Hul’q’umi’num’ stories of Tth’asiyetun: The last Coast Salish warrior chief

by
Harvey George

Grad. Certificate (Linguistics of a First Nations Language), Simon Fraser University, 2018

Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

in the Department of Linguistics Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

© Harvey George 2019
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
Spring 2019

Copyright in this work rests with the author. Please ensure that any reproduction or re-use is done in accordance with the relevant national copyright legislation.
Approval

Name: Harvey George
Degree: Master of Arts (Linguistics)
Title: Hul’q’umi’num’ stories of Tth’asiyetun:
The last Coast Salish warrior chief

Examining Committee: Chair: Nancy Hedberg
Professor

Donna B. Gerdts
Senior Supervisor
Professor

Ruby Peter – Sti’tum’at
Supervisor
Hul’q’umi’num’ Elder

Date Approved: April 15, 2019
Ethics Statement

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

a. human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics

or

b. advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University

or has conducted the research

c. as a co-investigator, collaborator, or research assistant in a research project approved in advance.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed with the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada

Update Spring 2016
Abstract

This paper is about the life and times of the Coast Salish chief Tth’asiyetun, a hereditary leader of the T’eet’qe’ village, on Valdes Island, British Columbia. Tth’asiyetun was a key figure in the establishment of Fort Langley, center of the northwest fur trade, and he was the lead warrior chief at the historic battle at Maple Bay, a decisive victory over the Yuqwulhte’x raiders from the north. His descendants have since experienced their loss of land, loss of language, loss of history, and loss of dignity. The purpose of my research is to take my family’s oral histories, together with some corroborating research, and create a set of stories in our Hul’q’umi’num’ language that relate the events from a Coast Salish perspective. I offer this work as a homage to my grandmother, who taught me the importance of keeping our language strong, and to the future generations of language learners.

Keywords: Tth’asiyetun; Coast Salish; Hul’q’umi’num’ language; Battle at Maple Bay; Fort Langley
Dedication

This paper is dedicated to my dear grandmother Madeline Norris. This is her family history.
Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my mother Norah George for insisting on keeping our family history and language alive.

Thank you to our elders and mentors, Ruby Peter, Sti’um’at, and Delores Louie, Swustanulwut, for guiding our progress in Hul’q’umi’num’ for over six years of university courses.

Thank you to Professor Donna Gerdts for her expert guidance in the Vancouver Island Hul’q’umi’num’ dialect. A thank you to Dr. Nancy Hedberg for her dedicated support for the MA program.

I wish to thank Professor Tom Hukari, one of my first professors, who got me started working with Hul’q’umi’num’. Thank you for being at my defense. Thanks to my professors Dorothy Kennedy and Sonya Bird for their academic insights and words of encouragement.

Thanks to Rae Anne Baker, Lauren Schneider, and Charles Ulrich for help with technical details and editing. Thanks to Michelle Parent for the maps. Thank you to the fellow graduate students in my cohort for your interest and support in my research.
# Table of Contents

Approval ............................................................................................................................... ii  
Ethics Statement ............................................................................................................... iii 
Abstract ............................................................................................................................ iv  
Dedication .......................................................................................................................... v  
Acknowledgements .......................................................................................................... vi  
Table of Contents .............................................................................................................. vii  
List of Figures ................................................................................................................... viii  
Preface .............................................................................................................................. ix  

## Chapter 1. Introduction ........................................................................................................ 1  
1.1. Who was T’hasiyetun? ................................................................................................. 1  
1.2. Setting the time and place ......................................................................................... 3  
1.3. The method, design, and goal of the project .............................................................. 5  
1.4. Four stories on the life of T’h’asiyetun ..................................................................... 7  

## Chapter 2. Life as the son of a chief ............................................................................... 10  

## Chapter 3. The winds of change ..................................................................................... 15  

## Chapter 4. Battle of Maple Bay ..................................................................................... 19  

## Chapter 5. The aftermath of the battle ......................................................................... 30  

## Chapter 6. Conclusion .................................................................................................... 35  

References ......................................................................................................................... 38
List of Figures

Figure 1 Oil painting of Tth’asiyetun by Paul Kane (Maclachlan 1998: 229) ................... 2
Figure 3 Hul’q’umi’num’ place names on Valdes Island (Michelle Parent, 2019) .......... 4
Figure 4 Salish Sea locations featured in the stories (Michelle Parent, 2019) ................. 8
Figure 5 Fort Langley (Surrey History 2014) ................................................................... 15
Figure 6 The battle of Maple Bay (map by Harvey George) ........................................... 29
Figure 7 Joseph Norris | Qw’ashuluq, 1996 (photo by Harvey George) ....................... 36
Figure 8 The copper shield gifted by the Elders in Cape Mudge (photo by Harvey George) .......................................................................................................................... 36
Preface

My concern has always been the depletion of the Hul’q’umi’num’ dialect spoken on S.E. Vancouver Island. Records show that one-third of the First Nations people were located in the West Coast and 64% of First Peoples languages in Canada were once spoken in British Columbia. Many of the dialects of the First People in B.C. have vanished, and they continue to become extinct. Why, you might ask? Those answers will require further study and discussion at another time. For now, I look to the future: I truly believe in the importance of keeping the Vancouver Island Hul’q’umi’num’ dialect alive and well, because you cannot have access to your ancient history and culture without knowledge of your ancient language. Keeping one’s ancient dialect can only help to enhance one’s ability to survive in a Canada with a European dominant society.

Fortunately, I never attended the Canadian government and church run experiment of assimilating the original people of the land into the realm of European ideals. Yet, my mother’s father in 1890 was one of the first students abducted and taken to Kuper Island’s (now Penalakut) notorious residential school. My grandmother’s parents hid my grandmother, which saved her from the destructive and negative impact of Canada’s social experiment to kill the Indian in the child! Therefore, my grandfather spoke and read in English, yet my grandmother never spoke a word of English.

My early education was in government run Indian Day Schools on the Halalt and Cowichan Reserves. My first taste of mainstream biases and racist attitudes occurred at St. Ann’s School run by Catholic nuns. Those biases and racist beliefs escalated in my high school years. There was only one other First Nations student, a female student, at Cowichan High School in Duncan, B.C., when I attended there. This was daunting, but the comments of my parents stayed utmost in my mind. My father stated to me, the night before he met his demise, “You must get a higher education to escape the type of work that I am doing. Promise me!” Secondly, my mother said, “Both sides of your family tree...your ancestors were from noble classes...you shall not be a doormat to society’s ideals and negative attitudes towards our People or YOU!”

Another comment that stuck in my mind was when I asked my English Professor,
“Why do European settlers have such arrogant and racist attitudes towards the original people of this land?” He answered, “Unfortunately, Herb, you have to delve into the realm of dead white men in Liberal Studies but remember to get a degree: all you have to do is read and write.” Read and write—I did just that at VIU in Nanaimo, B.C., earning my B.A. degree in Liberal Studies, and studying my Hul’q’umi’num’ language. After various work in service of my tribe, my career took a major turn, following in the footsteps of my mother, well-known Hul’q’umi’num’ language teacher Norah George. I began to apply and share my knowledge as a Culture and Language teacher in Cowichan Valley School District 79.

In this age of reconciliation, my principal at the ABED department arranged for twelve of us Culture Teaching Assistants to access a Hul’q’umi’num’ certification program through SFU’s linguistics department. Fifteen language and linguistics courses later, I moved on to post-graduate education, joining a cohort of sixteen Hul’q’umi’num’ language specialists in the MA in Linguistics of a First Nations Language program through SFU. The past seven years has been a positive experience for me working with Dr. Donna Gerdts, a linguist who is expert in the Hul’q’umi’num’ language, along with my two dear Elders and native speaker linguists, Ruby Peter and Delores Louie. Our courses covered all aspects of linguistics and Hul’q’umi’num’ language structure, culminating in the study of stories. Listening and analyzing Elders’ stories has led me to enjoy composing and telling stories of my own. Now I am being called upon to help train other post-secondary students. I was pleased to help team-teach the phonetics and grammar courses in summer 2016 and the SFU certificate students in 2018.

This magnifying of my expertise in the Hul’q’umi’num’ dialect and challenge to my intellectual abilities has helped me fulfill the dream of paying homage to my dear grandmother who bestowed an ancient F.N. name of Swutztus to me. For my last step in accomplishing my master’s degree, I followed up on my research on my grandmother’s ancient family tree. My research links Hul’q’umi’num’ language and culture to important historical events. Through this project, I can place meat on the ancient bones of my ancestor, comparing the oral accounts from my grandmother about her family lineage to the numerous academic accounts. My research has the goal of leaving a written record of our legacy, and in particular I have in mind in particular that my own son will be inspired
to learn more about his ancestry through this project.

My goal in pursuing this SFU graduate degree is to further my knowledge and understanding of the Hul’q’umi’num’ language—this is a life-long process. Linguistic skills will help preserve the ancient stories of my dear grandmother’s noble bloodline as well as open up a path toward creating a new generation of Hul’q’umi’num’ stories through original telling of my own memories and experiences. We have opened a path to assure that our ancient language and oral history be included in B.C. academic studies.
Chapter 1. Introduction

This paper is about the life and times of the Coast Salish chief Tth’asiyetun, a hereditary leader of the T’ee’t’qe’ village, on Valdes Island, British Columbia. This story of Tth’asiyetun takes place in the land and waters of the Salish Sea in the Coast Salish territory, around the time of first contact with the Europeans. Tth’asiyetun was a key figure in the establishment of Fort Langley, center of the northwest fur trade, and he was the lead warrior chief at the historic battle at Maple Bay, a decisive victory over the Yuqwulhte’x raiders from the north, from Cape Mudge, on Quadra Island, British Columbia.

1.1. Who was Tth’asiyetun?

According to what I have been able to find out, Tth’asiyetun was the oldest of four brothers, son to Qwulhutstun, the hereditary chief of the T’ee’t’qe’ people. He came from one of the smallest of the Cowichan Villages, but because of his abilities as a trader, Europeans considered him to be an important Cowichan chief (Maclachlan 1998: 228). His name is rendered differently in different sources: “Chaseaw” by Alexander McKenzie, various ways in the Fort Langley Journals, from “Shashia” and “Josie” to “Old Joe”, “Saw-se-a”, “Tsawsiai” “Soseiah”, and “Thosieten”. This last most closely resembles the name as I have come to know it: Tth’asiyetun.

When the famous painter and adventurer Paul Kane arrived at Fort Victoria in 1848, he encountered Tth’asiyetun among the important people there. Kane’s oil painting of Tth’asiyeten (Figure 1) is in the collection held at the Royal Ontario Museum.

---

1 T’ee’t’qe’ is probably related to the form t’eqe’ “salaal berry”. T’ee’t’qe’ was originally the summer home of this family. Their winter home was in Quw’utsun’ territory on a little island at the confluence of the Koksilah River and the Cowichan River across from the village of Lhumhumuluts’ (Clemclem).

2 This group is often referred to in literature as Yuculta and Lekwiltok, and Hul’q’umi’num’ speakers call them the Yuqwulhte’x or Yuqwulhte’.
Kane (1859) described him as an impressive looking War Chief, with his long black hair hanging down to his well-worn *p’q’ulqun luxwtun* (mountain goat blanket). According to the accounts, Tth’asiyetun stood over six feet tall and was very strong and clear of mind. Kane also encountered Tth’asiyeten’s eldest son, whose name he spelt Chullium, and asked them to pose for him (Figure 2). The story goes that Paul Kane wanted to take away Chullium’s hat away to sketch it, but was refused, but he and his father did agree to pose for sketches, which were later turned into oil paintings. The original sketches and the son’s portrait are in the Stark Museum in Texas.

---

3 Various spellings of the son’s name are found, including Schullqhellum. Most likely this is something on the lines of Tsulxilum.

4 An image of Kane’s 1984 painting of Chullium can be found in Suttles & Morag 1988: 230.
1.2. Setting the time and place

The backdrop of the story is the 1700s, a time of exploration by Spanish and English adventurers. Tth’asiyetun’s father Qwulhutstun was the hereditary leader of T’eeet’qe’ village, located at the confluence of the Koksilah and Cowichan Rivers in Quw’utsun’ territory, on southeast Vancouver Island, in the vicinity of what is now Duncan, B.C. This was the permanent home of the family. At some point, Tth’asiyetun’s father moved the T’eeet’qe’ people to what is now Shingle Point on Valdes Island, and this would become the home base for Tth’asiyetun until his death in 1870. See the map in Figure 2 for reference.5

5 This map is adapted from one from Lyackson First Nation (2019), with place names based on research in Rozen (1985) and Gerdts et al. (1997).
The Coast Salish life style involved traveling in large canoes around the Salish Sea to harvest, hunt, and fish, and engage in spiritual and cultural activities that strengthen ties between villages. The Europeans that arrived in the 1700s found a society based on abundance, social stratification, with much specialization of arts and culture. Mostly the European visitors made brief excursions to the area and then left, and the traditional ways of life for the Coast Salish people continued, augmented by some new items and some new diseases. But with the founding of the early forts in support of the fur trade companies, the dynamic started to shift. The founding of Fort Langley in 1824 was a notable event. Fort Victoria came later in 1843. Still the biggest threat to the Coast Salish tribes were the rivalries that led to warfare and also the raids from the fierce tribes from the north. The battle of Maple Bay in 1840 marked a turning point, as it led to a peace treaty between the First Peoples. Little did they realize their biggest source of
trouble would be the colonizers, move in on their lands and exploiting the wealth of their traditional territory. The Indian Act, first passed in 1876, restricted access to historic hunting and fishing areas. First Nations people were crowded into small reserves. Populations fell to disease, mostly caused by poor conditions. But the end of the century, the traditional life style of the Coast Salish warrior was over.

1.3. The method, design, and goal of the project

A particular focus of my research will be to link Hul’q’umi’num’ language and culture to important historical events. My research will combine and relay my grandmother’s oral stories of her ancestor Tth’asiyetun. There are numerous accounts in published sources, references to this hereditary leader’s exploits and the impact of contact with the first European settlers of Vancouver Island. Accounts of Tth’asiyetun are included in works on Fort Langley (Maclachlan 1998, Suttles 1998), reports on the battle of Maple Bay (Anglebeck and McLay 2011, and references therein), and also in studies of the life and work of Paul Kane (Kane 1859, Lister 2010, 2016). Much of this scholarship is in turn based on oral histories of the Hul’q’umi’num’ people of the time.6

My research into oral history concerning Tth’asiyetun unfolded unexpectedly in 1996, when the board of directors for the Hul’q’umi’num’ Treaty Group (HTG) asked me to research the hereditary leadership system for Halalt First Nation’s people. The HTG represented the collective of Cowichan Tribes, Chemainus First Nation, Penelakut Tribe, Halalt First Nation, and Lake Cowichan First Nation. The HTG’s collective member’s task was to hammer out a postmodern day treaty with the Canadian and British Colombia governments. The majority of B.C. is unceded traditional territory of the First People’s of the Land. Only fifteen signed treaties exist in B.C., the fourteen Douglas Treaties (1850-1854) and all fourteen are located on Vancouver Island. One other treaty is Treaty 8 (1899) located in northeastern B.C.

Growing up from child to adulthood, I had the opportunity of spending my days with my grandmother, Madeline Norris, Tl’ulixwtunaat, from T’eet’qe’ married into

---

6 For example, Anglebeck & McLay (2011) report that they based their research on twenty different oral histories.
Halalt. I acquired family history from her, and she only spoke Hul’q’umi’num’, knowing only a few words of English. The purpose of her relating stories to me was that she was passing on the family history and traditional teachings of the Coast Salish people of long ago with the expectation that I would take them to heart, remember them, and take responsibility for carrying them forward. This is our traditional Coast Salish way. My grandmother often mentioned tidbits of information regarding our family connection to an ancient hereditary system. I was just a young parent at the time that my grandmother passed away, but I always treasured the stories she shared with me. This time with her, and also my mother’s commitment to the Hul’q’umi’num’ language, shaped my life and career, giving me a direction.

When I was tasked by HTG to research the hereditary system I wondered what to do. I approached the eldest surviving member of our grandmother’s family tree, Abner Thorne, the son of my aunt Agnes Thorne. Mr. Thorne was a tribal councillor and employed as an historian for Cowichan Tribes. I conducted a set of interviews with him in 1996, where he spoke in both Hul’q’umi’num’ and English. He related information shared to me by his mother, as well as knowledge he gained from other Elders. These interviews were recorded and later transcribed and translated. This work refreshed my memory of the family history.

Whenever the published accounts differed from my family’s personal histories, I have followed the latter in constructing my stories. We can only speculate at the extent to which their misconceptions about the structure of Coast Salish society affected their perceptions of the role of Tth’asiyetun. From the vantage point of a person of Coast Salish heritage, I have tried to give a more authentic account of what life was like for Tth’asiyetun, and especially to lay it down in our own Hul’q’umi’num’ language.

Why reminisce about the exploits of Tth’asiyetun? Today, there is much discussion about reconciliation with the original peoples of this land. This has highlighted the need for more information about local history from the First Nations viewpoint. My task was daunting because the settlers, the visitors who never left, have written about their history, yet our First Peoples’ history was brushed aside. Exploits of Europeans are presented in history books, while the First Peoples of the Coast Salish territory are
mentioned only briefly if at all. What better place to start setting the record straight than with the story of a true Coast Salish war hero.

Colonization has brought the collapse of the hereditary system of chiefs, replaced by an elected tribal government. What happened to the descendants of Tth’asiyetun? We are still here. For the most part we have since experienced loss of land, loss of language, loss of dignity, loss of oral history. Today Tth’asiyetun’s descendants consider themselves a third or fourth world people living in a first world country now called Canada.

It is important to have these stories in Hul’q’umi’num’ because they are the oral history of my grandmother’s family, and they were Hul’q’umi’num’ speakers. These stories come alive when told in our own Hul’q’umi’num’ dialect from our own point of view.

1.4. Four stories on the life of Tth’asiyetun

Based on the oral histories combined with academic research, we can construct a timeline of some of the major events in Tth’asiyetun’s life (see map in Figure 4 below).

- Tth’asiyetun born: sometime between 1780 and 1790.7
- Takes wife on mainland, father-in-law is Kwantlen chief “Whattlekainum.”
- Fort Langley founded: 1824.
- Father, Qwulhutstun, T’eet’qe’ chief, died: 1828.
- Battle of Maple Bay (Hwtl’upnets): 1840.
- Youngest son (also named Tth’asiyetun) given to Yuqwulhte’x to broker peace treaty (renamed Xuntum).
- Tth’asiyetun and son “Chullium” painted by Paul Kane at Fort Victoria: 1848.
- Tth’asiyetun died at T’eet’qe’: 1870.

7 I believe Tth’asiyetun was born at the original T’eet’qe’ site in Quw’utsun’ shortly before his father relocated the family to Valdes Island.
In relating the life of Tth’asiyetun, I have broken the narrative down into four stories focused on crucial times of his life. In Chapter 2, I imagine what his life would have been like growing up as the son of an important Coast Salish chief. I talk about the training and seriousness that youth of the time took toward their future responsibilities as leaders and warriors. I move ahead in Chapter 3 to his life as a young man, already established as a warrior and leader, as he takes a wife on the mainland. This story focuses...
on how he was called upon by the Europeans to help establish a fort for the fur trade, and
how he picked a location near his father-in-law’s village for this lucrative enterprise.

Next, we turn to his role as a Coast Salish hereditary leader during the times of the raids
by the northern tribes. Chapter 4 describes the planning and execution of the battle at
Maple Bay, a crucial turning point in our history. Chapter 5 discusses the peace treaty
that Tth’asiyeten negotiated that led to the end of the wars. I conclude this story with a
note on how these historic events still relate to my family today.
Chapter 2.  Life as the son of a chief

The first story in my project imagines what it would have been like growing up as a son of a chief in the time of Tth’asiyetun. We know much about the lives of the t’at mustimuhw (pre-contact First Nations people) through the stories that have been passed down in our families. Many of the values spoken of in this story resonate in our cultural teachings today.

hwun’ swuy’qe’allh kwu Tth’asiyetun

Tth’asiyetun as a young man

’een’thu Swutth’ tus tun’ni’ tsun ’utl’ Lhumlhumuluts’.
I’m Swutth ’tus, I’m from Lhumlhumuluts’.

thunu sqwul’qwul’ nilh tse’ kwthu Tth’asiyetun.
My story is going to be about Tth’asiyetun.

nilh ni’ tth’up’iya’qws kwsunu si’leelh.
This is the great-great-great grandfather of my grandmother (Madeline Norris).

’i’ nilh syuw’a’na’qws tthu hwuhwilmuhw tthu tth’asiyetun kwus ’uw’ hwun’a’ tuw’
telutsul tthu hwulunitum’.
And he was the chief at the time that the first white people arrived.

’uwu tsun niin’ tl’lim’ ’uw’ shtatul’stuhw kw’uni’ sht’es kwus hwun’ swuy’qe’allh tthu
 tth’asiyetun.
I don’t know about when Tth’asiyetun was still a boy.

’i’ ’uwu tsun niin’ shtatul’stuhw ’uw’ niis tstamut.
I don’t know what happened to him.
It’s my late grandmother Madeline Norris where my story comes from, she’s from T’eet’qe’.

A long time ago, Th’asiyetun’s father, Qwulhutstun, was chief of a Cowichan family here at T’eet’qe’.

Qwulhutstun decided to move his people to Valdes Island.

When they arrived there they named that place T’eet’qe’ as well.

That was Th’asiyetun’s father Qwulhutstun that was training him when he was still a child, showing him how to become the chief of the T’eet’qe’ people.

When he was still a child, Th’asiyetun started going for spiritual baths in many different places—lakes, rivers up in the mountains.

He had to sit with his Elders when they were discussing things.
And he was given the information of how the ancestors used to be.

They told him stories and histories.

And he was given all the traditional teachings about everything concerning the T’eeet’qe’ people.

When he was yet a young man, they took him along on trips to visit different Coast Salish villages, crossing over to Musqueam and different locations in what is now the United States.

Wherever they travelled, Tth’asiyetun’ would hear his father making speeches concerning the traditional teachings, and he always listened carefully.

When he was still a young man, he waited on the Elders when they ate and he would take care of them, making sure that everything was going well with the T’eeet’qe’ people.
He always went hunting, catching deer, elk, everything for feeding his visitors.

And he also went out on the water catching salmon, seal, and everything from the ocean.

He always gathered everything to give to his own people.

When he was still a child, he was always watching his family doing things.

He was clever at making weapons and various things.

Sometimes he would make bows and spears, everything they used as weapons.

When he was still a young man, he allegedly became a very fierce warrior, often going to war.

My grandmother said that he was very clever and manly.

So it came to pass that he became a very high-status person.
sus nem’ wa’lu ‘uw’ mulyistum ‘u thu stsi’elh slheni’ tun’ni’ ‘utl’ qwan’tl’un’, shlhq’a’tth ‘u tthu sta’luw’, xut’ustum’ Fraser River.

So they arranged for him to marry a high-status woman from Kwantlen.\(^8\)

‘u kwun’a’ wulh hith ‘i’ hay tthu stsi’elh mustimuhw ni’ mulyituls ‘u tthu tun’ni’ ‘u tthu stsi’elh mustimuhw.

In those days, high-status people only married other high-status people.

si’em’ mustimuhw tthu ni’ hwu shkw’ilhuw’s tthu Tth’asiyetun.

His father-in-law was a very respected person.

‘u kw’un’a wulh hith niilh kwu’elh hwun’ swiw’lus ‘utl’ Tth’asiyetun.

This is how it would have been for Tth’asiyetun as a young man.

---

\(^8\) It is said that Tth’asiyetun eventually had thirteen wives in total. Important chiefs often had large households and also wives in different locations. Important connections were made through these marriages.
Chapter 3. The winds of change

Figure 4 Fort Langley (Surrey History 2014)

The story continues—the son of the chief has become an important warrior, well-known and respected by all. His reputation was known throughout the Halkomelem territory on Vancouver Island and on the mainland.

yu ’eye’q tthu’ muk’ stem
Everything starts to change

kwus hwun’a’ tetsul tthu hwulunitum’ ’i’ stl’i’s kws thuyt-s tthu sq’i’lexutstun’,
xut’ustum’ fort.
The white man arrived and wanted to build a fort.

ni’ xtsutus kws ni’s tse’ ’u tthu thi sta’luw’, xut’ustum’ Fraser River.
And they decided to build it on the Fraser River.

nilh ni’ hwu Fort Langley.
That was what became Fort Langley.
This was the start of the fur trade for beaver, mink, otter, bear, deer, elk, and moose.

They wanted to acquire fur pelts from the First Nations people.

They needed to get a place ready on the shore of the Fraser River.

People came from afar coming downstream to that fort.

And they needed a place for the big ships to come ashore, the big ships from England, Europe.

They loaded pelts on the big ships and took them to China.

The pelts went for a lot of money when they were sold.
suw’ suw’q tus t thu hw uluni’tum’ kw’ u ni’ shtatul’s tuhw t thu tumuhw, nilh tse’ ts’ ewut
’u kw thu sni’ st ew ut t thu sq’ ilexutstun’.

And so they sought out a knowledgable person who could help them decide on the
location of the fort on the river.

wulh siwul t thuw’ne’ullh hw unit um’ ’u t thu syuw’ in’a’qw Tth’ asiyetun, sus ’uw’
numnu sus qwulst-hwus kws ts’ ewutewut ’eelhtun.
And so they heard about the chief Tth’ asiyetun, and he went to help them.

’u kwsus nem’ hw tsel ne’n tusw’t-hwum’, ’imush ’i’ yathulh ’uw’ kwun’atul’ t thu hay
’ul’ q u x st amush ’ula’ulh ’u t thu q’ulxuw’lh, ts’h wule’ ’i’ ni’ xuth unlhshe’
q’ ulxuw’lh.

Tth’ asiy et un al ways travelled with many warriors, sometimes forty war canoes.

ni’ kwu’elh ’u shus hwu hwiil’ as mutus t thu hw ulunitum’.
He could thus provide protection for the white people.

thuytum t thu shn’ istewut t thu hw unit um’ x u t’ u stum’ fort ni’ ’utl’ Qw’a’an’tl’ul’ utl
Tth’ asiyet un.

Tth’ asiyetun showed them a place near the Kwantlen people.9

kwus wulh thuytus t thu shni’s t thu sq’i’ lexustsun’ ’i’ stutesth tse’ ’u t thu shkw’i’lhuw’s,
ni’ ’utl’ Qw’a’an’tl’ul’.

He chose a spot for the fort close to his father-in-law’s, there at Kwantlen.

nilh ni’ st’ee ’u kw’uw’ ts’ ewut-s t thu shkw’i’lhuw’s, Hwatulqinum.10
This was done as a favor to his father-in-law, “Whattlekainum”.

9 The Kwantlen’s first contact with white men came in 1808 when the Simon Fraser expedition descended
the Fraser River to its mouth.

10 Whattlekainum is the spelling for his name in the Fort Langley Journals. This problem is something more
like hwatulqinum, with the wh being the labialized velar fricative, and the ending =kainum, being the popular
male name suffix =qinum. So this estimated name is what I will use in this story.
hay ’ul’ ni’ thi shhw’uy’s tthu shkw’i’lhuw’s.

This was an important business venture for his father-in-law.¹¹

nilh tse’ ni’ shhw’uy’s tthu mustimuhw ni’ ’utl’ Qw’a’an’tl’ul’.

This was important for the Kwantlen people.

t’axustum’ ’u tthu kw’uluw’ ’i thuluqtul ’u kw shkw’i’lhuws.

Tth’asiyetun and his father in-law shared the profit.

suw’ t’axustul ’eelhtun qux ni’ wil’ syaays.

When people arrived at the fort, his father-in-law said that they must give him some pelts before they could enter the fort.

’uwu nanus ’uw hith ’i’ ni’ wa’lu q’ay kwu mens tthu Tth’asiyetun, kwu mens Qwulhutstun, ni’ wa’lu q’ay.

It wasn’t too long later Tth’asiyetun’s father, Qwulhutstun, died.

suw’ hwu shsi’em’s kwu’elh tthu Tth’asiyetun tl’e’ wulh le’lum’i’lh ’ul’ qux mulustimuhw ni’ ’utl’ t’eeet’qe’.

And so Tth’asiyetun became chief to watch over all the people at T’eeet’qe’.

¹¹ When people arrived at the fort, his father-in-law said that they must give him some pelts before they could enter the fort. So this was a very lucrative partnership.
Chapter 4. Battle of Maple Bay

After many successes in trade and leadership, Tth’asiyetun still had an on-going problem—the raids from the northern groups. As a leading Cowichan chief, he was looked to for leadership in providing protection for his relations. This is the story of how he united the Coast Salish warriors under one plan of attack to defeat a formidable enemy.

ni’ wulh tl’am! tthu sxilux ni’ utl’ hwtl’upnets
Enough is enough! The battle of Maple Bay

’een’thu swutth’tus, tun’ni’ tsun ‘utl’ lhumlhumuluts’.
I’m swutth ‘tus from Lumlumuluts’.

‘uw’ thu’it t thu sqwul’qwul’, t thu ni’ulh sht’es t thu hwulmuhw kwsuw’ hwun’
oxixul’uxtul’s.
This is a true story, about when the First Nations people were still fighting with each other.

tun’ni’ tun’a sxwi’em’ ’u lhunu si’leelh, Madeline Norris, T’ulixwtunaat.
This story comes from my late grandmother, Madeline Norris, T’ulixwtunaat.

‘iilh m’i ’e’wu t thu nuts’uwmuhw xixul’uxtul’ ’u t thu quw’utsun’ mustimuhw.
And the strangers used to come warring with the Quw’utsun’ people.

’i’ niilh wulh si’lew’ themuwuts sil’anum.
This was two hundred years ago.

nillh ni’ ’u t thu ’apun ’i’ kw’ te’tsus nets’uw’uts sil’anum.
This was in the 1800s.
And it's actually a true story.

This is about my grandmother's great-great-great grandfather, Tth'asiyetun.

He was a hereditary chief of the First People at the time when the white people arrived.

Tth'asiyetun helped them when they were building Fort Langley, over across the water on the mainland.

Tth'asiyetun was a very respected man.

The Yuqwulhte'x people were always coming.

They came into the territory of the Quw'utsun' and Xul'el't-hw people.

They seemed to be always making war on the First Nations people here.

They would kill the men and steal the women and children.
Tth’asiyetun was very upset and angry that so many of his fellow First Nations people were disappearing, his children, the young people. He was really sad and angry about losing his family members.

And so he called on his fellow First Nations people, all of his relatives, to come and discuss it at Shingle Point. So they talked about it together and decided on a plan on what to do about the Yuqwulhte’x who were always coming here to make war. They decided and they said, “We will tell all our fellow Coast Salish people, we shall tell them to come meet and make a plan.” So they sent out the word to all the Hul’q’umi’num’ people.
To the islands and across on the other side on the mainland, all the Coast Salish people they called together.

Forty-four hereditary chiefs arrived, the heads of all the Coast Salish people, with their warriors.

For many days they talked about what the Yuqwulhte’x were doing in the Coast Salish territories and how to deal with them.

They had murdered many, many men and stolen their women and children.

And they said, “That’s enough. It would be best if we would kill them and make them stop so that they would never return to make war on us again.”

For a long time they prepared themselves; all the Coast Salish people prepared for battle.

---

12 The first meeting of hereditary leaders took place at T’eeet’qe’ on Valdes Island. Tth’asiyetun told the local leaders to send out emissaries to all of their friends through the Salish Sea—Musqueam, Lummi, Puyallup, Snohomish, Duwamish, Nisqually, and Twana.
They made everything — knives, bows and arrows, spears, they made all kinds of weapons.

They made weapons, and even had guns, and poles were made and sharpened into points.

They placed watchmen everywhere along the route that the Yuqulhte’ would come paddling.

One day, they saw the Yuqwulhte’x come paddling.

They were paddling from raiding the tribe in what is now the United States, paddling home heading north.

---

13 Cases and cases of new rifles and ammunition were distributed and handed out to the forty-four village leaders and their warriors as gifts from Tth’asiyetun. It is uncertain where the weapons came from, but my best guess is that these were given by Hudsons Bay to Tth’asiyetun as partial payment for his services. It took time to reload after each shot and sometimes no matter how new the rifles there was a chance that it might misfire. Shooting at a moving target from a moving canoe was something that needed to be considered.

14 A Cowichan man stepped forward and offered information to Tth’asiyetun about the Yuqwulhte’x warriors. The man told Tth’asiyetun that his family owned the harvesting site at Genoa Bay. On one occasion, while gathering crabs at night at Genoa Bay, he could hear the sound of paddles from hundreds of canoes, and he discovered that the Lekwiltok warriors camped for two days and nights at Octopus Point.

15 Most academic sources, e.g. Anglebeck & McLay (2011) say that the Yuqwulhte’x were travelling southward. According to our oral histories, they were travelling northward, returning toward their home after doing raids in the United States.
susuw’ ’unuhw tthuw’ne’ullh ni’ ’utl’ sheshuq’um’, nillh ni’ shni’s kwus q’ulum’.

And they stopped and camped at Octopus Point.

’i’ ni’ wulh hwsaay’ tthu hul’q’umi’num’ hwulmuhw.

The Hul’q’umi’num’ people were ready.

suw’ sht’eewun’ ni’ wulh stl’atlum’ kws thuythut-s ’eelhtun.

They thought that it was time to get ready.

susuw’ thuythut ’eelhtun.

So they got ready.

’i’ ni’ tse’ ni’ ’utl’ hwtl’upnets kws tqtewut ’eelhtun.

And it would be at Maple Bay that they engaged the enemy.16

’i’ ni’ wulh hwusaay’ tthu hwulmuhw kwsus ’al’mutstum’ tthuw’ne’ullh Yuqwulhte’x kwus m’i yu ’i’shul’ yu stutes ’u tthu tsetsuw’.

The people were ready, waiting for those Yuqwulhte’x when they came paddling to the shore.

nilh ni’ sht’es kwus yuthuythut kws xiluxtuls tse’ ’u kwthu Yuqwulhte’x.

And they prepared to battle with the Yuqwulhte’x.

qux ’u tthu suw’wuy’qe’ ni’ skwekwul’t ni’ ’u tthu tsuwmun.

Many men hid on the beach.

16 There are two ancient stories of supernatural entities that inhabited the waters of Maple Bay. One was the serpent Sheshuq’um’, or ‘wide open mouth’ that lived in a cave at Octopus Point, at the southern entrance to Maple Bay. This serpent or monster would overturn canoes and devour the travellers. The other story relates to a “lightning snake” that falls from the sky and plunges into the waters of Maple Bay. The Cowichan people surrounded the monster, killed it, and they acquired its spirit power. Having overcome, the Cowichans felt confident in squashing the Yuqwulhte’x warriors at Maple Bay.
qux tthu ni’ skwekwul’t ni’ tl’uw’ ni’ tthu ni’ ’u tthu shnu’ath kws hwsaay’ skwekwul’t
   tthu hul’q’umi’nump’ mustimuwh skw’akw’ulhstum’ tthu Yuqwulhte’x.

*And many hid on the other side [Salt Spring Island side] lying in wait for the
Yuqwulhte’x.*

mukw’ ’untsu ni’ shn’is kwus kweel ni’ ’u tthu tsuwmun ni’ ’utl’ hwtl’upnets.

*They hid everywhere around the shores of Maple Bay.***

tl’uw’ qux tthu stalamush ni’ kweel ’ula’ulh ’u tthu snuhwulhs ni’ ’u kwthu s’ulqsun
   kwus sqw’aqw’ulhstum’ tthu Yuqwulhte’x ni’ ’utl’ hwtl’upnets.

*Many warriors hid in their canoes around the point lying wait for the Yuqwulhte’x there
at Maple Bay.*

ni’ wulh saay’stum kws m’is xwte’stum tthu Yuqwulhte’x xwte’ ’utl’ hwtl’upnets ’i’
   slhunlheni’ tthu suw’wuy’qe’ ni’ hwi’ ’itth’um’ ’u tthu slhunuy’ahl s’itth’um’.

*They were now ready to make the Yuqwulhte’x go toward the middle of Maple Bay, and it
was the men who were dressed up as women.***

susuw’ yu hiw’tth’etum tthu Yuqwulhte’x kwus m’i yu ’i’shul’.

*And they taunted the Yuqwulhte’x as they paddled.*

susuw’ tseeltum ni’ t’eyuq’st-hwus ’eelhtun tthu Yuqwulhte’x.

*And they made the Yuqwulhte’x angry so they would chase them.*

susuw’ sht’eewun’mutum kws slhunlheni’s tthu ni’ yu hiw’tth’e’nuq.

*They thought they were women and that they would easily snatch them.*

---

17 Many canoes were hidden in Xwaaqw’um (Burgoyne Bay), Hwtl’upnets (Maple Bay), Hwtumulhum (Genoa Bay) and outside the northern entrance towards Shixum (Osbourne Bay).

18 According to Abner Thorne, there were three canoes, Tth’asiyetun’s son Culhillum had his bodyguards dressed up like women and paddled in front of the Yuqwulhte’x at Octopus Point and taunted and teased the warriors.
But no, they were men, warriors, the son of tth’asi’etun and his warriors.

And they (the ones dressed as ladies) went into Maple Bay and the Yuqwulhte’x chased them, thinking they were women.

And they chased the Hul’q’umi’num’ paddling into Maple Bay.\(^{19}\)

And there was a really big battle on Maple Bay.

The Hul’q’umi’num’ people used all kinds of weapons—axes, spears, bows and arrows, and sharpened poles.\(^{20}\)

They used many weapons, even guns, when they were fighting the battle at Maple Bay.

And they killed many, many Yuqwulhte’x people.

The old people say that the dark deep waters of Maple Bay turned red with blood.

---

\(^{19}\) The plan was to lure them into the bay and then close off all escape routes. Once the Yuqwulhte’x realized that they had been deceived it would be too late for them.

\(^{20}\) Archers took turns shooting from the surrounding hills using bows and arrows.
Some of the Yuqwulhte’x tried to escape to the shore.

But the warriors were waiting and they were also killed.

The Hul’q’umi’num’ people used many weapons.

They even used boulders that they rolled down to smash the canoes of the Yuqwulhte’x people.

And they killed many Yuqwulhte’x people.

And that’s the last time the Hul’q’umi’num’ people were ever invaded.

So Chief Tth’asi’etun was thinking, that he really wanted to be certain that the Yuqwulhte’x would never come attack them again.

And they paddled to the Yuqwulhte’x to speak to their head chief at what is called Cape Mudge, Yuqwulhte’x.

So they travelled there and negotiated.
And the Hul’q’umi’num’ Chief Th’as’i’etun said, “I will give my son in marriage to your daughter.”

And you will give your daughter in marriage to my son.”

So Th’as’i’etun’s son stayed there with the Yuqwulhte’x at Cape Mudge and they gave him the name “Xwuntum.”

And that is what stopped the wars.

And that’s how come the Yuqwulhte’x never travelled here to make war again.

And it stopped.

And that’s how the wars were stopped.
To help the reader follow the story, I have drawn a map of Maple Bay with references to key strategic sites where the Coast Salish warriors prepared before the battle.

**Key to the map**

(1) Boulders on mountains on Salt Spring Island ready to smash enemy canoes  
(2) North and south escape routes blocked  
(3) Archers hiding in the trees on the high ground  
(4) Canoes hiding in wait  
(5) Decoy canoes with warriors dressed like women, ready to lure in the Yuqwulhte’  
(6) Yuqwulhte’x encampment at Octopus Point.

*Figure 5 The battle of Maple Bay (map by Harvey George)*
Chapter 5. The aftermath of the battle

For centuries the tribes of the Pacific northwest conducted raids and wars against each other. In the 1800’s various peace treaties between the Salish people and their northern neighbours were made to stop the wars. Here is the story of the peace treaty that Tlh’asiyetun brokered with the Yuqwulht’e’x.

sht’es kwus ’unuhwstum tthu xixul’uxtul’
How the wars were stopped

tl’lim’ ’uw’ qux ’ul’ tthu Yuqwulht’e’x mulustimuhw ni’ q’aynum ’u tthu quw’utsun’ mulustimuhw ni’ ’utl’ hwtl’upnets.
Many Yuqwulte’x people died at the hand of the Quw’utsun’ people there at Maple Bay.21

’i’ ni’ wa’lu lhuw’namut.
A few of them managed to flee

’uwu quxus tthu Yuqwulht’e’x ni’ lhuw’namut ’i’ ni’ tus ’utl’ snuneymuhw.
There were not many of them that fled, but some made it to Snuneymuxw.

ni’ tus ’utl’ snuneymuhw ’i’ ni’ ts’u q’aytum mukw’ tthuw’ne’ulh.
They arrived in Snuneymuhw and it is said that they were all killed.

t-hway tthu na’nuts’a’ ’ul’ ’uwu niis q’aytum.
Only one of them was not killed.

21 According to some estimates (e.g. Angelbeck and McLay 2011), there were six thousand Yuqwulht’e’x against five thousand Coast Salish warriors.
suw’ thut-stum, “nem’ ch kwú’elh t’akw’ ’i' yuthust kwun’ siiyé’yu tthu ni’ sla’thut ’i ’u tun’a.’”

And they told him, “Go home and tell your tribesmen what happened here.”

kwus wulh hun’umut, tusnamut ’u tthu xut’ustum’ Cape Mudge, tthu na’nuts’a’
Yuqwulhte’x suw’ qwul’qwul’ kwus xaaytum mukw’ kwthu Yuqwulhte’x
stamush.

And so one Yuqwulhte’x went home and he relayed the news that all of the Yuqwulhte’x
warriors had been killed.

“ni’ hwumnuts. ’i tsun ’uw’ t-hway ’ul’ huli.
“They were all killed. I am the only one alive.

xwaytum’u kwthu quw’utsun’ mustimuhw.”

They were killed by Quw’utsun’ people.”

tustusas tthu Yuqwulhte’x mustimuhw.
It was really bad news for the Yuqwulhte’x people.

tuwuqun tthu shlnhneni’ ’iilh ’al’wum’.
The ladies who were left behind wept.

qux tthu stl’ul’iqulh ni’ hwu swenum kwus ’uwus ’iis hun’umut tthu stamush, mens
’eelhtun.

Many of the children were orphaned when the warriors didn’t come home, their fathers.

’i’ hay tthu quw’utsun’ mustimuhw ’uy’ sqwaluwuns kwus yu tl’e’hwun’uq.
The Quw’utsun’ people were happy to be the victors.
But T’hsisiyetun decided that he didn’t want to be warring with the Yuqwulhte’x, to ever go to war again.22

So T’hsisiyetun said, “I will bring my son, who’s yet a baby, and I will give him in marriage to a respected Yuqwulhte’x young lady.

This was maybe the youngest child of T’hsisiyetun, who was still a baby at the time.

And they gave him the name Xwuntum when he arrived there to Cape Mudge.

On account of T’hsisiyetun’s son being there with the Yuqwulhte’x, they stopped the wars.

Many years later, in 1996, my older brother, the eldest, Joseph (Qwashuluq) went there at Cape Mudge.23

22 After the overwhelming success of the battle, T’hsisiyetun said that the grass roots people of Cape Mudge were not the enemy but it was their Yuqwulhte’x warriors that caused him grief.

23 In 1996 my brother Joseph Norris was the elected Halalt village leader attending a treaty conference of the Vancouver Island First Nations on Quadra Island at Cape Mudge.
nem’ ’u tthu sq’uq’ip ‘i’ ni’ qwul’qwul’tul’ ’u tthu Yuqwulhte’x mulustimuhw, ni’ sq’uq’ip.

*He was there at a gathering hosted by the Yuqwulhte’x people.*

kwus wulh naathut tthunu shhw’a’qwa’ ‘i’ qwul’qwul’ kws tun’nì’s ’utl’ xul’eel’t-hw, sus ‘uw’ putnum ‘u kwu na’nuts’a’ yuqwulhte’x s’eluhw tthu nuhiimut-s ‘i’ tthu shtun’naalhtuns.

*When my brother mentioned that he was from Halalt, one Yuqwulhte’x elder recognized that name and knew his lineage.*

hwuw’e niis mel’qtus ‘eelhtun tthu nilh sla’thut ’utl’ tth’asiyetun, kwus ‘ulh ’amustum ‘eelhtun ’u kwthu qeq, mun’u ’utl’ tth’asiyetun.

*They had not forgotten what Tth’asiyetun had done, giving them his baby boy.*

suw’ ’amustum kwu shuyulh Joseph, qwashuluq, ’u kwu xut’ustum’ Copper shield.

sqw ullus tthu ni’ thuytum.

*They gave my brother a copper shield, made from copper.*

stl’ì’s kws tsi’elhstuhw-s tthu ni’ tul’nuhwus tthu ni’ ts’lhhwulmuhws.

*They wanted to show respect to their relations.*

ni’ ‘uw’ he’kwme’tus ‘eelhtun kwus ’ulh xixul’uxtul’ ‘uw’ kw’un’a wulh hith.

*They remembered about the war that happened long ago.*

tun’a kweyul ‘i’ ni’ tst ’uw’ t-hwhiiya’yutul’ ‘ul’.

*And today we are all related.*

tl’lim’ tst ’uw’ stutes tthu mustimuhw ni’ kwu xut’ustum’ Cape Mudge, Yuqwulhte’x mustimuhw.

*We are closely related to the Yuqwulhte’x people at Cape Mudge.*
nilh kw’elh sxwi’em’s kwsunu si’leelh Tl’ulixwtunaat, Madeline Norris.

*This is thus the story from my grandmother, Tl’ulixwtunaat.*

ni’ nexun’ tthunu sqwul’qwul’.

*That’s the end of my story.*

ni’ hay.

*The end.*

hay tseep q’u.

*Thank you.*
Chapter 6. Conclusion

This concludes my excursion into laying down the life of Tth’asiyetun in Hul’q’umi’num’, the language he himself spoke. When I first embarked on this project, laying down my first story, on the battle of Maple Bay, I did not realize how complicated and expansive this topic would become. It touches on many of the major events of the 1800s here in the territory of the Salish Sea.

You will find my stories are in a traditional style. Coast Salish stories stay close to the events, leaving the listener to find the messages and connect the meaning to their own experiences. Abner Thorne stated in the interview I recorded with him on October 1, 1996, that the battle at Maple Bay elevated the reputation of Tth’asiyetun to new heights of notoriety, and his fame as a Coast Salish warrior lives on today, as do his descendants.

As the last story relates, the Yuqwulhte’x elders of Cape Mudge wanted to meet privately with my brother Joseph Norris, so they took him aside to give him a copper shield recognizing that he was a direct descendent of Tth’asiyetun. The Yuqwulhte’x elders at Cape Mudge verified the oral stories of my grandmother Madeline Norris and her connection to Tth’asiyetun, the last family hereditary leader. The peace treaty was as important for them as it was for the Coast Salish.
By the time of Tth’asiiyeten’s death in 1870, the colonial governments had intervened causing the breakdown in the system of hereditary leaders, male heads of large extended families. They tried to impose a nuclear family model, splintering the longhouse life style, and brought in Indian agents to govern. Tth’asiiyeten was truly one of the last great warriors and hereditary chiefs.

For this MA project, in my language, my goal was to make sure a Hul’q’umi’n̓um’ version of the core facts was available. I can only echo the sentiments of my grandmother and mother that we must keep our language and culture alive. While this interesting history, some of it shared by the colonizers, has been well-represented in the English language, before this work, none had been made available in our own language.

My hope is that any First Nations students who read this will come to understand the importance of our history told in our own words. Our Hul’q’umi’n̓um’ language is not just a subject to study and learn, but it is a tool, a means for expressing ourselves in an authentic and traditional way. The way things are expressed in our language often
reveals a different lens than a European recounting shows. The purpose of my research has been to take my family’s oral histories, together with some corroborating research, and create a set of stories in our Hul’q’umi’num’ language that relate the events from a Coast Salish perspective. I offer this work as an homage to my grandmother, who taught me the importance of keeping our language strong, and to the future generations of language learners. These stories share just a small portion of the oral histories from my grandmother and my interviews with Abner Thorne, and I hope there will be opportunities to share more family lore on other occasions.
References


Kane, Paul. (1859), *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America: From Canada to Vancouver’s Islands and Oregon through the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Territory and Back Again*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts.


