CHAPTER 6

Excavations in Captain Charlie's Pithouse at *Ts'qó:ls* Village (DiRi 1), Hope, B.C.

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Introduction and Background

This chapter examines archaeological remains from Captain Charlie's pithouse located in a portion of *Ts'qó:ls* village (DiRi 1) on the east side of the Fraser River at the south end of the Lower Fraser Canyon on Chawathil First Nation's reserve land (Hope IR 1; Telte Yet Campground) at Hope, B.C. (Figure 1). This study was conducted in 2003 as part of a multidisciplinary research program known as the Fraser Valley Archaeology Project. A primary objective was to seek and explore evidence of shifting interactions and changing social identities through time among the Stó:lō, who have resided in the lower Fraser River watershed of southwestern B.C for many millennia. The project team included Canadian and U.S. researchers from history, linguistics, archaeology, and geomorphology who investigated how social, political, and economic interactions varied in time and space among the Stó:lō. This area of inquiry derives not only from longstanding anthropological debate but also from current questions in the Stó:lō community regarding the traditional nature of intra- and inter-community interaction (Lepofsky et al. 2003:6; Lepofsky et al. 2009; Schaepe 2009).

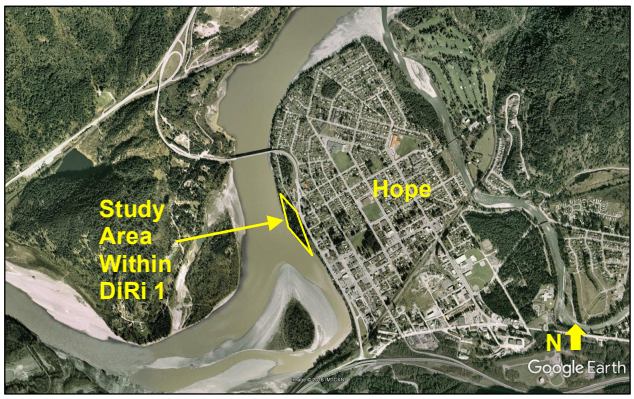

Figure 1. Location of DiRi 1 in the town of Hope, B.C. on the Fraser River. Google Earth image 2016.

Our investigations focused on understanding household and community organization in later Stó:lō villages. Through detailed consideration of individual pithouse and plank structures, we can determine how different types of structures were used, whether individual families were involved in specialized occupations, and how diet and access to exchange networks varied between households. Such investigations have proved productive in coastal California and the Plateau (Arnold 2004a, 2004b; Graesch 2000, 2004) and at several sites in the Fraser Valley, including nearby *Welqamex* on Greenwood Island (Chawathil IR 2; DiRi 15) (Graesch 2003, 2006; Graesch, Schaepe and Dojak 2011; Schaepe 2009).

Stó:lō oral narratives provide details about the occupational history and layout of the settlement at *Ts'qó:ls*. According to Bill Pat Charlie of the Chawathil community, pithouses were part of a large village that was occupied into the early contact period (mid- to late-1800s). Photos and narratives indicate three plank longhouses located beyond DiRi 1 at the south end of the village adjacent to Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Hope, which was established in 1848. Local knowledge suggests that after Fort Hope was established near *Ts'qó:ls* in 1848, the village occupants shifted residences and activities to areas near the HBC post, progressively occupying the middle and southern portions of the site. In addition, Stó:lō oral history connects the settlement at *Ts'qó:ls* with movement of people locally from *Welqamex* and from more distant settlements such as *Aseláw* in the Lower Fraser Canyon (Carlson 2001). About 1882, Stó:lō housing styles began shifting from pithouses and plankhouses to European-style frame houses as a factor of colonialism.

The primary goal of investigations was to explore early contact-era dynamics in the upper Fraser Valley based on excavated remains recovered from a large pithouse at *Ts'qóls* village. Oral histories from community elders tell us that this pithouse was connected to the historic Stó:lō

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individual known as Captain Charlie. This information provides the opportunity to combine archaeological evidence from household excavations with historical documents, oral historical accounts, ethnographic sources, and archival and current information on place names. We can thus explore Stó:lō settlements as well as trade and interactions with Euro-Canadians from Fort Hope, Hudson's Bay Company outposts, and other nearby localities.

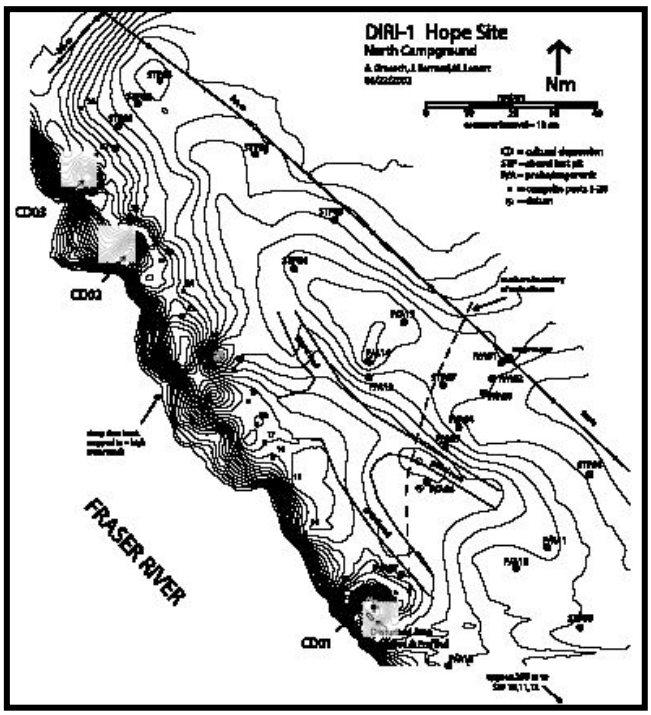

Figure 2. Map of the SE aspect of Ts'qó:ls Village (DiRi 1) and investigated Area within the Telte Yet camp ground.

Today, the portion of the site investigated in the Telte Yet Campground contains three well-defined pithouse features visible on the surface close to the riverbank, and there may be two or more buried pithouse floors between Houses 1 and 2 (Cultural Depressions 1 and 2) (Figure 2). The surficially visible house depressions are relatively square in plan when mapped in high resolution detail and they vary from 9 to 11 m in maximum dimension (Figure 3). Based on our 2002 augering, surface inspection, and shovel testing programs within the Telte Yet Campground, it is clear that substantial cultural deposits consisting primarily of early and recent post-contact period items remain within the bounds of the campground, most of which are in undisturbed contexts.

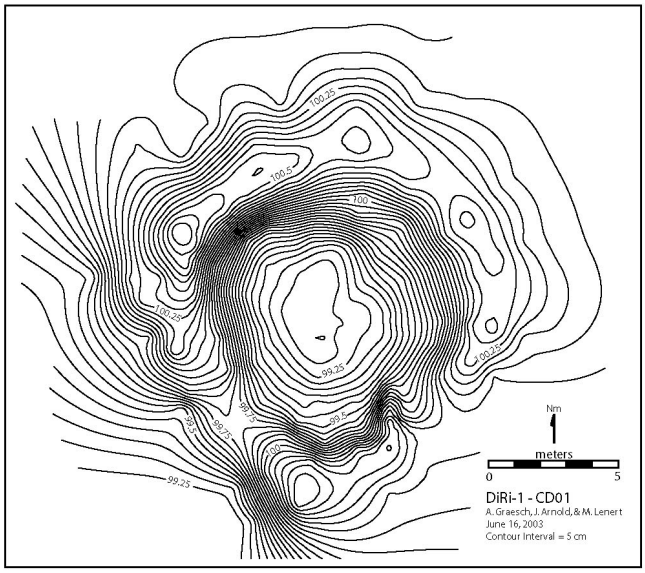

Figure 3. Map of Captain Charlie's Pithouse, (CD 1), in the SE aspect of site DiRi 1.

Archaeological Investigations at *Ts'qó:ls*

Ts'qó:ls (DiRi1) lies along the east bank of the Fraser River in the village of Hope. It is an extensive village that extends approximately 1.5 km along the River from the mouth of the Coquihalla River to Chawathil First Nation's Telte Yet Campground at Hope IR 1 (Figure 1). In considering *Halq'eméylem* place names, the site may encompass *Iwowes* to the north and *Ts'qó:ls* ("Bare" or "Bald") (McHalsise 2001) to the south. All previous archaeological fieldwork has been conducted in the southern zone at *Ts'qó:ls*. The site was first recorded by Borden (1956), who noted nine pithouse features in and around Hope IR 1 on the east bank of the Fraser near its confluence with the Coquihalla River (Figure 1) and his surface collections secured hundreds of artifacts. Over the last few decades, several mitigation projects were carried out on portions of the site near the Fraser-Hope Bridge (Franck et al. 1994; Merchant and Rousseau 1993; Spafford et al. 1995).

In 2003 and 2005, small-scale excavations were conducted in Houses 1 and 2 (Arnold and Schaepe 2004; Arnold n.d.). Deposits were excavated using thin stratigraphic levels, and all site sediments were screened through 3-mm mesh. House 1 (CD-1) (Figure 3 and 4) was occupied by *Sexyel*, or Captain Charlie, who lived from 1841 to 1923 (Naxaxalhts'i, pers. comm. 2004; Carlson and McHalsie 1998). Bill Pat Charlie, *Sexyel*'s great grandson, recalled playing in the remains of this pithouse as a child (personal communication with McHalsie and Schaepe, 1999 and 2003). This house was occupied between 1860 and 1880 based on family history and temporally diagnostic artifacts. Bill Pat Charlie also recalled being told by Charlie Joe, that House 2 (CD-2) was the home of Patrick Joe, Charlie Joe's father (Arnold and Schaepe 2004). Prior to these investigations, little was known about either Captain Charlie's or Patrick Joe's family and their social positions and role(s) in the settlement.

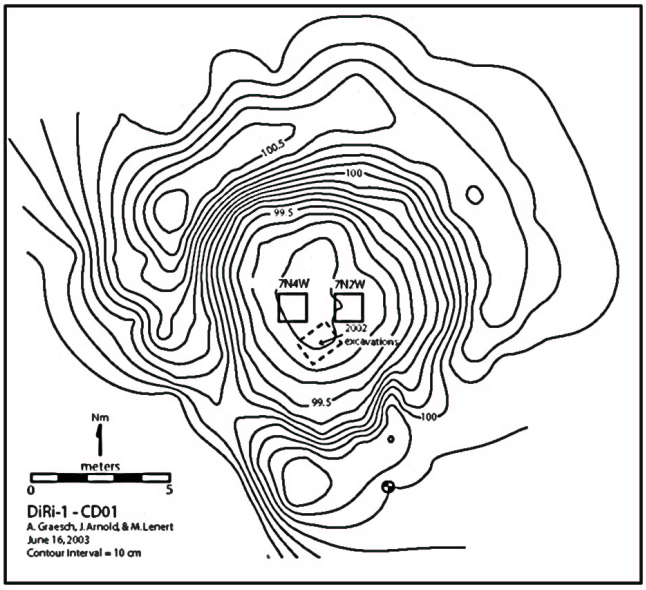

Figure 4. Location of datum, two units excavated in 2003, and area tested in 2002.

Our archaeological investigations have reinforced remembrances regarding the early post-contact period occupation of this portion of the pithouse settlement. At the north end of the site (Figure 2), cultural deposits are dense and relatively deep, and appear to be part of the earlier deposits that extending to the north beyond the limits of the campground. In the north and central areas of the campground, shovel testing revealed a thin lens of post-contact period cultural materials. Near the south end of the site in a flat open portion of the campground, shovel testing indicated relatively dense post-contact period deposits. This distribution of items appears consistent with oral narratives and historic reports that when Fort Hope was operational and occupied the area directly east of the south boundary of the modern campground (Figure 2) from 1848 to 1849, the local villagers shifted residences and activities to be nearby. Some of the highest densities of historic debris are present in this vicinity, and there was progressive occupation of the middle and southern portions of the site as the HBC post attracted people into the "center" of town. The pithouses at this village are best preserved along the bank of the Fraser River on the western edge of the north half of the campground (Figure 2), although it appears that portions of the riverbank have eroded away causing a suspected loss of other pithouse features that may have been part of this settlement. At least two previously unidentified pithouse features within the campground area were noted in the profile of a campsite service utility trench dug in June 2003 by Telte Yet campground staff through a portion of the campground north of CD 1 (Captain Charlie's pithouse). The area affected by the utility trench, approximately 50 cm wide and 90 m long, extended from campsite #15 to 26.

Summary of 2002 Test Excavations

In 2002, two exploratory test unites measuring 25 x 100 cm were exposed along the walls of a small trench-like disturbed area located in the southern quadrant of CD-1, which is Captain Charlie's pithouse (Lepofsky et al. 2003). According to Naxaxalhts'i, the trench dates to about 1976 and may be the remains of a backhoe cut or an attempt to loot the depression. A single shovel test was also placed in CD-2, Patrick Joe's pithouse.

This small-scale initial testing of these two pithouse features revealed well-defined cultural deposits that represent occupation during the early post-contact period (ca. 1850-1880). Recovered artifacts include a range of traditional and early European and Euro-Canadian items (Lepofsky et al. 2003: Appendix 1). The East and West Walls of the unit placed in the recently disturbed area at Captain Charlie's pithouse revealed a number of significant subfloor features, including several small stake molds extending into sterile soil in the East Wall exposure, and a sharply defined hearth feature indicated by a fire-reddened area associated with fire-altered rock and charcoal in the West Wall exposure. Cultural materials are concentrated in the upper 25 cm in that part of the pithouse, and most European/Euro-Canadian made historic objects were recovered from the upper 20 cm. Recent cultural materials are concentrated in the upper 13 cm. Notable traditional Stó:lō artifacts and food remains recovered from the East and West Wall excavations include a fragmented tabular palette stone and several salmon vertebrae. Notable European-made items include a blue glass bead, a 4-holed shell button, several square hand-wrought nails, and various types of bottle glass. The shovel test dug in CD-2 revealed a moderate density of primarily post-contact cultural materials in the upper 22 cm, overlying what may be a collapsed roof or house floor deposit indicated by substantial amount of charcoal at about 20/22 cm. Early historic cultural materials are sparse from about 20/22 to 30/35 cm. Culturally sterile sediments were reached at about 40 cm.

Results of 2003 Detailed Excavations

Detailed excavations in CD-1 (Captain Charlie's house) were resumed in June, 2003, with the goal of expanding exposure of the house floor surface. We hoped to encounter a range of cultural features and subsistence and artifactual remains associated with Captain Charlie's occupation during the mid-nineteenth century. Other goals included gaining a greater understanding of organic preservation conditions in local pithouses with respect to fragile materials such as animal and fish bone, and refining methods for detecting and investigating house floors. CD-1 was cleared of vegetation, mapped (Figure 3), and two 1 m^2 units were excavated near the house center. These units were placed adjacent to the disturbed area examined in 2002 (Figure 4) to expose more of the hearth feature encountered there.

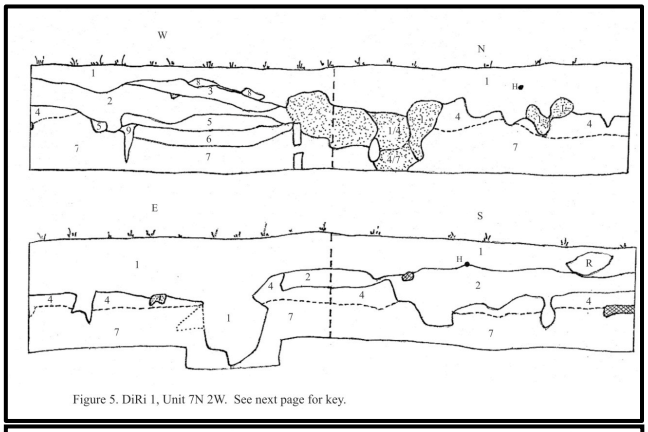

Figure 5. DiRi 1, Unit 7N 2W. See next page for key.

DiRi 1, Unit 7N 2W profile drawings

1. Light/medium brown (10YR 3/2) sandy silt, moderately compacted. Contains abundant recent historic material, charcoal, and FAR. Notable root and rodent disturbance.

2. Light grey-brown (2.5Y 5/3) fine sandy silt with some ash, slightly less compacted than soil 1. Contains abundant historic material and patchy concentrations of charcoal in the southeast corner and along the west wall. Numerous rootlets.

3. Dark brown-grey (5YR 2.5/1) sandy silt, moderately compacted. Contains abundant historic material in what appears to be a layer of burned trash. Small pieces of charcoal are abundant.

4. Light tan, mottled (10YR 5/4 and some 2.5Y 6/3) fine sandy silt, moderately to highly compacted. Contains some historic artifacts as well as some charcoal and FAR. Interpreted as an *occupational floor* that is most compacted in the northeastern and southeastern corners. Most postmolds and stake-molds observed in the unit originate at this level.

5. Burnt orange (7.5 YR 5/6) sandy silt, moderately to highly compacted. Contains some charcoal and some rootlets. Interpreted as a *hearth deposit (or some type of fire-altered soil)*.

6. Red-brown (or "salmon") (5YR 4/4 and 7.5YR 4/4) sandy silt, moderately to highly compacted. Contains charcoal leached from above. Interpreted as a *fire-reddened soil below the probable hearth area.*

7. Light olive-brown (2.5Y 5/4) fine sandy silt, moderately compacted. *Sterile subsoil.*

8. Light red-brown (or "pale salmon") (10YR 6/4) fine sandy silt, loose. Interpreted as small pockets of fire-altered soil.

9. Dark brown (5YR 3/2) sandy silt, moderately compacted. Contains some flecks of charcoal and some flecks of soils 5 and 6. *Stake-mold.*

Cross-hatched areas: tree roots

Stippled areas: rodent krotovina, dominant soil indicated.

R = rock

H = recent historic object (cable, glass, metal, etc.)

Figure 5. Stratigraphy in Unit 7N 2W, DiRi 1.

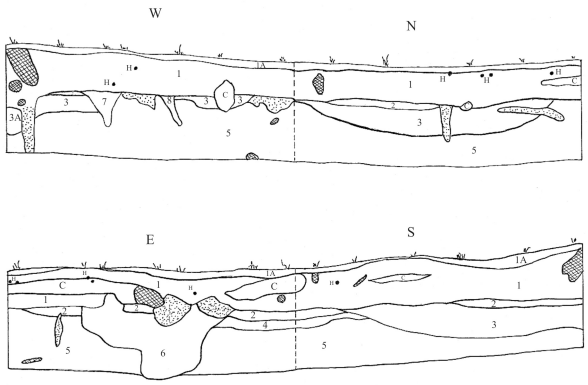

Figure 6. DiRi 1, Unit 7N 4W. See next page for key.

DiRi 1, Unit 7N 4W profile drawings

1A and 1. [1A consists of root mat and organic material but is in same color and content category as soil 1] Grey-brown (10YR 3/2) sandy silt, moderately compacted. Contains abundant recent historic material and large pieces of charcoal. Notable root and rodent disturbance.

2. Brown (10YR 5/3 and 7.5YR 5/6) slightly sandy silt, flecked with charcoal, moderately to highly compacted. Contains few artifacts. Interpreted provisionally as an *occupational floor*. Small rootlet and insect krotovina disturbances.

3. Orange-red (5YR 4/6) slightly sandy silt, moderately compacted. Gradually transitions to yellow-tan at base of lens. Contains scattered flecks of charcoal. Interpreted as a *hearth deposit (or some type of fire-altered soil)*. Small rootlet and insect krotovina disturbances.

3A. Mottled orange-red (5YR 4/6 - 7.5YR 4/3) fine sandy silt, moderately to lightly compacted. Contains scattered flecks of charcoal. Interpreted as a portion of the *hearth deposit (or some type of fire-altered soil)* disturbed by roots and rodents.

4. Red-brown (7.5YR 4/3) fine sandy silt, moderately compacted. Contains charcoal flecks and larger pieces. Interpreted as a *fire-reddened soil below the probable hearth area.*

5. Light yellow-brown (10YR 5/4) silty sand, moderately compacted. Contains some roots and rootlets. *Sterile subsoil.*

6. Grey-brown (10YR 4/2) fine sandy silt, lightly compacted. Soils virtually the same as lens 1. Interpreted as a *probable posthole.* Contains some roots and rootlets and upper area affected by roots and rodent disturbances.

7. Brown (10YR 4/3) fine silty sand, moderately compacted. Contains some charcoal flecks and rootlets. Interpreted as an *unspecified cultural feature (postmold or pit?).*

8. Brown (10YR 4/3) fine silty sand, lightly compacted. Contains some flecks of charcoal and rootlets. *Stake-mold.*

Cross-hatched areas: tree roots

Stippled areas: rodent krotovina, dominant soil indicated.

R = rock

H = recent historic object (cable, glass, metal, etc.)

C = charcoal smear

Figure 6. Stratigraphy in Unit 7N 4W, DiRi 1.

The majority of cultural deposits within CD-1 are contained in the upper 25 cm Very well-defined fire-reddened soils representing a portion of the reddish "hearth" feature encountered during 2002 were identified in both units between 15 and 25 cm below surfaces. The paucity of charcoal in this feature suggests this fire-reddened soil lens could have been produced at the base of a wood-burning stove rather than from use as an open firepit or hearth. However, the portion of this feature observed during the 2002 testing contained moderate amounts of charcoal, and patches of charcoal were exposed during the 2003 excavations, so either interpretation seems reasonable. Several small-diameter stake molds penetrating the sterile subsoil were also encountered in the vicinity of this fire-reddened feature.

Postmolds of at least two size classes, one pair roughly 19 cm diameter and the other group roughly 5 to 9 cm diameter were also identified. The unit wall profiles (Figures 5 and 6) highlight many of these features. A floor surface was encountered at about 15 to 20 cm depth. As shown in the West Wall profile for 7N 2W, the reddened soil features (Strata 5 and 6) are at and just below the house floor. The floor surface was also detected during excavation of 7N 4W but is not as clearly delineated in its East Wall profile.

Features

Perhaps most significant among the 2003 findings are several well-defined features that indicate major activity zones in Captain Charlie's house. Spatially dominant among these is the large lensed *fire-reddened feature* first noted in the disturbed area of the house in 2002. The zone investigations indicated that it consisted of several overlapping zones, or "basins," of heat-reddened soils that extend across the house floor center (Figures 7a and 7b).

Figure 7A. Unit 7N 2W. Fire reddened soils on west wall (left) and perimeter clearly demarcated in unit floor. Large postmold is to right, and several smaller postmolds are visible in the central parts of this unit.

Figure 7B. Unit 7N 4W. Fire reddened soils on south wall. Basin-shaped fire feature is visible. Large posthole is visible to the left.

These fire-related features extend south, north, and west of unit 7N 4W, but part of their easternmost boundary was identified within unit 7N 2W. The total area of this lensing may be as large as 3 m in diameter. The deepest of the several distinct basins is evident in unit 7N 4W at about 25-33 cm below surface. This feature has characteristics that suggest it was the result of a wood-burning stove that was occasionally moved around the house floor for many years that radiated sufficient heat to alter the underlying naturally tan sandy soils. Alternatively, one or several overlapping firepits may have been excavated into the soil, although charcoal frequencies appear unusually low for an open hearth and the former explanation seems more likely. It is clear that this source of heat was positioned slightly to the west of the house center, which allowed thermal radiation affected by strong outside winds to circulate toward the center of the house.

Figure 8.West wall and northwest corner of Unit 7N 2W, showing fire-reddened soils, stake mold in west wall profile, and five other probable stakemolds in floor area (pedestaled).

At least four *narrow stakemolds* were encountered in 7N 2W, all are about 3 to 4 cm in maximum diameter. One is preserved in the west wall profile of unit 7N 2W and is roughly 12 cm in total length (Figure 5), and another in the west wall profile of unit 7N 4W that is 11 cm long (Figure 6). The remaining three stake molds were identified along the eastern margin of the fire feature in 7N 2W (Figure 8). Their position in close proximity of the fire feature, and ringing it, is evocative of the contemporary practice of positioning small upright sets of stakes right next to a fire on which fillets of salmon are placed. Heat from the fire cooks the fish. Although there are other possible explanations for small, sharpened stakes to be driven into a house floor around the perimeter of a fire, this hypothesis is quite reasonable and allows us to envision some of Captain Charlie's routine food-preparation activities.

Larger *postmold* features indicate structural supports or other smaller internal house features. Two 19-cm diameter postmolds positioned 2 m apart were exposed in the East Walls of both units appear to be roof support posts. The large postmold in 7N 2W (Feature 1) was very well defined and had compacted margins. The large postmold in 7N 4W (Feature 2) may have originated in a fire-reddened soil just below the floor level, but otherwise shares similar characteristics of the other postmold, including a slight tilt toward the northeast, suggesting that they may be interior roof supports placed the south side of the pithouse center. An array of smaller postmolds ranging from 7 to 8 cm in diameter represent placement of wooden poles that were parts of small internal house structures used to divide spaces, and shelving to store gear or foods inside the house. Some extended as deep as 23 cm into the soils below their respective ground surfaces. Several of these features were identified in the west-central and southern areas of 7N 2W (Features 2, 3, 7 and 8) (Figures 5 and 6). Another was found near the center of 7N 4W.

Figure 9. Unit 7N 2W. 'House floor' surface (center and right, mottled tan soils) and fire-reddened area (left).

Remnants of a compact light tan mottled sandy silt that extends across most of the northern, eastern, and southern floor zones of 7N 2W at about 15 to 20 cm below surface dips slightly toward the pithouse center is indicative of an house floor compacted by intensive foot traffic (Figure 9). Its thickness ranges from about 2.0 to 6.0 cm, and it is directly associated with the stakemolds, smaller postmolds, and large postmold on the eastern wall. Virtually all of the post-contact era artifacts and other cultural materials have accumulated above this floor zone, and the fire-reddening intrudes into this deposit. This stratum was also easily discernible in unit 7N 4W, at about 15 cm below surface, although it was patchy and much harder to see in the profiles. Some of this deposit is preserved in the profiles of that unit (Figure 6).

Recent Post-Contact Artifacts

Within most parts of the upper 15 cm of the house deposits, there are mixed recent (post-1910) and older (ca. 1850 to 1910) post-contact period cultural material deposits. Some items, such as aluminum cans, aluminum foil fragments, plastics, steel cable or wire, crimped bottle caps, bottles with seams, and miscellaneous items, indicate dumping of refuse materials dating from the early twentieth century (post A.D. 1910) until quite recently. These materials were deposited on the surface of the housepit and sometimes buried in shallow pits with a shovel, causing some mixing with older materials that are clearly unrelated to Captain Charlie's occupation of the house. Pockets of intermixed, fire-altered glass, metal fragments, and charcoal were common in the upper 10 cm of both units. There are hundreds of bottle and flat glass fragments and hundreds of aluminum, tin, and ferrous metal fragments.

A lens of mostly burned post-contact materials visible as Lens "3" in the 7N 2W west wall profile (Figure 5), appears to consist primarily of early twentieth century or possibly earlier, materials, although much of the glass in this layer is thermally altered and undiagnostic. This deposit may be the remains of a burned and collapsed roof, with both nineteenth and twentieth century materials mixed together before its collapse, but there is no conclusive evidence to support this. Rodent burrowing has caused mixing of cultural material in some, but not all, areas accounting for the occasional commingling of earlier and later historic materials in pockets extending about 18 cm below the surface. Generally, the frequency of recent (post-1910) post-contact objects steadily decreases with depth. A distinct decline in later material was noted at about 13 cm below surface in most parts of both units.

Traditional Tools and Nineteenth Century Euro-Canadian Artifacts

Early post-contact period cultural materials were recovered from about 5 cm to 25 cm below surface and include several chronologically diagnostic specimens that date from the 1850s to 1880s and possibly a bit later (Table 1). These artifacts are likely to have been part of Captain Charlie's household goods and possessions and they include: a blue wire-wound glass bead from level 4a of 7N 4W; five earthenware pieces of ca. 1850 to 1890 vintages; at least three different bottles of ca. 1870 to 1895 vintages including 34 pieces of a case bottle, several pieces of a large wine or oil bottle, and a possible soda water bottle; and roughly 87 cut and/or hand-wrought square nails. Most of the square nails (78 of 87) were recovered from deposits above the floor indicating that they were part of the collapsed roof superstructure such as roof beams, rafters, etc., and that nails were heavily used in post-contact pithouse construction and/or repair (Table 2). Although square nails certainly continued to be used beyond the late 1800s, and some scattered specimens may have been dumped in the abandoned pithouse after abandonment, the most parsimonious explanation is that they were once part of the structure itself since they are conspicuously abundant.

Also present in several levels were about 330 faunal specimens that consisted primarily burned mammal bone fragments and several fish vertebrae. There is a slightly greater representation of bone from deposits above the floor and on/in the floor. Most bone is highly fragmented unidentifiable mammal bone, and much of it is burned. Several mammal bones are large and some have cut marks. Most fish vertebrae were found in the floor deposit rather than in the more recent deposits. Bone preservation is relatively good, although these specimens are less than 150 years old.

Eighteen traditional lithic tools or tool fragments were recovered (excluding waste flakes). These artifacts (Table 3) include an incised ground slate knife in two fragments (Figure 10); one palette stone fragment; one igneous maul fragment; four ground slate tool fragments; one polished slate probable knife fragment; one ground, beveled slate fish knife fragment with use-wear striations; and nine other ground or modified possible tools made on various lithic raw materials. In addition, roughly 114 lithic waste flakes, flake fragments, and/or shatter were recovered from all

levels in the house deposits. Roughly one-third to one-half may represent flakes from the manufacturing or maintenance of several of the above tool types. Several others are basalt flakes possibly derived from tool types not recovered thus far from CD-1 (Arnold and Schaepe 2004).

Table 1. Nineteenth Century Euro-Canadian Artifacts from CD-1.

Cat. No.	Object Type	Material	Count	Unit	Depth	Remarks
4939	**Handle frag**	earthenware	1	7N 2W	Level 1	Flow blue pattern, ca. 1877-1890
4966	**Handle frag**	earthenware	2	7N 2W	Level 2	Flow blue pattern *1877-1890
4964	**Lamp globe, frag**	glass	30	7N 2W	Level 2	Clear glass, crimped edge (.08 cm thickness)
4994	**Bottle, green, frag**	glass	1	7N 4W	Level 2	Possible soda water bottle, late 1800s to early 1900s
4997 (b)	**Bottle, dark olive, frag**	glass	34	7N 4W	Level 2	2 bottles (a) beer sized bottle, 1890-1910 (b) lrg wine or oil bottle, 1875-1895
5093	**Bottle, dark olive, frag**	glass	36	7N 2W	Level 3	Numerous frags, apparently from 1 case bottle (poss gin); square or rect. base; orange-peel texture; 6-point asterisk w/surrounding dots on base; striated walls; ca. 1870-1900; 0.8 cm thick base; 0.5 cm thick walls
5096	**Handle, frag**	earthenware	1	7N 2W	Level 3	Flow blue pattern, ca. 1877-1890
5097	**Cup?, frag**	earthenware	1	7N 2W	Level 3	White ware, blue transfer print, floral pattern, ca. 1850-1900
5024	**Bead**	glass	1	7N 4W	Level 4a	Blue (0.5 cm diam); wire-wound

Table 2. Square Nails Recovered from CD1.

Cat. No.	Object Type	Material	Count	Unit	Depth	Remarks
4933	**Nails**	FE metal	5	7N 4W	Level 1	Square
4947	**Nails**	FE Metal	4	7N 2W	Level 1	3 square, 1 wire
4979	**Nails**	FE Metal	18	7N 2W	Level 2	Square nails, fragmented
4980	**Nails**	FE Metal	1	7N 2W	Level 2	Square, large, flat, rectangular (.4 x .8cm)
5004	**Nails**	FE Metal	17	7N 4W	Level 2	Square nails, whole and fragmented
5077	**Nails**	FE Metal	6	7N 2W	Level 3	Square nails, no heads
5084	**Nails**	FE Metal	19	7N 2W	Level 3	Square nails
5012	**Nails**	FE Metal	8	7N 4W	Level 3	Square
5033	**Nails**	FE Metal	1	7N 2W	Level 3a	Square
5037	**Nails**	FE Metal	3	7N 2W	Level 4	Square
5064	**Nails**	FE Metal	2	7N 4W	Level 4	1 square nail, 1 poss round nail?
5045	**Nails**	FE Metal	1	7N 2W	Level 5a	Square

Table 3. Traditional Pre-Contact Period Stó:lō Artifacts.

Cat. No.	Object Type	Mat	N	Unit	Depth	Remarks
4928	Maul frag	igneous	1	7N 4W	Level 1	Ground base, side
4929	Frag of (knife?)	slate	2	7N 4W	Level 1	5.2 x 2.2 x 1.1 cm (2 fitted pieces, polished, worked)
4930	Palette frag (?)	igneous	1	7N 4W	Level 1	Fine-grained igneous material
4931	Ground stone	igneous	1	7N 4W	Level 1	Small fragment
4958	Frag	lithic ?	1	7N 2W	Level 1	Ground surface
4974	Knife frags	slate	2	7N 2W	Level 2	Fitted pieces (.3 x 3.1 x 4.1 cm; cross-hatched on one side; see illustration)
5094	Fish knife frag	slate	1	7N 2W	Level 3	Ground slate; beveled cutting edge; oxidized; noticable use-wear (striations) on both faces; 0.3 cm thick
5069	Lithic tool frags	slate	3	7N 4W	Level 4	Ground slate fragments
5020	Tool frag?	igneous	1	7N 4W	Level 5	1 side poss modified; object type unknown (3.2 x 2.7 x 0.85 cm)
5027	Tool frag?	sediment	1	7N 4W	Lev 5/ Fea 2	Light gray stone, small frag. with one rounded worked edge; object type unknown
5044	Tool frag?	igneous	4	7N 2W	Level 5a	2 medium-sized frags; 2 small fragments; artifact type unknown
5028a	Tool frag?	igneous	1	7N 4W	Level 6	1 smooth, rounded side, large fragment (9.0 x 4.7 x 4 cm)

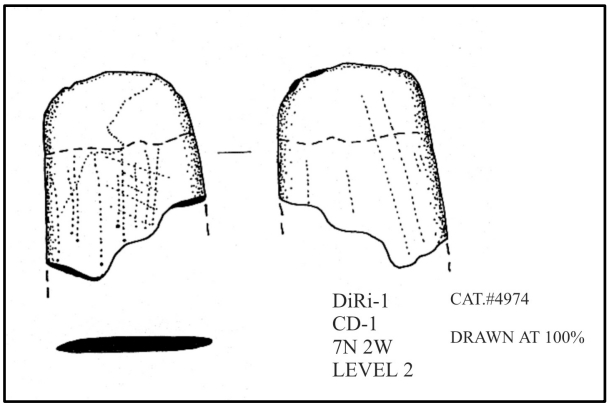

Figure 10. Ground slate knife fragment from CD-1.

Sexyel (Captain Charlie) – A Biographical Sketch

Details of the life of *Sexyel* (pronounced 'sux-youl'), also known to many folks as Captain Charlie (Figure 11), are maintained within Stó:lō oral history. Captain Charlie's great-grandson's Bill Pat Charlie (Chawathil First Nation), Grand Chief Peter Dennis Peters (Chawathil First Nation), Ralph George (Shxw'ow'hamel First Nation), and great-great-grandson Naxaxalhts'i (Shxw'ow'hamel First Nation) maintained the oral history that provides the foundation for the following insights into Captain Charlie's life (Bill Pat Charlie and Naxaxalhts'i, personal communication 2003; Carlson and McHalsie 1998:90-91).

Captain Charlie was born in the village of *Aseláw* in the Lower Fraser River Canyon in 1841, and he died in Yale at 1923. Captain Charlie's *Halq'émeylem* name was *Sexyel*, meaning "shuffling his feet." This name refers to his method of hunting grizzly bear. McHalsie (Carlson and McHalsie 1998:90-91) states:

"Hunting grizzly bears is very dangerous, especially the way *Sexyel* did it. The only weapon *Sexyel* used was a specially carved bone which was about 24 cm long with a strap which served as a handle grip. The top of the bone tapered to a sharp point, while the wider bottom was notched into an upside down "V" groove. When *Sexyel* approached a grizzly bear he danced from side to side, shuffling his feet very swiftly. These quick movements frustrated the bear because it meant it couldn't catch *Sexyel*. When a grizzly bear becomes very frustrated it stands on its hind legs and waits for the perfect opportunity to attack. *Sexyel* understood this, and so as soon as the bear was standing he slowed down his shuffling to trick the grizzly bear into attacking. Once *Sexyel* slowed down, the grizzly bear dropped down on his front paws and lunged toward *Sexyel* with his mouth wide open. At that exact moment *Sexyel* shoved the bone into the grizzly bear's mouth. He propped the "V" groove end against the grizzly bear's tongue and tilted the sharp end back so that when the grizzly bear closed his mouth the point punctured his brain and killed him instantly."

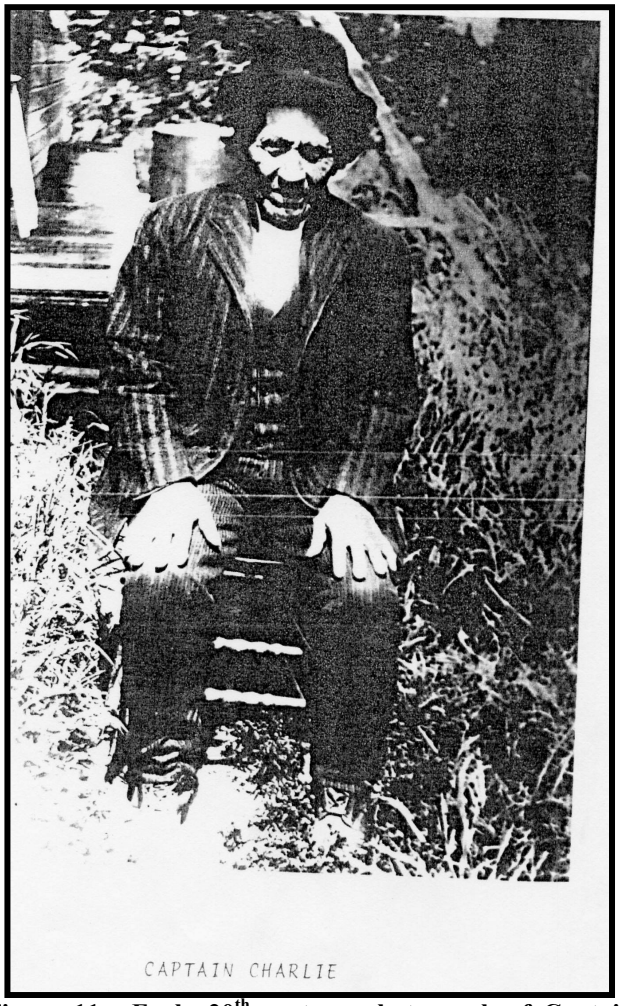

Figure 11. Early 20th century photograph of Captain Charlie. Image source unknown.

Aside from his reputation as an exceptional hunter, Captain Charlie was also known as a '*shxwlá:m*,' or 'Indian Doctor' (per Wilson Duff's interviews with Captain Charlie's son Patrick Charlie; see Wilson Duff's fieldnotes 1950-51). Bill Pat Charlie explained that *Sexyel* was able to cure people suffering from what is known in the Stó:lō community as 'spirit sickness', and he also had the ability to travel places and see things in his sleep. Bill Pat told how *Sexyel* proved this ability to a group of people from the settlement at Hope. He "scared" a group of people who had returned from collecting berries and hunting on *Q'awa*, a mountain located behind Chawathil, by telling them the order in which they were sitting at their 'lean-to' camp. *Sexyel* saw this in his sleep. He himself used to hunt on Dog Mountain, accessing the area through what the Stó:lō still refer to as "Crack Mountain" – a 'crack' or notch in the ridgeline of Dog Mountain traversed by a trail accessing upland hunting grounds. Bill Pat Charlie also said that *Sexyel* was known for going away for extended periods of time.

Regarding his name 'Captain Charlie,' the designation 'Captain' was sometimes bestowed to Stó:lō individuals for their services as either riverboat workers or as Catholic Watchmen who assisted Missionaries in monitoring the community for adherence to newly introduced religious morals (Keith Carlson, personal communication, 2003). The name 'Charlie' would have been assigned by the Missionaries as a surname, likely during his baptism in 1866.

Throughout his life Captain Charlie traveled to and lived in a number of Stó:lō communities. A young man he moved to the village of *Sq'ewqéyl* along the lower Chilliwack River where he married his first wife (name unknown) with whom he had his first son August Jack Charlie. His first wife drowned, which prompted him to move to Hope where he built and lived in the pithouse that is the focus of this chapter. While details of this phase of his life are not fully clear, oral history indicates that during this time, Captain Charlie married his second wife Anastasia Bulliun from *Iwowes*. The marriage date is unknown and they had one child. Anastasia died of an unknown cause fairly shortly after their marriage. Remarkably events concerning this episode of Captain Charlie's life were recorded by Bishop George Hills in his diary of 1860 (Bagshaw 1996):

"I had a conversation today with Skiyou [the *Halq'eméylem* name of Captain Charlie noted below] a noted bear hunter. He was sent on an expedition to explore a new pass to the Similkameen River. On his way he shot a bear. The animal fell. He went forward to skin it when suddenly it rose up and fought with him. For some time the engagement lasted leaving Skiyou the victor but dreadfully wounded. The bear seized him and mutilated many parts of his person. He bled profusely from his wounds. He never-the-less attempted to crawl home. For ten days he was almost without food. Yet strange to say he reached

> Hope [*T'sqó:ls*] at last… I saw the wounds in his hands and arms... He was much more affected when spoken to about his sick child now lying without much hope. He said he was sick, 'tum tum' [i.e., heart sick/sad] and Mama was also sick 'tum tum'… I heard strange noises in passing near an Indian hut. When I approached I found it to be that of Skiyou the Indian bear hunter. His wife had her sick child in her lap. Before her was the medicine man [*shxwlá:m*] practicing enchantments upon the child.. The mother held her infant towards him and evidently put considerable faith in the enchanter."

Following the death of his second wife Captain Charlie moved again, this time to the town of Yale in the Fraser Canyon. While living there, Captain Charlie married his third wife Marianne Siamot (b. 1841, Yale) who was from the Anglican, as opposed to the Roman Catholic, side of Yale. Sometime around 1880 they moved to Ruby Creek, west of Chawathil. Their marriage was performed on November 1, 1866, at St. Mary's, the French Oblate Mission in the town of Mission. He was also baptized on that same day by Father Louis. Over the course of their relationship, Captain Charlie and Marianne had nine children, all of whom are listed as being born at either Yale or Ruby Creek. Those with known years of birth are listed as being born between 1866 and 1885. Captain Charlie died on March 9, 1923 at the age of 82 and was blind when he passed away. He was buried in the cemetery on Lukseetsissum Indian Reserve #9 at Ruby Creek, his last place of residence.

Interpretation

Captain Charlie's house is the largest preserved pithouse at *Ts'qóls*, which reflects his well-documented prominence in the community. Oral narratives maintain that *Sexyel* was a respected hunter, doctor/curer, and a "Captain". Recorded artifact types and frequencies indicate that he had regular access to valuable Euro-Canadian goods. It appears that he was able to secure more prized non-traditional goods than was Patrick Joe's household (House 2).

Several well-defined features were exposed in Captain Charlie's house that indicate specific intensively used activity areas. A large fire-reddened feature consists of several overlapping basins of heat-altered soils that extend across the center of the floor. One explanation for this feature's characteristics is that a wood-burning stove was used in the house for a sustained period, radiating heat sufficient to alter the tan sandy soils below. The feature resembles basin-shaped pits of reddish soils observed beneath iron stoves on earthen floors in contemporary Stó:lō longhouses. Alternatively, or additionally, several overlapping open hearths may have been situated on Captain Charlie's house floor.

We also detected a series of seven sharpened stake molds in the house floor, penetrating 10 cm into the floor and 4 cm in maximum diameter. They were identified along the margin of the fire feature. Their position is evocative of the contemporary practice of positioning small salmon-grilling stakes next to an open fire. Larger postmolds may indicate structural supports and other smaller house features. Two 20 cm diameter postmolds, positioned 2 m apart, may be roof support posts, although they are a bit smaller than roof supports found elsewhere in the region. Several roughly 7cm diameter postmolds may indicate space dividers or gear storage supports inside the house. Finally, remnants of a compacted, light tan sandy silt stratum across most of the pithouse center indicate an occupational floor hardened by foot traffic. Its thickness ranges from 2 to 6 cm. Most early contact-era artifacts and other traditional cultural materials were contained within and just above the floor deposits.

The shallow cultural deposits and other available data suggest that Captain Charlie and his family occupied the pithouse for not more than 20 years and possibly fewer than 10 years. Interviews with informants and review of local records suggest that Captain Charlie and his second Anastasia, and perhaps also his third wife Marianne resided in the pithouse sometime between ca. 1860 and the late nineteenth century.

Moderate to low densities of cultural materials in floor and fire-reddened feature deposits indicate regular floor maintenance and cleaning. Only the occasional lithic tool fragment, waste flake, bead, or stray bone fragment was lost or ground into the earthen floor. Most artifacts in the upper deposits appear to be materials from a collapsed roof and/or later trash dumping episodes.

Traditional pre-contact period technology continued to be used into the early post-contact era, including slate knives and other ground stone tools, hand mauls, and simple flaked stone tools. Captain Charlie had unusual access to valued goods given his important social status. Valued trade commodities such as glass beads, shell buttons, metal objects, and glass containers that once held prized goods such as oils and beverages were acquired by Captain Charlie, either from nearby Fort Hope or from other Stó:lō people trading with Euro-Canadians. Parts of the pithouse structure appear to have been constructed and repaired with the abundant square nails recovered.

Test excavations conducted in the nearby house of Patrick Joe (House 2) (Arnold n.d.) allows comparative consideration of intra-community variation in house features, and uses of both traditional and Euro-Canadian tools and commodities. House 2 has the remains of a collapsed roof and what may be multiple post-contact period floor zones, but we did not encounter any features in the small area excavated. The occupation episodes in the two houses appear to have overlapped, and traditional pre-contact tool types as well as European items are common at both structures. Strata dating to the later nineteenth century in House 2 contained fewer valuable goods than House 1, reflecting Captain Charlie's elevated social standing in the community that allowed him to enjoy greater wealth than his peers. During occupation of Captain Charlie's pithouse,

Fort Hope was only a few hundred meters away, providing ready access to European and Euro-Canadian foods and goods. There were many changes in local society and behaviours related to village life, including adoption of Christian elements, new economic frameworks and colonial policies that significantly affected Stó:lō lifeways during his lifetime and continue to do so today.

Conclusion

Expansion of the excavations at Captain Charlie's pithouse (CD-1) will undoubtedly reveal considerably more about the daily activities of this household and community, residents' access to goods at Fort Hope, social ties to neighboring families and families in other communities, diet, social standing, and process of rapid and profound cultural change initiated by contact with Europeans. The placement of several additional units in the central floor area and near the house perimeter would also be likely to reveal construction features such as roof-support postmolds and wall postmolds. All such investigations can continue to add usefully to the rich story of the Stó:lō across many scales of research – regionally, locally, and more individually as in this case.

Acknowledgments

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This chapter is dedicated to the memory of Chawathil Elder Bill Pat Charlie, without whose knowledge of history this project would not have been possible.

Bill Pat Charlie (on right) with his wife Sophie and son Ron, in the Telte Yet Campground at Captain Charlie's Pithouse (July 2003).