

CHAPTER 7

Cultures in Conflict: Archaeology of Colonialism in the Fraser Canyon

Brian Pegg

Kwantlen Polytechnic University, Cloverdale, B.C.

Introduction and Background

Colonialism is probably the most important process in the entire deep history of North America, but this period and its events are underrepresented in the archaeological literature of British Columbia. The history of Nlaka'pamux peoples from this time period is also relatively poorly understood, because written documentation reflects primarily a Euro-Canadian point of view (Harris 1997, Marshall 2000), because few archaeological sites dating to this period have been intensively investigated, and because oral history accounts are largely unavailable to outsiders. Notable events or trends for the colonial period include first contact between Nlaka'pamux people and Simon Fraser's party in 1808, the fur trade, the Gold Rush and War of 1858, CPR construction, the beginning of the reserve system, and the forced transition to a capitalist market-based economy (Laforet and York 1998). The Nlaka'pamux were pivotal to the formation of the mainland colony of BC during the events of 1858, and if it were not for their actions during that year, the United States may have annexed the mainland as they had in the southern Oregon Territories in 1846 (Marshall, 2000).

In Summer 2009, archaeological fieldwork was conducted at culturally modified tree (CMT) site DIRi-66 in the Ainslie Creek watershed and at pre-contact/post-contact habitation site DIRi-6 (the Nlaka'pamux village of *Kopchitchin*) (Figure 1). Fieldwork took place as part of Kwantlen Polytechnic University's (KPU's) Applied Archaeology Field School under Heritage Conservation Act (HCA) Permit 2009-0043. Detailed information related to the excavation of *Kopchitchin* can be found in Pegg and Ling (2011) and Pegg, Greenhalgh, Mainwaring and Vanderwel (2009). Research goals focus on investigation of colonialism within the Fraser Canyon from the early 1800s to the early 1900s.

Kopchitchin (DIRi-6) is on the west side of the Fraser River (Figure 1), and contains multiple circular house depressions and at least two rectangular mat lodge foundations. This site was a major Nlaka'pamux village into the late 1800s, and is currently home to many families from the Boston Bar First Nation, who live to the west of the CPR tracks approximately 200 m away from the cultural depressions. A total of five 1m² excavation units were dug within a circular house depression at the site, and three 1m² excavation units within a rectangular mat lodge foundation.

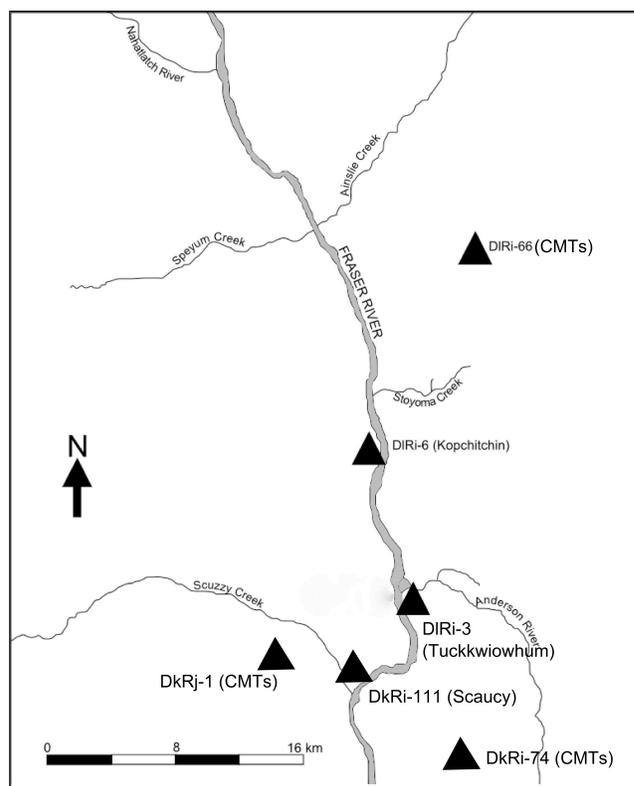


Figure 1. Location of sites discussed in the chapter.

In addition, shovel testing and surface inspection at the site allowed us to map the extent of subsurface deposits and locations of cultural depressions.

Kopchitchin is documented in census data from 1878, which was collected by G.M. Sproat and George Blenkinsop when they travelled through the Canyon with Sproat as Indian Reserve Commissioner (Harris 2002:138). The 1878 census shows 26 inhabitants at the site, which was called "*Ka.pah.cheeks*" in the census documents (Harris 1997:121). This number of inhabitants probably refers to the settlement west of the CPR tracks, where people lived after leaving the eastern portion of *Kopchitchin*.

Prior to KPU's 2009 field investigations, cultural depressions had not been recorded in the provincial heritage register database (RAAD), although a different portion of the site had been excavated in 1984 (Arcas Associates 1985). These excavations were completed prior to the

construction of the current North Bend Bridge, and identified deeply buried deposits which were estimated, based on geomorphology, to date to circa 6000 BP.

A large gravel bar exists on the west side of the modern Fraser channel 3.5 km downstream from *Kopchitchin* and across from the outlet of the Anderson River. This is "Boston Bar", which was the site of very early placer mining by miners predominantly from California during the gold rush of 1858. Americans were referred to as "Boston Men" in Chinook jargon (Marshall 2000).

DIRi-66 is a CMT site situated within the Ainslie Creek watershed, at elevations between 940 and 1040 m above sea level. CMTs present at DIRi-66 include rectangular and tapering bark-stripped cedars. Work carried out at the site included CMT inventory and recording and tree ring sampling. In a straight line, *Kopchitchin* and DIRi-66 are separated by approximately 15 km, and it is likely that the inhabitants of the village were collecting cedar bark at the CMT site in the 1800s.

Site Investigations at DIRi-66

Inventory survey and dendrochronological sampling of CMT site DIRi-66 was conducted in order to address questions regarding Nlaka'pamux ethnohistory of the 1700s, 1800s and early 1900s. Sample collection methods were based on Barret and Arno (1988) and Jozsa (1988). CMTs are excellent proxy indicators for economic activity and demographics for the post-contact period (Pegg 2000; Prince 2001). Furthermore, to the extent that CMT sites can be associated with particular communities, they can provide data relating to population levels within those communities.



Figure 2. Rectangular (left) and tapered (right) bark-stripped cedar CMTs at DIRi-66.

A total of 285 CMTs were identified in 2009 at DIRi-66 (Figure 2), with most being tapered and rectangular bark-stripped cedars. Of these, 146 CMTs were successfully dated. Overall, dates for CMTs range from AD 1768 to 1952, with a mean of AD 1847 and standard deviation of 36.5 years. Frequency of cedar harvest reached its peak in

the 1830s and 40s but began to fall precipitously after that, with a low point of harvest in the early 1900s.

Tree ring data from DIRi-66 demonstrates use of upland areas for harvest of cedar resources, in varying intensities, from the 1700s until the 1950s. The repeated and long term use of the location, along with the high frequency of trees with multiple bark-strips, argues in favour of resource management practices established and followed by Nlaka'pamux harvesters.

Most of the CMTs at DIRi-66 are tapered bark-strips (n=249). Bark removed from these trees was taken primarily by women, and would have been used for clothing, basketry, and mats, among other uses (Turner 2014). Bark from rectangular and girdled bark-strips, however, would often have been used as roofing for temporary or semi-permanent shelters. A large number (n=34) of bark-strips are of this type. This indicates that Nlaka'pamux people during the 1800s were likely staying for at least several days in at the Ainslie Creek site on cedar harvest trips, which would have taken place in the spring. The closest large Nlaka'pamux communities to DIRi-66 are *Tuckkwiowhum* and *Kopchitchin*, and inhabitants of those communities were likely the most frequent collectors of cedar bark at the site.

Cedar harvest at DIRi-66 declines steeply after its peak in the 1840s, to reach a low point in the decade of 1900-1909 (Figure 3). This decline correlates very well with early census data for the Fraser Canyon, which shows a 72% decline in population at the nearby large Nlaka'pamux town of *Tuckkwiowhum* (DIRi-3; also called *Quayome*) between 1830 and 1878 (Harris 1997). During the mid-1800s, *Tuckkwiowhum* was probably the largest Nlaka'pamux town between *Spuzzum* and Lytton; *Tuckkwiowhum* is only 11km south of DIRi-66.

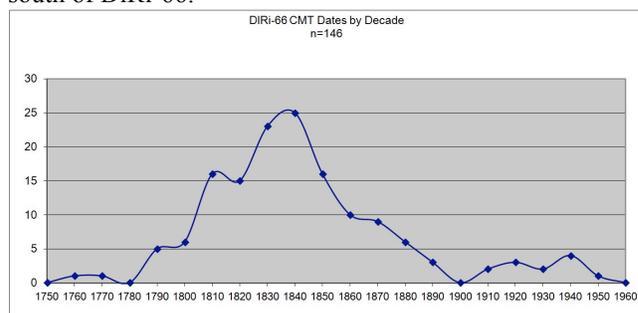


Figure 3. Cedar harvest frequency at DIRi-66, closest to *Tuckkwiowhum* and *Kopchitchin*.

Two other nearby CMT sites in the Fraser Canyon, DkRj-1 (in Scuzzy Creek) and DkRi-74 (on top of Gate Mountain) (Figure 1) have dendrochronological sample sizes large enough for meaningful comparison with DIRi-66. The closest community to DkRj-1 is *Scaucy*, situated near the confluence of Scuzzy Creek and the Fraser River. The closest Nlaka'pamux communities to DkRi-74 are *Tikwalus* and *Spuzzum*, situated on the Fraser River approximately 10 and 15 km downstream from the site.

Cedar harvest frequency peaked at DkRi-74 in the 1860s and 70s, and at DkRj-1 in the 1870s and 80s (Figures 4 and

5). Overall, Nlaka'pamux populations declined throughout the 1800s from various shocks such as the War of 1858 and several epidemics of introduced disease (Harris 1997). Smallpox began at least as early as late summer 1782 (Harris 1997; Carlson 2001), with a major epidemic documented for 1862 (Laforet and York 1998). Other introduced diseases which had a major impact on Nlaka'pamux demographics included measles, which had severe effects in this area in 1848 (Harris 1997; Carlson 2001: 163).

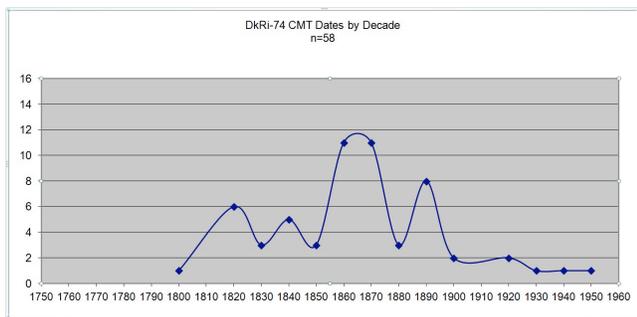


Figure 4. Cedar harvest frequency at DkRi-74, closest to Tikwalus and Spuzzum. Adapted from Elcock, Cromarty, Spence and Pegg (2015).

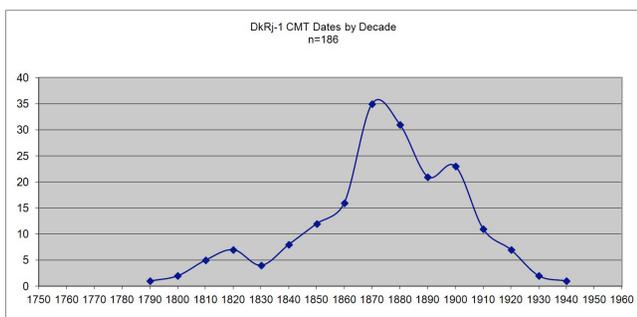


Figure 5. Cedar harvest frequency at DkRj-1, near the historic community of Scaucy. Adapted from Wada and Bailey (1999).

A common pattern during this decline was migration into the larger communities (Teit 1900). Cedar harvest data most likely shows a significant movement of people towards the southernmost communities in the territory beginning after the 1850s. This is corroborated by Laforet and York's (1998) oral history research and their examinations of 1878 Reserve Commission census documents, which found that during CPR construction in the 1880s a peak population existed at the southern community of Spuzzum. After the introduction of the market-based economy, Nlaka'pamux people, largely successfully, navigated these systems and created opportunities and businesses. This entrepreneurship was done on their own terms, however (Pegg et al. 2011). For example, Nlaka'pamux attitudes towards wage labour often frustrated employers, because workers would only continue employment until they had accumulated sufficient cash to hold a potlatch. This is part of the reason the potlatch was banned in 1885 (Lutz, 2008).

Equally important in the decline of cedar harvest would have been the replacement of Nlaka'pamux legal and land ownership systems with those imported by colonial powers. The Gold Rush and War of 1858 marked the shift in power in the Fraser Canyon away from the Nlaka'pamux to whites (Marshall 2000). Subsequently, when the Cariboo Wagon Road was completed in 1863, a cash-based economy, with its capitalization of labour, wood, salmon, gold, water, and land, was superimposed onto traditional Nlaka'pamux systems (LaForet and York 1998). This pattern continued with the construction of the CPR in the early 1880s, and the imposition of the reserve system and colonial, provincial, and federal denial of aboriginal title and rights starting in the early 1860s (Harris 2002). All of these factors can be expected to influence local rates of cedar harvest.

Site Investigations at Kopchitchin (DIRi-6)

Surface survey was utilized to map cultural depressions and to determine the extent of placer mining activity that had taken place at this site (Figure 6). Placer mining is common along the Fraser River in the canyon, and leaves surface features such as ditches and sidecast boulders and cobbles, often arranged in rows to allow sluiceways to traverse across a landscape (Kennedy 2009). At Kopchitchin, an extensive area located between the indigenous structures inhabited in the 1800s and the west bank of the Fraser River had been placer mined. Within the area identified as impacted by placer operations, tree ring samples were taken to date the placer mining.

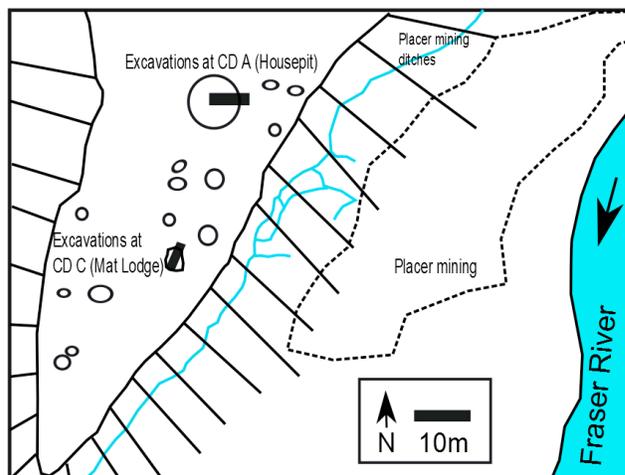


Figure 6. Site plan map of Kopchitchin (DIRi-6).

Water-rolled boulders, cobbles, and pebbles, excavated from the lower terrace by hydraulic washing, are piled in parallel rows perpendicular to the west bank of the Fraser River. Ditches to deliver water cross the southeast-aspect scarp face of the upper terrace from Hallecks Creek. Almost no fine sediments are present on this lower terrace; these would have been washed away by placer operations, which would have also removed the trees and any archaeo-



Figure 7. Chinese placer mining at *Kopchitchin* in 1891, immediately east of the indigenous houses. The photograph date of 1891 correlates well with tree ring data for the site. Vancouver City Archives image, AM54-S4.

logical features that may have been present (Figure 7). Tree-ring sampling within the placer mined area (n=30) shows a gap in tree ages in the late 1800s and early 1900s, exactly the pattern that would be expected for intensive placer mining in this location at that time.

A search of Library and Archives Canada identified a package of placer mining lease documents for the *Kopchitchin* reserve dating to 1892 and 1893, including a sketch map of the reserve at that time (Figure 8). The mining is proposed by Charles Stewart of Tacoma, Washington, and replaces the Chinese-run mining shown in the 1891 photograph. Existing Nlaka'pamux homes at the time were located to the west of the CPR tracks, but a graveyard and two plots with abandoned houses between the CPR and the Fraser River were excluded from the application at the insistence of the "Chief and Principal Men". Nlaka'pamux signatories to these documents were still using their Nlaka'pamuxin names and did not write as they are signed with "X" instead of a signature.

Indigenous structures investigated at *Kopchitchin* in 2009 were inhabited into the 1800s then abandoned, but the date of this abandonment was unknown prior to our field program. Dating of occupations based on post-contact period artifacts (Table 1) focussed on beads, buttons, bottle glass, cans, nails, and primary documents, using methods and information from Sutton and Arkush (2007), the Society of Historic Archaeology bottle glass web page and the Parks Canada Glass Glossary (Jones and Sullivan, 1985).

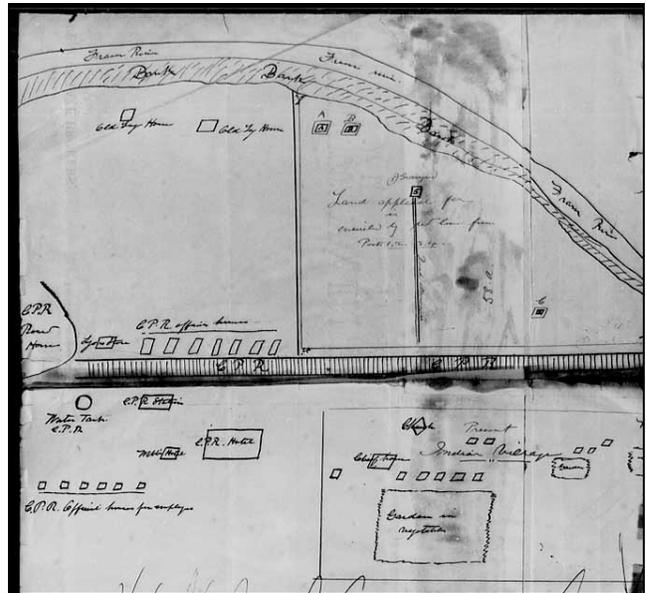


Figure 8. Sketch map of 1892 hydraulic mining lease application made to the Department of Indian Affairs. East is up. KPU excavated in the area shown as Plots A and B on the map. Notes for the map assert the structures east of the CPR were "long abandoned by the Indians". Library and Archives Canada, Indian Affairs RG10, Vol 3881, File 94,649.

Inventory survey and excavation evidence documented fifteen cultural depressions (at least five were probably houses) and numerous global market economy artifacts that included diagnostic materials such as nails, glass, buttons, and medicine bottles (Figure 9). Pre-contact materials, primarily lithic waste flakes, were also present in layers below those containing post-contact materials.



Figure 9. Selected artifacts from *Kopchitchin*. Clockwise from left: British ointment jar (circa 1868; surface find not from excavation); two post-1849 Prosser buttons; front and back of US Military jacket button manufactured between 1854 and 1861; brass shirt button manufactured in Birmingham, UK; ceramic tobacco pipe-stem; harmonica reed plate.

Detailed excavations were conducted within a circular house depression (5m² excavated) and a rectangular mat-lodge depression (3m² excavated). Layers representing roof collapse and floors for the final occupations of both structures were identified. Both structure foundations contained pre- and post-contact material with the majority of artifacts dating to the post-contact period. Lithic debitage (n=549) was recovered in high quantities only from the circular house depression, indicating it was inhabited in the pre-contact period as well. Lithic waste density within the mat lodge was similar to that found outside the structure, suggesting it was probably only inhabited during the post-contact period.

Most nails are machine-cut square nails, which were manufactured in large numbers between 1830 and 1890. The presence of wire nails in much smaller numbers fits within the latter half of this date range (Sutton and Arkush 2007:163). Fragmentary container glass is the most common market-economy artifact type and many fragments have diagnostic traits and production marks which indicate their manufacture dates. Container glass was manufactured by turn mold, dip mold, plate mold, and mouth-blowing. The glass analysis places the last occupation date for the structures from the mid- until late-1800s (Society for Historic Archaeology n.d.; Jones and Sullivan, 1985).

Multi-faceted drawn glass cobalt blue and green trade beads were identified within both structures (Figure 10). Faceted trade beads were made by cutting drawn glass tubing and individually faceting each bead by hand. These beads were distributed by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and their appearance in indigenous sites in the Northwest often corresponds with the establishment of

nearby HBC posts (Motz, Ritter and Rock 1986:122). They could have been acquired from Fort Kamloops (1812), Fort Langley (1827), Fort Hope (1848), or Fort Yale (1848) (Hayes 1999). The beads are strong indicators of pre-1858 occupation of the excavated structures at *Kopchitchin*, as following that year the HBC was no longer a strong commercial actor in the Fraser Canyon (Marshall 2000).

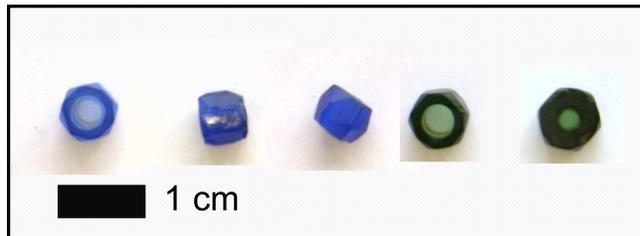


Figure 10. Selection of blue and green glass HBC beads from *Kopchitchin*.

Buttons probably provide the most reliable dating for the abandonment of the two structures. Prosser buttons (n=4) were patented in 1849 (Sprague, as cited by Sutton and Arkush 2007: 218). The Birmingham, England manufacturer (William Astons) of a brass button shirt button found in the circular house depression ceased business in 1876 (UK Detector Finds Database 2005). The American military button (Figure 9) found in *Kopchitchin's* mat lodge was manufactured by Scovills & Co. in Connecticut between 1854 and 1861, and was from the jacket of an enlisted man in the general service (Wycoff, as cited by University of Nebraska n.d.; Inkspot Antiques 2009). American military and ex-military personnel were active participants in the Fraser Canyon War of 1858 (Marshall 2000), and the button may be direct evidence for their presence at *Kopchitchin*. It is also possible, however, that the Nlaka'pamux inhabitants of the structure obtained the button from American miners.

Table 1. Occupation age range estimates based on seriation of post-contact period artifacts.

Dating results for Cultural Depression A																
Dating Source	Date Range	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Beads	1820-1900															
Bottle glass	1855-1920															
Buttons	1849-1881															
Cans	1820-1930															
Nails	1830-1890															
Primary documents	Earlier than 1880															(1892 lease application)

Dating results for Cultural Depression C																
Dating Source	Date Range	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Beads	1820-1900															
Bottle glass	1840-1920															
Buttons	1849-1861															
Cans	1820-1930															
Nails	1830-1890															
Primary documents	Earlier than 1880															(1892 lease application)



Figure 11. Burned structural timbers from the circular house depression, from near the rim (left) and near-centre (right).

The mining lease documents also provide further data relating to the abandonment of the site, as this portion of *Kopchitchin* is described as "long abandoned by the Indians" in 1892. Finally, no artifacts that are clearly associated with the CPR are present in the structures; they would presumably have been present if people had lived here in the 1880s as the CPR is only 200 m away from the excavated structures.

Within both excavated structures, numerous burned cedar and Douglas-fir wood and bark features were observed; these are the remains of structural timbers and roofing material within both the mat lodge and circular house (Figure 11). No unburned wood was identified within either structure. Shovel testing outside the structures, in contrast, showed much lower amounts of charcoal and burned wood, leading to a strong hypothesis that the fire existed only at the structures, and was probably not natural in origin.

A good candidate for date and reason for abandonment of the structures is burning of the site by an American militia during the War of 1858. This correlates with CMT data from DIRI-66, which saw a steep decline in cedar harvest during and after the 1850s, and also fits the dating of the site by buttons, glass, nails, and the 1892 mining lease documents. The 1858 inhabitants of the site, after being burned out of their homes, either moved to the west side of the CPR tracks, or, in larger numbers, went south to the communities of *Scaucy* and *Spuzzum* or across.

During the War of 1858, many Nlaka'pamux dwellings were burned as the miners and their militias prosecuted an openly genocidal campaign against Nlaka'pamux people (LaForet and York 1998:50). In a letter from Captain Snyder to Governor Douglas written in August 1858, Snyder describes the attitude of one of the miner's militias:

"...their views were different from mine and the Austrian Company. They wished to proceed and kill every man, woman & child they saw that had Indian blood in them." (Snyder, as quoted by Marshall 2000:228).

This war was an extension of numerous "Indian Wars" which had taken place in the American west where a gold rush (California in 1849 is a good example) are exploited by the military so that force can be used against indigenous populations to protect the miners (Marshall 2000). There are numerous references in miner's journals and newspaper letters to the burning of aboriginal dwellings, which they called "rancheries", after Spanish terminology used in California (Marshall 2000). In an interview conducted in 1908, Edward Stout, a Californian who came to the Fraser Canyon during 1858 and who later settled in Yale, talks about his retreat south down the river after hostilities had begun in June of 1858:

"...we had to fight our way through and we burned every rancherie and every salmon box that we could get ahold of." (Stout, as quoted by Marshall 2000:215).

This behaviour is corroborated by Rouse, another first-hand witness:

"[the miners routed]...the Indians, who took refuge in the mountains; they then burnt three of their rancheries, destroying all their provisions, which consisted of salmon and dried berries. [...] There have been, in all, five of their rancheries burnt; three above the Big Canon, and two below." (Rouse, as quoted by Marshall 2000:217).

The "Big Canon" referred to in the second quote is the area around Hell's Gate, which is only 11 km downstream from *Kopchitchin*. The village may very well be one of the three rancheries described by Rouse as being burned.

Support for the theory that *Kopchitchin* was burned by miners, lies with the American army button identified within the mat lodge (Figure 9), which almost certainly dates to 1858. Many of the miners present in 1858 were from California, and were currently or formerly members of the US Army during the gold rush (Marshall 2000). The button

is from an enlisted man's uniform, not an officer's, exactly the type to have left the army to seek their fortune in the gold fields.

If *Kopchitchin* was burned by miners in 1858, it would have been done in the early days of the conflict, in June or July, either during the retreat of miners from above Lytton or during a short foray out of Fort Yale. By August of 1858, almost all the miners had moved downstream below Spuzzum out of core Nlaka'pamux territory, until militias were organized. The "Whatcom Guards", commanded by Captain Graham, moved up the west side of the river but were involved in a gunfight (with each other!) near Chapman's Bar, which is 18km south of *Kopchitchin*. After Captain Graham was killed, this company did not proceed further upriver. The company under the command of Captain Snyder continued to move upstream, but on the east side of the river (Marshall 2000:234).

Another possible explanation is linked to introduction of disease. Nlaka'pamux response to the death of a household by disease during the 1800s was often sterilization by fire:

"So they set fire to the keekwillee holes [pithouses] and all those places, and after it was cremated two or three months, I guess, after it was cremated, they gathered all the ashes and put it in a great big dugout and brought it this side of this point...." (Annie York, as quoted by LaForet and York 1998:27).

Measles impacted the Fraser Canyon in 1848, and smallpox was there in 1862 (Carlson 2001:163). However, the 1862 epidemic did not have as great an impact on Nlaka'pamux peoples as had earlier epidemics, because of a vaccination program conducted by an Anglican missionary in June of that year (LaForet and York 1998:27; Harris 1997), and the 1848 date is too early for abandonment of the two structures given the evidence from the button assemblage.

Discussion and Conclusion

The archaeology of indigenous history in the Fraser Canyon is still poorly understood, and should be investigated in much more thorough detail. This area is important because the events of 1858 led to a re-configuration of aboriginal power in mainland British Columbia, dissolution of the HBC monopoly, creation of the mainland colony, and introduced settlement and true colonial power to the interior (Harris 1997; Marshall 2000). The actions of the Nlaka'pamux in 1858 were crucial to protecting the mainland of British Columbia from annexation by the United States.

Prior to the contact period, which for the Fraser Canyon began in 1808 with Simon Fraser's descent of the river, the area between Yale and Lillooet was likely one of the most densely populated fishing/hunting/gathering areas in the world (Harris 1997). Even in 1881, after over 100 years of introduced disease, the Fraser Canyon had a very large population, following only Victoria and the Lower Mainland (Harris 1997).

Prior to 1808, however, Nlaka'pamux people were already feeling the effects of the intrusion of outsiders. They would have experienced smallpox in 1782 (Harris 1997:19; Carlson 2001), and would have been participating in trade of European and American goods well before Simon Fraser's visit. It is possible that they were impacted by introduced disease as early as the 1660s via an infectious vector from the American Southwest (Jones 2003).

The colonial period is the time when the lower Fraser Canyon landscape changed from domination and management by Nlaka'pamux law, belief systems, and economy to the imposition of settler ideology and legal systems (Harris 1997 2001; Marshall 2000; LaForet and York 1998; Fisher 1977). This was essentially a process of capitalization of the landscape: trees, rivers, land, labour, and water became commodities with cash value (Robbins 2011). The Nlaka'pamux were propelled into the cash economy by the segmentation of their territory (LaForet and York 1998) and outright destruction of their communities. Sustained wage labour enters the area in 1860s with the construction of the Caribou Wagon Road, which employed many Nlaka'pamux people and also provided business opportunities (Laforet and York 1998).

When gold miners came in large numbers in 1858, it meant the end of universal Nlaka'pamux law within the territory. From the Nlaka'pamux point of view, the War of 1858 was in defence of territorial and resource rights (Marshall 2000). From the point of view of many California miners, the purpose of the war was extermination of aboriginal peoples and control of a dangerous adversary (Carlson 2001:163; Marshall 2000), but especially extinguishing indigenous rights to control of the landscape. The War of 1858 was also the time when distinctions between racial groups became entrenched in Nlaka'pamux and in English - "shama" (whites, or outsiders) and "Indians" (LaForet and York 1998:56). During this war, miners on both sides of the river upstream of Yale were killing Nlaka'pamux and burning villages (Marshall 2000); this may have happened at *Kopchitchin*.

Beginning in 1858, landscape and water rights were subject to imported European law. This pattern continued into 1900s, even on reserves. At *Kopchitchin*, water from Hallecks Creek was appropriated for placer mining in the late 1800s, and was then unavailable for Nlaka'pamux farming. This was a consistent pattern into the early 1900s in the Fraser Canyon (Harris 1997; 2002). The diversion of Hallecks Creek and placer mining at *Kopchitchin* could have contributed beyond the burning of indigenous structures to the complete abandonment of the east side of the village and movement to the west side of the CPR, which in the late 1800s was given over to extensive kitchen gardens.

Culturally modified tree dates correlate well with the abandonment of east *Kopchitchin* beginning as early as 1858. A steep decline in the frequency of cedar harvest from 1840 to a low point in 1900 is part of the broad pattern of loss of traditional technology, undermining of resource management systems, and demographic collapse that

occurred throughout Nlaka'pamux territory. Major contributors are introduced disease, the War of 1858, and the imposition of the reserve system (Carlson 2001; Marshall 2000; Harris 1997, 2002). *Tuckkwiowhum* reserve, across the river from *Kopchitchin*, is one of the earliest on the mainland. It was surveyed in 1861 by the Royal Engineers in advance of the construction of the Caribou Wagon Road (Turnbull 1861). The *Tuckkwiowhum* reserve was re-surveyed on July 11, 1870 by Joseph Trutch and Peter O'Reilly. *Kopchitchin* reserve was established and surveyed on July 19, 1870 by Trutch and O'Reilly (Harris 2002).

This project has demonstrated several important methodological and theoretical points. First, the archaeology of colonialism can be productive and informative, especially in an area like the Fraser Canyon which has good site preservation and has been under-investigated. Second, traditional data from excavations can be tied together with non-traditional data from CMTs to examine demographic and economic patterns across a landscape. Last, major historical events such as the War of 1858 are amenable to investigation by archaeological methods.