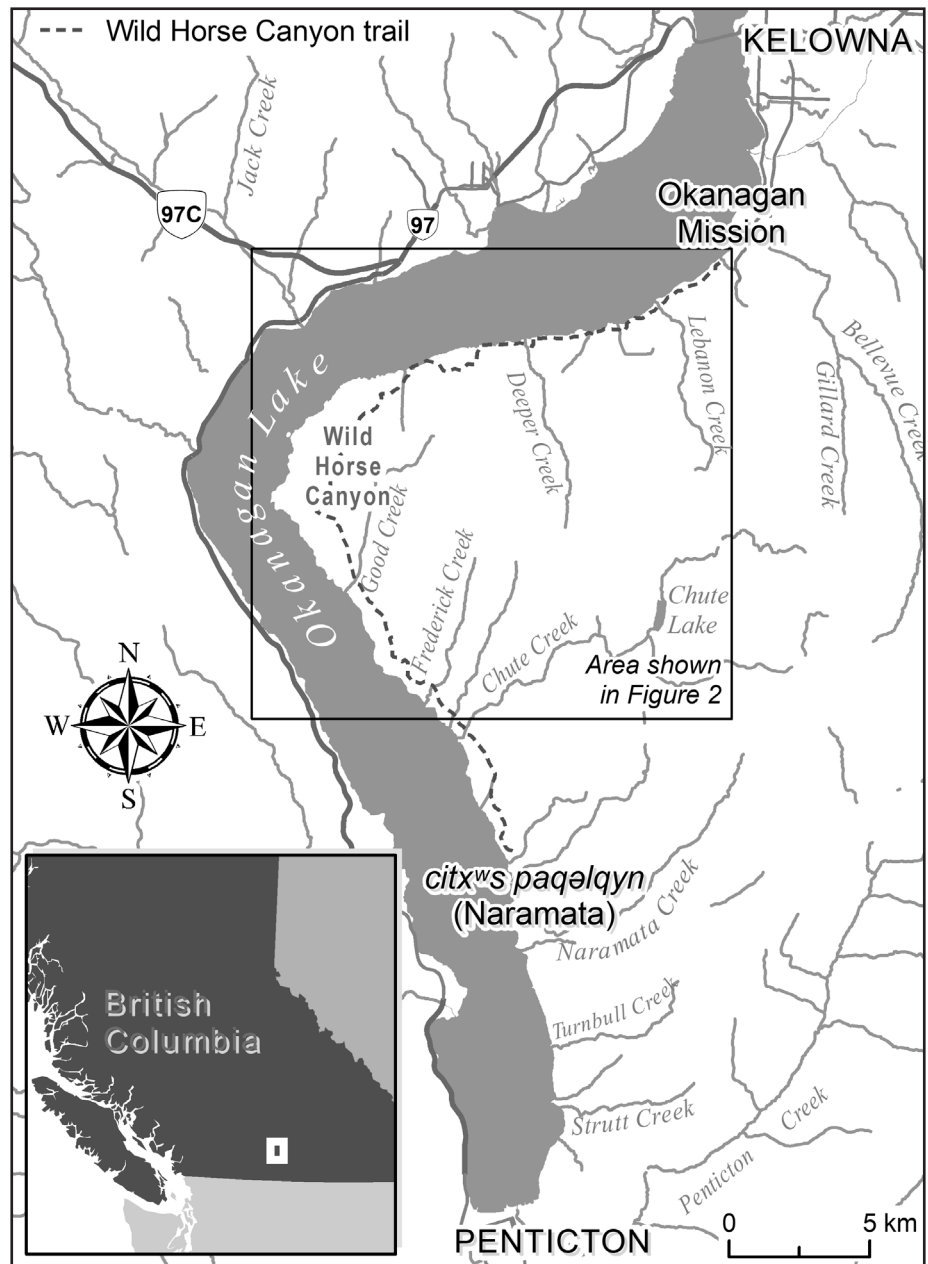
Figure 1. Location of the Wild Horse Canyon Trail in the Okanagan Valley. Archaeological site locations are not plotted due to their sensitive nature. Locations of sites and recorded details are available on request from the BC Archaeology Branch or the authors.

The Wild Horse Canyon trail was a direct travel route between precontact and early colonial period habitation sites in the Penticton and Kelowna areas (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998). It traverses part of the core territory of the Penticton Indian Band, the Westbank First Nation (members of the Okanagan Nation Alliance) as well as areas of interest and possible travel routes of the Okanagan Indian Band, the Lower Similkameen Indian Band, the Upper Nicola Band (also members of the Okanagan Nation Alli-

ance), and the Nooaitch Indian Band (Consultative Areas Database).

On June 9, 1993, three members of the Westbank First Nation, including Councillor Pat Fosbery and Natural Resource Manager Barry McDougall, were joined by BC Parks senior representatives and George Ewonus for a survey of the trail within Okanagan Mountain Provincial Park on horseback. From the northern entrance to the park, the survey proceeded along sections of the trail south to Wild Horse Canyon. The group then left the trail to climb above the west rim of the canyon; descending to the pictograph panel (DkQw-48) and blazed pine tree on the west wall just below the canyon rim (see dendrochronology results section below). In discussion with Ewonus, Westbank First Nation participants remarked that this part of the Valley was used by members of their nation in the recent past and in particular, a small lake located nearby above the canyon rim was known as Turtle Lake. The name originated from the excellent habitat for turtles, that could be found in numbers there. At the pictograph site, the Westbank First Nation representatives encouraged BC Parks to work with local Indigenous groups to help document and disseminate traditional knowledge, including archaeological results, to young people in their community. Several months later, the Nation participated in archaeological testing conducted at the Good Creek site (DkQw-36) funded by BC Parks (Bailey and Rousseau 1994).

Based on field observations, ungulate populations continue to use sections of the trail. Elk (*Cervus elaphus*) wintering grounds are located adjacent to the trail along its northern extent. We take this as an indication that these animals would have been available to Indigenous and non-Indigenous hunters in the recent past, and likely earlier, for food, hides and raw material for tool manufacture (Armstrong 2009:59; Bailey and Rousseau 1994: 26). The grassy parkland inhabited by elk and deer (*Odocoileus*) could also be used to graze cattle (Thomson 1985:246, 281).

Methods

Interviews

Interviews were conducted with knowledgeable lo-

cal residents at various times between 1990 and 1994 (Ewonus 1990-1994). In person interviews took place in the informants' homes. Visits to study area sites were also made with informants to discuss specific events connected with the trail. In alphabetical order, these "old timers", some of whom have since passed on, were: Garnet Grimaldi (GG), RC (Bob) Harris (RH), Alfie Johns (AJ) and Nancy Johns (NJ).

Historical Sources and Records

Further data regarding early cartography of the trail were gathered through correspondence and conversations with RC (Bob) Harris of West Vancouver, BC. Dr. Duane Thomson (Okanagan University College) provided additional insight into study area socioeconomic patterns. Archival source material was accessed in the Office of the Surveyor General British Columbia Land Title and Survey Authority, Victoria. This included obtaining digital copies of early maps and provincial land surveyor's field notebooks.

Dendrochronology

Assistance and analysis was provided by Emil Wegwitz under the direction of Dr. Rene Alfaro (Pacific Forestry Centre, Victoria) as part of a regional program of forest ecology research. Increment cores and stem round (disc) samples collected in the field were sent to the Pacific Forestry Centre for analysis.

Results

Pandosy's Journey

In late September 1859, Father C. Pandosy, Cyprian Lawrence, his First Nations wife Teressa, Cyprian's brother Theodore, William Pion and others arrived in what is now Penticton on their way to "L'Anse au Sable" (Kelowna), with the intention of starting a settlement there. After some heated discussion with Penticton Indian Band Chief Capeau Blanc and his son François, they were allowed to proceed. According to Buckland (1948:29), it was only through the efforts of Teressa, who was Chief Capeau Blanc's niece, that the group was permitted to continue. Buckland reports that the Chief and his son "accom-

panied the party to L'Anse au Sable, showing them the trail." The location of Pandosy's settlement was in an area of what is now Kelowna known as "*N'Wha-quisten*" (Buckland 1948:25-26). The meaning of this placename for Mission Creek and the surrounding district was translated by Buckland as "a stone found there for shaping weapons of the chase and of war". This specific trail came to be called the "lower trail," and it had been in use for some time prior to this date.

In 1947 Hester E. White of Penticton related a story describing members of the Penticton Indian Band cutting a trail on the east side of Okanagan Lake, in c. 1858. Penticton Indian Band Chief Edward's daughter provided this information to Mrs. White. The trail in this story may well have been the same trail shown to Father Pandosy by Chief Capeau Blanc. "Cutting through" or opening the trail in White's account may simply have been clearing the trail of blowdown that would typically begin to accumulate along the route after several years without maintenance. In her article, White (1947:24) refers to it as the "*Ooyh-Hyot*" trail. These examples show means of safeguarding the trail: by maintaining the path itself and controlling who could access it under terms appropriate to the situation.

This "lower trail" or "Indian trail" was well suited to the movement of horses and packhorses since a significant and fairly level section of the trail passed through "Big Canyon", now called Wild Horse Canyon. However there were a few sections of this trail where rock walls made it extremely difficult for wagons to pass (GG). Due to the limitations for wagons, in the summer of 1860 a new trail was cut. It was well above the lower trail, following a route near Chute Lake at about 1200 m above sea level. It joined the lower trail near *citxʷs paqəlqyn* (House of Bald Eagle, or Naramata). This new trail came to be known as the "upper trail" and was the required width to accommodate wagons (about 2.4 m). The goal of its construction was to promote settlement. After 1860, this upper trail would have been the preferred trail for settlers with wagons. Small sections of the upper trail were still visible to the west of Chute Lake in the 1950s. AJ and NJ would ride their horses up in this area. They took colour pho-

tographs of the trail before logging and fires obscured any remaining presence visible on the ground surface.

Ellis' Cattle Trail

In 1865 Tom Ellis, one of the original settlers of Penticton, took the lower trail up to the Mission in what was to become Kelowna. His group included Judge Haynes, Andy McFarlin and Tonasket, a noted Okanagan Indigenous man who was their packer and guide. In Ellis' diary entry of Monday May 15, 1865 he writes: "We started today for the mission, Mr. Haynes going on business, I going that I might see the country, before I finally fixed on a place to settle upon. We did not start till 12 o'clock, so we only made about 15 miles" (Ellis 1865).

Tom Ellis bought the Christian Ranch in the Okanagan Mission area in 1890. By this time, Ellis owned considerable grazing land and cattle in the Penticton-Osoyoos area. At the same time he became a major shareholder in the BC Cattle Company. Owning the Christian Ranch allowed Ellis to supply cattle year-round to the coastal markets in New Westminster via the new railhead in Vernon (Thomson 1985:267-285). The lower trail, on which Ellis had personally travelled, was the best route to drive cattle between Penticton and the Mission. It remained close to the lake for most of its length, never rising beyond 165 m above the shoreline. It also had excellent access to water and grassy benches for feeding.

In November of 1891, J.P. Burnyeat, Provincial Land Surveyor made an open traverse that followed most of the existing route of the lower trail from the Penticton-*citxʷs paqəlqyn* area to the Mission. An open traverse was used to link two cadastral locations or township lots to each other (RC). The two cadastral locations were Lot 212, where the trail left the Penticton-*citxʷs paqəlqyn* area, and Lot 25 at the Mission end of the traverse (Figure 2). Burnyeat made a point of calling the trail route "Ellis' cattle driving trail" on both the southern and northern halves of his map. In his accompanying field notes, he refers to the trail as "Ellis' cattle driving trail to the Mission" (Figure 3). The "Indian trail" that had become the lower trail, was recorded in 1891 as "Ellis' cattle driving trail."
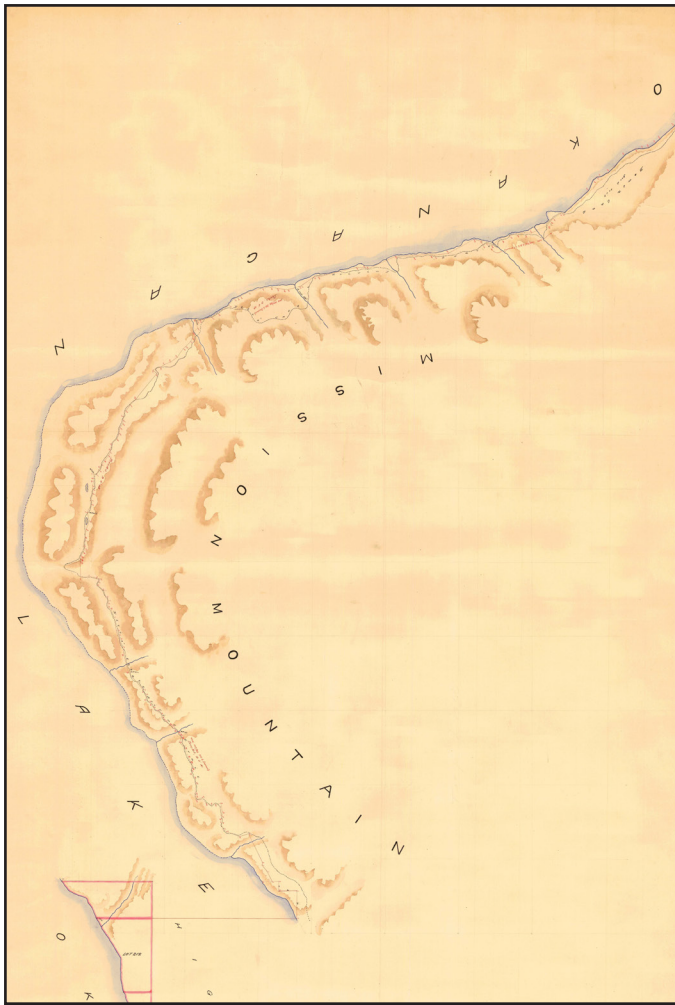
Figure 2. Traverse survey map by J.P. Burnyeat along the Wild Horse Canyon Trail, November 17-26, 1891, titled: *Map of Open Traverse Survey connecting Surveys between Penticton and Okanagan Mission on the East Side of Okanagan Lake.* **The notation "Ellis' cattle driving trail" appears twice along the route. (Surveyor General's Vault, Land Title and Survey Authority of British Columbia, Plan 3, Locker R)**

Dendrochronolgy

In order to further establish that the trail utilized by Burnyeat during his survey was in fact the trail originally taken by Father Pandosy in 1859 and Ellis in 1865, we obtained several increment core samples from selected blazed trees, a type of culturally modified tree (CMT), along the northern section of the trail. We anticipated that the blazes would date the initial use of the trail during the colonial period by groups composed of Indigenous people and the first white settlers in the area. Their age and location together should confirm that the same route was followed at this time as had been over many generations by the original inhabitants of the Valley. These samples were collected through a federal forest ecology program. Blazed trees were observed over the length of the trail in varying frequency (Figure 4). Cores were taken from a blazed Douglas fir at the top of the hill above Horse Creek (Figure 5). This tree was directly on the trail, consisting here of a well-worn depression formed by the passing of horses, cattle, people and game. The tree was found to be approximately 356 years old, with blazes dating from 1906 and earlier.
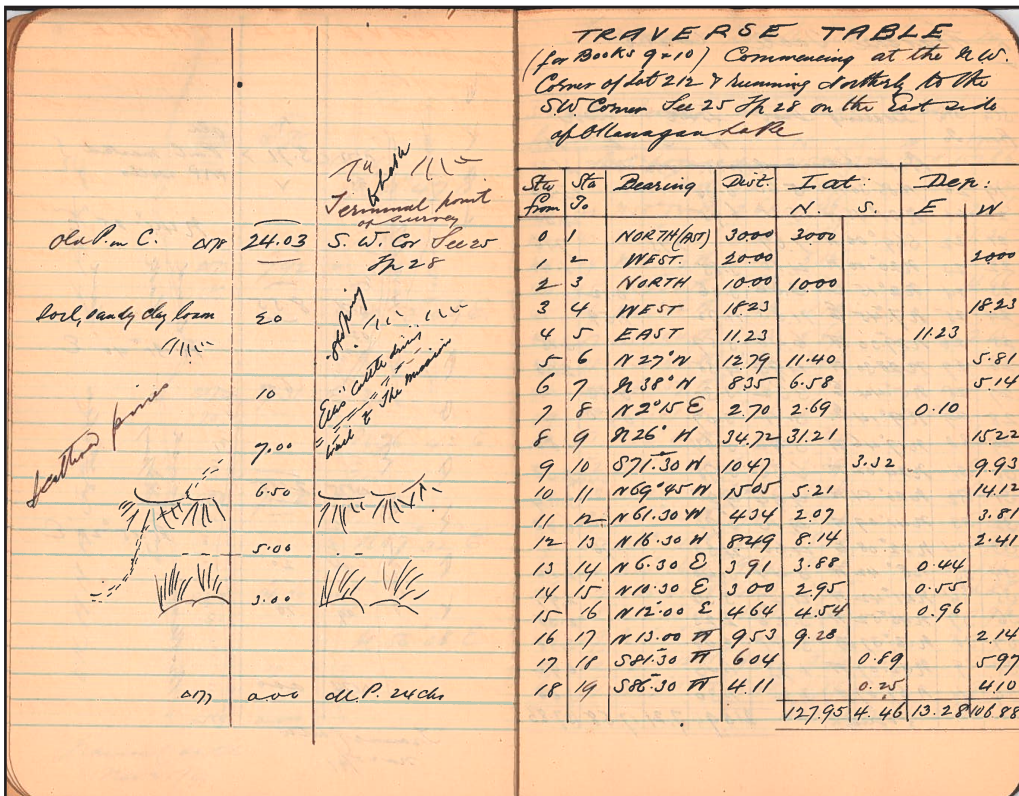

Figure 3. Excerpt from J.P. Burnyeat's field notes of the Wild Horse Canyon Trail survey route, Book 10, pages 7-8 (Burnyeat 1891). Note the text "Ellis' cattle driving trail to the Mission" written on the center-right portion of the left-hand page.

Figure 4. Blazed Douglas fir located on the Wild Horse Canyon trail north of the canyon itself, facing north. The blaze is clearly visible in the close up view (right), the bark of the tree having healed over the scar face (this healing pattern is typical of Douglas fir CMTs). Photos: Paul Ewonus, July 2019.

up the western rim of Wild Horse Canyon. At the top of the canyon wall near this tree is a large pictograph panel (DkQw-48). A ring count age of approximately 259 years old was obtained for this smaller tree and the blaze was approximately 129 years old, indicating that the blaze dates from the 1860 to 1870 time period (Figure 6, Table 1). This is contemporaneous with trips taken by Father Pandosy's original group in 1859 and Tom Ellis' group in 1865. The available dendrochronological evidence supports our conclusion that Ellis' cattle driving trail follows the route of the preexisting Indigenous trail shown to Pandosy.

Evidence in the increment cores for the blazes predating 1906 was degraded and their age could not be accurately assessed. Following the 2003 fire in Okanagan Mountain Park, this tree was observed to have fallen. In October 1992, we took core samples from a smaller Ponderosa pine, marking the trail as it winds

Discussion

Our two examples of early historic journeys on the Wild Horse Canyon trail illustrate that between 1859 and 1890 there was a sea change in the relationship between

Figure 5. View of the Wild Horse Canyon Trail above Horse Creek facing south, showing blazed Douglas fir. Photo: George Ewonus, September 1992.

Table 1. Annual growth ring width data for blazed Ponderosa (yellow) pine in Wild Horse Canyon, 1864-1992. Courtesy of Forestry Canada, Pacific and Yukon Region, Victoria, November 6, 1992 (Project 74, Strip 1, Plot 1, Tree 3, Disk 1 of 1, Radius 1 of 1).

Project Area: Wild Horse Canyon Trail   Area Sampled: Pictograph Blaze
Tree Species: YP   Damage Rating: NA   Outer ring year: 1992
Distance to next disk (m): 01.30   Disks numbered stump to top
Sample type: Core   Quality: Good   Radial portion measured: All
Radius (mm): 201.54   # of rings: 128   Measured pith to bark
Sapwood (mm): 0.00   Bark (mm): 0.00

| Year	Ring width (mm)									
1992	1.01	0.85	0.72	0.62	0.96	1.62	0.84	0.86	0.61	1.05
1982	0.98	1.20	1.01	0.71	0.81	1.27	0.72	0.70	0.67	0.50
1972	0.77	0.70	0.70	0.49	.075	0.77	0.81	1.25	0.90	0.82
1962	0.98	1.18	0.90	0.74	1.50	1.03	1.39	0.90	1.32	1.45
1952	0.57	0.67	1.28	1.22	1.37	1.58	0.55	1.31	2.07	1.73
1942	1.44	1.35	1.74	1.18	2.33	1.80	1.83	1.55	2.35	2.49
1932	2.26	1.93	1.68	0.94	0.82	0.58	0.54	0.68	0.54	0.84
1922	0.85	0.49	0.89	0.91	0.76	1.06	1.40	0.81	1.77	1.47
1912	1.59	1.56	1.37	1.57	1.57	0.71	1.04	0.96	1.42	1.26
1902	1.34	1.41	0.38	1.12	1.12	1.30	1.34	1.65	1.71	1.71
1892	2.06	2.49	2.29	1.77	1.85	2.43	2.24	1.98	2.17	2.22
1882	2.11	1.58	1.41	2.93	3.85	4.64	2.59	3.04	5.13	4.03
1872	3.98	5.60	3.87	5.11	4.39	5.23	3.31	2.82		
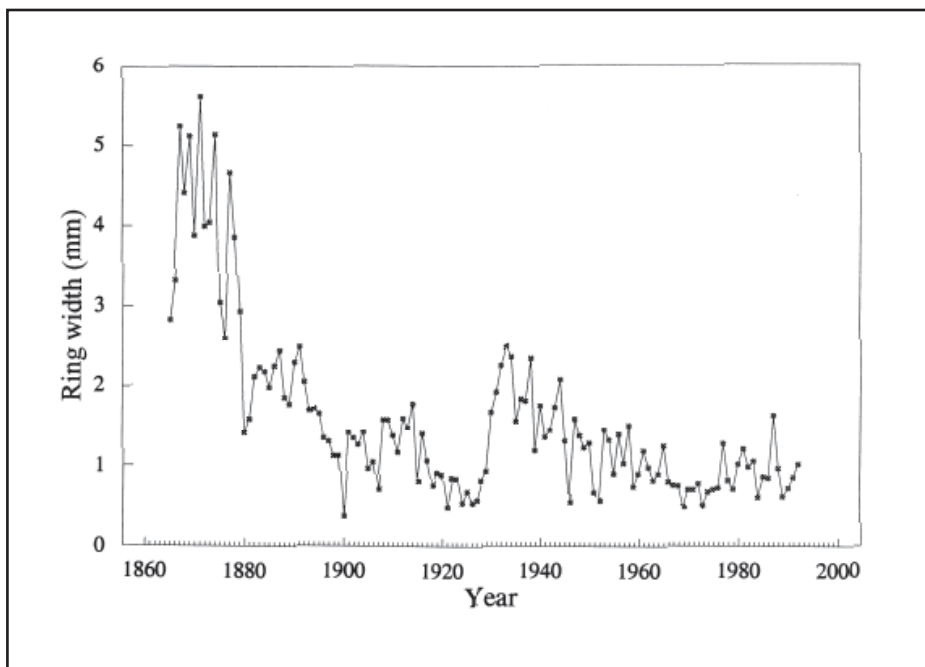
Figure 6. Annual growth ring width for blazed Ponderosa pine in Wild Horse Canyon. Growth of the tree peaked about 1870 in response to injury caused by the blaze in the previous decade.

white settlers and local *Syilx* (Okanagan) First Nations. When in 1859 Pandosy sought to travel through the territory of the Penticton Indian Band, he was required to negotiate safe passage with Chief Capeau Blanc and his son François. It is clear that there was no guarantee that he and his party would be allowed to pass. When they were successful in these negotiations, due mainly to the influence of an affinal (marriage) relationship, the chief and his son traveled with the group. This appears to have been to ensure compliance with negotiated terms and to indicate to any other groups encountered, such as members of the Westbank First Nation, that permission had been obtained by Pandosy to travel north along the lower trail route.

In 1865, Ellis traveled with an Indigenous guide, Tonasket, apparently out of necessity, but by 1890 he was able to drive cattle along the original Indigenous trail on his own. Burnyeat spent five days working along the trail in 1891 during his survey from the Penticton-*citxʷs paqəlqyn* area to the Mission. His detailed field notes omit any mention of cultural depressions, pictograph panels and the use of the trail by local First Nations. Together these simply could not have been missed. Their omission was clearly intentional. Signs of use of the landscape by various groups were visible to the experienced observer on the ground, in blazed trees and other trail markers such as pictographs. In contrast, he took pains to label the Indigenous trail as "Ellis' cattle driving trail". This may be interpreted as an effort to assert new ownership of the trail in favour of Ellis' ambition. Over time, control of the territory traversed by the lower trail shifted from the Penticton Indian Band to white settlers. It appears that this process was not immediate and it was undoubtedly bound up in larger-scale colonial processes aimed at severing connections in the new state with Indigenous history and its relationships to the landscape.

Legislative and legal changes in the years 1858 through 1871 had profound effects for First Nations and their cultures (Armstrong et al. 1993). British Columbia became a crown colony in 1858, but the appointment of magistrates and constables took several years to reach the Okanagan. In conjunction with this, surveys were undertaken to establish townships and lots. These lots were only available for white settlers. First Nations peoples were not permitted to pre-empt land and were provided with Indian Reserve properties that were often comparatively small and located in areas with poor soils away from town centers. This had potential for significant conflict with First Nations traditional territories, and typically these issues were resolved by unscrupulous government and settler actions. This was a process of disenfranchisement of First Nations' control of the land that was eventually formalized in policy with the full establishment of the reserve and residential school systems in the twentieth century. Thus when BC joined Confederation in 1871, the processes of disenfranchisement continued. It is as a willing participant in these colonial processes that in 1891 Ellis, a prominent settler in Penticton, could now use the original Indigenous lower trail as he wished. That Ellis initially engaged an Indigenous guide, however, suggests that in this locale control of the land did not shift from First Nations to the crown in a straightforward manner, but instead influence, rights and ownership were gradually eroded in concert with developing colonial rule.

The Wild Horse Canyon trail is one of a multitude of Indigenous trails throughout the province. The histories associated with the trail are contingent on the local social landscape. They nonetheless provide an example of a variety of colonial era interactions among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. At times the interests of different ethno-linguistic groups were similar enough that they could cooperate in enterprise. In the Okanagan, such practical interactions could be part of a process of community formation. For example, Ellis employed at least one Syilx guide in 1865 and it is reasonable to hypothesize that he hired several Indigenous people over the years to provide services in relation to ranching. J.C. Haynes and A.L. Fortune hired Indigenous labour, male and female, to work on their ranches at various times of the year in the later nineteenth century (Thomson 1985: 289-290). In other cases they were at odds. Burnyeat's survey is an exam-

Figure 7. The Wild Horse Canyon trail southwest of Horse Creek in 2019. Photo: Paul Ewonus, July 2019.

ple of a process of expropriation of the land. This was accomplished through the recasting of space according to a colonial perception, including the renaming of places. Indigenous ranchers who initially were competitive with the influential white stockraisers, were forced from the industry. They were at a disadvantage due to a loss of land use rights to the settlers via the colonial bureaucracy, of which in the Okanagan J.C. Haynes was a key member (Thomson 1994).

Regardless, while there were several flashpoints, the colonial settlement of the Okanagan was not an open conflict where colonists lined up face-to-face with First Nations. The large fire that impacted the trail in 2003 resulted in significant changes to forest cover in the area, including combustion of blazed trees and an increase in regenerating shrubs that in places hide the trail (Figure 7). We know that prior to the fire, First Nations communities were using the immediate area within Okanagan Mountain Park. This is consistent with their long-term use and stewardship of the trail. After about 1865, control of the trail lands began to shift away

from First Nations. Most of the section of trail discussed here is now within a provincial park. Nevertheless, local Indigenous people likely continue to visit these places despite the restrictions on activities imposed by the park. Instead of violent conflict between groups we see a developing and ongoing negotiation that initially was fairly even; only after Confederation did it follow a darker path.

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Bios
Paul Ewonus worked as a park ranger in Okanagan Mountain Provincial Park as an undergraduate student, and has since received his PhD in Archaeology from Cambridge University. He is currently a senior archaeologist at Millennia Research Ltd in Victoria, and an honorary research associate in the Department of Anthropology at Vancouver Island University. His research interests include landscape archaeology, community archaeology, and social zooarchaeology.

George Ewonus was the founding Director of College Board Programs in Canada. George is interested in the history and pre-contact history of the Okanagan and has contributed articles in local publications, been a guest lecturer for the Okanagan University College Public Lecture Series and has been featured in the CHBC television series on Okanagan history.

Historic Archaeology at the Royal British Columbia Museum

by Tom Bown

RBCM Archaeology curator Grant Keddie samples an exposed historic layer during construction at the old Songhees Village in Victoria (DcRu-25).

The archaeology unit at the Royal British Columbia Museum curates several collections and a number of historic objects recovered from archaeological sites. However, the collection under represents the true potential of historic archaeology in British Columbia. This is largely due to the current British Columbia Heritage Act which only provides automatic archaeological protection to sites prior to1846. So, unless a site is 173 years old, there are no legal requirements for developers to conduct archaeological assessments or recoveries. As a result, repositories such as the RBCM tend to have fewer and smaller collections than would otherwise be expected. On a positive note, this is starting to change as archaeologists, various levels of government and the public realize the significant loss to our historic record as the pace of development increases within the province.

The majority of archaeological historic objects in the collection have been recovered as part of pre-contact First Nations sites where an historic component has been part of the excavation. Even though most of these historic layers post date 1846 they are extremely important as they represent a time in First Nations history of rapid cultural change. By far, the largest collection of this sort is the historic Songhees Village (DcRu-25 and the adjoining DcRu-123) on the west side of the harbour in

A fragment of a Schweppe & Co soda water bottle from London. The earliest pop bottles were egg shaped to withstand the pressure of the carbonation. This wasn't necessarily the sugary sweet pop of today as Schweppes imitated natural mineral waters considered healthful (Simmons 1983). Cultural change was rapid during first few decades of the historic period with many new and novel products available to First Nations (DcRu-25:227).

Victoria. Combined, these sites account for about 6000 objects. Although there have been three formal excavations (Keddie 1981; Wilson 2005; Bond 2012), the vast majority of the village site has been redeveloped over the past five decades with no formal recovery. Informally, hundreds of additional objects now in the collection were gathered by volunteers checking each new development site, with the first object recorded in 1966. This type of recovery has all but ceased in the past decade or so, as current liability issues around construction sites require fencing and restricted access. The Songhees Cultural Centre located in James Bay now houses an on going exhibit of a portion of this historic material. An overview of the historic archaeology of the Songhees Village is given by Bown 2016.

Many of these recovered objects have the power to reshape our thinking and make us realize they represent real people and how their lives were changing. While some of the artifacts from the village were out being sorted for the cultural centre, a small group of teachers were touring

Transfer printed tooth paste lid with the profile of Queen Victoria. Early Victorian's were patriotic to the British Empire (RJH:190) Note: The site was not assigned a Borden number so RJH was used as Royal Jubilee Hospital.

A naval badge likely from the Ottoman Empire. Victoria had maritime links to the world and this artifact suggests a Turkish sailor may have treated at the Royal Jubilee Hospital (RJH:438).

the RBCM Archaeology Unit. One of them stopped and inquired about the remains of a mid-19th century bottle being considered. I explained it was an early pop bottle and after a short pause she exclaimed, "I had never thought of First Nations drinking pop."

The largest historic archaeology collection without specific ties to First Nations was excavated at Victoria's Royal Jubilee Hospital in 1991. An area being cleared for expan-

sion of the hospital had uncovered the original dump site. Based on maps and records it was determined the site was used between 1890 and 1893. A concerned manager at the RJH contacted Grant Keddie at the RBCM and informed him that construction workers were finding artifacts and could he offer help. Grant, as a volunteer himself, organized and supervised a volunteer crew from the Archaeological Society of B.C. Excavation of the 50-60 cm ash layer that was well over 100 square meters produced over 500 different objects that ranged from safety pins to chemical bottles, to patients' personal belongings. The collection remained boxed for almost 25 years at the RBCM until it was documented and made available to University of Victoria students for study which resulted in a one day pop up exhibit for the public. The collection represents a narrow time line of materials discarded from a late Victorian hospital and is available for further study.

A second substantial collection was made during the street alignment as part of the Johnson Street Bridge construction in 2013. The City of Victoria funded an historic archaeology recovery which was conducted by Golder (Vincent 2014). This was the first formal historic archaeology conducted on Victoria's waterfront and the RBCM was designated as the repository. The recovered artifacts covered a time span of over one hundred years and provided insight to a segment of Victoria's waterfront history represented by the many bars and hotels linked to our maritime heritage. As the location bordered the historic Chinatown a number of objects of Chinese origin were also recovered. This collection has also been used by University of Victoria students for study and a one day pop up public exhibit.

Glass syringe fragments which may have been used for mercury treatments before the development of antibiotics (RJH:491).

Chinese bowl fragments. Keddie 2008, describes this pattern as the "Bamboo Marsh or Three Circles and Dragon Fly motif." This was a popular pattern imported from China in the 19th century (DcRu-1208:89 recorded as a group of three fragments).

Future Collections and Considerations

Changing attitudes towards recovering our buried historic heritage will see the RBCM act as repository for some major collections in the near future. Likely the largest of these will be dredged material from Esquimalt Harbour. As part of a process to remove toxic material, sediments are being dredged from the harbour bottom. The Department of National Defence quickly realized these sediments also contained a wide variety of historic objects that represent the entire historic time span of British Columbia as well as artifacts relevant to the study of global military and conflict archaeology. DND has contracted archaeological firms to oversee the process and the RBCM has agreed to act as the repository for the artifacts recovered during the five year project.

During the summer of 2018, RBCM staff and volunteers collaborated with B.C. Heritage Branch to recover historic artifacts in the intertidal zone in front of Craigflower Manor in Victoria. The branch was concerned that treasure hunters had recently removed some significant artifacts form the site. Over 1200 objects were collected and are currently being sorted and processed. Craigflower Manor will likely be the repository for this and subsequent collections.

For all the benefits associated with historic archaeological collections, there are also some major challenges. The shear volume generated from historic sites can be overwhelming. For this reason, once the documentation is complete, careful consideration needs to be given as to

Stoneware ginger beer bottle. This was a very popular drink for the British immigrants and was likely sold in many places along the waterfront. Local companies such at Thorpe & Co. Ltd. ordered bottles from Britain (DcRu1208:320).

what and how much material can be permanently curated. The most logical approach is to determine the significance of a site and the objects that have been recovered. This however, has its own challenge as significance can be very subjective. For this reason, archaeologists as well as museums and repositories, need to consult and collaborate with experts in the field as well as local communities, especially if the material represents specific ethnic groups. In larger organizations such as the RBCM there can be closer collaboration between the modern history and archaeology units. Although collections policies may vary between the two groups there can be a definite synergy in building a collection that enhances our understanding of the past. Display can also be a challenge. Fortunately historic archaeological material lends itself well to virtual exhibits. Many museums around the world are choosing this path to share their collections. An excellent example is the Australian "Museums Victoria," Historic Archaeology website (Smith 2012). A compliant I often hear from the public is, "if it goes to the museum it will only be put in a box never seen again." If we want the public and consequently, government agencies, to see the value in properly managing historic archaeology, we need to share what we have and what we have learned.

(Authors note: Since the time of writing the Songhees Cultural Cetnre in James Bay has closed. Hopefully a new

A number of leather shoes and fragments were also recovered beneath Johnson Street. With thousands of fortune seekers arriving at the Victoria waterfront who needed to be outfitted before heading to the goldfields, old and worn out shoes were likely just left behind. (DcRu-1208:60).

location will be found in the near future.)

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Bio
Tom Bown is a volunteer research associate with the archaeology unit at the Royal BC Museum. He specializes in historic archaeological artifacts and the stories they can tell. He has also been an executive member of the ASBC for many years.

St. Stephen's Anglican Church & Cemetery: A History

by Angela Dyck

St. Stephen's Anglican Church is located in the municipality of Saanichton, Vancouver Island, British Columbia. It is the oldest church still on its original build site to be used continuously as a place of worship in the Anglican Diocese of BC (St. Stephen's Anglican Church, n.d.) and is a registered heritage property (DdRu-85). Presently, the church property consists of the original church building and associated cemetery plots, a church hall/administration building, and land in between the hall and church that contains a flower garden and open park. Many original monuments are still present in the cemetery and exhibit a variety Victorian era imagery and epitaphs. The land St. Stephen's Anglican Church and Cemetery sits on is situated in the territory of the W̱SÁNEĆ peoples (specifically the BOḰEĆEN – Pauquachin, STÁ,UTW̱ – Tsawout, W̱JOȽEȽP – Tsartlip, and W̱SÍ̵KEM – Tseycum First Nations), and the story of the land goes much deeper in time than the history that is about to be recounted here. Acknowledgment and much gratitude are given to the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations and all Indigenous peoples as the original and ongoing caretakers of these lands that we have settled and built our lives upon, to the expense of Indigenous cultures and communities worldwide. The story of St. Stephen's Anglican Church begins in February of 1862, when William Thomson provided five acres of land for the construction of a new church to serve the communities on the Saanich Peninsula. In 1862, the population of the Mount Newton Valley area was growing steadily, and the church became an important aspect of early pioneer life (Wilkey & Wilkey 1995:6-7; Bell 1982:115, 122). This paper will explore the history of St. Stephen's Anglican Church by looking at the establishment of the church, its importance to the surrounding community, the stories of four individuals/families buried there, and the changes it underwent over time.

The diary of Bishop George Hills states that a payment of $25 was given to William Thomson (one of the first settlers in the Mount Newton Valley) for six acres of land for a "church and parsonage" on February 13, 1862 (1893:172). This conflicts slightly with available secondary sources, which all suggest that on February 11, 1862, William Thomson donated five acres of land for St. Stephen's Anglican Church, despite being a Presbyterian (Old Cemeteries Society of Victoria [OCSV] 1995a; Wilkey & Wilkey 1995:6-7; Bell 1982:23). The same diary shows a payment of $220 on June 11, 1862 for seven acres of land in Victoria (174). This is a substantial monetary difference, and it is possible that because such a small amount of money was paid to Thomson for the land, it has since been viewed as a donation by both the church and local community. Work on building the church did not begin right away. In 1862, there was no sawmill in the area, necessitating the purchase of redwood lumber from California. The lumber was brought to Victoria via ship and hauled to the church site by oxen (Wilkey and Wilkey 1995:7; Bell 1982:23). Once the lumber arrived, community members helped with construction while T.B Shaw, a local contractor, directed the work. St. Stephen's Anglican Church was initially referred to as the District Church of South Saanich, which was its name at the time of its first service and dedication, held on June 3, 1862. No record of it being called St. Stephen's Anglican Church exists until 1880 (Wilkey & Wilkey 1995:7-10). The pioneers that formed the early Mount Newton Valley community were almost exclusively devout Christians (mostly Anglican), and thus from this point on the church became an important part of community life (Wilkey & Wilkey 1995:6-7; Bell 1982:23; OCSV 1995b).

Church service was conducted every Sunday and schooling was provided in the church for the first two years of its existence. A portion of the church was parted off for a classroom and Reverend Richard Lowe, and likely his wife, taught lessons (Wilkey and Wilkey 1995:11; Thompson & Morrison 1999). Despite having held regular Sunday services since its dedication, the church and cemetery were not consecrated until 1868 by Bishop George Hills. To ensure regular services were held when no permanent rector could be found (there have been many such breaks throughout St. Stephen's history), temporary parsons would travel from Victoria to conduct service (Wilkey and Wilkey 1995:8-9; Bell 1982:119-120).

Baptisms, weddings, and funerals were held at the church in addition to regular services (Wilkey and Wilkey 1995:7-9; Bell 1982:117-122; OCSV 1995c). Only two months after the first service was held, baptisms and weddings began. On August 3, 1862, William Thomson's son Richard and one other infant were the first parishioners to be baptised. The first marriage at the church was on August

10, 1862, uniting a young couple named Thomas Skitch/ Sketch and Cecelia Luxmor (Wilkey & Wilkey 1995:8-9). The first documented burial does not occur until 1869, but it is suspected that undocumented burials exist because the only other cemetery available was in Victoria. It is also possible that burials were not documented or did not occur prior to 1869 because the land remained unconsecrated until 1868 (OCSV 1995c; Wilkey and Wilkey 1995:7-9; Bell 1982:117-122). The first documented burial was of nineyear-old William Thomson Junior. He was tragically killed when a horse-drawn cart overturned and crushed him; he was buried on March 9, 1869 (OCSV 1995c; Wilkey &Wilkey 1995:18). These first recorded events marked a tradition of baptisms, weddings, and funerals that occur to present day.

Church groups, holiday festivities, and choir practices also served to make St. Stephen's Anglican Church an important community centre for the Mount Newton area. The Women's Guild was one prominent church group in the early 20th century. Its members were women from the surrounding community, and many young girls yearned for the day when they would be promoted to positions of responsibility in the guild. It was through their work that enough money was raised for the installation of electricity in the church in the early 1900s. The Women's Guild also ensured that the church's altar cloths and hangings were clean and in good condition, and they were responsible for decorating the church for holiday festivities, held every Christmas, Easter, and Thanksgiving. Holiday services were important events at the time as they served to bring surrounding families together to celebrate and bond as a community (Bell 1982:121-122). Every Sunday a choir, harmonium players, and an organist would perform at St. Stephen's Anglican Church. Volunteers were recruited for these positions and they mostly consisted of youth in the community. These responsibilities, as well as practicing for them, often became an important part of many community youths' lives (Bell 1982:115-116). All of these activities served to make St. Stephen's Anglican Church a hub of community activity and interaction throughout the latter 19th and into the 20th century.

The early burials and monuments in the cemetery represent the stories of the many people that helped build the village of Saanichton we see today, and many of the early pioneer families that settled in the area are buried there. Through recounting the narratives of four different community members and families with various backgrounds, the monuments seen in the cemetery today become much more than just stone markers, they become the physical manifestations of the early colonial history of the area. The Thomsons are one pioneer family that contributed greatly

to early pioneer life in Saanichton. William Thomson was the second person to appropriate farmland in the Mount Newton Valley, the first being Angus McPhail. The Thomsons hold a large section of plots within the cemetery and many Thomson family members have been laid to rest there. The burials are marked by a large granite, rustic-style tablet monument with additional plaques placed on granite curbing that borders the plots. It is the largest family burial in the cemetery and its size speaks to the importance of the Thomsons to the church community. William Thomson's arrival to Vancouver Island was troubled, and the ship he travelled on crashed near Barkley Sound, allegedly due to a drunken captain. Although the captain died, Thomson and the other passengers made it safely to shore (OCSV 1995c; Wilkey & Wilkey 1995:5). Thomson made his way to the Mount Newton Valley, where in 1856 he staked out 200 acres of land in 1856, for which he paid the Hudson Bay Company 14 pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence. This was to become the site of Thomson's farm, named Bannockburn. Shortly after this, he married Duncan Lidgate's stepdaughter, 15-year-old Margaret Dyer. In 1858, they had their first child and moved into a small log cabin on the land. They built a new house in 1868 to accommodate their growing family, which still stands today. It is a section of this land that Thomson parceled off to house St. Stephen's Anglican Church and Cemetery as well as the church hall, built in 1951 (Wilkey & Wilkey 1995:6, OCSV 1995b; 1995c). Thomson's farm employed numerous community members, both full and part time, and was one of the largest on the Saanich Peninsula at the time. He was also responsible for providing land for a school in 1866, which was the first school in the Mt. Newton Valley (OSCV 1995b).

The Lidgates are another pioneer family buried at St. Stephen's Cemetery. The Lidgate story begins with Duncan Lidgate and his wife Helen. Duncan was indentured as carpenter to the Hudson's Bay Company when he and Helen immigrated to Vancouver Island with their four children. In 1858, Lidgate secured 200 acres of land in the Mount Newton Valley, making him one of the first five pioneer landowners in the area. Both Duncan and his wife contributed much to the early settler community. Duncan was highly valued for his mechanical skills and his wife was often called upon to provide medical advice and to deliver babies. Duncan helped build St. Stephen's Church and went on to become one of its wardens (OCSV 1995d; Virgin 1985:16). He passed away in 1874, at the age of 63. Helen survived Duncan, who was her second husband, and went on to marry two more times. In 1889, she was laid to rest next to Duncan. A marble domed tablet memorialises the final resting place of these two

highly valued early community members (OCSV 1995d). This monument is a good example of the presence of Victorian era monument trends in the cemetery, as not only was marble a preferred Victorian era stone, but it also exhibits symbolic floral imagery (a rose and Easter lily), which became popular in this era (Gillion 1972; Smith 1987).

One of the grandest monuments in the cemetery belongs to William Batchelor. This particular monument is an elaborate marble, gothic style screen monument and is the only one of its kind in the cemetery (Figure 1). William Batchelor lived on Vancouver Island for 25 years under the pseudonym Frederick Reynolds in order to dodge military duties in the United States. He settled in Victoria around 1861, and within a few years established himself as a butcher supplying meat to the Esquimalt Royal Navy. By 1869, he owned two business blocks in Victoria and had become very wealthy (OCSV 1995e; 1995f). Seven years later, in 1876, he leased 10 acres of land, near the current site of Reynolds Secondary School, to begin what would become a very successful dairy operation. He became well known due to his success and was often seen racing his expensive carriage through the streets of Victoria. However, soon after 1876 his health began to deteriorate, and this coupled with depression and anxiety, facilitated his decline. In 1887 he perished in the care of Mr. and Mrs. Bryant, members of St. Stephen's Anglican Church. He left behind very explicit instructions for his gothic style monument and the name to be written upon it: William Batchelor (1995e; 1995f). This elaborate monument seems to reflect the luxurious tastes he held in life, displaying Greek columns and beautiful carv-

ings. Curiously, he reserved two plots (25 & 26) in the cemetery, one of which is assigned to his pseudonym. The legacy he left behind as Frederick Reynolds is seen in the naming of a park, road, and secondary school after this pseudonym (1995e; 1995f).

The last burial to be mentioned here is of a young, 14-year-old girl who has no monument marking her final resting place. There is no evidence to suggest that she ever had a monument, but it is possible this has been lost in time. Not much is known about her, other than her name, Maria Whims, and some of her familial background. She was born in 1856 in California after her family had made the arduous trek via wagon train from St. Louis, Missouri. She died on May 21, 1870 of consumption (OCSV 1995g). The Whims family is one of the first Black pioneer families that settled on Salt Spring Island. Her family was likely one amongst many that travelled from California, invited by Governor Douglas in 1858 (OCSV 1995g; 1995h; Black History Canada 2013). Before the Whims family settled on Salt Spring Island, they lived in Saanich, where both Maria and her mother Elizabeth passed away (St. Stephen's Anglican Church 2019). Although it cannot be confirmed, an old cemetery plan shows a Whims plot two plots south of the one that is currently understood to be Maria's, and it is possible that her mother, Elizabeth Whims, is also buried in the cemetery. Maria and Elizabeth's tragic, early deaths speaks to hardship that early immigrants, and especially black pioneers, faced as they journeyed to Canada in search of better lives. These four burials provide a snapshot into the many and varied

Figure 1: Batchelor's elaborate Gothic style screen monument. Photo credit: Angela Dyck.

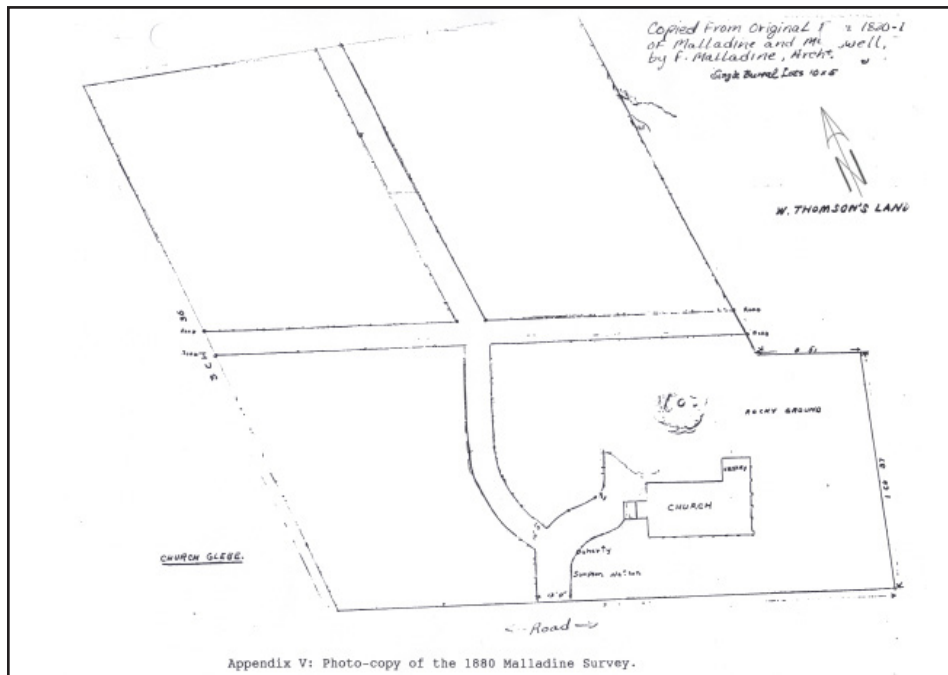**Figure 2: St. Stephen's as it appears today. Photo credit: Angela Dyck**

Figure 3: Original churchyard layout. Copied from an original 1880 survey completed by Malladine and McDowell architect firm. No scale is available for this map. Original map has been modified by the author to remove the location of individual plots and to add a north arrow.

people who were a part of the early community surrounding St. Stephen's Anglican Church. From pioneers to entrepreneurs to those who left very few records, all contributed to the community that surrounds St. Stephen's today.

St. Stephen's Anglican Church looks remarkably similar today to its first incarnation in 1862 (Figure 2). A few

changes have occurred, however, and numerous renovations have been undertaken throughout its 151 year history (OCSV 1995c; Wilkey and Wilkey 1995:25-31). The biggest change made to the cemetery is its entrance location and pathway layout. In 1862, the entrance was on the south boundary of the churchyard, as the Thomson farm road running along this boundary was the only access to the site. The main pathway was north-south oriented and split into a Y just before it reached the church. An east-west oriented pathway spanning the Cemetery also existed north of the church (Figure 3). After 1880, a new entrance was made on the western boundary, and the main pathway was realigned to an east-west orientation (Figure 4). The actual plot organisation has not changed, continuing in north-south rows, with east-west alignment, as is commonly done in Christian cemeteries to ensure the deceased are facing their Saviour on Judgement Day. In addition to these layout changes, the western boundary was extended in 1877 and again between 1949 and 1989. The next largest extension occurred in 1965, when the Woodward family donated a portion of land east of the church to accommodate additional burials (OCSV 1995c; Wilkey and Wilkey 1995:25).

Other changes have occurred as well. These include the construction of a new fence in 1883 (which has been repaired and replaced numerous times since), the addition of a vestry sometime before 1880 (rebuilt and enlarged in 1930), various interior and exterior renovations (notably, the addition of buttresses to support the exterior walls), the removal of the fir trees William Thomson planted in December of 1862, and
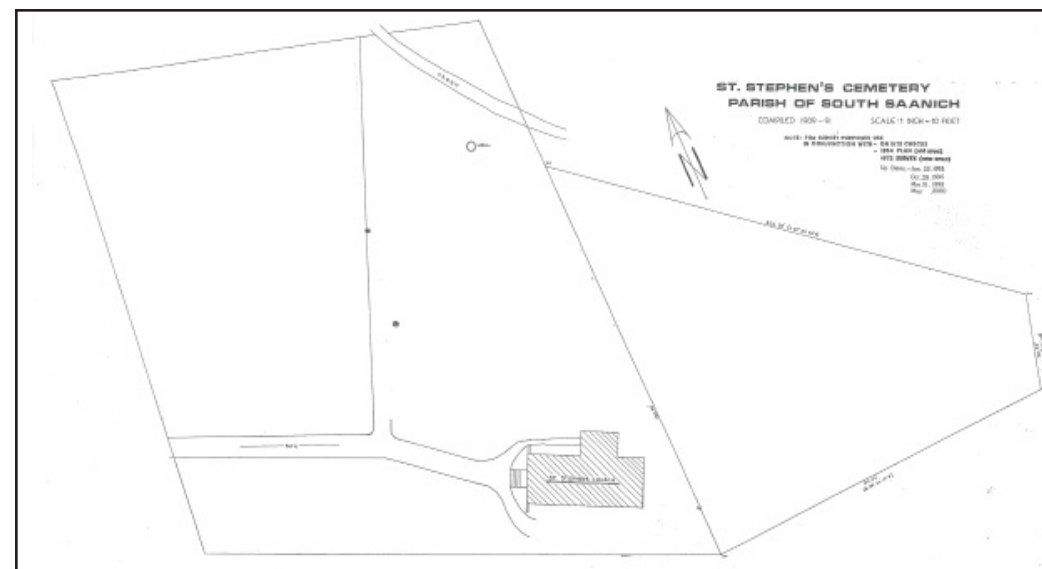

Figure 4. Current churchyard layout. This map is based upon numerous surveys, the last of which was completed in the year 2000. Scale: 1 inch = 10 feet. Original map has been modified by the author to remove plot locations.
Source: St. Stephen's Anglican Church records.

uniquely, the addition of a lychgate for the entrance in 1963 (Wilkey and Wilkey 1995: 8, 15, 28-31, 38; St. Stephen's Anglican Church 2013). In addition to these modifications, a new hall was built and dedicated in 1951, and renovated again in 1984. The hall currently houses the church and cemetery administration, in addition to providing daycare services and space for gatherings. The original building is still used for regular Sunday services, as well as special occasions (Wilkey & Wilkey 1995:34, 42). Despite renovations, land extensions, and slight layout changes, St. Stephen's Anglican Church looks almost the same today as it originally did in 1862 (Figure 3, Figure 4).

Since the establishment of St. Stephen's Anglican Church 157 years ago, numerous congregation members have lived and died attending the church, many renovations and a few layout changes have been undertaken, and the surrounding area has changed greatly. The continued presence of the church has been one constant amidst these many changes. The narratives surrounding the church, the cemetery, the stone monuments and the people associated with them help to remind us of the lengthy and meaningful history St. Stephen's Anglican Church has in the community of Saanich.

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Bio.
Angela Dyck holds a Bachelor of Arts from the University of Victoria with a specialization in archaeology. She has worked in archaeology since 2012 and currently works at the University of Victoria with Duncan McLaren for the Hakai Ancient Landscapes Archaeology Project and the Northern Vancouver Archaeology and Paleoecology Project.

Archaeology News

Cooper's Ferry, Idaho

The Cooper's Ferry site in western Idaho lends support for the coastal route for the peopling of the Americas. Previous radiocarbon dates put the site at around 13,000 years old. A recent paper published in Science provides radiocarbon dates that show people were butchering animals and crafting lithic tools at the Cooper's Ferry site between 15,000 and 16,000 years ago.

Link:
https://www.sciencemag.org/news/2019/08/first-people-americas-came-sea-ancient-tools-unearthed-idaho-river-suggest?fbclid=IwAR03nNJUCEiXY_yXPRk-r2-YSYjhXBLl2YcZYSi0oY-1QJAOo-nozpV7Vt6A

Tse'K'wa, Fort St. John

Tse'K'wa, an important spiritual cave site in northern B.C., is now included on the national historic designations list. The site dates to over 11,000 years ago and finds include: lithic artifacts, fossilized pollen and faunal material. Tse'K'wa provides insight into human occupation and environmental changes in the area between the last glacial period (approximately 12,500 years ago) to 1,000 years ago.

Links:
https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/cave-recognized-federal-government-1.5260707?fbclid=IwAR08rP3SQKz5v3fAEP4WO_QsufR_dYQjM8o3v9I1QWq0yl1_uNN9_gUOY3Y
http://treaty8.bc.ca/tsekwa/

Keith Island, Broken Group Islands, BC

Recent archaeological research on Keith Island, in Tseshaht territory, shows that Nuu-chah-nulth-aht were eating geoduck clams before contact with Europeans. The shells were found in deposits that date to at least 500 years ago but may date to as early as 1,000 year ago. This is the first-time geoduck clams have been confirmed in an archaeological context in Nuu-chah-nulth territory or on the BC coast.

Link:
https://hashilthsa.com/news/2019-07-22/archaeologists-unearth-evidence-geoduck-harvesting-ancient-tseshaht-village-site

The Midden

Midden Call for Donations, Sponsors and Advertisers

The Midden Journal is the Archaeological Society of BC's greatest expense and along with our lecture series a valued asset in spreading archaeological research to members and the broader community in British Columbia and beyond. We are a volunteer run Society and Journal and have recently had to contract paid help to ensure the Society and Midden run smoothly.

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