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See the *SHALE* [Index](#).

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# The Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> village at False Narrows

by Dr. Loraine Littlefield

Gabriola and its neighbouring islands have been home to Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> people for at least two thousand years, and perhaps much longer. There are sites of several villages on the islands, but the site on Gabriola at False Narrows (now El Verano Drive) and on Mudge Island opposite is the site of an especially large and important village. In historic times, the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> used this village as a seasonal resource site during the early summer months, but archaeological evidence reveals that before contact with Europeans, it was also a more permanent winter village and a burial ground.

## Memories

The longhouses at False Narrows have long since disappeared, but Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> Elders recall the village at False Narrows as their parents described it to them. When they visited the island during the summer, they stayed in small wooden shacks built amongst the maple trees, or they camped in tents along the beach. The following excerpts are some of the memories Elders have of their visits to False Narrows.

### *Bill Seward :*

“The place is called *Tle:Itx*<sup>w</sup> [rich or special place]. When my Dad was little there were longhouses there. They were right along the beach where the houses are now. Graves were also along the beach. Many have been washed [away] by the sea. By the caves, there is a mountain where the shaman and the hunters carved the rocks. And you can see all the way down the inlet. That is where they could watch for them [the enemy] like Pipers Lagoon.

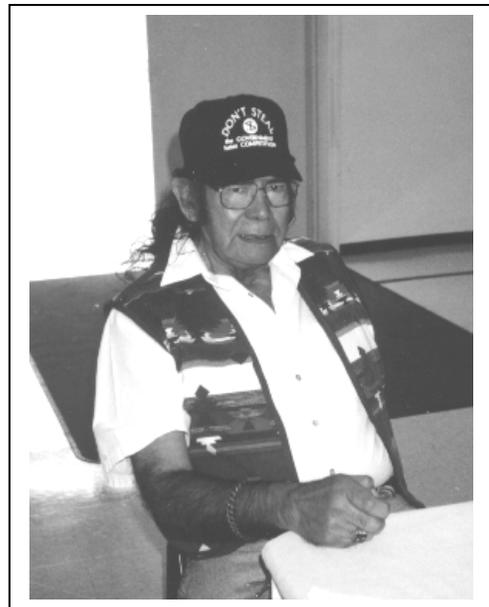
When it came to my age, we camped there, all year round. Stayed there for weeks, when

I was a little boy. It is still a camp for the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup>. We had no such thing as welfare. We lived on the sea—fish, clams. That is where we dig clams. They made pits. They dug pits to cook the clams. When they used to go berry picking, hops, they took clams for their food. We had no fridges. Everything was smoked.

Our tea was in the woods there, and roots. I used to go with the Elders when I was little and pick plants for tea, roots to eat.

When I was little there were only a couple of houses then. People there were friendly, helped each other. Fished for cod. The cod likes the kelp beds. Used the kelp to cook clams, seaweed, or in the pits. Elders say, don't throw your shells back in the water. The urchin will go away. They don't like them. Must bury them on dry land.

Visitors came here too, [from] Chemainus Bay, Duncan, and NanOOSE. When I was growing up they asked permission to dig clams. We always shared. It is our belief, our religion. It is still my belief. I remember it was always a sacred place. I was not



allowed to run around the beaches, because our ancestors are buried on the banks there. They are around. It is a sacred place. Our dances used to be held there.”

***Ellen White :***



“*Tle:Itx<sup>w</sup>* has always been a sacred site. Elders would tell us to eat early at *Tle:Itx<sup>w</sup>* because of the ancestors. We cannot cook food late at night. I remember we always preferred to sleep close to the beach. Because of the sacredness of the place [you] were limited to specific areas. ‘This is a sacred place’, they would say. I remember Wilkes (James) and Wilson saying so. There are so many stories about the place. You cannot build a house there. There was danger bringing young children there.”

***Late Chester Thomas 1994 :***

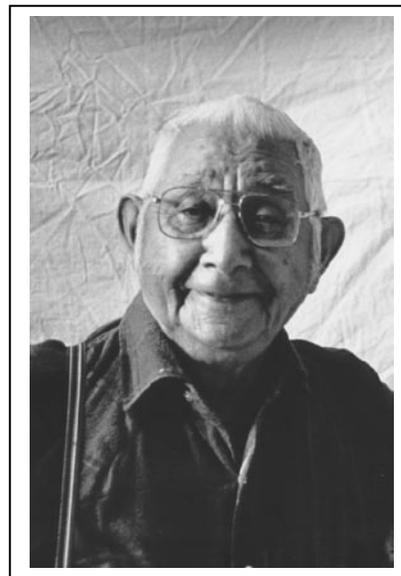
“Now we’re coming into False Narrows. That area must be 25 or 30 acres of clam bed. And the Nanaimo people [it’s] where they get most of their supply. And that’s a big place even at half tide you can get clams. *Tle:Itx<sup>w</sup>*. They had houses along the beach. It’s the name of the place but they had houses there at one time—either commercial digging or go there to cure clams and littlenecks. Real good clams. I think it’s about one of the best clams in the east side of Vancouver

Island. I dug in Seal Island around Comox. Their clams were black, black shells. And some were big. And their shells were thick. Over there at False Narrows, the shell was white. And I guess the running water, they were firm, good meat in it, eh!”

***Late Chester Thomas 1996 :***

“The old-time Indians if it wasn’t for False Narrows we would have starved but...along there there’s lots of clams there...in the early days [we used] a hard stick to dig it.

Paul White was still alive and Harry Wanseir was the secretary for Chief and Council. He got a letter in 1930 or 31 or 32 from the Ministry of Indian Affairs for Chief and Council to sign the papers—the documents, and have it sent back and that area, this bar on Gabriola, would be Reserve Number 7.



He read the letter and read it in Indian and the oldest man living at that time, he started to laugh and he said beginning of time when he was a boy the Elders used to go there and get their food. It come to him, if it weren’t for that bar he said, a lot of us would have starved. Now today the whiteman is giving us that bar and we had it beginning of time and everybody in the house laugh. And they dropped it. I asked him why [he] didn’t get Chief and Council to sign it and send it back. He said he was only told what to do....”

The federal government did not make the area a reserve but as the present-day residents of the area know, the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> in 1999 obtained a shellfish lease on Lot 144 on the tidal flats in the Pylades Channel, and in the fall, winter, and spring, they have returned once more to dig for clams.

### **Making a living**

The recollections of the Elders support the ethnographic records collected by anthropologists in the 1930s that False Narrows was an important seasonal village visited by Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> families after their winter stay at Departure Bay and Nanaimo Harbour. One of the principal reasons they visited the area was to fish the rich waters around False Narrows and Gabriola Passage for salmon and cod. To fish for salmon, they trolled off the shallow banks of False Narrows with U- or V-shaped hooks of bent hemlock root or yew wood. For cod in deeper water, they used an ingenious shuttlecock that was placed on the bottom with a long pole and weights. When it was released, it whirled up to the surface followed by cod that chased the lure. Several fishermen would then adeptly spear the cod when they came into view.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes seals and sea lions were hunted at their rookeries along the shoreline of both Gabriola and Mudge Islands; but there is no evidence that they hunted whales.

Shellfish was another important reason to visit False Narrows. The clam bar there is one of the largest in the area. The indigenous clams—littleneck, butter clam, horse clam—and cockles, mussels, crabs, moon snails, native oysters, whelks, and sea urchins were plentiful. Some shellfish was eaten fresh, but it was more often boiled,

steamed, or dried. Large steam pits were made along the shoreline. Dried clams were an important trade good.

Ducks and deer were also plentiful in the area. Ducks were hunted with nets and spears. Large nets were strung up on poles, nine metres high, and thirty metres apart, across the shoreline of the channel. At dusk, or during a fog when visibility was poor, flocks hit the nets and were temporarily stunned allowing hunters time to grab them. The poles were permanent structures and owned by individual families. The Elders also recall that another popular duck-hunting technique at False Narrows was night hunting in canoes. Hunters used pitchwood torches or small fires in their canoes to attract the ducks. When close enough they would throw nets over them or use multiprong spears.

Deer, the most important land animal to the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup>, were plentiful on the bluffs behind False Narrows. They were caught in pitfalls, snares, and nets constructed on hunting trails that criss-crossed the island. On Mudge Island, deer were hunted by drives. Several men would drive the deer to the grassy islet that connects Mudge and Link Islands. Here, other hunters would wait with bows and arrows, clubs, or knives. As well as meat, deer were important for their hide and hooves. The hides were used for clothing and in later times for making drums. Deer hooves were dried and tied to leggings or dancers' sticks as part of the spirit dancers' regalia.

Edible roots, bulbs, fruits, green leaves, and seaweed were gathered for foods and medicines. Berries of various kinds were also harvested and either eaten fresh or dried into cakes. These cakes were then stored in little crates made of dried alder, and pieces were soaked in water before eating. Sometimes they were mixed with eulachon

<sup>1</sup> Examples of Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> fishing implements are presently displayed at the Nanaimo District Museum.

oil, which they obtained by trade from the north.

## Camas

One of the bulbs collected during the spring months at False Narrows that was an important food for the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> was the camas bulb. Common camas, *Camassia quamash*, is a member of the lily family which grows on grassy slopes in meadows at low to middle elevation. These meadows are found in drier regions along the southeast coast of Vancouver Island. The bulbs were harvested in May when the blue flower was in bloom. This enabled easy identification from the very poisonous meadow-death camas, *Zygadenus venenosus*, which grows in the same fields and whose flower is creamy yellow.

Women were the primary cultivators and harvesters of camas, but whole families participated in gathering these roots. Beds were owned and inherited from mother to daughter. Using digging sticks made of ironwood women harvested and prepared their portion of the meadow for several weeks. Cultivation included clearing stones and weeds and some times controlled burning to increase propagation. According to late Elder Albert Wesley, a single family filled ten to twelve cattail bags in a season. Only the larger bulbs were taken as the smaller ones were used for seed. The bulbs were then steamed in large pits holding as much as 50 kilogram of camas bulbs, (approximately 20 000 bulbs) similar to the process used for steaming clams. The steamed bulbs were either eaten immediately or dried for storage and trade.

The Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> cultivation of camas was abandoned at False Narrows when the Hudson's Bay Company introduced potatoes following the establishment of Fort Langley in 1827. Potatoes became a preferred food,

as they were easier to cultivate and offered higher yields. When Governor James Douglas visited the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> in 1852, he commented on the productivity of the potato fields behind their villages on the Nanaimo River.

Unfortunately, the habitat of the camas beds was also a preferred one for early European farmers and very few wild beds are left today on Gabriola Island.

## Burials

Archaeologists can attest to the significance of this site as a burial site. More than a hundred individuals have been recovered from the area and it is estimated that at least five hundred more people remain buried there.<sup>2</sup> If this conservative estimate is true, then this is the largest prehistoric burial site in British Columbia.

Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> Elders remember that in their lifetime burials were visible on one side of False Narrows near Brickyard Beach. Before contact, burial customs had changed from interments to above ground burials. After death, an individual was wrapped in a blanket with cedar boughs and placed in a canoe or grave box. Some grave boxes were located in trees or on poles several feet above the ground. Items belonging to the individual were placed with them or burned. Carvings then marked the graves. Four years later, the bones were rewrapped and a memorial ceremony given.

To keep their ancestors close to their living relatives, graveyards were established next to winter village sites or on small islands close by. It was believed that the dead

<sup>2</sup> Particularly distressing to Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> Elders and many others is that some individuals apparently feel free to desecrate and loot Native burials in a way that would evoke universal disgust and outrage if used by strangers in a Christian or Jewish cemetery.

lingered about the grave and there were various taboos to follow to show respect. The site at False Narrows was a burial site until the early years of contact when the village was no longer used as a winter village. The Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> then used instead the graveyard close to their winter village on Nanaimo Harbour.

## Contact history

The first recorded contact between the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> on Gabriola and non-natives occurred when the Spanish navy visited Gabriola in 1791 and 1792; however, there may have been earlier encounters as many maritime fur traders were annually visiting the outer coast of Vancouver Island at the time. It is possible that one of the chiefs drawn by José Cardero in 1792 was from False Narrows. Following the 18th-century visits, regular contact with European visitors to their territory did not begin until the establishment of Hudson's Bay Company posts in the Pacific Northwest in the 1820s.

The first recorded observations of the First Narrows village itself were made in the early 1850s, shortly after the Hudson's Bay Company began developing the coal deposits at Nanaimo. Several maps of that era show the village situated on the Gabriola side of False Narrows. Another village noted on these maps was located at Degnen Bay.

It is difficult to know how many people may have lived in the False Narrows village. Pre-contact population numbers are difficult to estimate, but several sources point to 5000 Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> people in 1775 as being a reasonable estimate given the resources in the territory and the number of prehistoric sites. An early census by the Hudson's Bay Company indicates that the population declined to approximately 1000 people by 1839. In 1876, the Indian Reserve

Commission enumerated the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> population at 223. Within a hundred years, the population had been drastically reduced.

The prime cause of depopulation was the introduction of infectious diseases from which the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> had no immunity. In 1782, a smallpox epidemic swept the coast killing well over half of all the people. Earlier, but unrecorded epidemics may have reached here in 1769 from Siberia, and in 1519 from Mexico. Epidemics of smallpox continued until vaccines arrived in the 1860s. Diseases brought by British miners and their families were equally devastating—measles, influenza, and tuberculosis—all took their merciless toll of Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> families.

Disruption of the economy and traditional lifestyles of the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> as a result of contact probably also contributed to the depopulation. Other factors may have been a deterioration in the climate and falling off of salmon runs in the early 1800s. For whatever reason, warfare between Native peoples appears to have intensified in this period—warfare made more deadly by the introduction of firearms.

## Post-settlement history

Pre-emptions on Gabriola and Mudge Island began as early as the 1860s and within a short time the land on both islands was settled. Early accounts indicate that the first settlers accepted the presence of Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> people fishing and hunting in the area. Elders remember certain families with great fondness. Many of the European settlers of these islands married Native women. In the early years, there was a constant exchange between these families and the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> as they traded fish for apples and other crops.

In 1876, the Indian Reserve Commissioner set out two small reserves on Gabriola

Island for the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup>. One reserve was a fishing station at the tip of Indian Point. The other was a small burial island within Degnen Bay. No other reserves were set out as land along the southeast shoreline of Gabriola Island had been pre-empted and settled. In the 1930s, when the original settler family at False Narrows died out, there was some talk by the Department of Indian Affairs of making this area a reserve. As the reserve question had not been resolved between the province and the federal government, this did not occur.

Since this time this region of the Gulf Islands has been a favourite summer recreational area. Many private owners built small summer cottages along the coastline of False Narrows on both the Mudge and Gabriola Island side. By the 1970s, the False Narrows area had been subdivided in anticipation of residential development.

Over the last few years, development in the area has increased as people moved to the islands to retire or to commute to Nanaimo. More substantial homes have been built with large septic fields. Throughout this time several development permits have been issued by various provincial agencies and the Regional District without consideration of their impact on cultural heritage. Similarly, both residents and realtors, some new to the area, have been unaware of the need to include a search of BC Archaeology Branch records for information when investigating permitted land-use matters. This issue came to a head in the 1990s when digging the foundations of a new house, fully in accordance with issued permits, penetrated a Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> burial site. To make matters worse, despite the full co-operation of the property owner with the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup>, RCMP, and other authorities, some island residents entered and

vandalized the site.<sup>3</sup> There have been discussions since on how to avoid future such unpleasant incidents. There is wide support among the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup>, residents of El Verano Drive, the BC Archaeology Branch, and provincial and federal government bodies for protecting the site.

## Archaeology

Limited excavation at the False Narrows site has shown that it dates back to the mid-Marpole cultural phase, over 2000 years ago.<sup>4</sup> This phase is considered to be the “classic” period in the development of Coast Salish culture because its characteristics are similar to the ethnographic period (*see the box on the opposite page*). These characteristics include subsistence practices that depend upon salmon and other marine resources; a well-developed woodworking technology; elaborate artwork and personal ornaments; the emphasis upon wealth and status; and evidence of extensive inter-regional trade.

The large shell midden at False Narrows is similar in size and richness to the original Marpole site. The site extends along the shorelines of False Narrows for approximately one and a half kilometres...

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<sup>3</sup> Artifacts and burial remains are held sacred by the Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> and receive legal protection under the Heritage Conservation Act. Uncontrolled removal by “pot-hunters” is disrespectful, a serious offence, and a great loss to everyone. Objects divorced from their stratigraphic layer have little archaeological value.

<sup>4</sup> “Marpole” is the name given to a cultural phase that was first discovered at a large shell midden at the south end of Granville Street in Vancouver. The midden encompassed several hectares and was excavated from the 1880s until the 1960s when urban development all but destroyed it. Other large shell middens along the coastline of the Lower Mainland and the Fraser River have suffered a similar fate.

## Gulf Islands Archaeology

The archaeology of the Gulf Islands fits the regional pattern for the Georgia Strait, Puget Sound, and the Fraser valley below the Fraser canyon. This regional pattern is defined differently by individual archaeologists and evolves as new work is published, but is essentially as described below. Each of the three periods, which can be identified with a single regional cultural type, has various local cultures, some of which have been identified as one or more cultural “phases”.

### ***Early period:***

The earliest cultures—Northwestern Palaeo-Arctic, Lithic (Pebble Tool), old Cordilleran, Northwestern and Southwestern Coastal—occur prior to about 4500 BC. During the ice age, the region was blanketed by sheets of ice more than a mile thick and was completely uninhabitable; much like the interior of Greenland is today. By about 11000 BC, the glaciers had retreated and small populations of mobile hunting and fishing bands began entering the region. Because sea levels have changed, all but a few traces of the campsites of these early inhabitants have been lost, but, based on evidence from other parts of North America, they would probably have relied for food primarily on mammals such as elk, deer, mountain goats, seal, dolphins, and sea lions.

### ***Middle period:***

After 4500 BC, shorelines had stabilized, forests dominated by western hemlock and red cedar had been established, and large shell middens first become numerous.

**Early West Coast culture** (also known regionally as the Charles culture, locally in the Fraser delta as St. Mungo phase, and in the Gulf Islands as the Mayne phase) 4500–1200 BC. During this period, reliance shifted from mammals to salmon, eulachon, and shellfish. With the shift in the resource base, progressively larger village sites appear and toward the end of the period we find the first direct evidence of plank houses.

**Late West Coast culture** comprising the contiguous Locarno (1200–400 BC) and Marpole phases (400 BC–400 AD). This culture is marked by the rise of ranked societies, distinctive artwork, labrets and earspools, development of methods of preserving salmon, increased use of bone and antler tools, large houses made with heavy woodworking tools (adzes, wedges, mauls). Wealth accumulation and hereditary status is indicated in grave goods. Food is prepared by stone boiling, pit roasting, and steaming. Cranial deformation, rare in the Locarno phase, becomes common in the Marpole phase. Copper appears in the Marpole phase, as does evidence of warfare in the form of clubs, daggers, trophy skulls, and skeletal trauma. The False Narrows site dates from mid-Marpole times.

### ***Late period:***

The regional **Gulf of Georgia** culture, 400–1800 AD, is known locally in the Fraser delta as the Stselax phase, and in the Gulf Islands as the San Juan phase, both with transition phases. The late phases of the Gulf of Georgia culture are contiguous with the contact period.

The archaeology of the late period shows a continuation of earlier traits but with signs of outside influences. Wood carving continues but chipped stone ceases; weaving and basketry become important; bow-and-arrows tend to replace spears; tobacco is used; and fishing implements become more sophisticated (herring rakes and composite toggling harpoon heads). Midden burials, common up until 1300 AD, abruptly decrease and regular interment only resumes when Christianity arrives. Villages with palisades and defensive earthworks, oral tradition, and historical records together indicate that warfare intensified from around 800–1000 AD and persisted until the 1860s. The Snunéymux<sup>w</sup> have several oral histories about the battles that they fought.

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***Cultural continuity:***

There is general agreement that the Gulf of Georgia culture is the ancestor of the historical Coast Salish culture, but there is insufficient evidence to be absolutely sure about earlier continuity at all sites in the region, although it appears to be strong at False Narrows. Although the archaeological evidence is that the middle- and late-period cultures evolved *in situ* without massive immigration into the region, this leaves unexplained the linguistic affinities and differences among Native groups on the coast, and between local communities and communities in the interior beyond the Fraser canyon.

How and when people came to populate Vancouver Island after the ice age is not known for certain. Some must have come from the north, via the coast of Alaska and the Queen Charlottes; some from the south via the Columbia River and Puget Sound, and some from the interior down the Fraser valley. The discovery of the notorious “Kennewick Man” on the Columbia River has shown just how little we know about the early history of the Americas. The “ancient-one’s” skeleton dates from around 7500 BC, and his Southeast Asian traits, shared by a few other skeletal remains, have, together with older finds in both North and South America, contributed to the demise of the once popular, but evidently false notion that Aboriginal people are entirely descended from “recently-arrived” (post-ice-age) immigrants from Siberia and northern China.

Principal sources: J.V. Wright, *A History of the Native People of Canada*, Vol. 1 & 2, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1995 & 1999; Arcas Consulting Archaeologists, *Archaeological Investigations at Tsawwassen, BC—Environmental & Archaeological Background*, Vol. 1, pp.75–96, March 1991; Wayne Suttles (ed.), *Handbook of North American Indians—Northwest Coast*, Vol. 7, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1990; and many web sites including <[www.kennewick-man.com/links.html](http://www.kennewick-man.com/links.html)>.

EDITOR'S NOTE

...and extends inland about 200 meters on both sides. Also in the area is a complex of sites related to the same period. A survey made in 1987 recorded ten inland middens and several cave-burial and petroglyph sites. At least another seven sites are on Mudge Island. These peripheral sites render the whole area important for understanding the early prehistory of the Coast Salish people.

Archaeologists first recorded the False Narrows site itself in 1962 as part of a provincial survey of the area. At that time, use of the area was seasonal with summer cottages scattered along the shoreline. In 1966, a more substantial residence unearthed a portion of the midden. This accidental excavation motivated an exploratory study in the summer of 1966. Five small pits were opened recovering 402 artifacts and 18 burials. The following year a more extensive excavation was performed on the back slope of the midden where two huge

house platforms were observed. This excavation uncovered considerably more material. Together, the excavations of 1966 and 1967 on three lots yielded 86 individuals and 2194 cultural artifacts. No other excavations occurred until the mid-1990s when residential development necessitated a salvage recovery and some archaeological impact assessments.

An interpretation of the material recovered from the two earliest excavations was undertaken by David Burley and published by the British Columbia Museum.<sup>5</sup>

Burley identified four cultural components that spanned 100 BC to the historic period-mid-Marpole (False Narrows I), a late Marpole transition phase (False Narrows II),

<sup>5</sup> David Burley, *Senewélets: Culture History of the Nanaimo Coast Salish and the False Narrows Midden*, Royal British Columbia Museum Memoir No. 2, 1989.

Gulf of Georgia (False Narrows III), and historic Coast Salish (False Narrows IV). The oldest artifacts were gathered only on the inland side of El Verano Drive, leading to the suggestion that sea level might have been higher then (100 BC-150 AD); however, the regional geological evidence is that sea levels have been rising, not falling since that time.

The evidence for the site belonging to the “classic” Marpole period included a large number of tools; stemmed and unstemmed flaked stone points; microblades and microcores;<sup>6</sup> ground slate points; thin ground slate knives; ground stone celts;<sup>7</sup> barbed harpoon points; adzes, hammers, and mauls; as well as post moulds and house outlines that substantiated a well-developed woodworking technology.

Burley noted that the presence of multiple burials was consistent with the Marpole phase and not any other phase. These burials employed a variety of interment types such as shallow pit inhumation, rock slab burials, and cairn burials. The majority of these burials were fully articulated and cranial deformation was evident. Associated with many of the individuals were numerous grave goods including shell beads, dentalia (tusk-like shells), scallop shell rattles, a nephrite celt,<sup>8</sup> copper fragments, and large lanceolate points. One burial included an impressive dance costume with whalebone

amulets and a zoomorphic pendant in the form of a beetle carved out of coal.

The presence of cranial deformation and grave goods such as large lanceolate points led Burley to conclude that rank and ascribed status was practised in Marpole society. He based this conclusion upon ethnographic analogy where these cultural features emphasized wealth or ritual expression. Also he concluded that an extensive and sophisticated trading system existed as various artifacts made out of non-local material were recovered. Some of the obsidian (volcanic glass) could be traced to the Three Sisters and Newbury craters in Oregon; and other material was probably derived from Garibaldi, the central coast, and interior of BC.

Of the earlier components, Burley noted a strong continuity to historic times. The last phase, which was a Strait of Georgia cultural type, revealed an assemblage that emphasized the seasonal variety of marine resources such as spring herring, shellfish, dogfish, and flounder. A more specialized fish technology was evident with the development of herring rakes, toggling harpoons,<sup>9</sup> composite fishhooks, nets, traps, stone tidal traps, and basket weirs. Tools for woodworking remained abundant. Also present were various bone ornaments such as blanket pins, hair combs, and spindle whorls. All of these cultural features, found in ethnographic times, guides Burley to conclude that there was no abrupt change in technology or people for 2000 years. Based on the evidence of surprisingly low infant mortality, lifestyle, and nutrition, the prehistoric Nanaimo were, he says, “...well adapted to their environment”. ◇

<sup>6</sup> Microblades are razor-sharp chips of crystalline stone used to arm projectiles (arrows and spears). Microcores are what is left after the blades have been struck off by the toolmaker.

<sup>7</sup> A celt is a blade (adze, chisel, knife) usually hafted.

<sup>8</sup> Nephrite (greenstone) is a less valuable form of jade and an exceptionally tough, fine-grained rock. It is found in the Fraser canyon and further afield, but not locally.

<sup>9</sup> A toggling harpoon head is designed to break free of the haft and turn at right angles to the pull after lodging in the quarry's flesh.