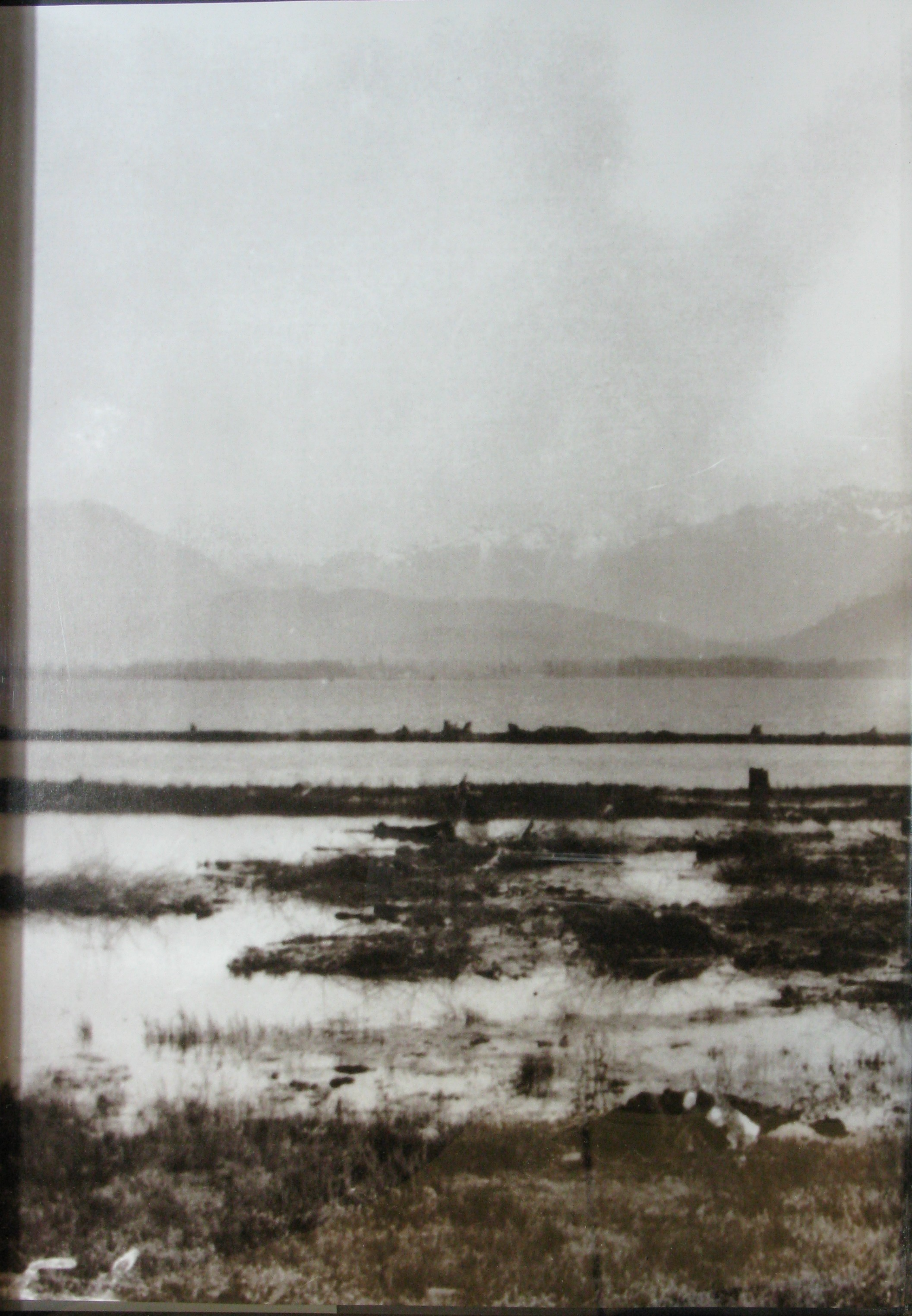


A Stó:lō-Coast Salish
Historical Atlas



A STÓ:LŌ COAST SALISH HISTORICAL ATLAS





EDITORIAL BOARD

Keith Thor Carlson

Colin Duffield

Albert (Sonny) McHalsie

Leeanna Lynn Rhodes

David M. Schaepe

David A. Smith

AUTHORS

Kate Blomfield

Daniel L. Boxberger

Keith Thor Carlson

Colin Duffield

Robert L. A. Hancock

John Lutz

Albert (Sonny) McHalsie

Patricia Ormerod

Tim Peters

Tina Rafter

Audrey Roburn

David M. Schaepe

David A. Smith

Jody R. Woods



A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas

Keith Thor Carlson
EDITOR

Albert (Sonny) McHalsie
CULTURAL ADVISOR

Jan Perrier
GRAPHIC ARTIST & ILLUSTRATOR

WITH A FOREWORD BY
Xwelixweltel
THE HONOURABLE JUDGE STEVEN L. POINT

DOUGLAS & MCINTYRE
VANCOUVER / TORONTO / BERKELEY

STÓ:LŌ HERITAGE TRUST
CHILLIWACK

Text and maps copyright © 2001 by Stó:lō Nation

06 07 08 09 10 6 5 4 3 2

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior written consent of the publisher or a licence from The Canadian Copyright Licensing Agency (Access Copyright). For a copyright licence, visit www.accesscopyright.ca or call toll free to 1-800-893-5777.

DOUGLAS & MCINTYRE LTD.

2323 Quebec Street, Suite 201
Vancouver, British Columbia
Canada V5T 4S7
www.douglas-mcintyre.com

STÓ:LŌ NATION

Building 1 – 7201 Vedder Road
Chilliwack, British Columbia
V2T 4G5

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Main entry under title:

A Stó:lō Coast Salish historical atlas

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-1-55054-812-9 ISBN-10: 1-55054-812-3

1. Stalo Indians—Maps. 2. Coast Salish Indians—Maps. 3. British Columbia—Historical geography—Maps.
I. Carlson, Keith Thor.

G11171.E1S86 2001 912.711'089979 C00-911532-3

Editing by Maia Joseph and Naomi Pauls

Maps and book text design by Jan Perrier

Jacket by Val Speidel

Printed and bound in Canada by Friesens

Printed on acid-free paper

Distributed in the U.S. by Publishers Group West

We gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Canada Council for the Arts, the British Columbia Arts Council, and the Government of Canada through the Book Publishing Industry Development Program (BPIDP) for our publishing activities.

Funding for this project was provided by Stó:lō Nation, the Department of Indian Affairs Land and Trust Services, BC Hydro, CN Rail, the Chilliwack School District, the Chilliwack Foundation, and Conservation Services for BC Parks (Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks). We would like to thank all our sponsors for their generosity and support, without which this important work would not have been possible.

The B.C. Heritage Trust has provided financial assistance to this project to support conservation of our heritage resources, gain further knowledge and increase public understanding of the complete history of British Columbia.

Captions for the photos on the preceding and following pages, in order of appearance:

Sumas Lake, c. 1922.

Stó:lō woman and child at Yale, BC, in the nineteenth century.

Stanley Park, Vancouver.

St. Mary's Mission Boarding School, Mission, BC.

CPR work crew laying track in the lower Fraser Valley, 1881.



CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------|
| Foreword | |
| Xwelixwel'tel, the Honourable Judge Steven L. Point..... | xiii |

| | |
|--------------|----|
| Preface..... | xv |
|--------------|----|

| | |
|-----------------------|-----|
| Acknowledgements..... | xvi |
|-----------------------|-----|

| | |
|--|---|
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| BASE MAPS | |
| Coast Salish Territory in the Pre-Contact Era..... | 3 |
| Stó:lō Territory in the Contemporary World..... | 4 |

Plates

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Making the World Right through Transformations | |
| Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, David M. Schaepe and Keith Thor Carlson..... | 6 |
| MAP | |
| Transformer Features in <i>S'ólh Téméxw</i> | |
| TABLE | |
| Different Types of Transformations | |

| | |
|--|---|
| 2 Stl'áleqem Sites | |
| SPIRITUALLY POTENT PLACES IN S'ÓLH TÉMÉXW | |
| Albert (Sonny) McHalsie..... | 8 |
| MAP | |
| <i>Stl'áleqem</i> Sites in <i>S'ólh Téméxw</i> | |

| | |
|---|----|
| 3 Sxwó:yxwey Origins and Movements | |
| Albert (Sonny) McHalsie..... | 10 |
| MAP | |
| Sxwó:yxwey Origins and Movements | |

| | |
|--|----|
| 4 The Land and the People | |
| GLACIATION TO CONTACT | |
| David M. Schaepe | |
| 4A MAPS..... | 12 |
| <i>S'ólh Téméxw</i> • 14,500 Years Ago | |
| The Cordilleran Ice Sheet 15,000 years ago in Plan View and Cross-Section | |
| <i>S'ólh Téméxw</i> • 12,500 Years Ago | |
| GRAPHS | |
| Temperature and Precipitation Graphs Based on Marion Lake Pollen Data – highlighted at 12,500 years ago | |
| Pollen Record from Marion Lake – highlighted at 12,500 years ago | |
| 4B MAPS..... | 14 |
| <i>S'ólh Téméxw</i> • 11,500 Years Ago | |
| <i>S'ólh Téméxw</i> • 11,300 Years Ago | |
| GRAPHS | |
| Temperature and Precipitation Graphs Based on Marion Lake Pollen Data – highlighted at 11,500 years ago | |
| Pollen Record from Marion Lake – highlighted at 11,500 years ago | |
| 4C MAPS..... | 16 |
| <i>S'ólh Téméxw</i> • 11,000 Years Ago | |
| <i>S'ólh Téméxw</i> • 10,000 Years Ago | |
| GRAPHS | |
| Temperature and Precipitation Graphs Based on Marion Lake Pollen Data – highlighted at 10,000 years ago | |
| Pollen Record from Marion Lake – highlighted at 10,000 years ago | |

| | | | |
|----------|----|---|----|
| 4 | 4D | Maps..... | 18 |
| | | <i>S'ólh Téméxw</i> • 5,000 to 4,500 Years Ago | |
| | | <i>S'ólh Téméxw</i> • 200 Years Ago | |
| | | GRAPHS | |
| | | Temperature and Precipitation Graphs Based on Marion Lake Pollen Data – highlighted at 5,000 to 4,500 and 200 years ago | |
| | | Pollen Record from Marion Lake – highlighted at 5,000 to 4,500 and 200 years ago | |

| | |
|---|----|
| 5 Origins | |
| THE FIRST PEOPLING OF S'ÓLH TÉMÉXW | |
| David M. Schaepe..... | 20 |
| MAPS | |
| Population Movements • 12,500 Years Ago | |
| Population Movements • 10,000 Years Ago | |
| TABLE | |
| A Vocabulary of Origin | |

| | |
|--|----|
| 6 History Revealed through Salishan Languages | |
| David A. Smith..... | 21 |
| MAP | |
| Expansion of Salishan Languages | |

| | |
|--|----|
| 7 Halkomelem Dialects | |
| David A. Smith..... | 22 |
| MAPS | |
| Halkomelem Language Dialects | |
| Salish Languages of the Northwest Coast in the Early Nineteenth Century | |
| TABLE | |
| Linguistic Definitions | |

| | |
|---|----|
| 8 Expressions of Collective Identity | |
| Keith Thor Carlson | |
| 8A MAP..... | 24 |
| The <i>Xwélméxw</i> World | |
| TABLE | |
| <i>Stó:lō</i> Origin Species | |
| 8B MAP..... | 26 |
| Fat as Percentage of Body Mass in Migrating Sockeye Salmon | |
| ILLUSTRATIONS | |
| Temperature, Humidity and Wind in the Lower Fraser Canyon | |
| Identity Geography • Property and Food-Processing Technology | |
| CHARTS | |
| <i>Stó:lō Yóyetel</i> • “Blood Relative” Relationships | |
| Marital Relationships | |
| In-Law Relationships | |
| “Step” and Other Relationships | |
| 8C CHARTS..... | 28 |
| Deceased Relations | |
| The Connection between Past, Present and Future Generations | |

| | |
|---|----|
| 9 Stó:lō Migrations and Shifting Identity, 1782–1900 | |
| Keith Thor Carlson..... | 30 |
| MAP | |
| <i>Stó:lō</i> Migrations and Shifting Identity, 1782–1900 | |

| | | | |
|-----------|---|-----------|--|
| 10 | Intergenerational Ties and Movement FAMILY AS A BASIS OF NATION Albert (Sonny) McHalsie.....32 | 14 | Intercommunity Conflicts Keith Thor Carlson48 |
| | MAP Intergenerational Ties and Movement | | MAP Intercommunity Raids and Conflicts Documented in the Fort Langley Journal, 1827–1830 |
| | CHART McHalsie Children's Genealogical Chart | | TABLE Vocabulary Relating to Intercommunity Conflict |
| 11 | Ancestral Relations with the Material Past David M. Schaepe.....34 | 15 | Memories of Defence Hugh Kelly, Harry Edwards and Andy Commodore Compiled by Keith Thor Carlson.....50 |
| | MAPS Ancestral Ties to the <i>T'ixwelátsa</i> Transformer Stone Ancestral Ties to the "Billy Sepass Canoe" Ancestral Ties to the McCallum Archaeological Site | | ILLUSTRATION Sumas Defensive Strategy |
| 12 | Village Arrangements and Settlement Patterns David M. Schaepe | 16 | Rock Wall Fortifications RECONSTRUCTING A FRASER CANYON DEFENSIVE NETWORK David M. Schaepe.....52 |
| | 12A MAP.....36 Pre-Contact Archaeological Sites and Contact-Era Settlements | | MAP <i>Stó:lō</i> Settlements and Rock Wall Fortification Sites in the Fraser Canyon |
| | ILLUSTRATIONS <i>Xwméthkwiye</i> m (Musqueam) Plank House Villages Scowlitz Archaeological Site McCallum Archaeological Site near Agassiz – as mapped in 1945 Katz Archaeological Site | | ILLUSTRATION Fortification System at <i>Lexwts'ó:kw'em</i> |
| | 12B MAPS.....38 Documented Pre-Contact Settlements on <i>Sqweqéyl</i> (Seabird Island) Historic Settlement on <i>Sqweqéyl</i> (Seabird Island), c. 1935 Contemporary Settlement of <i>Sqweqéyl</i> (Seabird Island) | 17 | Asserting <i>Stó:lō</i> Justice Kate Blomfield54 |
| 13 | Changing Households, Changing Houses David M. Schaepe, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie, Keith Thor Carlson and Patricia Ormerod | | GRAPHS Aboriginal Overrepresentation in Prisons |
| | 13A MAP.....40 Locations of Houses Mentioned in Text | | CHART <i>Qwi:qwelstóm</i> : A <i>Stó:lō</i> Community-Based Dispute Resolution Program |
| | ILLUSTRATIONS Coast Salish <i>S'iltexwáwtxw</i> "Shed Roof" Plank House Architecture and Wall Cross-Section Middle Period House and Household • c. 4,200 years ago (Maurer site) Late Period House and Household • c. 2,300 years ago (Scowlitz site) | 18 | Expressions of Trade and Exchange Keith Thor Carlson56 |
| | 13B ILLUSTRATIONS42 Yale Longhouse • c. 1808 <i>Sts'a'íles</i> (Chehalis) Longhouse • c. 1904 <i>S'iltexwáwtxw</i> near <i>Máthekwí</i> (Matsqui) • c. 1808 Historic Period House of Dennis S. Peters • c. 1925 (<i>Chowéthel</i>) Peters House Plans | | TABLE & GRAPH Select Vocabulary Relating to Trade and Exchange Social/Spatial Distance and Exchange |
| | 13C ILLUSTRATIONS44 Historic Period Department of Indian Affairs "Reserve House" • c. 1935 (<i>Shxw'ówhámél</i>) DIA "Reserve House" Plans Sonny McHalsie House Plans • 1992 (<i>Shxw'ówhámél</i> Reserve) McHalsie House Orientation and Yard Plan | 19 | History Wars CONSIDERING CONTEMPORARY FISHING SITE DISPUTES Keith Thor Carlson58 |
| | 13D MAP.....46 <i>Sqémél</i> (Pit House) Settlement Distribution within <i>Sólh Téméxw</i> | | MAP <i>Stó:lō</i> Canyon Fishery, 1905 |
| | ILLUSTRATIONS <i>Sqémél</i> Cross-Section with Profile from Pit House Number 1, Katz Archaeological Site | | TABLE Property Ownership, Site Use and Regulatory Protocols |
| | GRAPH Winter Temperature, Snowfall, Elevation and Distance Measurements, Vancouver to Hope | 20 | <i>Stó:lō</i> Communication and Transportation Routes, c. 1850 David M. Schaepe60 |
| | | | MAP <i>Stó:lō</i> Communication and Transportation Routes, c. 1850 |
| | | 21 | Contact-Era Seasonal Rounds Colin Duffield and Albert (Sonny) McHalsie62 |
| | | | CHARTS Seasonal Availability of Important Resources in <i>Sólh Téméxw</i> Contact-Era Seasonal Rounds |
| | | 22 | Seasonal Rounds in an Industrial World John Lutz |
| | | | 22A MAP.....64 <i>Stó:lō</i> Livelihoods, 1908–1916 |
| | | | CHART <i>Stó:lō</i> Seasonal Rounds, 1908–1916 |
| | | | 22B MAPS.....66 Summer Movements Fall and Winter Movements Fall, Winter and Spring Migration of Youth to School, 1908 |
| | | | GRAPHS <i>Stó:lō</i> Livelihoods and Income, 1915 <i>Stó:lō</i> Occupations, 1916 |

| | | | |
|-----------|---|-----------|--|
| 23 | St. Mary's Roman Catholic Boarding School A SPATIAL ANALYSIS Jody R. Woods.....68 TIMELINE St. Mary's Timeline TABLES Girls' and Boys' Tasks Offences and Punishments | 27 | 27C MAP.....80 "Corrected" Department of Indian Affairs Census of <i>Halq'eméylem</i> Speakers for 1882: A "Depopulation Ratio" Study TABLES 1882 Census Figures Census of the Indian Tribes of the Fraser River Country, June 19, 1877 Medical Treatment Received, 1877–1878 Population Ratios and Percentages, 1877 27D MAP.....82 Contemporary <i>Stó:lō</i> Demographics TABLE 2000 Census Figures |
| 24 | The Hop Yards WORKPLACE AND SOCIAL SPACE Robert L.A. Hancock.....70 MAPS Chilliwack Area Hop Yards Origin Communities of Some <i>Lats'umexw</i> Working at a Hop Yard near Chilliwack, 1926 ILLUSTRATIONS Typical Layout of a Hop Yard Residential Camp Typical Layout of a Hop Yard | 28 | Perceptions and Perspectives of the "Other" Keith Thor Carlson 28A MAP.....84 Points of Contact in Aboriginal Accounts 28B MAP.....86 Voyages of Scientific Exploration, Geographic Discovery and Colonial Expansion: The First <i>Xwelitem</i> , 1790–1792 28C MAP.....88 Second Wave of <i>Xwelitem</i> Exploration: The Fur Trade, 1808–1827 28D MAP.....90 European Observations on the Cusp of Colonial Settlement, 1858 |
| 25 | The Salmon Canneries MAKING ROOM FOR FAMILIES Jody R. Woods.....72 MAP Canneries on the BC Coast, c. 1923 TABLES Duration of Salmon Presence in Portions of the Fraser River Labour Divisions According to Race and Gender ILLUSTRATION Composite Plan of a Cannery | 29 | The Fraser River Gold Rush, 1858 Keith Thor Carlson.....92 MAP Gold Bars on the Fraser ILLUSTRATION Typical Creek Diversion |
| 26 | Coqualeetza LEGACIES OF LAND USE Jody R. Woods.....74 TIMELINE Coqualeetza Timeline | 30 | Indian Reservations Keith Thor Carlson.....94 MAP Indian Reservations |
| 27 | The Numbers Game INTERPRETING HISTORICAL <i>STÓ:LŌ</i> DEMOGRAPHICS Keith Thor Carlson 27A MAP.....76 <i>Stó:lō</i> Urban Demographics, c. 1780: A "Settlement Site Extrapolation Study" TABLE Reported or Documented Instances of Fatal or Fertility- Lowering Introduced Disease among the <i>Stó:lō</i> 27B MAPS.....78 <i>Halq'eméylem</i> -Speaking Population as per Hudson's Bay Company Census, 1830: An "Additive Methodology" or "Direct History Approach" Study <i>Halq'eméylem</i> -Speaking Population as per Hudson's Bay Company Census, 1839: An "Additive Methodology" or "Direct History Approach" Study TABLES 1830 Census Figures 1839 Census Figures 1839 Census Summary 1839 Census Ratio Analysis | 31 | Transportation Infrastructures, 1866–2000 Colin Duffield 31A MAPS.....96 Lower Fraser Valley Roads and Trails before 1866 Lower Fraser Valley Roads and Trails in 1886 Lower Fraser Valley Roads and Trails in 1905 Lower Fraser Valley Roads and Trails in 1931 Lower Fraser Valley Roads and Freeways in 1966 31B MAP.....98 Present-Day Roads in <i>S'ólh Téméxw</i> |
| | | 32 | Monitoring Air Quality Audrey Roburn.....100 GRAPHS Maximum Monthly Ground-Level Ozone Concentrations, 1994–1999 Maximum Annual Nitrogen Dioxide Concentrations, 1992–1999 Maximum Annual Carbon Monoxide Concentrations, 1992–1999 Maximum Annual Inhalable Particulate Matter Concentrations, 1994–1999 Maximum Annual Sulphur Dioxide Concentrations, 1992–1999 Maximum Annual Ground-Level Ozone Concentrations, 1992–1999 |

| | | | |
|-----------|---|-----------|---|
| 33 | Wild, Threatened and Endangered Waterways and Lost Streams of the Lower Fraser Watershed MAP102 Wild, Threatened and Endangered Waterways and Lost Streams of the Lower Fraser Watershed | 41 | Activities on the Land CONTINUING TRADITIONS IN A SHIFTING LEGAL WORLD David M. Schaepe122 MAPS Traditional Use Study Results Cultural Use and Fishing Areas Hunting Areas Settlement and Material Gathering Areas |
| 34 | Sumas Lake Transformations Jody R. Woods104 MAPS Sumas Lake, Sumas River and the Fraser River Key Map of the Sumas Reclamation Area, 1919 TABLE Wetland Life Supported by Sumas Lake | 42 | Stó:lō Mapping and Knowledge of the North Cascades, c. 1859 Daniel L. Boxberger and David M. Schaepe124 MAPS Thiusoloc's Father's Map Thiusoloc's Map |
| 35 | Contested Spaces THE CHILLIWACK RIVER DIVERSION Tina Rafter106 MAP Traditional and Current Stó:lō Land Use Patterns on the Chilliwack River | 43 | The Maps of K'hhalserten, c. 1918 David M. Schaepe126 MAPS Map A • Chilliwack Lake to Fraser River Map B • Lower Chilliwack River |
| 36 | Invasive Organisms TAMPERING WITH THE TRANSFORMERS' WORK Tim Peters108 | 44 | European Mapping of an Unfamiliar World Keith Thor Carlson 44A MAP128 Original Sketch of Exploration between 1846 and 1849 • Alex C. Anderson Fort Hope and Surrounding Area, August 19, 1869 44B MAP130 Indian Affairs Map of British Columbia, 1872 • Joseph Trutch 44C MAP132 Emigration Map of British Columbia |
| 37 | Ecological Productivity Reconsidered Colin Duffield110 MAP Ecological Productivity in Sólh Téméxw | 45 | Halq'eméylem Place Names in Stó:lō Territory Albert (Sonny) McHalsie134 45B MAP A • Halq'eméylem Place Names Base Map136 45C MAPS B, C, D, E138 45D-J MAP F AND PLACE NAMES INDEX140 |
| 38 | Constructing a Province, Clear-Cutting a Nation Colin Duffield 38A MAP112 Upland and Lowland Forest Projections on the Modern Land Base of Sólh Téméxw ILLUSTRATION Upland and Lowland Forest Projections on the Modern Land Base of Sólh Téméxw 38B MAP114 Sólh Téméxw Forest Inventory by Age Class 38C MAP116 BC Forest Service Forest Inventory, 1908–1997 | 46 | Prophecy Keith Thor Carlson 46A ILLUSTRATIONS154 Catholic Ladder Protestant Ladder Salmon Watercolour 46B-D ILLUSTRATIONS156 Dreambook of a Stó:lō Chief, c. 1880 |
| 39 | Parks and Protected Areas THE "INALIENABLE" ALIENATED LANDS Colin Duffield118 MAP Parkland in Sólh Téméxw TABLES Establishment Dates for Provincial Parks, Ecological Reserves and Recreation Areas Summary of Protected Areas and Related Designations in Sólh Téméxw | 46 | Prophecy Keith Thor Carlson 46A ILLUSTRATIONS154 Catholic Ladder Protestant Ladder Salmon Watercolour 46B-D ILLUSTRATIONS156 Dreambook of a Stó:lō Chief, c. 1880 |
| 40 | Salmon Populations and the Stó:lō Fishery David A. Smith120 GRAPHS Commercial vs. Aboriginal Catch of Fraser River Sockeye Total Aboriginal vs. Commercial Catch of Fraser River Sockeye and Pink Salmon, 1997 Stó:lō Sockeye Catch by "Department of Fisheries and Oceans Regions," 1997 | 46 | Prophecy Keith Thor Carlson 46A ILLUSTRATIONS154 Catholic Ladder Protestant Ladder Salmon Watercolour 46B-D ILLUSTRATIONS156 Dreambook of a Stó:lō Chief, c. 1880 |
| | | | Appendix 1 Stó:lō Historical Timeline162 Appendix 2 Stó:lō Petitions170 Notes192 Photo & Illustration Credits207 |

FOREWORD

Just a few years ago I went to meet with the mayor of Chilliwack, because city workmen had come onto our reserve at Skowkale to build a flood control device and widen the interception ditch. Our reserve is only 66 hectares, and it has one of Chilliwack's main roads running through it. The city wanted to dig a drainage ditch for the people who were living in a housing subdivision opposite our reserve. The city sent big trucks and heavy equipment to haul dirt off of our reserve and dump it on an adjacent farmer's land.

I was the chief at the time, and I went up and put my arms out and stopped the trucks and asked, "What are you guys doing?" To which they replied, "Well, we are moving dirt because we have to build this ditch." And I said, "Who said you could do that?" The driver answered, "Well, the City." I said, "You can't do that." He responded, "We take our orders from the city engineer, so you'll have to talk to him." So I went to speak with the city engineer and he said: "I can't help you. We take our instructions from the mayor. You'll have to talk to him." So I asked, "Where the heck is the mayor?" He said, "He's over there having a meeting." They were having their council meeting that night and they were all sitting around.

Mayor Simpson was a rather stout guy with not much hair. He was a nice enough fellow and he let me come into the meeting. I said, "Mr. Mayor, I have a question for you. Why are you hauling dirt off of Skowkale Indian Reserve? Don't you know that it's federal Crown land held in trust for Indian people and it's not within the District of Chilliwack's jurisdiction? It's not even within provincial jurisdiction. You have no authority coming onto our reserve. Don't you know that we have a band office with a telephone? You can call me or write me a letter – I'm the chief. Why didn't you ask? I wouldn't do that to your city. What are you doing?"

He looked at me and then asked, "What do you want?" I thought, *What do I want? How about a little respect?! You can't come onto your neighbour's property and begin hauling out dirt without some sort of authority.* Then, as though we Aboriginals were invisible, he asked, "Well, how many Indians do we have around here anyway? Who are they?" In his mind, we didn't even exist; that's how far we had been marginalized. Not just physically marginalized onto small reserves but mentally marginalized from people's minds.

I remember listening to Judge Campbell lecture at the University of Saskatchewan. He was talking about the times that he came in contact with Aboriginal people as a judge in the city of Duncan. If you have ever been to criminal court (and as a lawyer and now a provincial judge, I have been to criminal court many times), you will know what I am talking about. Monday morning is busy at the courthouse. That is the morning when, as an Indian, you can meet your relatives and neighbours. They are all there. Some of them are there with their kids, meeting others in the hallways. It's *all* Indians on Monday morning, and Friday is the same – those are Indian days. Seeing all those Native faces makes you wonder whether the police arrest anybody else. Judge Campbell said an interesting thing in his lecture: "You know, I have lived in the city all of my life, I have driven by the Cowichan community all of my life as I go to work. Yet the only time that I have come into contact with Aboriginal people is when they come in front of me charged with something and I have to send them away." He said, "I don't know the Cowichan people."

I remember the year before I entered high school – Grade 7. In Grade 7 you have a lot of friends and a lot of people are good to you. You play Lone Ranger: one day you are Tonto and the next you play the masked man. In Grade 7, though, kids become aware of differences. I can remember one of my friends coming up to me and saying, "I can't play with you any more." I asked, "Why?" He said, "Because my mom said I can't play with you any more." And he never did. He never sat with me on the bus, he never walked home with me any more, we never played marbles again. That is where it begins – this wall that is built up between people.

I remember walking into an elevator when I used to have really long hair, and a little child cringed and dove behind his mother, saying "An Indian, ahh!" On another occasion, a friend and I were sitting at a bus depot and these people came up to us and said, "We have never seen Indians before. Could we take your picture?" "Well, why not?" I replied. "Go ahead." The woman was so happy to take our picture that she gave us each a nickel. Five cents – as if that was going to get us a meal that day. I wondered, did she think we were starving Indians and that she was helping us? I threw the nickel away.

Do you know what it is like to be an Indian? I saw a film in a psychology course while I was at university. It was about racism. Half a class of students wore collars, and the other half did not. The kids with collars were designated the bad kids – no good, not worth anything, lazy, stupid, in every way different from the kids without collars. The film documents the behavioural changes of the kids with collars. They start hanging their heads down. They start acting up and being bad. They do not want the collar on any more. The kids without collars snicker: "Ha, ha, look at you kids! You are bad, you have a collar on!" They point fingers at them, they throw things at them, and they laugh.

As an Aboriginal person, I have had a collar on my whole life. There were times



when I prayed to have it taken off. It kills me when my kids come home and tell me that they do not want to be Native. This is what we have to live with in our own country. We have not only been marginalized physically, but also psychologically and emotionally. A great man from the United States once said, "You can't break a man's leg one day and blame him for limping the next." Is it our fault that we drink too much, our fault that we are poor, our fault that we are in jail more than anyone else? People come up to me and say: "Why are we giving all of these Indians all of these services? Why don't they pay taxes like everyone else? There should be one law for all. Let's have some equality around here. This isn't right!" When I hear these things I think, *My God, if we had only had equality since the time Aboriginal people met Europeans, then maybe we would still be people in our own eyes and not "Indians."*

Is the treaty process going to give us back our dignity? As a lawyer, I encountered a lot of people who came into my office and said, "Look, Steven, somebody hit me with their car and left the scene of the accident. They've left me maimed, my memory is gone, and I can't eat or sleep at night. I really want to get that person. I want to go to court and I want to get back at them." That is justice – or at least it is a common conception of justice. Then you prepare, get them ready, take their evidence, and write down all of the case history. You dress them up, bring them to court, and the other party comes in and they say, "Let's settle." Your client says, "No, I want my day in court. I want justice."

When I look at young Aboriginal people in the street today and talk to them, I find they don't even know what is wrong with them. All they know is that they do not like who they are, they are angry, they are poor, and they are a minority in a country that treats them as though they get privileges that others do not. Well, I'm tired of apologizing for being Aboriginal.

As someone who has been placed in a leadership role, I think to myself, *If we set up roadblocks and start pounding on people, is that going to resolve things? Is that what will bring a better way of life?* Look at other parts of the world – Northern Ireland, Liberia, Bosnia and other areas where there is violence. There isn't a country in the world that does not have a litany of violence in its history. The Scots, for one, have never forgotten what the English did to them. Violence begets violence.

Do you know what they are trying to do to us Natives in court? As Aboriginal people, first we have to prove that we are the descendants of the "real" Aboriginal people. Then we have to prove that we were here first – *that we were even here.*

There is some sort of assumption that maybe we were not the people who were here first. I say to people, wherever I talk, were the Chinese or the Italians here? Who was here? Aboriginal people were here. In their villages, living off the land as they had done for generations and generations. Why are we going to court to prove that we were here, that we culturally modified this tree, that we had villages? We should not have to dig up our ancestors' bones to prove who we were. Why do we have to hire historians, archaeologists and anthropologists to prove that we were here? It's insanity! But that is what we are doing. During the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en case, Chief Justice Allan McEachern said that Natives had to prove they had been there. But the Elders' evidence did not sit well with the court's rules of evidence. It wasn't "genuine." So the Natives had to bring in anthropologists and historians to tell the courts whether this Indian was lying or not. It's a funny thing, British justice. Many of our Aboriginal people do not want to use the system, but what can you do if you cannot fight and you want justice? The answer – you negotiate.

When two people are fighting after a marriage has broken down and they are arguing over the Mercedes, the savings bonds, the kids ... they always know what the fight is about. They always have a clear understanding of the battleground and what is being fought over. When I sat across a table from federal negotiators, they didn't admit that we have Aboriginal title to the land, that we are here and we own the country. They were not coming to the table to negotiate that. No, instead they simply asked, "What do you want?" It's the same question that Mayor Simpson asked. "What do you want?" You know that the same answer is applicable. The same answer that every nation in this world has given. The same answer the Scots gave, the same answer the Irish gave, the same answer that is given by every group of people with legitimate claims to a territory. We want our ownership respected. We want it to be recognized and understood that we are here and the country was ours. That is where the negotiations begin.

It is not surprising that the *Stó:lō* were not interested in negotiating on the premise of their title being extinguished. It has only been in the past five years that the provincial government has come to Native people and agreed to negotiate Aboriginal rights, but they still will not admit that title exists. It's been an interesting history that we have lived, and we are only beginning to understand one another.

We are just now beginning to recognize the full extent of what has happened to us. We are just beginning to tell our story. I have spoken to Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs. I have spoken to international organizations. I have spoken to a group of Catholic bishops who were meeting in Vancouver about 10 years ago, and at the end of my lecture they collected about a thousand dollars. They gave it to me to fight for our rights. When people hear the history, when people understand what has happened, they ask, "What can we do? How can we make things right? What's reasonable given the current situation?"

We know there are no boats waiting in the harbour to take all of the non-Natives back someplace. We know people are not going to get on planes and say, "Oh well, we didn't get this country so we will go somewhere else." The non-Natives are all going to be here after negotiations. And so are we. What I want to leave behind is the injustice. I wish that we could start again. When two people start dancing, they step on each other's toes. Well, my feet are getting very sore, and I am sure that yours are, too. I would like for us to start again. That is what the negotiations are about.

Recently, an unfortunate article appeared in a local newspaper discussing treaty money received by *Stó:lō* Nation. That same day, someone spray-painted "tax burden" on the *Stó:lō* Nation sign outside the office. The next day, our kids were being suspended from school because they were fighting for their right to be respected. Other kids were calling them "welfare people."

How do I get back my dignity? Non-Natives arrived here with their dignity; we would like our dignity back. That does not cost any money and does not take any land. It takes a simple recognition that Aboriginal people were here in their territories when Europeans arrived and they continue to have an unextinguished interest that must be recognized through the treaty process.

I love this country, Canada. A few years ago, I accompanied a *Stó:lō* dance group representing Canada to France, and the French came up to me and asked if we would mind carrying the Canadian flag. "All right," I answered. "I'll carry the Canadian flag." My uncle died for this country in the Second World War. Our people fought for this country. This country has a tremendous history. But it did not start in 1871 and it did not start in 1867. It started thousands and thousands of years ago when the Creator put us in our own homeland. The governments know we are still here. We have changed a little bit – we eat pizza on Friday night, we rent videos, we play country music, and I go to church on Sunday and to the longhouse on Saturday – but we are still here. We are not invisible.

We have a wealth of knowledge passed down to us that we would love to share with non-Natives. About 10 years ago, I put on a four-day course at a high school for the Grade 10 and 11 students. I told them stories about the local mountains, the history of Mt. Cheam and the meaning of "Chilliwack." We discussed how the *Stó:lō* once lived in longhouses and *sqémél* (pit houses). For four days those students sat listening. The teacher stood at the back of the room shaking her head the whole time and afterward remarked, "I have never heard these kids so quiet for four days in my life." They were learning history that was relevant to them. Three years later, when I myself had gone back to school, I ran into a young university student who said, "Mr. Point, you were one of my teachers." I looked,

thinking, "Who the heck are you?" He said, "You taught me history when I was in Grade 11."

The *Stó:lō* are developing government structures and negotiating them into a treaty. An Elders council has been formed. People say to me, "What's an Elder?" I tell them if you wake up in the morning and your teeth are in a glass, you are an Elder. I am only teasing, of course. It has to do with knowledge, respect, wisdom and love – that is an Elder. There is also a council of *Stó:lō* chiefs. In the old days leaders were referred to as *si:yám*. The term is seeing a revival. It takes a lifetime to earn that title but only a minute to lose it. There is a *Stó:lō* council of youth as well. These things are together called the *Stó:lō* Government House. Some of the Elders and some of the chiefs are also part of a Council of Justice and are developing a *Stó:lō* police force and a justice program. This is necessary because we know that the justice system does not work for Aboriginal people. There must be other ways of dealing with deviant behaviour. The deputy chief commissioner of the RCMP in the province of British Columbia is very interested in supporting the development of an Aboriginal police force. We call it a "peacekeeping force," though – people who can help solve community problems.

Our *Stó:lō* Government House is built on Aboriginal values. One of the strongest values we have is humility. When a *si:yám* walks into a gathering, he automatically sits in the back; if the others invite him to sit in the front, then he moves. That is humility. I watch Canadian politicians and I wonder if they have ever heard of that principle. Our leaders are expected to serve the people and be there for them. Our values and our systems are not European. However, the more I study Europeans and the more I learn about my own history, the more I find that in fact we are the same. You love your Elders, you love your God, you cherish your young people, and you have a strong sense of justice, just as we do. In fact, if you look long and hard enough, you will find that there are probably more similarities than there are differences. This historical atlas represents a significant attempt to bridge those differences, to build cross-cultural understanding, and to establish respect. We have both paid too much attention to the differences between us, and I want to see that change. I hope that you do, too.

XWELIXWELTEL

The Honourable Judge Steven L. Point, former *Stó:lō* Nation *Yewal Siyám*

PREFACE

Aboriginal organizations, especially larger ones with the financial resources to sustain interdisciplinary teams of researchers, can be hotbeds of academic research and dynamic forums for the melding of indigenous and western ways of knowing. All too frequently, however, this intellectual energy culminates in obscure, seldom-referenced reports found on band office shelves and in tribal council archives. There are good reasons for keeping research findings in such formats. Often the information is of a sensitive nature. Often there is a fear, derived from a long history of betrayal at government hands, of how outsiders might use or misuse such information. That certain Aboriginal leaders and community members are now encouraging popular and academic works about their community's cultural history indicates a growing sense of confidence within First Nations communities. It also marks a shift toward a more balanced power relationship between Aboriginal and non-Native society. The fact that Aboriginal leaders are encouraging publications that discuss not merely accounts of Aboriginal-European relations, but also the dynamics and tensions within and between Aboriginal communities and people (over which there is no consensus of opinion or clear "good guy/bad guy" relationships) reflects a decolonization of thought processes. This new openness also exemplifies a reassertion of older cultural values and protocols, which call for a multiplicity of opinions on a host of topics to be shared publicly and openly discussed or debated.

Such is the spirit in which this historical atlas was produced. It is an example of "work" in the classic Coast Salish sense (the public sharing of important information relating to changing roles, status and associated relationships), conducted by a community of joined individuals – in this instance not a "family," but members of *Stó:lō* Nation's Aboriginal Rights and Title (AR&T) department and a few of their *siyá:ye* (friends).

The decision to produce this atlas was made at a *Stó:lō* Nation AR&T department meeting in the spring of 1999. During a discussion of annual work plans, it was noted that many research findings from previous projects were generally inaccessible to staff and managers in other *Stó:lō* Nation departments. In particular, there was increasing demand from the *Xyolhemeylh* Health and Family Services programs, the Community Development department (especially their education division) and the Fisheries department to access information produced by AR&T for use in a host of outreach programs and administrative restructuring initiatives. Similar requests for information, with different motives, were also regularly being made by outside agencies such as the provincial ministries of Forests; Parks; Energy, Mines and Resources; Heritage; and Education. Perhaps most importantly, an ever-increasing number of *Stó:lō* community members were requesting that staff visit their band offices or homes to make presentations on aspects of *Stó:lō* culture and history.

The staff archaeologist, historian, cultural advisor, environmental planners, archivist, research associates and geographical information systems technicians were spending more time conducting workshops and making presentations than doing research and analysis. A new publication was seen as a way of making a broad range of information available to a wide spectrum of people. The format of a historical atlas was chosen as the most effective medium for communicating our research findings (although, as readers will discover, the word "atlas" perhaps does not go quite far enough to describe the scope and nature of all the information presented). The atlas form offered the best way of presenting a body of cultural information in a manner accessible and palatable to *Stó:lō* community members, who continue to prefer oral and visual communication over written text. Yet its wonderfully flexible format still allowed for accompanying text and analytical discussion.

Our manager and department executive director, Clarence (Kat) Pennier, identified the atlas as a powerful educational tool with application to ongoing *Stó:lō* Nation treaty negotiations. To ensure that the atlas served this function, he assigned an 18-month publication deadline (and, although the atlas was a departmental priority, it was not to seriously interfere with or displace other ongoing staff commitments). Outside of establishing this deadline, Kat and the other leaders of *Stó:lō* Nation refrained from any interference in the work's contents or presentation. The chief carrying the portfolio for our department, Lester Ned, defined our mandate simply and directly as "Tell us what we need to hear, not what we want to hear." Chief Ned's statement reflects the degree to which this work is meant to inform and educate Aboriginal and non-Native audiences alike. Its purpose is to create a bridge of understanding between cultures rather than to speak or lecture across cultural divides.

An editorial board was established to determine the atlas's content and to evaluate each plate as the authors created them. There were no Aboriginal politicians on this board, although consultation with members of the *Stó:lō* leadership was regular and ongoing. Each member of the editorial board was responsible for ensuring that the atlas's content met the standards of the intellectual community with which they were affiliated. Thus, the board consisted of a cultural advisor, a historian, an archaeologist, an environmental planner, an archivist and a geographical information systems specialist. Editorial board meetings were periodically attended

by *Stó:lō* individuals who, though not formally a part of the process, expressed an interest in what we were doing. They were welcomed and encouraged to participate in discussions. Some of the most profound insights and suggestions came from Elizabeth Herrling and Rosaleen George, the team of fluent *Halq'eméylem*-speaking Elders who met weekly with the atlas's cultural advisor, Albert (Sonny) McHalsie and from the collective energies of the *Lalems Ye Selyolexwe* (the official *Stó:lō* Nation House of Elders, who have responsibility under the *Stó:lō* Nation constitution for cultural matters), for whom Sonny also arranged various meetings with individual authors and with the editorial board as a whole.

Although every effort has been made to present information in an accurate and respectful manner, not all readers will agree with everything they find between the covers of this atlas. That is as it must be, for there has never been a single definitive voice in either Aboriginal or non-Native historical discourse. As editors and authors of this publication, we echo and endorse the sentiments of the *Stó:lō* Nation managers, Elders and political leaders in encouraging others to publish new information and interpretations to challenge or build upon the material presented here

KEITH THOR CARLSON