



Taseko Prosperity Gold-Copper Project

Appendix 7-2-C

**THE HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE
OF THE FISH LAKE STUDY AREA: ETHNOGRAPHY**

prepared by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
The Fish Lake Overview Study	3
METHODOLOGY OF THE FISH LAKE HERITAGE STUDY	6
Ethnographic Interviews	6
Land Use and Occupancy Study	7
Placenames	8
Data Analysis	8
RESULTS	14
The Chilcotin as Found in Ethnographic and Historic Archival Sources	14
The Chilcotin: Linguistic Relationships and Territory	14
The Historic Period	15
The Subsistence Patterns of the Chilcotin in the Historic Period	16
A Brief History of the Occupation of the Fish Lake Study Area by the William Family	21
Contemporary Land Use Patterns	27
Non-Indian Land Use in the Fish Lake Study Area	42
Grazing	42
Forestry Recreation Site	42
Mining	43
Fish Lake	43
Taseko-Blackdome	44
River Claims	44
Chita	44
Taylor Windfall	44
Mega 1-2	44
Haying	45
Hydro reserve	45
Roads	45
Guiding	45
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS	46
Assessment of the Cultural Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area	47
Trapping	48
Spiritual Significance	49
Plant Gathering	50
Ranching	51
Hunting	51
Fishing	52

Table of Contents (cont.)

Summary	53
LITERATURE CITED	56
APPENDIX 1	62
APPENDIX 2	66

LIST OF TABLES

- Table 1. Plants Used By the Tsilhqot'in People in the Fish Lake Study Area
Table 2. Animals Trapped by the Tsilhqot'in in the Fish Lake Study Area
Table 3. Fish Caught by the Tsilhqot'in in the Fish Lake Study Area
Table 4. Animals Hunted by the Tsilhqot'in in the Fish Lake Study Area
Table 5. Trade Items, pre-1863: Bella Coola, Chilcotin, Canyon Shuswap

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1. Location of the Taseko Mines Limited Fish Lake Project
- Figure 2. Tsilhqot'in Placenames in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 3. Ancestors of Amelia William who have used the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 4. Descendants of Amelia William
- Figure 5. Photograph of the Settlement at Little Fish Lake
- Figure 6. Nemiah Valley Indian Band Trapline
- Figure 7. Map of the Bullion-Onion Flats Grazing Units
- Figure 8. Trapping in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 9. The Spiritually Significant in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 10. First Nation Harvest of Berries in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 11. First Nation Harvest of Plants in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 12. First Nation Hunting Patterns in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 13. First Nation Fishing Patterns in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 14. First Nation Haying and Grazing in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 15. Cabins and Occasional Use Camps in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 16. Yearly Use Camps, Corrals and Barns in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 17. Storage Outbuildings and Water Sources in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 18. Number of Individuals who have used Locations in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 19. Number of Activities taking place in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 20. Tsilhqot'in Elders' Fishing Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 21. Tsilhqot'in Young Peoples' Fishing Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 22. Tsilhqot'in Middle Aged Peoples' Fishing Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 23. Raspberry Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 24. Huckleberry Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 25. Blueberry Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 26. Strawberry Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 27. Crowberry Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 28. Gooseberry Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 29. Saskatoon Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 30. Soopalallie Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 31. Kinnikinnick Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 32. Thimbleberry Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 33. Wild Onion Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 34. Mountain Potato Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 35. Bear Tooth Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 36. Willow Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 37. Labrador Tea Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 38. Balsam Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 39. Aspen Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 40. Lily Pad Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 41. Wild Rhubarb Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

List of Figures (cont.)

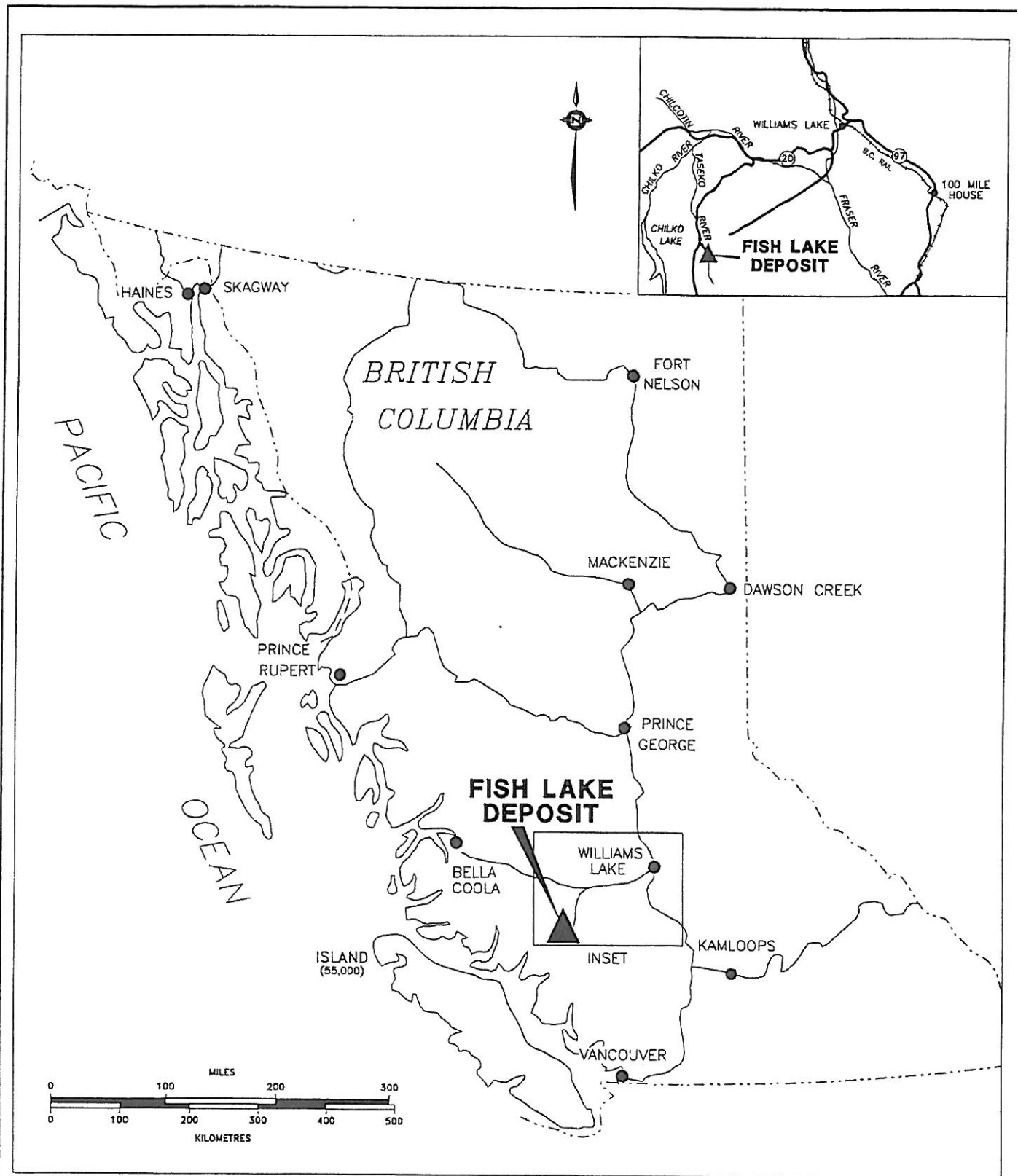
- Figure 42. Pine Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 43. Cottonwood Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 44. Juniper Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 45. Lynx trapping areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 46. Bobcat trapping areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 47. Weasel trapping areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 48. Cougar trapping areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 49. Squirrel trapping areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 50. Wolverine trapping areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 51. Fisher trapping areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 52. Beaver trapping areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 53. Marten trapping areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 54. Rabbit trapping areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 55. Muskrat trapping areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 56. Coyote trapping areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 57. Elders' hunting areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 58. Middle-aged peoples' hunting areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 59. Young peoples' hunting areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 60. All ages' deer hunting areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 61. All ages' moose hunting areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 62. All ages' grouse hunting areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 63. All ages' geese hunting areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 64. All ages' goat hunting areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 65. All ages' squirrel hunting areas in the Fish Lake Study Area
- Figure 66. All ages' groundhog hunting areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

INTRODUCTION

This report is submitted to Taseko Mines by HARMONY Human and Environmental Studies Ltd.. It is an overview of the heritage significance of the Fish Lake Project Development Area. The Fish Lake Project is located in the Chilcotin approximately one hundred twenty-five kilometers southwest of Williams Lake, British Columbia (see fig. 1). The deposit is one kilometer north of Fish Lake and ten kilometers northeast of Lower Taseko Lake (51°28'N, 123°37'W; NTS Sheet 92-0/5E). The Fish Lake Property consists of mineral and placer claims owned by Taseko Mines Limited.

The proposed development at Fish Lake is subject to review under the Mine Development Assessment Process. This development process is partially regulated by the Heritage Conservation Act (1979 R.S.B.C., Chapter 165). The Heritage Conservation Act protects sites designated as "Provincial Heritage Sites" (section 4) or sites recognized as having specific historic or archaeological value. The archaeological assessment process becomes operational under projects which potentially alter an environment in which there is archaeological potential. Bill 70, Heritage Conservation Statutes Amendment Act, 1993 has been tabled in the Provincial Legislature of the Province of British Columbia. If passed it will add sites that have a particular value to an aboriginal people to the list of sites of available for protected status. Sites that have a particular heritage value could be sites having historic, cultural, aesthetic, scientific or educational worth to an aboriginal group. It will also require the Province to enter into formal agreements with First Nations concerning the conservation and preservation of heritage sites and heritage objects that represent the cultural heritage of that people. Bill 70 recommends changes to the definition of cultural heritage resources under the Mineral Tenures Act (section 1). The proposed changes would recognize objects, sites or locations of traditional societal practices that are of historic, cultural, or archaeological significance to an aboriginal people. The proposed changes to the Mines Act, (sections 45 and 46) would require mine operators to plan for conservation of heritage resources in mine development.

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



Location of the Taseko Mines Limited Fish Lake Project

7 April 1994
AS SHOWN

Figure 1

Under the current legislation [Heritage Conservation Act (1979 R.S.B.C., Chpt. 165)] the first formal requirement for assessing the archaeological resource potential of an area is the overview study. This study has as its requirements:

- (a) *a background library and archival search for historical documents, and related ethnographic and archaeological material for the study area;*
- (b) *a statement of archaeological resource potential and distribution for the proposed development area;*
- (c) *preliminary assessment in light of proposed development; and*
- (d) *an assessment of further archaeological studies required (Apland and Kenny, eds., 1992:7).*

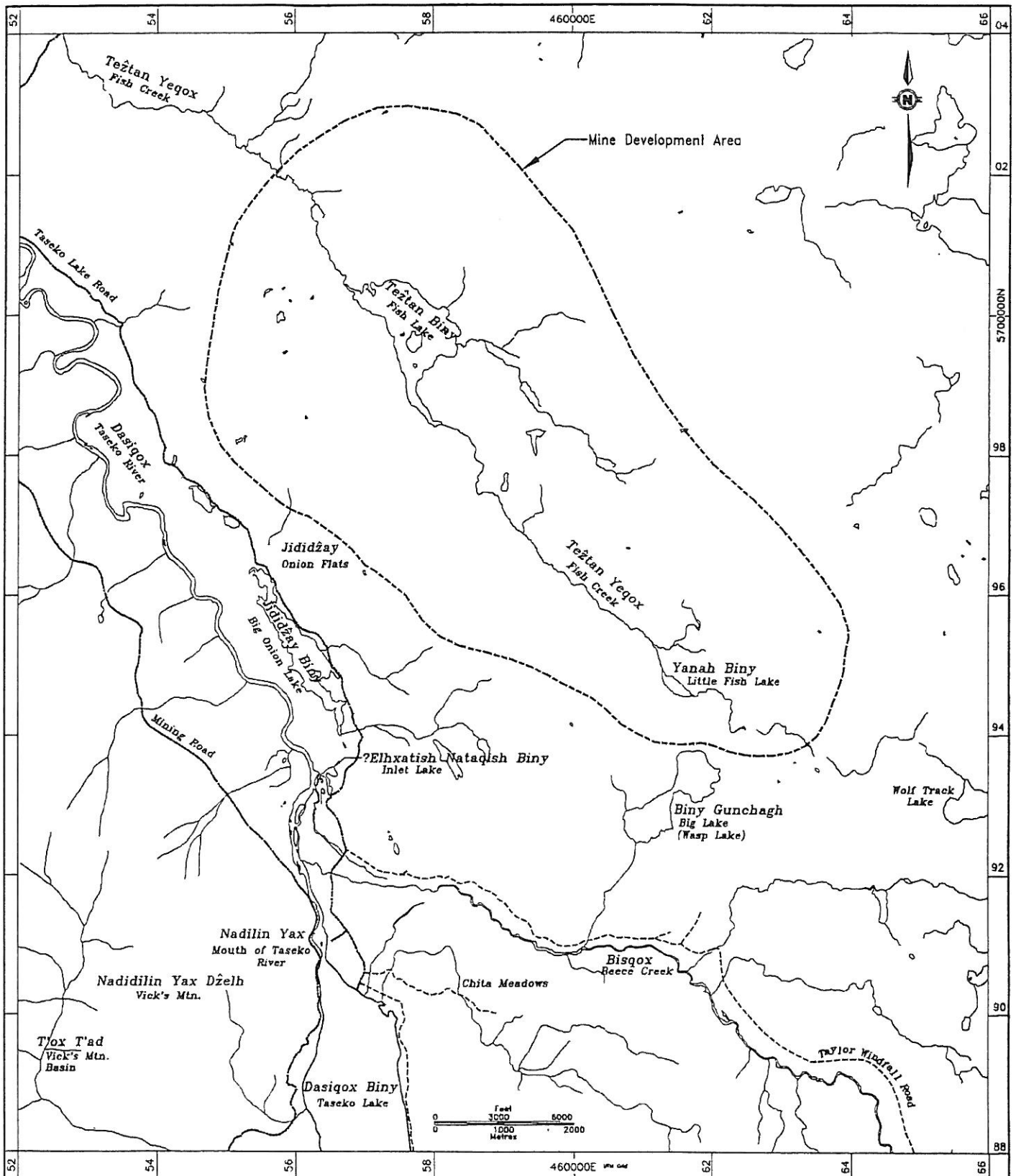
The Fish Lake Overview Study

This report details the ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources that relate to the historic and cultural significance of the Fish Lake study area to aboriginal and non-aboriginal peoples. The region that is studied in this report is that area (and at times beyond) shown in figure 2 and most other figures in this report. It is the geographic region surrounding Fish Lake and is referred to in this report as the Fish Lake study area. The study area includes a geographic region which is larger than the mine development area. The region shown in figure 2 is 225 square kilometers.

The mine development area is that area in which the project is proposed at Fish Lake. It encompasses an area of 48 square kilometers. The mine development area is denoted on all figures of the study area.

The report also presents ethnographic information that documents the historic and contemporary land use, subsistence and settlement patterns of Fish Lake study area by aboriginal and non-aboriginal peoples. It includes an inventory of land use in the proposed mine development area and surrounding area. It will present an assessment of the impact of the proposed development in light of results of the contemporary and historic resource study. It will indicate where further study might be carried out.

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



Tsilhqot'in Place Names in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 2

Because of the scarcity of printed ethnographic information on the Chilcotin Indian people and the Nemiah Valley Indian Band in particular, some primary ethnographic research was conducted by Adam William of the Nemiah Valley Indian Band and Cindy English. Topics chosen for study relate directly to the questions of land use, subsistence, and settlement patterns in the Fish Lake study area. Information is presented in a format that protects the confidentiality and anonymity of persons interviewed for this study.

The name Tsilhqot'in will be interchanged with the term Chilcotin, the anglicized version of the native word for themselves throughout the text. Both terms refer to the distinct ethnic group to which the past and present inhabitants of the Fish Lake study area (and the greater traditional territory of the Tsilhqot'in) belong.

A companion report by Robert Tyhurst (1994) entitled, "Fish Lake Heritage Resource Study: Report on the 1993 Archaeological Survey of the Fish Lake Mine Project and Power Corridor" will detail the pre-historic land use, subsistence and settlement potential of the Fish Lake study area. It will also provide recommendations of further archaeological studies required for any significant archaeological sites.

METHODOLOGY OF THE FISH LAKE HERITAGE STUDY

The Fish Lake heritage overview study, conducted by Cindy English and Adam William during the months of July and August of 1993, was designed to show patterns of historic and contemporary land use in the Fish Lake study area. A companion study, carried out by Robert Tyhurst (1994) over the same time period, provides an archaeological overview of the potential for sites of archaeological significance. The results of Mr. Tyhurst's archaeological project are found in his own report.

Several kinds of information was recorded for the Fish Lake Heritage Study. Information was recorded for Indian and non-Indian people. Information recorded for Indian people includes: oral history, ethnographic sources and historic archival documents, and archaeological materials by Mr. Robert Tyhurst. Information on non-Indian people is based on oral history from Indian Elders, archival documents, and historic sources. Because the non-Indian occupation of the Fish Lake study area has been sporadic and short-lived except for the site of the present Taseko Lodge, the Fish Lake Heritage Study primarily focuses on the Indian usage of the study area.

Ethnographic Interviews

Ethnographic interviews were conducted using a format developed in close consultation with two Chilcotin speakers who have vast knowledge of culture. Appendix 1 is a typology of site use developed for use in the Fish Lake Study area. It is based on the knowledge of Nemiah Band members: Adam William and Gilbert Solomon, and anthropologist, Cindy English. It is designed to reflect all traditional activities that are land based or site related that could be conducted in any given region of the traditional territory of the Nemiah Valley Indian Band. It was designed specifically for the Fish Lake project, so it may not be all inclusive for other areas.

The typology was used to determine the gear types and traditional food that might be obtained in the Fish Lake study area. It guided the conduct of most of the first two weeks of

interviews and was referred to often when extremely knowledgeable persons were interviewed. Since the typology was created to guide interviews in the Nemiah Valley, it is not meant to be used elsewhere in the Chilcotin, but could be adapted for other Chilcotin people. It also includes some categories that might apply to other areas in the Chilcotin, but not necessarily Fish Lake.

All interviews were structured using the typology as a guide. After the interviewers (Cindy English and Adam William) conducted several interviews, the categories of information that emerged provided the basis for amassing the data on maps for the land use and occupancy portion of the study.

Detailed ethnographic interviews were conducted with all of the individuals who visited Fish Lake during a five day trip that was taken during the month of August 1993. These interviews detailed the individuals' lives that had either been spent in large part at Fish Lake or Little Fish Lake, or had been significantly affected by time spent in the study area and adjoining regions. Individuals from the William and Solomon families made the trip to Fish Lake. Several other Elders who had used the study area at various times in their lifetimes also made the trip. All of these interviews were recorded in Tsilhqot'in interspersed with English. Since they are primarily in Chilcotin, they were subsequently translated and transcribed into English by Adam William and a few other Nemiah Band members. Transcripts and tape recordings of these interviews are the property of the Nemiah Valley Indian Band. They contain some ethnographic information that has been utilized to form a significant data source for this study. Access to these materials requires permission of Nemiah Valley Indian Band. Access is restricted to honor the protection of personally sensitive information provided in confidence to the interviewers.

Land Use and Occupancy Study

Ethnographic interviews were conducted with all of the Nemiah Elders. After the first two interviews it became apparent that the major categories of land use and occupancy included: hunting, fishing, camps and cabins, trails, hay, range and hay lands, berry picking and other plant use, trapping, and spiritually significant sites. Each Elder was asked to draw separate maps depicting the areas in which he/she had done each of these activities throughout his/her lifetime. In most cases maps for spouses were the same, unless one of the spouses had used the area extensively as a child. That individual would then draw his/her own map. Elders were questioned about each area of the map and were asked to identify placenames in their own language. For each of the subcategories of data, specific questions were asked regarding the types of gear used for fishing, the species hunted, fished or trapped, and the plants gathered. Detailed information about each individual was recorded on analog audiotape and mapped upon NAD 27 digital Intergraph IGDS scale 1:30,000 forest cover maps. Individuals identified points

and polygons representing areas of land use throughout his/her lifetime. The points and polygons were sequentially numbered. Data were recorded about each point in a field notebook beside each number. Data recorded were activities, gear types, species harvested, other people taking part in these activities if they are deceased or are not able to be interviewed, dates for some events, and other significant bits of information. Most interviews were conducted in Chilcotin using Adam William as a translator.

A door to door survey was done using the typology and site classification adopted during the interviews with Elders. Sixty-one individuals were interviewed for the study. Fifty-eight were from Nemiah and three were from Stoney. It is an availability sample. Since it was known that Stoney Band members, especially the Elders had used the Fish Lake study area, an attempt was made to interview them the weekend of October 27-29, 1993. A previous attempt to have several Elders from Stoney join the twelve Nemiah Elders at Fish Lake had not been successful because the Stoney Elders were otherwise occupied. The Nemiah Elders who made the trip to Fish Lake provided a rich description of the area that was taped on analog tapes. Several of these Elders pointed out sites of special importance. This material was mapped.

Placenames

Amongst the categories of data that were collected are placenames (see fig. 2). Placenames are important because they give speakers of the language and future generations of Chilcotin people a guide to understanding their ancestors' usage patterns on the land. They are important to the non-Indian community because they reflect usage patterns and significance of an area to Chilcotin people. Kennedy and Bouchard (1993) suggest that native people tend to name places which are culturally significant to them. These terms reflect specific environmental conditions such as soil type, terrain, or some other distinguishing descriptive characteristic that are found in the word. These characteristics assist a resource gatherer to find his/her way in the territory.

Data Analysis

The data were coded and entered on an Excel work sheet. Included in the database were the name of the individual, the number of the site or polygon recorded; and the attribute of the activity undertaken. Work sheets were created for each of the following categories of information: living spaces, trails, berry picking areas, plant gathering areas (other than berries); hunting areas, fishing areas, trapping areas, haying-grazing areas, and spiritually significant sites or areas. Where large amounts of data were gathered on a topic, the data is presented by age class [i.e. middle aged persons, young people (aged 15-35), and Elders].

Once the data were coded, they were transferred to a Dbase3 file and loaded into ArcInfo G.I.S. software. There Robin Tamasi and Peter Wainwright of LGL Limited produced maps

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

of each attribute for all individuals who reported data in each of the various categories being investigated (see appendix 2). Maps are found for each of the attributes being investigated within each category of information. Attributes for each category of information include:

- 1) trapping- lynx, marten, beaver, muskrat, fisher, wolverine, squirrel, rabbits, cougar, coyote, weasel, and bobcat;
- 2) ranching- haying and grazing;
- 3) spiritual significance- fishing, hunting, habitation; plant gathering; burials; trapping; or aesthetics;
- 4) fishing- nets, hook/line, traps, dip nets, gaffs, or ice fishing including hook/line or nets;
- 5) habitation -cabins, occasional camps, yearly use camps, corrals, barns, storage sheds;
- 6) plant gathering¹-wild onions, mountain potatoes, bear tooth, willows, labrador tea, balsam, aspen, lily pads, wild rhubarb, pine, cottonwood, and juniper; and
- 7) berry picking -raspberries, huckleberries, blueberries, strawberries, crowberries, gooseberries, saskatoons, soopalallie, chokecherries, kinnikinnick, thimbleberries.

Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4 list the Tsilhqot'in words for plants and animals harvested, the common names that the Nemiah Valley people refer to them as, some other common names for these plants, and the Latin names for them. Individuals' base maps are the property of the Nemiah Valley Indian Band.

¹The English names given for these plants are the English names given to these plants by Chilcotin people. Table 1 lists the Chilcotin English names and the common English names given to these plants. The names are often different, but the Latin names given are the correct names for classification purposes.

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

Table 1. Plants Used by the Tsihqot'in People in the Fish Lake Study Area

Common Names	Latin Names	Tsihqot'in Names
wild onions (a) nodding onion (b)	<i>Allium cernuum</i>	t'etsen
mountain potatoes (a) spring beauty (b)	<i>Claytonia lanceolata</i>	suntiny
bear tooth (a)	<i>Erythronium grandiflorum</i>	esghunsh
willows (a) red-osior dogwood (b)	<i>Cornus stolonifera</i>	chentsay
labrador tea	<i>Ledum glandulosum</i>	bedzish diyan
balsam (a) Indian Hellebore (b)	<i>Veratrum viride</i>	xilldilh
aspen (a) trembling aspen (b)	<i>Populus tremuloides</i>	t'asbay
lily pads (a) yellow pond lily (b)	<i>Nuphar polysepalum</i>	xilhday
wild rhubarb (a) cow parsnip (b)	<i>Heracleum lanatum</i>	sul
pine (a)(c) white-birch pine (b)	<i>Pinus albicaulis</i>	?es'igwel
cottonwood (a)	<i>Populus trichocarpa</i>	t'as
juniper (a)	<i>Juniperus communis</i>	/datsan k'a chilh
mushroom (a)	many species	?elhts'ibadzagh
raspberries (a)	<i>Rubus idacus</i>	texaltsel
huckleberries (a)	<i>Vaccinium sp.</i>	selhchugh
blueberries (a)	<i>Vaccinium myrtilloides</i>	nelghes
strawberries (a)	<i>Fragaria virginiana</i>	?undziny
crowberries (a)	<i>Empetrum nigrum</i>	telhant'az
gooseberries (a)	<i>Ribes irriguum</i>	tenexwez
saskatoons (a)	<i>Amelanchier alnifolia</i>	dig
soopalallie (a)	<i>shepherdia canadensis</i>	nuwish
chokeberries (a)	<i>Prunus virginiana</i>	nelgus
kinnikinnick (a)	<i>Aretostaphylos uva-ursi</i>	denish
thimbleberries (a)	<i>Rubus parviflorus</i>	tselhiqi

- (a) These terms are the Chilcotin English name for the plant. They may not be consistent with English terms for the same plant.
 (b) These terms are the common English names for the plant. They may not be consistent with the Chilcotin English term.
 (c) Also used is lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*) but because of its widespread availability it was not mentioned by the respondents as being a plant that is particularly sought after in the study area.

Table 2. Animals Trapped by the Tsilhqot'in in the Fish Lake Study Area

Common Names	Latin Names	Indian Names
lynx	<i>Lynx canadensis</i>	nundi
marten	<i>Martes americana</i>	sesjiz
beaver	<i>Castor canadensis</i>	tsa
muskrat	<i>Ondatra zibethica</i>	nustil
fisher	<i>Martes pennanti</i>	sesugh
wolverine	<i>Gulo gulo</i>	tilhjus
squirrel	<i>Tamiasciurus hudsonicus</i>	dlig
rabbits	<i>Lepus americanus</i>	gex
cougar	<i>Felis concolor</i>	nundi chugh
coyote	<i>Canis latrans</i>	chelig
weasel	<i>Mustela sp.</i>	
bobcat	<i>Lynx rufus</i>	nundi dal malh

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

Table 3. Fish Caught by the Tsilhqot'in in the Fish Lake Study Area

Common Names	Latin Names	Indian Names
chinook	<i>Oncorhynchus tshawytscha</i>	jas
sockeye	<i>Oncorhynchus nerka</i>	ts'eman
kokanee	<i>Oncorhynchus nerka</i>	ninlhish
dolly varden	<i>Salvelinus malma</i>	sabay
trout	<i>Salvelinus</i> sp.	dek'yany
whitefish	<i>Prosopium</i> sp.	lhusischel
suckers	<i>Catostomus</i> sp.	deljiyaz
sturgeon	<i>Acipenser transmontanus</i>	?elhdachugh
rainbow trout	<i>Oncorhynchus mykiss</i>	dek'any

Table 4. Animals Hunted by the Tsilhqot'in in the Fish Lake Study Area

Common Names	Latin Names	Tsilhqot'in Names
Mule Deer	<i>Odocoileus hemionus</i>	nists'i
Moose	<i>Alces alces</i>	mus
Grouse	many species	dish
Geese/Ducks	many species	xex / tu nulh
Goats	<i>Oreamnos americanus</i>	sebay
Marmots Groundhogs	<i>Marmota caligata</i>	dediny

RESULTS

The Chilcotin as Found in Ethnographic and Historic Archival Sources

The Chilcotin: Linguistic Relationships and Territory

The Chilcotin are speakers of a Northern Athapaskan language that is distinct from that of their neighbours (Lane, 1981:402). Amongst the Chilcotin there is no recollection of their source of origin although many Elders believe that they once occupied the areas to the north and west of their current range of occupation. Archaeological and linguistic studies have hypothesized that the Chilcotin people migrated from a more northern region and probably formed one of several migrations of Athapaskan peoples throughout time (Lane, 1981 and Matson et al., 1984). The Chilcotin are the most southern of the Northern Athapaskan linguistic groups in Canada.

Archaeologists have no exact date yet for the earliest Athapaskan entry into the Southern Interior of B.C., but they have determined the time line at which the non-Athapaskan, Salishan peoples were forced to leave the area in a number of sites that have been excavated. In these sites there is a clear demarcation between Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan lithic assemblages. Dendrochronology and radiocarbon dating have found 1590 (+/-) 80 years to be the earliest known date. Further archaeology could reveal earlier dates (Matson et al., 1984).

The territory of the Chilcotin people is most commonly recognized as that area bounded on the north by "a series of hills which divide the Chilcotin and Dean River systems from the West Road River system"; to the east by the Fraser River; to the west by the Coast Range and the heads of coastal inlets; and to the south and southeast by "a series of low hills, plateaus, and mountain ranges lying between the Chilcotin River system - and the Bridge River system" (Tyhurst, in prep.: 1).

The Historic Period

The Chilcotin were first recorded in the historic literature in 1808 as Simon Fraser made his way down the Fraser River (Fraser, 1960:69). This record makes scant mention of them. Farrand (1898) records four concentrations of population including: Anaheim, Stone, Risky Creek (otherwise known as Toosey), and Alexandria. He notes that at that time there were "a considerable number of families living a semi-nomadic life on the old tribal territory in the woods and mountains to the westward. These latter, considerably less influenced by civilisation than their reservation relatives, are known by the whites as Stone Chilcotin or Stonies" (Farrand, 1898:18). Teit (1909) refers to these individuals as Stick or Stone Chilcotins. These individuals are most likely relatives of the present day Nemiah and Redstone Bands and families from Stoney. Farrand (1898) reports that information on the culture of the Chilcotin that he has recorded was gathered with considerable difficulty, and that he did not have any information on the families still living in the mountains.

Lane (1953) is an in depth doctoral dissertation on the ethnography of the Chilcotin people although his information on the Nemiah people is not as complete as for other bands (pers. comm. Lane, 1989). The research was conducted in 1951 and relies on the memory of his informants at that point in time.

Earlier ethnographic works are not as complete as Lane (1953, 1981). Haeberlin et al., (1928) is a study of basketry and gives only scant mention of territory and relations between peoples. Farrand (1898) gives an overview of the territory of the Chilcotin and their intercourse with neighbouring people. Farrand (1900) is an accounting of myths and legends of the Chilcotin.

Ray (1942) gives a list of culture traits in the Plateau culture area. He notes that he only interviewed one Chilcotin informant and his information for the Chilcotin is not as reliable as it is for other peoples.

Father A.G. Morice has produced volumes of ethnographic material on the Carrier people. In these he makes reference to the Chilcotin. Most academics (Lane, 1953, Tyhurst, in prep.) consider this material to be highly biased since it is almost always presented as a comparison of the Chilcotin and the Carrier in which the Chilcotin are not favourably represented (Morice, 1893, 1906).

The most complete references to the semi-nomadic peoples living in the mountains of the Chilcotin are found in the works of Magne and Matson (1982 and 1984); Magne (1982 and 1985); Matson et al. (1980 and 1984) and in Tyhurst (in prep.).

Recently Terry Glavin (1992) has produced an anecdotal volume of oral history of the Nemiah people. It is not intended to be used as an academic source of information on the Nemiah people (pers. comm. Annie William, 1989).

The Subsistence Patterns of the Chilcotin in the Historic Period

The territory covered by the Chilcotin people varied according to the time of year and climatic conditions. The yearly round consisted of a pattern of land use that was consistent from year to year. Teit indicates that different Chilcotin groups had access to and made use of, different big game species. He identifies the off-Reserve residents of scattered lake sites in the western Chilcotin plateau as the 'Stick Chilcotin'. Teit comments that they hunted "...caribou, marmots, mountain goat, and bears...". The 'Stone Chilcotin' are identified as making "...their winter headquarters on a reserve [i.e., Stone Reserve] on the south side of the Chilcotin Valley, about four miles west of Hanceville", and Teit comments that they hunted "...deer, [mountain] sheep, marmots, and [mountain] goats..." "...while the rest of the tribe [i.e., the residents of the eastern Chilcotin plateau, including the residents of Anaham [sic], Toosey, and Alexandria reserves] hunted principally deer". According to Teit, both the 'Stick' and the 'Stone' Chilcotin were "much more nomadic than the Anaham [sic] and other bands, and roamed during the greater part of the year over their hunting grounds to the west and south" (Teit, 1909:760, 780).

Tyhurst (in prep.:113) states that at the time of contact "the mountainous region ranging from the Bridge River-Lillooet area through Chilko Lake to the Dean River area was an important summer hunting range and food plant gathering area for the Chilcotin population".

Tyhurst (in prep.) further states that in the recent past (1900-1950) fur trapping parties ranged from the Lord River in the Taseko Lake area to Nemiah Valley into the Choelquoit Lake area; through to the various arms and inlets of Chilko Lake into the mountainous regions to the south of Chilko Lake extending as far south as Bute Inlet. My own research with Nemiah peoples confirms this.

Tyhurst (in prep.) also states that his informants recounted stories of hunting and trapping in the same territory in the 1800's. My fieldwork with informants from Stoney and Nemiah has revealed a similar pattern. The tendency seems to have been for specific families to go to, but not be limited to a favorite hunting area where they may have had living structures and a history of habitation going back several generations.

Genealogies from families with relations in Nemiah and Stoney reveal the time frame that can be recounted by living Elders. They show how inter-relationships between the Bands came to be and how that relates to usage of specific areas. Figures 3 and 4 show the direct ancestors and descendants who have used the Fish Lake mine development area that Amelia William can recall. The Fish Lake study area was their favoured area as far back as she can remember (approximately 1860).

Most of the Chilcotin people did not participate in the fur trade in the early days of the trade (Tyhurst, in prep.; Fisher, 1977:35). The reason most likely was because there were lean years in the salmon runs and the Chilcotin probably used the furs to trade for fish with other Indian people. There is evidence from the Hudson Bay Company outpost in Alexandria and from Chilcotin Elders (English, fieldnotes, and Tyhurst, fieldnotes) that the Chilcotin suffered through starvation during certain years in the early spring (H.B.C. Ft. Alexandria Journal 1843-1845). Tyhurst (in prep.) documents the Chilcotin pattern of wintering with the Canyon Shuswap and Bella Coola people. This overwintering option gave them access to fish through trade and barter in the winters where survival might have depended upon trade (i.e. those years when the salmon returns were low) (see table 5). When the fur trade disrupted their portion of the aboriginal trading network, and one of their main trading partners, the Canyon Shuswap were decimated by smallpox in 1862, the Chilcotin were forced to look for other markets for their furs, which eventually ended up being the non-Indian fur traders. Entry into the white fur trade enabled Chilcotins to acquire non-traditional food items and to purchase trade goods. It gave them cash income which altered the total reliance upon traditional food items and enabled people to diversify their diet as much as preservation requirements and personal taste would allow.

Figure 3. Ancestors of Amelia William who have used the Fish Lake Study Area

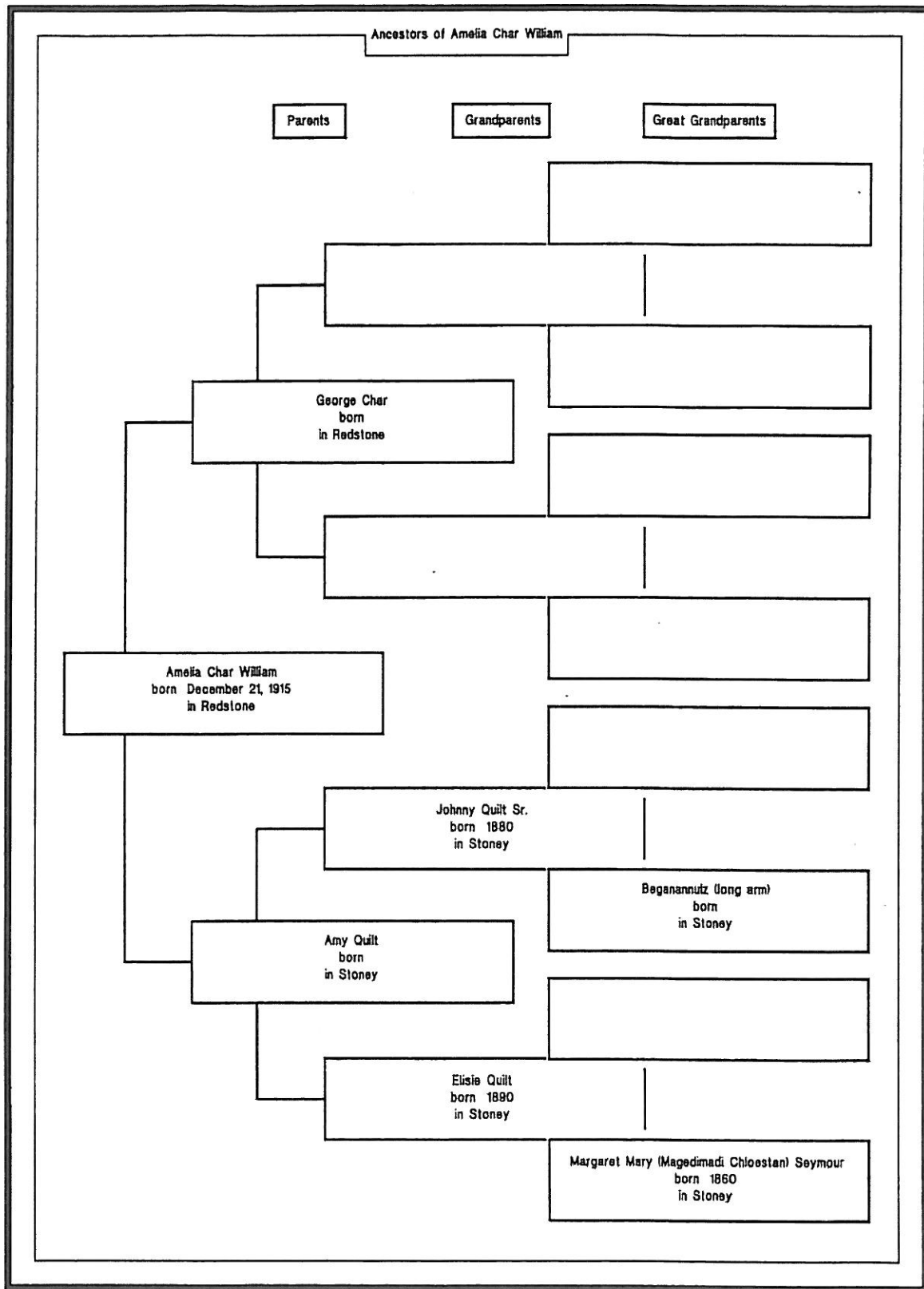
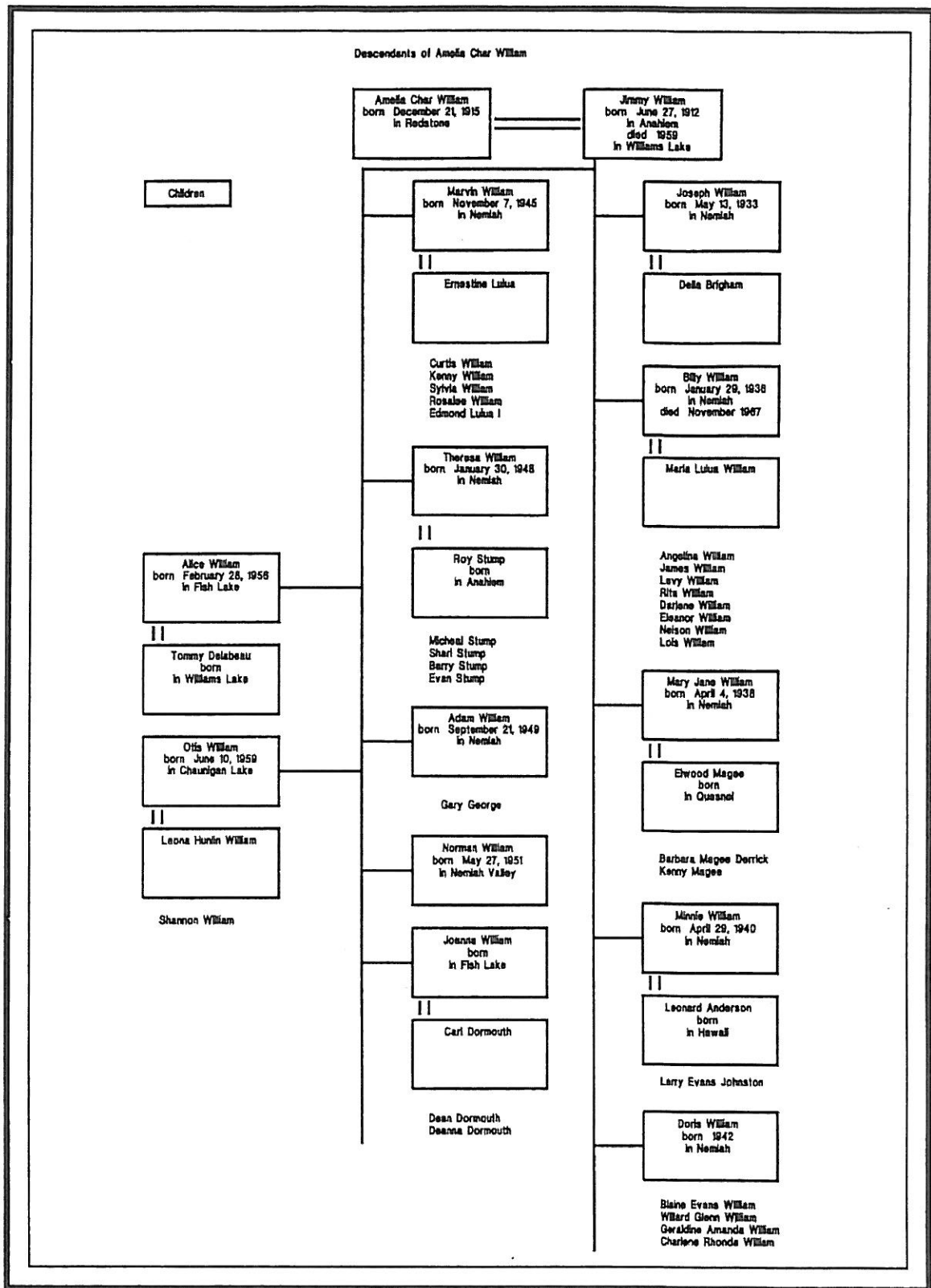


Figure 4. Descendants of Amelia William



The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

Table 5. Trade Items, pre-1863: Bella Coola, Chilcotin, Canyon Shuswap

Bella Coola to Chilcotin	Chilcotin to Bella coola	Chilcotin to Canyon Shuswap	Canyon Shuswap to Chilcotin
dried salmon salmon oil eulachon oil abalone shells paint iron and iron tools copper cedar bark cedar wood boxes and dishes dentalium goat's wool	service berry cakes soap berry cakes dressed caribou skins snowshoes goat skins furs dressed deer skins	 dressed caribou skins woven rabbit skins woven lynx skins raw marmot skins dentalium goat's wool blankets	dried salmon salmon oil red paint elk skins bark thread tobacco horses copper iron deer skins

Source: Teit 1907: 783.

A Brief History of the Occupation of the Fish Lake Study Area by the William Family²

Jimmy William lived in Nemiah Valley for the first two decades of his life. He married Amelia Char when she was eighteen years old (these events took place in the late 1920's or early 1930's). She was from Stone Band and had met Jimmy William on the trail between Stoney and Nemiah as the two families congregated to camp and fish at Brigham Creek and see the Bishop at Anaheim. Amelia and Jimmy William lived for a period of time at Stoney and then moved to Nemiah where they lived on the shore of Konni Lake for several years. Jimmy had ten head of cattle. He had difficulty looking after his cattle and the cattle of his relations so he looked for a place to move his enlarging family where he could stake out his own territory and lifestyle. That place was Little Fish Lake (Tse'hnadinan) The family spent a winter living with Seymour and Elizabeth Seymour from Stoney. The Seymour's had a cabin in a small settlement on the shore of Little Fish Lake with John and Midi Baptiste from Nemiah, and Buffalo and Madeline Hance from Anaheim. In this area there are numerous hay fields that would provide the feed for the growing herds of cattle and horses that Jimmy and his family acquired. At that time Seymour was Elderly and he encouraged Jimmy and his family to move to the area and help him cut hay for their own cattle that they raised in the area. Elizabeth Seymour had raised Amelia for a short period of time when she was a child. Elizabeth is Amelia's maternal grandmother.

Seymour died shortly thereafter. Elizabeth Seymour (Luzabeet) took her cattle and returned to Stoney after his death. She did not return to the Fish Lake - Onion Flats area. John Baptiste's wife, Midi also passed away.

In 1931 a trapline registered to Andy George was re-registered from the North end of Taseko Lake - Beece Creek area to the southern portion of Taseko Lake. Nemiah Elders indicate that Captain George and Andy George used the Taseko Lake area when they were younger. Records indicate that Captain George and Nemiah Peter used the Taseko Lakes area for trapping before and during the time that Andy George re-registered his trapline in 1931. In his application for registration of a trapline, Andy George notes that his occupation is ranching (letter from H.E. Taylor, Indian Agent to the Game Warden, Williams Lake, May 16, 1931).

²Sources for this section are translations of transcripts taken of interviews of Nemiah and Stoney Elders and members of both communities who have first hand knowledge of events: Cecilia and Dick Quilt, Tony Meyers, William Setah, Francis and Agatha Setah, Eugene and Mabel Williams, Henry Solomon, Francis William, Eileen William, Amelia William, Martin Quilt, Adam, Doris, and Joseph William.

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

Andy George also raised cattle in the Taseko Lake-Yohetta area. He and his father, Captain George used the grazing of the Chita meadows area, near the location of Andy's trapline. Andy George lived with John Baptiste in a cabin at Little Fish Lake for a short time after Seymour died and before Jimmy William and his family moved there. We know that he fished at the mouth of the Taseko River. Andy returned to Nemiah shortly before Jimmy William and his family moved to the Fish Lake study area. Of the individuals who lived at Little Fish Lake, only Seymour is buried near there. The exact location of his grave is not known. Buffalo Hance lived at Little Fish Lake for only a short period of time thereafter.

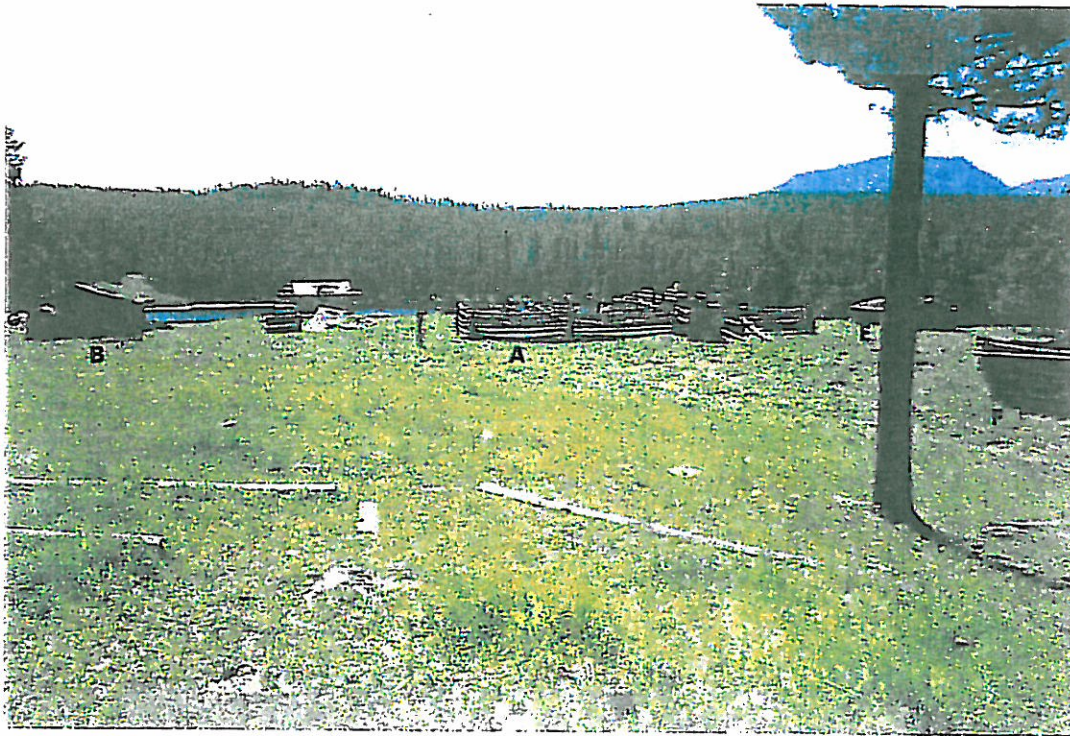
Despite protests from his father and mother (Sammy and Annie Boullion) Jimmy moved his family to Little Fish Lake after Andy George left. Jimmy and his sons and daughters used the hay fields and grazing meadows for decades. They fed their cattle, reaching as many as 200 head and 15 horses with the hay cut from the swamp meadows in the area. Records of the Williams' grazing tenure begin in 1956 for the Nemiah Valley. The grazing permit has Jimmy (Bullion) William's mark and was witnessed by Ed Gunsolley who was a former owner of the Whitewater Lodge near Taseko Lake. Jimmy William guided for Ed Gunsolley during Ed's ownership of the Whitewater Lodge. In 1957 Jimmy's hay permit reveals a very general description of the tenure area. In later years the tenure became known as the Fish Lake unit which was later subdivided into the Bullion Onion Flats grazing units (Range file 15700-20 William, N.). In the meadows southeast of Little Fish Lake there are drainage ditches dug by Jimmy and his family to drain the meadows in the summer. The family also kept horses in Yohetta and cattle on the western side of the Taseko River.

In the winter time the family resided in a historic use cabin built by William Setah and Jimmy on Little Fish Lake. They spent the winter feeding their cattle and horses the hay that was cut in the summer. They also trapped and ice fished at Fish Lake. They set up a tent and used a woodstove to heat the tent while they trapped and ice fished on the island in Fish Lake.

The settlement at Little Fish Lake has several log buildings which were built at various points in time (see fig. 5). Jimmy built the corral to winter his horses (A) and the larger corral (G) for cattle. This corral (G) extends into the water of Little Fish Lake for watering cattle. Cabin F has no roof and was used for hay. Cabin B is the cabin built by William Setah and Jimmy. Cabin C was built by Jimmy and old Seymour for a storage shed. Cabin D was Seymour's cabin that was later turned into a storage shed. It is the oldest structure there. Cabin E was built by John Baptiste. The exact year is not known but it was probably built in the 1930's for trapping.

The area has numerous trails and later wagon roads that served the people from Nemiah and Stoney as they trapped in the winter and later started tending their cattle. People from

Figure 5. Photograph of the Settlement at Little Fish Lake

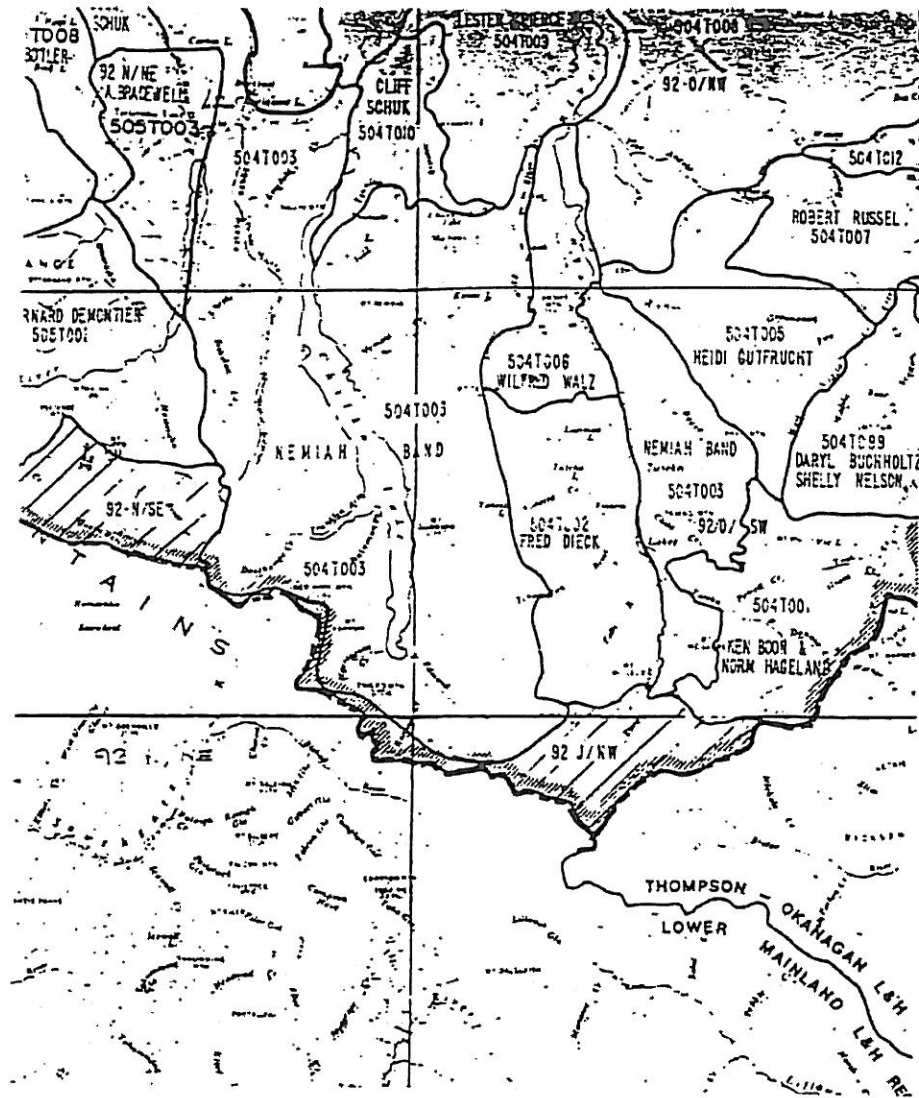


Stoney such as George Meyers, Jimmy Meyers, Donald Meyers, Johnny Montgomery and his mother, the late Molly, Johnny Quilt Jr. (Andalean) and Johnny Quilt Sr. (Biget) earned cash income from trapping lynx, marten, and beaver. Seymour, John Baptiste and later Jimmy William and his sons all earned money trapping to buy food and supplies from Hanceville at Lee's Corners or at Tatla Lake. Eventually some of the trails that serviced the area were made into roads. Most of the major roads in the region were built to service mine prospecting. The Taylor Windfall Mine built the road which runs along Onion Flats to Whitewater Lodge and then southeast along and eventually crossing Beece Creek. Several individuals from Stoney and Nemiah including Eddie Quilt and Jimmy William packed supplies into the Taylor Windfall Mine during its operation period.

Gradually ranching began to supplement the income people earned from trapping. Seymour, John Baptiste and Buffalo Hance kept cattle in the Fish Lake area. They fed their cattle all winter at Little Fish Lake and moved the cattle in the month of March to Seymour Draw at lower elevations. Seymour had a cabin at Seymour Draw, a location north of the study area. John Baptiste also had land back in Nemiah. Much of this range land was later taken over by the Dasouie family of Chilco Ranch. This pattern was repeated by Jimmy William when he moved with his family to Little Fish Lake. He kept cattle at Little Fish Lake until May and moved with his family to Onion Flats in May. There are two important historic use settlements in the Onion Flats area that were used by Jimmy William. After his death Jimmy's son tried to register one of these sites for occupation (Surveyor General file: 0318514). Jimmy William's range was taken over by his sons after his death and later by Henry Solomon from Nemiah after the William family moved to Nemiah Valley.

The traplines that were held by Jimmy William and his sons and used by Henry Solomon became part of the Nemiah Valley Indian Band group trapline. This trapline is an amalgamation of the individual traplines held by Nemiah Valley Indian Band members in an earlier period. In the year 1980 the Crown issued license #0504T003 to the Nemiah Valley Indian Band. This replaced the individual tenures of the old days which were joined into one big line. Figure 6 depicts the Nemiah Valley trapline as it is found today. There are two sections of the Nemiah Valley Indian Band trapline. In the Little Fish Lake region there was a non-Indian trapline that was used by a white man from Tatlayoko named Johnny Hanson at the same time as Seymour and John Baptiste were residing at Little Fish Lake. This trapline was later purchased by James Bristol who lived on the line during the winter trapping season. When Jimmy William (Bullion) moved to the Fish Lake study area he purchased the trapline from Jim Bristol. This trapline was first registered in 1938 (Fish and Wildlife file: Jimmy William). This later became the northeastern portion of the Nemiah Valley Indian Band trapline. Jimmy William and later his sons used the trapline for many years.

Figure 6. Nemiah Valley Indian Band Trapline



Source: "Registered Trapline Boundaries Unofficial." Scale. 1:600,000. Fish and Wildlife, Cariboo. Ministry of Environment, Lands, and Parks.

In 1980 when the Nemiah Valley Indian Band trapline was formed from the many individual tenures from which it was created, Henry Solomon started trapping in the area. Henry reports that the trapline is rich in lynx, wolverine, and several other high priced fur-bearing animals. When the prices of furs made trapping profitable, Henry and his sons used the trapline. They set traps and tended them while they wintered cattle.

Elders from Stoney and Nemiah say that George Meyers from Stoney used the Fish Lake study area for fishing and the Taseko Lake area (that region south of the study area) for trapping and fishing. He was also a prospector who spent quite a bit of time looking for gold. He was occasionally lucky. One of the sites at which he spent time prospecting was the proposed Fish Lake development site. Amelia William recalls visiting him at a cabin in the vicinity of the current Fish Lake mining camp where George Meyers and his wife Pauline were panning for gold and filling up a bottle with the gold they found. He did not find lode gold in this area, but his wife believed that some day people would indeed find lode gold in that location .

Henry Solomon, the current individual to hold a grazing tenure for the old Bullion-Onion Flats Grazing units has been using the Fish Lake study area since about 1950. One of the major wagon roads in the region used to run near the site of the current Stoney to Nemiah dirt road. Before the Davidson Bridge was built in 1972 people used to cable their wagons across the Taseko River. The trails into Yohetta and Tchaizachan and Graveyard Valley took off from the trail that later became the Taylor Windfall Road. These areas lie to the northeast, southeast, and south of Fish Lake and are outside the mine development area. They are very important areas for subsistence activity for the Tsilhqot'in people. Henry Solomon used the Taylor Windfall Trail to where it is no longer suitable to be a wagon road and then used horses to access the trail to Lillooet. Many people from Stoney and Nemiah followed the various trails in the region to go to the annual rodeo in Lillooet. The rodeo was an event for the men, the women used the opportunity to pick berries and socialize with each other while tending the camp and the children.

Henry started using the Little Fish Lake cabins and the haying and grazing rights to the Onion Flats-Bullion grazing units in 1978 after Jimmy William died and his sons and daughters moved out of the area. Jimmy (Bullion) William died in 1971. For several years his sons Joseph, Marvin, Adam, Norman, Otis and his daughter Doris tried to make hay and tend his cattle. One season the weather conditions were such that they could not make enough hay to feed the cattle. They decided to sell the cattle and return to Nemiah Valley where they continue to live today. Norman William retained grazing rights for four horses and four cattle until 1981. The Williams return to the area to hunt and fish, gather plant material and sometimes trap. Their sense of Little Fish Lake and Onion Flats as home is still extremely strong today.

Henry Solomon and his sons Ronnie, Ivan, and Gilbert and his son-in-law Tom Pierce work with their cattle on the Onion Flats-Bullion grazing units (see fig. 7). They have had as many as 73 cattle and 20 horses on this range throughout the tenure there. In 1988 Henry and his son Ronnie Solomon, along with several other Nemiah Valley Indian Band members refused to pay their range fees and questioned the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Forests to manage their land. The belief was why pay to have their range managed by someone else when the land is their land anyhow, so Band members should pay their range fees to the Band and manage it themselves. Their range is now known as the Nemiah Valley Block Grazing Area and includes the old Onion Flats-Bullion grazing units. It is outside the management of the Ministry of Forests and is being managed by the Nemiah Valley Indian Band.

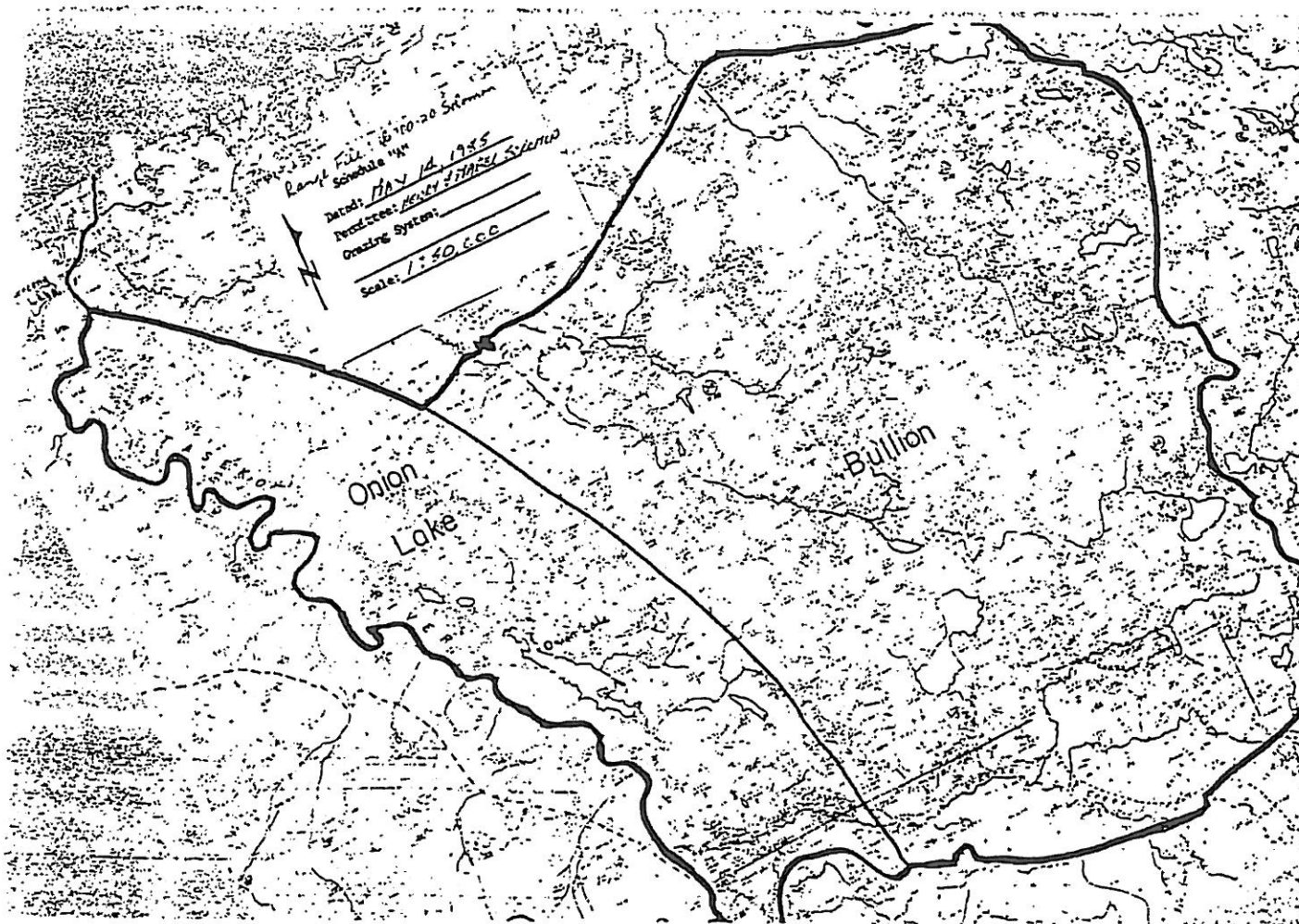
Contemporary Land Use Patterns

Detailed studies of contemporary land use reveal sites for specific activities that have been used by persons who have traditional knowledge of subsistence. Maps are found in appendix 2 that show detailed usage of specific resources or areas. These maps are an amalgamation of the data of all individuals except where age classes have been used to show generational differences in land use.

Figure 8 depicts the trapping areas of interviewed Nemiah and Stoney band members who have trapped in the Fish Lake study area. Eight interviewed individuals trapped in the study area. Since the primary area from which trapping has been conducted is Little Fish Lake, it is not surprising to see that trapping has taken place around the Little Fish Lake-Big Lake (known as Wasp Lake by Taseko Mines and not to be confused with the Big Lake that is situated on the west side of the Taseko River) area. Major species trapped include those animals that have been commercially most valuable in the past decade, although several individuals did indicate their exploitation of those fur-bearers found in the riparian zones.

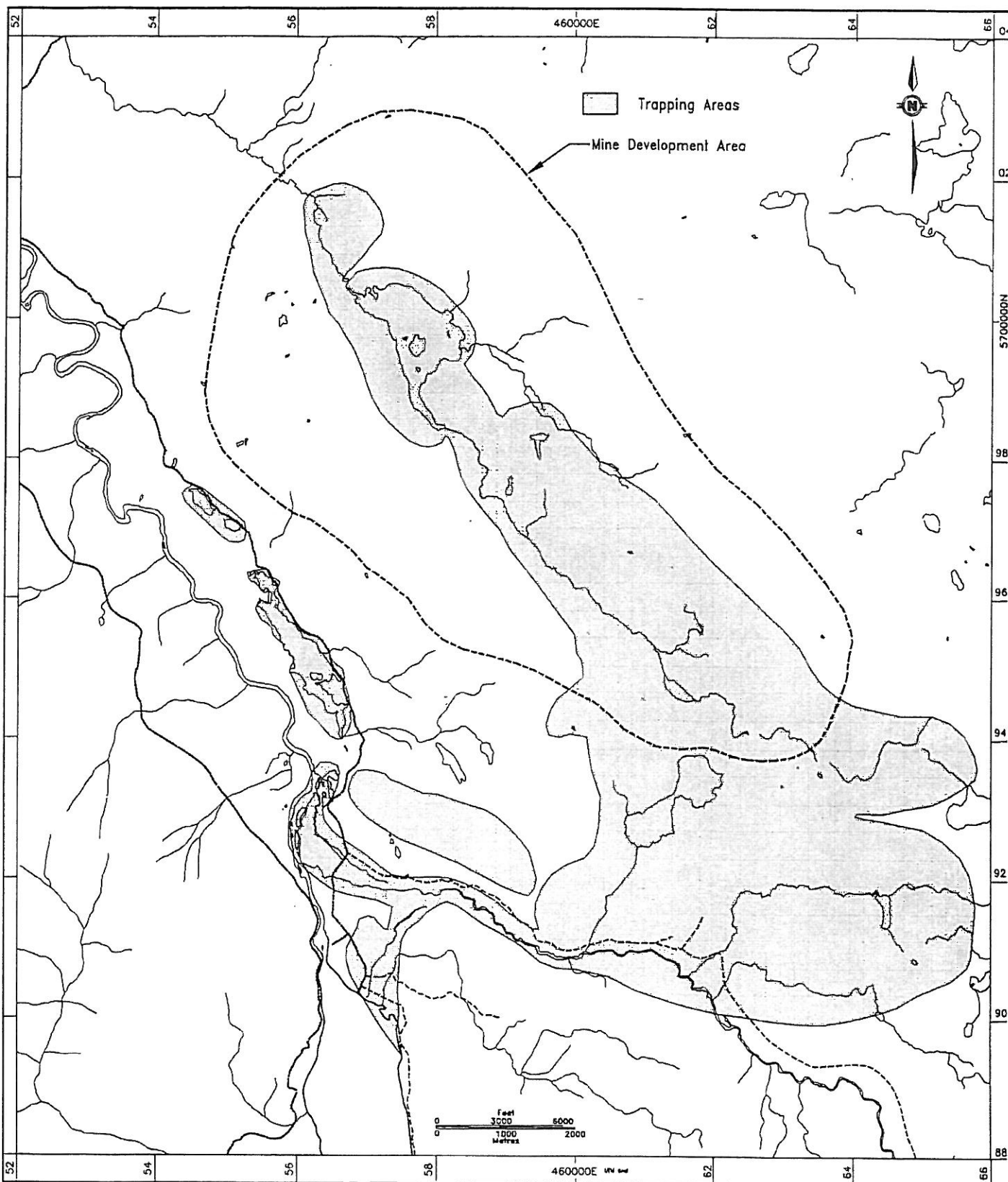
Each person interviewed was asked if in the Fish Lake study area there are any sites that are spiritually significant to them. The question asked was roughly, "Are there any sites in the Fish Lake study area that are so important to you that you would feel a great loss if they were greatly altered?". Many people did not respond to that question, but those seven who did were asked why a particular site pointed out was spiritually significant to them. The answers were related to the types of activities they conducted in the areas that were especially significant to them. Burials are also considered spiritual by the Tsilhqot'in but they are reported in Robert Tyhurst's (1994) report. The other response was the area is so beautiful that it evokes a sense of awe and peace, it is aesthetically pleasing. Figure 9 depicts the locations in which spiritually significant sites or areas are identified.

Figure 7. Map of the Bullion-Onion Flats Grazing Units



Source: Ministry of Forests. Range File 16700-20, Solomon.

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

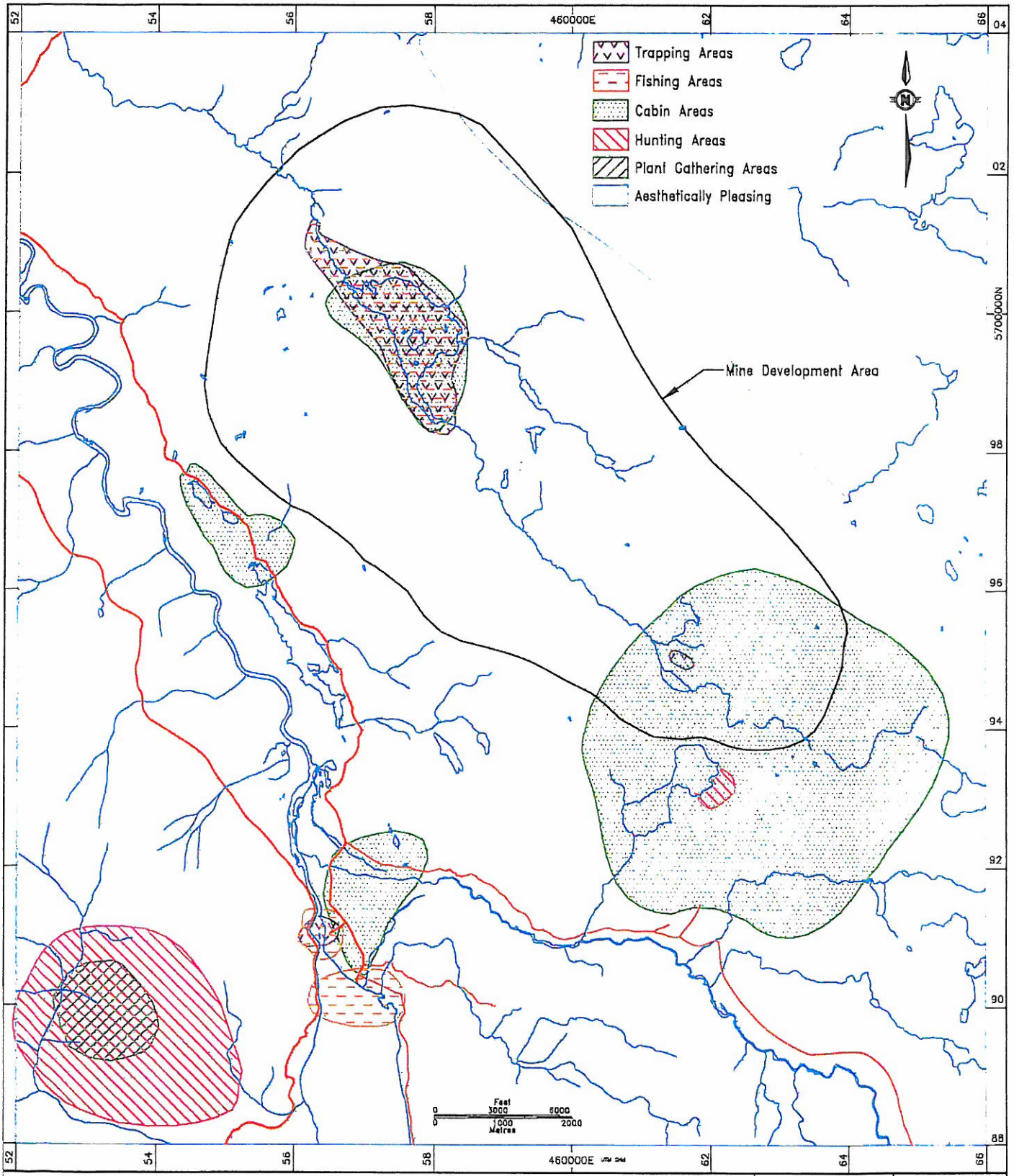


Trapping in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 8

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



Spiritually Significant Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

Figure 9

Scale 1 : 75,000

Figures 10 and 11 depict those berries and plants harvested in the study area. Twenty-two people indicated that they used berries in the study area, and 11 individuals indicated that they used plants.

Figure 12 depicts the hunting patterns of the Nemiah people. Half of the people interviewed hunt in the Fish Lake study area: 15 young people, 9 middle-aged people, and 7 Elders.

Figure 13 depicts the fishing patterns of Nemiah people. Forty-one people indicated they had fished in the study area: 17 young people, 16 middle-aged people, and 10 Elders.

Figure 14 depicts the haying and grazing patterns of the Nemiah and Stoney people. Thirteen people interviewed indicated they had participated in this activity at various times.

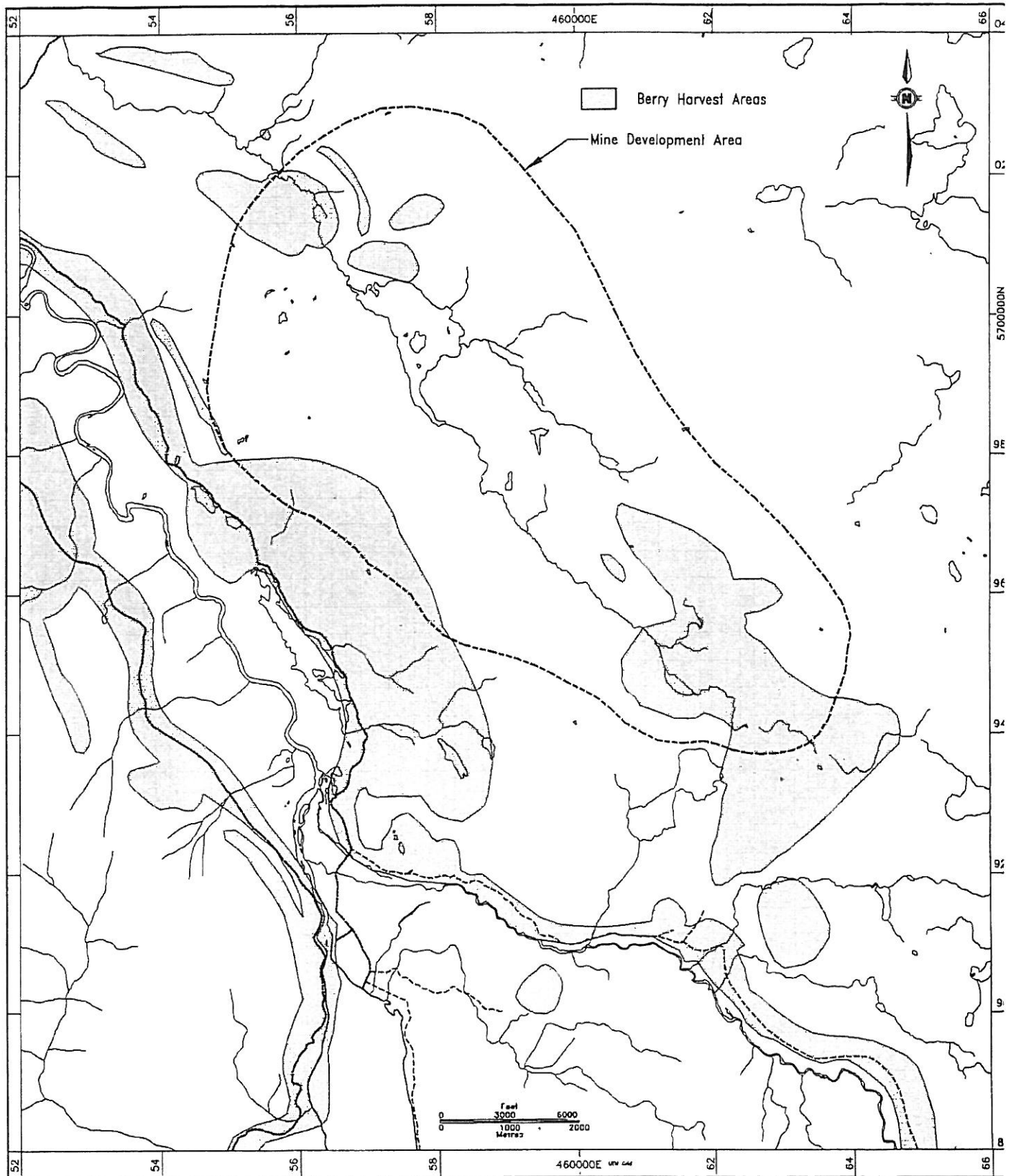
Figures 15-17 depict camps and cabins, barns, corrals, storage outbuildings and water sources. Some of the structures that have been built in the past have been destroyed or are overgrown to the point of no longer being recognizable to the untrained eye. Twenty people interviewed have used the area for these purposes at some point in time.

Five out of the sixty-one people interviewed stated that they did not use the Fish Lake Study Area at all.

Figure 18 depicts the number of individuals who use the Fish Lake study area in the precise locations in which they have used the area. As one might expect, the Little Fish Lake area has been used heavily by individuals at the cabin sites (indicated by the increasing size of stars). As far as numbers of people sampled are concerned, the immediate impact area caused by a Fish Lake development would impact upon as many as twelve people, their spouses, and their families.

The activities (fig. 19) that those people have undertaken in the mine development area have as much relevance as the numbers of people (fig. 18). Hunting, trapping, and ranching as well as habitation have great significance to the people who use the mine development area.

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

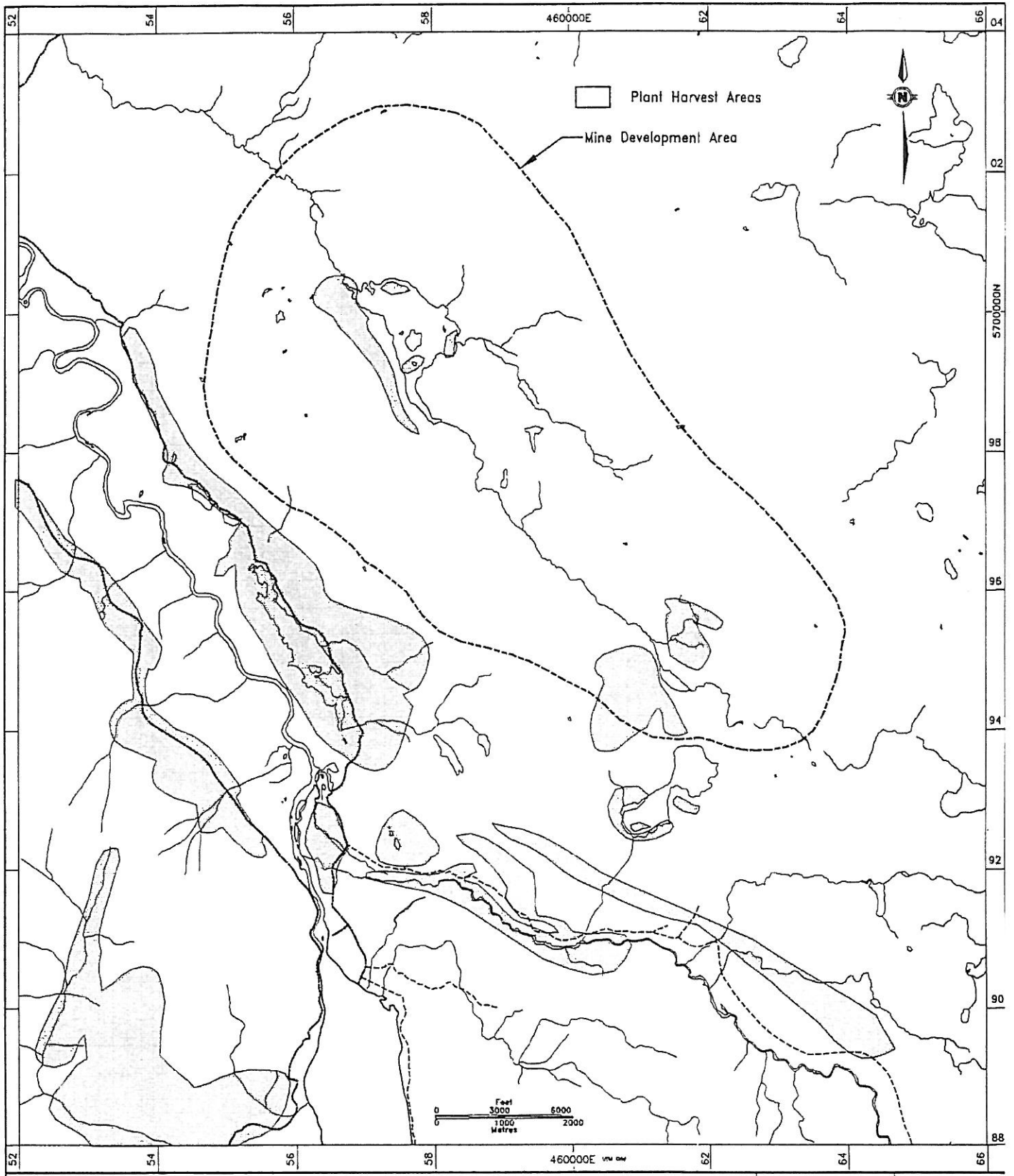


First Nation Harvest of Berries in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 10

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

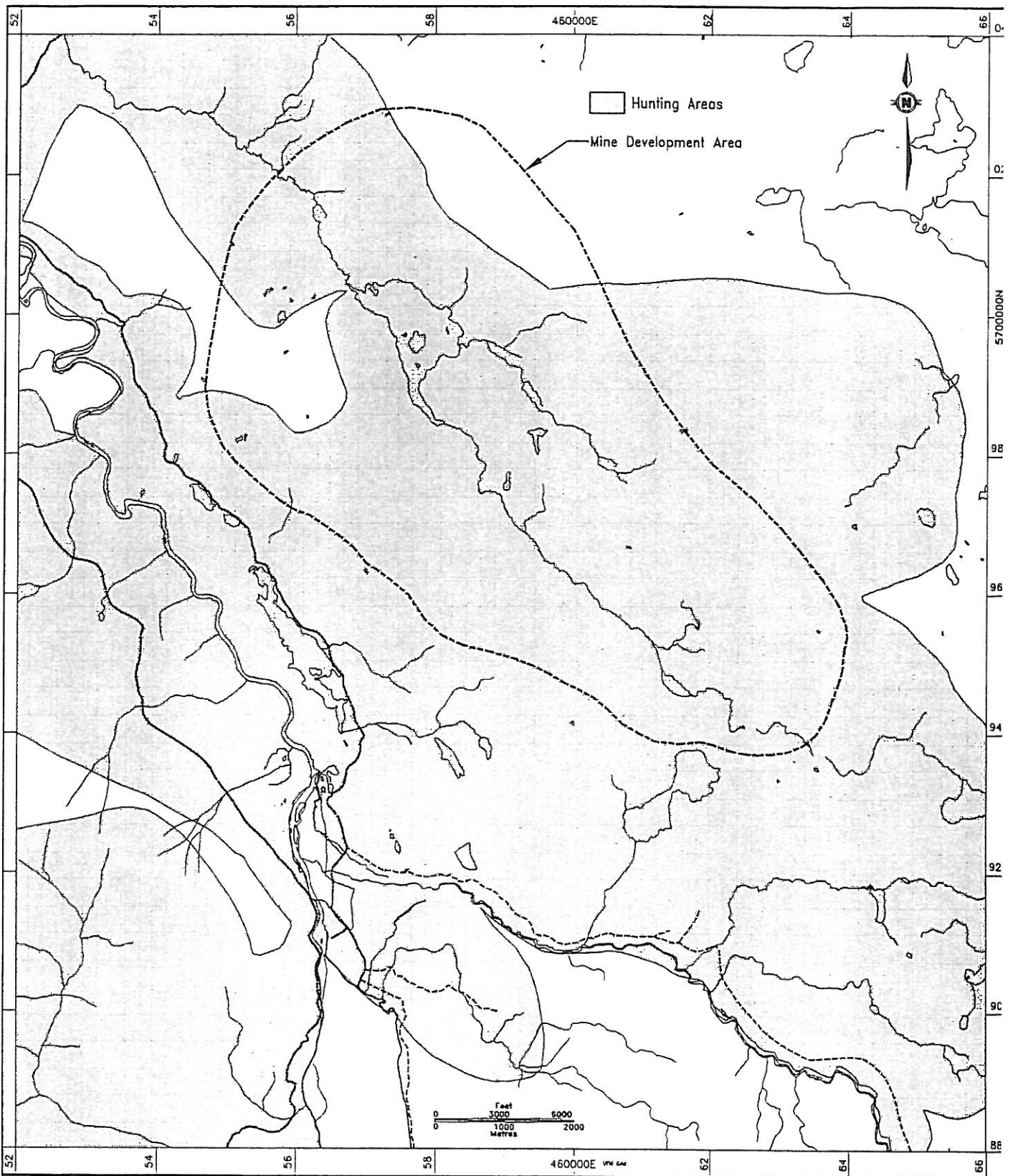


First Nation Harvest of Plants in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 11

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

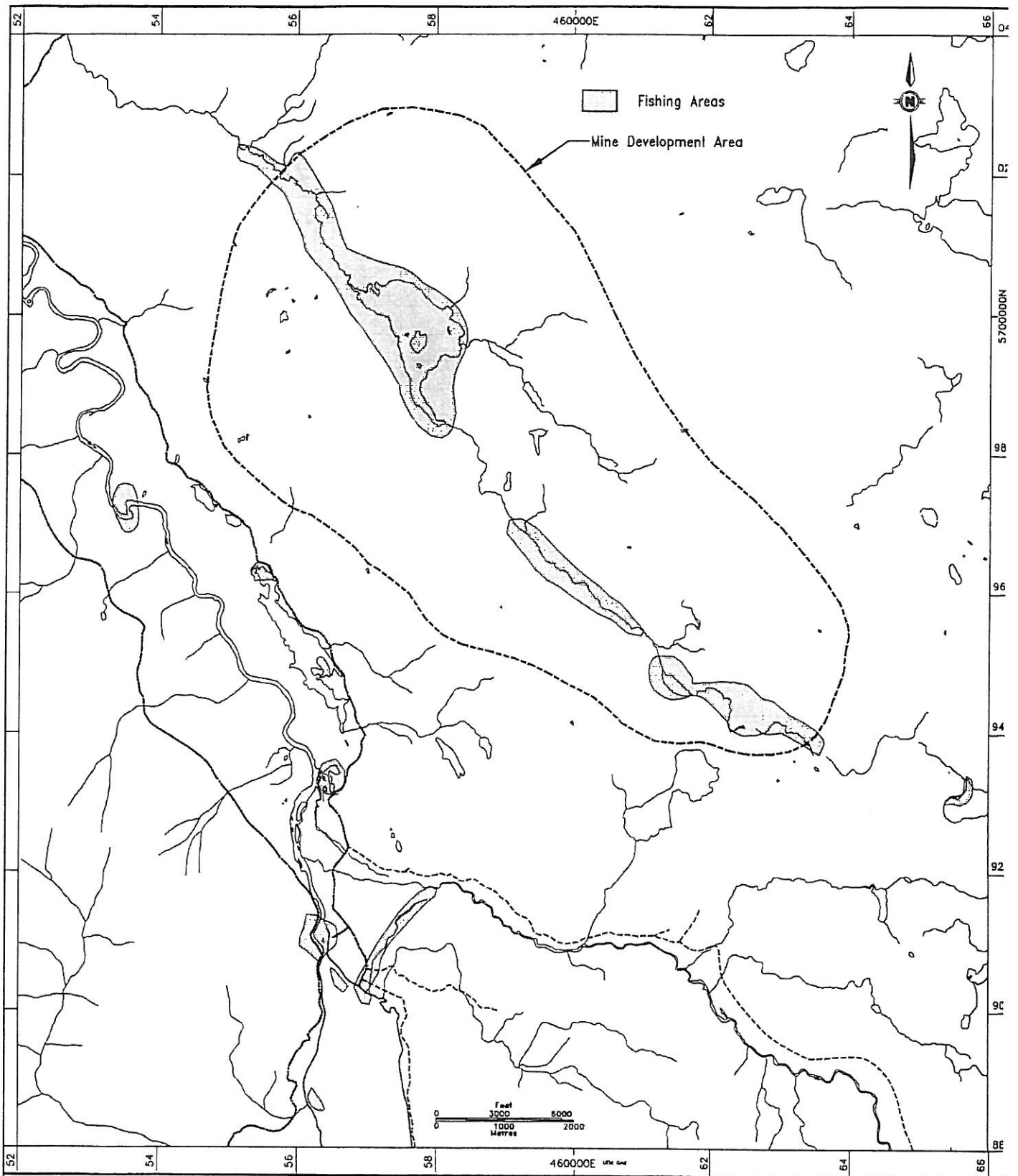


First Nation Hunting Patterns in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 12

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



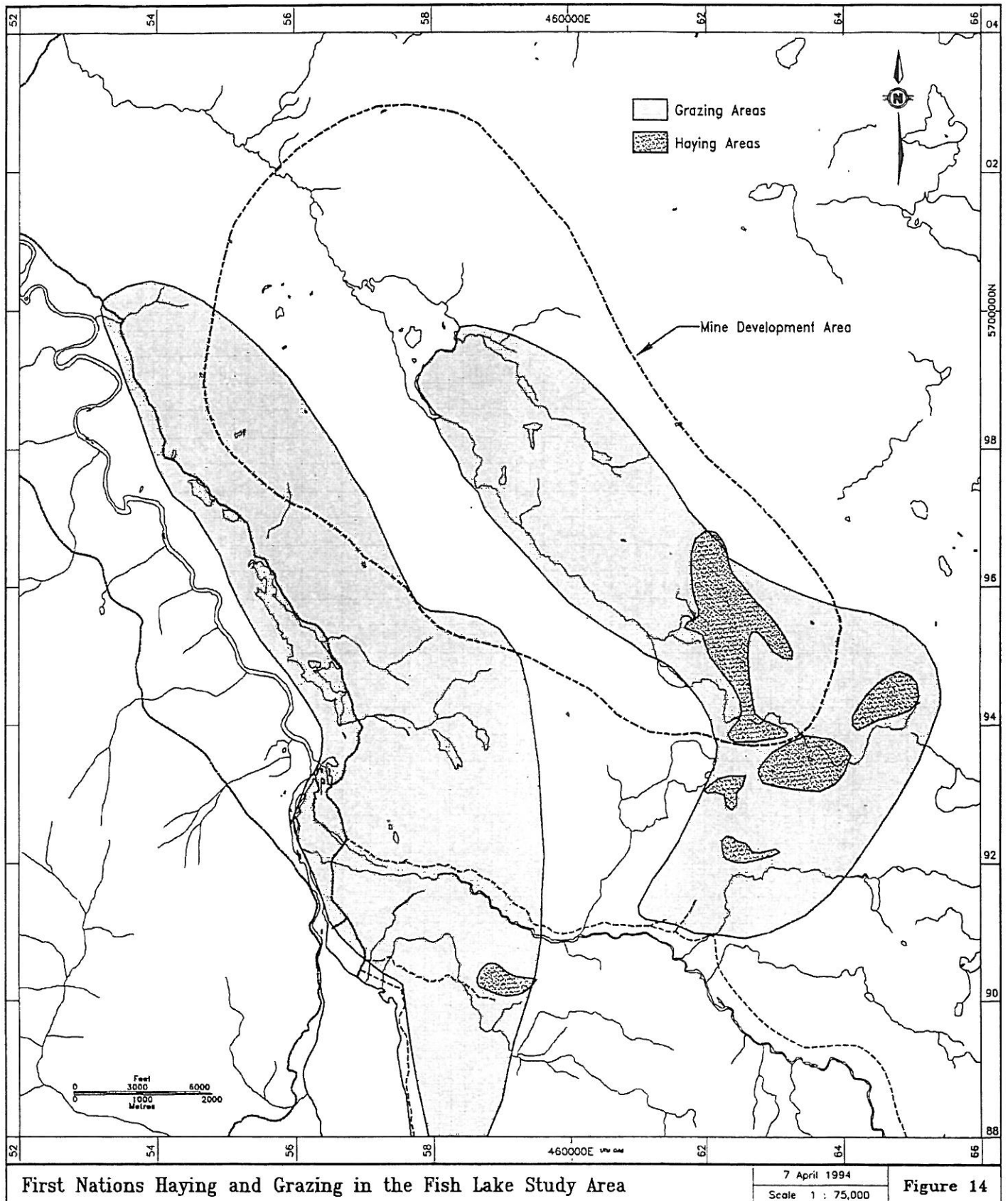
First Nation Fishing Patterns in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

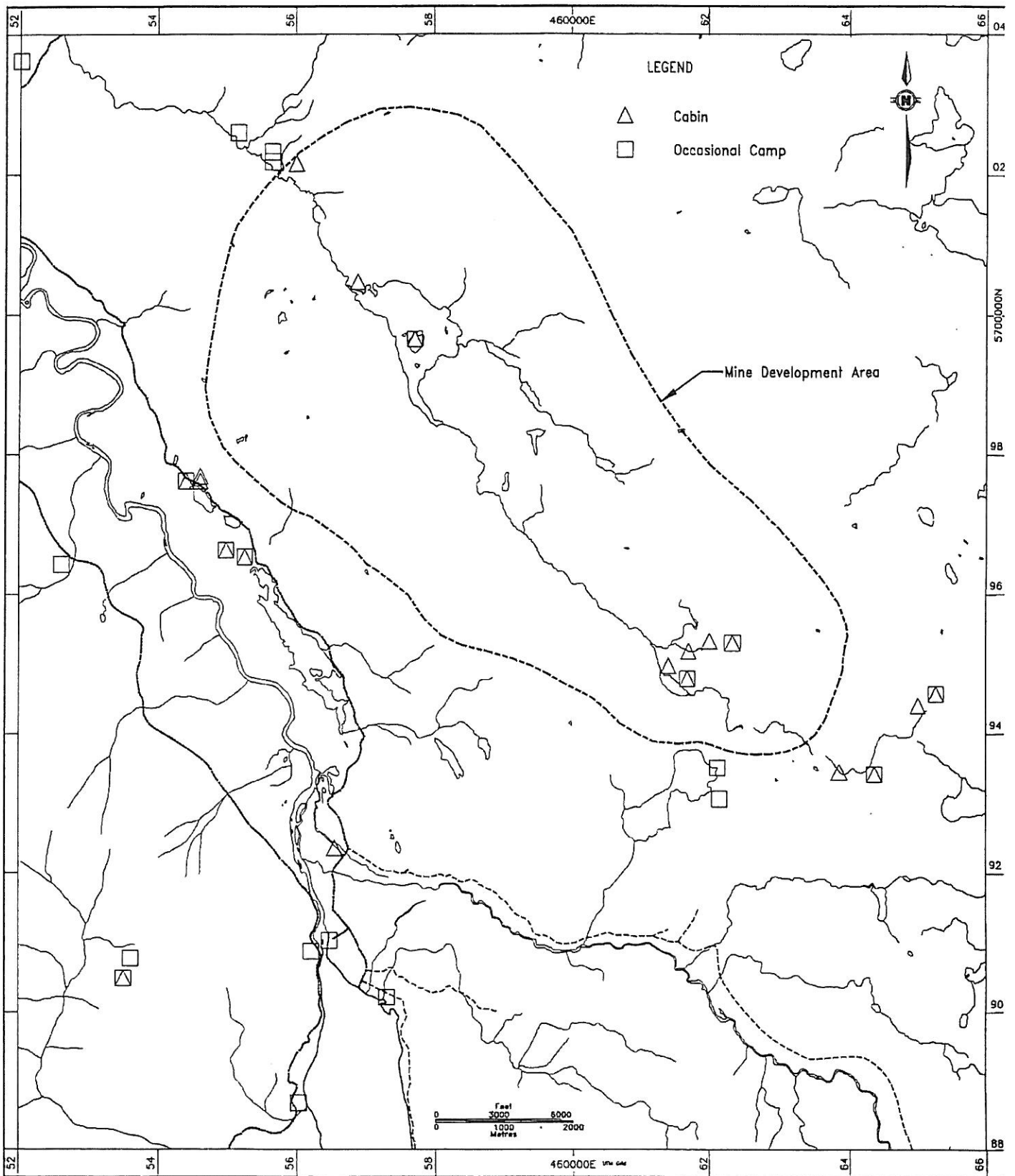
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Figure 13

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

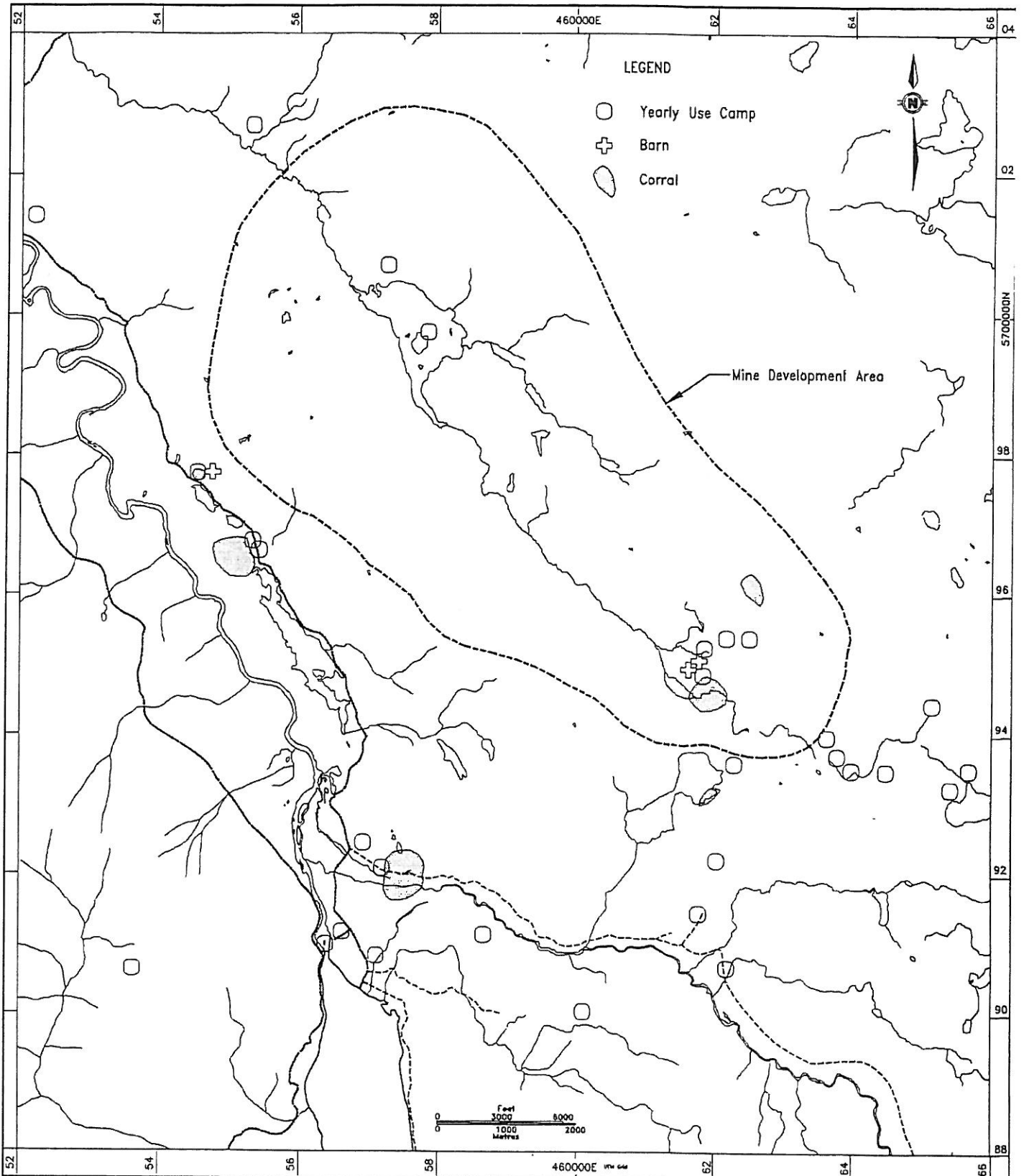


Cabins and Occasional Use Camps in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 15

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



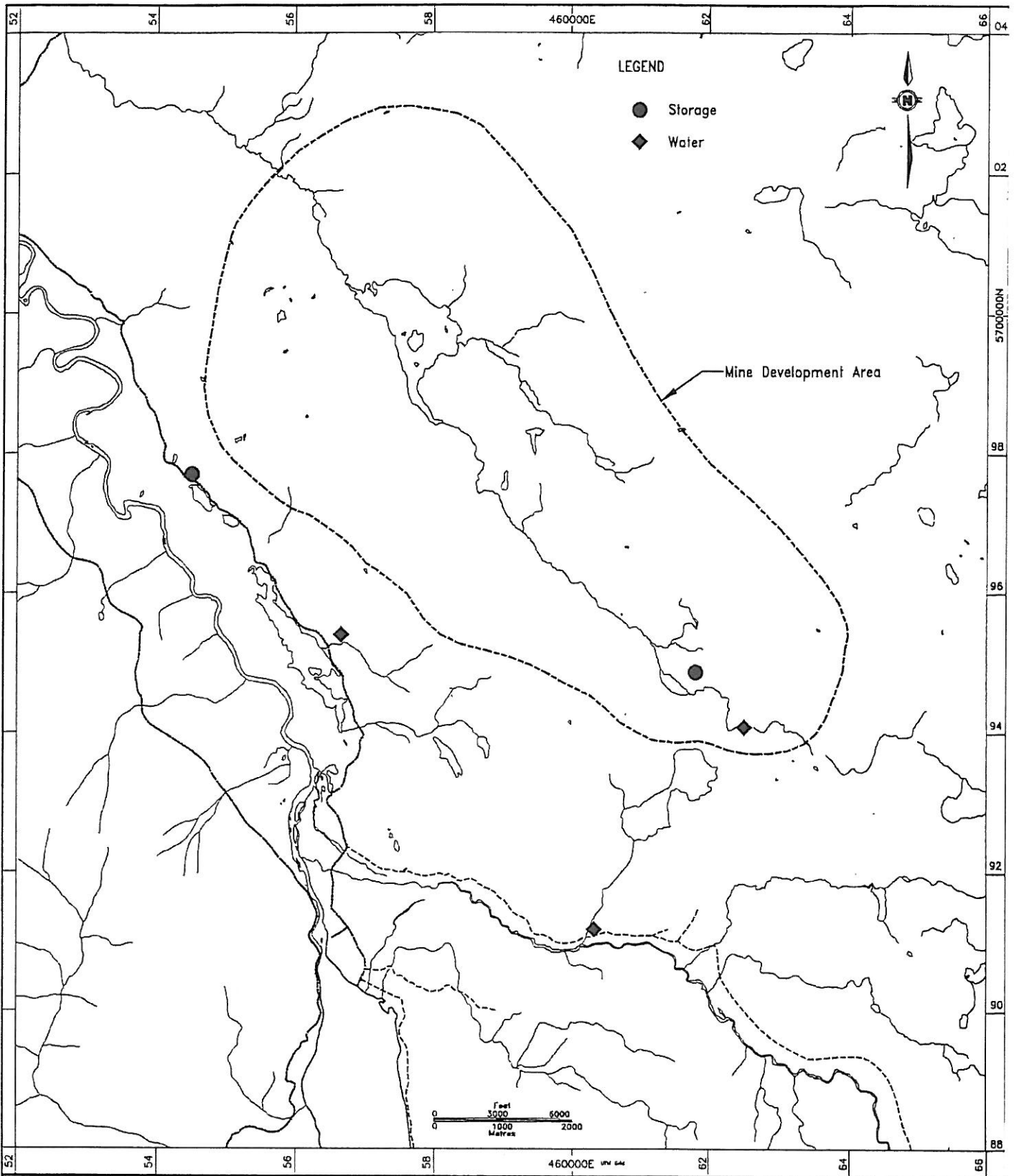
Yearly Use Camps, Corrals and Barns in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 16

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



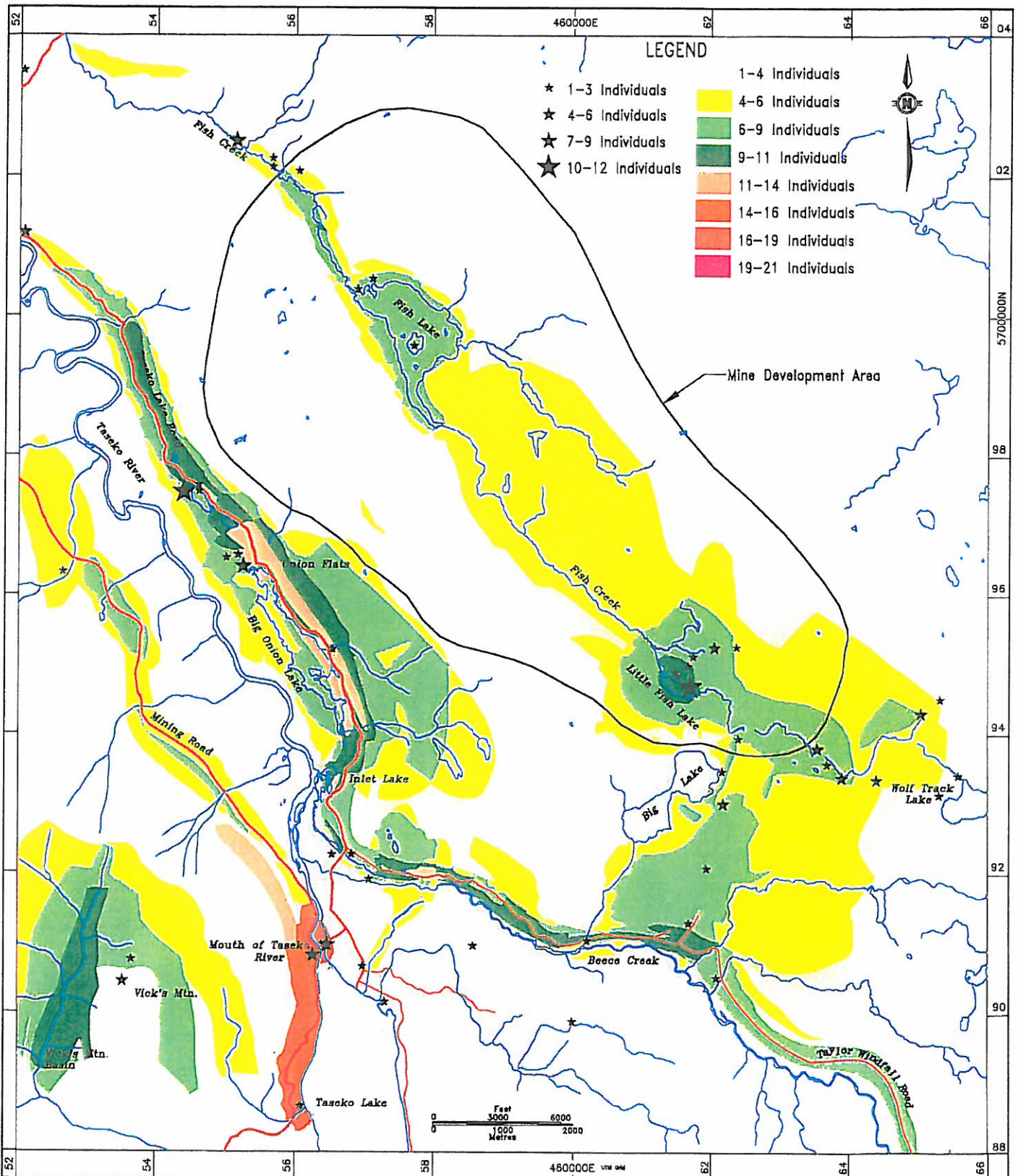
Storage Outbuildings and Water Sources in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 17

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

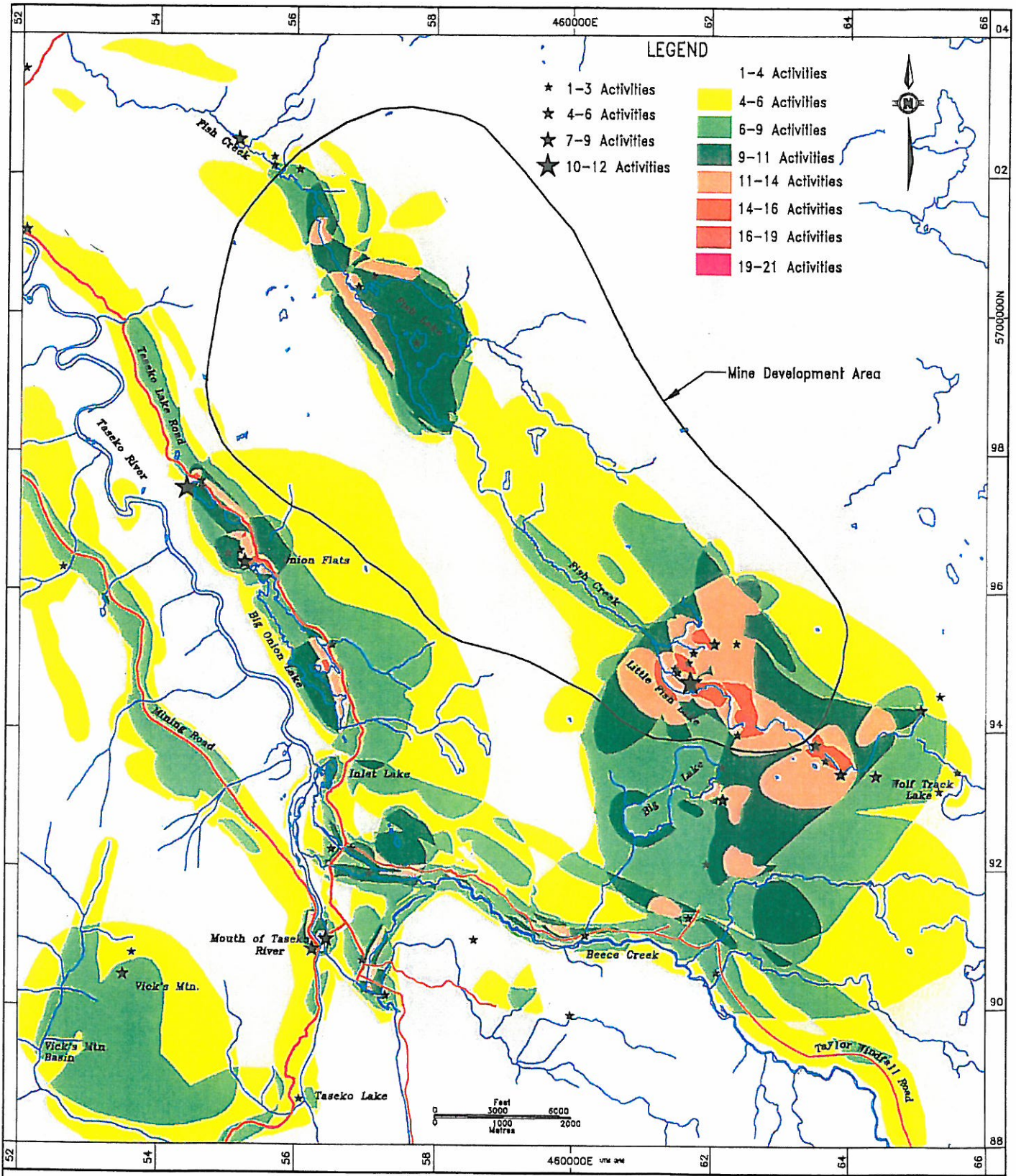


Number of Individuals who have used Locations in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 18

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



Number of Activities taking place in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

Figure 19

Scale 1 : 75,000

Non-Indian Land Use in the Fish Lake Study Area

The non-Indian land use in the Fish Lake study area consists of several categories of land use that can be identified by the type of tenure that the various user groups have held since the Chilcotin plateau was opened up for settlement. The types of tenure that the area has been used for include: grazing, recreation reserves, haying, water rights for a proposed B.C. Hydro mega-project, mining, and guide-outfitting. Each of these types of tenures will be examined separately and a brief history of the occupants will be presented.

Grazing

In the vicinity of Onion Flats near Big Onion Lake there is a large fenced corral. Elders from the Nemiah Valley reported that this corral was built by Gay Bailiff. This corral is still in use by Henry Solomon who currently holds the grazing rights to the area. Gay Bailiff of the Chilancoh Ranch, Alexis, B.C. never had grazing rights in the area, but he did use the trails of the Onion Flats area leading to Taseko Lake to access the 60% of the Yohetta Valley where he grazed approximately from anywhere from 20 head of cattle in 1933 to 495 cattle 10 horses in 1949 (Range file 15700-20 Chilancoh Ranch). In 1950 Gay Bailiff requested that this range be given a rest and a chance to recover from overgrazing. He did retain priority over the areas of Yohetta and Canine Valleys while they were resting from overgrazing. The Bailiffs did not return to the Yohetta-Canine Valley area (pers. comm. Tony Bailiff and Range file 15700-20 Chilancoh Ranch).

Forestry Recreation Site

There is a map reserve under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Environment, Lands, and Parks, but administered by the Chilcotin Forest District, situated at the north end of Fish Lake. The map reserve was requested by the Chilcotin Forest District due to its importance for the use, recreation and enjoyment of public purposes. The area is used by many sports fishermen for camping and fishing rainbow trout. The map reserve has been in existence for approximately twenty years and has recently had its tenure renewed until November 10, 1998 (Lands File No. 0295373). Several individuals have applied for tenure to lease this area as a homesite. The tenure was denied because it was reserved as a recreation reserve (Crown lands file # 0299249, 0299477).

Mining

Fish Lake

There is a prospectors cabin near the present day site of the helicopter pad at Fish Lake mining camp that was built by C.M. Vick and E.A. Calep in the 1930's and used for prospecting in the site known as Viccal and Mary Stuart. They conducted trenching of feldspar porphyry dykes with stringers containing copper and gold values about 1.5 km east of the center of the porphyry deposit. At that time they referred to Fish Creek which flows northwest to the Taseko River through Fish Lake as Vick Creek. Access to the area at that time was made via a series of "Indian pack-trails" (Minister of Mines, 1935:F28).

In the late 1950's, George Renner did additional work on gold-silver-copper mineralized shear zones located northeast of the deposit.

The property was taken over in 1960 by Phelps Dodge who employed twenty-two men in the summer of 1961 who camped at Fish Lake. They located float and subcropping mineralization that indicated a porphyry environment. The company later carried out a program of induced polarization (IP), geochemical, and magnetic surveys; hand trenching; and diamond drilling in eight short holes mainly drilled in pyritic rocks north of the presently known deposit. At that time they were supplied by air from airstrips in the region (Minister of Mines, 1961). Phelps-Dodge recognized the porphyry potential of the area, but allowed the tenure to lapse after early drilling results were not promising (Wolfhard, n.d.:31-2).

In 1966 Taseko Mines took over the tenure. Nittetsu Mining company (in 1970) and Quintana Minerals Corporation (1973-1974) have had options in the property. Bethlehem Copper (1979-1981) and Cominco Ltd. (1982-1989) further expanded the deposit area with another 121 holes totalling almost 19,000 meters and outlining a resource of 200 million tons grading 0.24% Cu and 0.435% g/t Au.

Up to 1991, exploration programs at Fish Lake included extensive IP, magnetic and soil geochemical surveys, and 179 percussion and diamond drill holes totalling approximately 27,200 m. This work helped define the Fish Lake deposit to depths of 200 to 400 m and outlined a copper-gold mineralized zone approximately 850 m in diameter. In 1991-1992, Taseko Mines Limited completed 121 HQ-NQ diameter drill holes, totalling approximately 67,780 m. This expanded the known dimensions of the copper-gold deposit to approximately 1,450 m east-west and 850 m north-south, and to depths greater than 850 m in certain sections.

Taseko Mines controls a 100% interest in the 185 mineral claims (433 units) that comprise the Fish Lake Property. Taseko Mines has filed a pre-application to develop the property at Fish Lake.

Taseko-Blackdome

Pioneer Metals owns this property immediately adjacent to the Fish Lake property (Ministry of Mines, Assessment Report 22091).

River Claims

Dean De la Mothe of North Vancouver, B.C. owns these 15 mineral claims which lie immediately northeast of the Fish Lake deposit (Ministry of Mines, Assessment Report, 22383).

Chita

The Chita claims are a series of 80 contiguous mineral claims found on the eastern shore of Lower Taseko Lake. Phelps Dodge did work on these claims from 1962-1968. In 1969 Bethlehem Copper took over the property and did some diamond and short percussion drilling. Barrier Reef took over and did further work from 1980-1991. In 1991 John Fleishman registered the claims, but the properties are beneficially owned by Seguro Consulting, Inc. and United Mineral Services Ltd. (Ministry of Mines, Assessment Report, 22251).

Taylor Windfall

Several Nemiah and Stoney Elders have reported acting as and having relatives act as packers for the Taylor Windfall operation which was located approximately twelve miles southeast of Taseko Lake. They used horses to supply the camp during its field season since the main access to the camp in the early days was a series of trails and wagon roads over the mountains from Lillooet (Ministry of Mines, 1922). Work was suspended during W.W. II, but resumed in 1945 for a number of years thereafter.

One Nemiah Elder tells a story about his father helping look for the bodies of victims of the final avalanche that wiped out the Taylor Windfall operation. The avalanche was so bad that the search for bodies could not take place until the snow had melted away! By then the remains had been scattered by scavengers which made the search a gruesome affair.

Mega 1-2

Valerie Gold Resources purchased 18 modified grid claims in an area approximately 10 km north of Fish Lake after the large deposit at Fish Lake was announced. Brinco Mining Ltd. had done previous work on the property since around 1984, but had allowed the tenure to lapse (Ministry of Mines, Assessment Report, 22398).

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

Haying

Numerous haying tenures have been recorded for the area since 1956. They include consecutive applications for hay cutting permits in meadows near the Whitewater Lodge by owners Gunsolley (1956-1959) and A. Dillabough and Johnny Murdoch (1960-1968) (Forestry files: 0213390, 0123369, 0213388, 0213389).

Hydro reserve

Many applications for various tenures have been turned down in the area southwest of Fish Lake because of the Hydro reserve put on the area ranging from the Taseko River to the Homathco. This reserve was established by Order-In-Council No. 1594, December 30, 1931 to facilitate the development of the water power of Chilko River and Chilko Lake and other streams in the area (Surveyor General File: 089584). Some applications were approved if they were above the height of land that was deemed to be safe from flooding, or in certain special circumstances, if the occupant didn't mind that the tenure could be cancelled within 90 days of flooding. The most recent update of the flooding reserve was established in 1964 by W.K. Kiernan, Minister of Lands, Forests, and Water Resources for the province of British Columbia. The Taseko Mine Development Site at Fish Lake lies above the elevation required for the flooding reserve.

Roads

Most of the roads in the Fish Lake study area were built by mining companies. The road into Fish Lake was built by a mining company and improved by Taseko Mines. The present day Taylor Windfall road was improved by Cannoo Mines and John Murdoch, former owner of the Whitewater Lodge (Lands file: 0284149).

Guiding

The Whitewater Lodge has been guiding in the Fish Lake study area since it was built by Billy Woods in 1946. Since that time the tenure, a License of Occupation for a Hunting and Fishing Lodge, has been owned or operated by Bill Gimmel, Gonzales, Johnny and Dixie Murdoch, Annemieke Loothuizen, Rose Melenchuk, and Sherwood Henry. Members of Stone and Nemiah Indian Bands have worked for these individuals. Jimmy William guided for all of them except Sherwood Henry who took over the license of occupation in 1980. In 1994 Sherwood Henry sold the hunting guide-outfitter license to Rush Dalziel (Lands file: 0294411). Taseko Lake Holdings Ltd. currently holds the license of occupation. Sherwood Henry currently holds the angling guide-outfitters license.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Bill 70, Heritage Conservation Statutes Amendment Act, 1993 proposes to add sites that have a particular cultural value to the list of sites protected under the Heritage Conservation Act. When passed this act will require the province to enter into agreements with aboriginal people concerning the preservation and conservation of cultural sites. This section will discuss the results and suggest mitigation and compensation measures that Taseko Mines might consider in order to balance their economic interests with the competing cultural and economic interests of the William and Solomon families; the Nemiah Valley and Stoney Indian Bands, and the Tsilhqot'in people in general.

The interest of the Tsilhqot'in Nation is a question of jurisdiction since the Fish Lake Development lies within the territory that is commonly recognized as Tsilhqot'in by academic anthropologists and linguists; neighboring native peoples; and the Tsilhqot'in people themselves. The answer to the question of jurisdiction over mineral rights has a political solution that is outside the realm of discussion in this report.

Documentation of usage patterns by the present day Nemiah Valley and Stoney Indian Bands suggests a strong Tsilhqot'in cultural interest, in general, in the Fish Lake Study Area.

The specific Stoney and Nemiah Band members who are mentioned in this report have had a more permanent economic interest in the Fish Lake mine development area than other Tsilhqot'in people. Since the William and Solomon families have had the most recent economic interest in the area, they could be the recipients of compensation and mitigative measures designed to minimize economic impact. The cultural effects of the proposed Fish Lake Development will primarily be felt by the Nemiah Valley Indian Band since they have been using the Fish Lake Study Area more than other Bands since 1930 (approximately) when the William family took up permanent residence there. Negotiation about compensation and mitigation measures is an issue to be resolved between the Nemiah Valley Indian Band, the Government of British Columbia and Taseko Mines. It is an internal political matter for the Nemiah Valley Indian Band to work out with the Tsilhqot'in Tribal Council and their Band members who the representatives will be for inclusion on their negotiating team and who will

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

receive compensation. It is also a cultural matter since the Tsilhqot'in people did not recognize land ownership. They recognized a common territory with other Tsilhqot'in people, but it was only the registration of traplines that gave boundaries to a family's favorite hunting, trapping, or fishing location.

Assessment of the Cultural Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area

The extent to which the Fish Lake study area is used by the Nemiah Valley Indian Band is a key issue in assessing cultural significance. Initially, the council of Nemiah Valley Indian Band and I believed that greater access to Nemiah Valley made possible by the road and Davidson bridge built in 1972 over the Taseko River might have made a difference to accessing the Fish Lake study area and regions beyond. It was believed that this significant event might have altered the usage of the Fish Lake study area by Nemiah and Stone Band members. After several interviews, however, it became apparent that the road and bridge really made no difference in the extent of use of the Fish lake study area. Families who used the area did so consistently before and after 1972 with no apparent change in the duration and frequency of use.

The amount of activity in the Fish Lake mine development area seems to be related to who was living in the area, and who visited them or helped. Informants from the Stone Band indicate that various families from numerous Bands roamed the entire Chilcotin. Where they were at specific times was dependent upon where the game or fish were at that time. We know from one Nemiah informant that members of at least one family used the mine development area at Fish Lake as far back as 1860 and quite possibly before then. This informant's memory of people who used the area reaches to approximately 1860. Members of that family still use the Fish Lake study area today. We must rely on archaeology, and the interpretation of pre-history to provide information before 1860. Informants have suggested that early people used the Fish Lake study area for trapping muskrats or fishing just as the contemporary Nemiah and Stoney Band members have done so. The picture of early life depicted by these Elders includes a hard existence in which survival itself was based upon one's ability to gather food. Starvation was a real threat in the winter or times when fish and game were scarce. Families roamed the mountains hunting anything that was able to be dried and used for food in lean times. Mountain potatoes and bear tooth would be dug and berries would be gathered. All this food was then dried and stored in houses for use during winter.

By the late 1920's or early 1930's, trapping and ranching had become established important methods of earning cash. People had alternate ways of making a living. The traditional economy became a mixed economy. In the words of two Nemiah Elders, people could earn their living with fish and game, but they could also supplement that living with cash

income to buy trade goods and other food items.

Figures 18 and 19 depict the spatial concentration of activities and numbers of people who were sampled that use the study area. As one might expect, the Little Fish Lake area has been used heavily by individuals at the cabin sites (indicated by the increasing size of stars). The other areas in the mine development zone are used for hunting, trapping, or fishing mostly by the Solomon and William families and those people who visited or worked with them, or by individuals who were hunting and fishing in the region without an actual base of activities.

The activities undertaken within the study area (fig. 19) has as much relevance as the total numbers of sampled people (fig. 18). Hunting, fishing, trapping, and ranching as well as inhabiting the area have great economic and cultural significance to the people who use the area. Hunting and trapping are traditional activities that are historically and integrally a part of the Tsihqot'in culture.

Trapping

The Nemiah Valley Indian Band take their trapping very seriously. Trapping provides an important source of cash income while permitting Band members to stay on the land. The proposed Fish Lake mine development site lies within the northeast section of one of two areas comprising the Nemiah Valley Indian Band trapline. The economic impact of eliminating trapping in the proposed mine development area on the contemporary Nemiah people who have used the trapline cannot be determined from the data gathered for this report. It requires an in depth analysis of fur prices over several decades, factoring in personal preference for certain types of trapping versus another, annual trapping returns (if the information is available, which is rarely the case for native people), and the distribution and abundance of each species within the trapline area. This points to an area of analysis that will most certainly have to be addressed given the economic and cultural significance of trapping to the Nemiah people in the past.

It is widely known that the Nemiah Valley Indian Band has an injunction against Carrier Lumber to halt clear-cut logging in order to protect their aboriginal right to trap. It is within a portion of that same trapline that Taseko Mines proposes to develop a mine. Figures 45 - 56 show very clearly that within the northeast portion of the trapline, the trapping effort has been concentrated in the area where a tailings pond is proposed. That location of the tailings pond would eliminate the potential for trapping in all submerged areas. This, coupled with the loss of existing cabins in the area, is likely to have a negative impact on the band members use of the area.

It might be possible to enhance adjoining furbearer habitat such that the negative impact

caused by the tailings pond might be counterbalanced by enhancement in another part of the trapline. Perhaps the cabins at Little Fish Lake could be rebuilt in another location that would also be suitable for ranching, fishing, and trapping. This would not address the question of spiritual attachment to the land, but it might counterbalance some or all of the negative economic effect of proposed tailings pond on Nemiah band members and also provide an opportunity for cultural lifestyle to continue.

In addition to attempts to mitigate for effects of the tailings pond, it is likely that some form of compensation to Band members for lost income and opportunity costs for the loss of the potential for the Band members who use this area to practice an aboriginal right will be required. Determination of revenue derived from trapping in this area is beyond the scope of this report. I have documented the animals trapped in recent years. Given the lack of reported information on native trapping activities, it will be very difficult to find precise measures of the amount of trapping that has taken place in recent years. A wildlife biologist and an anthropologist could assist negotiations between the Nemiah Valley Indian Band trappers association and Taseko Mines to determine compensation for the Nemiah trappers loss of opportunity to conduct trapping rights. It is recognized that there have been precedent cases established for compensating trappers for the loss of their trapline by B.C. Hydro and the oil and gas industry. Perhaps these cases could be adapted for use in this situation.

Spiritual Significance

Spiritual significance is a measure of the depth of emotion people feel for an area. Figure 9 examines the reasons respondents gave for identifying specific locations as spiritually significant.

Trapping and fishing seem to be the major activities that have deep spiritual significance to individuals that use the mine development area. Cabins are important to Nemiah people not only because they permit extended use of remote trapping, fishing, and ranching activities, but also because they represent memories of past life experiences, and the experiences of close relations. If there is a way of gauging the depth of emotion that the Williams family feel for this area, it would probably be their almost universal response that the cabins at Little Fish Lake and Onion Flats are important because they either lived there, their grandmother lived there, or because one or both parents lived there. Cabins and physical representations of past life experience on the land and are symbols of the Tsilhqot'ins', and in this case the Williams' family, cultural links to the land (figs. 15-17). They are also symbols of their culture and they represent part of what native people speak about when they say the land is their culture. The range of emotion associated with these sites is very strong, complex and powerful to native

people.

Figures 18 and 19 show very clearly that Little Fish Lake is the area in which most of the activities and concentrations of people have occurred in the mine development area. The reason for this is that the William family occupied the Little Fish Lake area for generations. Loss of this area will significantly impact on this family and on the Nemiah Band in general. To address this impact Taseko considered three alternatives and only one proved to be viable and practical. The first alternative was to move the tailings pond to another location. This was not feasible from an economic and environmental perspective (Knight Piesold Ltd., 1993). The second alternative was to modify the plans and avoid tailing encroachment on the Little Fish Lake area. The northern portion of the tailings impoundment would be enlarged and the southern dike moved north of the meadows and cabins. This option was not feasible from an engineering perspective (Knight Piesold Ltd., 1994). The only other alternative is to compensate, in some form, the William family's losses. This will be a sensitive area of negotiations. Although compensation and mitigation in this situation is sensitive it should be resolvable using a positive conciliatory biparty approach.

Plant Gathering

The resource use that is least likely to be greatly affected by the proposed Fish Lake mine development is plant gathering (figs. 33-44). Most of the species of plants collected by Nemiah Band members are situated outside the mine development area³. Those species which are found in the mine development area are also found in other areas. Many species of plants are important to Band members, especially when they are residing in remote areas such as the Little Fish Lake area and are gathering them for use there.

Most of the berries (figs. 23-32) picked by people in the study area that would be affected by the mine are picked in the Little Fish Lake area, probably as a direct result of the fact that people have lived there and picked berries for food. Crowberries and thimbleberries seem to be the only berries that are not picked elsewhere in the study area.

³It was pointed out to me that sometimes Elders do not tell all of the plants they use. This is something that cannot be accounted for if people do not come forward with the information.

Ranching

Ranching in the Bullion grazing unit would be greatly affected by the proposed Fish Lake mine development. Cattle are grazed on open ranges in the Chilcotin. Cattle or game could seek out the tailings area as a water source and become stuck in the tailings. It would be advisable to fence the tailings area to avoid loss of cattle or game.

Within the Bullion grazing unit are the swamp meadows that are cut when weather permits to feed cattle and horses throughout the winter. Three of the six hay meadows found in the study area lie outside the potentially affected areas (fig.14). One of these swamp meadows is southwest of Big Lake (otherwise known as Wasp Lake). These will not be immediately impacted by the development. Because Fish Creek is used to irrigate the remaining three meadows, they are probably going to be flooded by the proposed development. Range and hay land would have to be found elsewhere or the Solomons would have to be compensated for the loss of hay and range areas. The Solomon family should be consulted about mitigation and compensation options.

Hunting

The hunting patterns of Nemiah and Stoney people (figs. 57-66) seem to be related to several factors including the range of the species hunted; the proximity of those animals to transportation networks, and the proximity of the hunting range to a camp or cabin. Deer (fig.60), moose (fig.61), grouse (fig. 62) and squirrel (fig. 65) are the major species of animals that are hunted by Nemiah and Stoney people in the proposed mine development area. Grouse are hunted by young and middle-aged people, not Elders. Squirrel are hunted by Elders and not young or middle-aged people. The hunting ranges of Elders and middle-aged people differs from young people only to the extent that the older individuals seem to have spent more time searching the Fish Lake study area for game than younger individuals who have not had as much time in their lives to frequent or heavily use an area and for whom greater transportation opportunities have presented themselves (figs. 57-59). Younger members of the William and Solomon families have hunted in the area more than similar aged individuals from other families.

Every person who was interviewed hunts in the Red Mountain area (an area southeast of the Fish Lake study area). They use the Taylor Windfall Road, adjacent to the mine development area, to access the Red Mountain area. They often hunt while they are coming and going to that location. The potential direct and indirect impacts of the development on the

availability of game, primarily moose and deer is another area of serious concern to the Nemiah and Stoney Indian Bands. The impact of the proposed development on moose and deer populations is outside of my expertise, but because of the importance of hunting the animals to the culture of the Nemiah and Stoney Indian Bands, the issue of mine development impacting moose and deer populations will have to be addressed by a wildlife biologist. Taseko Mines and the Nemiah and Stoney Indian Bands and government agencies could work together to insure that with mine development, hunting regulations enforcement is adequate to prevent any negative impact from over harvesting and poaching on deer and moose populations.

Fishing

Fishing by all interviewed individuals takes place in the same locations. There seems to be little difference in the patterns of fishing activity and location across age groups (figs. 20-22). Fish Creek, Fish Lake, and Little Fish Lake are fished by individuals from all age groups. These fishing areas would be eliminated by the proposed development. Most of the effort in these areas has taken place around Little Fish Lake when people are living there. The Williams and Solomons have caught rainbow trout in these locations. They have also fished in these locations in the winter. The fishing patterns have not persisted because the area has not been inhabited on a permanent basis in the past four or five years. Until very recently the Solomon family has used the cabins at Little Fish Lake during the trapping season. Should fur prices rise to make trapping more remunerative once again, the family would probably return to trapping and they would harvest the fish from Little Fish Lake, Fish Creek, and Fish Lake.

The importance of fishing in the mine development area seems to be related to the amount of trapping or over-wintering of cattle in the Little Fish Lake area. If these two activities are eliminated, then fishing would take place in another location. Fishing in the Taseko River at the mouth of Taseko Lake is far more important to the Tsilhqot'in people than fishing in the mine development area. Nevertheless, the importance of fishing within the affected area is related to the potential to pursue other activities such as trapping or overwintering cattle. During mitigation and/or compensation planning, the significance of fishing as it relates to hunting, trapping, and ranching needs to be recognized.

Summary

This report has presented the results of over two hundred hours of interviews involving 61 individuals, representing all persons aged 15 and over who were available to be interviewed during the months of July, August, and early September 1993 (58 from Nemiah and 3 available Elders from Stoney). Through this process it became apparent that the William and Solomon families from the Nemiah Valley Indian Band have a significant cultural interest in the mine development area. It is not clear whether an individual from the Solomon family might take up residence in a cabin located southeast of the settlement at Little Fish Lake. Work has progressed in recent years on a cabin near the large hay meadow behind the old William cabin. If fur prices were to improve and it was possible to overwinter cattle there, it is conceivable that they would move to that location at least for the winter months. The Solomon family has a specific economic interest in the area because of the ranching and trapping activities, as do the other members of the Nemiah Valley Trappers Association who could trap in the area. The primary activities of economic importance are hunting, trapping, fishing and grazing.

The William family and other people who have heavily used the Fish Lake mine development area have a strong spiritual attachment to specific locations. These areas have been identified. The most significant area of spiritual attachment is the Little Fish Lake area where a series of cabins have provided a home base for the cultural and economic lifestyle that has flourished in the study area for approximately 130 recorded years. The pre-historic record will extend that time horizon (see Tyhurst, 1994). Because of the nomadic nature of the Tsilhqot'in people since time immemorial, the Tsilhqot'in people in general have a cultural interest in the mine development area.

With furs as a medium of exchange that the Chilcotins used in trade with other Indian people, the land use pattern of families going into the mountains to hunt in the fall and staying in their own territory for the trapping season in the winter probably is a very old pattern. The trapping patterns of the William and Solomon families replicate this pattern. They have tended to be more sedentary than occupants of the region might have been in the past because of the added variable of wintering cattle. The winter subsistence pattern of the William family when they lived at Little Fish Lake focused on ice fishing and trapping small game for food and for sale. The patterns would differ very little whether the purpose of trapping was for trade, sale, or personal use. Differences would be seen in the species concentrated upon. In the historic past emphasis has been on those fur-bearing animals whose furs are the most commercially valuable, i.e. lynx, wolverine, marten, and fisher. In the pre-contact and early contact eras, the targeted species would have been those that were considered valuable by other native peoples, or for the individuals trapping them for food, clothing, or other accoutrements.

Hunting and fishing are activities that have been practised in the Fish Lake study area by people from many different families from both the Nemiah and Stoney Bands. Habitation in the area affected the amount of effort an individual or a family would expend at both these activities in the region, but it was not the only limiting factor for people using the area for these activities. Before the advent of the reserve system, individuals and family groups were nomadic, roaming the mountains looking for food. Ownership of a territory was not recognized and people hunted everywhere, but some areas were favored by families more than other areas. It is likely that the reserve system and the registration of trapline areas gave boundaries to the favorite hunting and trapping range of a family.

The ethnographic record documents that Amelia William's family used the Fish Lake mine development area since 1860 (approximately). Since she frequented the area as a child, it is not coincidental that she raised her children there. Other families from Stoney and Nemiah have also used the area for various activities for generations. Because of the shift from a traditional economy to a cash economy, use of the area has shifted to a mixed use of resources including traditional subsistence activities and those activities such as trapping and cattle-grazing that provide cash income while allowing Band members to stay on the land. Weather patterns and beaver dams influence the degree to which it is currently possible to make hay in the area, with the subsequent effect on the ability to over winter livestock. External economic factors have influenced the price of furs. Nevertheless traditional subsistence activities of fishing, hunting, plant gathering and berry picking continue to take place in the study area and in the mine development area by the William and Solomon families and Nemiah Band members. The intensity of fishing, hunting, plant gathering and berry picking is greatly enhanced by habitation at the cabins at Little Fish Lake. The spiritual value of the cabins and surrounding area remains constant for those individuals for whom the Little Fish Lake is spiritually significant.

Assessment of the impact of the proposed development would have to consider the loss of cattle grazing and haying; trapping; hunting; and habitation in these cabins as an opportunity cost. If an alternate site could be found that would give the Solomon family a cabin to stay in while trapping and tending their cattle in winter; would provide access to preferred hunting areas and would be acceptable to this family, the impact of the proposed tailings pond would be reduced. There remain those individuals who use the area despite the fact that they don't live there. This type of usage pattern is being practised by the William family today because of their continued spiritual and emotional ties to Little Fish Lake and the entire study area.

The reason for most people going into the mine development area would most likely be hunting. Individuals from Stone, Nemiah, and quite possibly other Tsilhqot'in Bands would be negatively affected by the loss of opportunity to hunt in the mine development area. This could be mitigated by enhancement of preferred hunting areas in adjoining regions while limiting

access to the mine development area for hunting only by the residents of the region. This would require rigorous monitoring and enforcement by conservation officers. Additional funding for increased enforcement may be a component of mitigation.

Ranching and trapping have allowed the Tsilhqot'in people to enter into the cash economy and the mainstream of Canadian society while still retaining their place on the land, which is a very important component in enabling the Tsilhqot'in to retain their culture. The opportunity for Tsilhqot'in people to practice their traditional activities is essential if that culture is to survive the changes that industrial development will bring. If Taseko Mines can, through sensitively negotiated compensation and mitigation measures, actually enhance the environment and provide improved locations for the traditional and economic activities to take place, then the proposed mine development at Fish Lake could be a positive opportunity for the Nemiah Valley Indian Band.

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APPENDIX 1

SITE TYPOLOGY

The following is a typology developed for classifying Tsilhqot'in cultural activities having specific, land-based locations.

Fishing:

- nets
- hook and line
- fish traps
- dip nets
- gaffs
- ice fishing
 - hooks
 - nets

Camps associated with fishing-fish dried in camps
traditionally heads of large fish were boiled for oil
lakes: fish cleaned and processed in camps
fishtraps: fish brought back to camp
rivers: fish are cleaned near the river and entrails thrown into the river.
They are dried near the campsite.

Storage: traditionally fish were stored in cache pits or in houses in boxes
contemporary- fish stored in houses in dried form

Hunting:

- blinds: structures used to hunt migratory deer
- traditionally where bears were killed feasts were given
- animal shot and cleaned in the same spot

At hunting camps animals are made into dried meat and buckskin is made.

Site Typology (cont.)

Camps:

- temporary specific use camps (e.g. a camp made for a night rest while passing through an area)
- temporary structure camp used yearly (e.g. a camp used for making hay)
- permanent structure for seasonal yearly use (e.g. a cabin used for trapping)
- hide roasting pits
- sweat lodges
- kigili holes (underground pit houses)
- drying racks
- cache pits
- root cellars
- storage outbuildings
- gardens
- fencing
- corrals
- water sources

Ranching:

- grazing locations
- haying locations
- hay storage locations

Gathering:

- berries
- special use plants
- medicinal plants
- edible roots
- haying
- grazing
- utilitarian devices

Transportation and trading networks and locations

Site Typology (cont.)

Trapping:

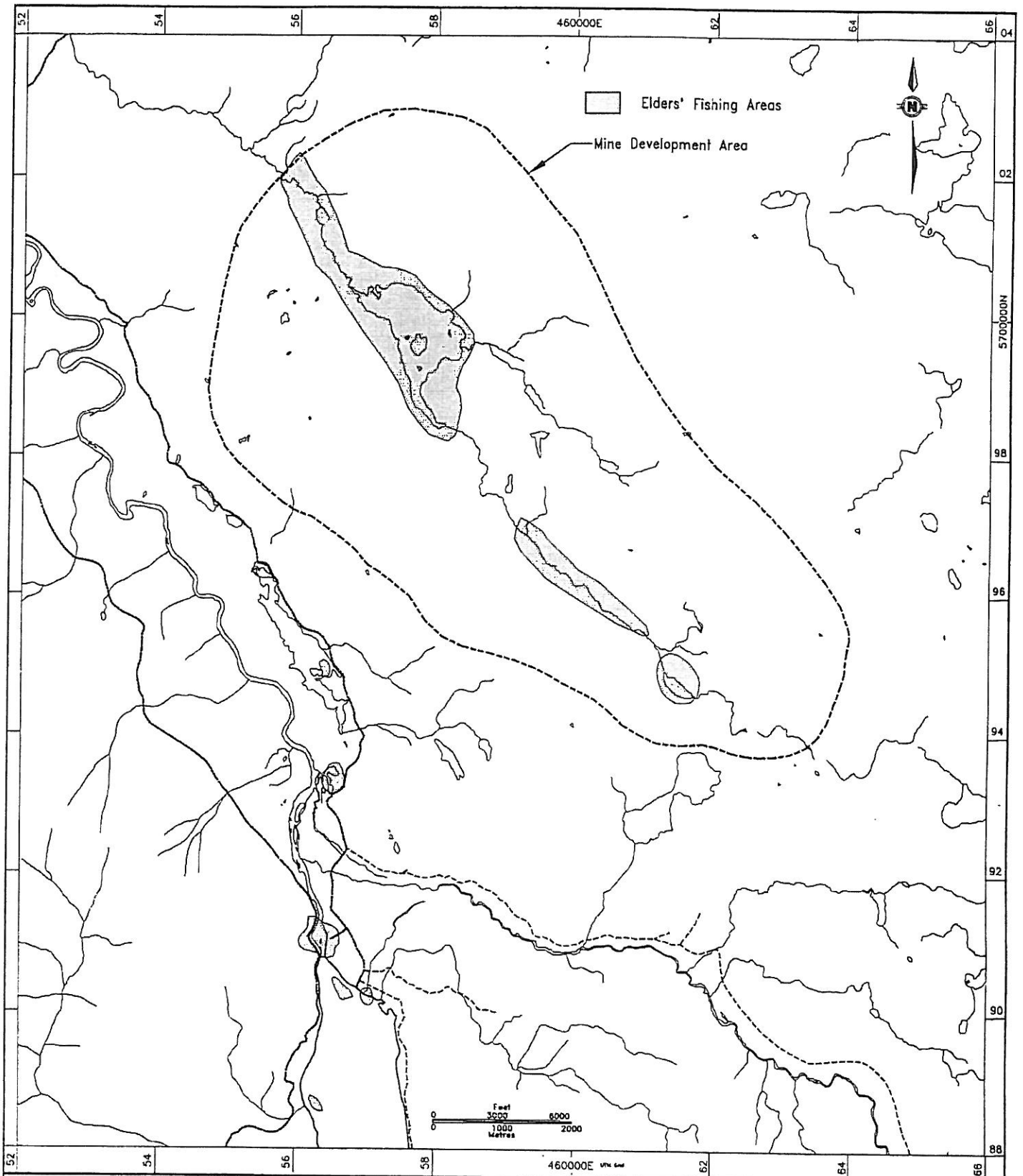
- locations
- processing sites

Spiritually significant places:

- fishing sites
- trapping sites
- hunting sites
- burials
- places spiritually significant for aesthetic reasons
- historical landforms
- cabins where people or relations have lived
- plant gathering sites

APPENDIX 2

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



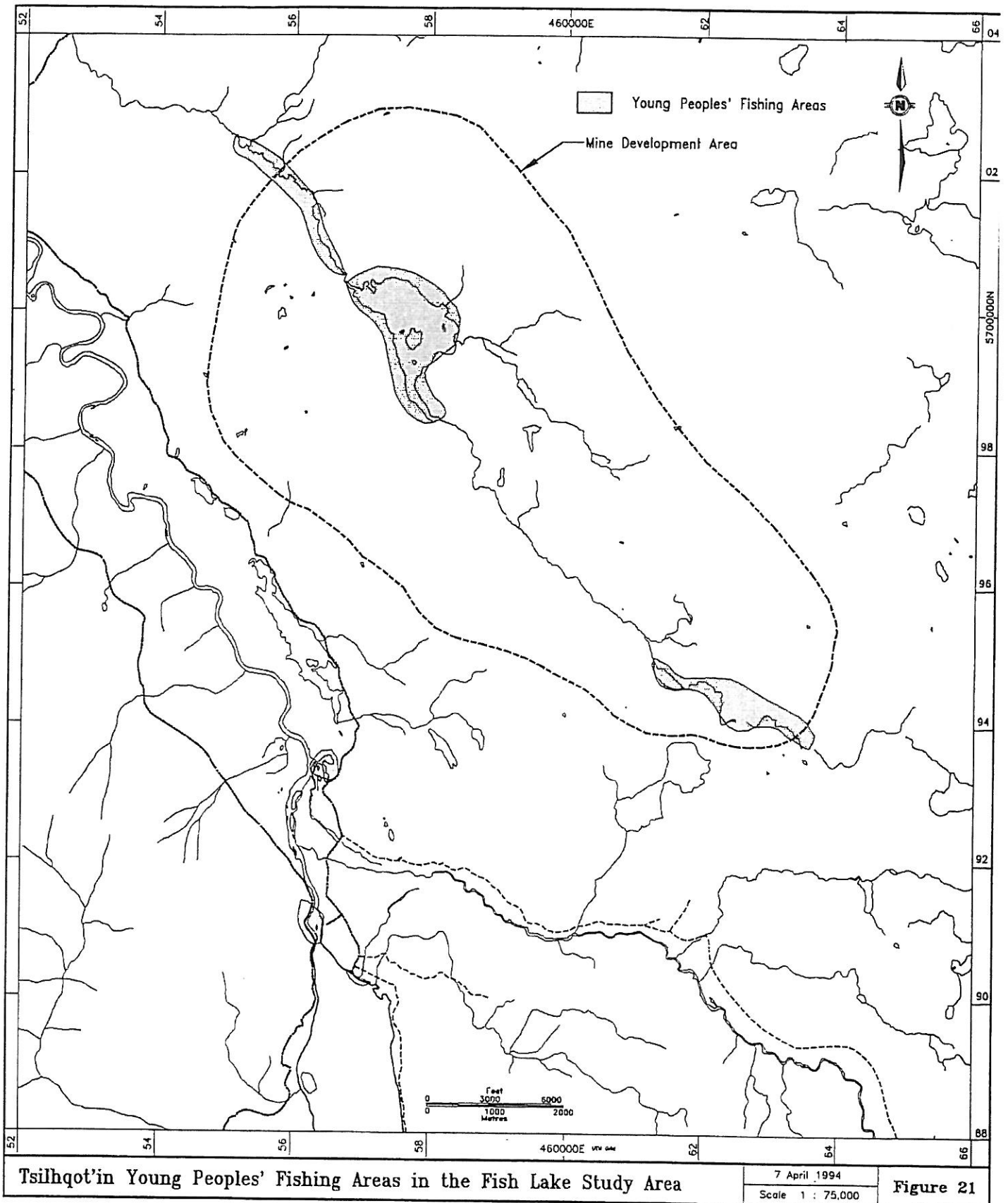
Tsilhqot'in Elders' Fishing Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

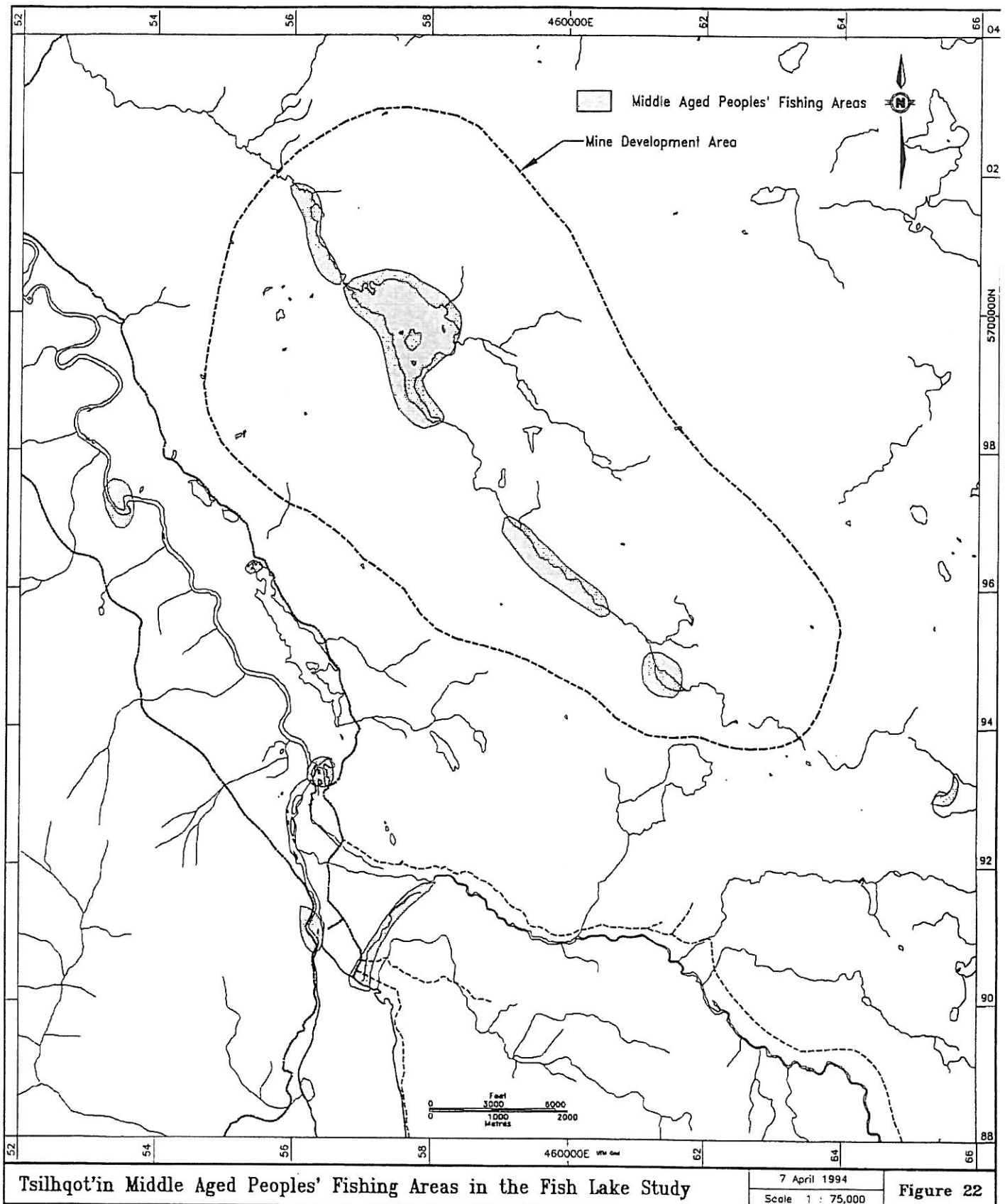
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Figure 20

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



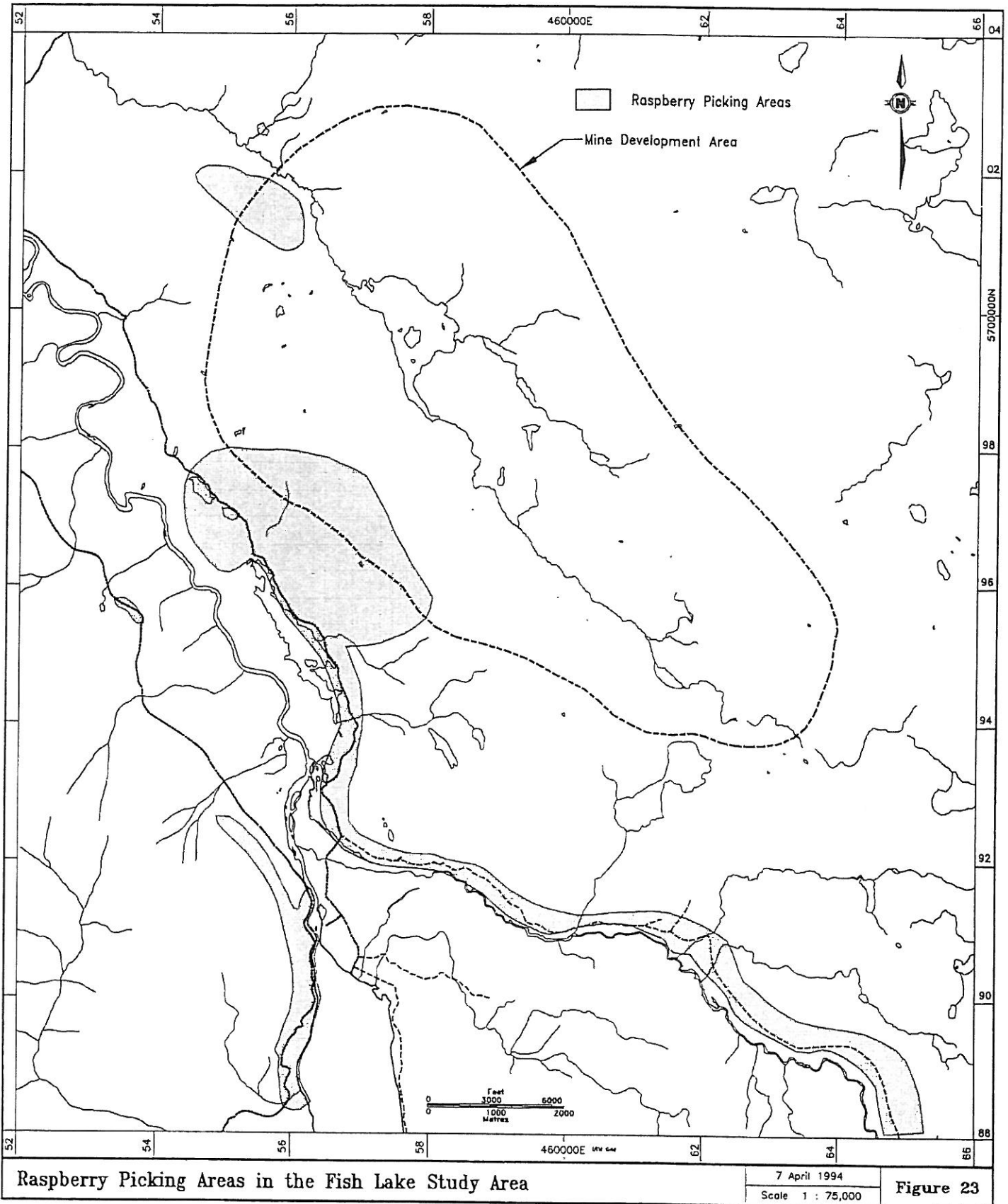
Tsilhqot'in Middle Aged Peoples' Fishing Areas in the Fish Lake Study

7 April 1994

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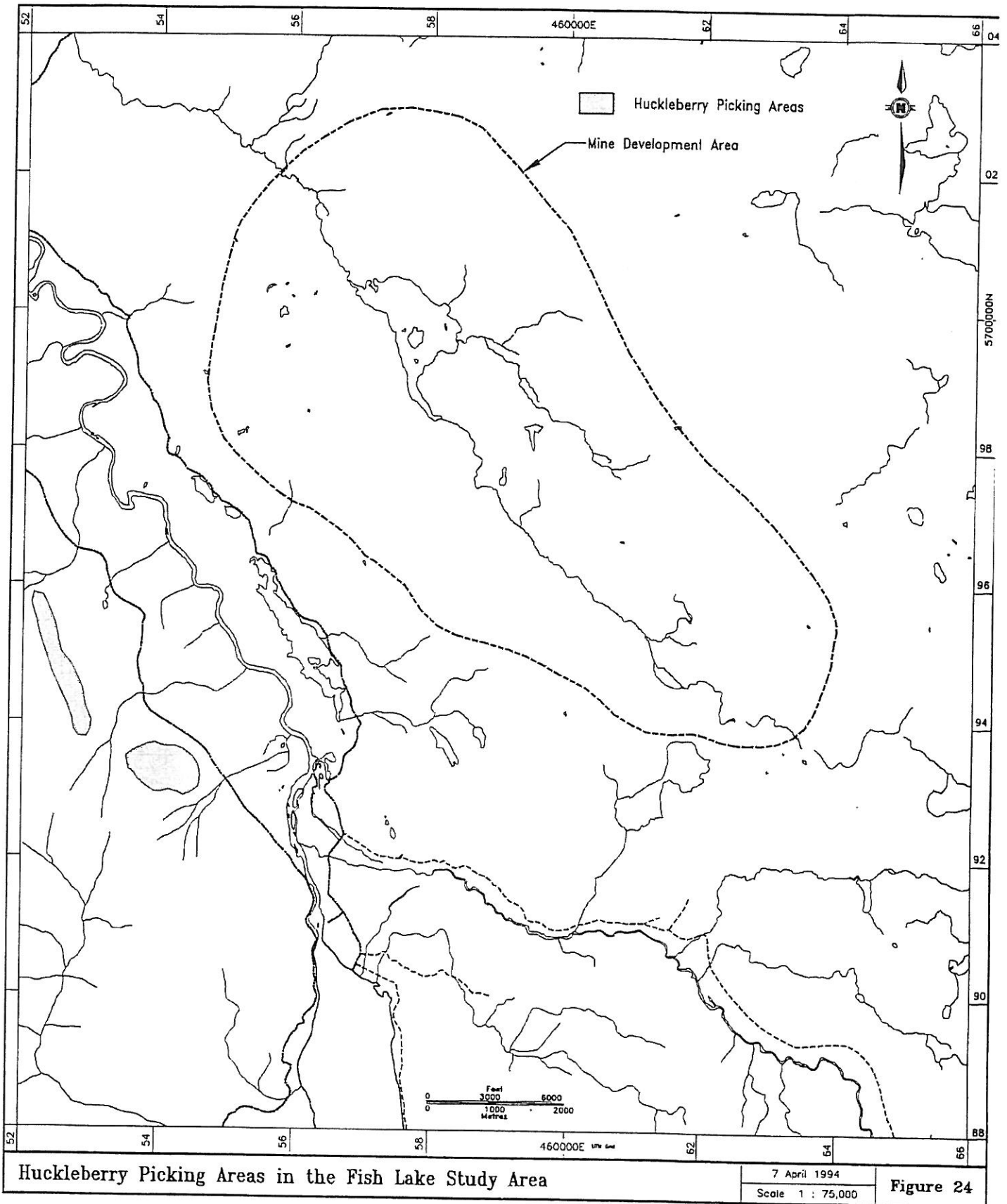
Figure 22

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

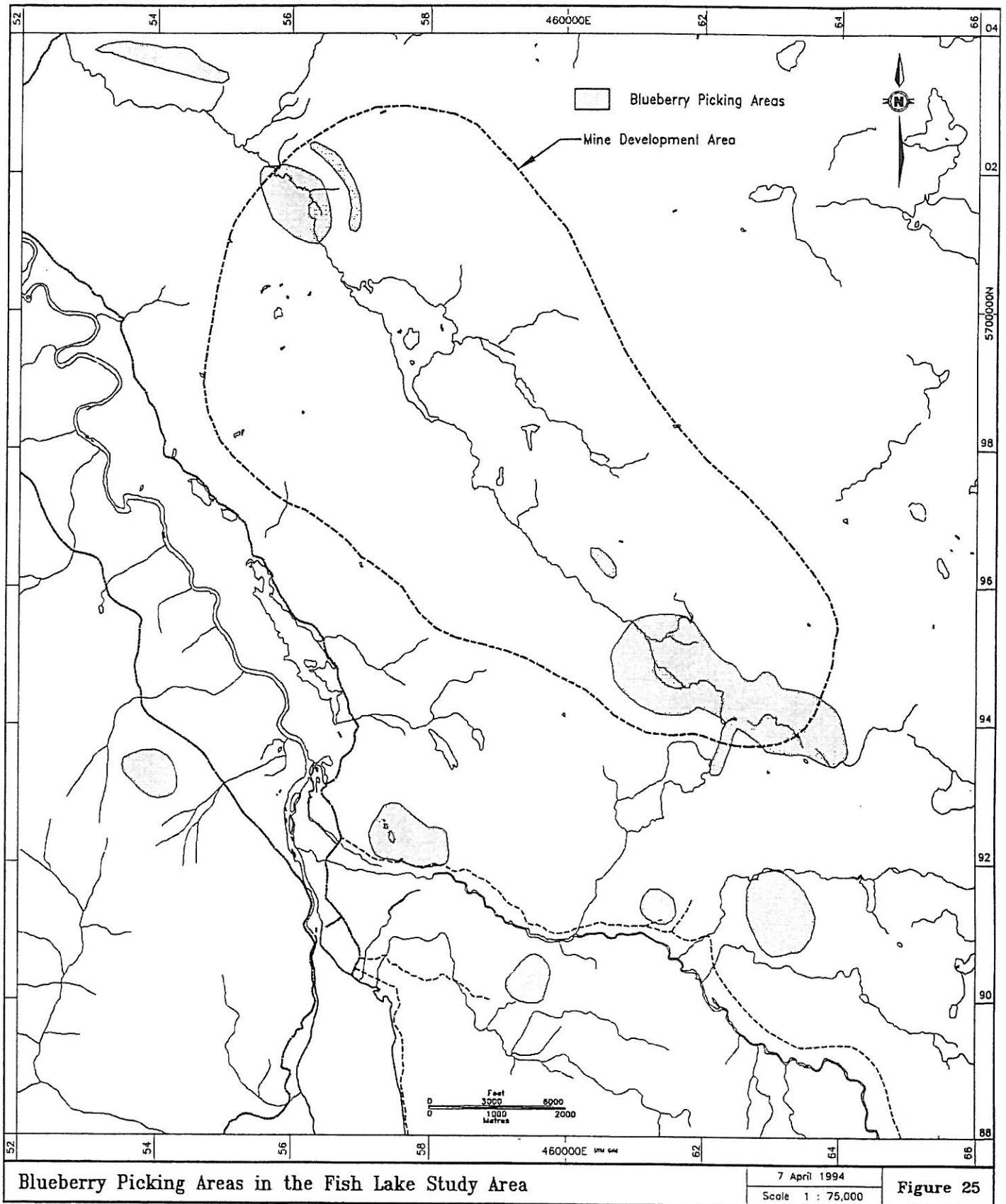


Raspberry Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

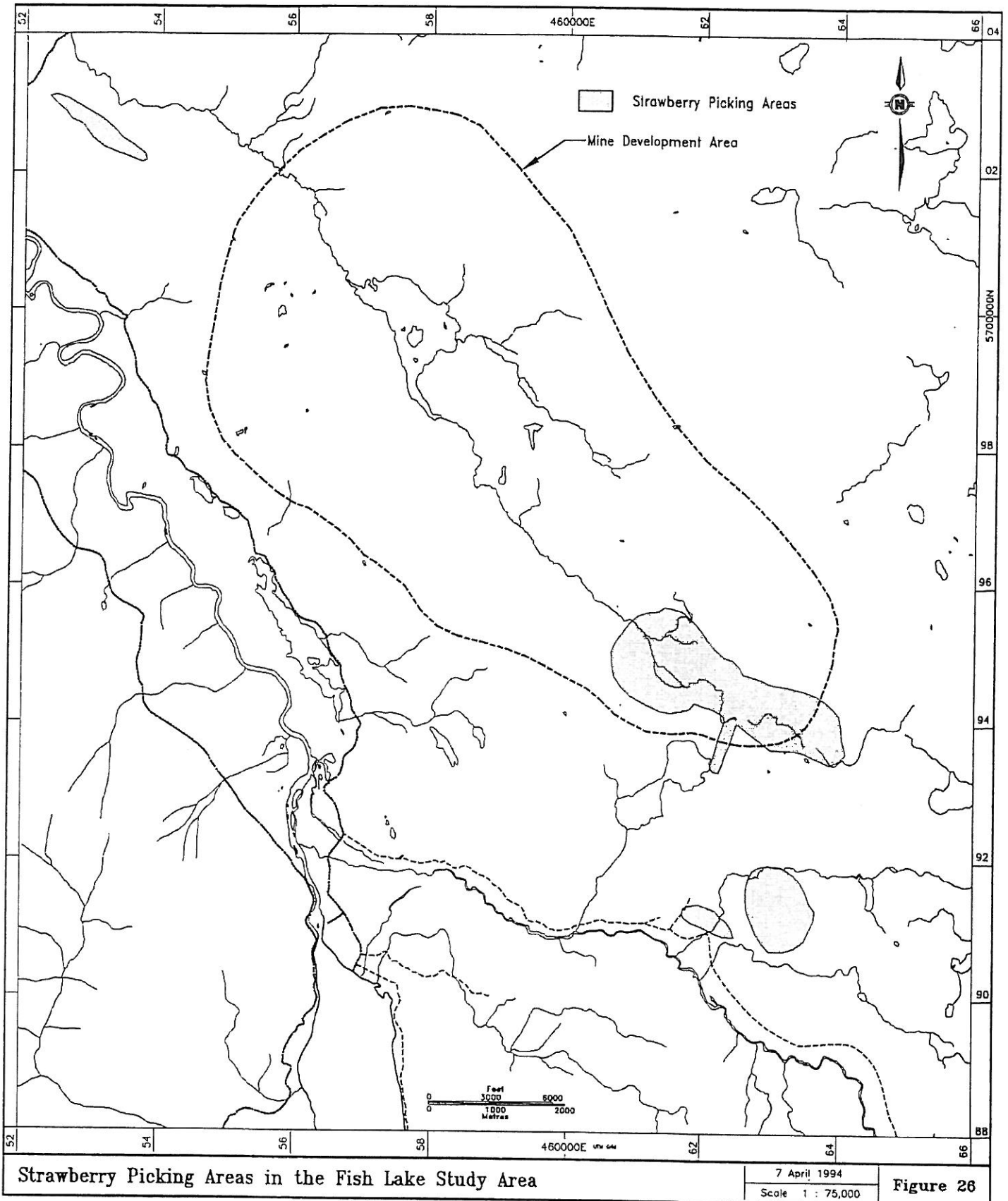
The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



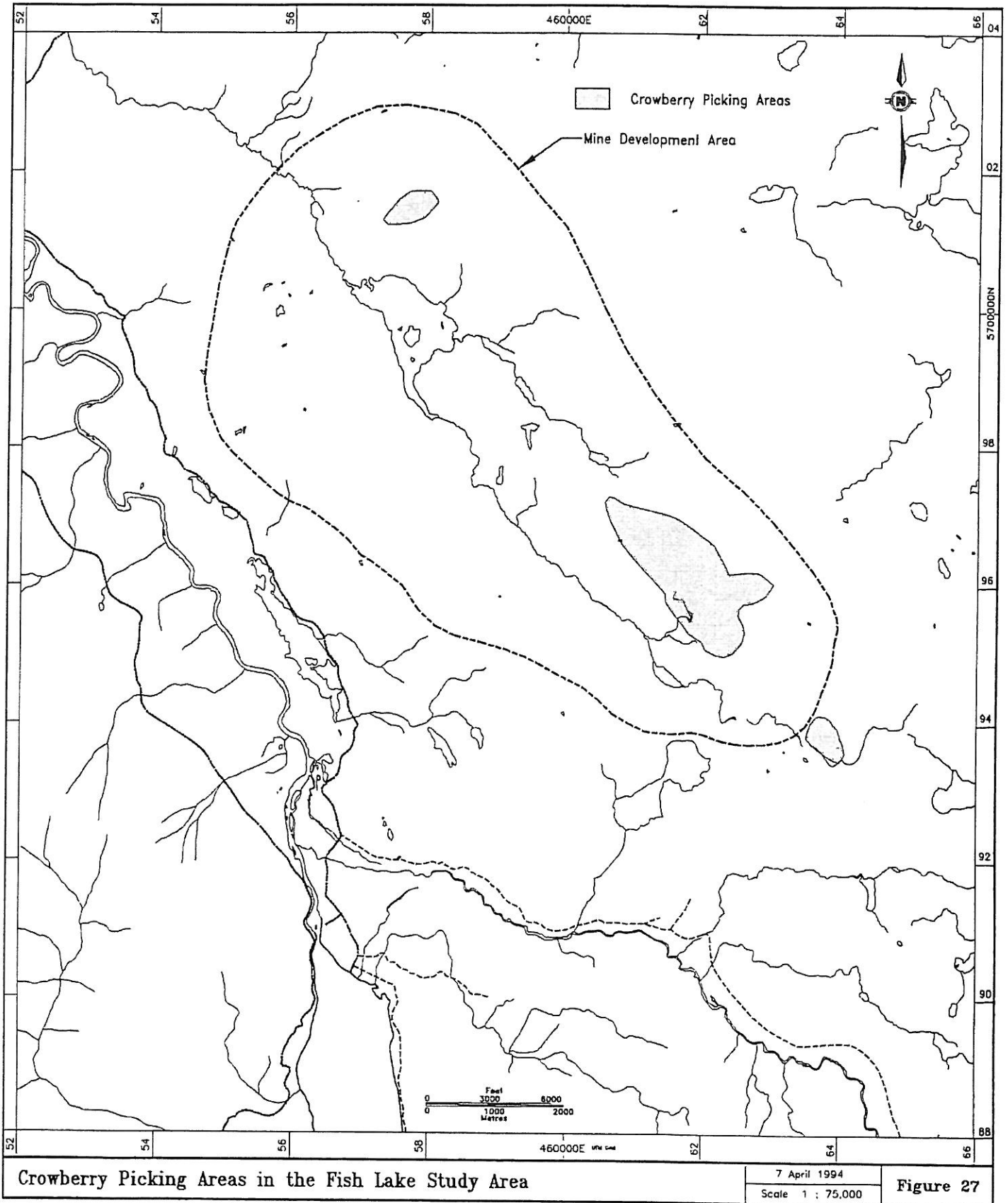
Strawberry Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

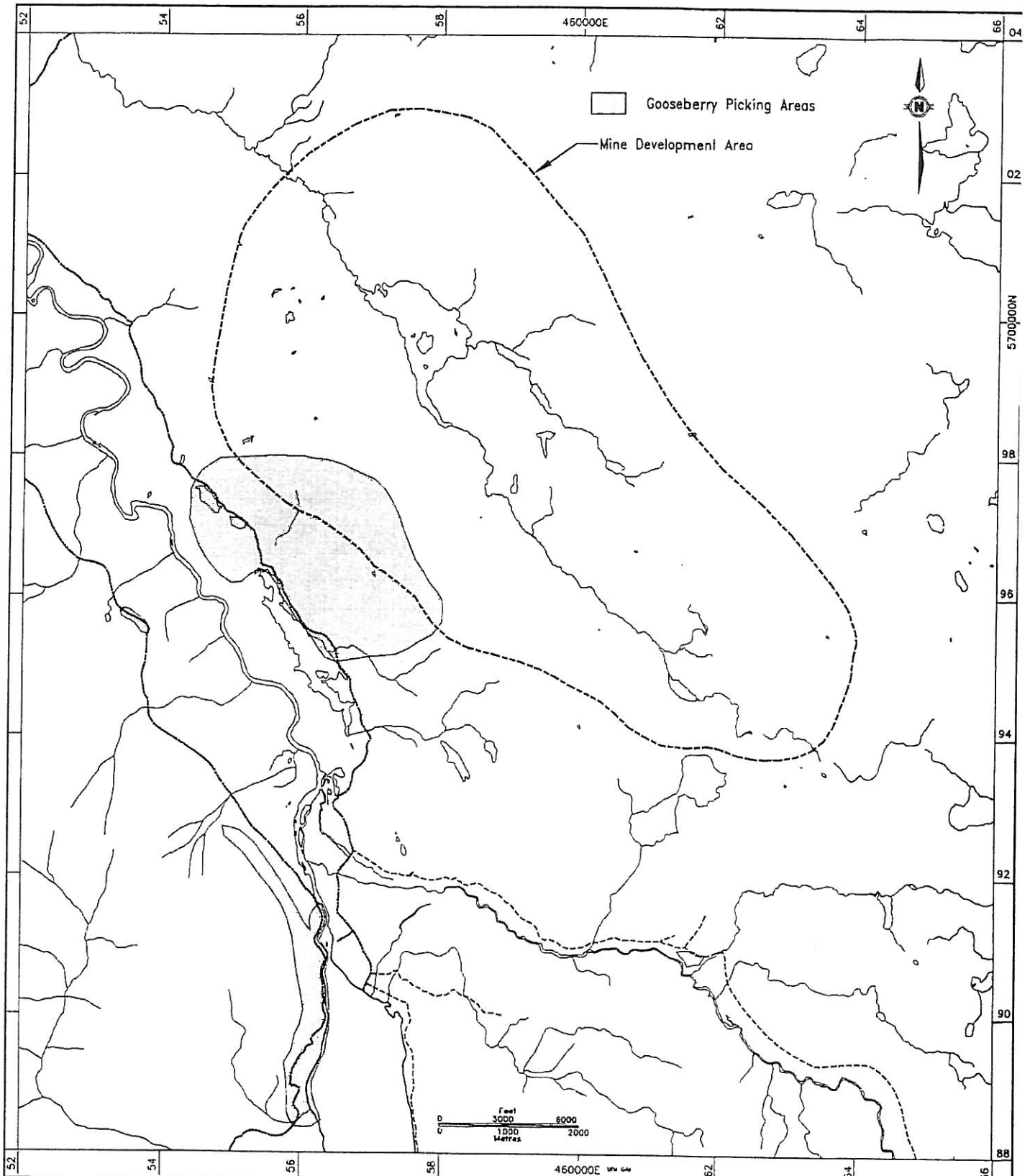
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Figure 26

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



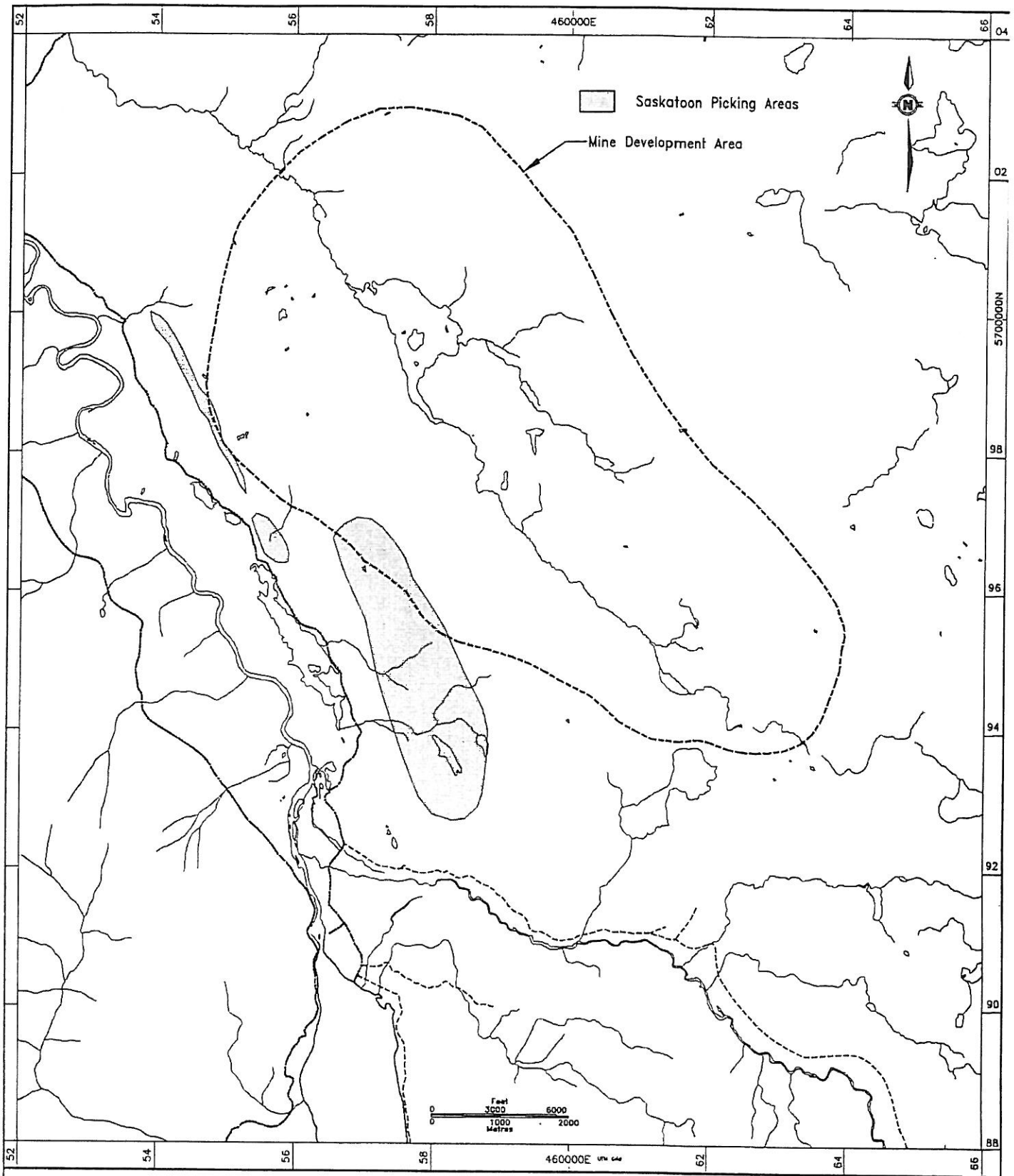
Gooseberry Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 28

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



Saskatoon Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
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Figure 29

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

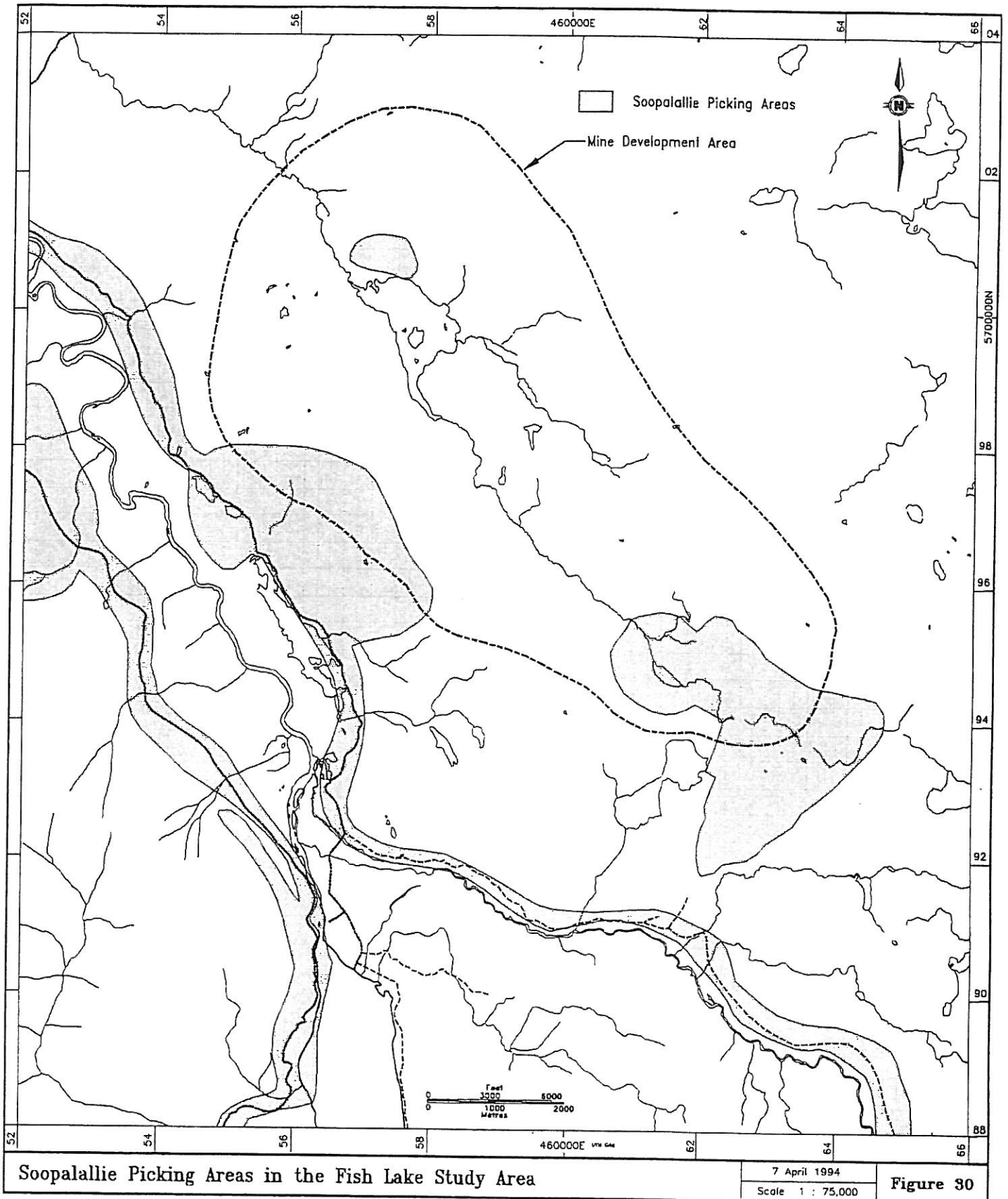
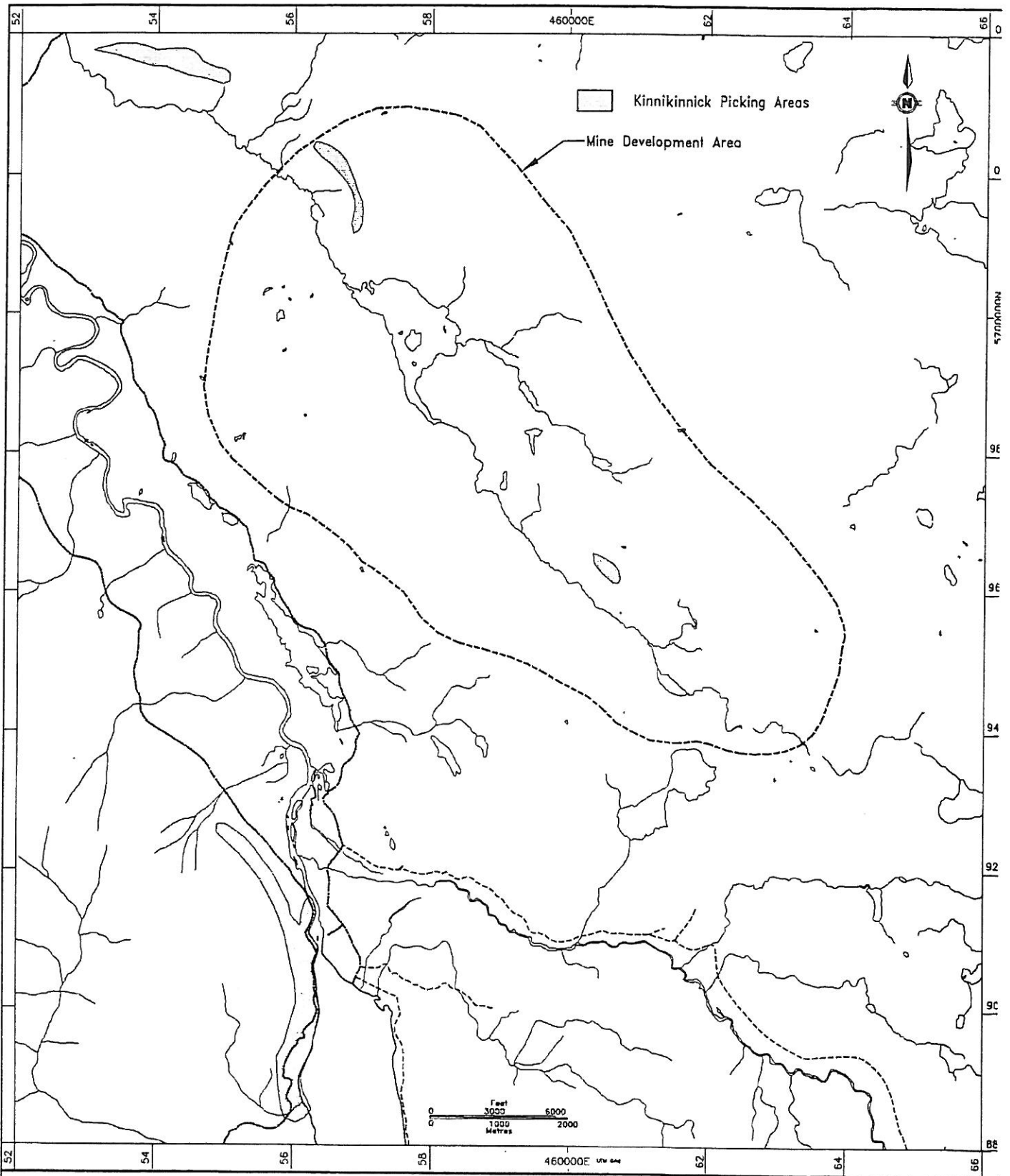


Figure 30

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



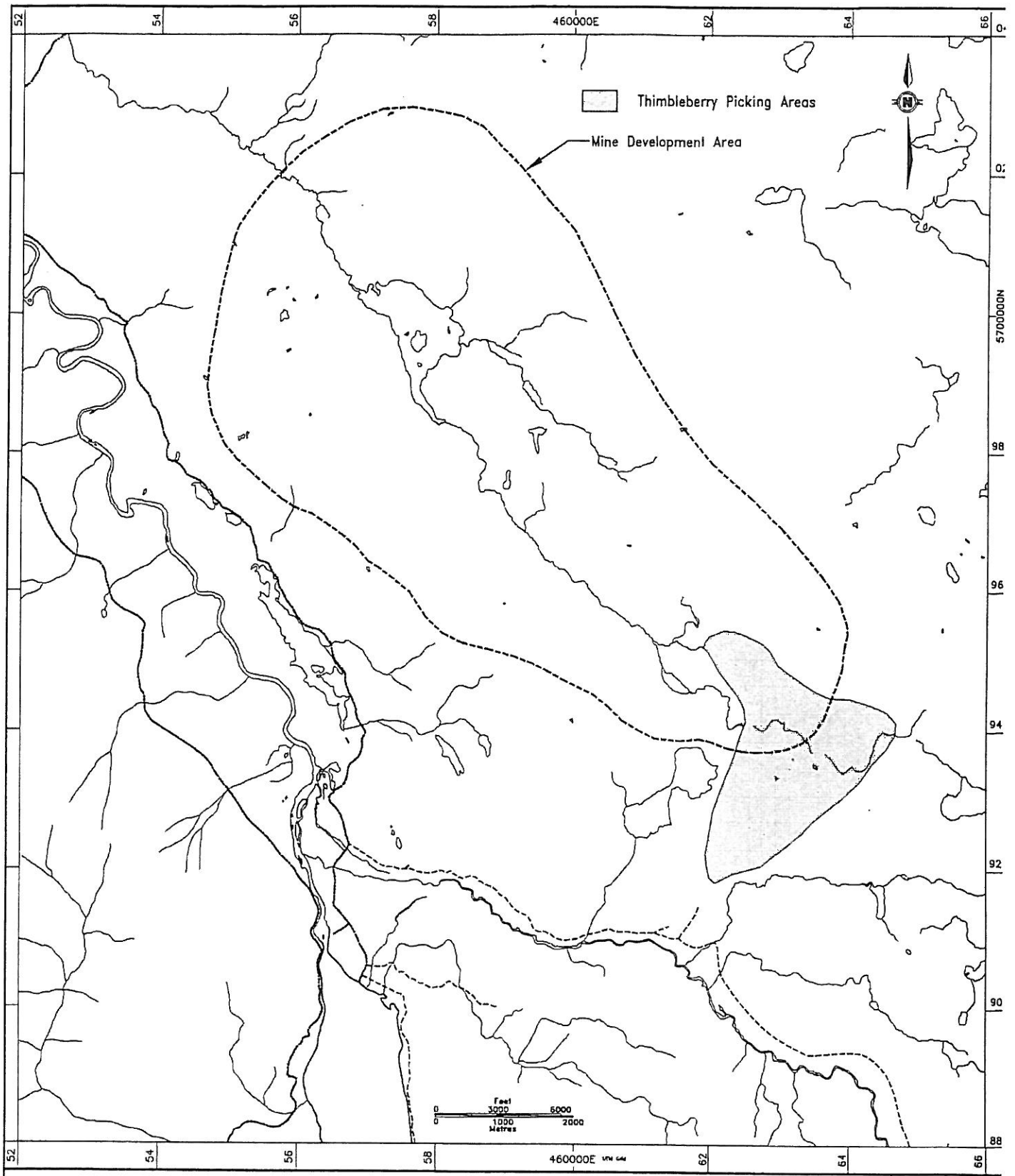
Kinnikinnick Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

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Figure 31

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



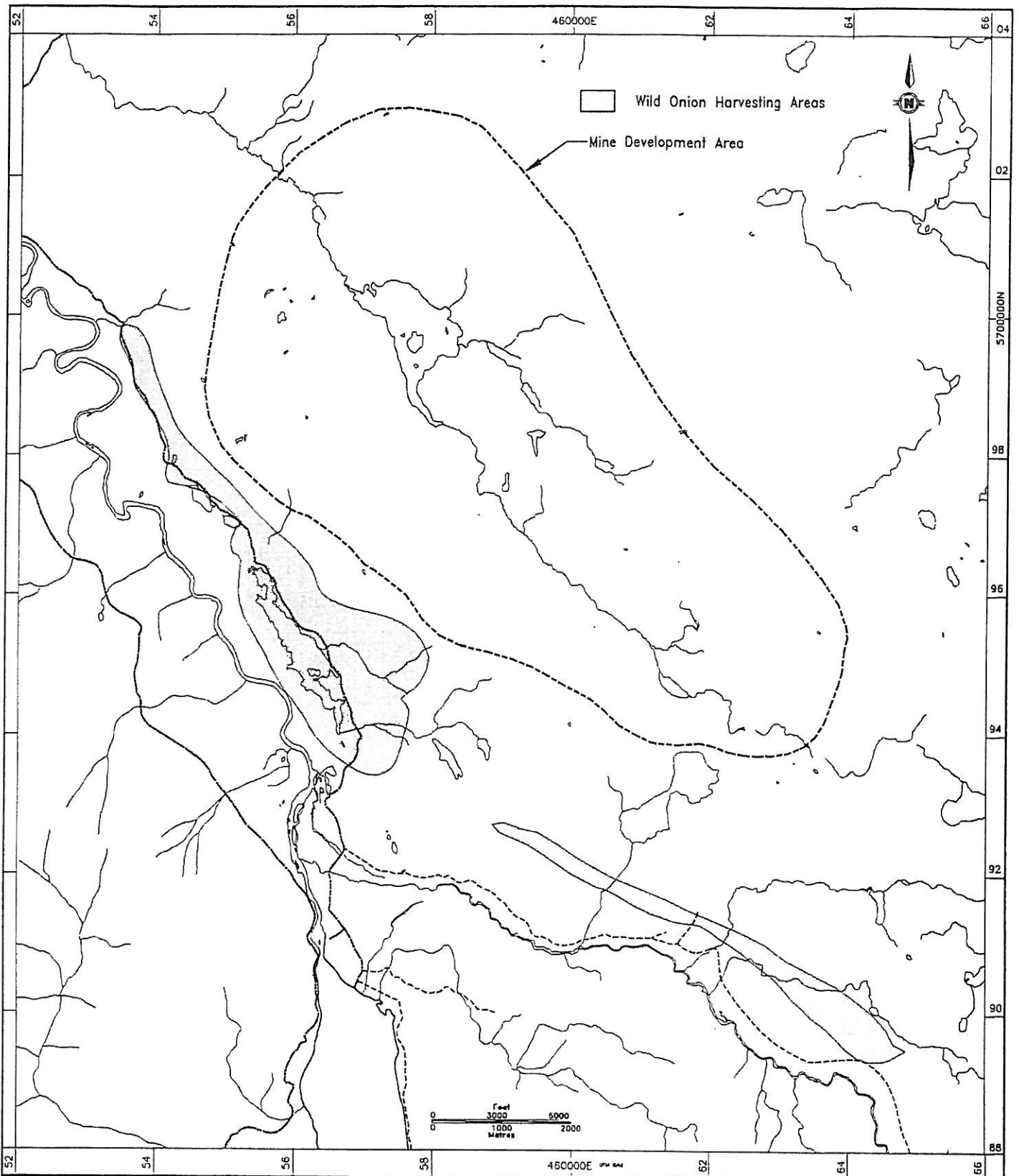
Thimbleberry Picking Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

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Figure 32

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

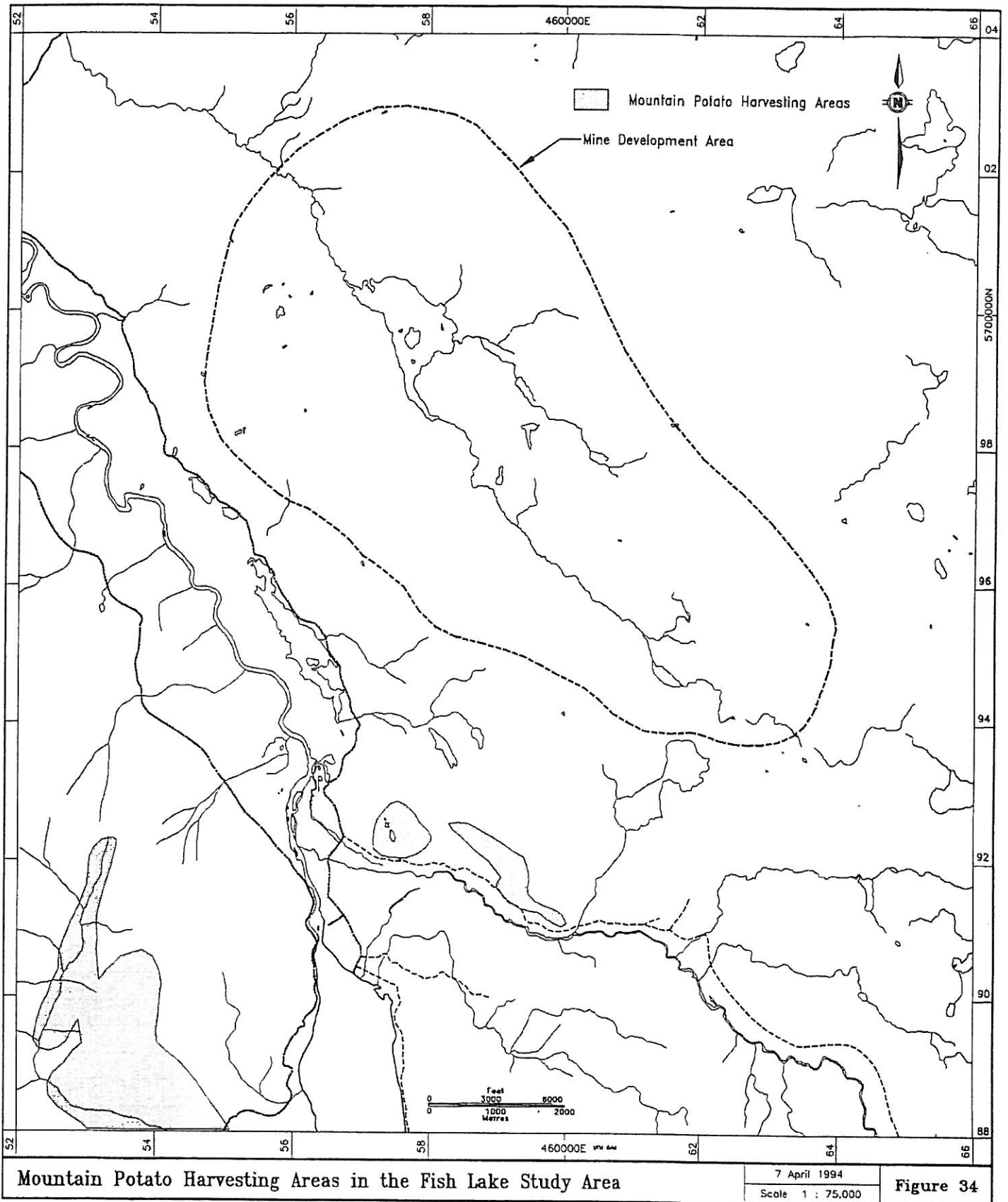


Wild Onion Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 33

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

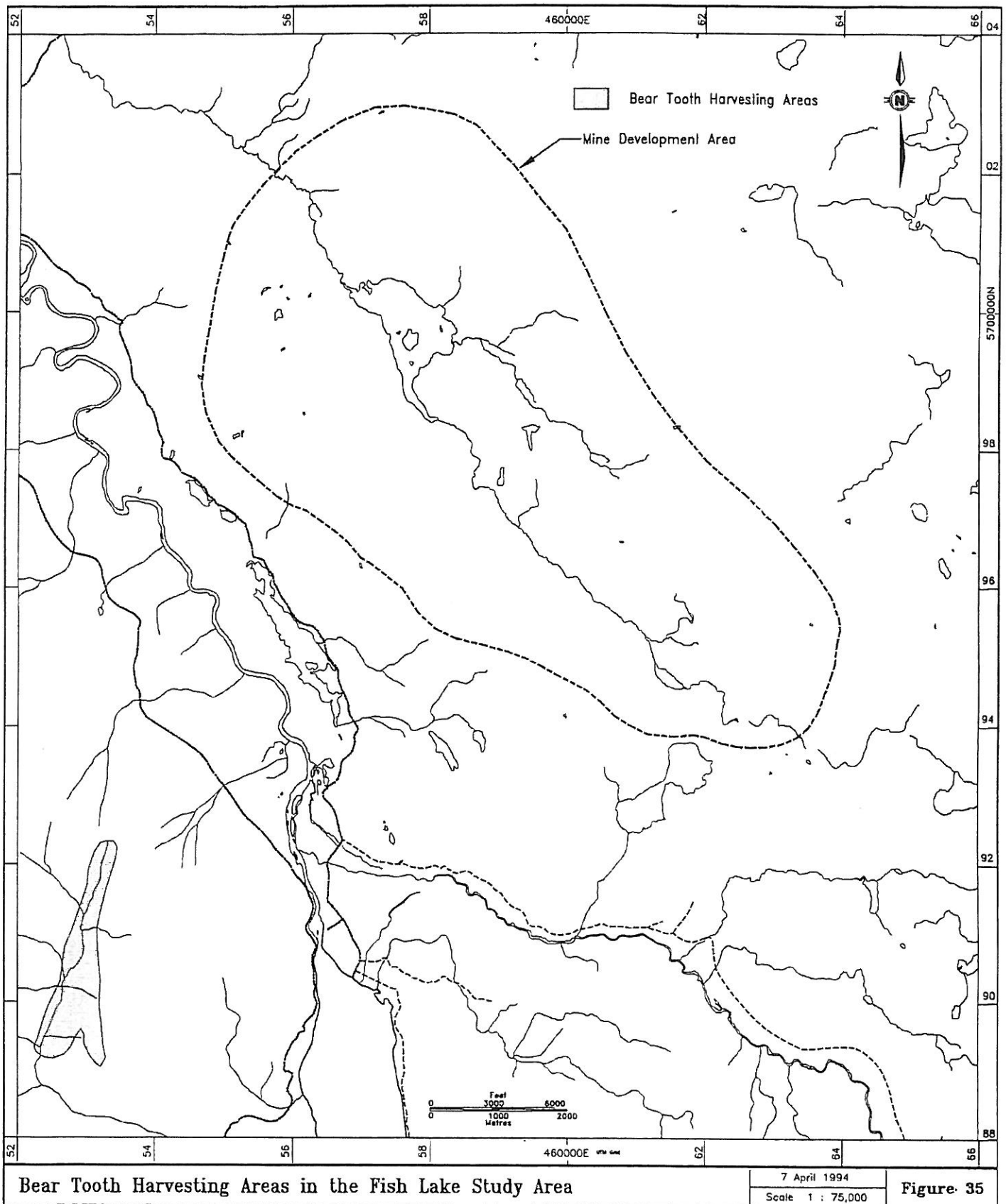


Mountain Potato Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

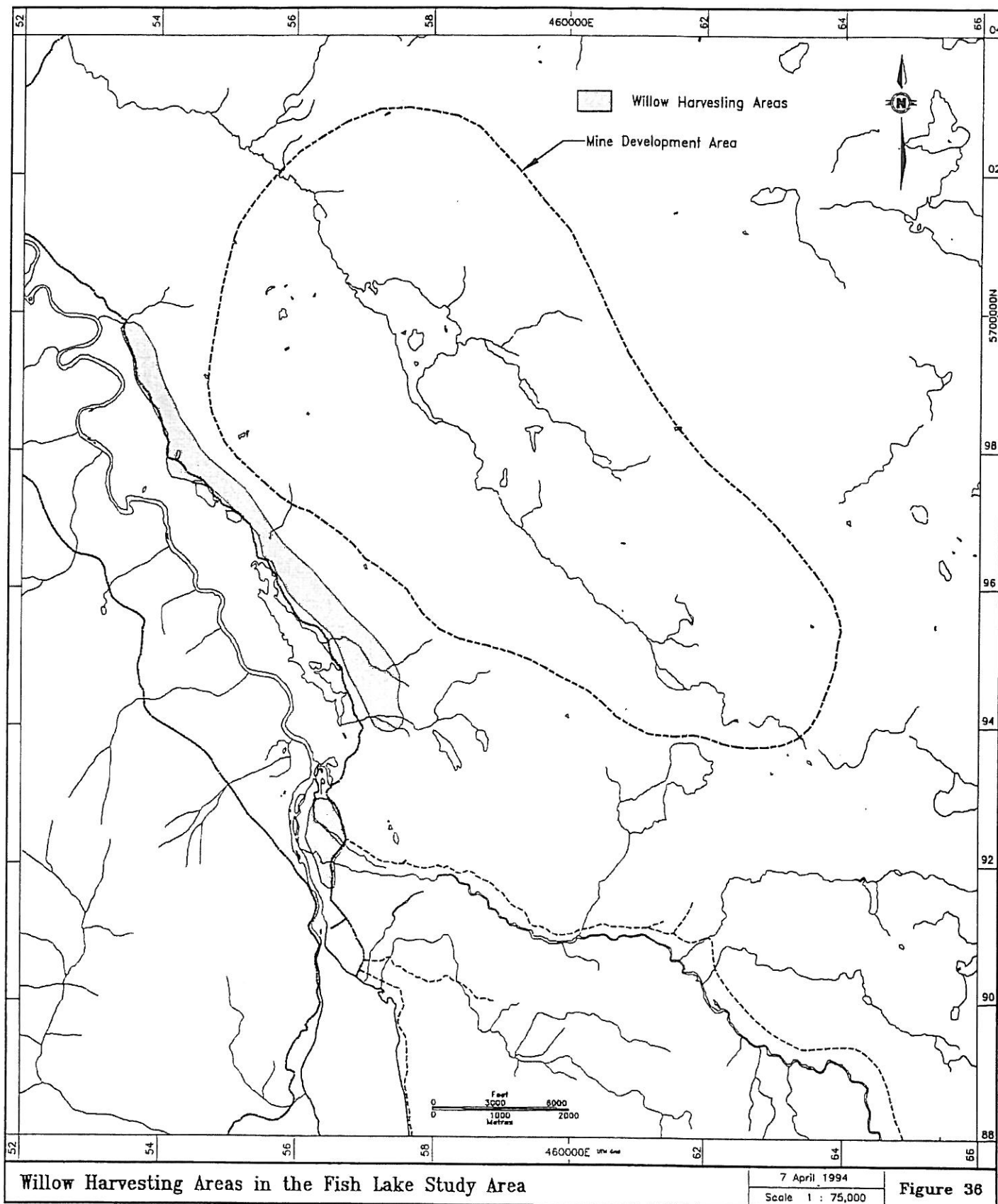
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Figure 34

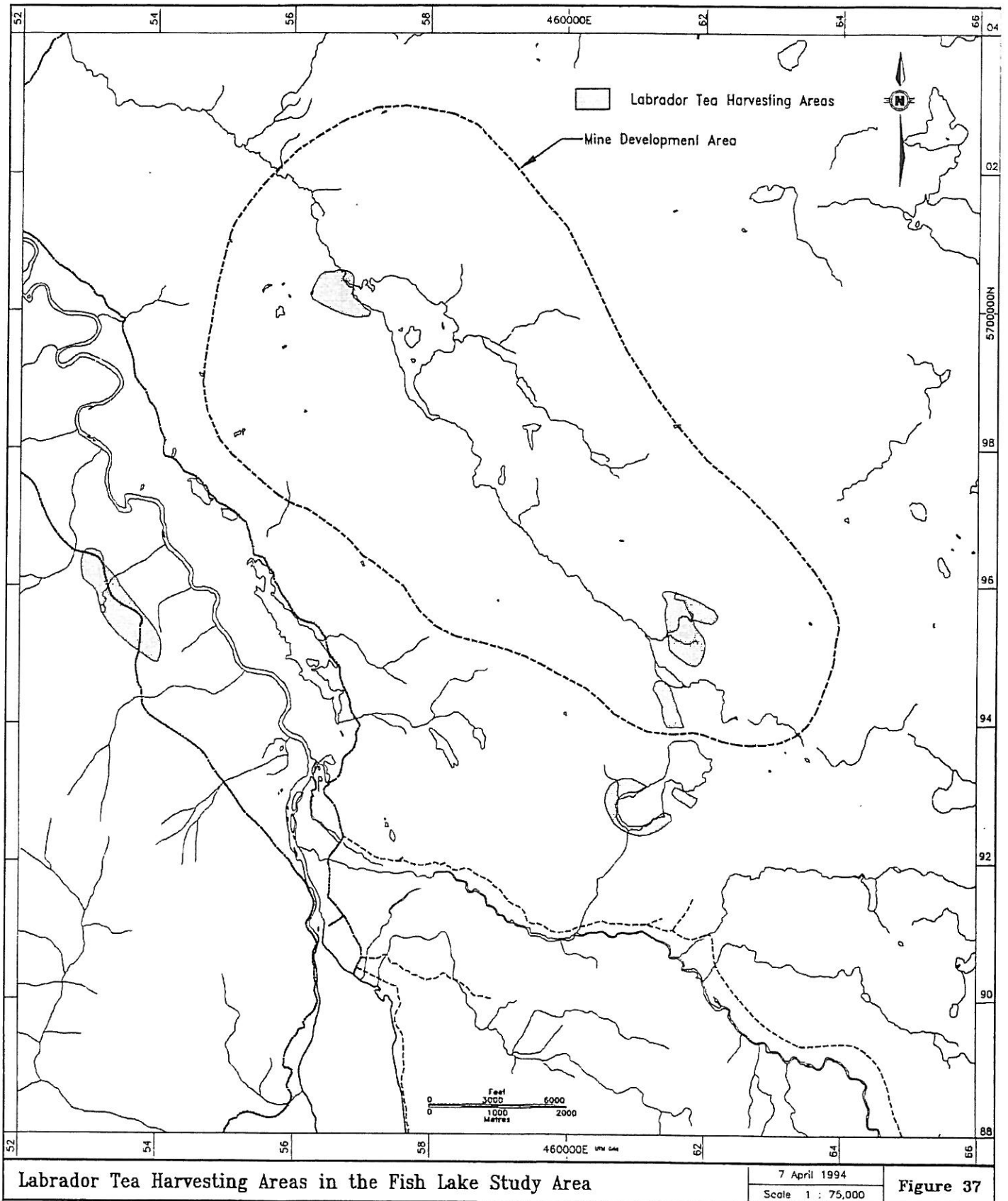
The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



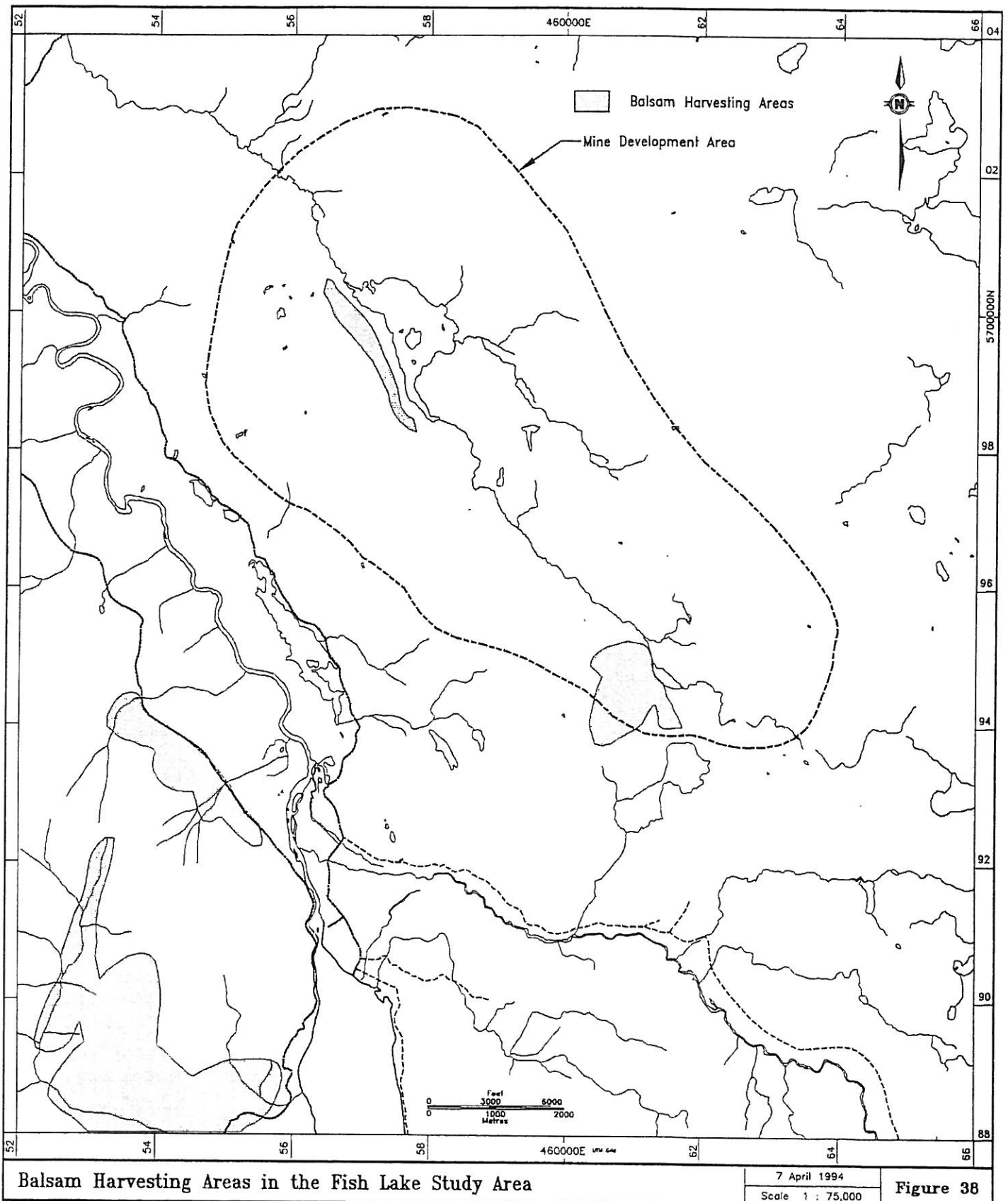
The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

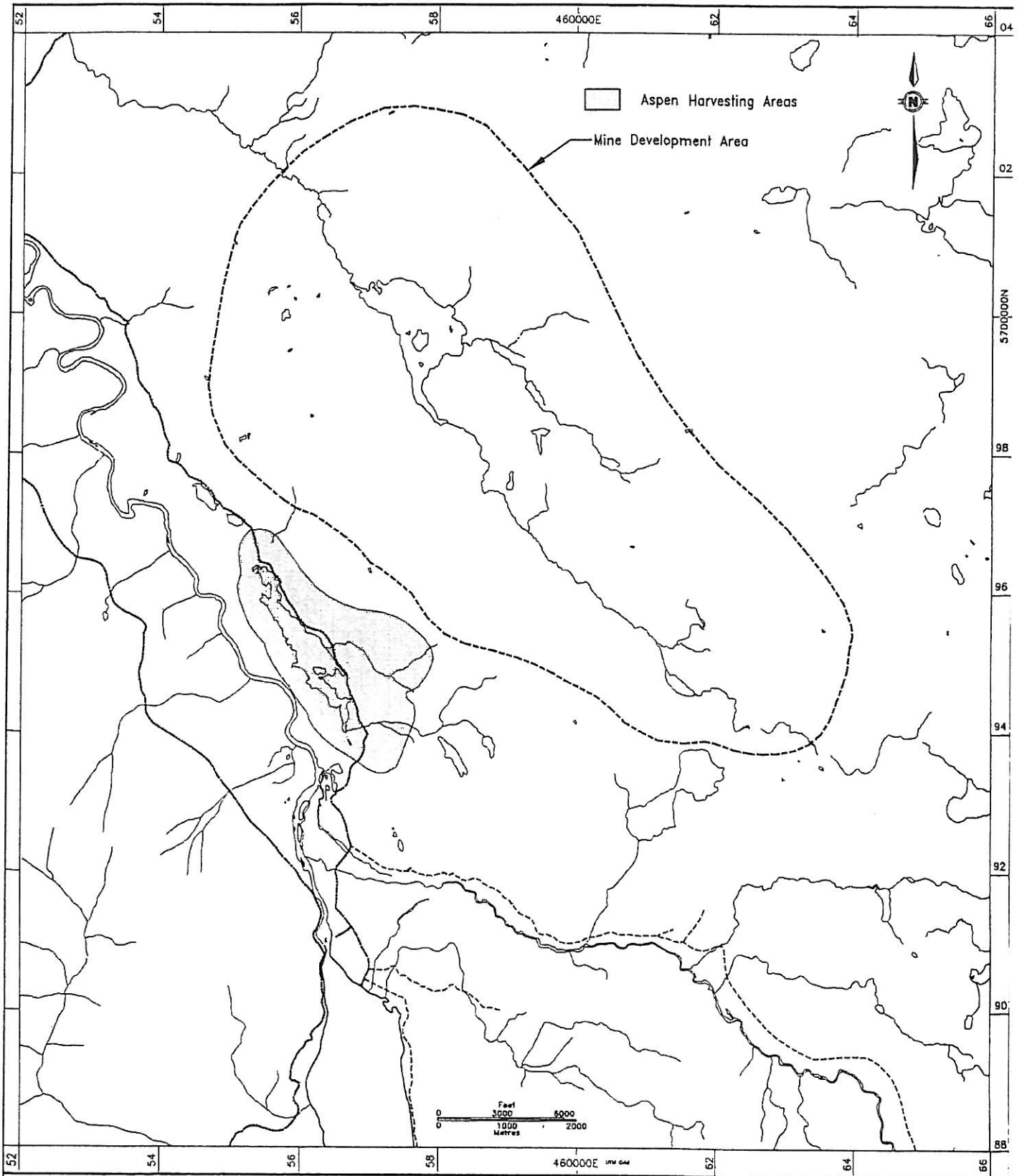


The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



Balsam Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



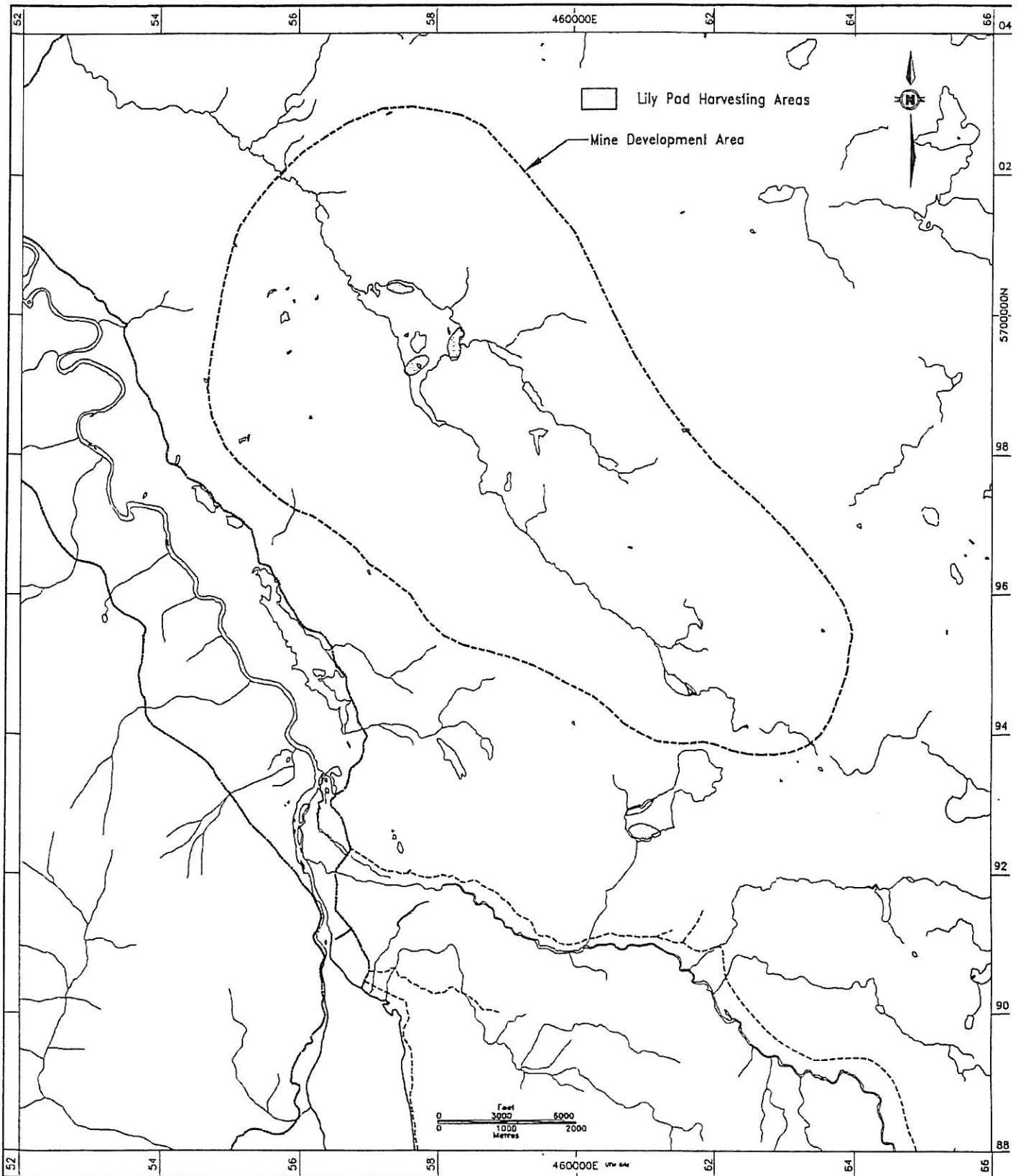
Aspen Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 39

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



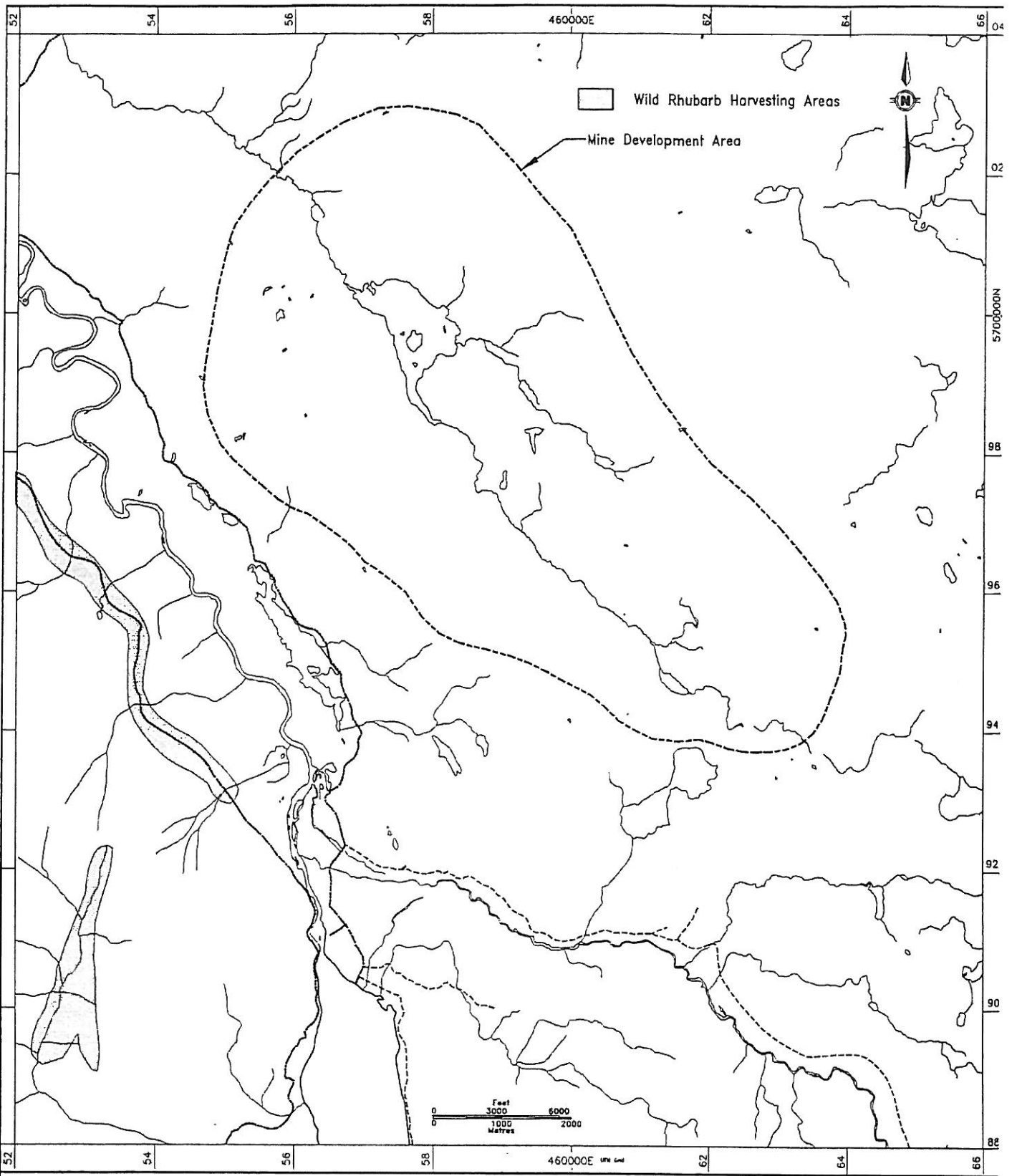
Lily Pad Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 40

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



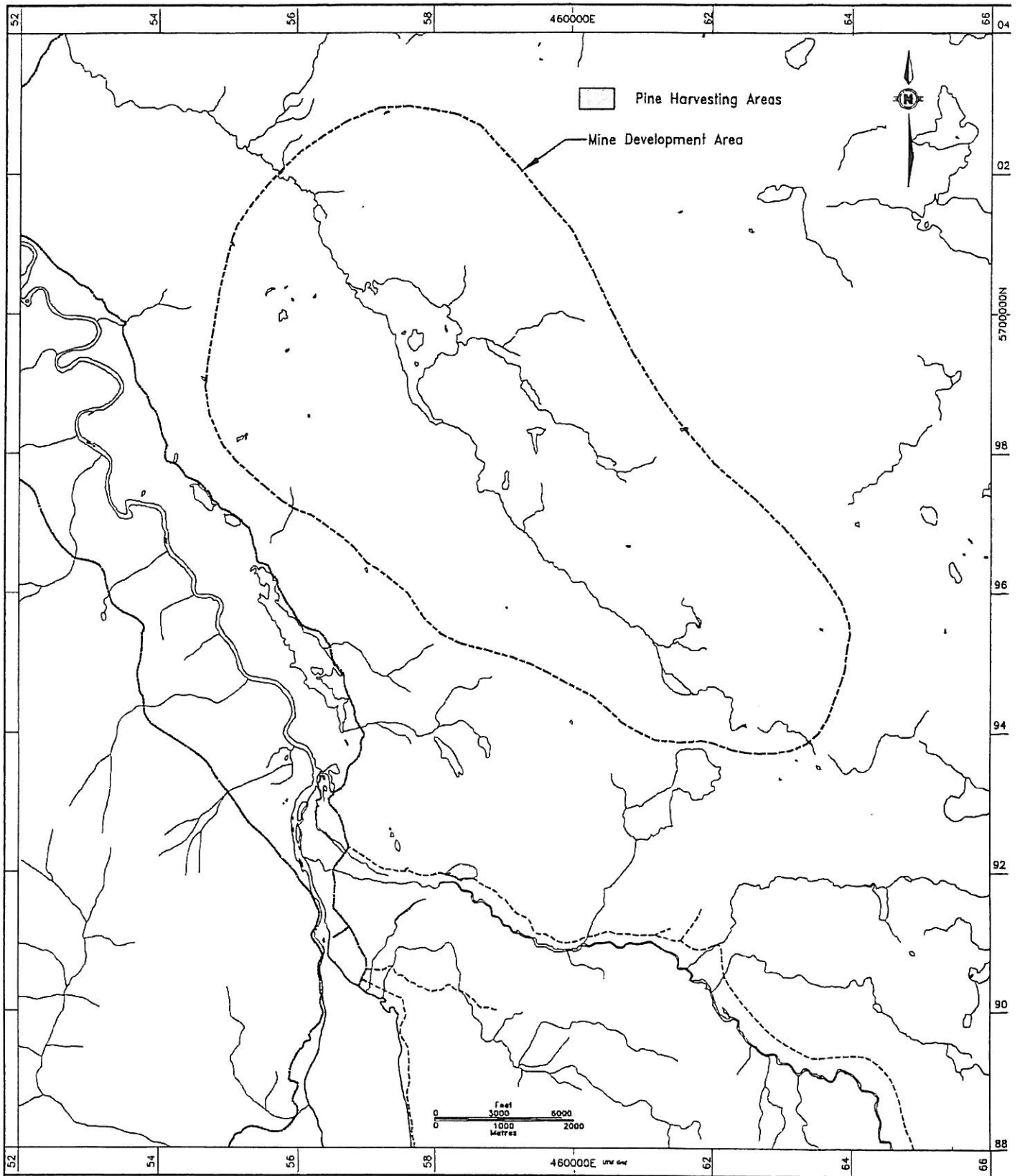
Wild Rhubarb Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

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Figure 41

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



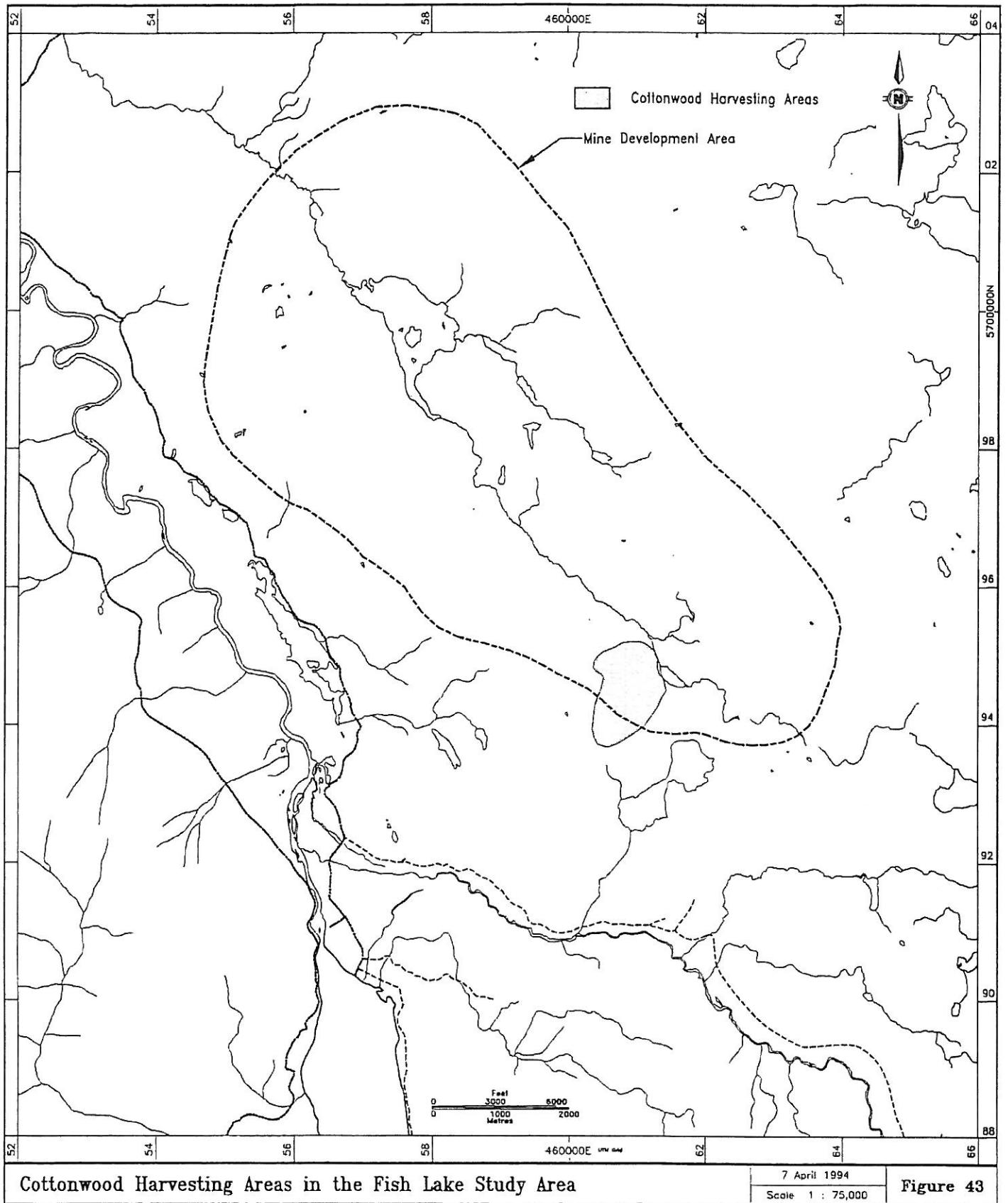
Pine Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

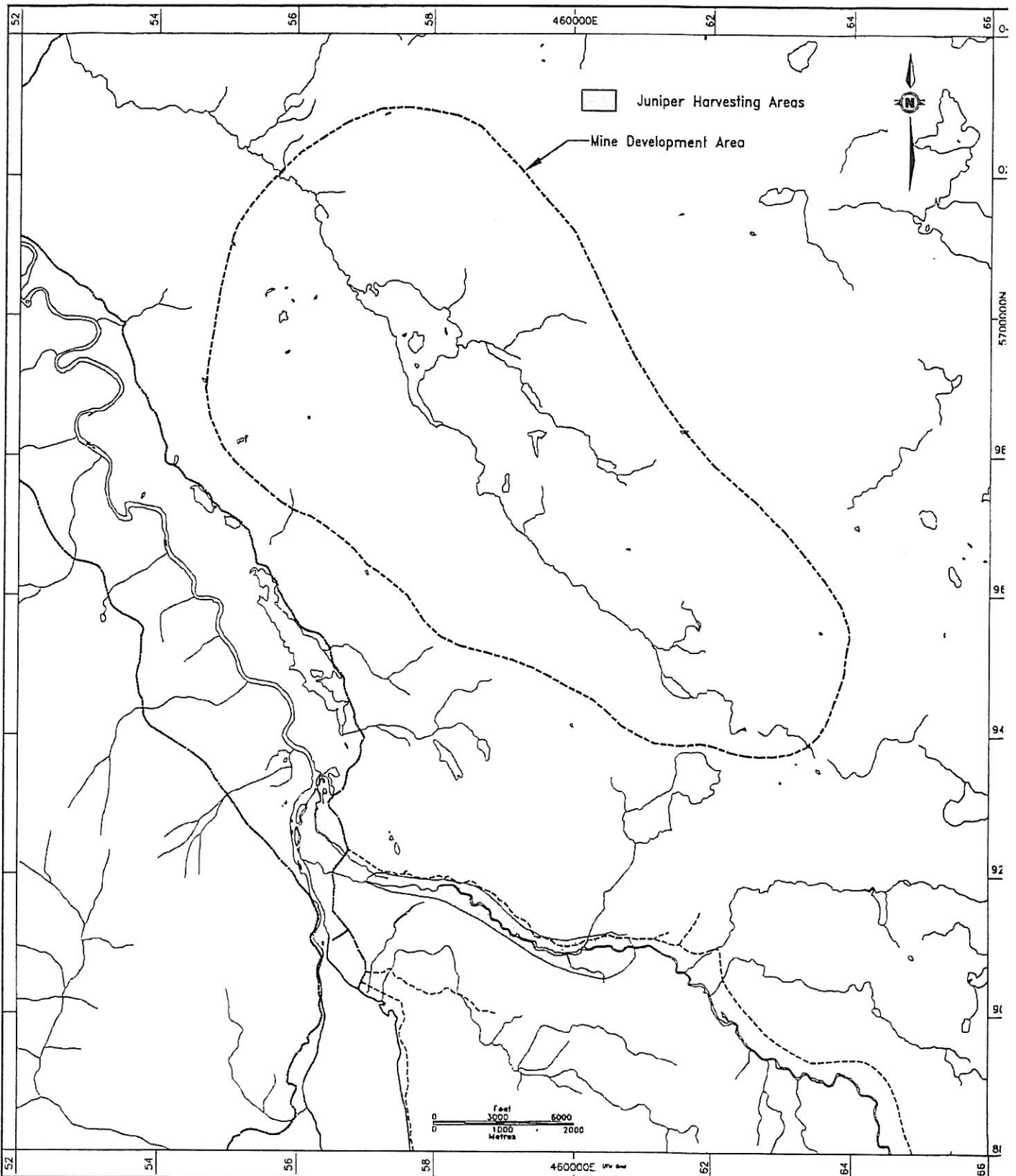
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Figure 42

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



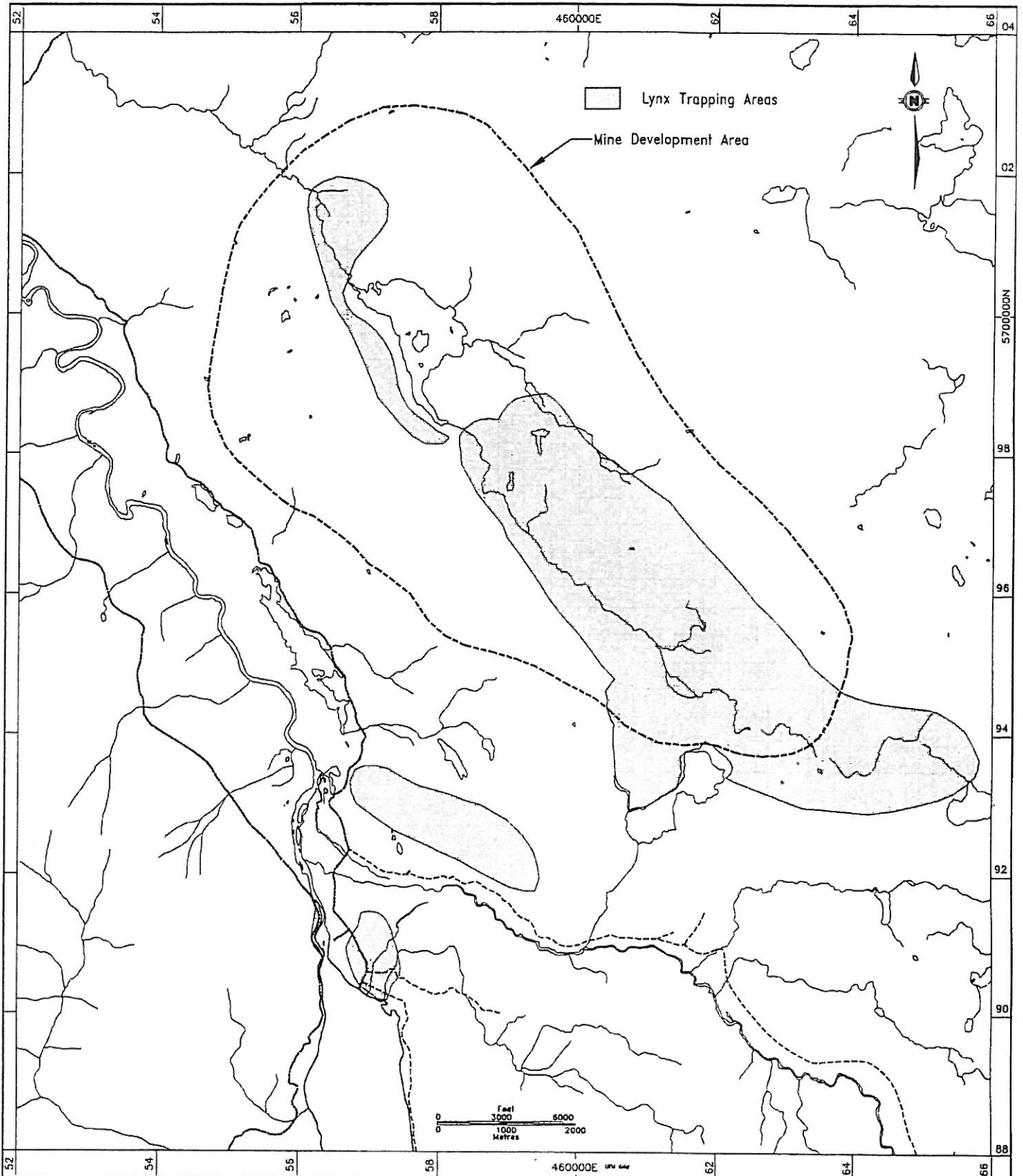
Juniper Harvesting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

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Figure 44

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

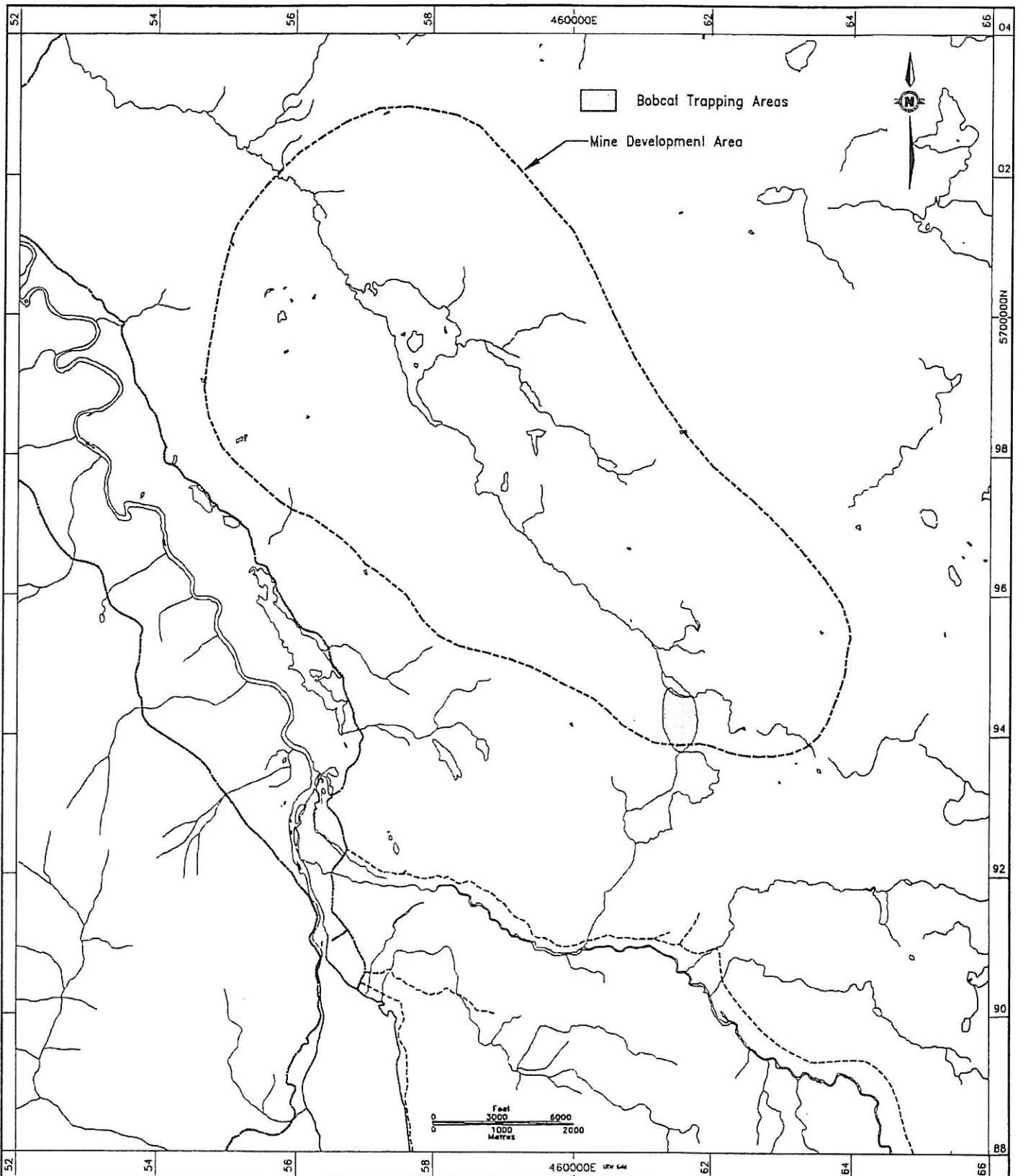


Lynx Trapping Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
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Figure 45

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

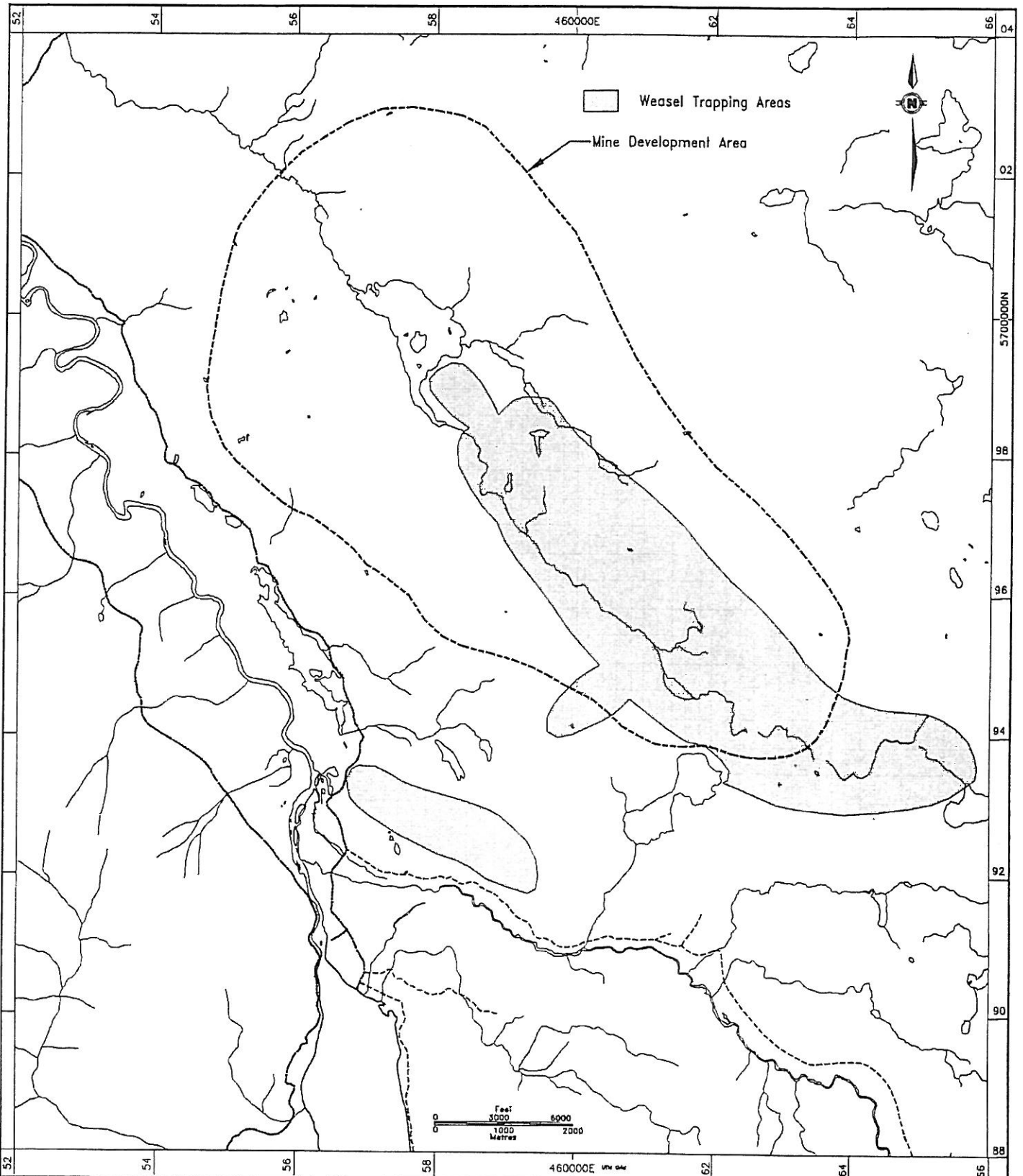


Bobcat Trapping Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
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Figure 46

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

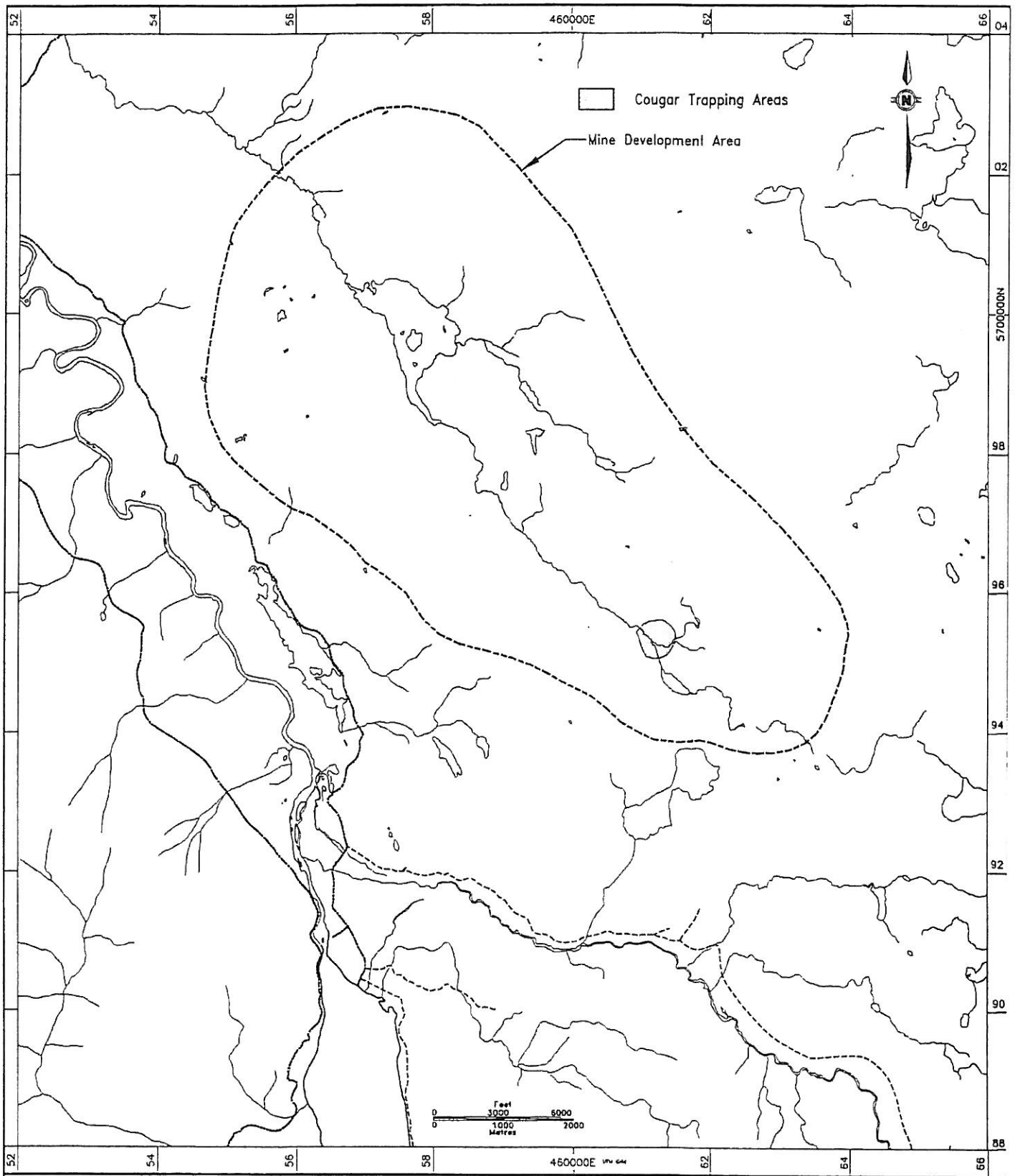


Weasel Trapping Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
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Figure 47

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



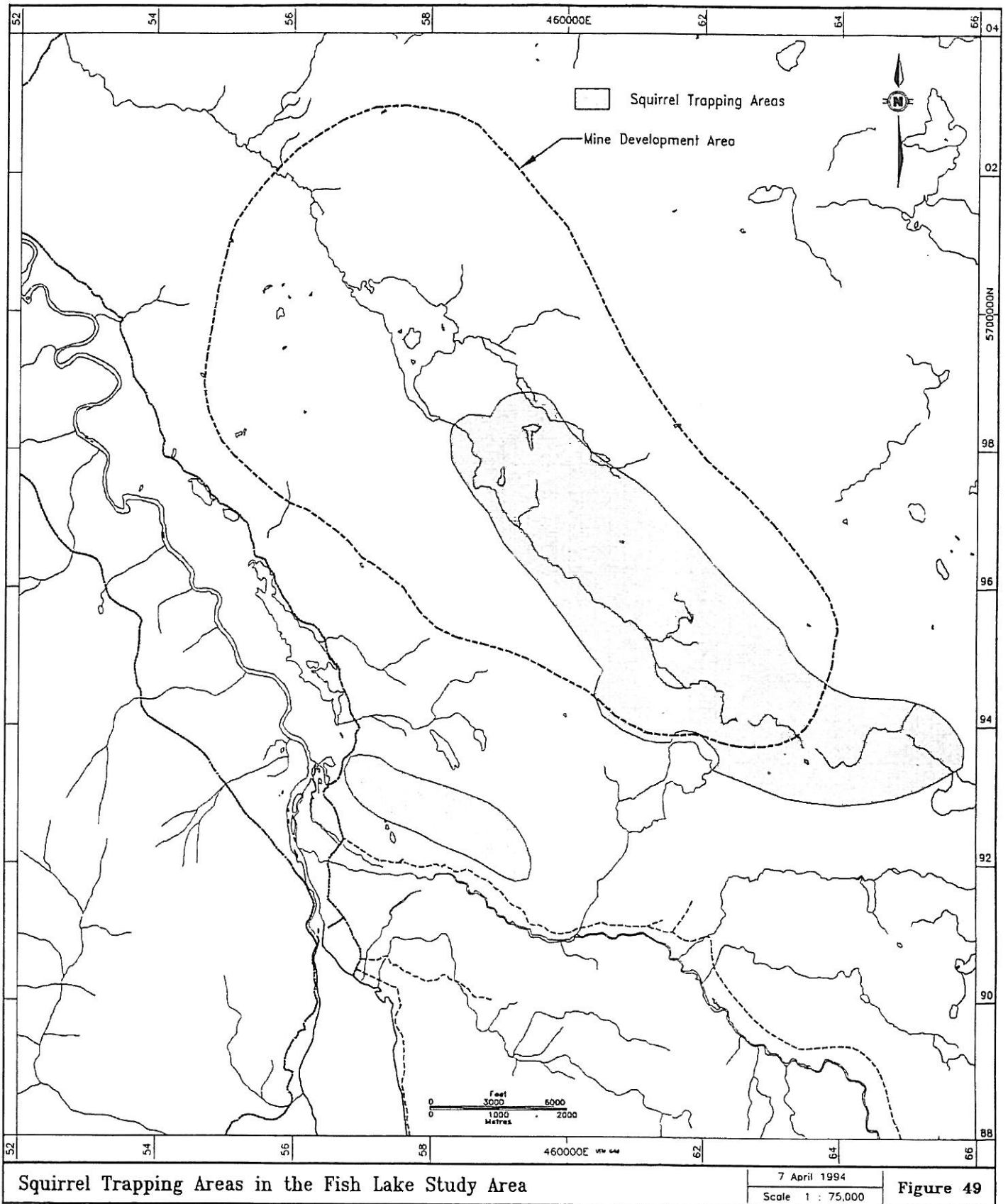
Cougar Trapping Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

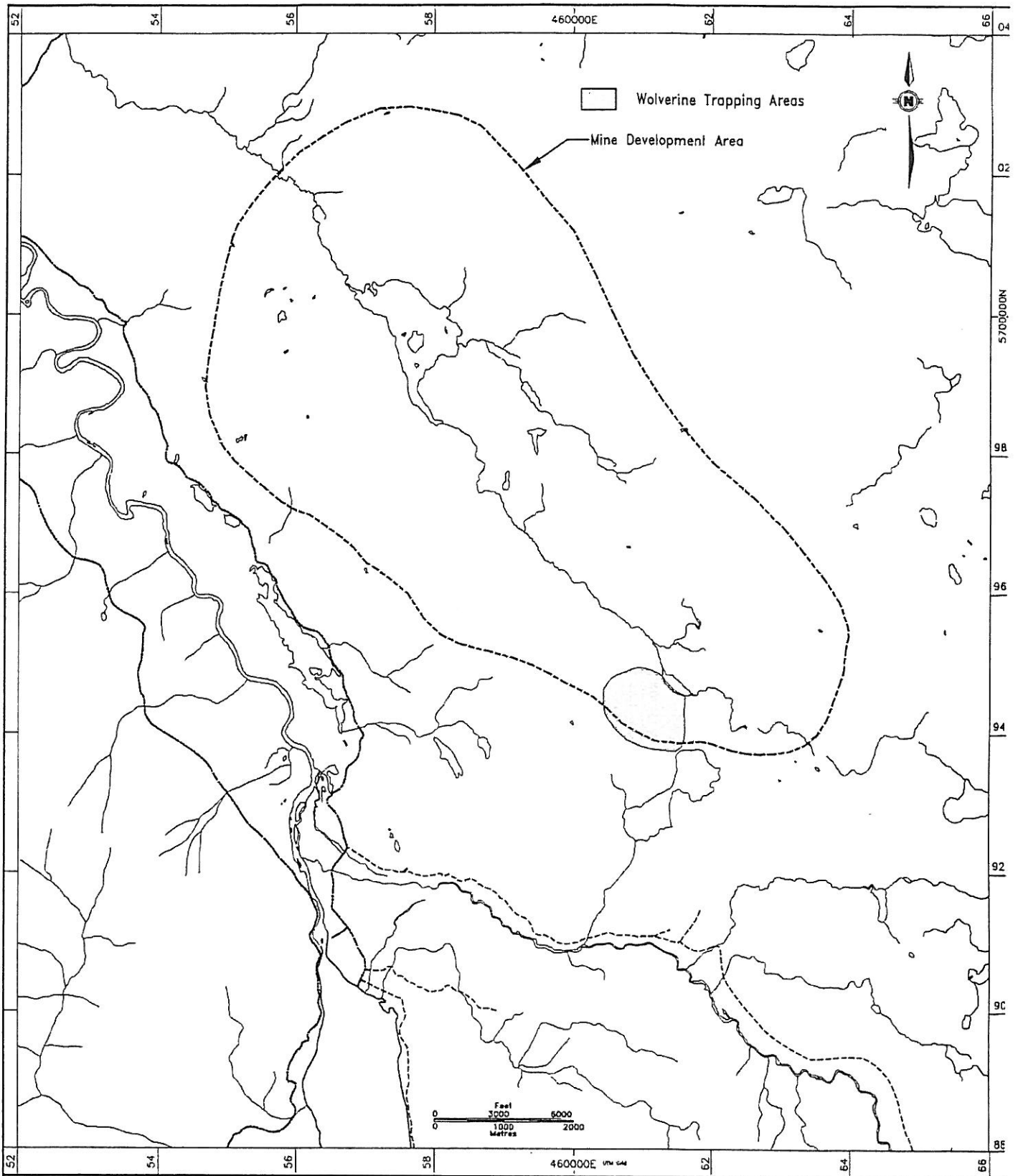
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Figure 48

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



Wolverine Trapping Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 50

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

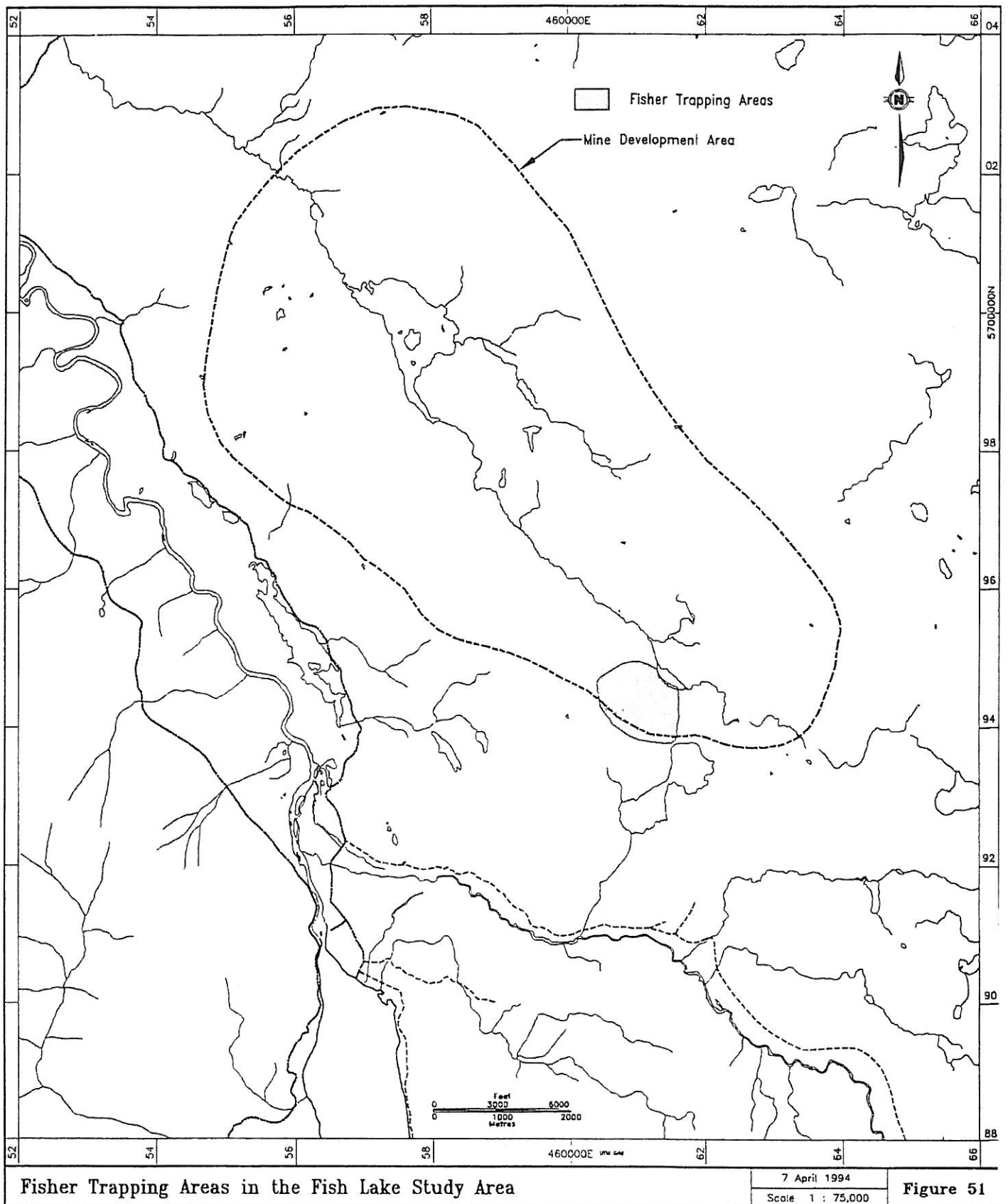
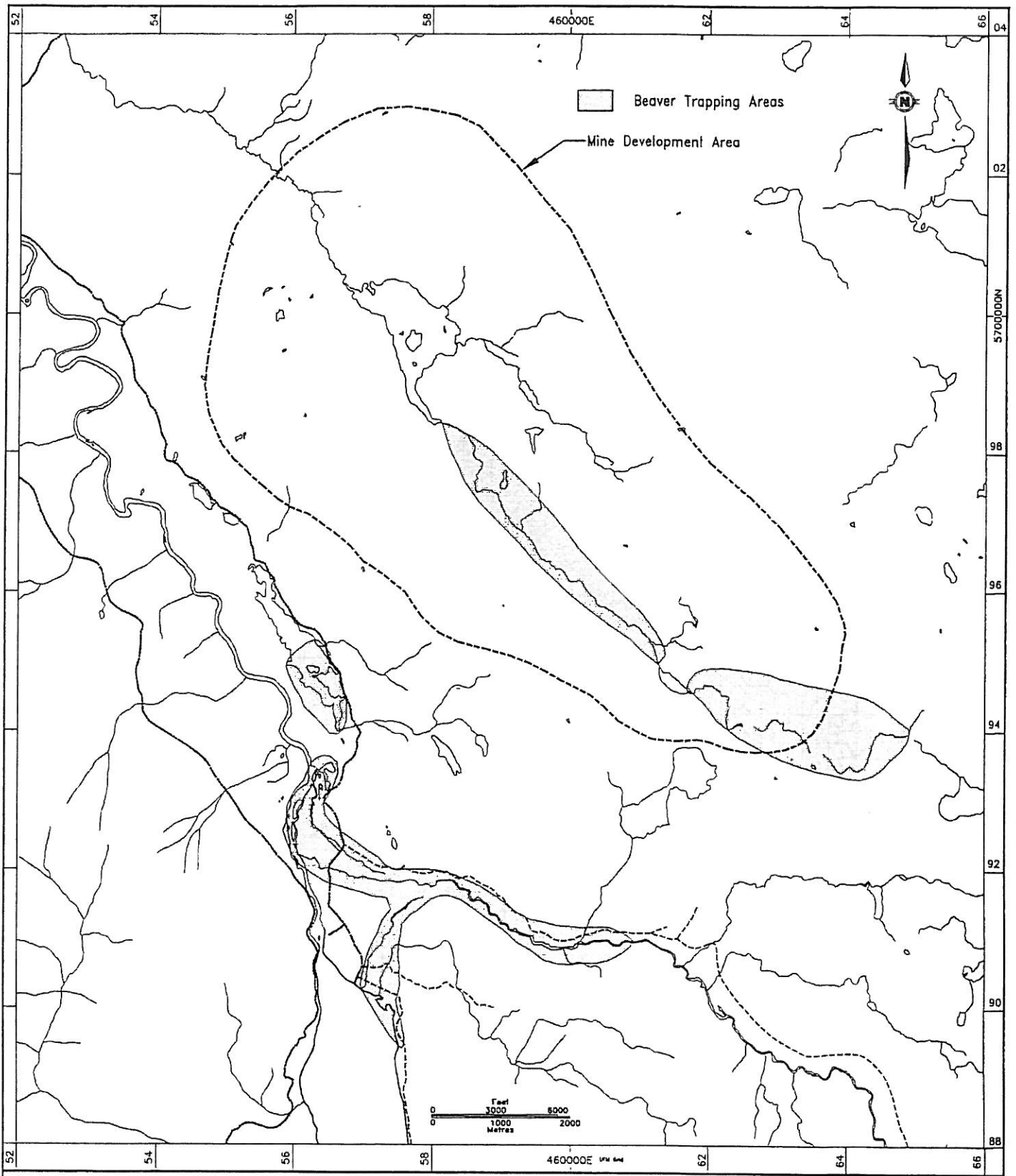


Figure 51

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



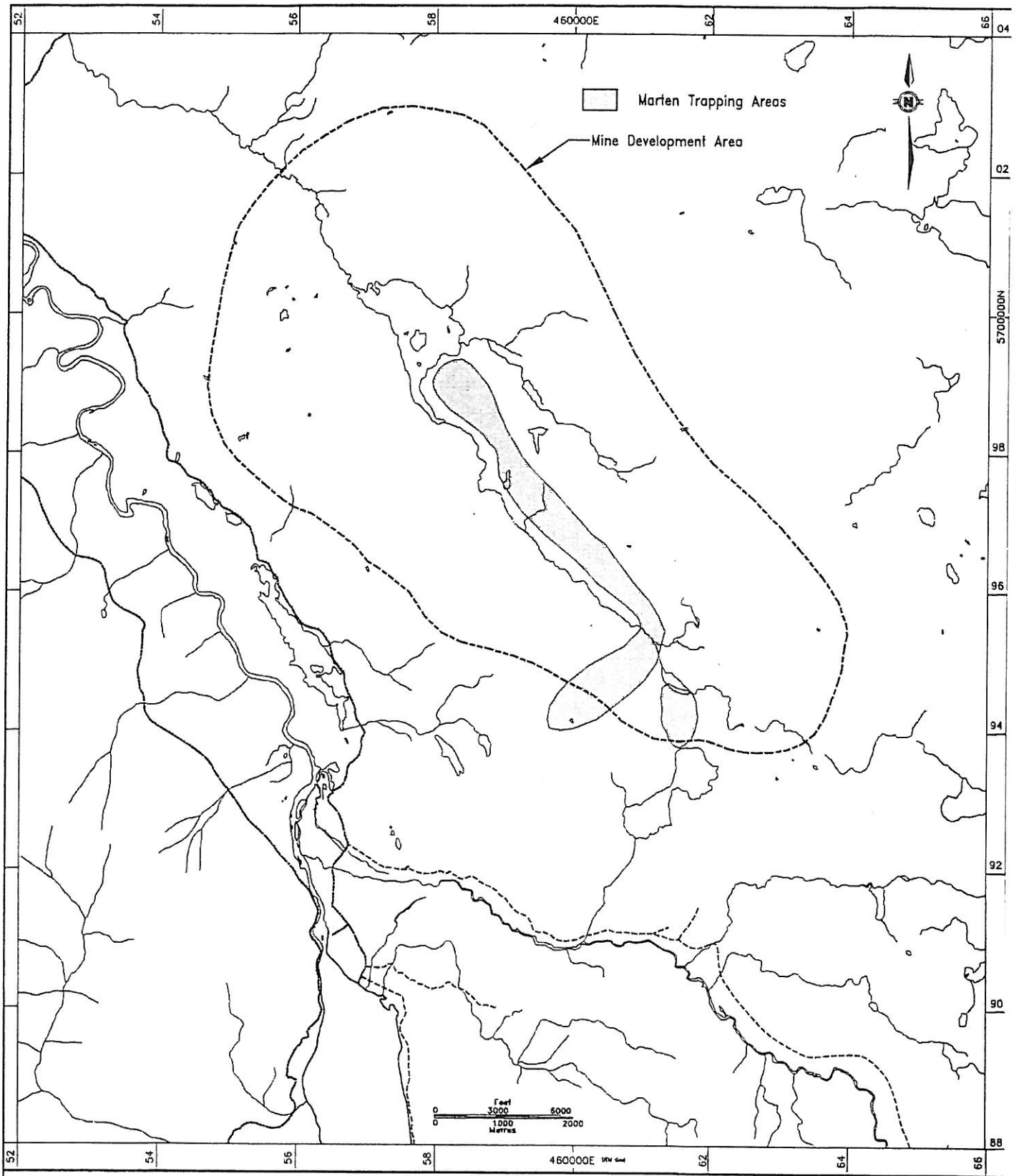
Beaver Trapping Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

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Figure 52

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



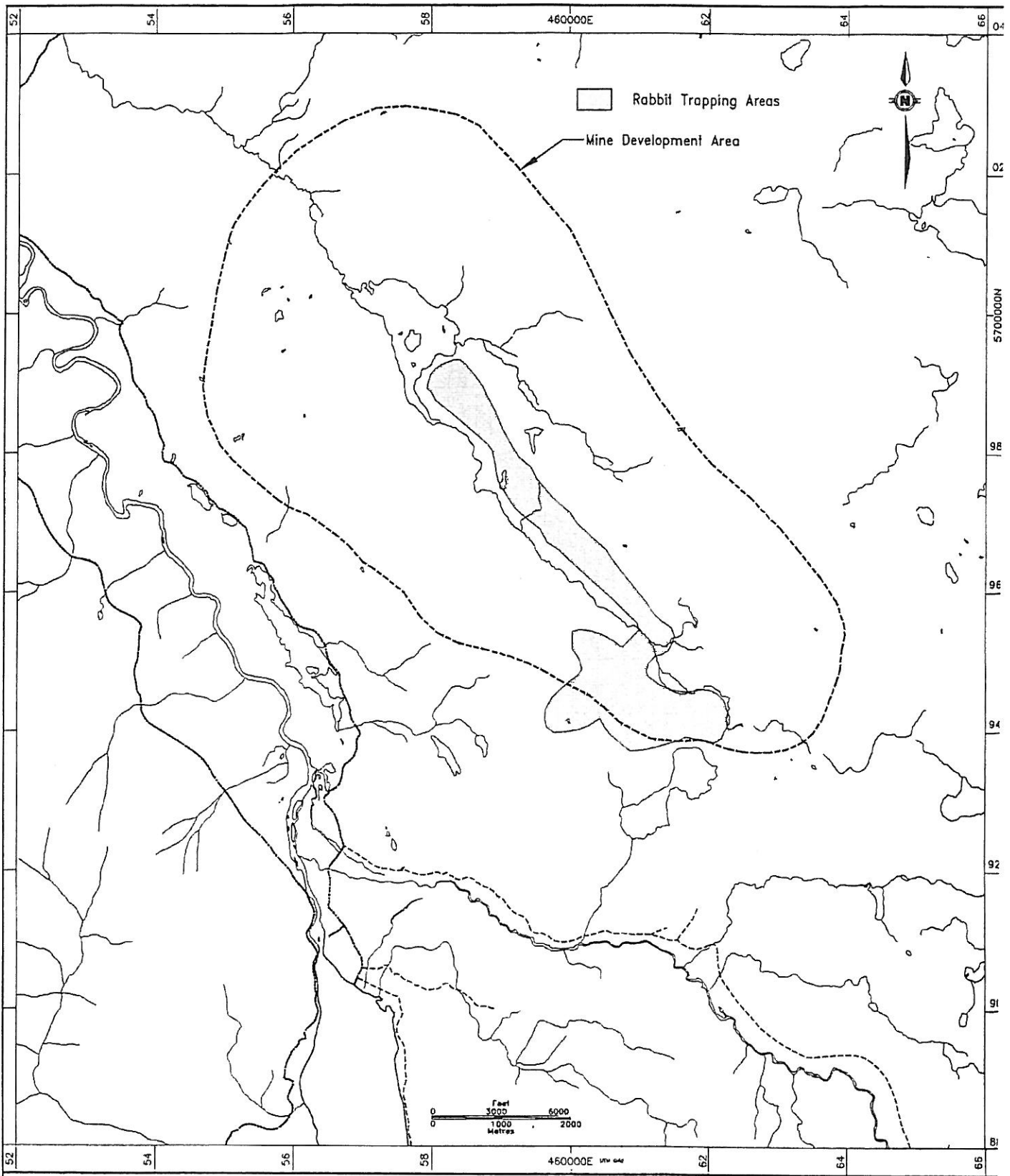
Marten Trapping Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 53

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



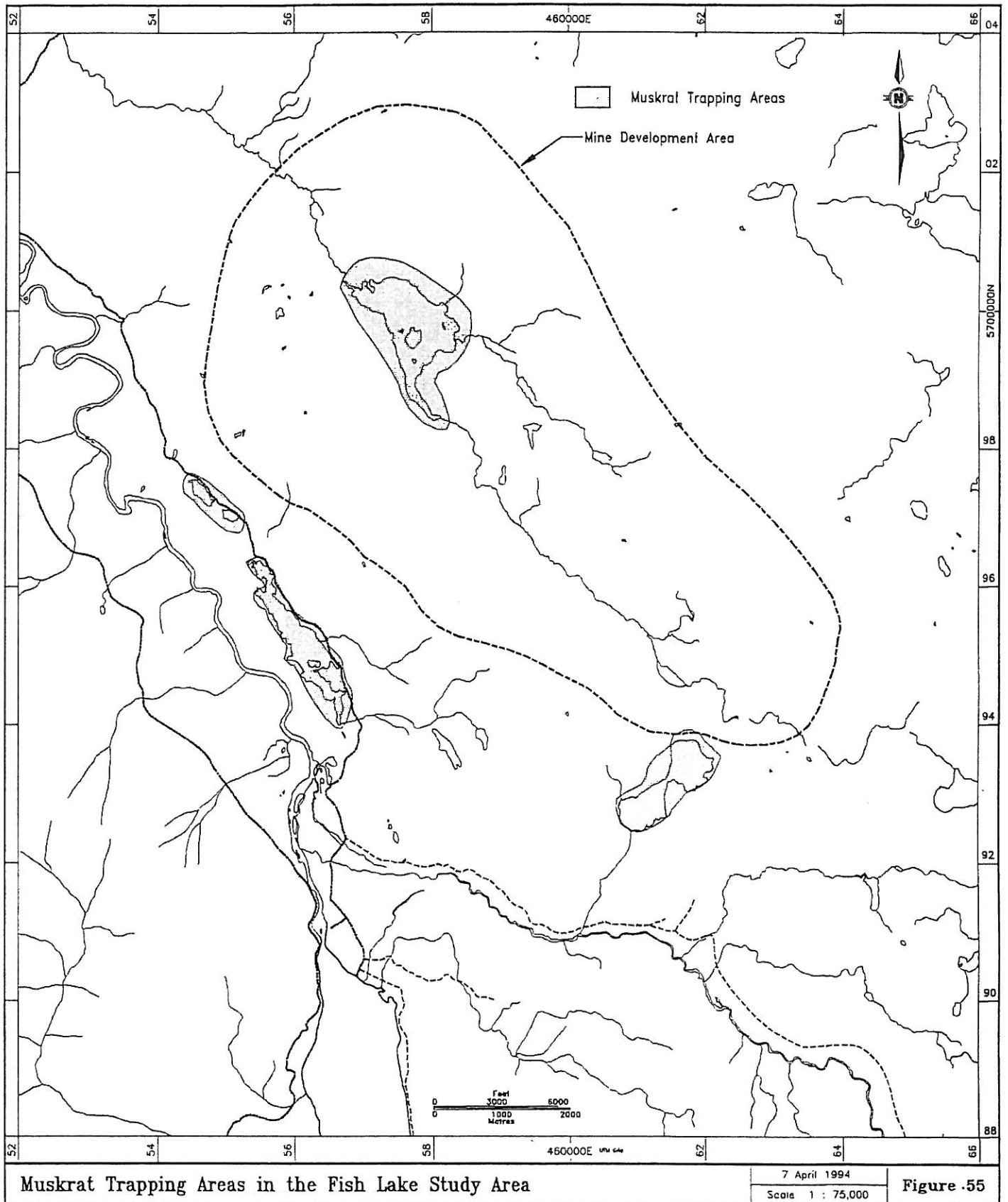
Rabbit Trapping Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

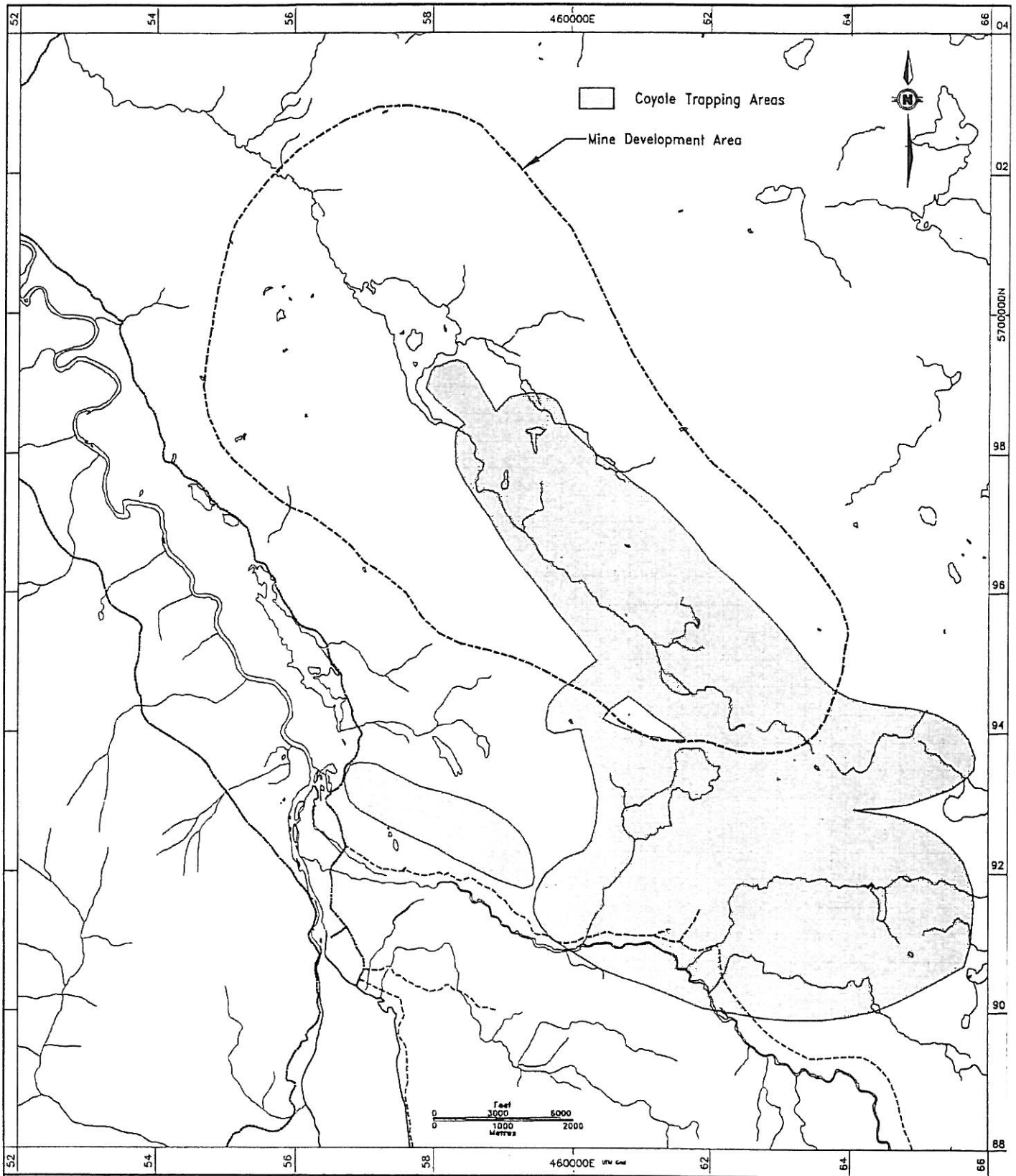
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Figure 54

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



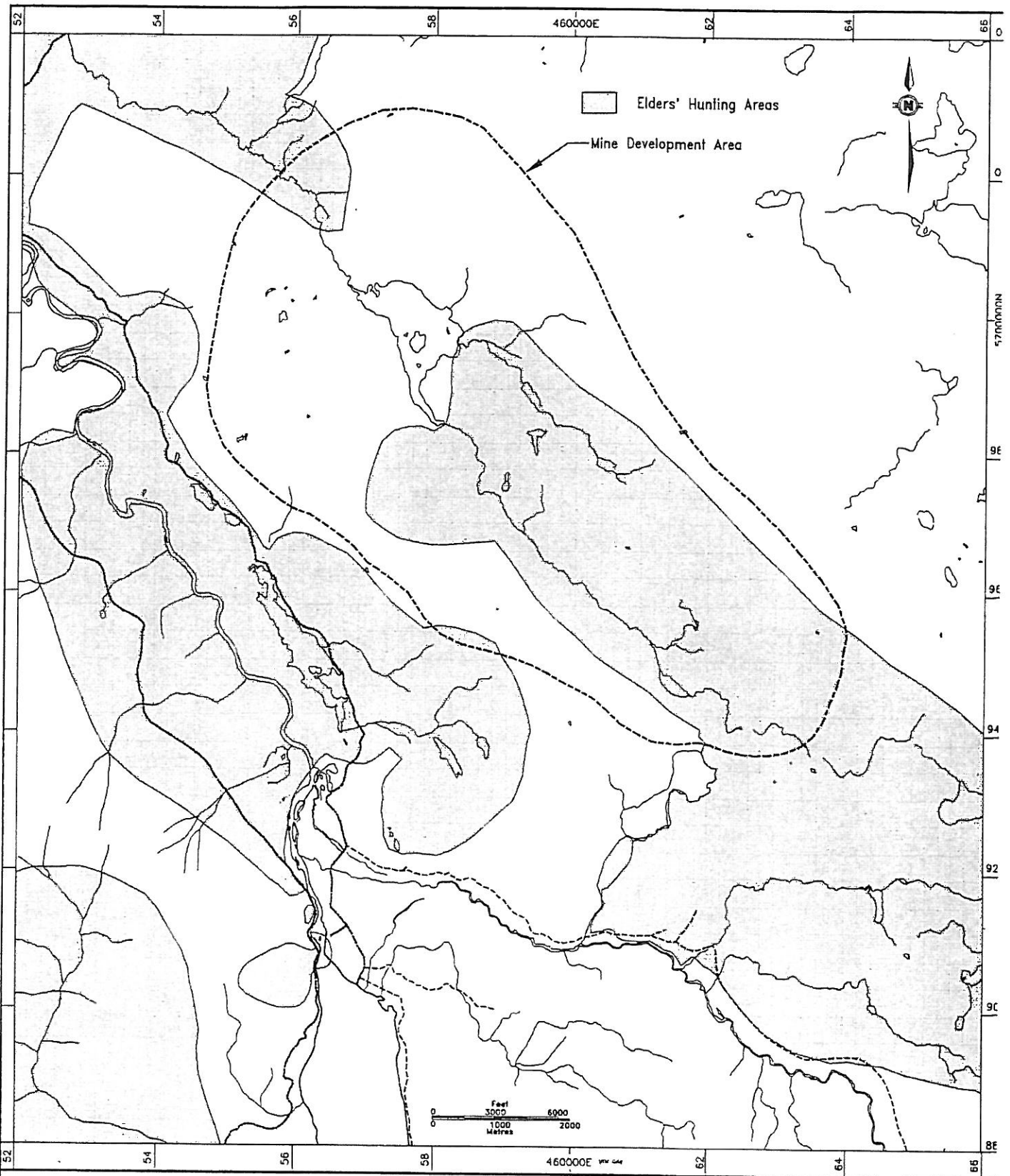
Coyote Trapping Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 56

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



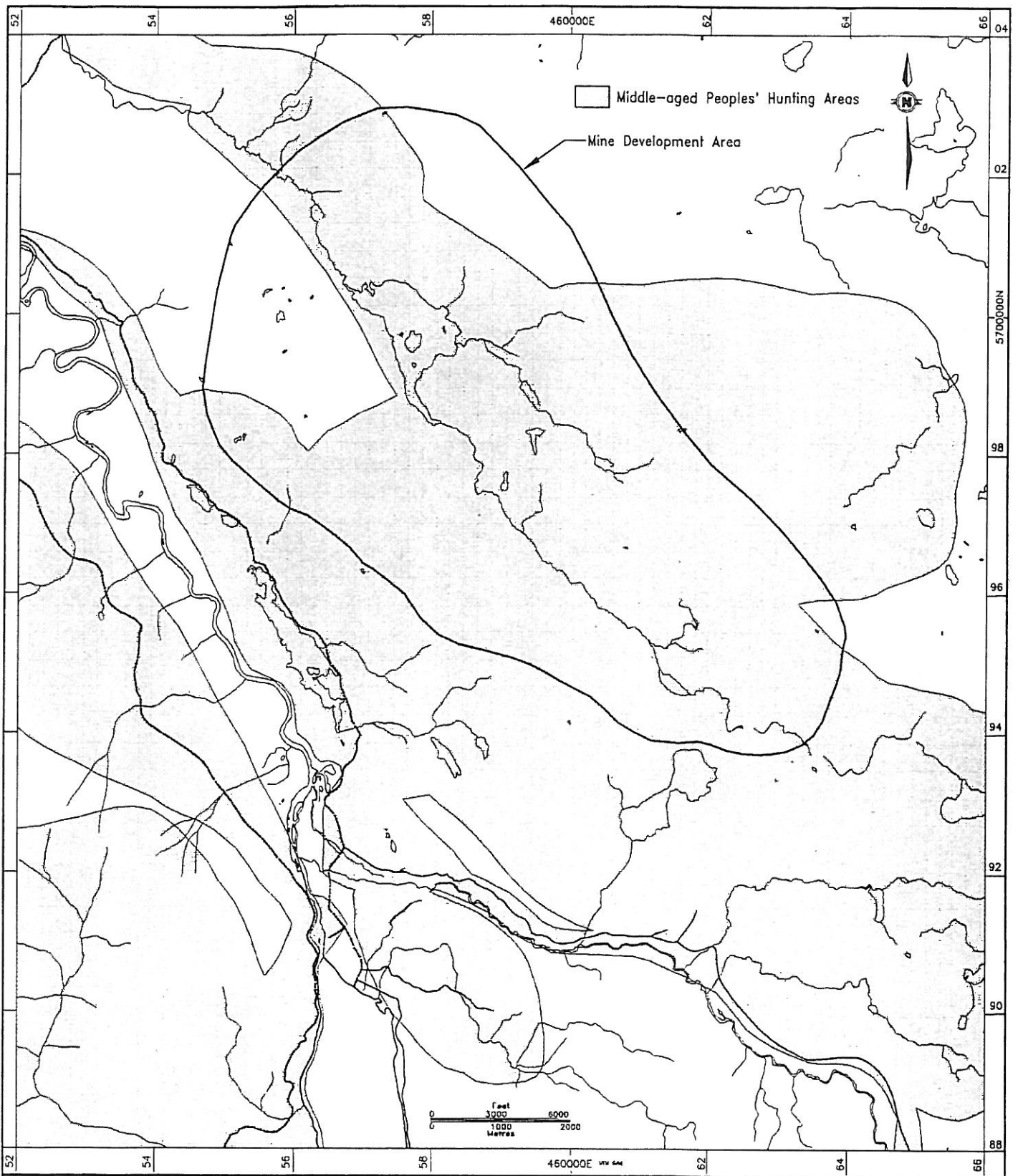
Elders' Hunting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 57

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

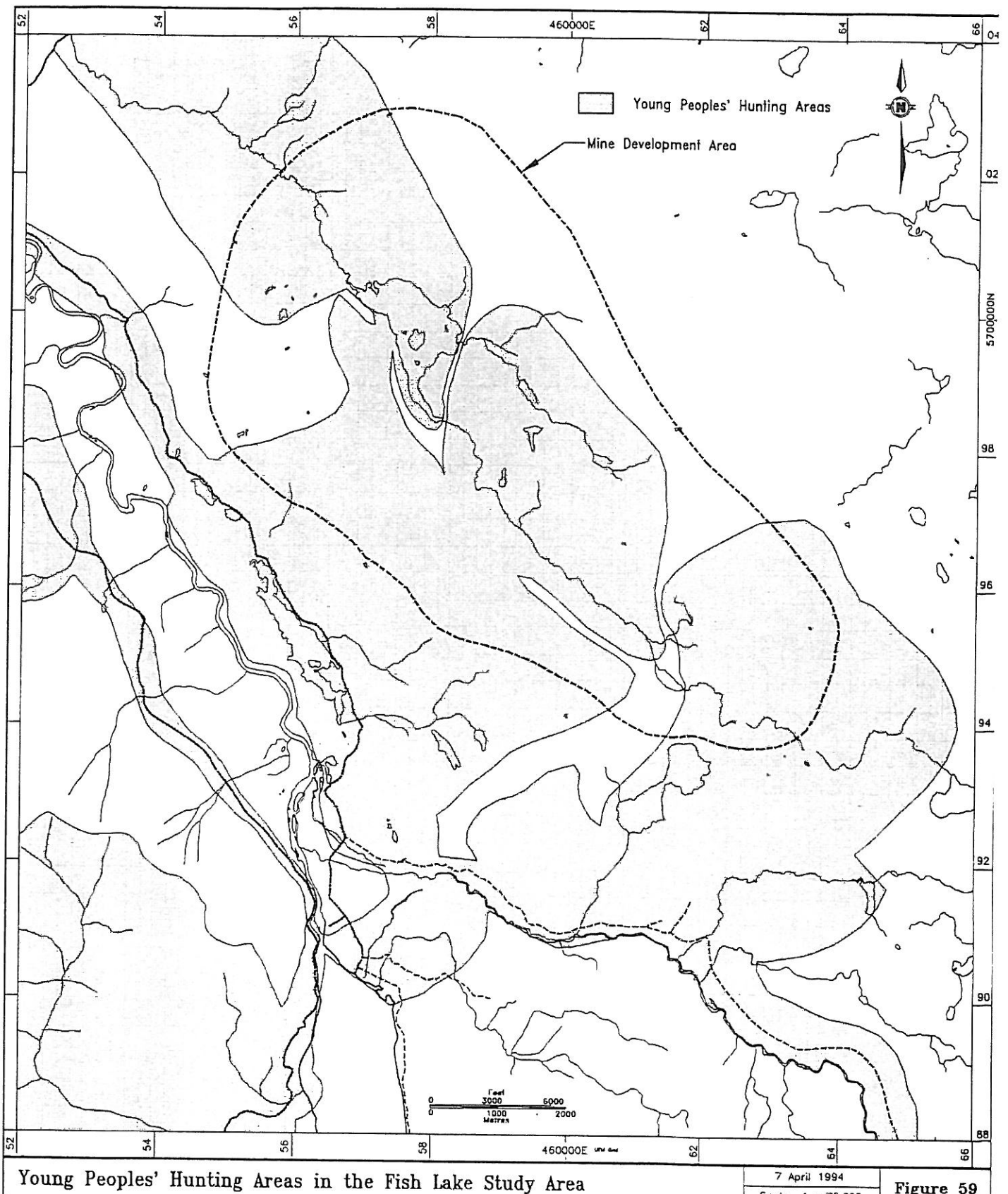


Middle-aged Peoples' Hunting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

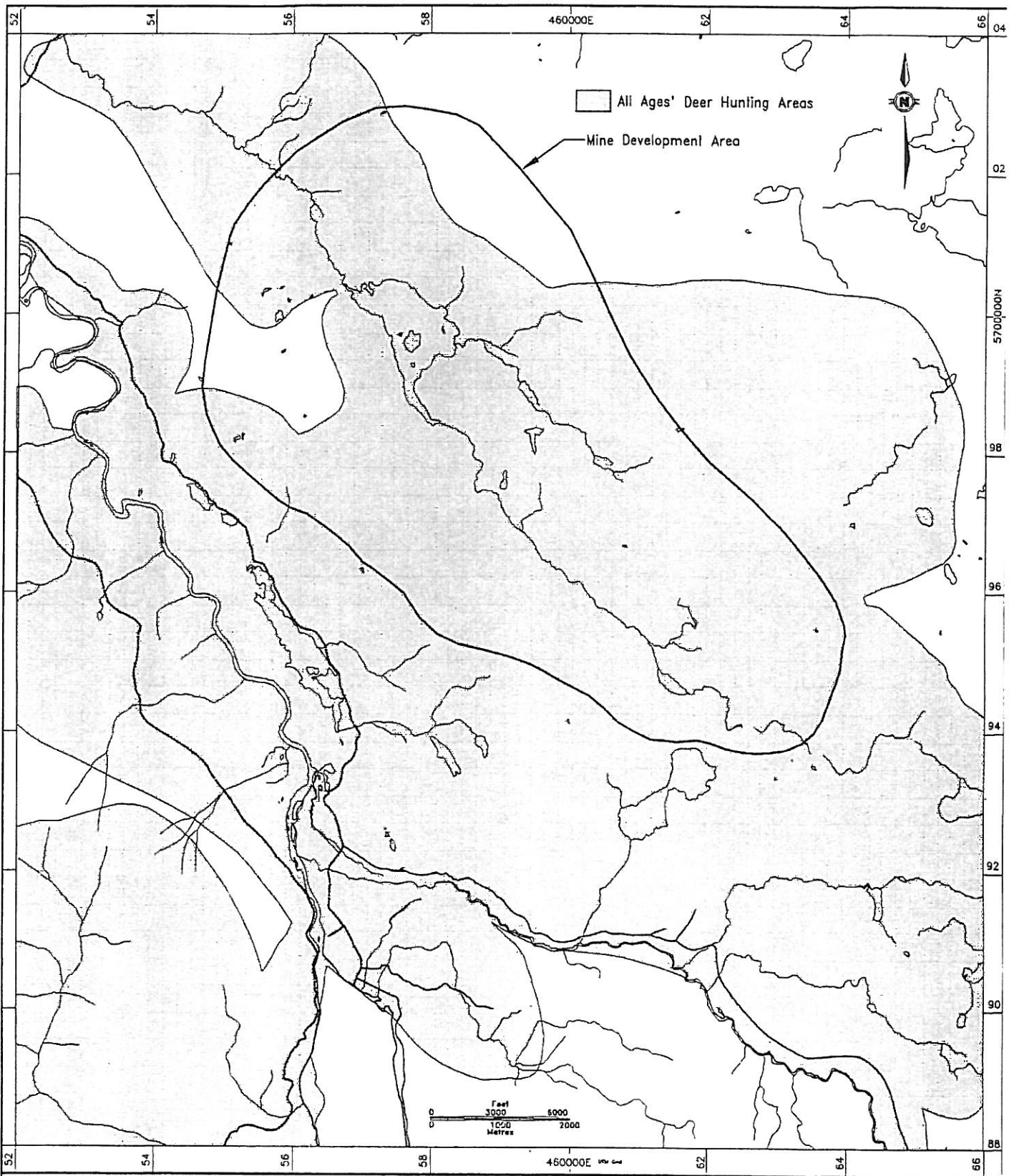
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Figure 58

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



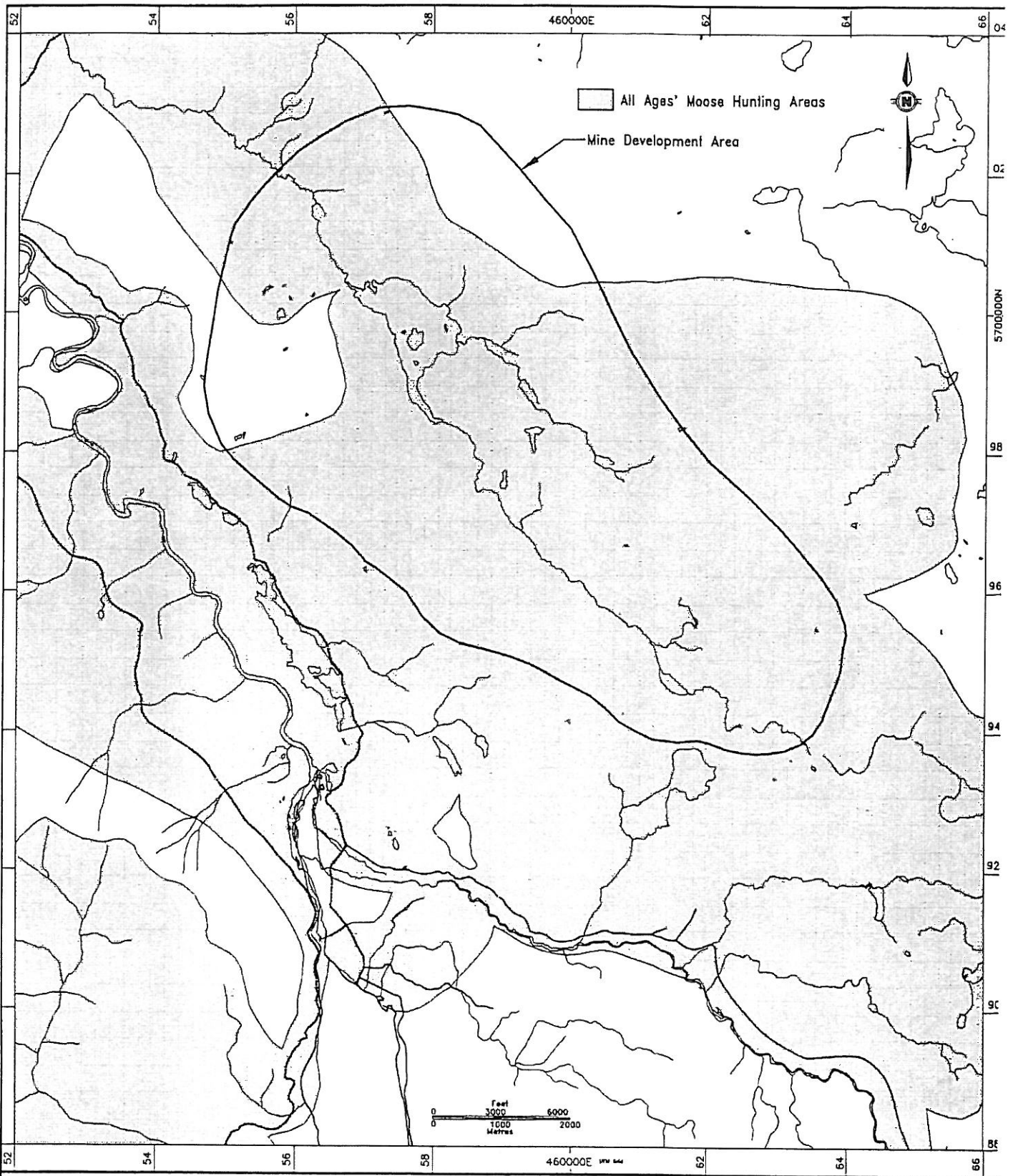
All Ages' Deer Hunting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

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Figure 60

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



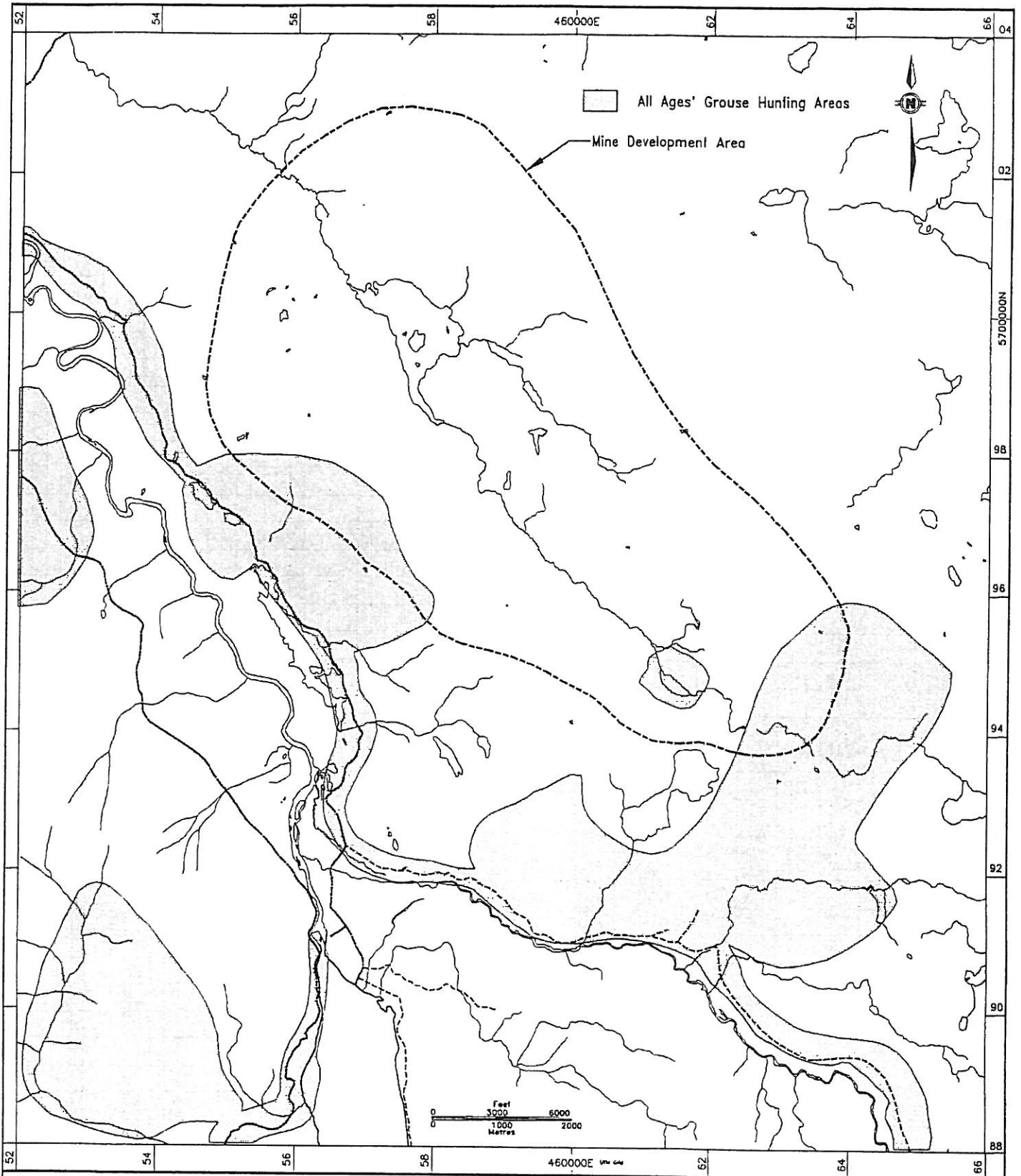
All Ages' Moose Hunting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 61

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

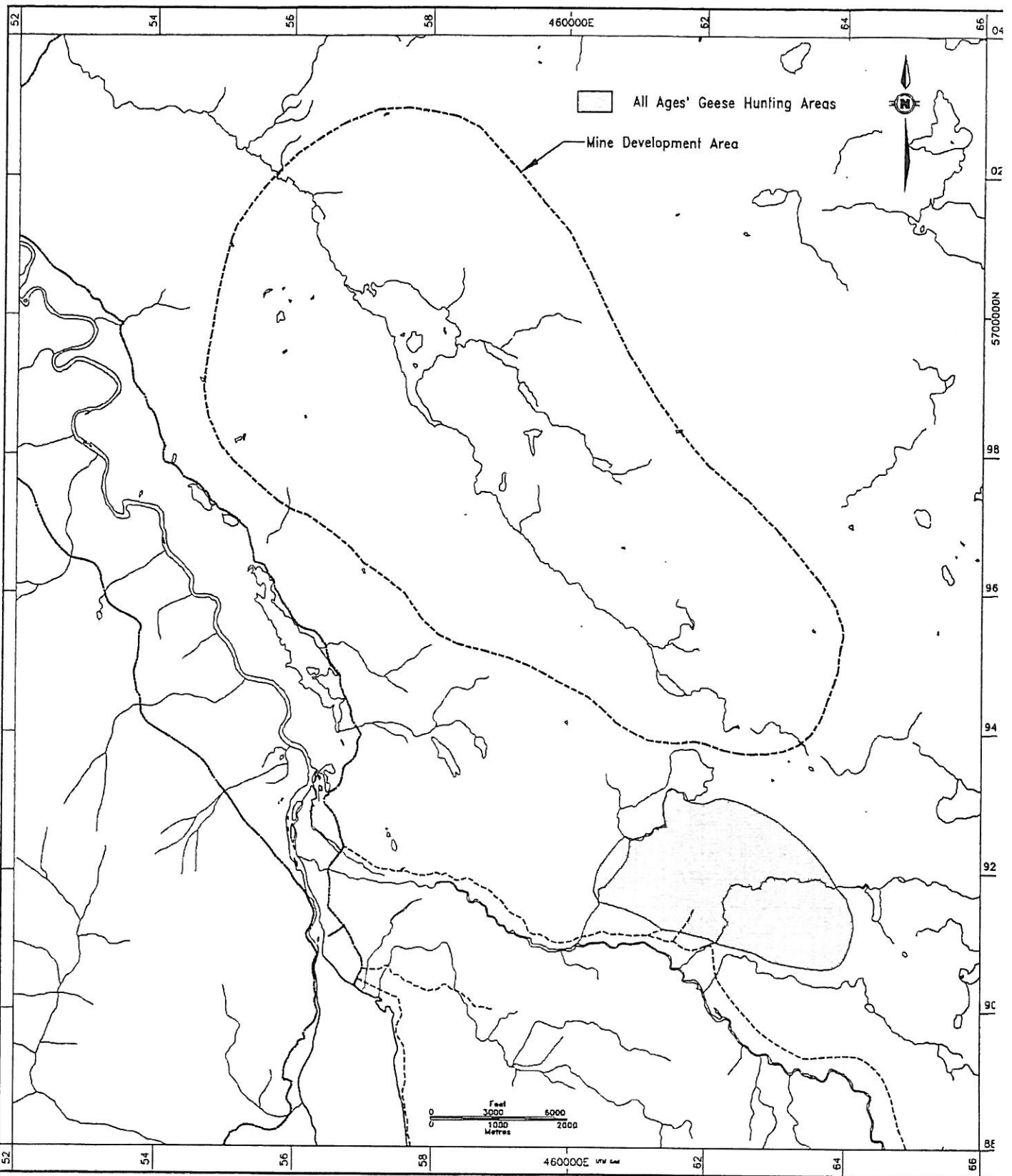


All Ages' Grouse Hunting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 62

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



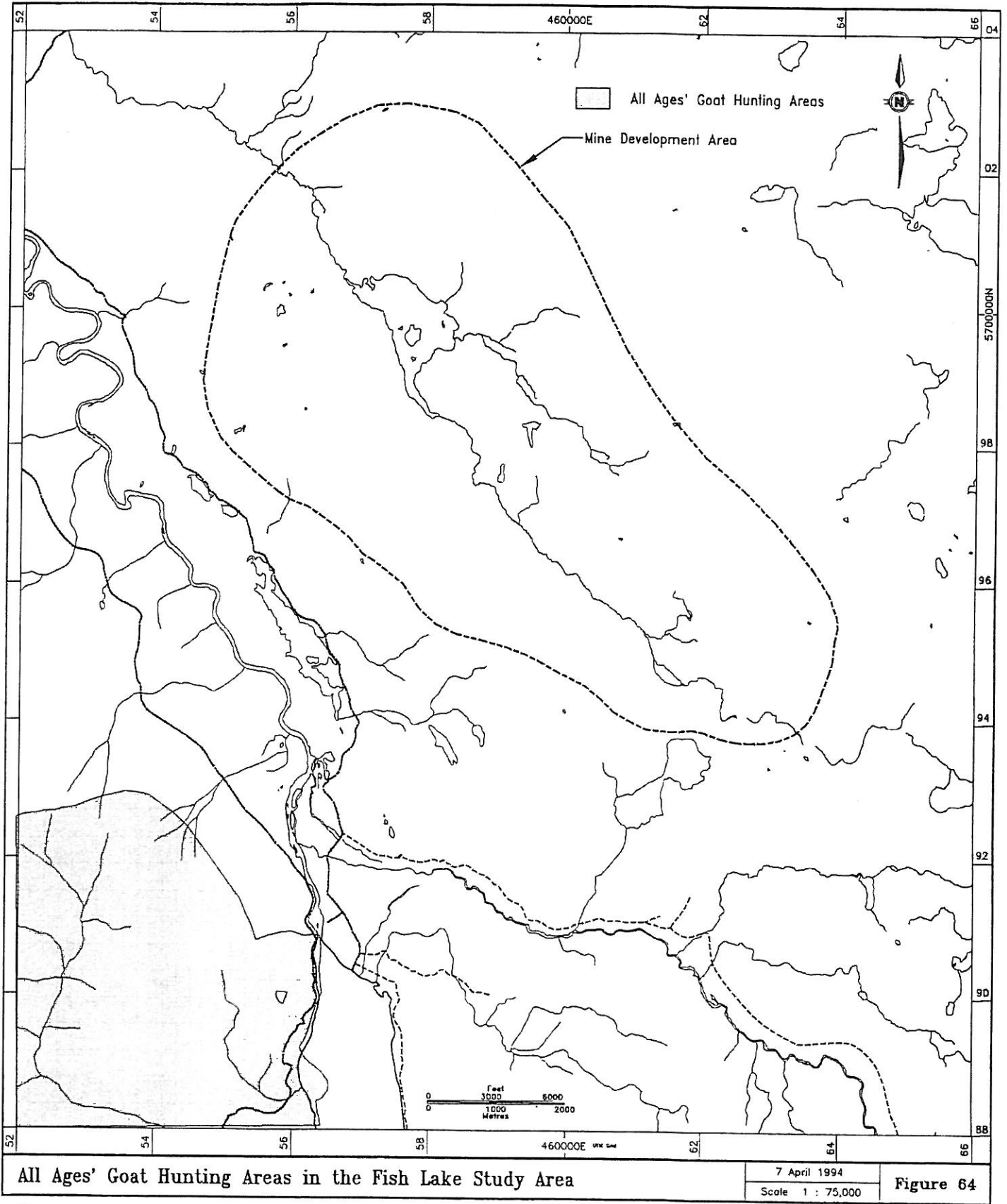
All Ages' Geese Hunting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

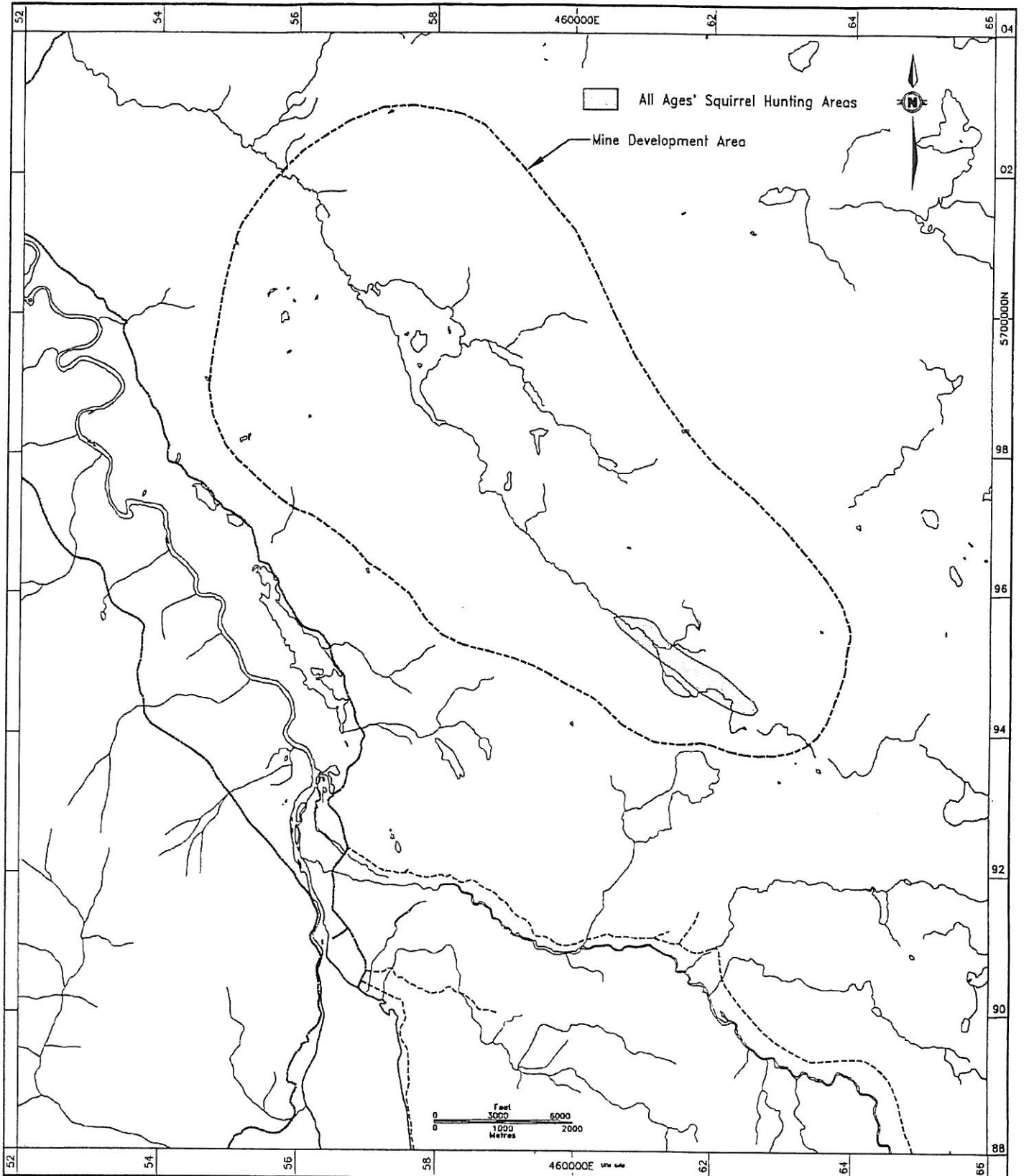
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Figure 63

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography

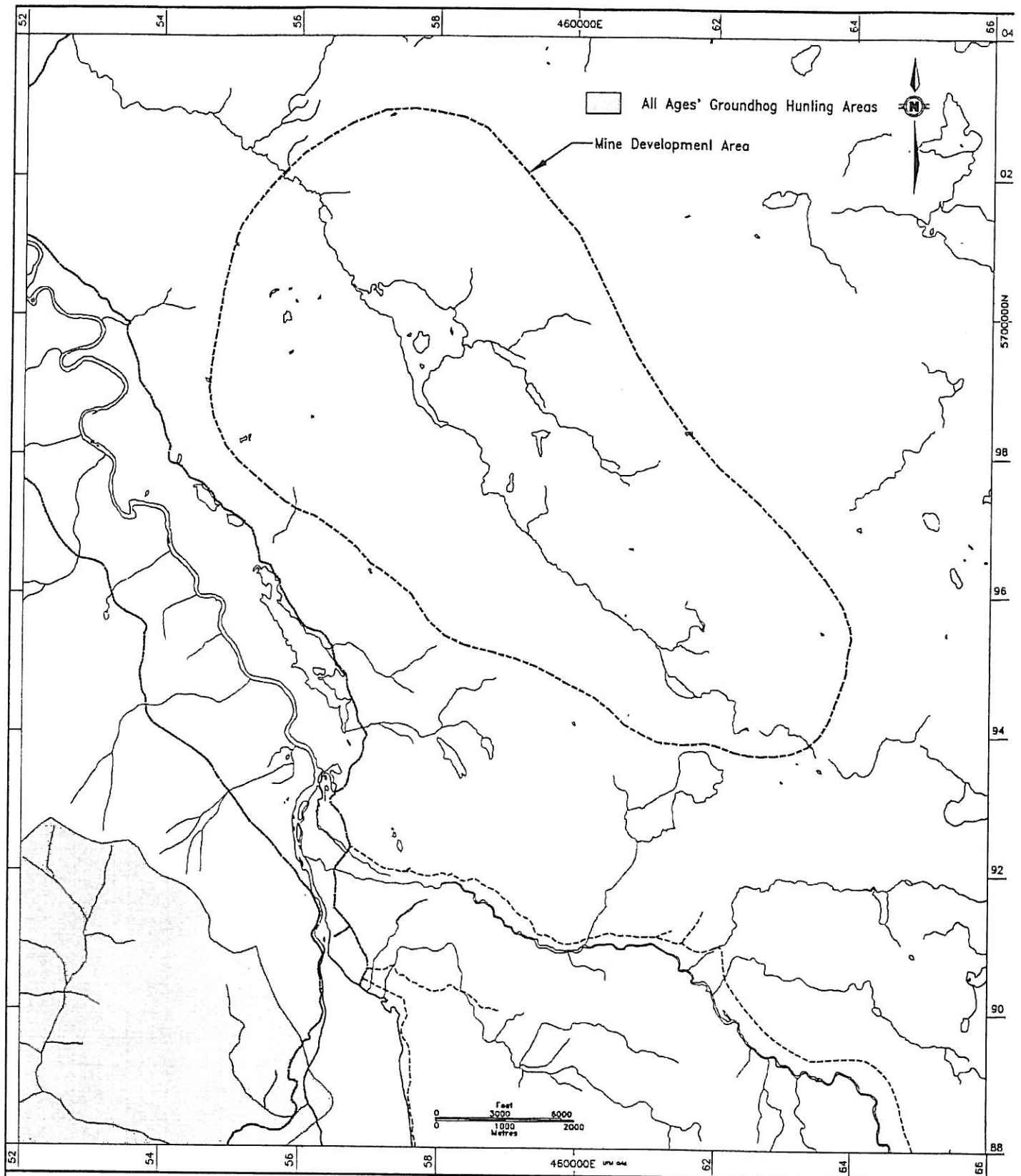


All Ages' Squirrel Hunting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994
Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 65

The Heritage Significance of the Fish Lake Study Area: Ethnography



All Ages' Groundhog Hunting Areas in the Fish Lake Study Area

7 April 1994

Scale 1 : 75,000

Figure 66