

A photograph of a man in traditional Stó:lō regalia standing on a beach. He is wearing a dark blue shirt, a green shawl, and a headband with red, white, and blue patterns. He has a small white tag with the number '10' pinned to his shawl. The background features a large, dark rock formation, a sandy beach, and a body of water. The scene is framed by a black and white checkered border.

You *Are* Asked To Witness:

The *Stó:lō* in Canada's
Pacific Coast History

Edited by Keith Thor Carlson

YOU ARE ASKED TO WITNESS:

The Stó:lō in Canada's Pacific Coast History

Edited by Keith Thor Carlson



***Stó:lō* Heritage Trust**

Chilliwack, British Columbia, Canada

YOU ARE ASKED TO WITNESS: *The Stó:lō in Canada's Pacific Coast History*

Edited by Keith Thor Carlson

PUBLISHED BY

Stó:lō Heritage Trust

Building 1 - 7201 Vedder Road, Chilliwack, British Columbia, Canada V2R 4G5

Copyright © 1997 *Stó:lō* Heritage Trust. All rights reserved. The use of any part of this publication reproduced, transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, recording or otherwise, or stored in a retrieval system, without the prior consent of the publisher is an infringement of the copyright law.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Carlson, Keith, 1966-

You Are Asked To Witness:
the *Stó:lō* in Canada's Pacific Coast History

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-9681577-2-6 (bound).—ISBN 0-9681577-0-X (pbk.)

1. Stalo Indians—History. 2. Indians of North America—

British Columbia—Fraser River Region—History.

3. Fraser River Region (B.C.)—History.

I. Carlson, Keith Thor. II. Sto:lo Heritage Trust.

E99.S72Y68 1997 971.1'37004979 C96-910841-9

Funding for earlier versions of material presented in this volume provided by Stó:lō Nation, the B.C. Ministry of Education (Aboriginal Education Branch), School District #33 Chilliwack, School District #35 Langley and Parks Canada. In addition, 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.

Cover Photos by Gary Fiegehen and the British Columbia Archives & Records Service.

Layout and design by Jan Perrier Design, Box 1097, Fort Langley, B.C. V1M 2S4 (604) 513-0227.

Printed and bound in Canada by Hignell Printing Limited, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

First printing December, 1996; second printing June, 1997; third printing February, 1999; special hard cover edition(500 books) February, 1999; fourth printing April, 2000; fifth printing March, 2003; sixth printing April, 2005.

FRONT COVER: **The transformer rocks shown are *Tewít* the hunter, with *Tabl* his spear beside him and farther downriver is *sqwémay* his dog. The elk he was hunting is not shown.**

INSET: **Contemporary *Stó:lō* speaker Herb Joe.**

BACK COVER: **“We take our name from the word that we give the river: *Stó:lō*.” (Ernie Crey)**

T A B L E O F

	PAGE
Preface.....	i
Key to the <i>Stó:lō</i> Writing System for <i>Halq'éméylem</i>	v
An Introduction to the <i>Stó:lō</i>	
Chapter 1	
Through the Eyes of <i>Siyémches te Yeqwyeqwí:ws</i> <i>Siyémches</i> (Frank Malloway)	1
Early Encounters	
Chapter 2	
First Contact: Smallpox “a sickness that no medicine could cure, and no person escape” Keith Thor Carlson	27
Chapter 3	
<i>Stó:lō-Xwelítem</i> Relations During the Fur and Salmon Trade Era Keith Thor Carlson	41
Facing Government Coersion	
Chapter 4	
A Legacy of Broken Promises: The <i>Xwelítem</i> Exploration and Settlement of <i>S'ólh Téméxw</i> (<i>Our Land</i>) Keith Thor Carlson	53
Chapter 5	
Early Nineteenth Century <i>Stó:lō</i> Social Structures and Government Assimilation Policy Keith Thor Carlson	87

C O N T E N T S

	PAGE
Venturing Into the <i>Xwelítem</i> World	
Chapter 6	
<i>Stó:lō</i> People and the Development of the B.C. Wage Labour Economy Keith Thor Carlson and John Lutz	109
Chapter 7	
<i>Stó:lō</i> Soldiers, <i>Stó:lō</i> Veterans Keith Thor Carlson	125
Whose Land and Resources?	
Chapter 8	
The Aboriginal Right to Fish Laura Cameron	139
Chapter 9	
Salmon and Aboriginal Fishing on the Lower Fraser River: Present Day Management Issues, Concerns, and Impacts Vince Harper	153
Chapter 10	
Changing Land Use in <i>Sólh Téméxw</i> (Our Land): Population, Transportation, Ecology and Heritage Brian Thom & Laura Cameron	163
<i>Stó:lō</i> Oral Narratives	
Chapter 11	
Spoken Literature M. Teresa Carlson, Keith Thor Carlson, Brian Thom & Albert “Sonny” McHalsie	181
Place Names for Inner Cover Map	197
Photo Credits	200
Index	202

Preface

For many years it has been an objective of *Stó:lō* leaders to better inform *Xwelítem* society (mainstream Canadians) about the history and culture of the *Stó:lō* people, as well as the history of *Stó:lō-Xwelítem* relations. *Stó:lō* leaders recognize that by promoting cross-cultural awareness, prejudice and racism can be broken down and suspicion and resentment replaced with respect and understanding. This book, *You Are Asked To Witness*, is just one of many recent programs and projects initiated by the *Stó:lō* Nation to achieve this goal. Others include *Shxwt'a:selhawtxw* (The House of Long Ago and Today), a hands-on educational interpretive centre designed primarily to provide school students with culturally appropriate and historically balanced information about the *Stó:lō*. *Shxwt'a:selhawtxw* is located on *Stó:lō* Nation's Coqualeetza grounds in Chilliwack. Another dynamic avenue for accessing first hand information about the *Stó:lō* is the *Xá:ytem* Interpretive Centre in Mission. There visitors are exposed to aspects of *Stó:lō* spirituality and archaeology.

While plans for a book of this nature have been percolating in many *Stó:lō* people's minds for a long time, the project did not begin until the winter of 1992. At that time, a secondary school principal from Hope requested that a report dealing with "traditional *Stó:lō* leadership" be adapted for use in schools. The enthusiastic response of high school teachers to this hurriedly prepared curriculum supplement convinced *Stó:lō* Nation management and staff to look for ways to produce more comprehensive cross-cultural educational material. At a subsequent meeting of the Langley School District's Aboriginal Education Committee, (which includes *Stó:lō* Nation representatives), it was determined to begin a large scale *Stó:lō* curriculum development program, and to invite other school districts to participate. Shortly thereafter, the twenty-one *Stó:lō* communities represented by the *Stó:lō* Nation, and six Fraser Valley school districts formed the *Stó:lō* Curriculum Consortium, and work began in earnest.

In the spring of 1996, after a series of reviews by various *Stó:lō* Elders and cultural experts, a total of eighteen *Stó:lō* curriculum units ranging from science to social studies to physical education were ready to be introduced to the high school system in printed "binder" format. Following this, the *Stó:lō* Nation decided to take the project one step further and to publish as a book those units with the broadest appeal. To reach a more varied audience, and to contribute to the larger academic discourse, each of the selected units (now chapters) were exposed to the scrutiny of peer review prior to publication. Each chapter was subsequently sent to three anonymous academic reviewers and at least one additional *Stó:lō* reviewer. All reviewers are acknowledged experts in their field. *Stó:lō*

leaders recognized that it was not in their long term interests to produce a book whose content or interpretation could not be defended. Moreover, they did not want a book which in its attempt to address stereotypes inadvertently created new ones. Accordingly, within the pages of this book readers will find a complex cultural history describing both *Stó:lō* agency as well as Aboriginal reaction to *Xwelítem* actions.

You Are Asked To Witness is arranged in six roughly chronological thematic sections:

Section I: An Introduction to the *Stó:lō*

Section II: Early Encounters

Section III: Facing Government Coersion

Section IV: Venturing Into the *Xwelítem* World

Section V: Whose Land and Resources?

Section VI: Oral Narratives

While the entire book is designed to present a complete story, each section, and even every chapter within each section, can be read in isolation. This format is designed to engage a broader readership and attract people with focused interests who might not otherwise have consulted a larger monograph.

A brief introduction to each chapter outlines the major themes and content found within. At the end of each chapter readers will find detailed citations. To attract readers to what might otherwise be the least consulted sections of the book a beautiful motif designed by George Pennier has been shadowed behind all the endnotes. The compelling original art work found on the introductory page of each chapter has been contributed by renowned *Stó:lō* artist Stan Greene. Before commencing his work Stan sat down with draft copies of each chapter and acquainted himself with their content and "feel." He then spent many months carefully seeking inspiration so that his art would intimately complement the writings.

Readers will find that *Halq'eméylem* words within the text are presented in italics. This has been done to expose people to the continuance of the *Stó:lō* language and to provide readers with new words through which to view a culturally loaded landscape. (A guide to the proper pronunciation of *Halq'eméylem* words is found immediately following this preface.) Likewise, readers will find three separate font styles used throughout the book. This has been done to heighten the distinction and perspective of *Stó:lō* oral sources, *Xwelítem* archival sources and the writings of the authors.

In the *Halq'eméylem* language the word for mainstream Canadians of European descent is *Xwelítem*. Its application throughout enables us to avoid describing people in the negative (non-Aboriginal); in stereotypical racial terms (white); or in temporally or geographically inaccurately ways (Euro-Canadian or European). Moreover,

the literal translation of *Xwelitem* is “hungry people,” an expression with deep historical as well as metaphorical meaning. This linguistic context and the fact that the word continues to be used by contemporary *Stó:lō* adds another layer of meaning to each of the texts.

Readers will find that the expression “Aboriginal” is used to the exclusion of “Native” or “First Nation.” This decision was made upon the recommendation of a number of *Stó:lō* who felt this term was more appropriate. The word “Indian” is used within quotes or when referring to specific things people said within a specific historical context.

The main title, *You Are Asked To Witness*, comes from the expression *Stó:lō* “speakers” use when inviting respected guests to become witnesses at gatherings. In this context the expression refers to the speaker’s request that guests witness and pay attention in a respectful manner. It is in this way that the *Stó:lō* share their culture and history. For a more detailed description readers are encouraged to consult the final chapter of this volume.

A special acknowledgement must be given to those *Stó:lō* Elders, cultural experts, Chiefs, and family leaders, past and present, who have consistently articulated the need for cross-cultural awareness programs and for research directed toward sharing *Stó:lō* history and knowledge.

A few people have been especially helpful in seeing this project through to fruition, some more visibly than others. Listed alphabetically, they are: Chief Michelle Douglas of Matsqui, who while holding the education portfolio on the *Stó:lō* Nation’s Special Chief’s Council made clear to staff the importance of cross-cultural awareness initiatives; Sarah Eustace, who came late to the project, but whose enthusiasm and critical reading skills contributed significantly to the final product; Gary Fiegehen, for capturing aspects of *Stó:lō* life on film; Rosaleen George, one of the most kind and generous people I have ever met. I would like to acknowledge her

commitment to sharing her extensive knowledge including the *Halq’eméylem* language; Tracey Joe, who contributed not only her increasingly keen research skills, but also her insightful understanding of aspects of *Stó:lō* culture; Albert “Sonny” McHalsie, who as Cultural Advisor of the Aboriginal Rights and Title Department not only ensured that the chapters conveyed material of significance to *Stó:lō* community members, but also kept authors from presenting “too positive” a view of *Stó:lō* cultural history; Heather Myles, whose undaunting dedication to the refinement of earlier versions of the curriculum project helped make the final publication possible; Jan Perrier for sharing her skills in graphic design and layout; Clarence Pennier, Executive Director of the Aboriginal Rights and Title Department, who provided general direction and inspiration for the entire project as well as constructive critical comments on every chapter; Gwen Point, who as Education Manager at *Stó:lō* Nation steered the research into fruitful directions; the late Wesley Sam, a great *Stó:lō* historian who I was privileged to call a friend; and David Smith, who not only provided critical feedback and constructive comments on various chapters, but who in his capacity as *Stó:lō* Nation Archivist co-ordinated the process of anonymous peer review and compiled the book’s index. My own chief intellectual debt is to Dr.

Wesley T. Wooley.

The other authors and myself would also like to acknowledge certain other people who have played direct roles in the production of this book:

As Elders and/or Cultural Advisors: Edna Bobb, Joan Chapman, Bill Pat-Charlie, Jimmie Charlie, Rosaleen George, Stan Greene, Matilda “Tilly” Gutierrez, the late Sylvester Joe, James Louis, Mervyn “Skip” Malloway, Mary Malloway, Frank Malloway, Albert “Sonny” McHalsie, Clarence “Kat” Pennier, the late Bertha Peters, the late Nancy Phillips, Steven Point, the late Wesley Sam, Anabel Stewart, and Harold Wells.

For their assistance with the *Halq’eméylem* Language: Dr. Strang Burton, Diane Charlie, Rosaleen George, Matilda “Tilly” Gutierrez, Albert “Sonny” McHalsie, and Tess Ned.

For their assistance in research: Sarah Eustace, Tracey Joe, Gloria Morgan, Heather Myles, and David Smith.

For their artistic contributions: Stan Greene, and George Pennier.



Notes on Contributors

For Graphics/maps/photos: E.W. Carlson, M. Teresa Carlson, Gary Fiegehen, Tracey Joe, Neil LaHaise, Albert "Sonny" McHalsie, Anne Mohs, Jan Perrier, Ryan Ross, Brian Thom, The British Columbia Archives and Records Service, The Chilliwack Museum and Archives, The Royal British Columbia Museum, The Vancouver Museum.

For their critical editorial review of certain chapters: Al Barry, Sarah Eustace, Helen Joe, Albert "Sonny" McHalsie, Heather Myles, Clarence "Kat" Pennier, Norm Poggemoeller, Steven Point, Gwen Point, David Smith, Brian Thom, Dr. Lionel Adey, Dr. Jean Barman, Dr. Brian W. Dippie, Hamar Foster, Dr. Brent Galloway, Dr. Cole Harris, Dr. Michael Kew, Dr. Ralph Maud, Dr. Robert A. J. McDonald, Dr. Bruce Miller, Dr. Alf Siemens, Dr. Paul Tennant, Dr. Elizabeth Vibert and Dr. Wendy Wickwire.

Archivists and curators from the British Columbia Archives and Records Service, the Chilliwack Museum and Archives, the Royal British Columbia Museum and the *Stó:lō* Nation Archives, in particular Brian Young, Ron Denman, Kelly Stewart, Dan Savard and David Smith.

For their patient clerical assistance: Rhonda George, Tracey Joe, Dilhia Hall, Lori Kelly, Tara Kelly, Kim Stevenson, and Gail Thomas.

All the teachers who were involved in developing instructional strategies or in piloting earlier versions of this material: Brian Alexander, Dianne Anderson, Lori August, Carmen Babin, Katherine Baker, Mat Born, Anne Bourque, Sharon Bradley Green, Gerald Charlie, Ji Ai Cho, Mary Ellen Campbell, Marilyn Connoly, Roberta Cooper, Ingrid Cunningham, Donald Dale, Judy Dallin, Deborah LaFontane, Stacy DeVries, Will Dirks, Tammy Fox, Ernestine Franson, Brad Fuller, Donna Frost, Vic Gladish, Jan Gladish, Alison Guy, Dave Hague, Bev Holroyd, Dianne Hopton, Vic Janzen, Jon Jordan, Ulpu Kauppi, Dianna Kay, Alan Klein, Colleen Kennedy, Sarah Killby, Marlyn Lamarre, Marsha Lemon, Ron MacFarlane, Karen Mak, Anne McLaverty, Mark Milliron, Don Nelson, Ann Penner, Brenda Point, Tammy Quirring, Jackie Ross, Selina Shaffer, Karen Schultz, Dale Servatious, Sigrid Singleton, Don Sparks, Patrick Stedman, Ray Steiguilas, Gary Taylor, Dan Theissen, John Tymoshuk, Cynthia Weldon, Ruby Williams, and Jill Wight

Recognition is also due to Judy Dallin, Brian Domney, Mel Folkman, Heather Hansen, Jim Latham, Rhoda Peters, Norm Poggemoeller, Heike Sasaki, Laura Smith, and Robert Stan Watchorn. In any project of this size it is inevitable that some people who deserve special recognition will be inadvertently left out. If I have forgotten to include anyone's name, I apologize.

This volume is only a series of interpretations. It is not *the* interpretation. With the *Stó:lō* Nation leaders, I encourage others to publish additional interpretations which might, challenge, oppose or complement those presented here. Moreover while the *Stó:lō* Nation sponsored this project, interpretation and all errors of fact are the sole responsibility of the individual authors.

Laura Cameron wrote her Master's Thesis, *Openings to a Lake*, in history at the University of British Columbia. In it she explores the ways different communities remembered and experienced the draining of Sumas lake. A published version of her thesis is forthcoming from the University of Toronto Press. She also has an article on the history of Sumas lake appearing in the upcoming issue of *Native Studies Review* (Summer 1997). She was born and raised in the Fraser Valley and is an earnest advocate of environmental protection. Currently she is completing her PhD at Cambridge University in England.

Keith Thor Carlson began his association as historian for the *Stó:lō* Nation in 1992, subsequent to finishing his Masters Degree in History at the University of Victoria. His MA thesis, *The Twisted Road To Freedom*, analyzes the decolonization process in the Philippines and was published by the University of the Philippines Press in 1995. He is the author of two recent articles on aspects of *Stó:lō* history: "The Lynching of Louie Sam" (*BC Studies*, Spring 1996), and "*Stó:lō* Exchange Dynamics" (*Native Studies Review*, Summer 1997). While still working for the *Stó:lō* Nation, he is also in the process of completing his PhD at the University of British Columbia.

M. Teresa Carlson designed the interactive exhibits at *Shxwt'a:selhawtxw* (The House of Long Ago and Today) and now works as the curator of this *Stó:lō* hands-on educational interpretive centre in Chilliwack. Many of the programs she co-ordinates at *Shxwt'a:selhawtxw* involve *Stó:lō* Elders sharing their traditional knowledge with the younger generation. She has a degree from the University of Victoria in English Literature and a particular interest in written or "captured" Aboriginal oral narratives. She is currently completing a post-graduate program in Cultural Resource Management at the University of Victoria and is exploring issues of race, culture and appropriation of voice.

Vincent Harper began his association as a biologist for the *Stó:lō* Fishing Authority and the *Stó:lō* Nation between 1991 and 1995. Aside from biology, he also has extensive experience and educational training as an archaeologist, working at the Hatzic Rock excavation among other projects. Currently he works as a freelance environmental assessment agent in the Fraser Valley.

John Lutz is an Assistant Professor of history at the University of Victoria. He was one of the first scholars to seriously study the involvement of Aboriginal people in the post-fur trade economy. Extracts of his Doctoral dissertation *After the Fur Trade: The Aboriginal Labouring Class in British Columbia, 1849-1890* have been published in article form in *The Journal of the Canadian Historical*

Association. He completed his Masters degree at the University of Victoria and his Doctorate at Ottawa. Since finishing his studies he has secured a number of post-doctoral fellowships.

Albert “Sonny” McHalsie has been working as a researcher and more recently as the cultural advisor for the *Stó:lō* Nation since 1985. In this capacity he seeks to ensure that *Stó:lō* culture and history are interpreted accurately and respectfully. In the past three years he has begun presenting papers on aspects of traditional *Stó:lō* culture at various academic conferences. He has recently co-authored an article dealing with the exploitation of *Stó:lō* slaves at Fort Langley which is forthcoming in *BC Studies*. He continues to exercise his Aboriginal right to catch and sell salmon from his hereditary family owned fishing spot in the Fraser Canyon. He is the father of eight children and sits as the representative of his extended family on the *Shxw’óhamel* Band council.

Siyémches (Chief Frank Malloway) is the hereditary leader of the Yakwekwioose Band in Chilliwack. His “Indian name” can be traced back to one of the original four brothers of the Chilliwack people. *Siyémches* is the leader of the *Yeqwyeqwi:ws* longhouse where he and many other *Stó:lō* people practise the traditional Coast Salish Winter Dance ceremonial. He has been an active advocate of *Stó:lō* rights and a vigorous promoter of the revival of *Stó:lō* traditional culture. With other Elders, he currently advises *Stó:lō* Nation Chiefs on matters of culture.

Brian Thom received his MA in Anthropology from the University of British Columbia in 1995. His primary interest is in Coast Salish ethnography and

archaeology. He has been working for the *Stó:lō* Nation since 1994, co-ordinating their traditional use study, developing high-school curriculum and conducting research on *Halq’emélem* place names. Before his current position, Brian worked with the U.B.C. Museum of Anthropology, Semiahmoo First Nation, Saanich Native Heritage Society, Upper Skagit Tribal Council and Cowichan Tribal Council.

