SPIRITUAL SITES, ETHNIC SIGNIFICANCE
AND NATIVE SPIRITUALITY:
THE HERITAGE AND HERITAGE SITES OF
THE STO:LO INDIANS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

by

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Spiritual Sites, Ethnic Significance and Native Spirituality: The Heritage and Heritage Sites of the Sto:lo Indians of British Columbia

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ABSTRACT

This thesis describes places held sacred to the Sto:lo Indians of the Fraser Valley in British Columbia. It provides a framework within which sites of this nature can be described, classified and studied and examines these sites in light of modern issues in archaeology. Current resource management legislation is evaluated to determine its effectiveness in affording protection to these sites and in addressing native heritage concerns.

This thesis also describes the Sto:lo people and their heritage within ethnographic, archaeological and modern contexts. It includes a discussion of native heritage values and questions several existing ethnographic interpretations. A primary objective in presenting this thesis is to familiarize the archaeological community with a little known or understood category of sites that figure prominently in the culture history of the Sto:lo Indians of British Columbia.
THIS RESEARCH IS DEDICATED TO:

SIYEMCHESS
"They had no real feeling of internal unity, nor did they have a mythological basis for unity...In social and religious life, few links with the past remain" (Wilson Duff, 1952:13, 19).

"We have a very powerful spiritual life. We worship the Great Creator but we won't criticize any other religion. Without our spiritual ways we get into trouble. We just go by our Spirit, by our spiritual feeling. When we lost our culture, you know, all the books that's written about us, the native people, they're wrong in a lot of ways. Our Indian culture and our fishing grounds, we're losing a lot of that, a lot of our culture because people are not listening to their Elders. With our own education institution we can get Indian people back to their spiritual ways.

Our language is our Religion. It was given to us by the Great Spirit. We can't live without it. Once Coqualeetza first opened up, they took our kids and tied them to wagon wheels and whipped them if they spoke Indian. We have managed to survive in spite of all of this. We got to get hurt from the Great Spirit once in a while. It's a test.

It's unfortunate we don't get down to the spiritual songs enough and our spiritual ways. I say this a lot. It's important to identify Indian spirituality for ourselves.

You have to be careful with what you tell others, especially things which should not be written about. This is spiritual knowledge and not meant to be taken away. You take anything away from the Great Spirit and you're going to suffer for it. You have to be very careful when talking of things of spiritual power, like the winter spirit dance...because winter dancing is about the most powerful thing that ever came to earth. The same is true of these stories. You have to be very careful with things to do with the smokehouse and what you say. Sometimes there may be five hundred to six hundred people there and they all have the same spirit. By the first bridge in Soowahlie, there used to be two smokehouses with about three hundred dancers. The smallpox came and killed them all off. Some people who tell of some stories about sacred things are only hurting themselves and those they talk to.

You know, Indian spirituality is like a germ, an Indian germ. Once you catch it you can't get rid of it" (exerpts of conversations with Sto:lo Elder A.C., in S.S.F., 1986).
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It took a very long time for the research behind this thesis to come together in its present form and yet the research is far from being complete. In the process, I received a lot of help from a lot of different people and would like to thank all of you for everything that you have done.

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere and heartfelt thanks and appreciation to the Elders of the member bands of the Alliance of Tribal Councils. Without their cooperation, direction and wisdom, this thesis would never have been possible. I know that many of them will find that this thesis only tells part of the story. The complete story will have to await a later date but I am confident that it will be written.

From the Sto:lo Nation, there are several wonderful people who acted as my guides and teachers on the subject of native spirituality: Andy Commodore, Amelia Douglas, Tilly Gutierrez, Agnes Kelly, Chief Frank Malloway, Elizabeth Phillips and Mary Uslick. I can not find the words to express the depth and extent of my thanks to you. There are also others to whom I feel greatly indebted: Grand Chief Richard Malloway (deceased), Grand Chief P.D. Peters, Grand Chief Vincent Harris, Jimmy Peters, Edna Douglas, Sqela:w, Wilfred Charlie, Nancy Phillips, Al Gutierrez, Roy Point, Albert Phillips, Doris Peters, Danny Charlie, Herman Silver, Shirley Norris, Shirley Leon and Vern Brooks.

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To members of the Nlaka'pamux and Secwepemc Nations I also express my thanks. When I started this research, I had no idea of the scope and magnitude of the work to be done. My apologies for not being able to devote as much time and attention as I have given the Sto:lo. I only hope that others will take up where I left off. My fear is that Federal and Provincial funding agencies will not realize the urgency of the task at hand and that much knowledge of spiritual places will be lost forever.

From the Nlaka'pamux Nation I would especially like to thank Elders: Louie Phillips and Annie York, two exceptional
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Photographic plates including Figures 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 41, 42, and 43 were taken by Sheila Joseph and Figure 1 by Ann Mohs. Use of these photographs was generously provided by the photographers and Coqualeetza Education Training Centre. All other photographs were taken by the author. Napoleon Kruger is gratefully acknowledged for use of his photograph performing the First Salmon Ceremony.

Any errors or shortcomings in the presentation of this research are mine alone and I accept full responsibility.
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PREFACE

This thesis is part of a research program that is much larger in scope than a simple Master's thesis allows. I had to cut my research off at some point in order to present the data as a Master's thesis. The research program, however, is on-going. Accordingly, some of the interpretations, i.e., in terms of geographical patterning and site characteristics, may change. Numbers also will change. Essentially, however, the point of this thesis is not numbers and specifics. Rather, it is more a problem of questioning ethnic significance, spirituality and the fact that the problem of spiritual sites is not being addressed by current resource management legislation. It is a problem which is a major concern to the future heritage of the Sto:lo people and heritage resource managers in general.

Descriptive details of heritage site localities are not presented in this thesis (except where appropriate) as disclosure of this information is a matter of sensitivity to many Sto:lo. Scholars wishing further details of site localities and/or access to research files referenced in this thesis should contact the appropriate Sto:lo political and cultural offices listed in Appendix I.

The Elders quoted in this thesis wished to remain anonymous. They are identified in the text by their initials only. A list of these Elders and the source materials from which excerpts of their conversations are taken is available upon consent of the Elder's Advisory Committee through the Archivist at the Coqualeetza Research Centre. General
background information on these informants appears in Appendix III of this document.

All native words in this thesis are written in Halq'emeylem or Sto:lo, as developed by the Language Department at Coqualeetza Education Training Centre. A published, classified word list is available for those further interested in pursuing this matter: 'To:lméls Ye Siyelyólexwa, Wisdom of the Elders' (1980), Coqualeetza Education Training Centre, Sardis.

Contrary to convention, photographic figures have been placed at the end of each chapter rather than following initial references in the text. There are several reasons for doing so; the main one being ease of location for the reader for subsequent references. The 38 photographs included in this thesis have been categorically arranged as follows: a) those at the end of Chapter 2 relate to regional geography, ethnographic documentation and economic/spiritual activities on the Fraser River; b) those at the end of Chapter 3 illustrate a cross-section of the various 'types' of spiritual sites identified in the Sto:lo, Nlaka'pamux and Secwepemc areas; c) those at the end of Chapter 4 relate specifically to the five 'Examples' (see Table of Contents) described in detail in the text; and d) those at the end of Chapter 5 relate specifically to impacts to spiritual sites.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about archaeology and heritage of a nontraditionalist fashion. It examines and reviews sites that frequently are not and often cannot be recognized by archaeologists nor are they integrated within the larger context of cultural heritage resource management legislation. These are sites of native spiritual significance; those landmarks towards which native Indians have strong spiritual ties based on traditional beliefs and/or ceremonial usages.

The case study materials upon which discussion is based are derived from the Upper Sto:lo Indians of the Fraser River. Comparisons are also made with the sites and legends of the Nlaka'pamux (Thompson) and Secwepemc (Shuswap); the Interior Salishan neighbours of the Sto:lo.

My interest and subsequent investigation of native spiritual sites began in June of 1984 when I was asked to conduct a more or less typical heritage impact study for the 'Alliance of Tribal Councils'. This council constitutes a native political organization that was formed to combat the Canadian National Railway's proposal to construct a second rail line through the Fraser, Thompson, and North Thompson River valleys of southern British Columbia. The Alliance represents 36 Bands incorporating about 7,000 registered Indians from three member nations - Sto:lo, Nlaka'pamux, and Secwepemc. The focus of my initial work was to record archaeological and other native heritage sites and to document heritage concerns related to the CNR 'Twin Tracking' proposal (see Mohs 1984, 1985, 1986).
In the course of these investigations, a few native Elders expressed a concern that Twin Tracking would impact several of their 'spiritual sites'. Others pointed out that the question of impacts to their heritage and spiritual places extended well beyond the proposed right-of-way of the railroad and that past, present, and future concerns should also be addressed. This subject and its importance as a resource management issue sparked my academic interest. Subsequently, I began research into the subject with consent of native political leaders.

**Scope and Objectives**

There are several objectives in presenting this thesis. These can be generally stated in the following manner:

1) to familiarize the archaeological community with a little known or understood 'category' of sites that figure prominently in the culture history of the Upper Sto:lo Indians of British Columbia and to provide rudimentary documentation of these sites;

2) to present an alternative perspective on heritage and heritage sites which outlines, at least in part, native attitudes, perceptions, and values; and

3) to discuss these sites and perspectives in light of modern issues in cultural resource management.

In the context of resource management, concerns with such problems are not new. On the contrary, numerous articles, papers and at least two books have appeared in recent years which discuss nontraditional archaeological/heritage sites, the ethnic significance of these sites, native values on heritage and a plethora of other ethical concerns involving the native community and the archaeologist (see Brody 1981, Doyel 1982, Green 1984, Holt 1983, and Winter 1980 among others). What the
present study does offer that has yet to be documented is the specific case of the Sto:lo Indians of British Columbia and, to a lesser extent, that of the Nlaka'pamux and Secwepemc.

Within British Columbia, archaeological research in the past several decades has focused on the research of habitation sites, most notably including shell-middens on the Coast and pithouse sites in the Interior (see Fladmark, 1982:95-156). 'Mythological/ceremonial sites' as they are defined by the British Columbia Heritage Conservation Branch (Guide to the B.C. Archaeological Site Inventory Form, n.d.) or, as I prefer to call them, 'spiritual sites', to a large extent have been ignored. In fact, only seven sites of this type are listed with the provincial heritage site registry (John Foster, personal communication, 1985). Consequently, our understanding of such sites is limited whether considered from a purely scientific point of view or from a cultural heritage resource management perspective.

Several explanations may be offered as to why spiritual sites have received so little attention in North America in general and British Columbia specifically. General theoretical and methodological developments within the discipline of Archaeology have tended to focus attention on other venues of research. In the process, native spirituality and spiritual sites have been overlooked undoubtedly because they lack tangibility when compared with other areas of research. Also, there has been a general absence of communication and interaction between archaeologists and Indians and very little discussion on spiritual places (Green 1984). Probably the
most important factor, however, and one clear from my study of the Sto:lo, is a reluctance on the part of Indians, especially Elders (Figure 1), to talk about such issues.

A reluctance to disclose information has much to do with past attitudes and activities of white society. Historically, native religious beliefs and practices have been discouraged, scorned, ridiculed, and even outlawed (for example, see Jilek, 1982); while many spiritual places have been defiled, defaced and destroyed. Only since 1951 have traditional practices and freedom of religious expression been permitted (Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, 1984:15). Legislation affording adequate protection of traditional spiritual sites remains wanting both in British Columbia and Canada. Confronted with assaults (perceived, intentional and otherwise) on their spirituality and spiritual places, it is not surprising that many Elders remain silent when questioned about these matters. Only through silence, they believe, can a measure of protection be afforded.

Among the Sto:lo, spiritual sites are physical landmarks and they comprise an important part of the 'native landscape'. They are an intimate aspect of Sto:lo heritage and are spoken of in legend, myth, and oral tradition. Few have archaeological manifestations. This does not mean that they cannot be recognized, or that archaeologists should not be aware of their existence. Only through appropriate investigative methodologies and, more importantly, dialogue with native peoples, can the scientific community and the general public appreciate the value of such important
This thesis is presented in six chapters. Subsequent chapters are organized as follows: Chapter 2 introduces the Sto:lo Indians and their heritage. The focus of this chapter is to establish Sto:lo heritage values; in particular the relationship the Sto:lo have maintained with the Fraser River. Chapter 3 outlines methodology including a definition of the terminology used in this study. This chapter also provides background information on Sto:lo traditions, including legends. This knowledge is integral to comprehending Sto:lo spirituality. Chapter 4 is a descriptive account of the spiritual sites themselves and their significance to the Sto:lo people. Chapter 5 describes past and potential impacts upon Sto:lo spiritual sites. Chapter 6 centers on the general questions of ethnic significance, native spirituality and the matter of these sites in light of modern issues in cultural resource management.
FIGURE 1: COQUALEETZA ELDERS GROUP, 1984/85
CHAPTER 2
CULTURAL SETTING, PAST AND PRESENT: ESTABLISHING HERITAGE VALUES

This chapter describes the Sto:lo and their heritage within ethnographic, archaeological and modern contexts. It does not present an all-encompassing summary of ethnographic and archaeological data. Rather, it is an attempt to show cultural continuity from the distant archaeological past to the present day and to establish Sto:lo heritage values. It also questions ethnographic interpretations which I feel deserve re-evaluation, discussion and criticism. In concluding this chapter I hope to demonstrate that the Sto:lo have retained many traditional beliefs and are presently concerned about the maintenance of traditional patterns.

Ethnographic Background and Geographical Setting

The Sto:lo are a river people, centered along the upper and central reaches of the Fraser River valley in southwestern British Columbia (Figure 2). They speak Halq'émeylem (also spelt Halkomelem), a Coast Salish language. Sto:lo traditional lifeways, past and present, have centered upon the river and fishing. These factors have shaped and influenced most aspects of Sto:lo society including economic life, social life, settlement patterns, mobility, communications, family life and religious beliefs.

As a cultural group, the Sto:lo have been referred to ethnohistorically as "the Cowichan of the mainland" (Boas, 1894:454), "the mainland Halkomelem" (Hill-Tout 1902) and the "Upper Stalo" (Duff 1952). However, as Duff pointedly notes,
the name by which the people refer to themselves and prefer to be called is Sto:lo (1952:11).

The traditional territory of the Sto:lo Indians covers an area of approximately 100 kilometers square (60 miles square or about 2,300,000 acres); extending from 5 Mile Creek near Yale in the northeast to Whonnock near Fort Langley in the west, and from the north bank of the Nooksack River south of the Canada/U.S. border north to include Stave Lake, Chehalis Lake, and most of Harrison Lake including Long Island and Silver Creek. The eastern boundary includes Chilliwack Lake and the Coquihalla River valley (c.f. Duff 1950, 1952, Smith 1947 and Wells 1968).

In terms of physical geography, the regional ecology is diversified, breathtakingly spectacular, and abundantly rich in natural resources. Much of the terrain is mountainous incorporating the Pacific Ranges of the Coast Mountains to the north and northwest and the Cascade Mountains to the south and east (Holland, 1964:28). Apart from the Fraser, river valleys are narrow with steep mountain slopes dropping to the valley floors.

The Fraser River bisects the region flowing out of the Cascade Mountains in the northeast. Above Yale there is a canyon; below, a narrow valley basin as far as Hope. For its first 30 kilometers below Yale, the river valley seldom exceeds a kilometer in width. Here the Fraser follows a southerly route. At Hope, the Fraser turns west, and the valley gradually expands into a broad basin bordered by the Coast Mountains on the north and the Cascades to the south.
FIGURE 2: STO:LO TERRITORY PRE-CONTACT, THE UPRIVER OR TELTIYT TRIBES

At Chilliwack, the valley is some ten kilometers across (Figure 4) and the valley floor is interlaced with sloughs, marshes, small creeks, estuaries and ponds.

Given modern incursions, it is difficult to envision what this country was like centuries ago. One of the more vivid descriptions of the original habitat is given by the Reverend Thomas Crosby who writes:

No one could go through the primeval forests of those days without being impressed with their natural
greatness. Tall firs abounded, many of them from two hundred to three hundred feet in height, standing straight, their stems unbroken by a single branch until they reached the bushy, spreading tops. Equally tall and gigantic cedars grew side by side with hemlock, spruce and smaller vine maple, the shady, broad-leafed soft maple, ash, birch, cottonwood, apple, cherry and alder. Such a wealth of foliage caused one to exclaim, "Lo! God is here! Let us adore.

It was while working on the Government road that fall (1867) that I first saw the large dog salmon jumping and floundering up a stream so narrow that we could jump over it. So crowded were they, and so great was their number, that their fins and tails were, many of them, worn off in the struggle. It was not an uncommon thing to see black bears, in such a field, fishing for themselves, and eagles by the score, as well as ravens, carrying off their supply of food. We saw elk and deer in great numbers, and water fowl in clouds. And the conviction grew upon one that a land of such mountains and rivers, seas and forests, teeming with life, such coal and gold fields and such a magnificent climate, was destined to become a great and grand country (1907:38-39).

Ethnographically, the Sto:lo have been studied by a number of anthropologists and dedicated amateurs. The most notable include: Franz Boas, Charles Hill-Tout and Wilson Duff. The most comprehensive, published ethnographic account is Duff's 'Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser River of B.C.' (1952). A few critics have argued that there is really very little ethnographic information on the Sto:lo when compared with adjacent groups. Suttles, for example, has stated that the Sto:lo have been neglected ethnologically (1955:7). In part this is true in that little published information is available. It is also true in that no one anthropologist or ethnologist has ever spent much time among the Sto:lo. Boas, for example, spent about a week with Chief George Chehalis in 1890 (Maud, Vol. III, 1978:13). Duff spent a total of nine weeks in 1950 of which about five were spent collecting
ethnological data (Duff 1950, 1952:7). Hill-Tout, in turn, spent a year in 1901 when not pre-occupied with his Abbotsford farm and sawmill operations (i.e. see Banks 1966).

In addition to the works of Boas, Hill-Tout and Duff, there are several valuable sources of ethnographic information. Those individuals responsible for these studies include: Diamond Jenness (1934/35) who interviewed and recorded Chief William Sepass of Skowkale; Eloise Street (1963) who documented a number of folktales told her by Chief Sepass between 1911 and 1915; Marion Wesley Smith (1947) who, along with Eleanor Leacock, documented the testimony of several Sto:lo informants in 1945 for the Royal Anthropological Institute of London; Norman Lerman (1950/51, 1952) who recorded a number of Sto:lo legends for the University of Washington; Oliver Wells who recorded over 20 hours of conversation with the Sto:lo Elders between 1962 and 1965 and who also published a collection of Sto:lo legends (1970), a vocabulary (1965, 1969), and a territorial map (1968); Dr. Wolfgang Jilek (1982) who documented the revival of Sto:lo spirit dancing in the 1960's and 1970's; and historian Reuben Ware (1973, 1977) and linguist Brent Galloway (1976-79) who documented the Sto:lo Elders throughout the 1970's. Unfortunately, the bulk of this material has not been published and is difficult to access.

Traditionally, the Sto:lo were organized into a number of tribes or tribal groupings. Boas (1894) lists 14 mainland tribes including the Katzie, Kwantlen and Musqueam. Hill-Tout (1902, 1904) places the number at 15 including the tribes of Vancouver Island. Duff (1952) lists 17 mainland tribes; 12 of
these he delineates as being Upper Sto:lo. In his 1952 publication, Duff does not recognize the Popkum, Siyata, Steaten, Skwawahlook, Sqw'atets, Spopetes, Ohamil and others as separate tribal groupings despite testimony from some Sto:lo informants to the contrary (see Bob Joe, Harry Joe and August Jim in Duff 1950 and Fred Ewen and Bertha James in Smith 1947). Rather, these groups are included within either the Pilalt or Tait tribes (Duff, 1952:19-45).

Establishing the exact number of Sto:lo tribal groupings is not critical in this thesis nor is it critical to understanding the organization of Sto:lo society as a whole. This matter is raised such that scholars interested in Sto:lo studies will note the presence of alternative interpretations.

The most important distinction or internal cultural division traditionally recognized by the Sto:lo is that between the upriver (teltiyt) and downriver (tellhō:s) tribes (Duff 1950, 1952; Smith 1947; Frank Malloway, personal communication). The boundary between the two falls in the Mission/ Fort Langley area; the Matsqui and Whonnock tribes being included within the former and the Kwantlen or Langley within the latter. A major difference between upriver and downriver Sto:lo is linguistic; each speaking different dialects of the Halq'emeylem language (ibid).

The basis of Sto:lo tribal organization was, and continues to be, the village. Ethnohistorically, the most important of these were Yale, Cheam, Fort Langley, and Musqueam (see Duff 1950 and Smith 1947). Generally speaking, most tribes consisted of a number of villages although a few were
represented by single villages (for example, Duff, 1952:81-86 and Boas, 1894:454).

Tribal groups were inter-related through marriage and important alliances were consolidated through the marriage of nobility or siyá:m (Boas, 1894:456; Duff, 1952:95; Hill-Tout, 1978:43-46, 71, 101-102; and Crosby 1907). The importance of these alliances cannot be overstated for it was through marriage and bonds of kinship that downriver and island tribes maintained access and rights to upriver fishing grounds. As Duff pointedly notes, "most of the [fishing] stations in the canyon were owned by families in the villages close by, although through the web of kinship, most people along the river could and did claim the right to use at least one" (1952:78).

However, I seriously question those statements that the Sto:lo had "no real feeling of internal unity, nor did they have a mythological basis for unity" (ibid:19). To the contrary, I would argue that it was precisely because of the institution of marriage, notably through the office of siyá:m, and through intricate webs of kinship bonding that such widespread unity existed among the Sto:lo and all Halq'émeylem speaking peoples. At the root of this organization were the rights of access to and unified economic control of the Fraser River fishery. Duff himself touches upon this matter when he states:

Most families were satisfied to obtain marriage partners from a nearby village, but the highest-ranking families often intermarried with tribes at considerable distances.
Especially important was the curious circumstance that the finest salmon-fishery on the river, used by all the Stalo and many non-Stalo as well [i.e. downriver tribes], was situated in the Fraser Canyon at the uppermost limit of Stalo territory. As a result, a man from Yale commonly rubbed shoulders at the fishery with men from Katzie, Musqueam, or even farther afield... (1952:11,95; brackets are mine).

The fact that upriver and downriver tribes joined together in the mutual defense of their fishery against predatory coastal tribes also points to a high degree of internal unity among the Sto:lō tribes.

To the present day, detailed knowledge of kinship relations is commonplace. All of my informants have extensive knowledge of bilateral kin and most can recite the names of a hundred or more relatives spanning several generations. In addition, most claim proprietorship and/or rights of use to specific fishing grounds on the basis of kinship relations. The only exceptions I have found are situations where rights and/or proprietorship have been passed on to non-kin following long periods of service such as providing food (notably salmon) and care for a former proprietor in old age, due to a disability or some other problem. Rights of use and access to fishing grounds are still widespread, albeit not to their former degree.

Before addressing the question of whether the Sto:lō had a "mythological basis for unity", a question integral to this thesis, I would like to expand upon the matter of Sto:lō social organization. Duff's assessment of Sto:lō social organization is, in part, based on his low estimations of pre-contact Sto:lō populations. He writes:
Villages ranged in size from one to several extended families. Among the Upper Stalo at least, they seem to have been, with few exceptions, small and impermanent...

A comparison of the number of villages listed by informants with the known population of the area shows that most villages must have been small. In pre-white times some 700 Tait lived in about twenty villages, an average if all were occupied at the same time, of only thirty-five to a village. Three hundred Pilalt occupied more than six villages. A smaller number of Chilliwack claimed more than twenty village-sites, and even though they probably occupied only a few sites at a time, the average village size must have been very small. From this comparison, it would appear that few Upper Stalo villages had populations of more than fifty (1952:85).

Sto:lo Elders spoken with during the present study disagree with these figures. For example, my informants, AK and AC, have responded that Sto:lo villages formerly ranged in size from 'hundreds' to 'thousands' (S.O.H., 1986:1, S.S.F., 1986).

In questioning Duff's figures, it is important to note that he uses the 1839 census as a basis for his "known population" in "pre-white times". The 1839 census lists tribal populations as follows: Tait = 678, Pilalt = 304, Chilliwack = 151, Sumas = 123, and Chehalis = 139 (see Duff, 1952:28-29, 129-130). In estimating the size of Sto:lo villages, Duff assumes that the 1839 census is an accurate reflection of the pre-contact population. I contend that Duff's figures more properly reflect a remnant population for they are taken at a time when epidemic diseases had already spread through the population.

The extent to which diseases such as smallpox, measles, whooping cough, chicken pox, influenza and others reduced the pre-contact population is unknown. Demographic studies in recent years (for example, Devenan 1976 and Dobyns 1966)
suggest that initial contact with infectious diseases was devastating to native populations. As noted by Devenan, "the main reason for low [pre-contact] estimates...is the failure to take into account massive depopulation, mainly as a result of introduced disease, from the time of initial European contact to the time of the first reasonably reliable population information, a period accounting from a few to many decades for most regions" (1976:2-3). Dobyns (1966), who conducted one of the more comprehensive studies on aboriginal population, suggests a mean population decline of about 95% for most native Indian groups in this critical period. For the Sto:lo, this would imply a pre-contact population of about 30,000.

It is difficult to say exactly when European introduced epidemic and endemic diseases first struck the Upper Sto:lo area. They certainly appeared before 1839 and their impact upon the Sto:lo was profound. Their appearance is marked in Sto:lo culture history by the names given many Sto:lo villages and former settlements:

'Squiala' ("container of a lot of dead")
'Sqway'  ("a lot of people died")
'Sxwoxwiymelh' ("a lot of people died at once")
'Smimstiixexwala'("container of people")
'Soowahlie' ("melted or wasted away")

(S.G.P.N.F.,1976-79; S.P.P.N.F.,1977-79; AC, AD, EP, personal communication, 1986-87). Documentary evidence indicates that at least two or three epidemics moved through the Sto:lo population prior to the first census being taken in 1839. Several of these are noted by Duff:
1) It is known that an epidemic of smallpox swept across the continent to the Pacific in 1782, and that a "fever" epidemic ravaged the tribes of coastal Washington and Oregon in 1830.

2) A native account obtained at Katzie by Jenness tells of a terrible epidemic of smallpox which swept through the region about 1800 and killed about three-quarters of the Indians.

3) Letters written at Fort Vancouver reveal how smallpox advanced "with fearful rapidity" on the Fort from the Northern Coast in 1837, and in the next year made "frightful progress" among the native tribes of the area (1952:28).

The Sto:lo Elders have stated that smallpox ravaged their area in 1806, prior to the arrival of Simon Fraser, and again on several later occasions (S.G.P.N.F., 1976-79; S.O.H., 1985:1). The village of Sxwóxwiymelh at Katz is said to have been wiped out at this time. One Elder, EP, states that between twenty-five and thirty people died here each day and that of thirty-six houses, only one family, the ancestors of the Pete family, survived the disaster. The corpses of those who died were apparently collected, placed in one of the larger pithouses and burned (ibid).

Another of my informants, AC, has stated that the first smallpox epidemic took the lives of nearly 300 painted dancers when it struck Soowahlie (S.S.F. 1986). Similarly, Marion Smith's informant, Johnny Bobb, has noted that the pithouse village at Siwash Creek (Aseláw) was wiped out by smallpox in the early 1800's (Smith 1947). Duff's informants also have noted that Ruby Creek was one of the villages wiped out by the early waves of smallpox (1950, 1952:41).
Historically documented evidence of epidemic diseases is first noted by Simon Fraser, in his journal of 1808. He reports the presence of disease among Canyon Indians on his journey down the Fraser, "The small pox was in camp, and several of the Natives were marked with it" (Lamb, 1966:94), and "most of the small children were really afflicted with some serious disorder which reduced them to skeletons" (ibid:119).

There are two social factors which may have promoted the spread of infectious diseases in the Sto:lo area: a) great internal fluidity of tribal populations involved with the Fraser River fishery (see Duff, 1952:14, 25) and b) communal winter residency in large, segmented longhouses (see Hill-Tout, 1978:47).

Following 1839, many more instances of disease are recorded. Reverend Thomas Crosby describes a typhoid epidemic at Steveston in 1865 and a smallpox epidemic in the valley in 1867:

My next visit was made during a time when the country was suffering from a scourge of smallpox. The disease had been brought from 'Frisco', and was rapidly spreading among the Indians (1907:170).

Smallpox is also noted in the Chilliwack area again in 1902 (Chilliwack Progress) and the Spanish Flu was present in 1913. One of my informants, EP, lost ten of fourteen family members to the Spanish Flu.

The devastating effect of these diseases upon the Sto:lo people was noted by many writers of the day. Describing the Chilliwack Tribe, Reverend Crosby states:
Where today there are eight small villages, there were thousands of people governed by certain great chiefs, whose authority was respected to a great extent throughout the whole valley. Their numbers have been reduced by disease and by their terrible tribal wars (1907:184).

Similarly, Hill-Tout describes the impact of disease on the Chehalis and Scowlitz tribes:

The old Indians grow quite pathetic sometimes when they touch upon this subject. They believe their race is doomed to die out and disappear. They point to the sites of their once populous villages, and then to the handful of people that constitutes the tribe of today, and shake their heads and sigh...

The Scowlitz are a sadly diminished tribe. They inhabit a scattered village composed of about a dozen frame-buildings on the left bank of the Harrison, at the point where it joins the Fraser. Near the same spot in former days dwelt their ancestors in the long-houses and skumel. The tribe a few generations ago must have numbered two or three hundred souls; today they do not number many score. One does not wonder that the old men grow sad over the disappearance of their race, and sigh for a return of the old days. Although they are now better housed and wear "store" clothes, and have many of the other groceries, and "live like white men," it is doubtful whether they were not better off in the old days of savage roughness and savage plenty, with their bodies sound and strong and free from disease. Contact with the whites has been everywhere a deadly experience for the native races of this continent - even for those under the beneficient rule of the Dominion Government (1978:100, 148).

Finally, these sentiments and descriptions also are echoed in the newspapers of the day:

The rapid increase in mortality among the Siwash will soon put him in the category of the buffalo and the prairie chicken; he is more difficult to conserve than the forests (Chilliwack Progress, May 3, 1899).
I have talked to these old people and ask them about their families, as I knew them years ago having sometimes, six, eight, or ten children, and they have told me, between chokes and sobs, that they are all dead. When you go outside there is not a half grown boy or girl to be found. There are no children playing in the sand or swimming in the water now; instead you will see one or two pale, diseased, frightened ones looking out through the window. They stay in the house and cry (ibid: February 24, 1904).

The subject of diseases remains a sensitive matter to many Sto:lo Elders (S.G.P.N.F. 1977-79, S.H.F.N. 1977, S.S.F. 1984-86). The adverse impact of these diseases upon Sto:lo society can be compared with the Jewish Holocaust of recent years and, like the Holocaust, there are several heritage sites that commemorate the tragedy of their appearance. Several mass burial sites have been identified and recorded as spiritual sites, including Sxwóxwiymelh at Katz and Smimstiyexwala at Chehalis.

In order to comprehend and make a proper assessment of the organization of Sto:lo society prior to contact, it is critical that we have an accurate or plausible estimation of Sto:lo populations. That population levels were drastically reduced in size by epidemic diseases prior to 1839 is certain; by what degree is unknown.

An estimation of the size of pre-contact Sto:lo villages and tribal populations can be ascertained from historic sources using documentary evidence, projection methods, and corroborative evidence (see Devenan, 1976:8-11). For example, in 1808 Simon Fraser commented upon the size of several villages in the Fraser canyon on through to the mouth of the Harrison River:
...the Indians in this village may be about four hundred...his people were sitting in rows, to the number of twelve hundred...we came to a camp...The number of Indians here may amount to 170...the Indians of this encampment were upwards of five hundred souls...The number of people at this village was about 140...we came to a camp on an Island containing about 125 souls...we came to another camp of 170 souls...we came to a camp containing nearly 400 souls"...etc. (Lamb, 1966:86-101).

Significantly, these figures are given at a time after smallpox had undoubtedly ravaged the Upper Sto:lo area.

In the examples cited above, the "camp on the island containing about 125 souls" is almost certainly the island village of Lhilhetalets, just above Hope (Duff's No. 14, 1952:33); and the latter example, "a camp containing nearly 400 souls", the village of Scowlitz (see Lamb 1966:101). These two 'camps' are fairly typical examples of a small permanent settlement and a large permanent village respectively in the upper Sto:lo area (see Duff 1952, Smith 1947 and Hill-Tout 1978). Employing Simon Fraser's figures as representative for all recorded, permanent village sites, a rudimentary projection (circa 1808) can be ascertained; assuming that all permanent sites were simultaneously occupied by a resident population.

Duff (1952:30-39) notes approximately 70 permanent villages for the upriver Sto:lo tribes; although Smith (1947), Wells (1966), Hill-Tout (1978), and Galloway (1977-79) collectively note a significantly larger number (about 100). By projection, employing Duff's totals, a pre-contact population upwards of between 8,750 and 28,000 is suggested. In concluding this matter, I would argue that Upper Sto:lo villages prior to contact and prior to the introduction of European epidemic and endemic diseases were significantly
larger than between 35 to 50 individuals as suggested by Duff; potentially numbering upwards of between 100 and 400 individuals.

The question of a mythological basis for Sto:lo unity is crucial to this thesis since that mythology is the core for Sto:lo spiritual sites. Contrary to Duff, I would argue that a basis for mythological unity among the Sto:lo is clearly evident in a belief in a supreme deity (Chíchelh Siyá:m) and the Legends of Xa:ls. The Sto:lo maintain they have always believed in a supreme deity. My informants state that this is an ancient tradition among their people. So too was Hill-Tout told this by his informants: "They believed, they said, in te ticitcitl siam 'the Upper or Heavenly Chief' before they heard of the white man's God" (1978:114). Duff was told the same by his informants: "All of my informants maintained that the Indians knew about God before the white men came" (1952:119). Five generations of Sto:lo informants have espoused the same testimony when questioned on this matter.

Despite this, many ethnographers have suggested otherwise. Duff states that the concept of a supreme deity was borrowed from the whites (1952:98, 119-122). Suttles (1955:6) has suggested that the concept was introduced by way of the Plateau Prophet Dance. Hill-Tout, in turn, has dismissed his informants' testimony and their assertions as being "entirely foreign to the native mind" (1978:114). Beyond statements of interpretation Duff, Suttles, and Hill-Tout provide little evidence to substantiate their arguments.
The first missionaries to visit the Upper Sto:lo area documented Sto:lo concepts of a supreme deity (see Crosby 1907). This occurred 50 years previous to Hill-Tout and 100 years before Duff and Suttles. If the belief in a supreme being was introduced among the Sto:lo, the Sto:lo have no recollections of its introduction.

The Sto:lo deity, Xa:ls, will be spoken of at some length throughout this dissertation. The Legend of Xa:ls is a tradition shared by all Sto:lo and Halq'èmeylem speaking peoples. Boas (1894, 1895), Hill-Tout (1902, 1904), Jenness (1934/35, 1955), Lerman (1950/51, 1952), Smith (1947), Wells (1965, 1969), Street (1963), Galloway (in S.G.P.N.F. 1976-79), Ware (1983), and others all document Xa:ls and his place in Sto:lo mythology. Given this, it is surprising that Duff has failed to include a discussion of Xa:ls (Duff 1952). This is all the more curious in that Duff's informants provided such data (Duff 1950, Books 1-7).

This rather lengthy discussion of Sto:lo population size, social organization and mythological continuity is integral to this thesis. If one accepts a small population dispersed over a large area without unity of social organization and myth, as Duff proposes, one also may question the validity of spiritual sites and their importance to these people. To the contrary, my intentions have been to build a base for the recognition of such sites as not only being "ethnically significant" but a key component in past to present spiritual continuity. Following discussion in subsequent chapters provides the details of this continuity.

23
Archaeological Background

Ethnohistorically, the Sto:lo have occupied a region strategically located in terms of harvesting the bountiful supply of salmon entering the Fraser River system. Probably the most important area in this regard is the Fraser Canyon above Yale. This has been appropriately noted by Duff who writes:

The Stalo were exceedingly fortunate in having as part of their territory the 5 miles of this canyon immediately above Yale. Offering as it did unparalleled conditions for the catching and drying of salmon, its importance in Stalo economy and prehistory would be difficult to over-emphasize (1952:14).

Archaeological research since the 1950's has confirmed that aboriginal occupation and utilization of the canyon area has been both extensive and intensive (for example, Borden 1968, 1970, 1975; Mitchell 1963, 1965, 1971; Irvine 1973; also see Von Krogh 1980 and Fladmark 1982). Over 50 archaeological sites, nearly twenty percent of the total number recorded for the entire Upper Sto:lo region, are found in the canyon area. Investigations at Milliken (DjRi 3), Esilao (DjRi 5) and at South Yale (DjRi 7) in turn, have demonstrated the importance of this area from deglaciation onwards.

The extent, time depth, complexity and intensity of Indian land use and occupancy in the Upper Sto:lo area is slowly emerging through archaeological exploration and related studies. Archaeological research in this area has now spanned almost 100 years. Investigations began in 1894 when Charles Hill-Tout and Frederick Lazenby opened several Indian burial mounds at Hatzic, near Mission (Smith and Fowke, 1901:60-61;
Maud, Vol. III, 1978:31-38). In 1932, Hill-Tout excavated another burial mound near Harrison Mills (ibid). Systematic archaeological studies, however, did not really begin until about 1950 at which time limited surveys were conducted by Borden, Duff, and Kidd and excavations were initiated by Borden at the Milliken-Esilao locality (Borden 1960, Duff 1949, Kidd 1968). Since then 338 archaeological sites have been recorded and 24 sites excavated.

Archaeological research in the Upper Sto:lo area has focused primarily on the development and refinement of an increasingly detailed cultural sequence spanning the last 9,000 to 12,000 years. 'Key' sites in establishing this sequence include: Milliken, Esilao, South Yale, Silver-Hope Creek (DiRi 14), Katz (DjRi 1), Flood (DiRi 38), Pipeline (DjRi 14) and Maurer (DhRk 8) (see Borden 1968, 1970, Mitchell 1971, and Fladmark 1982). Pithouse settlements have received considerable attention with over two-thirds of the excavated sites being of this type.

In retrospect, archaeological research in the Sto:lo area has produced a plethora of data and materials of significance to Coastal prehistorians. Many interesting facts and trends have emerged. For example, excavations at the Maurer site in 1972 and 1973 uncovered one of the oldest habitation structures ever found in British Columbia; a rectangular pit depression measuring 7.5 x 5.0 x 0.3 meters, which was dated between 4,000 to 5,000 years old (LeClair 1976). Similarly, structural remains of another feature, which included a small pit depression containing fish vertebrae and
quartz crystal flakes, were uncovered at Silver-Hope Creek (Eldridge 1981). The latter had a C14 date of 6,260 +/- 160 years old (ibid).

In addition to these early structural remains, artifact assemblages from the early components at Milliken and South Yale have been instrumental in generating an understanding of the earliest peoples of the province; albeit some are controversial (see Carlson 1983, Fladmark 1982, and Haley 1987). Milliken, for example, has produced the oldest dated component (9,050 years BP) on the south Coast while South Yale is most notable for the controversy generated over the antiquity of the 'Pasika assemblages' (ibid). Nevertheless, these assemblages were instrumental in the definition of the 'Pebble Tool Tradition'. Carlson describes it as follows:

The Pebble Tool Tradition centres in southwestern B.C. It is an early coastal and river tradition with sites both at the major rapids on the Fraser in B.C. and the Columbia in Oregon, and on the sea coast in B.C. as far north as Namu. Its hallmarks are the unifacial pebble tool and the leaf-shaped biface. The earliest unequivocal dates are between 10,000 and 8000 years ago. The pebble tools are thought to be partly indicative of wood working, an adaptation to the post glacial forest environment. Site locations at the main fisheries on the Columbia and the Fraser indicate salmon utilization, and other site locations along the rugged B.C. coast indicate knowledge and use of marine resources...

Excavated sites on the Northwest Coast which have Early Period components of the Pebble Tool Tradition are few and far between: 1) the Milliken site near the mouth of the Fraser Canyon two miles above Yale with occupation beginning by 9000 years ago; 2) the Glenrose Cannery site on the lower Fraser in Surrey with earliest dates about 8000 B.P.; and 3) the site of Bear Cove at the entrance to Hardy Bay on the northeastern end of Vancouver Island (n.d. p.18).

In a later article (1983), Carlson goes on to say that this tradition continued to expand from the Coast into Interior
regions following the spread of salmon species further up the river systems. He also makes note of the geographical correlation between the Pebble Tool Tradition and the distribution of speakers of the Salishan and Wakashan languages in stating:

This culture likely originated as coastal, later became river mouth, and even later, but only in part, riverine, as it accompanied the spread of lake-spawning species of salmon further and further up the rivers into the interior as part of the postglacial environmental adjustment...

There are salmon vertebrae from below the Mazama ash at Drynoch Slide site in the Thompson River canyon, a tributary of the Fraser. This occurrence indicates that these fish were ascending the river before 6,700 B.P., the date of the Mazama eruption...

The Pebble Tool tradition correlates best with the distribution of speakers of the Salish and Wakashan languages, who still take salmon in this same area (1983:90).

The Pasika assemblages from South Yale were initially regarded as the 'type complex' for the 'early' Pebble Tool Tradition (circa 9,000 - 12,000 years BP); the existence and antiquity of which has now been invalidated (Haley 1987). Current evidence shows the Pasika complex to be a specialized technological adaptation placed within a 6,000 to 3,000 year BP time frame (ibid). Carlson acknowledged the dubious nature of the 'early' Pebble Tool tradition in his 1983 article. However, as he notes, the "later Pebble Tool tradition rests on a much firmer foundation of archaeological fact than does the earlier" (1983:88).

There is not the space here to present all of the details of Upper Sto:lo prehistory. It is important to note that virtually all archaeological evidence points to the
importance of the salmon fishery. Also, the archaeological assemblages from excavated sites suggest a gradual, in situ change and evolution from at least 3,500 BP (Borden 1968) if not the earliest times (see Mitchell 1971 and Fladmark 1982, among others).

These patterns are consistent with Sto:lo oral tradition. Sto:lo legends speak of the people's ancient occupancy of this region and of the creation of the first ancestors where the Sto:lo ancestral tribal villages are located (Boas 1895, Hill-Tout 1902, 1904, etc.). There are no legends of major migrations with the possible exception of the Chilliwack Tribe who tell of their gradual movement down the Chilliwack River and spread into the Chilliwack valley. In comparison, Thompson legends have been recorded that speak of an ancient migration of their people into the unoccupied homelands in which they now live (Teit 1898, 1917a). Both groups in turn, have legends which describe major geological events within their own territories including volcanoes, floods, slides and which also hint at major environmental changes (ibid, Jenness 1934/35, Hill-Tout 1902, Teit 1898, 1900, 1912, 1937 etc.).

With regard to archaeological sites, most Sto:lo Indians may know little of the wealth of archaeological data they have produced. At the same time, however, it is clear from informant interviews that the Sto:lo are aware of the existence of the sites themselves and of each site's relative importance to Sto:lo heritage. The importance attached to these and other sites differs somewhat from the values attached
by the scientific community. For example, a primary concern is the importance of the archaeological record in affirming Indian ancestry and aboriginal occupancy. As my informants note:

Yes we are concerned about our archaeological sites. They establish our ancestral occupancy of the area. From the point of view of land claims, they are important especially those that are in areas that are not on Reserve (Wayne Bobb in Mohs, 1984:44),

We are concerned about our archaeological sites because we want to see them preserved. They are vital and crucial to our heritage (John Sam, ibid:22),

Their existence confirms our aboriginal landuse and occupancy. They are our mark on the landscape (Denise Douglas, Sto:lo Nation News, May 1986).

Many of these same sites may also hold special meaning for other reasons. The Esilao-Milliken locality, for example, is known to the Elders as Aseláw, 'where the people used to live on and in the back of the hill'. They speak of the large village that was once here and of the old burial grounds in which many 'Old Ones' lie. Aseláw is known as a place of many caves and as a famous fishing and drying site. It is situated adjacent Iyém or "lucky place for catching salmon". There are two 'Transformer' sites here (see Chapter 3). Oral traditions also speak of a tragic story about a young couple who were buried beneath a landslide at Aseláw on their wedding night. A ceremonial feast used to be held here yearly in their honor (S.S.F., 1985, 1986; S.G.P.N.F., 1976-79; S.P.P.N.F., 1977-79; S.O.H., 1986:2).

South Yale is situated between `Xelhalh' ("injured person") and 'Qw'elóqw' ("barbecued fish heads"). This settlement was the home of 'Tewit' ("expert hunter") who, along
with his dog ('Sqwemá’y') and the elk ('Q’oýiyets') he was chasing, were changed to stone by Xa:ls (Figures 17, 37).

South Yale also is where the sacred stones of 'Hemhémetheqw' ("lots of people making fish oil") are located. It was here that Xa:ls changed the many people who were making fish oil into stone; thence leaving their 'stone pots' for later generations to use. The Elders tell stories of those who used to live at South Yale and of the lack of water that eventually forced them to move away, and of how this was an easy place to get lost in. South Yale is remembered as an old village where the people used to make fish oil, but where people still fish today (ibid, also see Boas 1895).

Maurer is at the famous 'sockeye' fishing site of Lhilhkwelqs or "hooknose". The Elders say that there was once a special rock formation here in the shape of the hook-nosed sockeye; blasted during lime quarry operations in the early 1900's. Hooknose is known as an old village with burial grounds nearby. Silver-Hope Creek, in turn, is known as 'Xwtil’íkw’elem' or 'Tl’íkw’elem'. There are many important fishing and drying sites here and the area is reported as a favorable place to build pithouses. The pithouses are said to belong to the ancestors of the people who had Greenwood Island (ibid).

The Sto:lo do not look at their history and heritage sites in the cultural-historical analytical units (i.e. Phases) of archaeologists. Rather, history is seen as part of a continuum stretching back from the present to the beginning of time itself. In this framework, some heritage sites are/will
be more importantly remembered or associated with certain events than others. Significance is measured or attached accordingly.

The Katz site, for example, is acknowledged as an important archaeological site in the sense of scientific significance (for example, Von Krogh 1980). As a heritage site to the Sto:lo, it is associated with tragedy, death, and disease. In Halq'eméylem, this pit house settlement is known as 'Sxwóxwiymelh' or "a lot of people died at once", a once populous village apparently wiped out by a smallpox epidemic in 1806 (S.S.F., 1985, 1986; S.G.P.N.F., 1976-79; S.P.P.N.F., 1977-79; S.O.H., 1985:1). There is no way that the values placed on this site (i.e. scientific vs. ethnic) can be compared. Both have to be acknowledged for what they are.

Two hypotheses have been put forward by anthropologists as to how long the Sto:lo have occupied their territory. Boas (1895) suggests that the Sto:lo must have occupied the region for a considerable time on the basis of physiological evidence. Hill-Tout (1902) on the other hand, believes the Sto:lo to be latecomers to the area due to widespread linguistic homogeneity. Duff disagrees with Hill-Tout suggesting that "the widespread linguistic homogeneity of Halkomelem, can be attributed instead to the unusual degree of internal contact...which might tend to inhibit divergent changes" (1952:12). At the same time, Duff does not go so far as to concur with Boas due to a lack of supporting archaeological data.
In light of archaeological data and an absence of contradictory mythology one must concur with Boas' interpretation. The Sto:lo occupation of the region is both ancient and continuous. Whether it is 10,000 years ago or even as recent as 3,500 years ago (i.e. Bordan) is insignificant. To a living people it is time immemorial as asserted in the Sto:lo Declaration of nationhood (Appendix V).

Modern Context

Today, the Sto:lo Indians live in a semi-urban to marginally-rural cultural landscape. Their population numbers approximately 6,000 with about 3,200 of these people having registered status (Sto:lo Tribal Council, personal communication). In total there are 24 Bands occupying 83 Reserves (Upper Sto:lo Impact Study, 1983). For the most part, Reserves are small (averaging about 250 acres in size) and are scattered over a large geographical area (Figure 3). Sto:lo political leaders maintain that their existing reserve landbase is too small to meet the social and economic needs of a growing population. On-reserve housing is cited as a major problem and, out of necessity, many Indians must live 'off-reserve' in the various regional centres. Not surprisingly, the settlement of outstanding land claims is of paramount concern to Sto:lo political leaders.

Many of the Sto:lo Reserves, allotted under the direction of Governor Douglas in 1864, were decreased in size through a series of land appropriations, including the allotment of various rights-of-ways (see Sto:lo Impact Study 1983 and Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs 1984). This was done at a time
when Indian populations had reached an all time low (see Duff, 1965:44). In the central Fraser valley, the Reserves of the Chilliwack, Sumas, Nicomen and Matsqui Tribes alone, were reduced in size by 34,703 acres in the years between 1864 and 1878 (Roy Mussel, personal communication 1986, also compare McColl's Map of 1864 with Regional Land Registry files).

Social stress and political factionalism are compounded by pressures from local, regional, provincial and federal economic development projects, land altering activities, and ever-increasing infringements to traditional rights and title. Of particular concern are those projects affecting the aboriginal fishery. Two major highways, various subsidiary access roads, two national railways, and various 'Rights-Of-Way' including power transmission lines, oil and gas pipelines transverse and bisect traditional Sto:lo territory, connecting the various regional and rural 'centres' with one another. Commercial, industrial, agricultural, urban, corporate and private development is ever-present and a constant threat to Sto:lo traditional lifeways. Almost every year some part of the Sto:lo land base is lost to 'rights-of-ways'. Off-reserve, ancestral fishing sites are destroyed (Figure 41), sturgeon sloughs are filled in, forests are logged and heritage sites impacted in one fashion or another (for example, see Upper Sto:lo Impact Study, 1983:63). And, like many Indian communities in North America, unemployment and poverty rates are high with alcoholism and suicide being a major social concern (Gerald George, personal communication).
As a result of these economic and social pressures, the predominant focus of Sto:lo concerns relate to basic survival. Native economic development programs, social, educational and health programs and native rights issues are the pre-occupation of the various Sto:lo political offices. Not surprisingly, heritage sites and the management of cultural heritage resources do not occupy a frontline position in the lives of most Sto:lo.
This does not mean that heritage and heritage sites are not an important aspect of Sto:lo life. Neither does it mean that the Sto:lo are not concerned about the management of their heritage resources. On the contrary, these matters are important to just about everyone, especially the Elders. In fact, heritage touches everyone's life. Some Sto:lo are just more involved than others.

In spite of all the pressures of living in an urban, non-Indian society, the Sto:lo have maintained a strong cultural identity. People have grown accustomed to living in the midst of a foreign culture and are acutely aware of the dangers that threaten their cultural survival. Maintenance of cultural activities and traditions in family life, political life and spiritual life ensure cultural perpetuation.

One of the physical centres of cultural activity is Coqualeetza Education Training Centre in Sardis. Formerly a Methodist school and later a TB hospital, Coqualeetza now houses and operates various cultural programs including: a Language Department, Media Production Centre, Educational Production Centre (Sto:lo Sitel), and a Research Centre with Library and Archives. The various departments also serve as a training centre for Indian youth interested in various aspects of Education, Media, Archaeology, Anthropology, and Resource Management. Coqualeetza is also a center for the Sto:lo Elders who gather here for weekly meetings and the property houses the major political offices of the Sto:lo people.

Institutions like Coqualeetza, summer canoe races and other sporting events, winter ceremonial dancing, fishing, and
strong family ties all serve to bind the Sto:lo as a strong cultural unit. It would be fair to say that the Sto:lo live in what Ferguson (1984:228) has described as a 'parallel culture'. They maintain a system in which they attempt to derive the better aspects of Euro-Canadian culture while maintaining their own values, beliefs and tribal culture.

The river is a focal point in Sto:lo economic life (Figures 5-7) as well as present day political struggles. Regular confrontations with Federal Fisheries officers over native fishing rights are a seasonal occurrence and at the center of numerous legal battles. Industrial pollution, municipal sewage disposal, and encroachments from highways, railways, pipelines, mining, forestry, dyking and private developments are of utmost concern to the Sto:lo. As related by my informants:

The River is our lifeblood. Anything that happens to it is a concern to us (AP in S.S.F., 1986).

God will allow us to have so much. But if we don't look after it we'll probably have to go hungry again till the time that we learn how to handle our salmon (TG, S.O.H., 1985:2).

Things are changing so fast. They're doing away with everything; the highways and the railroads (JP, S.O.H., 1986:2).

These feelings are shared by other Indian groups living along the Fraser system. Most feel that the threshold level for impacts has been reached. Coqualeetza Media Centre recently released two productions on this topic: 'The River Is Our Home' (1984) and 'Tracing The Threshold' (1986).

Economic concern aside, to many Indian people, the river itself is sacred. It is symbolic of life. It is a
constant. Yet, it is unpredictable and has been a source of much happiness, sorrow, tragedy, and consolation. In the words of a Sto:lo Elder:

Yeah, that was the only consolation I used to have, the River. When I lose my family, like when I lost Leonard, my tears were coming [and I] had to go down to the river, ask the river to help me. After I got quieted down, I go to the edge and splash water on myself. That kind of takes the sorrow away.

The river is my friend. The river has never failed me. Every time I needed help, I went down, got my help. Nowadays I can't do that. I wish I could get down there. I'm afraid to get down there now [because of rip-rap], 'cause my footing is no good. If I bump into anything, I roll. Now I never get down there.

Yeah, the river is a great river. I always call it the mighty Fraser River. And that's what I call it when I ask for help from him. And I get my help. That's about the Fraser (EP, S.O.H., 1985:1; brackets are mine).

Today, there are over 70 Indian Reserves of the Sto:lo, Nlaka'pamux, and Secwepemc peoples bordering the Fraser and its tributary, the Thompson. In the past, as is true of the present, Indian heritage is intimately tied to the river (Figures 5-10). A Nlaka'pamux Elder, NS, puts it this way:

Another way of looking at heritage is the way of life for an Indian.

The white man takes a look at heritage. They say, "you don't have any heritage"...Your heritage is back east somewhere, back over in Europe. And when they talk about heritage in Canada, they talk about these old run down little homestead farms. On the prairie, that's their heritage. You know, that's the way they base it.

Did you know that the heritage sites is all of those little plots of land up and down the Fraser. Every one of them is a heritage site. Because if there was not one Indian livin' on that, they wouldn't have made that a Reserve. And that's how the Reserves was allotted. It was where these communities was living before time. The Fraser River itself, you know, is where the people, long before the Europeans came, that's where they make their living, right on the river.
So when we start talking about what is 'heritage', just like what Louie says, it is the River, the River itself is. You damage that river, what is there left? There is nothin' left for anybody, not even nothin' left for the white man.

There's not another place anywhere that you can get your medicine right from there. You can get all of your vegetables right from there. You can get all of yours. You can cure the salmon...You know where all the berries are, you can hunt and everything.

So, you ask me, 'What is a heritage site?'; the whole thing is. You know, 'on-Reserve' and 'off-Reserve', the whole bloody thing was. We lived on it...And you know, it has been damaged, damaged quite a bit (in Mohs, 1984:54-58).

Not surprisingly, the river is a focal point in Native oral tradition, spiritual life, and ceremonial activities (Figures 8-9) and is spoken of in legend and myth. The majority of Sto:lo spiritual sites, for example, are in some way connected with the River. It is here that one finds 'the Hunter rock' (Figure 17), 'ta:lh' his spear, 'the Dog rock' (Figure 37), 'Hémq'eleq the Whirlpool, and 'Th'exelis' "gritting his teeth" (Figures 26-29). In fact, nearly every rock, pool, back-eddie, side-channel, slough, and flat piece of land has an Indian name and a story or legend about it.

The productive capacity of the Fraser, its tributaries and sloughs, and the resources of the land are well known to the Sto:lo of today, as they were to their ancestors. Prior to contact, there was an abundant wealth of resources - particularly salmon. In its dried and smoked forms, salmon was stockpiled in great quantities (Duff 1952, Smith 1947, Ware 1983). Processed in this manner, salmon was a valuable trading commodity (ibid) and a staple food during the winter dance ceremonial. As my informants point out, it takes a lot of
salmon to feed 500 or more people for one evening of spirit dancing. Over a four month period, from November to March, this amounts to a lot of salmon; not to mention special events such as marriages, burnings, funerary feasts, cultural gatherings, sporting events, etc. In this regard, the importance of the fishery to the Sto:lo has been noted by Duff:

To the Stalo, with their great wealth of fish resources, fishing was the most important economic activity. In the main river or its tributaries they caught the five species of salmon, as well as sturgeon, eulachons, trout, and other fish. They used many methods and devices - dip-nets, bag-nets, harpoons, weirs, traps, hooks. Although fresh fish was procurable the year around, they dried or smoked large amounts during late summer for winter use (1952:62).

The quantity of salmon that once entered the mainstream of the Fraser is something the Elders often talk about. To them it is a phenomenon that can only be imagined today. Prior to the Hell's Gate Disaster of 1913 (Hudson, 1979), a catastrophic landslide and river blockage brought about through railroad construction, the records of the International Pacific Salmon Commission noted 41 million sockeye alone in the Fraser system. By 1945, the number of fish passing Hell's Gate reached an historic low of 4,000 (Pennier, Joseph and Mohs, 1984:18). Since this time, conservation and enhancement efforts have raised current numbers of some species close to historic levels. However, only a small percentage of these fish now ascend the mainstream; the majority being taken by commercial fishermen in the Gulf of Georgia and the lower reaches of the River (for example, see Ware 1983, Lane and Lane 1978, also see 'The River Is Our Home' 1984).
Table 1: VARIETIES OF SALMON KNOWN TO THE STO:LO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERM</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>CHARACTERISTICS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kwóxweth</td>
<td>coho</td>
<td>coho in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sth'ímiya/</td>
<td>coho</td>
<td>small coho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th'ímiya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw'o:lexw</td>
<td>chum</td>
<td>dog salmon in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóliya/</td>
<td>pink</td>
<td>humpback salmon in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huliya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stheqi</td>
<td>sockeye</td>
<td>Fraser River sockeye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skwikwexel</td>
<td>sockeye</td>
<td>Chilliwack, small variety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thíthqi/</td>
<td>sockeye</td>
<td>small sockeye in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésqey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swá:ychel</td>
<td>sockeye</td>
<td>Chilliwack River variety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qwechíwiya</td>
<td>sockeye</td>
<td>Harrison River, late fall variety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqwó:yxw</td>
<td>sockeye</td>
<td>Chehalis River variety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl'élxxel</td>
<td>chinook</td>
<td>spring salmon in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl'elxálól lh</td>
<td>chinook</td>
<td>jack spring with black nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pó:qẘ</td>
<td>chinook</td>
<td>Big Harrison River or Chehalis River, October run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pepqw'ólh</td>
<td>chinook</td>
<td>small variety, same run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speq'áːːs/</td>
<td>chinook</td>
<td>Fraser River, white variety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sp'eq'áːːs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spó:xem/</td>
<td>chinook</td>
<td>March or early run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spé:xem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sqwexem</td>
<td>chinook</td>
<td>Harrison and Chehalis Rivers silver variety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sth'olólh</td>
<td>chinook</td>
<td>Chehalis Lake, May run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shxwoqw'ó:lh/</td>
<td>chinook</td>
<td>Silver Creek, August run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shxwoqw'ó:lh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(from: To:lméls Ye Siyelyólexwa, Wisdom of the Elders, 1980:69)
The importance of the salmon fishery to the Sto:lo is reflected, in part, by the names given the different varieties of salmon. Whereas biological convention identifies five species of salmon, the Sto:lo have separate names for 18 varieties including eight names for spring salmon and five for sockeye (Table 1).

The role of the fishery in all its various aspects was, and still remains, an instrumental factor in the shaping of Upper Sto:lo society. Every year, salmon fishing commences in the early spring with the arrival of 'spó:xem' or 'spé:xem', the March run of spring salmon, and terminates with the 'kw'ó:lexw' or dog salmon which are taken into November. Throughout this period of time, fishing continues. Large quantities of salmon are still dried and smoked although a greater proportion is canned and frozen to carry the people through the winter months.

The Sto:lo emphasize that salmon is important to them both economically and spiritually. In casual conversation, this special relationship is often expressed in the common saying: "Our bones are made of salmon". The spiritual relationship with salmon, however, is much more deeply rooted in legend and oral tradition. According to legend, salmon was given the Sto:lo by Xa:ls, the creator and great Transformer, who instructed the people on how to catch, prepare, care for, and respect this gift:

Long ago Transformer was travelling over this world. He was carrying some little Salmon bones in his hands. He came to a river and dropped in one of the bones. "You shall become the Humpback and there shall be many of you." Next Transformer came to the great river and
travelled far up its course, dropping Salmon bones in many streams and small rivers. "And you shall be the Sockeye," he said. He then dropped bones in other lakes and creeks and they became the Suckers, the Trout, and all the other fish (Adamson in Ware, 1983:i).

The spiritual relationship between people and salmon is also reflected in the remarks of Frank Malloway, manager of Coqualeetza:

A long time ago, the salmon ceremony, the first salmon was taken to the chief of the village. He cooked it, called all of the people together and he divided the salmon; as long as each person in the village got a piece of that salmon. All the bones were picked up, carried back to the river and sent back to the salmon people. We had to do this to please the salmon people that sent their children up to us. If we didn't do this they wouldn't send any more because we didn't respect, we didn't thank them the right way (from the video: 'The River Is Our Home' 1984).

These sentiments are echoed in the ethnohistorical literature. Jenness, for example, writes:

No other living creature except the sockeye salmon possesses a soul, not even the birds and animals created by Khaals from human beings, for whom he transformed them, he sent back their souls to their Maker. The sockeye possesses a soul, because in its home far out in the ocean it is really a human being. That is the reason why Swaneset's father-in-law said to him as he was leaving: "My son-in-law, you are taking my daughter away with you. At a certain time of the year all her relatives shall visit you. You may eat them, but of the first ones you catch you must throw back into the water the bones, the skin, and the intestines. Then their souls will return hither and take on new bodies (1955:35).

Finally, Hill-Tout has stated:

In the compact made by Qals on behalf of the Indians and the salmon chief, the Indians are pledged to treat the salmon according to the instructions of this chief (1978:116).

Among the Sto:lo today, the salmon ceremony is not as elaborate as it was in the past due, in large part, to the influence of
Church and Clergy. However, the tradition of sharing the first fish, collecting and sending the bones back to the river, is still practiced by some Sto:lo families (AP, DD, personal communication).

Some Sto:lo traditionally accorded similar respect to the sturgeon (see Boas 1895:37-41; Hill-Tout, 1978:148-155).

My informant, TG, relates:

They [Xexa:ls] took our brother and turned him to sturgeon and he went into the river. And so this little maiden was crying, crying, and Xa:ls felt sorry for her and told her: "Well, this is your day. And if you want to go with your mate, you pack up your lunch and go down there and wait for him". So she packed up this piece of meat and other little things that she had in this cloth and she was down at the river and waited. And she felt very sad and all of a sudden he came up, this beautiful sturgeon and just like if he said, "OK honey, I'm here. If you want to come with me you come right now." So she chose to be with him and she went in together. Just visualizing the story after, it's beautiful. You could just see it. It's so touching. So you could tell Indian people were spiritual in so many ways (S.O.H., 1985:2).

In addition to the legends themselves, there are many spiritual places pointed out by my informants which they say affirms the special relationship between Indians and the salmon. There is 'Th'exelis' (Figures 26-29), at Yale, where Xa:ls first instructed the people on the methods of catching salmon. There is 'Hemhémetheqw', at Hills Bar, where the pitted holes in the rocks were once used for the first salmon ceremony. There is 'Xeq'a'telets', near American Bar, where the body of the baby stolen from the Salmon people was deposited on the bottom of the river in order to lure the 'Sockeye Tribe' from their ocean home, and several more. Many of these places were pointed out to explorers and early travellers to the area. Several have documented them in their journals.
One such writer notes:

Upon the roadside some three or four miles above this town stands planted one end in the ground, and standing about five feet above the surface, a stone column about 8 x 12 inches in size, and upon which hangs the following Indian legend: It is well known that the Indian tribes of these colonies are the subjects of numerous superstitions respecting the salmon, which constitutes their chief article of food, and it is, we believe, the universal custom amongst them to present the first fish taken each season to their Priest as a sort of thanks or propitiatory offering to their piscatorial god. According to the legend connected with the aforesaid stone, a woman belonging to the tribe inhabiting these parts, "once upon a time," sacriligiously and wantonly appropriated to her own use the fish which should have been offered to the Priest to the god of salmon, and, as a punishment for her sin, she was instantaneously transformed, not into a pillar of salt as was a certain wayward daughter of Eve in olden times, but into a pillar of stone, which pillar the aforesaid slab is said to be, and is pointed out to this day by the credulous Indians as a warning to their women (British Columbian, June 3, 1863).

Chapter Summary

Prior to contact, the upriver Sto:lo tribes occupied and controlled an economically productive and resource rich region of the Pacific Northwest. Governing control of lands and resources was the authority of individual tribes, primarily through the office, and under the direction of the respected siyá:m. Through political alliances and the web of kinship, certain strategic resources and resource areas were commonly shared with outside groups. By the same token, these were defended against predatory invaders.

In the first few decades preceding and following contact, the Sto:lo population was devastated through European introduced epidemic and endemic diseases. Pre-existing economic patterns underwent a dramatic change and the social order of the times was severely strained.
Eventually, the Federal and Provincial governments established Reserves for the various Sto:lo tribes. These Reserves were gradually decreased in size through a series of land appropriations. Fishing regulations were imposed (Ware 1983), traditional religious practices curtailed (Jilek 1982), while existing forms of native government were slowly eroded and Indian Act regulations imposed (Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs 1984). Throughout this time, the Sto:lo Chiefs protested these impositions (i.e. see microfiche series: RG-10, Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa).

With the passage of time, the Sto:lo have come to an understanding of non-Indian ways. However, non-Indian society has yet to come to an understanding of Sto:lo ways on matters of land, resources, rights, heritage and culture. This is particularly true in the matter of spiritual places.
FIGURE 4: FRASER RIVER VALLEY AT CHILLIWACK

FIGURE 5: STO:LO FISHERMEN IN CANYON AT YALE
FIGURE 6: FISH ON DRYING RACK AT ELDERS FISH CAMP

FIGURE 7: NLAKA'PAMUX CHILDREN LEARNING ABOUT SALMON
FIGURE 8: NLAKA’PAMUX ELDERS PREPARING SALMON DURING FIRST SALMON CEREMONY NEAR LYTTON
FIGURE 9: NAPOLEON KRUGER PERFORMING FIRST SALMON CEREMONY NEAR LYTTON
FIGURE 10: FIELD TRIP WITH SECWEPEMC ELDERS NEAR BONAPARTE

FIGURE 11: AUTHOR IN CONVERSATION WITH NLAKA'PAMUX ELDERS LOUIE PHILLIPS AT LYTTON
FIGURE 12: SECWEPEMC ELDERS RAPHAEL ETIENNE AND JIMMY NASON POINTING OUT SITE OF SACRED "HAT ROCK" (XWIWESKEN - "HEAD PUSHED IN") NEAR BONAPARTE (Destroyed with Highway Construction During the 1960's)
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY, TERMINOLOGY AND THE MYTHICAL BASE

This chapter outlines my research methodology and presents the terminology and site classification system that I have employed. It also includes a discussion of the mythical base (notably the Legend of Xa:ls), an understanding of which is imperative in comprehending the spiritual values afforded certain types or classes of spiritual sites. Further discussion of the site 'types' identified in this chapter follows in Chapter 4.

Methodology

A major pre-occupation in conducting the necessary research behind this thesis has been documentation. Essentially, there are two aspects to this process:

1) documenting the spiritual values accorded spiritual sites by the native people themselves - especially the Elders - in order to gain a greater understanding of these places and their role in native society, and

2) physical documentation including site identification, description, location, and recording through compilation of a detailed research file.

Documentation of native values on heritage and heritage sites was accomplished through a series of informal interviews. The majority of these interviews were recorded on audio cassette (for example, A.O.H. and S.O.H. audio tapes) and they are currently on file at Coqualeetza Media Resources Centre, Sardis (Appendix I and References). To date over 60 hours of oral history information have been recorded and partial transcripts totaling 3-400 pages have been type-written. Transcripts of unrecorded interviews are included within the 'Spiritual Sites
File' (S.S.F.), at the Coqualeetza Research Centre, Library and Archives. These interviews not only document native values but are also valuable for the information they provide on site locations and stories or legends associated with them.

Existing ethnohistorical sources, including published and unpublished materials (for example, Boas 1895 and Smith 1947), were also reviewed for references to sites and associated legends. Unpublished materials have proven an invaluable source of information. Some of the more important sources include: 1) a photographic file on Indian place names (S.P.P.N.F.) compiled by linguist Dr. Brent Galloway and Sto:lo researcher Albert Phillips between 1977 and 1979; 2) a geographical place names file (S.G.P.N.F.) compiled by Dr. Reuben Ware and Dr. Brent Galloway between 1976 and 1979; 3) field notes of Dr. Reuben Ware compiled during the 'Sto:lo History Project' in the early 1970's (S.H.F.N. 1977); 4) audio tapes from the 'Sto:lo History Project' (S.H.P. 1973-1976); and 5) the unpublished field notes of anthropologists Wilson Duff (1950), Diamond Jenness (1934/35), and Marion Wesley Smith (1947). Copies of these materials also are on file at Coqualeetza and in other archive locales (Appendix I and References).

On the whole, it was found that unpublished sources were a more valuable source of information than published references. There are several reasons for this. Unpublished sources generally identify informants by name and provide more detail on site locations and associated legends. Most published references, on the other hand, tend to document the
legends rather than providing details on the places associated with them. As a result, most site locations are vague if they are given at all. 'Up at Yale', 'near Chilliwack', 'above Hope', 'on Harrison Lake' are common referents (see Hill-Tout 1902, 1904; Teit 1914 etc.). This problem has been reduced through informant identification and cross-referencing. Similar to site location, many published sources fail to identify the informant of a particular site/legend. Some informants spoken with during the present study questioned the accuracy and authority of published accounts. These discrepancies, where and when they occur, have been noted on the 'Spiritual Site Record Forms'.

Early in 1986, special 'Record Forms' were developed for recording information on spiritual sites (Appendix II). This was necessary because standard forms provided by the Heritage Conservation Branch in Victoria were found to be inadequate for recording data on spiritual sites. In addition, a 'new' form was required for confidentiality purposes. Data compiled on these forms were not filed with the cultural heritage resource managers in Victoria at the request of my informants and Sto:lo political leaders.

The 'Spiritual Sites Record Form' developed for the Sto:lo is currently being employed by several member Bands from the three Indian Nations involved with the Canadian National Railway's twin tracking project (see Chapter 1). These forms are designed to facilitate documentation of data and to assist Band/Tribal Councils in local/regional management of heritage sites. Through a series of workshops, Indian researchers from
various Bands were instructed on methods of data collection, recording, and aspects of Cultural Heritage Resources Management. As a result, researchers from each of the three Nations of the Alliance have become involved in the process of compiling a detailed research file.

In addition to recording data on inventory forms, each site has been plotted on maps of various scales. For the Sto:lo area, 1:50,000 scale National Topographic Survey maps and 1:5,000 scale planometric maps are being employed. For mapping purposes, each spiritual site is assigned an Alpha-numeric designation which identifies it according to:

a) Site Type,

b) Sub-classification,

c) Sto:lo sub-cultural grouping, and

d) numerical identification.

Alpha-numeric identification ensures that site-specific details remain confidential while allowing sites to be accurately plotted. Mapping in this manner is designed to facilitate documentation and to assist in site management and protection. The 'key' to Alpha-numeric designations, maps, site record forms, taped interviews, and record files are confidential data. Access to these materials is at the discretion of Sto:lo political and cultural offices (Appendix I).

The process of compiling data on all Sto:lo spiritual sites is far from complete. To date, approximately 200 sites have been identified. Inventory forms have been partially completed for half this number.
Terminology

There are several 'terms' or names used in this thesis which require definition or clarification. Each is described below and, where appropriate, divided into subclasses. Within this study, I define a spiritual site as: 'a site or physical locality towards which members of a native group have strong spiritual ties or feelings based on traditional beliefs and/or ceremonial usages'.

There is not a Sto:lo term to describe all such localities. There is, however, a Sto:lo word, Stl'itl'agem, used to describe a spirited spot or spirited place. This would include places or sites which are, in themselves, believed to be spirited or inhabited by supernatural forces (MM and ED, S.O.H., 1985:4). Stl'itl'agem would include places or sites with resident spirits or beings, Transformer sites, and a few other places (see definitions below). There is also a Sto:lo word, sxwoxwiyam, used to describe landmarks that have stories or legends attached to them.

For inventory purposes, several 'sub-classes' or 'sub-types' of Spiritual sites were identified on the basis of interviews with many Sto:lo and non-Sto:lo Elders. They include the following:

a) Transformer: Sites that are attributed to or associated with the deeds and/or actions of Xa:ls or other Transformer (see definition below).

b) Spirits/Beings: Locations that are believed to be inhabited by supernatural forces. Most sites are related to particular spirits and/or beings, i.e. Thunderbird, Thunderwind, water-babies, sasquatch, serpent, mermaid, etc. These may be subdivided into Land Mysteries and Water
Mysteries.

c) Ceremonial: Sites associated with ceremonial functions or formal religious observances, i.e. Sun Ceremony, First Salmon Ceremony, Winter Spirit Dance, Sweat House Ceremony, ceremonial feasts/offerings to the dead, ritual bathing pools, etc.

d) Cultural/Traditional: Sites that are intimately related to some specific aspect of Sto:lo culture and/or cultural historical event of great significance, i.e. places associated with the origin of the sacred sxwó:yxwéy mask, sites where the 'Ancestors' first appeared on earth, etc.

e) Questing/Power: Sites related to personal vision quests, power quests, puberty rites, etc. For the Sto:lo, this includes repository sites of cedar 'life-poles' associated with the winter dance ceremonial.

f) Legend/Mythological: Sites intimately related to events/personages in native folklore, i.e. native prophets, buried villages, judgement sites, prediction sites and sites associated with important legends.

g) Burial/Mortuary: Places at which the dead are/were buried, cremated, etc.; including sacred groves and other areas used exclusively for tree burials.

h) Resource Sites from which materials for ceremonial/spiritual activities are/were obtained, i.e. Indian paint, crystals, etc., including areas where medicinal plants are collected.

i) Other: Sites or localities which are spiritual in nature but can not be classified under the sub-classes listed above, i.e. astronomical sites, medicinal pools and springs, etc.

The sub-classes listed above are not specific to the Sto:lo but are broad enough to include the Nlaka'pamux and Secwépemc and possibly other cultural groups.

Individual Elders and Band members tend to place greater significance on one or more sub-classes of importance
to them. For example, a spirit dancer might respond that sites of ceremonial dance houses, ritual bathing pools, the repository sites of cedar life poles (Figure 43), and sources of Indian paint are the most important. A $sxw6:yxwey$ dancer would include the 'origin sites' of the ceremonial $sxw6:yxwey$ mask (Figures 31-33). An Elder raised according to traditional beliefs might respond that sites attributed to $xa:ls$ (Figures 13-18) are most important, and yet others, that burial/mortuary locations are of ultimate significance. Vested interests aside, each sub-class of sites does incorporate ethnic significance and each may be considered of equal value within an overall ideological context.

There are many Elders who would extend 'spiritual significance' to include old villages, archaeological sites, pictographs and petroglyphs. For example, one of my informants has stated:

Some places are sacred. You're not supposed to go there and touch anything. Even the lakes way up the mountain...and parts of the river....You can't just go there and do as you like, go swimmin' in it. Those are sacred. Certain things [were] done to it by the old timers.

Things that the old timers did years ago, we're not supposed to touch it; even kickwillie houses. And where they were buried. A lot of them died in that place. ....Chicken pox, smallpox, killed them all off. And they just died there. And we're not supposed to go there and touch them. A lot of times we used to go up there and dig out and see what they used to use years back. Like rock bowls or rock knives, wood chizels, you know. But they'd [Elders] tell me, "Don't you go there. Some days, some nights, you'll dream about that, and you might not live long", he says. "They're too sacred. You leave them there." You're not supposed to touch anything that they owned years back...

Like where the people used to live years ago, up Yale. People that are real old are buried there. And the graveyard's still there. And you can't bother them
because they're sacred ways. There's a lot of them old graveyards up there. Our Great Elders are buried there...

People used to carve on these big rocks. And that's sacred too. You're not supposed to touch them or do anything wrong with them...

Cause it was so sacred, you're not supposed to touch them. Well, that's native ways, you know (JP, S.O.H., 1986:2).

Some sites, such as those described above would be more appropriately classified under different categories of 'heritage site' rather than being included within the category of 'spiritual site'. The values held towards these places, however, are worthy of note and will be expanded upon below.

I have suggested the term 'spiritual site' refer to a special 'class' or 'type' of native heritage site. In contrast with the classification system outlined above, the nearest 'site type' listed by the Provincial Heritage Conservation Branch, that agency responsible for cultural heritage site management and protection in British Columbia, is "ceremonial/myth" which has been defined as follows:

A site of aboriginal formal religious observance or convention, or a place or natural feature referenced in local myth (Guide to the B.C. Archaeological Site Inventory Form, n.d., p.35).

Given its all inclusive nature, the latter has limited application for describing, recording and classifying native heritage sites of spiritual significance.

Mythical Base

Among the Sto:lo, 'transformer legends' are an integral part of the mythical base. A 'transformer' refers to a legendary person(s) or being(s) endowed with great metaphysical powers. A transformer has the capability to change or alter
the form, appearance, condition, character, function or nature of others including objects, physiographic features, etc.

While powerful and, hence, dangerous, transformers are considered benevolent entities and are often spoken of with reverence. Among the Sto:lo, the transformer is known as Xa:ls (singular) or Xexa:ls (speaking of four) (To:lmêl’s Ye Siyelyólexwa, 1980:95).

Xa:ls is often referred to as 'the Changer', 'the Little Christ', 'Son of the Great Spirit', 'the Holy One', the 'Young Cub', 'Young Bear', etc. and is mentioned by name in the literature as: Kels, Qâls, Qwahls, qweh-QWAHLS, Kahls, Khaals, Qeqals, xexels, hexe'llz, etc. (see Boas 1895, Duff 1950, 1952, Hill-Tout 1902, Jenness 1934/35, 1955, Lerman 1950/51, Smith 1947, Wells 1965 etc.). Hill-Tout has reported:

The Qals are sometimes spoken of as one, but four are generally thought of as travelling and working together. Hence the commoner term Qeqals, which is the collective form of Qals... (1978:156).

Similarly, Boas explains:

...the four children left their mother and together wandered up along the Fraser River towards the sunrise. When they had arrived at the sunrise, they walked into the sky and wandered towards the sunset. From there they turned back and wandered east once more. They had received the name Qâls and transformed everyone they met into stones or other things... (1895:29).

An understanding of Xa:ls and his role or place in Sto:lo culture is an essential part in comprehending the spiritual significance of 'Transformer sites' in the Upper Sto:lo area.

The Legend of Xa:ls and his place in Sto:lo Folklore pre-dates the coming of the Europeans and the influence of the Christian Missionaries (see Hill-Tout 1902, Jenness 1955, also
Coqualeetza Elders, personal communication). In the words of Jenness:

There was no doubt in the minds of Old Pierre and other Katzie Indians that the belief in a Supreme Deity (ci'cə̱l sič'm) was an ancient heritage of their people, not a comparatively new doctrine implanted by Europeans. In conversation and in prayers they called him the "creator of all things," but on closer questioning they qualified this expression and affirmed that the world must have existed before he began his work of creation, although its appearance was very different before and after. His work was good; there was no evil in anything that he did or ordained; but when some of the human beings he had created strayed from the path of righteousness, he sent Khaals to punish them and to reintroduce right order into the world. It was Khaals, therefore, acting as the messenger of Him Who Dwells Above, who finally reshaped the world to its present form (1955:35).

To many Upper Sto:lo Elders today, Xa:ls is equated with Christ and He is revered the same way that Christ is revered by the non-Indian Christian community. AK professes:

Xa:ls is the Little Christ...There was a time when the world was a lot different than it is now. Many things were [endowed] with power; both people and animals and other beings. Many people could create things their own way. If a man wanted a deer, he could fix it or wish it; he didn't have to hunt for it. Others could see things before they happened and others were gifted with the powers of transformation. God didn't like this so he sent Xa:ls, the Little Christ, down to make things right. Some people were too smart and abused their power so God send Xa:ls down to destroy those who were powerful (S.S.F., November 12, 1985).

TG reaffirms AK's feelings:

Xa:ls to me, he's Christ. Today I understand him as Christ...and when he got to Yale and he was teaching the people in each village as he came along and [was] transforming foods, you know, from our brothers. In the stories that I could understand from what I hear long ago, it was always a brother, a grandfather and the female follows the male afterwards, you see. Not like the way we hear it in the Bible where they make Adam, and from Adam's ribs they make the woman. Well, this one is the way I understood it (S.O.H., 1985:2).

Similar descriptions are echoed throughout the ethnographic
literature. Teit notes:

A man came up the Fraser River from the lower part of S'a'tcinko country. He was known as a transformer, and visited all parts of the valley where people resided. Those people who were bad, and did not pray, he changed into stones, birds and animals. When the people heard that he was coming, they began to pray diligently, and gathered together for the purpose of holding religious dances. They addressed the Transformer himself in their prayers and dances (1912:226).

Similarly, Hill-Tout states: "The Qeqals never punished good people, only those who were wicked or who offended them" (1978:147). Duff's informant, EL, confirms these sentiments: "Xels didn't turn everybody into rock. Just the ones that's proud and got power" (1950, Book 5:18).

The retention of deep spirituality among the Sto:lo in the face of acculturative forces, has been noted by several anthropologists. Likewise, their religious beliefs have been noted and recorded by the first Missionaries to the Sto:lo area. As described by the Reverend Thomas Crosby:

The An-ko-me-nums, like most of the Indians of British Columbia, were spirit worshipers. First of all, they believed in a great Chief Spirit, who created all things and was all-wise and all-powerful, and ruled over them for good, but who was not actively concerned for them, and whom they never called upon except in cases of great difficulty or distress.

Then they believed in a multitude of lesser spirits, who were in most cases evilly disposed towards them. These inhabited certain mountains and headlands and rocky, dangerous points, around which the waves raged and tossed their frail canoes, and sometimes upset them. A swirling eddy, a dangerous rapid, a lonely lake in the mountains, a steep precipice where perhaps at some time or other one of their people had met with disaster and possibly death, was the abode of a "Staw-la-kum," or evil spirit.

They prayed a great deal to the sun, to the moon, to the Great Being who gave them all the fish and food, or to the spirit whom they believed might be responsible for
any impending danger. They were often found in the woods praying. Hunters would pray and fast for days in the mountains, bathing themselves and performing certain exercises, in order to be successful hunters. They would pray while fishing, for a successful catch. And for weeks before going on a war expedition they would fast and pray and bathe and paint themselves in preparation for the undertaking (1907:112-113).

Sto:lo spiritual beliefs have not changed considerably in the past century. Today, however, many Elders are guarded in expressing their knowledge and opinions on such matters. As AC tells us:

You have to be very careful when talking of things of spiritual power, like the winter spirit dance...The same is true of these stories [of Xa:ls]...Some people who tell of some stories about sacred things are only hurting themselves and those they talk to (S.S.F., September 9-25, 1986).

AC then proceeded to describe cases where ill fortune had fallen upon individuals who had spoken casually on these matters (ibid).

Many stories, especially those of the Transformer, Xa:ls, are not to be taken lightly. They are powerful stories about places and events held sacred in the hearts and minds of many present day Sto:lo. The stories of Xa:ls are not regarded as 'myths' and 'fairy tales'. They are fact to their tellers (see Codere 1948, Lerman 1950/51, Smith 1947, Duff 1950, and Jenness 1934/35, 1955) and they are to be regarded accordingly by the listeners.

The power of the story is in the telling and among the Sto:lo, story telling is taken seriously. On the one hand, there are stories for nearly every occasion: There are stories on history, stories for the benefit of children, stories to entertain. On the other, there are some stories that are only
meant to be spoken in the Halq'émeylem language and some that are rightfully property of certain families (RM personal communication, also see Duff, 1952:123). Some stories, as noted by AC, are very spiritual and are not intended for general listening. Story telling is an integral part of the mythical base. It is the vehicle through which knowledge is carried from generation to generation.

In marked contrast with the singular role of the Xexa:1s or Xa:1s among the Sto:lo, several transformers are described in the legends of the Nlaka'pamux and Secwepemc. Among the Secwepemc, the prominent transformers include: Tlee'sa (or Klee-sa, Kle-sa, etc.), his brothers, and Coyote (Teit 1909, Dawson 1891, etc.). Among the Nlaka'pamux, there are at least four, described in the following passage by Teit:

Mountains and valleys were given their present form by a number of transformers who travelled through the world. The greatest of these transformers was the Old Coyote, who it is said, was sent by the "Old Man" to put the world in order. At the same time three brothers named Qoa'qLqaL travelled all over the country, working miracles. There lived still another transformer, whose name was Kokwe1la...Most of the rocks and bowlders of remarkable shape are considered as transformed men or animals of the mythological period (1900:337).

Elsewhere, Teit and others note that Old Coyote's son, NLi'ksEntEm or Young Coyote, also plays an important role in transformations in the Lytton area. So too is the Sto:lo transformer known to some Nlaka'pamux informants. One present day Elder refers to him by name as 'Huks-Xwat', the Servent of God (AY, A.O.H.,1985:1).

The importance of the transformers in the hearts and minds of many present day Secwepemc and Nlaka'pamux Elders is
similar to that of Sto:lo Elders regarding Xa:ls (AD, AZ, EM, LB, LP, SJ, SK, in S.S.F, 1985). Accordingly, Elders in all three areas have very strong feelings about sites associated with their deeds and actions (Figures 20-23, 42). This is one of the central themes upon which this thesis is built and it will be reemphasized in later discussion.

It is important to note that transformer legends are not confined to these three groups. The Legend of Xa:ls, for example, features prominently in the culture history of all Halq'émeylem speaking peoples (for example, Jenness 1934/35). The legends of Coyote, occur throughout the Plateau area (Teit 1930, Hill-Tout 1911, etc.). There is much that could be said about parallels in the transformer legends of all three groups, of the similarities between the Legend of Xa:ls and that of the three Bear Brothers, and of the regional character of the Nlaka'pamux transformers. However, this is more properly the subject of cross-cultural comparisons in folklore and it is beyond current objectives.

What is important to note is that transformer legends figure prominently in the oral history of each of these three groups and that for each there are numerous associated sites. Among the Sto:lo, transformer legends and sites have been recorded ethnographically in the 1940's and 1950's and at the turn of the century. The simple fact that such accounts are maintained today, with integrity, demonstrates their importance to the Sto:lo. They are an integral connection to the past. As part of Sto:lo ancestry and tradition, they demonstrate the continued maintenance of spiritual beliefs.
FIGURE 13: Q'OW ("HOWL") - TRANSFORMER SITE AND MOUNTAIN PROMINENCE AT KATZ

FIGURE 14: TEKWOTHEL ("EYE OF THE WATCHMAN") - SACRED CAVE AT YALE
FIGURE 15: XW'ELOMO'WELH ("HIT ON THE SHOULDER OR BACK" WITH LOGS) - TRANSFORMER SITE BELOW YALE (in potential conflict with transportation development - CNR Twin Tracking)

FIGURE 16: ZOLPIPX ("LITTLE SLÅHAL") - SLÅHAL PLAYERS TRANSFORMED TO STONE NEAR STOUT
**FIGURE 17:** Tewit and Ta:lh - "The Hunter" and His "Spear" - Transformer Site Near Yale

**FIGURE 18:** Iyem: ("Lucky Place for Catching Salmon") - Footprints of the Giant
FIGURE 19: SKW'EXWAQ ("STINGY CONTAINER") – SACRED POOL OF THE 'WATER BABIES' NEAR HOPE

FIGURE 20: 'SKULLFACE' AT GULADAH
FIGURE 21: "CANNIBAL'S HOUSE" AND "FISHWEIR" AT BIGHORN; ON THE EDGE OF UNCERTAINTY

FIGURE 22: STO:LO RESEARCHER SONNY McHALSIE POINTING OUT CANNIBAL'S FISH CELLAR" AT BIGHORN
FIGURE 23: SACRED FALLS AT SPENCES BRIDGE
CHAPTER 4

SPIRITUAL SITES ON THE LANDSCAPE

AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE TO THE STO:LO PEOPLE

In much the same way that archaeological sites are perceived of as physical evidence tracing the people's presence on the landscape, so too are some spiritual sites perceived of as ancestral, physical manifestations of Sto:lo spirituality.

As stated by my informant EP:

These places are very important for us, those that know about them. They are something that is proof of our past. But it seems that something that is proof of our past is not as sacred as things that are sacred to Europeans (S.S.F., January, 1985).

These sentiments are shared by TG who states:

These places are an affirmation of our spirituality before the white man came....I don't mind them [people] going there to see them because it's proof that Xa:ls was here. And that's one thing that the white man doesn't believe is that we were spiritual. You know, they don't believe it. They figured that when they came and found us in our paint and regalia, what we wore for spiritual occasions, praying to our Great Spirit, they thought it was all Devil's work because it looked strange to them. They didn't understand that we had our ways....These places are special....But, if we don't look after it [them] our people will continue to get harmed (S.O.H., 1985:2).

Both archaeological sites and spiritual sites are perceived as markers which serve to confirm and validate Sto:lo culture history. However, not just any spot is, was, or can be assigned spiritual status. These landmarks are special places, they color the landscape, and most have their roots in ancient legend. Most importantly, as noted by EP and TG, these sites are regarded as a verification and affirmation of Indian spirituality.
As legend posits, when Xa:ls travelled through Sto:lo territory putting things in order, he made numerous transformations. The legacy of his deeds and actions are to this day identified with many geographical features on the landscape. As related by AK:

When the Great Spirit sent Xa:ls the first time he couldn't destroy everything, all those powerful things. Then He sent him again. The second time he got that guy up at Yale. Then he destroyed most of the evil, leaving the good people alone.

These places, they were people before, our ancestors you know....That's where we lived. That's where our people spent most of their time. All those little rocks that's been changed. That's where we lived at Yale; all along the river. Yeah, there's some at the Hunter, hunting I believe, and the Dog. And there's some old people went squeezing that sockeye oil and they were all gathered around at Hemhemethegw when they were changed. I used to play in them [pitted rocks] at Hemhemethegw.

Do you go to where my grandfather used to fish, Xwelemo'welh? There's three big rocks there. They were old people before. My grandfather told me that there's two old people and a daughter there. I used to avoid them when we go down that way. And I always have a little thing for that. And I make the sign of the cross, you know, when I go by. Don't know why you know. And there's a bear right across from there. That place where the H.'s are fishing. I guess they killed a bear and it's laying on its side. You can just see the hip of the bear, just like a real one there. It's right on top. Right where they tan their fish, changed to stone by Xa:ls....(S.O.H., 1986:1).

To date, over 70 of these transformation or 'Transformer' sites have been identified in the Upper Sto:lo area alone. In terms of nature and form, Transformer sites exhibit considerable variation. Most are associated with bedrock outcroppings, prominences, or large boulders although a few caves, small boulders, river pools and one mountain group are also represented (Table 2).
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<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotspring</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (i.e. island, low flat,</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village area, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL**                      | 73 | 24  | 25 | 16  | 21  | 22  | 54  | 9  | 8  | 252   |

T = Transformer
S/B = Spirit(s)/Being(s)
C = Ceremonial
C/T = Cultural/Traditional
Q/P = Questing/Power
L/M = Legend/Mythological
B/M = Burial/Mortuary
R = Resource
O = Other

Transformer sites range in size from the very small (one meter square) to the extremely large (over one km. square). Sites may be of relatively low mass (i.e. 5-10 cubic meters) but cover a large area (i.e. 50-100 meters square).

Examples would include Llke'le or Xweyoxw'och (Figure 33) near Siwash Creek, Zolpípx (Figure 16) near Stout, Xelhalh near Yale, Hemhémeteqw near Hills Bar, Shxw'ilemo'welh (Figure 16) near Emory, and Slhélets near American Bar. Each of these sites consists of a number of boulders spread over a relatively
small area. These rock clusters represent groups of individuals who were simultaneously transformed into stone by Xa:ls and, not infrequently, they go unnoticed by archaeologists. As stated to me by AP:

I can't begin to tell you about the heritage sites you've missed. I can show you a place where Xa:ls transformed a man, woman, girl, boy, and dog into stone right close to Siwash Creek (Mohs, 1984:3-4).

Several transformer sites are of unusual shape. However, an equal or greater number are rather inconspicuous in terms of actual form. In fact, within areas where transformer sites have been identified, there are often more rocks of unusual shape that are not transformer sites than are. Also, there are a few sites, such as Xeq'a'ltelets, that are rarely or never seen because they are situated in deep water within the mainstream of the Fraser. They are occasionally visible at very low water.

In general, it is not so much the physical characteristics of the sites themselves that matters. Rather, what is important is what each site represents and individual feelings that are held towards it. In this regard, the Elders often refer to many of these sites as "stone people".

With regard to distribution, most transformer sites (91%) border the Fraser River or its main tributaries with only a small percentage (@9%) in upland areas (Figure 24). The greatest number (@81%) are situated at, or adjacent to, ancestral fishing grounds (Sonny McHalsie, personal communication); the exception being sites located in upland areas and along the foreshore of Harrison Lake.
### TABLE 3  SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF TRANSFORMER SITES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>NO. OF SITES</th>
<th>LINEAR DISTANCE (KM.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spuzzum</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yale</td>
<td>*21</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emory</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katz</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seabird</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheam</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison River</td>
<td>*12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison Lake S.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison Lake N.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilliwack River</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (isolated)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering Upper Sto:lo territory as a whole, transformer sites tend to be found in clusters as illustrated in Table 3. They also tend to occur with ancestral villages and settlements of which most have been recorded as archaeological sites.
FIGURE 24: DISTRIBUTION OF TRANSFORMER SITES IN STO:LO TERRITORY
Spiritual sites with resident spirits/beings, in contrast, are generally much larger in area than transformer sites. Approximately 30 sites of this type have been identified. Small upland lakes predominate although small river pools (Figure 19), stagnant ponds, a few caves (Figure 14), knolls, and rock formations are also represented. The overall distribution of these sites on the landscape is more evenly divided than is the case with transformer sites. Many of these sites/areas were traditionally sought out by those undergoing power quests (see Duff 1950, 1952, Smith 1947).

Some spiritual sites with resident spirits/beings and all transformer sites are considered 'power' spots in the sense that they are believed to have residual power. This power can be drawn upon by those undergoing vision/power quests. To those unwary of these places, however, the effects can be harmful as noted by my informant EP:

Most of these places don't have power in them but some, like the 'people rocks' do....Some of these places have lost their power with the coming of the Europeans... X6:11:s is what can happen to you at these places if you are not careful....You usually have to speak to these places to let them know that you're not a stranger. Otherwise, the power in the place may make strange [X6:11:s] upon you (S.S.F., January 1985).

Similarly, my informant AK notes:

Like when you go by there, if you don't care, they can take your spirit into them. Whenever they want. You don't know at all...you just get sick. You go [to the] doctor's [but he] doesn't know anything about it. You just eat and throw up, eat and throw up. [Your] Spirit is sick (S.S.F., July, 1986).

In the course of my conversation with EP, it was subsequently acknowledged that only a few sites with resident spirits/beings had actually lost their power. This was confirmed by AP
Ceremonial sites vary considerably in size and distribution (Figure 25). Most are associated with traditional villages and settlements. Today, sites that are commonly used for ceremonial functions include the large longhouses or 'smokehouses' associated with Winter Spirit Dancing, ritual bathing pools situated along foreshore areas of local creeks, rivers, sloughs and lakes, upland training grounds (Figure 43), sweathouse sites, and the sites of ceremonial burnings. Bathing pools and isolated training areas are particularly important for new dancers being initiated for the Winter Dance (RM and CJ personal communication).

Among the Elders there is a reverence of former ceremonial localities, notably those at traditional settlements. Accordingly, there is a rising concern over the recovery, removal, and sale of religious artifacts including ornamental stone sculptures removed from archaeological sites. For example, in December of 1986 I was asked by the Coqualeetza Elders group to do what I could to stop the sale of an ornamental stone bowl recovered from an archaeological site in Chilliwack. In this instance, the sale was tentatively stopped.

Religious artifacts, including many ornamental stone sculptures, are considered power objects (in much the same way as Transformer sites) in that they are believed to contain residual power - part of the life force ('shxwel') or spirit power ('syúwel') of their former owners. Stone sculptures, which were formerly used by seers (syúwe), spirit doctors (syuwíl), and medicine doctors (shxwíl:á:m), fall in this
category and are, therefore, considered sacred objects (AP, EP, MU, RM, personal communication; also see Duff, 1952:102, and 1950, Books: 1, 2, 4, and 6). Other notable ceremonial artifacts include masks, rattles, blankets, poles, and grave effigies. The Sto:lo Elders maintain many of these were confiscated, collected, or unscrupulously purchased during the Potlatch Prohibition Period (1884-1951) (S.H.F.N. 1977, RM personal communication).

Spiritual sites of cultural historical or cultural traditional importance vary considerably in nature, form and distribution. Sixteen sites of this type have been identified. Most are associated with and are situated at or adjacent to traditional villages. Sites of this type are represented by a variety of features including: boulders, caves, cliff faces, pools, longhouse sites and pithouse settlements. One example has been described in Chapter 2: Sxw6xwiymelh, the pithouse settlement associated with the smallpox epidemic of 1806.

Of particular importance are several sites associated with the origin of the sxw6:yxwey mask (described below) and the Sto:lo tribal ancestors. Examples of the latter are described by Hill-Tout (1902), Boas (1894, 1895) and Lerman (1950/51) including the sites of Qoqolaxel ('Watery Eaves Longhouse') on the Chilliwack River, Coqualeetza in Sardis, and Chalmoqches ('feathered ring') at Scowlitz.

Sites traditionally important for power/vision quests are generally situated in remote areas within the Upper Sto:lo region (Figures 25 and 43). Examples would include parts of Mount Cheam, Elk Mountain, Tamihi Creek and Mountain, Slesse
Creek and highlands, Chehalis and Chilliwack Lakes. Of the former, VH notes:

There is a little lake on Mount Cheam that is a training place for doctors, for siunam. Doctors in training would sweat and fast, sweat and fast and would get their power (S.S.F., August, 1986).

Isolated areas along the Fraser River also are important in this regard, especially at or near transformation sites. As noted by TG:

When my grandfather used to go up there fishing he'd take me over there and when I turned 13 - I think this was another training that young people go through - if you want to be strong, you sit there at 13. So I sat there and I put my feet where his was. Mind you, it makes you quiver to sit there. Cause maybe the powers are there of Christ [Xa:ls] himself, being sitting there. Goes through a person and then makes you feel...I imagine that's the way the longhouse makes you feel too. You know, when they receive the spirit, you know, they quiver. So that's the way it is up there (S.O.H., 1985:2).

The importance of transformer sites as power questing spots is supported by Jenness (1934/35) who writes:

To become a cnem a man bathes and fasts for months, keeping away from all women. He seeks power in places where Xels changed someone into rock.

In general, most questing/power sites are associated with remote areas in the mountains, isolated stretches of the river, caves and transformer sites.
FIGURE 25: SITES/AREAS OF CEREMONIAL AND QUESTING SIGNIFICANCE IN STO:LO TERRITORY
The Sto:lo spiritual revival which has occurred in the past 30 years (see Jilek 1982) has seen many of the younger generation undergo extended periods of training within and/or in close proximity to the great longhouses. In addition, many sites/areas that were traditionally visited for power/questing purposes are commonly sought out by young people today as part of their spiritual training. Many young dancers, for example, seek out isolated/remote areas in which to place their cedar life-poles. The process of placing a pole often involves tying it to a young sapling so that life-pole and tree become one with the passage of time (FM personal communication). Similarly, the 'training' regalia of newly initiated dancers are generally deposited in these areas. These repository localities are secret. It is generally believed that disturbance, removal or destruction of a life-pole or an initiate's costume can cause severe harm to befall both initiate and/or the responsible party.

Sites of 'legendary/mythological' significance vary considerably in nature, form and geographical distribution. Over 20 such sites have been identified, many of which are intimately related to legendary personages (Figure 39) and events. There is the Prophet's cave on a hillside near Ruby Creek and buried villages at Siwash Creek, Kuthlalth, Chilliwack Lake, and near Slesse Creek on the Chilliwack River. There are several places important to the Flood Story including a small mountain peak near Suka Creek (Alwís Lhqéletel), a mountain prominence and cave near Yale (Mómet'es), and a cave and rock formation on Mount Cheam (S.G.P.N.F. 1976-79, Jenness
One of the better known mythological sites is the 'Two Doctor's Rock' on Cultus Lake (see Lerman 1950/51). The legend of this site is partially told in the Sepass Tales, one of the songs of Y-Ail-Mihth entitled 'Daytelum-Tha-Kyami, The Croon Maid' (Street, 1963:34-48). Most mythological sites that have been identified are relatively inaccessible. However, some such as P'o'th'esala, the Baby Basket Rock (Figure 30), are readily accessible. The latter is a small island in the Fraser River above Hope (see examples at end of chapter for details).

Burial/mortuary sites are generally small and most are associated with traditional villages and settlements. Over 50 sites of this type have been identified to date. Formerly, the dead were disposed of in a variety of ways including: tree burials, box burials, funerary houses, cave burials, and interment (Duff 1952, Hill-Tout 1902, 1903, Smith 1947, S.H.F.N. 1977, Coqualeetza Elders, personal communication). Traditionally, tree burials, box burials and funerary houses were the most common forms. Today, the most common form of disposal is interment although cremation is practiced on occasion.

Human remains are regarded and treated with respect whether recent, historical or of prehistoric context. Many Sto:lo believe that the handling of human remains can have a potentially harmful effect on the living, notably spirit sickness or spirit loss. Consequently, anyone handling the dead would follow traditional procedures of personal cleansing and protection including fasting, sweating, body brushing with
balsam fir, carrying protective amulets, etc. (MU personal communication).

It is also a common belief that the spirits of the dead reside among the living. Some spirits, it is believed, offer protection. As stated by AC: "They are not long dead and gone; their spirits are still here protecting us" (S.S.F., September, 1986). To the contrary, some spirits may bother, disturb, or generally interfere in the lives of the living. Reasons for this may vary (i.e. disturbing human remains); but it is often thought that ancestral spirits are upset at the personal conduct of the person or persons affected. To reconcile and rectify this situation, ceremonial 'Burnings' are conducted as a means of appeasing the spirits. Burnings are also conducted on other occasions, such as memorials.

By extension, sites associated with the dead, including groves of trees formerly used for tree burials, are regarded with the utmost respect by the Sto:lo (RM personal communication). As described by JP:

Well, it's a good thing to study these things back, you know. Like the way people died off. They never buried them under the ground. They hung them up in the trees, in limbs. That was their burial ground. They didn't go dig up the ground, bury them there. They hang them way up in a tree. Certain kind of limbs. Tie them in the bottom, tie them all over. Yeah, I used to wonder what these trees were in Yale, you know, just the limbs. "What's those things?" [I would ask]. They used to tell me, "That's our graveyard, years back"...Well, you gonna touch anything there, well, that's sacred. You're not supposed to touch them at all (S.O.H., 1986:2).

Resource utilization sites from which materials for spiritual/ceremonial activities are/were obtained are generally small in size and scattered throughout Sto:lo territory. The
most common are quarry sites from which Indian paint is extracted and currently used by Winter Spirit Dancers. The location of these quarries is a private matter, knowledge of which is commonly shared by family members involved in Winter Dancing. Formerly, certain types of rock quarries such as rock crystals would also be included within this category (for example, Smith 1947). However, as these sites are not utilized today, they appear to be of lesser importance.

In addition to mineral quarries, there are some areas such as 'Sleepy Hollow' near Sardis and Bear Mountain near Agassiz that are important for the collection of medicinal plants (FM personal communication). Very few sites of this nature have been recorded. Among the Sto:lo, resource utilization sites/areas associated with the collection of medicinal plants are significantly more important than 'general' resource utilization areas (i.e. berry picking grounds). Hence, sites of this nature are included within this category (i.e. as a type of 'spiritual site') rather than within a general category of 'resource utilization areas' (i.e. as a type of heritage site).

Finally, there are several 'Other' sites, scattered throughout the Upper Sto:lo area, that have been identified as spiritually important to the people. A variety of rock formations, ponds, pools, and springs are represented including: qtexem ("prairie"), a steaming mountain pond near American Bar; xwith'kw'em ("sores"), a sacred spring near American Bar noted for its medicinal and spiritual healing properties; haham, a river boulder near Scowlitz; skw6:wech
"sturgeon"), a rock at Cheam; lhilhw'elqs ("hooknose"), a rock formation near Agassiz; axatxel ("goose"), a rock formation near Agassiz; and xelígel ("writing"), pictographs near Haig. Each of these sites is important for a different reason and each has a history or stories associated with it. There are many sites in this category including several pictograph and petroglyph boulders. Some of these have been buried so as to reduce the likelihood of their being found (AP, EP, AY, personal communication). Sites in this catch-all category differ considerably in nature, form and distribution. Most, however, are small in size.

In summary, there are many heritage sites of spiritual significance recognized by the Upper Sto:lo Indians of British Columbia. In the brief outline of the various 'types' or 'categories' of spiritual sites presented above, it is apparent that these sites differ considerably in nature and form. Some are small, some are large. Some have obvious archaeological manifestations, most do not. All, however, are important in some way to the Sto:lo people and most are recognized as being integrally important to Sto:lo heritage and culture history.

To provide a greater understanding and overall appreciation of spiritual places in the realm of ethnic significance, the remainder of this chapter presents several specific examples in greater detail. Four sites from the Sto:lo area and one from the Nlaka'pamux have been selected. The chapter concludes with a statement on these sites from a young Indian researcher who has been involved in the present study.
Example 1: Xa:ls at Yale

The role of Xa:ls in Sto:lo cosmology and his place in Sto:lo culture history can not be overstated. His importance to the Sto:lo people is aptly noted by Bob Joe, a previous informant to Oliver Wells (1962-65), Wilson Duff (1950), and Marion Smith (1947). He states: "Xa:ls means one of two things: 'Something Great' or 'Holy'" (Duff 1950, Book 2:44).

According to Sto:lo legend, it was Xa:ls who created the salmon and taught the people how to fish. It was Xa:ls who created the great cedar and showed the people how to use its various parts and it was he who inspired Salish Weaving. It was Xa:ls who put the world in order, ridding the land of many evil sorcerers so that the Sto:lo people would have a safe place to live. It was Xa:ls who taught the people the power of prayer and the law of Respect.

Ethnographic accounts (for example, Boas 1895, Hill-Tout 1902, 1904, Duff 1950, and Smith 1947) suggest that Xa:ls first appeared at Harrison Lake and travelled throughout the Salishan area (see Teit 1898, 1900, 1909, 1912, 1917a, 1917b, Smith 1900, and Dawson 1891) in the guise or character of a 'Young Bear' accompanied by his 'Brothers'. According to Sto:lo legend (see Jenness 1934/35, 1955, Boas 1895, Duff 1950, and Smith 1947) it was only upon returning to the Coast and travelling across to Vancouver Island that Xa:ls took on and assumed human form. In this manner, Xa:ls travelled up the Fraser River from Point Roberts accomplishing many deeds. In his human form, Xa:ls is described as tall and fair (Jenness 1934/35) despite the fact that he often took on various
disguises when encountering his opponents.

Once his work was accomplished, Xa:ls left the earth. Some accounts say that Xa:ls himself was transformed into a star. One Nlaka'pamux Elder, AY, describes his transformation:

The Servent of God, 'Huksxwat', that's the name of that person. That's his writing [Th'exelis scratchmarks at Yale]. Huksxwat, 'Smiley',...that's the interpretation of his name....Huksxwat, those people that looked after everything on this earth; but they overdo it and God said to them, "I didn't tell you to overdo it like that. But you've done a lot of good work on this earth too. But you must have a place in the sky, that you'll always going to be looking at people from the sky". So, He grabbed them and put them up there. You see it on a brilliant night, these stars, the Brothers and the dog. They have a little dog. And that's Huksxwat, the star up there (A.O.H., 1985:1).

Shuswap legends indicate that the 'Young Bear' and his brothers were transformed into stone near Pavillion (Dawson 1891 and AZ in A.O.H., 1985:3). Most Sto:lo sources indicate that Xa:ls simply disappeared into the east.

Given Xa:ls' tall and fair skinned human form, it is not surprising that, when Simon Fraser arrived in Sto:lo territory from the east in 1808, he was perceived of by many as Xa:ls re-incarnate. As noted by Reverend Crosby:

In 1808, when Simon Fraser made his way down the great river which now bears his name, he landed opposite Chilliwack, at the mouth of what is now known as the Harrison River. Here he was received by hundreds of the natives, who thought, as they said, that "he was the pure white child of the sun." The chiefs carried him upon their backs and set him down on mats in the place of honor, and then danced to the sun-god for days in token of their appreciation of the visit of his son. It was not long after that they discovered, when rum and disease followed in his train, that the white man was not the pure child of the sun they had imagined (1907:185).

Similar descriptions are presented in the Sto:lo elementary school curriculum:
In 1808, when Simon Fraser reached the Sto:lo territory the Indians thought he was a supernatural being know as the transformer. In native tradition, this being appeared either to punish someone by turning them into a beaver or a rock or to reward them by teaching them new fishing and hunting techniques (Sto:lo Sitel, 1986:1).

When Simon Fraser did arrive at Yale in the summer of 1808, he was taken to Th'exelis (Figures 26-27). Here he was shown 'the scratchmarks' made by his perceived predecessor, Xa:ls. The event is noted by Simon Fraser in his own journal:

At the bad rock [Lady Franklin Rock], a little distance above the village, where the rapids terminate, the natives informed us, that white people like us came here from below; and they shewed us indented marks which the white people made upon the rocks, but which, by the bye, seem to us to be natural marks (Lamb, 1966:100).

Simon Fraser's reference to "white people like us" undoubtedly relates to an analogy made by native interpreters at the time, rather than a literal reference to previous white explorers.

Th'exelis, is the most commonly acknowledged transformer site among present day Sto:lo. It is also one of the most revered. The main feature at this site is a number of shallow grooves (Figure 27) in a bedrock exposure 15 meters above the Fraser River. Altogether, there are 35 grooves; the largest of which measures 20 cm. in length and just over a centimeter in depth. Only six grooves are fairly distinct; the remainder are short in length, shallow in depth, and obscured with lichen growth.

Wilson Duff was taken to Th'exelis by his informants in 1950 and described the site in his field notes as follows:
It is 50 or so feet above the river just below the road. A vein of quartz several inches thick has grooves (like sawing of nephrite) abraded into it. [There are] several grooves, pointing toward the river, within 18" width, some not on quartz proper. Also, [the] rock there has a smooth shallow depression where he [Xa:ls] sat in and put his legs - 3+ feet wide. A natural spot to sit. Patrick says that up in the mountains you find similar scratches where hunters have sharpened their arrows - "but this is different" (1950, Book 2:2, the brackets [] are mine).

Interestingly, Th'exelis was recorded as an archaeological site in 1972 by George Ferguson who described it as a 'Petroglyph': "Part of a rock bluff with grooves cut into it for sharpening tools" (B.C. Archaeological Site Inventory Form, DjRi 31). Th'exelis is one of a handful of Transformer sites exhibiting archaeological 'type' features. Other examples include pictograph and petroglyph markings on Harrison Lake.

Both the Sto:lo and Nlaka'pamux peoples have legends associated with Th'exelis, although the stories associated with the markings differ somewhat in nature. According to Sto:lo legend as recorded by Lerman (1950/51), Xa:ls arrived at Yale near the completion of his time on earth. Here he met a formidable opponent, Kwiyaxtel, a powerful medicine man from Spuzzum with whom he had a duel. In the course of their duel, Xa:ls sat at Th'exelis ("gritting his teeth") and Kwiyaxtel on the opposite side of the river at Xelhalh ("injured person"). In the ensuing battle, each attempted to transform the other by various means. Gritting his teeth, Xa:ls proceeded to scratch the rock upon which he was sitting with his thumbnail and with each scratch weakened his opponent. Eventually, Kwiyaxtel was defeated and transformed into stone by Xa:ls. The integrity of
this story remains today as related by PP:

The only thing off hand is that Yale story from way back. My grandparents talk about it. And my uncle, he's the one that showed me where this rock was at Yale. It's right down, right down by the river. It's where God was supposed to [have] sat. Yeah, well it's a rock like this. And he was sitting on the edge you know, supposed to have been. Looking across the river. And the story, the way I was told, I heard that there was a powerful Indian Doctor across the river. Well, there was a lot of Indians in them days. And this was supposed to have been where God sat there and looked right across. They looked at each other I guess, stared back. And while they were sittin' there, with his thumb, he scratched the rock. The marks are still there. You can put your thumb right in them. Well, where he was sittin' showed too, on the rock you know (S.O.H.,1985:3).

Alternative versions of this legend, as told by present Elders, suggest Xa:ls made the scratchmarks while he was waiting for Kwiyaxtel to appear and not during the battle itself. Also, the Elders identify several additional sites or features at Yale that are pertinent. For example, there is an intrusion of white granite in the bedrock upriver of where Kwiyaxtel was sitting (Figure 28) that is said to mark a thunderbolt fired at him by Xa:ls (AD and EP personal communication, S.P.P.N.F. 1977-79). Kwiyaxtel and his sister were both transformed into stone at Yale as was the seat (Figure 29) upon which Kwiyaxtel was sitting (AK, AP, EP, PP, TG, personal communication).

The Nlaka'pamux legend associated with Th'exelis is noted by Teit who writes:

When he (Xa:ls) arrived near the borders of the Ut̓amq̓t country, at the canyon known as Tsaxali's, he saw people on the opposite bank of the river who were catching salmon with their hands. In places where the rocks were high, they suspended boys by holding their feet. When the boys caught a fish with their hands, they pulled the boys and fish up together. They did not seem to be able
to catch many in this manner. The Transformer was sorry for these people, and said to himself, "They have no fishing-utensils, I will try to help them". So he sat down and began to think. There was a rock in front of him, and he scratched it with his fingernails. With each scratch a thought came into the heads of the people, and they gained knowledge. After the first they said, "Let us make nets!" and so on with each scratch until they had obtained the whole knowledge of catching and curing salmon as the Indians do at the present day. After the people had learned everything, and had begun to catch fish in the proper way, he showed them all the best places for the purpose; and the Indians have always used these fishing-places or stations since that time (1912:227).

One Nlaka'pamux Elder, AY, interviewed during the present study gave an almost identical account of this legend. She also pointed out to Sto:lo researchers that this legend is 'pictorially' represented on the first page of 'The Dream Book of a Sto:lo Chief', collected by Teit near the turn of the century. The 'Dream Book', currently housed at the National Museum, contains approximately 20 pages of drawings and is described by this Elder as a book of prophecies.

The integrity and maintenance of the Nlaka'pamux and Sto:lo legends confirm the importance of Th'exelis to modern belief systems. The site of Th'exelis is where 'God' or 'the Servant of God' left his mark on the earth so that future generations would remember His passing. In context, Th'exelis is an affirmation of Indian spirituality prior to the coming of the Europeans. It also represents a continuity of the present with the past.
Example 2: Xwp'óth'ésala or P'óth'ésala ("Baby Basket Rock")

P'óth'ésala is a small island within the mainstream of the Fraser River near American Bar (Figure 30). The area adjacent to the island is a noted fishing ground. The adjoining mainland is a former village and has been recorded as an archaeological site, DiRi 11. Apart from scattered lithic remains, there are no significant archaeological deposits on P'óth'ésala itself.

P'óth'ésala takes it's name from p'óth'e or 'baby basket'. Formerly, people would bring their baby baskets here after the infants had outgrown them and they were no longer used. They were taken to the island, turned to the sun, and left in a hollow in the rock (S.G.P.N.F. 1977-79). The Sto:lo were required to make a new basket for each baby in much the same tradition that a new costume was/is made for each 'new dancer' entering the smokehouse. To do otherwise could cause harm to befall subsequent users (ibid).

Baby baskets were left at P'óth'ésala in commemoration of the salmon woman. In this legend, a salmon from the salt water was sent as a messenger to the people living upstream. The messenger was a woman and she had a baby in a p'óth'e. The p'óth'es was heavy and hindered her travel, so on the way the woman and those travelling with her bathed the baby in medicines in order to make the baby grow fast so it could travel without the p'óth'es. At p'óth'esala, the baby finally got big enough to travel without the p'óth'es and the woman left it in the hollow.

Few, if any, Sto:lo woman currently deposit their baby
baskets at P'óth'esala. However, this place is an intimate part of Sto:lo tradition and the memories of P'óth'esala are still maintained by present Elders.

**Example 3: Lhfilheqey (Mount Cheam)**

The formidable presence of Mount Cheam and the adjacent peaks of the Cheam Ridge are imbedded in Sto:lo Tradition. It is here that Xa:ls transformed Lhfilheqey and the sisters Olôxwelwet, Ts'sfmtelôt and Xomô:th'iya into mountains, prior to the great Flood which devoured the lowlands. One tradition has it that Xomô:th'iya, the youngest, had an argument with her sisters as to who would stand in front (for example, Bob Joe in Duff 1950 and Fred Ewen in Smith 1947). When she saw the Sto:lo people start to drown with the flooding of the lands below, she began to weep. Xomô:th'iya has since stood in front. On a clear day when the mist covers her face, it is said that she is crying. Her tears come down as Bridal Falls. Her mother and sisters are behind her, standing as sentinels along the Cheam Ridge.

Another legend holds that Mount Cheam, the Mother Mountain and the foremost peak, was transformed along with her daughters and her dog upon leaving her husband Kwexa:lxw, Mount Baker (Mrs. Amy Cooper in Wells, 1970:12). Variations in the origin legends of Mount Cheam can be understood in terms of geographical proximity. For example, the sisters of the Cheam Ridge dominate the skyline when looking at Cheam from the east near Katz. The Mother Mountain and her daughters are outstanding when seen from the north near Seabird (Figure 34), while Lhfilheqey and her dog prevail when viewed from the west.
near Chilliwack and Mission.

Seen from nearly every quarter of the Upper Sto:lo area, Mount Cheam stands steadfast as a timeless monument over the Sto:lo people. As Amy Cooper relates, Mount Cheam is a guardian to the Sto:lo people whom she has sworn to protect:

"I'll stand and guard", she says.
"I'll stand and guard the STAW-loh, that no harm comes to my people and no harm comes to the fish that comes up to feed them" (in Wells, 1970:12).

There are many legends associated with Mount Cheam and, the Mount Cheam area is believed special in many different ways. Mount Cheam also has traditionally been an area of great economic importance to the Sto:lo people – most notably for members of the Pilalt and Chilliwack Tribes. VH remarks that:

"Mount Cheam used to provide everything: deer, berries, plants, wool, even salt before it was violated by the white man" (S.S.F., August, 1986). Formerly, Mount Cheam was the only place in the Upper Sto:lo area from which salt, an extremely valuable commodity, could be readily obtained (Bob Joe in Duff, 1950). Flint also was quarried here from a creek flowing down the south side (William Sepass in Jenness 1934/35).

The importance of the Mount Cheam area as a Sto:lo hunting ground for bear, deer and mountain goat has been noted by Duff (1950, 1952). In pre-contact and early historic times, Sto:lo women also made yearly treks to Mount Cheam in order to collect a variety of mountain berries and to gather bundles of molted mountain goat wool (AD, ED, EP, HD, personal communication; also see Wells 1969).
Wool gathered from the Mount Cheam area was extremely important in sustaining the Salish Weaving Complex (ibid). Over-hunting of mountain goats in the early years of this century and the earlier demise of the domesticated wooly dog (Smith 1947) had a detrimental effect on the tradition of Salish Weaving. Indeed, as a result of the loss of traditional wool supplies, among other factors, the weaving industry virtually collapsed. The revival of this industry in recent years was brought about in part through a substitution of mountain goat wool with domestic varieties.

Several Indian families claim a special relationship with the mountain goats of Mount Cheam. This ancestral relationship has been noted by Boas (1895), Jenness (1934/35) and in a recent (1986) Coqualeetza publication entitled 'The Mountain Goat People Of Cheam'. According to Sto:lo tradition, Mount Cheam is the origin-home of the Goat People of Cheam. Boas writes:

The Pā'pk'um (Popkum). Their ancestor was called Aiuwä'luQ. When Qäls met him, he transformed him into a mountain goat. This is why there are so many mountain goats on tle'tleK.e mountain to the southwest of Pā'pk'um (1895:40).

The legend goes on to say that many generations later some of Aiuwä'lux's descendents left their mountain home. They took on human form and intermarried with the people of Cheam. Today, this ancestral relationship continues to be professed. Jenness writes:

Long ago a multitude of mountain goats came down from Cheam Mt. and changed to people. They are the ancestors of the Sepass family. Hence now the Sepass family have the right to paint a goat on their coffins (1934/35).
The health and welfare of the goat population of Cheam is a major concern both to these families and other Sto:lo.

As earlier noted, Mount Cheam is an area of considerable spiritual or religious importance. Formerly, those undergoing training as medicine men and/or spirit doctors would spend extended periods of time in isolation in the Cheam highlands. Many others, including young dancers, would retreat to Cheam for shorter stays as part of their spiritual training. AC describes this activity as:

You could learn more of Sto:lo spirituality by spending a few nights down here by the river or up Mount Cheam. That will teach you more than we could ever tell you (S.S.F., August, 1986).

The importance of the Cheam highlands is reflected, in part, by the Indian names given the various peaks and other geographical features. The mountain lakes, two caves, and the creeks emanating from here all have Indian names. Some of these names are carried by living members of the Sto:lo Indian community (see Wells 1965). They have been passed on from generation to generation, again maintaining a continuity of present with past.

From an archaeological perspective, the Cheam highlands remains unexplored and little can be said of heritage or archaeological sites that one would expect to find here. Based on descriptions of traditional activities, one would expect evidence for many small encampments, sweathouse sites, and possibly pictographs.

In the past century, much of this area has been disturbed with logging operations. The impact that these
activities have had upon the archaeological record is unknown. It is possible that the caves reported on Cheam (William Sepass in Jenness 1934/35) may contain substantial and significant deposits.

The Cheam highlands constitute one of the few, sacred, mountainous areas within the Upper Sto:lo region. Several of the reasons for this have been outlined. Ongoing logging operations and the possibility of opening the Cheam highlands to non-Indian goat hunters is regarded by many present day Sto:lo as a violation of Sto:lo spiritual integrity.

Example 4: Lhilhetalets ("boiling from the bottom")

Lhilhetalets is the name of a small, crescent-shaped island situated on the southeast side of the Fraser River above Hope. It is also the name of a traditional village site (Duff No. 14, 1952:33) and later historic settlement (S.G.P.N.F. 1976-79). Formerly a pithouse settlement and more recently an historic village with a church, graveyard and gardens, Lhilhetalets now lies abandoned. Sto:lo fishermen still make camp here during the summer months, but the former position of this island community in the lives of the Upper Sto:lo people is now relegated to oral tradition.

Lhilhetalets is separated from the mainland on the southeast bank of the Fraser by a shallow, narrow river channel. Iwówes is the name given the southeast bank. Iwówes identifies this area as one of the ancestral Sto:lo villages (Duff No.13, 1952:33). However, like Lhilhetalets, Iwówes now lies abandoned except for a small, seasonal fish camp.

During the late 1800's and early 1900's, Iwowes was a
large village community with many houses, orchards and "beautiful" gardens (ibid). Abandonment of the site began following the Flood of 1898. Both villages suffered considerable damage to structures and crops. Part of Lhilhetalets washed away including some of the former pithouses. Damage to the community burial ground also was extensive and it was immediately moved to higher ground at Iwówes. Further disruptions occurred when the railroad was constructed through Iwówes in 1912/13. The settlement was bisected, community access was restricted and fishing activities irrevocably altered (AD, PM, personal communication, also see Mohs 1984, 1986). By the mid-1900's, the process of abandonment was more or less complete.

The antiquity of native occupation in the Lhilhetalets/Iwówes area is adequately demonstrated by archaeological evidence. Eight archaeological sites are found in the immediate area as illustrated in Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>CHARACTERISTICS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DiRi: 2</td>
<td>pithouse village and historic settlement of Iwówes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DiRi:30</td>
<td>small lithic scatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DiRi:74</td>
<td>burial ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DiRi:68/79</td>
<td>pithouse village and historic settlement of Lhilhetalets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DiRi:81</td>
<td>major pebble tool site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DiRi:82</td>
<td>small lithic scatter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Only one of these sites, DiRi:81, has been inspected in any detail. It had surface materials collected in July of 1986 following logging of the site. A brief report outlining traditional Indian land-use patterns, resource use and the antiquity of archaeological deposits was prepared (Mohs 1986). Based on a typological assessment of the artifacts, the site occupation is dated between 5,000 and 8,000 years BP (ibid).

According to one Sto:lo informant, AD, Lhilhetalets takes its name from the sound made by small pebbles "boiling up" (i.e. being carried up and held in suspension in moving water) and striking the bottom of a canoe. The sound is associated with the river channel lying between Lhilhetalets and Iwōwes. It is with this channel or, more specifically, with a pool in this channel that the present discussion is most concerned (Figures 31-32, 36).

During highwater times, river water fills the Lhilhetalets channel. Salmon ascend the channel at this time and are taken here by Sto:lo fishermen. During low water times, the channel dries up except for a large, centrally-located, pool or "little lake". Fed with run-off water from Iwōwes Creek, the pool of Lhilhetalets stands out; a beautiful, blue-green pond amidst the marked, ruddy-brown cobbles of the channel bed.

The pool of Lhilhetalets is identified in tradition as the sacred pool of the sxwó:yxwey. According to the Sto:lo, it was from this pool that the sxwó:yxwey mask and costume were obtained. Published accounts of this origin myth are presented
by Codere (1948), Duff (1952), Hill-Tout (1902), Teit (1912 and 1917b), and Wells (1970). Additional unpublished references are contained in Duff (1950), Lerman (1950/51), Jenness (1934/35), Mohs (1984), Smith (1947), and various collated files at Coqualeetza Archives.

Briefly, the sxwó:yxwey mask and costume were brought to this pool in the Fraser River from Kakawa Lake through an underground tunnel dug by Beaver. Beaver dug two tunnels. The first missed its mark coming out at sqwelíqwehiwel, a rock escarpment just upriver from Iwówes. The second came out at the pool. The sxwó:yxwey was then "fished" out of this pool by the sister of a man who was being rewarded the sxwó:yxwey for helping the Kakawa lake people. This theme has been identified in several ethnographic accounts:

At last they came out on earth, and a small lake formed at that place (Teit, 1912:272).

There is a hole from the lake into the river...that's how the power got down there (PC in Duff, 1950).

In the meantime Beaver was told to dig a tunnel from the lake down through the mountain to the deep pool in the Fraser at the village. He dug a hole but came out too high above the water, then dug another which came out in the deepest part of the pool (Mrs. Bob Joe in Duff, 1952:124).

They took him home and he came out at a little lake at iwa'wus. This is not a fairy tale (Mrs. Bertha Peters in Codere, 1948:4).

There are many more accounts which describe this pool in a similar manner. To most Sto:lo, the Lhilhetalets pool is the pool of the sxwó:yxwey.

Given its widespread distribution throughout the Salishan area, the question of where and when the sxwó:yxwey
mask and costume originated has been the subject of considerable discussion (for example, Barnett 1955, Codere 1948, Duff 1952, Levi-Strauss 1975 and Suttles 1976). Suttles (1976) discounts Upper Sto:lo assertions that the sxw6:yxwey originates in their area, despite considerable ethnographic evidence to support these assertions. Suttles states: "The swayxwey may indeed be old in the Upper Stalo area. But I do not believe that myths and traditions prove it" (1976:78). To support his claim, Suttles relies heavily on interpretation of the archaeological record: "But most important is the archaeological evidence. Among the materials taken from a prehistoric site at Chase, in the middle of Shuswap country, Sanger (1968) discovered pieces of scallop shells used as rattles and a broken mask that looks like a sxwayxwey" (ibid). Suttles neglects to note that these burials are as recent as 1750 A.D. as pointed out by Sanger (1969:177).

Duff, alternatively, estimates the date of origin of the Lhilhetalets pool sxw6:yxwey mask at about 1780 A.D. based on a reference that the mask was first obtained five generations before Mrs. Bob Joe (1952:125). Duff's own field notes (1950) contain additional references which further help to establish the date of origin.

The first point of note is that Mrs. Bob Joe informed Duff that the mask was first obtained "about" five generations back, she being about the sixth. Most importantly, however, she informed Duff that the sxw6:yxwey was brought to Chilliwack by the new wife of Siumchess, the brother of Xwexwayleq V (Wealick) of the Watery Eaves Longhouse. Coqualeetza Archives
family history records indicate that Xwexwayleq V was born between 1750 and 1775 A.D. He was the older brother of Siumchess and both were young men at the time Siumchess was married. Siumchess's Sumas wife was the grand daughter of the youngest brother of the family who obtained the sxwó:yxwey at Iwówes. Following this geneology, the date of origin of the Lhilhetalets pool sxwó:yxwey would be about 1680 A.D., about 100 years earlier than Duff's estimate and early enough to account for the presence of the archaeological finds at Chase.

The question of where and when the sxwó:yxwey originated are far more complicated than this. Each coastal Indian group (i.e. Nanaimo, Musqueam, Cowichan, etc.) has its own 'origin' legends regarding the sxwó:yxwey and each group's members believe their traditions to be valid (see Jenness 1934/35). The Upper Sto:lo are particularly sensitive about this and, inevitably, question the authority of those who pass judgement on the validity of their tribal legends.

The Iwówes story is only part of a group of Upper Sto:lo sxwó:yxwey legends. Several Sto:lo informants (AP, AK, AD, and RM) interviewed in the course of the present study described several little-known aspects of these legends. For example, AK stated that the first image of the sxwó:yxwey was created by Xa:ls and imbedded in stone near Yale. This image is considered so powerful and the place so sacred that it is forbidden to go there or to talk casually about the matter. Years ago, the stone on which the image was imbedded was, apparently, overturned and buried so that it would not harm those accidentally stumbling upon it.
It also was noted that since the beginning of time, there have been four occasions on which the sxw6:yxwey has been revealed to the Sto:lo people. One informant, RM, stated that the original sxw6:yxwey was recovered from a pool near Chehalis. Interestingly, there is a pool here by the name of Lhetalets. This account is briefly noted by Boas (1895) and Hill-Tout (1904). Other informants have described the origin episode as follows:

There were four sxw6:yxwey altogether. The first three came from places between qigemqemel and Iwōwes. The last and most powerful one, the one that lasted, came from Iwōwes (SP and AD in S.G.P.N.F. 1977-79).

There is much more that could be said on this matter but it is well beyond the scope of this thesis. What is most important to note are those sites (Figures 31-33) associated with 'the origin' as recognized by Tribal Elders. These sites constitute an integral aspect of Sto:lo spiritual reality.

Example 5: The Centre of the Earth Stone or Coyote's Landing

Nlaka'pamux legends speak of the ancient history of the people and of many major transformations to the landscape (Teit 1898, 1900, 1912, 1917a). There are references to glacial and volcanic activity, river blockages, major floods and slides, the first appearance of salmon and of major climatic changes which occurred in the distant past (ibid). Central to these events were the deeds and actions of the transformers: Coyote, Young Coyote, Kokwē'1a, The Old Man, and the three Brothers Qoā'qLqαL.

In these legends, one site stands out among all others. It is the Centre of the Earth Stone or Coyote's Landing spot at
Lytton. This site has been noted by Boas (1895), Dawson (1891), Hill-Tout (1899), Jenness (1934/35), Teit (ibid), Smith (1947) and others. Teit writes:

Lytton is the centre of the world, because here Coyote's son, when returning from the sky, reached the earth (1900:337).

NLi'ksentem [Young Coyote] found himself on top of a large flat stone near what is now the town of Lytton... Some of the Nkamtcf'nelmuX say that the space on which he rolled himself was turned into this stone to mark the spot, for the Spider said that the place where NLi'ksentem should first touch the ground would be the centre of the earth (or of the Indian's country) (1898:25, 104; brackets [ ] are mine).

It is interesting to note that this stone was still visible when George Dawson visited Lytton in 1890-91 but had been buried by the time Teit recorded his legends in 1898. "N-kik-sam-tam reached the earth thus at Tl-kam-cheen (Lytton) and the stone upon which he descended may still be seen" (Dawson, 1891:30). "The NLak.a'pamux hold this stone sacred, and at the present day keep it covered over with earth, so that the whites may not see it" (Teit, 1898:30).

The process of burying sacred sites, notably important transformer sites, pictographs and petroglyphs, appears to be a fairly common practice, as noted elsewhere in this thesis. It is a fairly simple and efficient means of reducing the likelihood of their being discovered. In the case of the Centre of the Earth stone, however, these efforts appear to have been in vain (Figure 35). A Sto:lo informant of mixed Nlaka'pamux ancestry puts it this way:

Where Coyote came down, there was a stone. I never personally saw this stone but I was told about it by my mom. She told me that no one would ever find it. It was buried really well so whites wouldn't see it. There
was a fear among Indians in Lytton that whites would order that the rock be destroyed or taken away if they knew it was so important. So the Indians buried it. Belief in such things was considered wrong by the Priests.

Coyote's footprints were on the rock because he ran around it many times. I was told it was a large rock and very smooth and you could see his footprints on it. But even though they tried to protect it, it was uncovered and destroyed. I don't know how. I never knew exactly where it was (EP in S.S.F., January, 1985).

This is further elaborated upon by a Nlaka'pamux Elder interviewed in the course of the present study:

Up here [Lytton], on this side of the [highway] undercross, up here, they tell me there was a big flat rock where he landed....Well here, we got a big white rock there. Big white granite rock. They were building the railroad and they run right into it. So they blasted it and put [the remains of] it right down in that creek. So we don't have the rock showin' now. The railroad just ran straight into it. And they didn't know how they were gonna move it there. It was a big rock so they blasted it and hauled it down the hill. So we watched our Coyote's Landing disappear....I went lookin' for a piece of the rock for my people but couldn't find one (LP in A.O.H., 1984:1).

Spirituality and the Importance of Spiritual Sites to Present and Future Generations

Almost a century has passed since the destruction of the Lytton Coyote stone yet traditions related to this site are still maintained. The same is true of sites in the Sto:lo area. Oral traditions may not be identical to what they were 200 years ago. However, they are being maintained with integrity, demonstrating the importance of spiritual places in native culture and ideology. Traditions associated with these sites represent a connection with the past and something more. These traditions continue to be passed on to present generations. Their relevance and significance to Indian youth is, I feel, aptly stated by SM, a young Indian researcher of mixed Sto:lo
and Nlaka'pamux ancestry involved with the present study. He remarks:

I think they're important for a number of reasons. Lots of people in my generation don't even know they're there. When you learn about them they become important to you. It's like what AC was saying the other day in the Research Centre: "Indians are returning back to their spirituality". This is good because it'll help in pulling our Indian people together....These sites are part of my Indian identity and these sites are an important aspect of our spirituality.

I've never related to the non-Indian God. I have only looked to him so as not to take any chances, so to speak. But now I'm beginning to understand God, or The Great Spirit in Indian terms and these sites are an important part of that understanding. These places bind the culture and society which is the same thing....

There's a lot of things that seem to be lost, like my language. And, because of my language, or not knowing it, there's lots I didn't find out. But now I'm beginning to find out. There's lots my dad knew but never told me because it was only talked about in Indian; like all about these places (S.S.F., June, 1986).

Among the Sto:lo, there are many young people who know very little of traditional spiritual sites. As noted by SM, this is not so much due to a lack of interest in traditional spiritual beliefs as it is to the present educational process. The public school system, for example, has insulated Indian youth from the traditional teachings of their Elders. Cultural Education Centres such as Coqualeetza are attempting to bridge this gap. As noted by SM and the Elders in the examples above, spiritual sites are integral to Sto:lo culture. If we have a concept of 'Ethnic Significance' in archaeology and heritage resource management, these sites undoubtedly qualify.
FIGURE 26: STO:LO RESEARCHER SONNY McHALSIE POINTING OUT SITE OF TH'EXELIS ("GRITTING HIS TEETH") AT YALE - WHERE XA:L'S SAT AND TAUGHT THE PEOPLE FISHING

FIGURE 27: TH'EXELIS - 'SCRATCHMARKS' MADE BY XA:L'S SO THAT FUTURE GENERATIONS WOULD REMEMBER HIS PASSING
FIGURE 28: XELUALH ("INJURED PERSON") - 'THUNDERBOLT' IMBEDDED IN BEDROCK, FIRED AT KWYAXTEL (the Indian Doctor) BY XA:LS (from Th'exelsis on far side of River)
FIGURE 29: XELHALH - 'SCRATCHMARKS' MADE BY KWIYAXTEL IN THE COURSE OF HIS DUEL WITH XA:LS

FIGURE 30: P'OTh'ESALA ("BABY BASKET ROCK") NEAR HOPE
FIGURE 31: LHILHETALETS ("BOILING UP FROM THE BOTTOM") - SACRED POOL OF THE SXWO:YXWEY

FIGURE 32: AUTHOR AT LHILHETALETS
FIGURE 33: SQWEIWIWEHIWEL - SACRED CAVE AND EPISODIC ORIGIN
SITE OF ONE OF THE FOUR SXWO:YYWEY
FIGURE 34: LHILHEQ' - MOUNT CHEAM - MOTHER MOUNTAIN AND FOUR DAUGHTERS (small prominences below main peak) SEEN FROM SEABIRD

FIGURE 35: SITE OF "COYOTE'S LANDING" OR "CENTRE OF THE EARTH STONE" AT LYTTON (destroyed with transportation developments)
Sto:lo Tribal Elders and band members who are knowledgeable of spiritual places are very concerned about their protection and preservation. In the past, a measure of protection was afforded spiritual places through silence (i.e. a reluctance to disclose too much information about them) and from occasional, more direct practices such as site burial. These measures appear to have been relatively effective in ensuring the overall protection and conservation of certain categories of sites - especially those not found on reserve lands. The tradition of silence is still maintained by many Sto:lo who believe that disclosure of information will inevitably result in the willful destruction and desecration of these sites. As stated by my informant AP:

I'm reluctant to tell you of these spots because the last time, a loggin' company tried to take the 'head of the dog' and destroyed the whole thing....You know, I'm a proud man and these places are sacred to me. I was taught all of this by four Elder Chiefs. If I tell you about these places and they are recorded, then people will go there and destroy what is there. So I'm reluctant to tell you. Enough damage has been done (in Mohs, 1984:4).

As regional developments have increased in scope and magnitude, conservation concerns have become more acute. In an attempt to address these concerns, Sto:lo Political and Cultural offices initiated the present heritage resources study. A preliminary objective is to complete an inventory, assessment and evaluation of all spiritual sites and sacred grounds within traditional Sto:lo territory.
To date, damage to Sto:lo spiritual sites has been extensive. A total of 41 sites are known to have been destroyed; 59 others are damaged or disturbed. Twenty-four face ongoing disturbance or potential destruction from development. In total, this represents approximately fifty percent of all documented Sto:lo spiritual sites (Tables 4 and 5).

Historically, transportation related developments (i.e. railroads and highways) have had the greatest impact on spiritual sites (Figures 36-42), accounting for approximately 60 percent of the sites that have been destroyed and between 30 to 40 percent of those that have been disturbed (Table 6). Recreational developments (i.e. properties, parks, resorts, and activities) and logging operations are currently having the greatest impact, accounting for between 30 to 40 percent of past disturbances and approximately 60 percent of all ongoing disturbances and potential impacts. Private developments (residential, commercial and industrial) have also had a significant impact on sites, as will be discussed below.

The greatest damage has occurred to transformer sites, sites of cultural/traditional importance and sites with resident spirits/beings. Fourteen transformer sites have been destroyed, seven disturbed, and four are in potential conflict situations. Transportation related developments account for fourteen conflicts, private developments for four, natural erosion for three, logging and recreational activities for two. Examples of sites that have been impacted include: Kwiyaxtel, the Indian doctor changed to stone by Xa:ls at Yale, blasted during railroad tunnel construction in the early 1900's;
Sqwemay, the 'dog rock' (Figure 38) at Hills Bar, destroyed by steamboat operators in the late 1800's; Sx'ele, the 'penis stone', and Sqayexiyə, the 'mink rock', near Cheam View, destroyed during railroad construction in the early 1900's; Th'exelis, site of the Yale 'scratchmarks', disturbed during highway construction in the mid-1900's; Qwoliwiya, a transformed Indian doctor on Hope Slough in Chilliwack, destroyed during construction of a private access road in the mid-1900's; and Meqsel, the 'nose rock' on Harrison Lake, blasted by a private citizen in the mid-1900's. Most of these examples have been described in preceding chapters.

Sto:lo Elders, as previously stated, are concerned about the protection and preservation of transformer sites. As noted by EP:

These places are special. They were put here for a reason. Xa:ls meant for these places to last for all time. They were not meant to be destroyed. But white men don't understand this (EP in S.S.F., January, 1985).

Three transformer sites (Figures 15 and 38) are in potential conflict with proposed transportation projects (i.e. CNR Twin Tracking) and a fourth with ongoing logging operations.

Five sites with resident spirits/beings have been destroyed and six disturbed. Transportation related developments are responsible for five impacts; recreational developments for two; private developments, corporate logging, vandalism, and Federal fisheries developments for the remainder. Almost fifty percent of all sites in this category have been disturbed or destroyed.
TABLE 5  STO:LO SPIRITUAL SITES, HISTORICAL IMPACTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SITE TYPE</th>
<th>DESTROYED</th>
<th>DISTURBED</th>
<th>POTENTIAL</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<td>Transformer</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Spirit/Being</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resource</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
<td><strong>59</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>24</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>107</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*There is some overlap between sites that have been disturbed and potential or ongoing impacts. The total number of sites presently affected is 107.

The above characterization holds true for sites of cultural/traditional importance. Three sites have been destroyed and six disturbed; five from transportation related developments, two from private developments, one from natural erosion and one from Federal Public Works. At present, there is a general concern among Sto:lo Elders that proposed transportation construction (CNR Twin Tracking) at Iwówes will further encroach into the river channel (Figure 36) containing the sacred sxwó:yxwey pool (example 4 above). During construction of the first track, the river channel was partly filled and the 'tunnel-cave of sqwelíqwéhiwel', the first hole dug by Beaver, was destroyed. Further disturbances to this area are of extreme concern to Sto:lo Tribal Elders.
### TABLE 6  AGENCIES RESPONSIBLE FOR IMPACTS TO STO:LO SPIRITUAL SITES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGENCIES</th>
<th>DESTROYED</th>
<th>DISTURBED</th>
<th>POTENTIAL</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreational</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18*</td>
<td>14*</td>
<td>18*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logging</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12*</td>
<td>5*</td>
<td>13*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Development</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Erosion</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5*</td>
<td>4*</td>
<td>5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Agencies</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **TOTAL**         | **41**    | **59***   | **24***   | **107**

*There is some overlap in the Agencies that have affected sites. In addition, some sites that have been disturbed continue to be disturbed and are included under potential impacts. The total number of sites presently affected is 107.

At least 21 Sto:lo burial grounds are known to have been destroyed or disturbed. Transportation related and private developments account for the majority of impacts. For example, Yakweakwioose village's sacred maple grove was cut down by farmers near the turn of the century (RM personal communication). It is noteworthy that when reserve boundaries were finalized for Yakweakwioose and Skowkale Reserves, that the area containing this grove of trees and a former burial ground, 'Claclelth', were not included as reserve lands despite petitions made to the Reserve Commission (see address from Chief William Sepass to the Royal Commission, January 14, 1915).
Clacletlh burial ground continues to be cultivated yearly.

The Sto:lo believe that their Burial/Mortuary sites should be respected whether situated on or off Reserve lands as they are considered sacred grounds. Some Sto:lo believe that disturbance of these sites can result in misfortune befalling the living (AP, EP personal communication); a belief that is shared by other native groups in North America (Holt, 1983:596, and Ferguson, 1984:223-230). By extension, this situation would apply to archaeologists involved in the excavation, recovery and handling of human remains. There is an established 'Tribal policy' among the Sto:lo that outlines general terms of reference and procedures that should be followed by archaeologists when human remains are encountered (Appendix IV). The policy also states the Sto:lo position on the disposition of artifacts and research materials.

Sites of legendary/mythological importance have been least impacted by historical development activities. A few sites (Figure 39), including a group of 'meeting' stones near Yale have been destroyed (AP in S.S.F., January, 1985). However, most of these sites have not been disturbed due to their nature and relative inaccessibility.

Current and potential impacts are greatest upon sites/areas used for ceremonial/religious purposes; notably Ceremonial and Questing/Power sites. Virtually all "sacred training grounds", ritual bathing sites, and repository locations are affected.

Several painted dancers have expressed a concern that repository locations for cedar life-poles and training costumes
are not safe from development (FM and CJ, personal communication). Their protection is often at odds with current land-use activities, notably logging operations and recreational activities. For example, during the week of November 12, 1986, loggers brought a cedar life-pole into the Forestry Office in Agassiz. It was immediately recognized by a native employee, FD, who informed forestry officials of its significance. Smokehouse leaders at Chehalis were contacted and took charge of the pole. Another incident occurred in 1985 when a hunter brought a pole to the Chilliwack Museum. The pole was later returned to where it was found in the Chilliwack River valley (CJ personal communication). Not surprisingly, these incidents have upset segments of the Sto:lo Indian community and have confirmed the fears of dancers regarding the sanctity of their repository locations. As I have previously noted, the Sto:lo believe that disturbance or damage of artifacts deposited during spiritual training can affect the health and spiritual welfare of those involved in the placing and/or disturbance of these artifacts.

One of my informants, CJ, stated that he and other "painted dancers" were particularly concerned about the protection of their "sacred grounds", especially those areas associated with the training and initiation of new dancers. He pointed out that his Band (Squiala) had lost use of its grounds on Chilliwack Mountain due to increased development and settlement of the area by non-Indians. He noted that these grounds covered well over "100 acres" and included: "a little lake or pond on top of the mountain used by dancers in training
during the smokehouse season, and high grounds on the mountain
where dancers, including his grandfather, had placed their
life-poles". He also noted that this area is traditionally
used for other purposes associated with winter ceremonial
dancing:

This is also where we get our cedar from for the
smokehouse, where we get our cedar boughs from, our
devils club from. Now we can't go there anymore, can't
use that anymore. There's too much development and too
many people around (S.S.F., February, 1987).

He went on to say that dancers from his and other Chilliwack
area Bands moved up the Chilliwack River valley to use grounds
they hold there. However, even these areas have been
encroached upon. According to CJ:

We used to go up Tamihi but too many sports fishermen
started coming around and interfering with our sacred
ways. Now we go up Chilliwack Lake and Slesse Creek.
These areas should be set aside as sacred grounds.
We're losing all our sacred grounds.

Dancers from Squiala, Skwah, Yakweakwioose, Skowkale,
Skway, Kilgard, Tzeachten and Soowahlie all use
Chilliwack Lake. Most of these Bands also use Slesse
Creek going three to five miles back from the river; the
creek and the high ground on both sides (ibid).

CJ pointed out that dancers used to use the beach area
and high grounds at the outlet of Chilliwack Lake which has
since been developed as a park and recreational property area.
The dancers moved along the north side of the lake but have
been progressively pushed further east along the lake. CJ said
that soon there would be no place to go and proposed that
further development of Chilliwack Lake be prohibited and that
access beyond Paleface Creek be restricted to Indians. Similar
restrictions on development and access were suggested for
Slesse Creek (ibid).
The concerns raised by CJ and others demonstrates the need of having some remote areas set aside for exclusive use by Indian people in order that traditional spiritual practices can be maintained without outside interference. A precedent, in this regard, has been set by the State of Washington where Salishan groups in the northern part of the state have had remote areas on government land set aside for spirit questing purposes (Criska Bierwert, personal communication, 1987). Failure to address heritage concerns such as these is to deny native people the freedom and sanctity to pursue traditional religious beliefs and practices.

It is important to note that of approximately 200 spiritual sites that have been identified, the majority (about 65%) are not found on reserve lands. A small percentage (about 10%) are on privately owned properties. The greatest damage has occurred to sites not found on reserve lands. For example, with regard to transformer sites, only 15 are situated on reserve lands. None of these has been disturbed.

These figures raise a number of questions with regard to future management alternatives. Are existing statutes adequate to guarantee Indians access to these places or are revisions necessary? Are more stringent laws required to protect these places or is existing heritage protection legislation adequate? Would conservation/preservation efforts be more appropriately served through the creation of 'Special Reserves'? Presently, there are no provisions guaranteeing Indians access to spiritual sites and/or rights of use of sacred grounds. As for existing legislation, there are no
special provisions affording protection to spiritual sites; they are covered by the same laws protecting archaeological sites.

Upon review, it would appear that existing heritage protection legislation has only afforded limited protection to archaeological resources. Of 338 recorded archaeological sites in Upper Sto:lo territory between 5 Mile Creek and Fort Langley, only 56 (17%) are in relatively good condition (B.C. archaeological inventory file, January, 1986). Most of these are situated in relatively isolated wilderness areas bordering the Fraser River between Yale and Hope, the upper Harrison River, and along the foreshore of Harrison Lake. Fifty-four of these sites fall within the traditional boundaries of two of thirteen Sto:lo tribal groups. Only one group, the Tait, has a fairly representative sample of intact sites remaining in its territories, based upon this sample.

Damage to spiritual sites has gone largely unnoticed by non-Indian society. This is partly due to the nature of these sites, a general lack of concern among archaeologists and heritage resource managers, a reluctance on the part of the Indians to disclose information about these sites, and a general lack of communication between Indians and non-Indians. In the case of archaeological sites, most are easily recognized by professional archaeologists and interested amateurs. On occasion, they are reported to the proper authorities by concerned amateurs when disturbed or noticed in the course of disturbance or discovery. Spiritual sites are a different matter. They do not have the same familiar characteristics or
'diagnostic attributes' as archaeological sites. Generally, there are no artifacts, no cultural markings or cultural alterations, no distinguishing characteristics. Spiritual places are easily overlooked and are often unknowingly damaged or destroyed in the course of development.

If traditional practices (i.e. archaeological inventory) and conventional guidelines (i.e. regarding impact assessment and evaluation) continue to be followed, then this situation will continue. Within the present management framework there is an apparent paradox which cannot be resolved, namely that Indians are reluctant to identify spiritual sites while archaeologists and resource managers can neither locate nor incorporate them within their management models without knowing where they are. With progressive management and planning this situation need not continue. The present situation could be improved, for example, if native heritage concerns received equal consideration in all impact assessment projects and if native people had greater input into all aspects of the resource management process. Recommendations in this regard will be outlined in Chapter 6.

There are laws protecting heritage sites provided, of course, they are deemed significant by the scientific community. With regard to spiritual sites, however, unanswered questions remain as to what criteria and whose authority must be recognized in order to deem them significant.

An understanding of native heritage values is a prerequisite to proper management of the resource base. Without it, there is little that can be done to preserve and
conserve those places of spiritual significance to the Sto:lo or other native peoples. A lack of understanding of Indian heritage values can be attributed to cultural and ideological differences; a theme continually stressed by native informants interviewed in the course of the present study. Many of my informants felt that it was because of our Euro-Canadian background that we either did not care or simply did not want to know about Indian feelings on these matters. These sentiments are expressed, for example, by my informant DD who states: "Maybe they don't want to know about our heritage sites. It would make things a lot simpler for them" (Sto:lo Nation News, May, 1986). In this regard, archaeologists and heritage resource managers must become more sensitive to native perceptions of heritage and native perceptions of what constitutes a heritage site. From a native perspective, spiritual sites would undoubtedly qualify.
FIGURE 36: LHILHETALETS - RAILROAD ENCROACHMENT INTO SACRED SXWO:YXWEY POOL (Future Potential Impact From Proposed Transportation Development - CNR Twin Tracking)
FIGURE 37: SQWEMAY ("DOG ROCK") - REMAINS OF TRANSFORMER SITE AT HILLS BAR (Blasted During Steamboat Operations in the 1800's)

FIGURE 38: XWEYOXW'OCH - FIVE STONE PEOPLE IN A LINE NEAR YALE (Future Potential Impact From Proposed Transportation Development - CNR Twin Tracking)
FIGURE 39: TOMTOMIYEQW'S CAVE - MYTHOLOGICAL SITE (Destroyed by Department of Highways)

FIGURE 40: HIDDEN CREEK STONE PEOPLE OPPOSITE SPUZZUM (Destroyed with Railroad Construction)
FIGURE 41: TRANSPORTATION IMPACTS: A CLOSER LOOK AT FORMER STO:LO FISHING SITE

FIGURE 42: TRANSPORTATION IMPACTS: THOMPSON RIVER CANYON (Note the "Frog Rock" Centre)
FIGURE 43: SACRED SLESSE HIGHLANDS SEEN FROM ELK MOUNTAIN - SACRED TRAINING GROUNDS OF THE STO:LO PAINTED DANCERS
CHAPTER 6

ETHNIC SIGNIFICANCE AND MANAGEMENT REALITIES

This chapter centers on general questions of ethnic significance and examines spiritual sites in light of modern issues in cultural heritage resources management. Current legislation is evaluated in order to demonstrate its limited effectiveness in affording protection to these sites. In addition, ethical concerns involving the native community and the archaeologist are raised and several management alternatives offered as a means of resolving many current problems associated with these sites.

Ethnic Significance and Cultural Resource Management

Heritage resources are not a commodity. They are limited in number and most have limited economic value. The primary importance of heritage resources lay in their cultural, scientific, and/or spiritual significance (see various contributions in Schiffer and Gumerman 1977). Their value is in the mind and eye of the beholder. To an architect, heritage resources might include a variety of old buildings. A Catholic Priest would probably include the Vatican; a Jew, the Wailing Wall; a Tibetan monk, his mountain refuge; a Sinhalese Buddhist, the sacred Bodi tree and the dagabas which contain the bones and teeth of the Lord Buddha. To most archaeologists, heritage is an archaeological site. To native Indians, it is quite something else. There are many different perceptions of heritage and what constitutes a heritage site. Ideological differences aside, all heritage resources share certain common characteristics: They are scarce, often fragile.
and most significantly for a theory of cultural heritage resources management, they are nonrenewable (Lipe 1974).

The 'relevant value' placed upon heritage resources by cultural resource managers is referred to as significance. Ethnic significance is one component of these values. It relates to religious, mythological, spiritual, social or other symbolic values placed upon (or associated with) specific heritage resources by ethnically distinct peoples (Schiffer and Gumerman 1977:244; Heritage Conservation Branch, 1982:29-30). Spiritual sites, as I have outlined, are ethnically significant heritage resources to the Sto:lo and other native peoples. Ferguson (1984:223) notes that in addition to religious artifacts, spiritual sites are the most important cultural resources of the Zuni people. Doyel (1982) extends the concept of ethnic significance to include economic criteria. In his assessment of Navajo heritage sites he notes: "Some sites were considered significant within a sacred or religious framework, while other sites were regarded significant because of their potential contribution to the ongoing annual economic cycle" (1982:637). The Sto:lo would undoubtedly agree with Doyel's assessment, particularly with regard to traditional fishing sites.

The concept of significance is fundamental to cultural heritage resources management (CHRM). The concept has developed along with the notion that heritage resources, especially those affected by large scale land alteration projects, must be evaluated in order that decisions can be rendered regarding mitigation alternatives (Schiffer and
Gumerman 1977). Thus, archaeologists involved in heritage impact assessment studies (h.i.a.s.) are generally required to make significance assessments of heritage sites (Heritage Conservation Branch 1982). Also, in a legal or regulatory sense, some assessment of significance is required by law as stated in most heritage protection legislation (Dunnell 1984).

The concept of ethnic significance is not new to archaeology (ibid). Practical and meaningful applications of the concept in CHRM, particularly in Canada, have progressed little in the past decade (for comparative data see Schiffer and Gumerman 1977). For example, archaeologists involved in h.i.a.s. commonly designate native burial sites as being ethnically significant but few other sites are so designated. As a consequence, heritage sites such as those I have described, seldom receive general recognition as important heritage resources by archaeologists and/or management personnel. Spurling (1986:345-348) suggests this is due to a lack of interaction between Indians and archaeologists and a failure on the part of archaeologists to incorporate native research interests and/or religious concerns into their project designs.

To offer a more specific example, if the site of Thexelis (see Chapter 4, Example 1) were evaluated by archaeologists during a typical h.i.a.s., it would undoubtedly be written off as an insignificant archaeological site. In terms of ethnic significance, there are few native heritage sites the Sto:lo would consider more important.
Values Affecting Significance

The ethics of making archaeological significance decisions is a subject which has received considerable attention by conservation archaeologists in recent years (see various contributions in Green 1984, Schiffer and Gumerman 1977 and Spurling 1986). As Schiffer and Gumerman note, the process of making evaluations is not a simple and straightforward task:

The concept of significance, like no other in conservation archaeology, is a constant source of frustration and inspiration. We are frustrated because we wish that significance could be ignored; indeed, most archaeologists suffer considerable anguish in making the kinds of evaluations that may result in some sites being preserved at the expense of those condemned to the oblivion meted out by the bulldozer. Nevertheless, the many kinds of significance that need to be taken into account when assessing resources often immerses the investigator deeply in the most fundamental, intriguing problems of the discipline: the nature of archaeological data and the relationships between archaeology and society (1979:239).

Dunnell (1984:66) has stated that two sets of criteria are generally recognized as being important in making significance evaluations, namely scientific and humanistic values. Scientific values, he suggests, became a critical factor to archaeologists only in the past few decades as a scientific rationale developed in the discipline of archaeology. Humanistic values, he affirms, are those we typically consider our cultural heritage. "In this framework, archaeological materials are conserved because they have symbolic value to humanity generally and to particular groups of individuals as part of their history. There can be no doubt that this is the dominant public rationale" (ibid). Dunnell's
main criticism of significance evaluations in CHRM is that unacceptable biases have been introduced due to professional pre-occupation with problem oriented research strategies (ibid:73). Likewise, Schiffer and Gumerman (1977:24) argue that most archaeologists fail to treat all relevant types of significance equally. From the native perspective, the fact that most significance decisions are made by archaeologists is not only regarded as biased but also self-aggrandizing (Trigger 1980 and Winter 1980).

A lack of concern with ethnic significance in general, and spiritual sites in particular, is tied to a lack of concern overall when dealing with native peoples. Ferguson (1984:225) argues that our failure to address native concerns stems from a conflict in value systems: "...the professional ethics and values of American archaeology have almost exclusively reflected the values and beliefs of the Euro-American culture".

Similar sentiments are expressed by Winter who states:

For this author, cultural resource management itself is a continuation of the centuries-old conflict between the Euro-American and Indian cultures over resources. That is, our cultural resource laws and policies regarding the preservation and excavation, our other forms of management of scientifically significant resources, and our perceptions of Indian cultures and sites as objects of study all reflect definite cultural biases (1984:40).

Trigger (1980) contends that our lack of concern for native interests, in the extreme, has dehumanized Indian people and their heritage in favor of our own research interests. He states:
...by treating generalizations about human behavior as being the primary or even the only significant goal of archaeological research, archaeologists have chosen to use data concerning the native peoples of North America for ends that have no special relevance to these people. Instead, they are employed in a clinical manner to test hypotheses that intrigue professional anthropologists and to produce knowledge that is justified as serving the broader interests of Euroamerican society (1980:671).

Finally, Spurling (1986:347-351) warns us of inevitable and unfavorable consequences, should our present research interests and attitudes prevail. He pointedly remarks that, "It is time that archaeologists pay more than lip service to the American Anthropological Association's (1973:1) statement that the individuals we study "must come first" (1986:348).

Spiritual Sites Within a CHRM Framework

Archaeologists and heritage resource managers have lobbied hard to convince society that heritage sites are worth protecting or, at least, deserving second consideration before being destroyed by modern land uses. Laws have been endorsed, agencies created, priorities established, and methodologies developed. In reviewing the process, the question arises: How effective have these measures been in ensuring the overall conservation and protection of significant heritage resources and in serving the general needs of society and the particular needs of the native community?

In British Columbia the basis for a CHRM policy has most pointedly been discussed by Sneed (1976). On this topic he remarks:

Planning the optimum utilization of any resource is an intellectual process wherein (1) data are analyzed and (2) a program is developed to bring about a desired end. In cultural heritage resource planning we must have:
(1) an inventory, either complete or statistically valid, of the resource base in a particular region; (2) a sufficient theoretical and interpretive understanding of the resource base to make decisions regarding the use of resources (including total preservation, salvage and unmitigated destruction); and (3) administrative mechanisms for implementing a program of cultural heritage resource planning within the total multiple land use planning for a region or area (1976:9).

Within this policy, however, the absence of concern for anything other than archaeological sites with scientific value is apparent.

The matter of heritage sites of spiritual significance is a special case for heritage resource managers in general, and archaeologists in particular. For example, how do you verify the significance of a site without archaeological manifestations? Whose role and responsibility is it to provide scientific endorsement and verification. How do you manage mitigation for a site that cannot be excavated, moved, avoided, or developed for tourism? Is the problem a matter for archaeologists and heritage resource managers?

The management of heritage resources, whether archaeological or spiritual in nature, involves measures that are taken to prevent or to accommodate adverse development impacts (Spurling 1986:180). In this framework, spiritual sites are a problem for cultural heritage resource managers. Unfortunately, the present management system is almost entirely geared to mitigation as some form of compensation - i.e., the developer pays to collect the data. In practice, the present management system is not working because significance values are not being incorporated as important data.
In recent years, many professional archaeologists and cultural heritage resource managers have become sensitized to native concerns and heritage values and they have attempted to integrate these concerns in the overall process of CHRM. Winter (1980:128) has most strongly made this point:

Certain sites are so valuable that protection, rather than salvage excavation, is required. Many religious locations, such as dance grounds, shaman training sites and medicine-making areas, fall within this category, as do many significant prehistoric sites.

Site discovery, verification and the ultimate evaluation of significance requires considerable co-operation between archaeologists and Indians. The benefits that can be achieved overall from such co-operative efforts are again noted by Winter:

By working positively with Indians we can learn much about the historic and current phases of their cultures, which are just as important as the prehistoric. We will also be in a much better position to retrieve the archaeological data after we have established an atmosphere of trust. Perhaps the most important, we may even be able to see the sites from the Indians' perspective, which can be radically different from ours, yet just as legitimate. Instead of viewing a site merely as a source of scientific data, we can also appreciate it through the Indians' world views. This chance to perceive a common part of reality from a different culture's perspective is an especially useful way to understand that culture and its value system. It is also a useful way to understand reality. Whether a site is "real" in a historic sense, such as grandfather's grandfather's village, or "real" in a mythical sense, such as a mountain peak where Raccoon danced to become a doctor, it provides a way of perceiving existence through both the non-Western Indian and the Western scientific perspective (1980:125).

In British Columbia, native people and archaeologists share a common concern for heritage resources, albeit for somewhat different reasons. Whereas the archaeologist is concerned with the recovery of "data on the past", native
concerns are much more encompassing. This is best expressed in the Musqueam Nation's submission to the Task Force on Comprehensive Claims. Here the preservation of heritage resources is intimately tied to the maintenance of a native cultural identity. It states:

We include, but do not limit our focus to...the natural forest for religious, cultural and hunting use; consultation in land and resource planning with specific references on former village sites, burial and archaeological sites, areas used for religious and ceremonial purposes, Federal and Provincial Crown lands; co-management in areas such as fisheries, logging, parks and traditional sites.

Our request for a moratorium on developing areas of concern to us should be respected and acted upon to ensure there will be something left for us to recognize as our heritage and develop a future after an agreement is reached (1985:14-15).

In context of CHRM, the preservation and management of spiritual sites is of utmost concern to native Canadians. It also runs into direct economic conflict with Canadian industrial forces.

To date, approximately 200 heritage sites of spiritual significance have been identified within the Upper Sto:lo area. Only a score of these sites have been inventoried by the Heritage Conservation Branch, that government agency charged with the responsibility of managing and protecting British Columbia's heritage resources. Sites that have been registered are those with identifiable archaeological manifestations including human burials, pictograph and petroglyph markings, and pithouse depressions. Except for burial sites, none are noted as having spiritual importance or 'ethnic significance' to the Sto:lo people.
I have noted that only seven sites are currently registered with the Heritage Conservation Branch for the whole of the province under a classification system that recognizes their inherent spiritual value - i.e. 'Ceremonial/Myth'. Considering the approximately 18,000 heritage sites listed on the provincial registry, this fact raises many obvious questions and stands as testament to problems inherent in the present management structure. This problem can be attributed in part to current heritage legislation, or a lack thereof, in provincial and federal jurisdictions. Secondly, and of equal importance, is the failure of government agencies to implement those protective measures that are in place.

Legislation

Under existing statutes, the management of heritage resources in Canada is largely the responsibility of provincial authorities (Spurling 1986). The B.C. government's mandate is outlined in the Heritage Conservation Act (1979, Chapter 165) with administration of this legislation being the responsibility of the Heritage Conservation Branch. Provincial jurisdiction extends to include heritage resources found on all provincial, municipal and privately owned properties.

Federal jurisdiction for heritage resources incorporates only those situated upon federal Crown land including National Parks, Indian Reserves and military reserves among others. Several federal statutes are involved and a confusing picture emerges. The main federal legislation offering protection to heritage sites and resources includes: The National Parks Act (1970) and The Historic Sites and
Monuments Act (1953), administered through the Department of the Environment, and The National Museum Act (1968) and The Cultural Properties Export and Import Act (1976), administered through the Department of Communications (for example, see Burley 1984 and Spurling 1986, among others). The National Museum and Import/Export Acts relate mainly to the enhancement of learning, cultural activities, and museums in Canada and the import and export of cultural objects. The statutes offering greatest protection to historic and prehistoric sites, objects and interests are the Historic Sites and National Parks Acts. Parks Canada is the federal agency responsible for the implementation of this legislation.

There are a few additional statutes with provisions pertaining to heritage resources. For example, the Indian Act (1951), administered through the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, contains provisions with specific reference to grave houses, totem poles, grave poles, carved house posts, pictographs and petroglyphs found on reserve lands. Other statutes such as the Government Organization Act (1979) and the Department of State Act (1966) define responsibilities but do not offer specific protection to heritage resources. For example, the Government Organization Act relates to the preservation and enhancement of the natural environment and the co-ordination of federal projects and policies such as the Canadian National Railway's Twin Tracking project through the Environmental Assessment Review Process (E.A.R.P.).

There are several limitations with the present federal heritage protection legislation. First, there is no single
comprehensive policy covering the management of Canada's heritage resources. In addition, despite statements to the contrary, present statutes are not enforced to the point where they could/should be (C.A.A. 1985). The main limitation, however, is that federal jurisdiction, with the possible exception of the B.C. Indian Ordinance Act (1867), only applies to sites found on federal land (Burley 1984). The B.C. Indian Ordinance Act was designed to prevent the violation of Indian graves on all federal and provincial lands in British Columbia, but has rarely, if ever, been enforced since its inception in 1867 (Simonsen, personal communication 1987).

Despite provisions incorporated within general policy statements of the federal parks service, native interests have generally been overlooked in the enforcement and implementation of federal legislation (Burley 1984). An illustrative example is described by Burley with regard to Parks Canada's recently approved policy statement (Parks Canada 1981). He states, "Parks Canada's failure to develop even a single prehistoric site while spending millions on everything from Northwest Mounted Police posts to a fish cannery provides important insight into federal government cultural priorities despite their newly drafted policy" (1984:13-14).

Presently, neither federal nor provincial statutes contain specific provisions affording protection to spiritual sites. In fact, B.C. provincial legislation does not afford even minimal consideration to the interests of native people. 'Ethnic' values, for example, are noticably absent from the list of significance criteria:
"heritage" means of historic, architectural, archaeological, palaeontological or scenic significance to the Province or municipality, as the case may be (Heritage Conservation Act, Chapter 165, 1979).

In his assessment of British Columbia's heritage legislation and its implementation, Spurring (1986) notes that an attempt was made to accommodate native interests in the 1970's with the establishment of the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board. He writes:

In B.C., where aboriginal title is still an unsettled and contentious issue, attempts to facilitate native interest in their heritage began after passage of the AHSPA, the establishment of the ASAB, and the appointment to it of two Indians in 1973. ASAB shortly thereafter received a series of recommendations from the B.C. Union of Indian Chiefs respecting archaeological activities. From these came two significant policies: 1) permits for archaeological work would only be granted where a researcher or consultant acquired permission from the band in whose aboriginal territory the study was to take place and 2) all recovered artifacts were to be held in trust for Indian bands. Although the first policy caused some researchers difficulties in starting up projects, where problems in gaining permission occurred it was often possible for the native ASAB members to mediate resolution (1986:346)

One positive aspect of these developments was that Indian bands and organizations were made aware of all developments going on in their traditional territories, or at least those that required h.i.a.s. This is no longer true. ASAB no longer exists and the policies implemented at the request of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs have since been dropped. This occurred following replacement of the Archaeological And Historic Sites Protection Act (1960, 1972) with the more recent Heritage Conservation Act. Thus, it is no longer mandatory, as part of the permit process, to obtain permission of the bands involved and the clause stating that artifacts were to be held in trust
for the nearest Indian band has since been replaced with one stating that artifacts are to be held in trust for the people of B.C.

Finally, the funding arm of the HCB legislation, the B.C. Heritage Trust, does not contain provisions for native studies of any kind. The bulk of funding is specifically directed towards historic building restoration, historic museums and historic archaeology. Simonsen (1984:2-3) notes that as recently as 1984, less than four percent of all funds allotted by the B.C. Heritage Trust went to native projects of any kind.

Archaeologists have been largely responsible for the development, implementation and administration of Canada's federal and provincial heritage legislation. In the process, many achievements, successes and developments have occurred. However, there have also been major shortcomings. In terms of site protection and the inclusion of native concerns, legislative amendments of recent years (see Spurling 1986) and policy implementation appear to have taken a step backwards. Native interests appear to have been excluded at the expense of scientific research concerns and other interests.

By way of contrast, in the United States, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (P.L. 95-341) contains provisions affording protection "to sites considered important in the expression of Native American religious beliefs or lifeways" (Doyel, 1982:638). There is no comparable legislation in existence in Canada. In short, protective legislation for
Indian spiritual places or religious sites is very weak. They are currently protected by the same statutes affecting all archaeological sites and the assumption of scientific value is implicit. Moreover, these statutes do not appear to have been that effective in preserving and conserving sites in the Upper Sto:lo area, as illustrated in Chapter 5.

Indian involvement in CHRM

Within British Columbia, few Indians have been involved in CHRM. It would not be unfair to say that native involvement and representation in both management and the decision making process has been non-existent, 'token', or minimal at best. Presently, there are no Indians employed in management (Nicholas May, personal communication 1987). In the 1970's, two Indian representatives were involved in an advisory capacity with the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board (Simonsen, personal communication 1987). However, since its dissolution, native involvement has virtually ceased (ibid). One Indian representative currently sits as a member of the B.C. Heritage Trust, the funding arm of the Heritage Conservation Branch. Despite this board member, native exclusion is exemplified in formal statements recently issued by the Heritage Conservation Branch outlining the parties involved in h.i.a.s. These state:

The main participants in the heritage resource assessment process include:
(a) the project proponent,
(b) heritage consultants,
(c) the Heritage Conservation Branch, and
(d) project co-ordinating committees representing various Provincial Ministries or approval agencies at regional and municipal levels (ibid, 1982:7).
Officially, native people and/or organizations are not considered major or even minor participants in the review process.

Because Indians have generally been excluded from heritage resource management decisions, policy development, the dispensation of funding and planning, priorities have been established which do not adequately reflect Indian values or address Indian concerns. For example, consider the following policy statement issued by the British Columbia Heritage Conservation Branch:

The following objectives reflect heritage resource management policy in British Columbia:

(a) to preserve representative samples of the Province's heritage for the scientific, educational and recreational benefit of present and future generations,
(b) to ensure that proponents of development consider heritage resource values and concerns in the course of project planning, and
(c) to ensure, where decisions are made to develop land, that proponents:
   (i) avoid heritage sites wherever possible,
   (ii) implement measures which will mitigate project impacts on heritage sites, or
   (iii) compensate British Columbians for unavoidable losses of significant heritage value.

In managing heritage resources, the Branch aims to develop a cooperative relationship with project proponents (Heritage Conservation Branch, 1982:4).

In general, this policy statement can be described as inherently reactionary (i.e. to development) and accommodating (i.e to proponents). Presently, management priorities are directed in response or reaction to proposed projects. There is little or no long range planning and very little regional input or direction with regard to conservation/preservation efforts, planning, or policing. Except when threatened with a
major development, most heritage sites have been left to take
care of themselves.

As presented, this policy statement does not
incorporate Indian heritage values nor can it address native
concerns. For example, there is no reference to native people
nor is there reference to preserving heritage sites intimately
important to their spiritual and cultural benefit. There is no
reference to total preservation nor is there even the most
remote implication that preservation is an alternative unless
agreed upon by the proponent. Also, considering the first
stated policy objective listed above, how does one define a
representative sample of sacred sites? Following established
guidelines, it is not surprising that many areas continue to be
developed without native consultation.

In terms of legislation, policies and programs,
heritage resource managers in British Columbia and Canada have
ignored formal statements on ethics and principles of
professional responsibility endorsed by the American
Anthropological Association (1971) and the Society of
Professional Archaeologists (1977). With respect to native
peoples, these statements are quite clear, namely, that our
ultimate responsibility lay with the people we study (see
Green, 1984:22-35).

Current Trends

At the present time, the issue of spiritual sites is a
fundamental issue to cultural resource managers in the
southwestern United States (see Doyel 1982, Holt 1983,
notes that the cultural resource management of spiritual sites has increased since the passage of the Religious Freedom Act. This legislation and recent changes in government policy, such as the requirement of the Bureau of Indian Affairs that developers consult with native groups prior to the implementation of land modification projects (Doyel 1982:635), has prompted a new orientation between archaeologists, Indians and cultural heritage resources. Archaeologists have found it necessary to interact more with native peoples and to perceive native traditions and heritage resources within a more humanistic framework while resource managers have been forced to regard heritage resources as something more than a 'scientific data bank' (Winter, 1980:124). Increasingly, cultural heritage resources are being perceived in terms that are relevant to native people and evaluated in terms of their potential contribution to ongoing cultural processes. One development is a general trend among resource managers to regard archaeology's 'scientific orientation' as a special interest and not the dominant rationale in CHRM (Knudson 1984 and Winter 1980, 1984).

This 'new orientation' has not occurred without difficulties. Winter (1980:123) notes that "Bridges, gas terminals, roads, timber harvests and related projects affecting broad geographic areas as well as specific sites have been postponed or abandoned because of Native American concerns". In terms of management, archaeologists have been forced to reconsider the whole concept of ethnic significance, to modify established inventory methods and to consider new and
innovative management alternatives (Doyel 1982, Ferguson 1984 and Winter 1984). Many positive developments also have occurred in the process. In California, a Native American Heritage Commission has been established at the state level and various regional associations constituted (Winter, 1980:221). The Zuni and Navajo, in turn, have developed tribal heritage programs including a local registry of spiritual sites (Ferguson 1984 and Doyel 1982). As Green (1984:x) notes, "To ignore the new orientation is not a choice for those who have to interact with it".

Within Canada, many native organizations have hired their own archaeologists, anthropologists, and heritage consultants and several organizations have initiated regional CHRM programs. Some of these organizations include the Avataq Cultural Institute, the Cree Regional Authority, the Touchwood-File Hills-Qu'Appelle, Coqualeetza Education Training Centre and the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society. A few groups, including the Sto:lo, have endorsed policy statements on heritage (Appendix V). A major problem remains, however, in that most Indian organizations do not have access to funding sources nor do they have the necessary support from archaeologists and/or management agencies to implement and carry out Tribal heritage resource management programs.

Many Canadian archaeologists now recognize the shortcomings of existing institutions in addressing Indian concerns and are beginning to recognize native heritage values. In this regard, the Canadian Archaeological Association has taken a leading role. At the 19th Annual C.A.A. Meeting in
Toronto in April of 1986, a special session was devoted to 'Native Organizations and Archaeology/Heritage Studies'. The messages carried by several native organizations to the conference were very clear, namely: that archaeologists must learn to respect native heritage values and listen to what Indian people have to say, and that if archaeologists continue to neglect the legitimate heritage concerns of native people, there can be nothing but trouble on the horizon.

The C.A.A. Conference was a positive and progressive step in establishing dialogue between archaeologists and native organizations and in creating an atmosphere for the exchange of information and ideas. Through dialogue comes understanding and with understanding there can be compromise.

By way of contrast, archaeologists in the Southwest have become actively involved in tribal heritage programs and the training of native researchers in various aspects of heritage resources management (Doyel 1982 and Ferguson 1984). These new initiatives have uncovered a bewildering array of problems. Several are noted by Doyel (1982:638-640) including: problems of site identification and information disclosure with regard to spiritual sites; major differences in opinion between archaeologists and Indians regarding evaluations of significance; problems associated with spiritual sites being located off reserve lands; sites being impacted through lack of enforcement of existing legislation; native population displacement to access more distant sacred sites when local sacred grounds are impacted; inter and intra-tribal conflicts between economic/cultural interest groups over the preservation
of spiritual sites; and major problems in project funding due to government policies that base funding for data recovery on fulfilling national registry criteria. Many of these problems are beginning to surface in Canadian archaeology.

The subject of heritage resources is undeniably and primarily cultural, but has in recent years become a matter of political and legal concern to Canada's native peoples (see overview in Spurling, 1986:348-351; submissions to Task Force on Comprehensive Claims 1985; and Winter 1980). The Federal Task Force on Comprehensive Claims (1985), for example, recommends that specific changes in government policy be made with respect to heritage resources. It states that, "agreements could include cultural provisions concerning archaeological activity in traditional lands, the return of cultural artifacts, support for culturally relevant education, the use of teaching of aboriginal languages, and aboriginal communications" (1985:72). Political/legal implications are further exemplified in comments of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs on native history:

As Indian Nations, we all know we have a deep rooted attachment to the land we live in, the laws of nature and a relationship to the Great Spirit which defies separation from everything we do. We have an instinctive knowledge instilled in us from birth which dictates how we live with one another, regardless of the outside forces which work to infringe on our relationships developed over thousands of years. We know that the arrival of the Europeans to our shores brought with it a different set of values and rules which proceeded to lock us into a struggle that exists to this day. In that struggle, we have learned how the European mind operates and we realize that all its systems are insufficient in the fulfillment of our purpose and values.
The struggle is, first of all, an ideological one. It is the struggle of sovereignty, the rights of Nations, and the protection of vested interests. It became a political struggle and began with the exploitation and greed, compounded with the threatened extinction of whole cultures of people. It has not ended. As the struggle progressed, it carried over into the governing, legal, spiritual and human aspects of our lives, growing ever more complex as we advanced. This process continues and we find today that it has reached into and threatens every aspect of our lives (1984:1).

Again, at the core of this struggle are prevailing ideological differences and a conflict in value systems. Not surprisingly, heritage resources have and will continue to be involved in this context.

Management Alternatives

Management alternatives encompass professional attitudes, ethics, policies, planning, programs and legislation. It is not my intention to elaborate upon each of these topics in any great length. Rather, I wish but to offer general comments and a few specific recommendations.

Archaeologists in general and heritage resource managers in particular need to broaden their knowledge with regard to native heritage values. In this regard, archaeologists should make every effort to include native research interests and religious concerns into their project designs, as suggested by Spurling (1986), Trigger (1980), Winter (1980, 1984) and others.

In terms of management, positive steps must be taken to ensure that native people have a greater role in all aspects of the CHRM process including greater access to funding sources. In this regard, a positive hiring policy within the provincial
and federal bureaucracies is imperative in order to place native people into positions of management. Similar hiring policies should be extended to other government departments where native heritage is a factor, including interpretive programs within the Parks Branch, Tourism, and museum administration.

Policy changes are required to ensure that Indian organizations have a greater role in policy development, planning and an equal voice in the decision making process where native heritage resources are concerned. This might include a role in the assessment of significance criteria and the right to designate sites. Re-implementation of the policies endorsed by the former ASAB and the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs in 1973 would be a progressive measure.

At the most basic of levels, archaeologists must work together with Indians to endorse legislation which better addresses native needs and heritage concerns. General legal recognition of native heritage interests and specific provisions affording protection to native spiritual sites are warranted. General amendments and formal mechanisms are also needed to ensure native people a role within the heritage impact assessment and review process.

Financial assistance and professional support for 'Tribal Heritage Programs' goes hand in hand with the preceeding. Within Canada and British Columbia, millions of dollars are spent each year in an effort to mitigate and interpret "significant" cultural heritage resources (see Simonsen 1984 and Spurling 1986). Presently, there is little
support funding for native-specific heritage research projects and programs (ibid). Within the mosaic of Canadian cultural heritage, spiritual places are an extremely significant resource. They compromise an integral aspect of native lifeways and a native cultural identity. They also enrich our country's national heritage.

A systematic inventory of native heritage resources of cultural and spiritual significance is needed. One way this might be accomplished is through the establishment and maintenance of Tribal Heritage Programs and tribal heritage site registries. In this regard, it is mandatory that heritage agencies/ministries provide support funding to enable the creation of a native heritage warden program. Creation of such positions on a tribal basis would ensure consistency and continuity in the implementation of tribal, provincial, and federal cultural heritage policies. Problems of secrecy, with respect to the identification of spiritual sites, would be reduced if under the jurisdiction of tribal authorities.

Professional archaeologists can assist in this process in several ways. Among these are: 1) the training of native researchers in fundamental principles of heritage resources management including inventory, mapping, data recovery, processing and filing; 2) by helping to develop long range management programs with an emphasis on recording data on spiritual sites; and 3) by lobbying provincial and federal CHRM agencies to provide support funding. By changing our ways to accommodate native interests, our 'need to know' about spiritual sites for CHRM purposes and the Elders' commitment
'not to disclose' information about them, may find a happy middle ground.

Without a proper inventory under the direction and control of native people and without adequate changes in policies, programs, and legislation, it is doubtful that many spiritual sites will survive modern land uses. As noted in Chapter 5, the modernization process has already taken a great toll on these sites. Whether through designation or the creation of special reserve lands, these ethnically significant heritage resources are worthy of protection. Whether or not we do so is an ethical question.

In the spring of 1987, the B.C. provincial government created a heritage commission, 'Project Pride' to conduct hearings into the matter of heritage resources. The commission wanted input and discussion on legislative reform, planning, policies and programs. Native representatives and organizations made several presentations to this commission including many of the recommendations cited here (Manny Jules, personal communication 1987). It can only be hoped that native concerns and interests raised at these hearings will be given full consideration in the drafting of new policies and legislation.

Concluding Remarks

Scientific perceptions of Indian cultural traditions and Indian perceptions of Indian culture are often at odds with one another. As outside observers and occasional participants in Indian society, the central interest of anthropologists and archaeologists remains the description of certain regularities or trends in the cultural phenomena we observe. From a
scientific perspective, these observations and interpretations are essential in understanding the meaning of reality.

Many factors can influence our professional observations and interpretations including: the time we spend in the field, our sample size and methodology, the willingness of our informants to co-operate, trust relationships, our personal beliefs, biases and professional values, personality conflicts, etc. Given these and other factors, it is not surprising that our scientific observations and interpretations often contradict native perceptions of cultural reality. For example, most archaeologists would find it difficult to believe that they could get spirit sickness from the excavation of human remains or from handling certain artifacts recovered at archaeological sites. Most would also find it difficult to accept that certain localities were inhabited by supernatural forces or that certain large rocks and boulders were formerly people transformed into stone. Most would also find it difficult to believe that the desecration of certain places could have immediate and physically harmful effects on the living. Such beliefs, however, are part of Sto:lo reality and that of other North American Indian groups (see Doyel 1982: 637 and Holt 1983:596). We can not continue to ignore or exclude such perceptions from our interpretations of Indian culture.

The question of what we as anthropologists and archaeologists do or do not do, say or do not say, observe or do not observe, record or do not record can become a matter of ideological, political, moral and legal concern when our
professional observations, interpretations, opinions and actions affect the cultural integrity and/or rights of those we study. Because of our past performance, many Indians currently hold rather cynical views with regard to our theories, speculations and postulations and they question our professional intentions and objectives. As a result, a growing number of Indians and Indian organizations refuse to accept our self-proclaimed right to study their cultures.

Negative criticism of our profession is growing due to our general disregard for native peoples, their heritage, and traditions and our pre-occupation with academic research interests. This matter is addressed by Brody who remarks:

Many Canadian Indians resent the white man's self-styled expertise in these matters. There are Indian beliefs about their origins and the nature of their dispersal over the land. Some British Columbian groups insist that the Indians have been in particular locations since human beings first emerged on the Earth. This insistence is backed by ancient stories and deeply held tradition. They also have their own evidence: there are rivers, mountain tops, and rocks scattered on valley sides that owe their existence to dramatic events that occurred at the time humans were formed. These events are well recorded in oral history. When archaeologists and other "experts" challenge the Indians' own idea of their history, they implicitly undermine the Indians' sense of absolute and eternal belonging to particular places. Whites may be proud of being immigrants but any suggestion that the Indians are also immigrants [i.e. land bridge theory] is increasingly regarded as ignorant and insulting...

Archaeologists deepen our appreciation for and understanding of Indian occupancy of North America. But archaeological speculations, even when stripped of spurious certainties, have implications that many Indians consider to be sharply at odds with their own view of themselves and that they fear may even undermine their rights. This is especially so of the Indian peoples whose social and economic systems have entailed a comparatively sedentary way of life...
Tolerance for such archaeological hypothesizing is not increased by the way the hypotheses seem to keep changing. From an Indian's point of view, only one thing about white opinion is sure: whatever is believed today will be said to be wrong tomorrow (1981:15-16).

As scientists, we cannot ignore questions of human rights in our pursuit of academic knowledge. As archaeologists, we need to take a more humanistic approach in our study of native cultures and traditions. Indians and archaeologists have much in common and much to share with one another. By working together in a positive manner, the resource base and the relationship may have a future.
APPENDIX I

STO:LO CULTURAL AND POLITICAL OFFICES

1. Sto:lo Tribal Council
   Box 310, Sardis, B.C.
   V2R 1A7

2. Sto:lo Nation Society
   Box 4000, Sardis, B.C.
   V2R 2N9

3. Coqualeetza Education Training Centre
   7201 Vedder Road
   Box 370, Sardis, B.C.
   V2R 1A7

4. Coqualeetza Language Department
   c/o Coqualeetza Education Training Centre

5. Coqualeetza Media Production Centre
   c/o Coqualeetza Education Training Centre

6. Coqualeetza Research Centre,
   Library and Archives
   c/o Coqualeetza Education Training Centre

7. Elders Advisory Committee
   Coqualeetza Elders Group
   c/o Coqualeetza Education Training Centre

8. Sto:lo Sitel
   c/o Coqualeetza Education Training Centre
APPENDIX II

SPIRITUAL SITES RECORD FORM

Previous Designations:____________________ Site No.________

Indian Name:______________________________

Meaning:__________________________________

Variations In Spelling: a)____________________ b)____________________

c)____________________ d)____________________ e)____________________

Non-Indian Name:___________________________

MAPPING INFORMATION:

1) NTS 1:50,000 Map No.____________________

Other: a)____________________ b)____________________

2) Latitude: __ o __' __" Longitude: __ o __' __" MGR: ______

3) Location/Access:__________________________

__________________________

__________________________

__________________________

4) On Reserve:__ Reserve Name:____________________

Off Reserve:__ Ownership:____________________

CULTURAL AFFILIATION

1) Cultural Group (present day)____________________

2) Traditional Tribal Group____________________

3) Band (present day)__________________________

SITE TYPE

1) Transformer:____ 6) Legendary/Mythological:____

2) Spirit(s)/Beings(s)____ 7) Burial/Mortuary:____

3) Ceremonial:____ 8) Resource:____

4) Cultural/Traditional:____ 9) Other:____

5) Questing/Power:____

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SPIRITUAL SITES RECORD FORM (p.2)

Site No.___________________________

PRESENT CONDITION

1) Relatively Good: ____
2) Disturbed: ____
5) Potential Conflict: ____
3) Badly Disturbed: ____
4) Destroyed: ____
6) Proponent: ___________________________

DESCRIPTIVE INFORMATION

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<td>k) cave</td>
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<td>c) rock outcropping</td>
<td>l) pool/eddie</td>
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<td>m) lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) rock slide</td>
<td>n) creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Mountain</td>
<td>o) spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Mt. Prominence</td>
<td>p) Hotspring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Mt. Slope</td>
<td>q) Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) upland area</td>
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Notations: ____________________________

ARCHEOLOGICAL/CULTURAL MANIFESTATIONS

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<th>g) Pictograph:</th>
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<td>h) Petroglyph:</td>
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<tr>
<td>c) Other Resource:</td>
<td>i) Pithouse:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Camp:</td>
<td>j) Village:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Burial Markers:</td>
<td>k) Other:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Artifacts:</td>
<td>Specify:</td>
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Notations: ____________________________

Recorder: __________________________ Date: (Day)____(Mo)____(Yr)____

Visitations: __________________________ (Day)____(Mo)____(Yr)____

PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORDS

Date: __________________________ Roll No____ Photo No.____
Color: ____ Print: _____ Slide: _____
Black & White: _____ Photo Location: __________________________

Date: __________________________ Roll No____ Photo No.____
Color: ____ Print: _____ Slide: _____
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SPIRITUAL SITES RECORD FORM (p.3)

REFERENCE INFORMATION

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   INFORMANT(s): ______________________________________
   TAPE NUMBER: __________________ LOCATION:___________

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   TAPE NUMBER: __________________ LOCATION:___________

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   AUTHOR/TITLE: ______________________________________
   DATE: __________________ PAGE:_____ ENTRY:___________
   INFORMANT(s): ______________________________________
   TAPE NUMBER: __________________ LOCATION:___________

4. SOURCE: ____________________________________________
   AUTHOR/TITLE: ______________________________________
   DATE: __________________ PAGE:_____ ENTRY:___________
   INFORMANT(s): ______________________________________
   TAPE NUMBER: __________________ LOCATION:___________
APPENDIX III

ELDER/INFORMANT BACKGROUND INFORMATION

STO:LO

AC: born in 1907 and from Soowahlie Reserve.
AC's maternal grandmother was Mrs. Bob Joe, informant to Wilson Duff. His paternal grandfather was Captain John, informant to Charles Hill-Tout. A very spiritual person, AC has approached several western religions in the course of his life. In his elder years, however, AC follows and practices the traditional, native spiritual teachings he learned in his youth.

AD: born in 1922 and from Cheam Reserve.
AD is a descendant of Lucy Siyamiya and also of Xapéla:lexw. AD was born and raised at American Bar. She is a fluent speaker of Halq'eméylem and has been actively involved with the Coqualeetza Language Program and the revival of the Halq'eméylem language. AD is very traditional in her ways and a very spiritual woman. She has extensive knowledge of Sto:lo customs and spiritual beliefs.

AG: born in 1917 and from Chawathil Reserve.
AG is grandson of Chief August Billy and the great grandson of Billy Swalsea. He is a cousin of Bertha James (Mrs. Vincent Peters), informant to Marion Smith and Helen Codere. AG's paternal great-grandparents and great-great grandparents are buried at Iyem.

AK: born in 1921 and from Ohamil Reserve.
AK is cousin to Ed and Joe Lorenzetto, informants to Wilson Duff and Oliver Wells. She was raised by her grandfather, 'Old Louie' Squatets who refused to be interviewed by Wilson Duff. AK traces her ancestry beyond Xapéla:lexw, paternal grandfather to Old Louie. AK is a fluent speaker of Halq'eméylem and has been actively involved in the revival of the Sto:lo language. AK is very traditional in her ways and is relied upon in the Sto:lo community as an expert on Sto:lo family history.

AP: born in 1938 and from Chehalis Reserve.
AP is a descendant of Chief George of Chehalis, informant to Franz Boas. As an orphaned child, AP received traditional training from many Elders and older chiefs. In recent years, AP has been actively involved in various cultural research projects and has extensive knowledge of traditional Sto:lo ways.

CJ: born in 1930 and from Squiala Reserve.
CJ is the grandson of Rose Sparrow, a prominent and knowledgeable Musqueam Elder. CJ is a painted dancer who actively follows traditional Sto:lo ways.
ED: born in 1922 and from Cheam.
Originally from Matsqui Reserve, ED was raised at Cheam and received instruction in both Sto:lo and Nlaka'pamux cultural traditions. She is a fluent speaker of Halq'eméylem and a very spiritual woman.

EP: born in 1901 and from Chawathil.
EP is the grand daughter of Chief Pierre Ayessick. She was raised according to strict traditional guidelines and took an active role in fishing well into her 80's. One of the few surviving members of a once extensive lineage, EP carries the traditions of her family line.

EP: born in 1939 and from Chehalis.
EP is of mixed Sto:lo and Nlaka'pamux ancestry. She has been actively involved in the revival and teaching of the Halq'eméylem language. EP has extensive knowledge of traditional spiritual beliefs. However, she is very reserved about expressing her knowledge on these matters.

FM: born in 1935 and from Yakweakwioose.
FM is a painted dancer, smokehouse leader, and hereditary chief. He is noted as a cultural leader among his people. FM carries one of the four ancestral names of the Chilliwack Tribe.

HD: born in 1918 and from Cheam.
HD is a noted sturgeon fisherman and story teller.

GD: born in 1924 and from Cheam.
GD is a painted dancer and a very reserved man. He seldom speaks on spiritual matters although qualified to do so. He is a direct descendant of Louie O'ílalí and Margaret of Cheam.

JP: born in 1916 and from Chawathil.
JP is a fluent speaker of Halq'eméylem and a prominent Elder of the Hope Band.

MM: born in 1899 and from Cheam.
MM was raised at Popkum. She has a limited knowledge of English and currently lives with her daughter in Everson Washington.

MU: born in 1919 and from Skowkale.
MU is of Secwepemc ancestry. She is a fluent speaker of several Indian languages including Sto:lo, Secwepemc and Nlaka'pamux. MU is a healer, spiritual leader and a spokesperson for the Elders.

PP: born in 1912 and from Hope.
PP is a Sto:lo Grand Chief and a former chief of the Hope Band. He is a direct descendant of Siyémýa (paternal great-great grand father of Chief Pierre Ayessick) of Hope.
RM: born in 1907 and from Yakweakwioose (died May 22, 1987). RM was half-brother to Bob Joe and a renowned Sto:lo spiritual leader. RM was largely responsible for the revival of Winter Spirit Dancing in the Upper Sto:lo area. He was a direct descendant of Thelachingetel, Yexwp'ílem, Siyemchess, and Xwexwayleg; the four ancestors of the Chilliwack Tribe. RM carried the former name. In recent years, RM was concerned with the revival of sxwó:yxwéy or masked dancing. He carried a hereditary song and origin story. RM remembered Wilson Duff conducting interviews in the 1950's but would not himself consent to an interview.

TG: born in 1921 and from Chawathil. TG is very knowledgeable of Sto:lo cultural traditions and spiritual beliefs. She is a fluent speaker of Halq'eméylem and is an Elder's spokesperson. TG follows and practices traditional spiritual teachings in conjunction with her Christian religion.

VH: born in 1918 and from Seabird. VH is a Sto:lo Grand Chief and a direct descendant of Louie O'lałí. In his youth he received traditional instruction and teaching from his great-grand mother, a noted syuwe. VH is noted for his abilities as a hunter.

DD: is a younger Sto:lo woman from Cheam. She is the daughter of ED and is actively involved in cultural, political and social programs for her Band and the Sto:lo Tribal Council.

PM: is a middle-aged Sto:lo woman from Seabird. She fishes at Iwówes.

SL: is a middle-aged Sto:lo woman from Chehalis. She is actively involved in Native Education and Halq'eméylem language studies.

SECWEPEMC

AD: born in 1902 and from Nicomen Reserve near Lytton. AD is a notable story teller. She has a working knowledge of the English language but is most comfortable when speaking in her native tongue.

AZ: is a prominent Elder and former Chief from Crown Lake. She is about 65 years old. AZ is a fluent speaker of the Secwepemc language and has extensive knowledge of regional geography, place names and sacred sites.

EM: is a prominent Elder from Bonaparte and is about 65 years of age. EM is quite knowledgeable of Secwepemc geography and the 'Old Stories'.
LB: born in 1909 and from Bonaparte. A fluent speaker of the Secwepemc language, LB has extensive knowledge of regional place names and the stories associated with these places. LB is very traditional in her ways and is very reserved when discussing spiritual matters.

SJ: born in 1906 and from Skeetchesen. SJ has a very limited knowledge of English. She is very knowledgeable of Secwepemc place names and cultural traditions. She is a noted singer and story teller.

SK: is a prominent Elder from Ashcroft and is about 68 years of age. SK is the wife of a Chief and her ancestry traces to the Nicola Valley where she was raised by her grandfather, Peter Blair. SK is a fluent speaker of the Nlaka'pamux language and is knowledgeable of local geography and place names; passed on to her from her husband's grandmother.

NLAKA'PAMUX

AY: born in 1904 and from Spuzzum. AY received instruction in Nlaka'pamux traditions from her grand aunt and Chief James of Spuzzum. Her knowledge of native traditions is extensive and she has been an informant for several anthropologists and linguists.

LP: is a prominent Elder from Lytton and is about 69 years of age. He is a noted story teller and a very knowledgeable of Nlaka'pamux traditions. LP has been a major source of information and a professional informant for several anthropologists.

NS: born in 1930 and from Lytton. NS is a former Nlaka'pamux chief and a fluent speaker of his native language. NS has extensive knowledge of Nlaka'pamux geography, place names and cultural traditions.
APPENDIX IV

STO:LO HERITAGE POLICY

1) Our burial grounds blessed and sacred regardless of their age or locality. They shall not be disturbed by developers, archaeologists or anyone else for whatever purposes.

In cases of accidental discovery, the discoverer will first consult with the Band and Tribal Political Office involved before further investigation or disturbance of the site.

2) Our spiritual places blessed and sacred. They shall not be disturbed by developers, archaeologists or anyone else for whatever purposes.

We also declare proprietorship over these places whether they are on or off registered Reserve lands.

3) Archaeologists, anthropologists and other non-Indians wishing to study our people and culture must have their work approved (i.e. Terms of Reference) by our Elders and political representatives prior to commencing their studies.

a) In this regard, it will be our general policy that all materials collected by archaeologists, anthropologists, and others wishing to study our people and culture be returned to us upon completion of these studies by the primary investigator. This is to include copies of all written materials (i.e. field notes, copies of papers, reports, etc.), audio-visual materials (i.e. photographs, video footage, taped interviews, etc.), artifacts and the like.

b) Terms of reference to conduct these studies may include additional conditions (i.e. shared copyright etc.).

c) Indian personell will be employed wherever and whenever possible by archaeologists and other social scientists conducting investigations (i.e. excavations, surveys and analysis).

4) We hereby declare that all artifacts recovered from our traditional campsites, ceremonial sites, villages, burial grounds and archaeological sites are the rightful property of the Sto:lo people.

We hereby condemn any sale of these artifacts particularly those artifacts identified by our Elders to be of sacred or spiritual importance.

5) We hereby declare proprietorship over all Indian paintings (pictographs) and rock carvings (petroglyphs) and other cultural rock features (petroforms) found within our traditional tribal territories.
APPENDIX V

STO:LO DECLARATION


THE CREATOR GAVE US LAWS THAT GOVERN ALL OUR RELATIONSHIPS TO LIVE IN HARMONY WITH NATURE AND MANKIND.

THE LAWS OF THE CREATOR DEFINED OUR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

THE CREATOR GAVE US OUR SPIRITUAL BELIEFS, OUR LANGUAGES, OUR CULTURE, AND A PLACE ON MOTHER EARTH WHICH PROVIDED US WITH ALL OUR NEEDS.

WE HAVE MAINTAINED OUR FREEDOM, OUR LANGUAGES, AND OUR TRADITIONS FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL.

WE CONTINUE TO EXERCISE THE RIGHTS AND FULFILL THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND OBLIGATIONS GIVEN TO US BY THE CREATOR FOR THE LAND UPON WHICH WE WERE PLACED.

THE CREATOR HAD GIVEN US THE RIGHT TO GOVERN OURSELVES AND THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES GIVEN TO US BY THE CREATOR CANNOT BE ALTERED OR TAKEN AWAY BY ANY OTHER NATION.

WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE STO:LO NATION, OPENLY AND PUBLICLY DECLARE AND AFFIRM TO THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENTS OF CANADA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA:

THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE STO:LO NATION HAVE HELD AND STILL HOLD ABORIGINAL TITLE, AND ABORIGINAL RIGHTS TO ALL LANDS AND RESOURCES WITHIN OUR TRIBAL TERRITORY.

THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE STO:LO NATION HAVE NEVER REACHED ANY AGREEMENT OR TREATY WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF CANADA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA CONCERNING THE OCCUPATION, SETTLEMENT, SOVEREIGNTY OR JURISDICTION OVER OUR LAND.


WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE STO:LO NATION, DECLARE THAT WE SHALL DO ALL IN OUR POWER TO SEE THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF CANADA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA RECOGNIZE IN LAW, AND IN PRACTICE, OUR ABORIGINAL TITLE AND ABORIGINAL RIGHTS.
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